

BOGDAN JANSKI

DIARY

1830 – 1839





L. P. Dancy

Servant of God, BOGDAN THEODORE JANSKI

Founder of the Congregation of the Resurrection DNJC
Apostle to the Polish Immigrants in France
Died in Roma, July 2, 1840
Age 33 years

BOGDAN JANSKI

DIARY

1830 – 1839

with footnotes

Edited and arranged by

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ROME 2000

PRINTED WITH THE PERMISSION:

Of the Superior General

FR. SUTHERLAND MACDONALD, C.R.

Rome, June 6, 2003.

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CONTENTS

FORWARD

(Fr. Sutherland MacDonald, C.R.).....XI

ABOUT BOGDAN JAŃSKI - THE SKETCH OF A PORTRAIT

(Andrzej Jastrzębski).....XIV

CONCERNING BOGDAN JAŃSKI'S DIARY - EDITORIAL NOTE

(Andrzej Jastrzębski)XXXI

BOGDAN JAŃSKI, JOURNEY DIARY NOTES YEAR 1828..... 1

PRIVATE DIARY FOR THE YEAR 1828.....13

D I A R Y

1830-1839

DIARY FOR THE YEAR 1830.....21

APPENDIX:

I. FOR CLARIFICATION.....65

II. ORGANIZATION OF MY FUTURE LIFE.....66

NOTE CONCERNING THE LIFE OF C.H. DE SAINT-SIMON HIS DOCTRINE AND

HIS SCHOOL.....67

DIARY FOR THE YEAR 1831.....72

NOTES:

1. A NOTE CONCERNING THE LIFE, AND WORK, OF F. M.-CH. FOURIER.....95

2. CONCERNING THE LIFE, WORK AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY

OF M. MOCHNACKI.....100

DIARY FOR THE YEAR 1832.....99

APPENDIX:

I. MEMORANDA.....199

II. "BRIEF MEMOIRS FROM MY PAST, FROM CHILDHOOD

ACCORDING TO YEARS".....200

NOTES:

1. A NOTE DEALING WITH THE LIFE AND ACTIVITY OF FATHER

F. R. DE LAMENNAIS.....207

2. A NOTE CONCERNING THE POLISH LITERARY SOCIETY.....208

VI

DIARY FOR THE YEAR 1833	212
DIARY FOR THE YEAR 1834	223
APPENDIX:	
I. WHY I RETURNED TO THE HOLY CATHOLIC FAITH.....	243
II. MODERN TIMES.....	244
III. [CONFESSION].....	245
DIARY FOR THE YEAR 1835	249
APPENDIX:	
I. [CONFESSION, continued].....	328
II. [PRAYER, SELF-ACCUSATION.].....	331
III. [CONFESSION] FROM FEBRUARY 2, 1835.....	332
IV. [CONFESSION] JUNE 13, FEAST OF ST. ANTHONY.....	333
V. CONFESSION ON THE BLESSED MOTHER'S BIRTHDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1835.....	335
VI. CONFESSION, SEPTEMBER 14, 1835 FEAST OF THE EXALTATION OF THE HOLY CROSS.....	335
VII. CONFESSION OF SEPTEMBER 21, FEAST OF ST. MATTHEW.....	336
VIII. OCTOBER 19.....	336
IX. RESOLUTIONS.....	337
X. NATIONAL SERVICE.....	341
XI. BROTHERHOOD OF NATIONAL SERVICE.....	342
XII. THE CONGREGATION OF SAINT PETER.....	343
XIII. MY OBLIGATIONS AND VOCATION, A GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF MY TEMPORAL WORKS.....	344
XIV. MY RELATIONS WITH THE EMIGRATION.....	345
NOTE:	
LIST OF EMIGRANTS FROM DECEMBER 21, 1835.....	347
DIARY FOR THE YEAR 1836	351
APPENDIX:	
I. PATRIOTIC MISCELLANEA.....	417
II. PREPARATION FOR CONFESSION TOMORROW, JANUARY 9, 1836.....	417
III. MY CONFESSIONS AND HOLY COMMUNIONS.....	419
IV. ABOUT THE PRINCIPLES, GOALS AND STATUTES	

VII

OF THE PATRIOTIC CONFEDERATION OF CATHOLICS ETC.	420
V. FOR SUNDAY, JULY 31.....	421
VI. FOR MONDAY, AUGUST 15 THE ASSUMPTION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.....	423
VII. MY INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE BROTHERS, THE BEGINNING OF OUR RESEARCH WORK.....	426
VIII. OUR RELATIONS WITH THE EMIGRATION.....	427
IX. FOR SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 9.....	428
NOTE:	
A LIST OF THE EMIGRANTS FROM SEPTEMBER 25, 1836.....	430
DIARY FOR THE YEAR 1837.....	437
APPENDIX:	
I. QUESTION OF LIFE.....	479
II. RESOLUTIONS.....	480
III. RESOLUTIONS HERE IN LA TRAPPE.....	481
IV. MOTIVES FOR SALARIED WORK.....	483
V. DAILY PRAYER.....	483
VI. RESOLUTIONS TO THANK GOD.....	484
VII. THOUGHTS, INSPIRATIONS, AND RESOLUTIONS.....	484
VIII. PRAYERS AND MEDITATIONS.....	485
IX. PRAYERS, MEDITATIONS, AND RESOLUTIONS.....	486
X. RESOLUTIONS, PRAYERS, AND REFLECTIONS.....	488
XI. THIRD CONFESSION.....	489
XII. CONFESSION IN SOLESMES.....	490
XIII. THE NATIONAL ISSUE.....	491
XIV. OUR POLITICS.....	491
XV. THE NATIONAL CAUSE.....	493
XVI. FOURTH CONFESSION IN SOLESMES.....	494
XVII. THE PILGRIM.....	494
XVIII. MY FIFTH CONFESSION IN SOLESMES.....	495
XIX. RESOLUTIONS.....	496
XX. RESOLUTIONS (AFTER ARRIVING IN PARIS).....	497
XXI. RESOLUTIONS (AFTER ARRIVAL IN PARIS).....	500
XXII. RESOLUTIONS (AFTER ARRIVING IN PARIS).....	501
XXIII. RESOLUTIONS (AFTER ARRIVING IN PARIS).....	503
XXIV. FURTHER RESOLUTIONS.....	504
XXV. REASONS FOR LIMITING MY ACTIVITIES AND CONCENTRATING ON THE BEST PROJECTS.....	506
XXVI. HOLY COMMUNION, DECEMBER 21. THE FEAST OF ST. THOMAS.....	506
XXVII. FINAL RESOLUTIONSON ON THE DAY OF MY DEPARTURE FROM SOLESMES, DECEMBER 21, THE FEAST OF ST. THOMAS.....	507

VIII

XXVIII. BEFORE HOLY COMMUNION ON SUNDAY, THE 24TH, AND ON CHRISTMAS DAY, THE 25 TH	507
XXIX. IN THE WEEK FROM CHRISTMAS TO NEW YEAR'S DAY	508
NOTES:	
1. FRAGMENTS OF A BOGDAN JAŃSKI'S LETTER TO FRANCES GIERDOJĆ WRITTEN FROM LA TRAPPE.....	509
2. A LIST DRAWN UP BY B. JAŃSKI OF POLISH EMIGRANTS LIVING IN TOULOUSE AND MONTPELLIER IN 1837.....	511
3. A LIST OF POLISH EMIGRANTS LIVING MAINLY IN PARIS IN 1837, WHOM B. JAŃSKI INTENDED TO CONTACT.....	513
DIARY FOR THE YEAR 1838	516
APPENDIX:	
I. CONFESSION OF JANUARY 6.....	608
II. CONFESSION OF JANUARY 13.....	608
III. CONFESSION OF FEBRUARY 3.....	609
IV. CONFESSION OF FEBRUARY 24.....	609
V. [ORDER OF THE DAY].....	609
VI. [RULES FOR BEHAVIOR IN THE HOUSE].....	610
VII. [CONFESSION] OF JULY 6.....	612
VIII. DAILY REMINDER.....	614
IX. THE MOST IMMEDIATE PLANS.....	614
X. WITH TUROWSKI BEFORE LEAVING FOR LA TRAPPE.....	615
XI. [NOTES FOR CONFESSION].....	616
XII. FOR MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1838.....	616
XIII. VIGIL OF THE BIRTH OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY. 1838.....	617
XIV. CONFESSION.....	617
XV. SEPTEMBER 22 - WITH MIKULSKI.....	618
XVI. FOR CONFESSION BEFORE SAINTS SIMON AND JUDE.....	618
DIARY FOR THE YEAR 1839	621
APPENDIX:	
I. <i>IN THE PAST YEAR, 1838</i>	696
II. THE QUESTION: WHETHER WITH A NEWSPAPER.....	696
III. INITIAL THOUGHTS AND INSPIRATIONS AT LA TRAPPE.....	697
IV. REFLECTIONS ON PAST SINS.....	698
V. CATEGORIES OF THE FUTURE.....	699
VI. INSPIRATIONS OF THE HOLY SPIRIT ON PENTECOST SUNDAY.....	700
VII. A LOOK BACK AT THE PAST.....	702
VIII. UNTIL THE NEXT CONFESSION.....	703
IX. COUNSELS FOR THE REMAINING DAYS IN LA TRAPPE.....	704
X. AGAINST NEGLECT IN WRITING LETTERS.....	704

IX

XI. WHAT IS CONVERSION?.....	705
XII. RESOLUTIONS, MEDITATIONS IN THE DAILY REMINDER.....	706
XIII. CONFESSION OF SATURDAY, JULY 27.....	709
XIV. [OUR PROFESSION OF FAITH].....	710
XV. CONFESSION OF AUGUST 10.....	713
XVI. <i>A THOUGHT ABOUT DEDICATING MYSELF</i>	713
XVII. CONFESSION ON SEPTEMBER 8.....	714
XVIII. CONFESSION ON NOVEMBER 10.....	715
XIX. CONFESSION ON THE FIRST SUNDAY OF ADVENT, 1839.....	715
XX. CONFESSION FOR THE SECOND SUNDAY OF ADVENT.....	716

ANNEX

AGNES JAŃSKA, TO HER SON THEODORE.....	719
THE GOVERNMENT COMMISSION FOR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PUBLIC EDUCATION.....	720
SUMMARY	723

Forward

The basic principle of the Charism of the Congregation of the Resurrection is that of the Unconditional Love of God. For Resurrectionists, it is God's unconditional love which calls us, forms us, and gives us the strength to go through the trials, difficulties, failings, and death experiences that we encounter in life. It is God's unconditional love that redeems us, through his Risen Son, Jesus Christ.

Bogdan Jański, in his diary, lives and explicates that Charism of the Unconditional Love of God. I don't think that Bogdan ever envisioned that his jottings would be put forth to so great an audience as this publication portends. In fact, he would be embarrassed, not by the brutal truth of the diary which in itself is a part of his character; but maybe in human terms to have so many made aware of his human weaknesses and lest he cause others to be weak in their own response to God.

There have been some in the Congregation who have read the Diary who have said that maybe it should not be published in its entirety. However, it was the direction of the XXX General Chapter of the Congregation in Rome in 1999 that the Diary be published in its totality. This product is the result of that decision. The English version has been translated by Fr. Frank Grzechowiak, C.R.

This present edition is part of the critical edition that was commissioned by the Congregation from Mr. Andrzej Jastrzębski: the critical apparatus is only in the Polish publication. The work was begun in 1987 and finally completed in 1999. Fr. Andrew Gieniusz, C.R. arranged the technical computer layout of that document: Fr. Tadeusz Kaszuba, C.R. has worked with Mr. Jastrzębski in the initial stages and has proof-read the original text: Ms. Liliana Dróżdź Secretary in the Generalate has spent countless hours on manuscripts, typing, making the index, and putting the final version of the original into the computer, and she has arranged the set-up of the English edition. To all of these persons, the Congregation is indeed grateful. We have also to thank Bogdan Jański. It is part of his life in its stark-naked reality. As I said, I'm sure he did not know that all this was going to be public not only in the Community but in the whole Church. When Bogdan came from Warsaw to Paris to study on a scholarship, part of the requirement was that he report to the sponsors in Warsaw. So, he developed

a précis of his time and sent that back at the required time, or as best he could. I think we have to thank the government at that time for requiring such a procedure. It is my own conjecture that this is what led him in part to continue to record the events of his life as well as the necessity to keep a personal growth record as was required by the Saint Simonists. Probably this process developed also into more of an assessment of his life as well after his re-conversion.

XII

Like the situation of the Apostle, Paul, we are left only to conjecture about the details of the process of Jaski's re-conversion to Catholicism. The Diary is insufficient here. Yet, after Bogdan's renewed fervour in the faith, we find him both an evangelist and still a sinner. Maybe the Diary doesn't record the specific significant event that we would like, but it does produce evidence for us of the continual conversion of Bogdan Jański. After the event of his return to Catholicism, he was still the same Bogdan Jański, a passionate, generous, and socially conscious man graced by God and responding to God, but overwhelmed on occasion by sinful enticements. He does bring, though, the same fervour that he had when he espoused the Saint Simonists to his Roman Catholic crusade, and not much later he is encouraged to transform this into a religious Congregation in the Church. The Diary of Bogdan Jański is a multifaceted phenomenon. It is the story of a man's life. It is the story of the Unconditional Love of God. It is the confession of a man who trusts in the Unconditional Love of God. And it is the process of conversion of a man who comes back to Catholicism, yet remains human and a sinner.

Bogdan, throughout his life, was committed to the betterment of all people in society. His zeal, his acceptance of the of the Unconditional Love of God in his life, his desire to respond to God's love personally, as well as his conviction that a group of like-minded people could work towards this purpose became the objective of his life. So he formed such a group with the objective that these members could pursue their own conversion and be socially active in whatever could benefit society. Soon, Bogdan was being called by men like Montalembert to establish a religious congregation to this effect.

Bogdan, like Abraham, Moses, and in our perspective, even Jesus in some guarded respects, never saw the promises fulfilled. We, who come later in history, see the fruits of these foundations or these promises. There are still promises to fulfill.

Bogdan Jański is the Founder of the Congregation of the Resurrection, yet he did not live to know it as such.. Resurrectionists live the Charism that was given to Bogdan Jański: we struggle with the weaknesses of nature, we strive to form human religious community, and we work towards the betterment of society in a Christian form wherever we can. As Bogdan did, we invite others to join us as members or affiliates.

Sutherland MacDonald, C.R.
Superior General

Rome, 17. 02. 2001.

ABOUT BOGDAN JAŃSKI

The Sketch of a Portrait

The Diary of 1830-1839 is an unusual diary, as was its author unusual. Written prompted by a deep personal need, not meant for publication, it is very personal, very sincere, and moreover authentically religious. It was written by a lay man, Bogdan Jański, who died in the 34th year of his life.

Outside of members of the Congregation of the Resurrection, who see him as their founder, and outside a small group of historians who occupy themselves professionally with the Great Emigration, in fact he continues to be unknown to the wider body of educated Polish society. Only a few eminent individuals who were his contemporaries, such as Adam Mickiewicz, recognized in him a person of exceptional spiritual dimensions.

Few, but in their own way weighty, witnesses have been preserved until our day. According to these, he exercised an exceptional influence upon people who associated with him. Almost without exception they emphasize the spell of his personality, which captivated everyone who came close to him. This spell manifests itself in his diary, and undoubtedly will increase in the measure that he becomes known as a man with a fascinating and dramatically impressive spiritual biography. One may possibly discover in him something unknown, but which nonetheless seems close to him, for he knows of it from his own life, and it speaks to his sensibility. He will discover a person who both before and after his death was not properly appreciated, and was even quickly forgotten.

The primary source enabling one to acquire a knowledge of the personal and spiritual life of Bogdan Jański, as well as of his social and religious involvement, are his truly miraculously preserved personal notations. These are mainly personal notes, collected under the conventional title *Diary 1830-1839*, which also include texts dealing with various matters. For our representation of him, Jański's letters cannot be omitted. They are preserved in their original version, in draft form as well as final copies.

When one spends a longer time with their author by way of these texts, one must ultimately acknowledge that he is dealing with something which possesses literary or rhetorical structure - with something that captivates us with the authenticity of confidences, the clarity of his voice. Moreover, it reminds us, as it were speaks to

us, about our own ambitions, hopes, and disappointments. It exposes our life's failures, leaving behind the same unsatisfied hunger, and finally the hidden desire to be better.

When one reads the personal notes of Jański, he gets the impression that he was spared nothing that was human; that from moral depths he was raised to mystical heights. He died of consumption. He lived only a short while, but he experienced much.

It is the duty of an investigator - a historian of literature - to present objectively, in the measure of his strenuous efforts and acquired knowledge, a picture of the life and activity of Bogdan Jański - to present the elements, activities, circumstances and situations in an historical, customary and cultural context, which, together with the entire rich endowment of Jański's human nature, contributed to developing his personality.

On the pages of his Diary, Jański states clearly that it was God who threw him to the ground and cast his yoke upon him. The earnestness of these statements is such that even a skeptic, but one of good will, will accept the truth of these statements, and will react with respect for Jański's narrative, when he speaks of the grace of conversion. Therefore, it remains for us to make use of these documented witnesses in the form of his entries, notes, which have been left by him, as well as the remembrances of those who knew him, in order to extract the truth about him.

To the most precious and exceptional personal documents of Jański found in the *Diary 1830-1839* belong the texts which are provided with the author's own titles, such as "Brief remembrances of my past life from my childhood according to the years" (from the year 1832), and "Looking at the past" (from the year 1839); moreover the "Examinations of conscience", and "Resolutions of amendment". At least some of these texts, if not all, bear the clear mark of confessions.

In the intention of the author these were meant only and exclusively for himself - for no one else. Examining these documents in every way, from the formal side as well as that of context, we ascertain that this diary, along with the adjoining writings is a work that is thoroughly personal, and intimate, in a moral, religious, and spiritual sense. It was written with the idea of personal rebirth. It has also been indicated that the diary, along with the confessions and the purposes of amendment, by its very nature, and the character with which Jański endowed it, was not meant for external use. The author wrote it exclusively for his own spiritual needs, for self-control and self-instruction.

The sense of truthfulness of these documents is all the greater when not fettered by some insinuations. In these documents are noted the most revealing -

without any sense of tabu - confidential secrets reaching into the depths of the most personal experiences and affairs, even the most embarrassing. It would be very difficult to find a similar authentic record, in which grace and sin are represented in such a decisive and yet discrete manner. Jański's great personal courage with regard to himself shocks and amazes.

The above mentioned "looking at the past" was written on a small piece of paper during the retreat which he made at the former Cistercian monastery at La Trappe in May of 1839, more than a year before his death. This is an extraordinary document of spiritual autobiography. In it the author divides his whole 32 years of life up to then into two periods. The first period is that of the first 16 years "as a child and as a student" without any expansion; the second, also "16 years from the time when I left school". Let us recall the more important facts from that first period.

Bogdan Jański was born on March 26, 1807, in Lisowo, near Grojec, as the oldest son of not wealthy parents of noble descent. By spirit and temperament he was a son of the Masovian land. His father, Peter, was a soldier of Napoleon, and tenant of national lands, later the owner of property received by way of a dowry. His mother, Agnes Hryniewicka occupied herself primarily with housekeeping and raising three boys (a fourth died as an infant). What worried her most was the concern of supporting them. It seems that her marriage was not a happy one, and undoubtedly such also was Bogdan's childhood and early youth. In his "student" period he was a pupil in the provincial school in Pułtusk which was directed by the Benedictines, and which enjoyed eminent renown by reason of the high level of teaching. He did fairly well in his studies. He was capable and quick-witted. He loved to play, and even wasting time and playing truant. Undoubtedly for that reason he neglected his studies, and so he was not promoted to the third class. However he managed to apply himself to study to such an extent that he won a prize.

When he was 12 years old he experienced a sad vacation: his parents separated. He lived in one room, and either studied or played truant. For the first time he refused to take part in a carousal. "Suddenly he became religious, hard-working, and modest," even "ultra-religious". In 1822 he achieved the secondary school certificate. He acquired solid knowledge, the knowledge of foreign languages and mathematics, in which he excelled. Poverty at home forced him to go to work. He accepted a position of collaborator, or associate, in the school where he had been studying up to now, "taking delight in teaching."

Jański entered into a second period. To this period he attributed all of the facts pertaining to his departure from the faith, his perseverance in infidelity, and his return to the faith of his fathers. He listed these facts in chronological order, noting at each consecutive year the interior changes that were taking place in himself, his age at the

time, and a laconic record of his physical condition. It is precisely this document that can be of service to us, as a kind of itinerary of Jański's interior and exterior life.

In making this division, with full awareness Jański indicated the turning point dividing the two periods. As it were its symbolic sign was Jański's enrollment, "since leaving schools", in September of 1823 at the Royal University of Warsaw, in the most popular department among students, that of Law and Administration.

This turning point indicated to Jański the violent change that took place in him at that time: "a revolt of body and spirit against God". In his diary he admitted: "When and how the evil in me began I cannot remember... This I remember: that it was at that time that the revolt of body and soul against God began." Basing ourselves on what the author tells us, we can determine with great certainty that this interior, total change took place in the 16-17th year of his life, and that it might involve several phases in its course. There is a strong indications that one of these reasons was the awakening of his sexual impulses, which made its presence felt with great force in the still unformed awareness of a man reaching maturity and unprepared to deal with this new situation. An amazing change was taking place in Jański's spirituality and carnality. Parents, or rather his mother, and his teachers, were responsible for the upbringing of the child, and later the boy, and were to serve as a model of his religious life. However the time came when Bogdan assumed responsibility for himself. He submitted all their efforts to form and educate him to a severe scrutiny. With the arbitrariness that is proper to young people, under the influence of the vital forces awakening within him, he rejected their authority, and even more than that, showed contempt for those whom he had previously respected, honored, and loved. Even toward his mother, whom he disarmed by his "endearments", and whom later he would remember as "good, and holy", he manifested a lack of affection and coldness. Her final unfinished letter to her son, a splendid witness to her maternal concern, anxiety and shrewdness, he would keep with himself until the end of his life.¹

In this crisis of maturing, Jański began to make himself aware of new possibilities, new tasks, in which somewhat older colleagues and friends played a part. At that time he formed a friendship with Leopold Thaddeus Bronisz, three years older than himself, "an atheist", who, as Jański would mention, "being a companion of raptures, innocence, and youthful fire, was a companion of errors, weakness and licentiousness." It is precisely to this atheist that he owes the fact that "by a single - breath from his soul, along with the spirit of the age, he poured into my soul a different spiritual direction, and a loftier and more appropriate organism prepared for

¹ Cf. appendix: Agnes Jański to her son Theodor.

it." And this was affected by that "blind fate" in the person of "dear" Bronisz, who had "a good heart".

Not without meaning is the fact that in Warsaw before the uprising, the Catholic Church did not enjoy authority; that an atmosphere of anti-clericalism prevailed, favoring anti-religious and anti-Church prejudices.

In such an atmosphere, undoubtedly under the influence of that "atheist", doubts with regard to the sense of religious faith began to sprout in Jański's mind. This gave birth to its negation. He became an apostate: he renounced faith in Jesus Christ, and membership in the Church. In order to somehow fill the void that resulted in his heart, he accepted from his colleagues and friends a way of life, freeing himself from the prejudices of religious faith and ethical bonds as infringing upon human nature.

The revolt of his spirit against God grew in Jański in the measure that unbelief grew within him. During the time of his university studies he became acquainted with the prominent and fashionable "bible of materialism", a name given to the *Système de la Nature* (1770) of Paul Thiry d'Holbach (1723-89), a French philosopher of the enlightenment, the author also of a few other works, such as *Système social* (1773) and *La Moral universelle* (1776). Holbach claimed that all of nature is a material organism governed by determinism and expediency; that we get to know it by experience, which is the one source of human knowledge. According to Holbach the idea of God is simply an anthropomorphic creation of blind, unenlightened intellects, and the sole rational ethics is the ethics of hedonistic-determinism.

Not only did Jański reject Christianity, but with euphoria he began to propagate anti-Christianity. He rejected faith in a world of spiritual values, in a sense of responsibility, in all independence of the intellect. He submitted to the gods of the enlightenment, accepting Holbach's materialism, his and Diderot's determinism, the sensualism of Condillac, and the hedonism of Helvetius. He became a fatalist. In his diary he speaks of "fatal relationships with people", of the already mentioned "blind fate"; about this, that "circumstances independent of us, as well as already revealed or hidden qualities in us, determine the limit of our fortune and meaning." He accepted as "fatal" the "afflictions" which he encountered. In his diary he writes: "I submitted to him, the captive of an evil mind - without seeking any deliverance."

While studying political economy at the university Jański confirmed himself even further in materialism, naturalism, and atheism.

In the course of his studies there came to light in him - according to words of his friend, Louis Królikowski - "the most remarkable abilities", "abilities that are truly rare." This Królikowski, the son of freed peasants, seven years older than Jański, later a famous utopian and "fervent revolutionist", one of the architects of Polish social

opinion, characterized his friendship with Theodore Olechowicz and Bogdan Jański as follows: "The bond of our friendship was love of our fatherland, instruction and an apostolate in the strict sense of the word. Everything was in accord with our ideas at that time. Jański accompanied and helped us. As a result of that community of Spirit and goal, all of our abilities, feelings, and boldness to undertake anything for the salvation of our country grew stronger."²

In those university years Louis Królikowski was absorbed mainly in the cause of the people and their liberation. A materialist - like Jański - in the theory of knowledge, he passionately read the Sacred Scriptures, treatises of Fathers of the Church, especially St. Augustine's Kingdom of God. He had a truly mystical cult for Jesus Christ, following his divine teaching, in which he saw the only solution to the social question. Królikowski and Jański, united by a strong friendship, together discussed, read, and planned great undertakings. Undoubtedly this led to the point where Jański, who not long before that had renounced Christ, "begins in those years to respect Christ," as he recorded in his "Looking back at the past."

We understand now what Jański was thinking when he noted in his diary that he was "overcome by the sense of an extraordinary mission, of greatness", a sense of some "special mission", a "sense of his own power", that he visualized "the most arrogant projects", "imaginings about the power of my will and my influence upon others" - the prediction of charismatic abilities. Along with such an attitude, he nourished contrasting feelings of hatred and contempt for what was pedestrian, commonplace or small. When a few years later he would see his one-time friends in their normal, common, ordinariness, he would say like Catullus in the famous couplet: "I love and I hate, I respect and I despise! O how varied is my present self!" (Notes to the Journey Diary, November 14, 1828).

Jański saw himself as "a master of revolutionism". He reacts without ceremony, and even with contempt, for those who are "simple revolutionists out of hatred for tyrants; I for the good of mankind." He has such a "good opinion of himself" that it reaches "an apogee of pride." In his Diary he writes: "I ascribe to myself an extraordinary mission." He manifests an egocentricity that is totally unrestricted. He stands by his own ego, and at the same time by the world. He covets it. He wants to reform it, change it into something better. He falls into a conflict which cannot be unraveled. He lords it over others, holds himself aloof from them. He steps himself in pride. He feels a distaste for simple work. Zeal in the fulfillment of obligations declines in him. Jański's confining egocentrism leads him to laziness and lust.

² E. Callier, Bogdan Jański, Poznań 1876, Part 3, p.6.

According to Jański a revolt of the flesh against God was parallel to a revolt of the spirit. In any case both oppositions supported one another. In 1823 he experienced a romance with a certain noblewoman, whom he would meet once again in Płock before leaving Poland. This experience left in his memory an impression of "heavenly sensations", but also cravings. This became for him a challenge to activity. He felt himself to be a disciple of ancient and modern hedonist philosophers, Aristippus and Anacreon, Helvetius and Holbach. For according to them "rapture is good", "a man's purpose is to enjoy life, and one enjoys it only by way of the senses." As a result he professes a moral liberalism, permissivity. Debauched in life, he deprived himself of a sense of shame. He frequented a house of ill-fame. In his diary he hints at a "disease", which however did not restrain him from further forays and adventures in Warsaw, and later in Paris and London. Undoubtedly disapproval on the part of honest women caused Jański to be touched to the quick in his ambition. He could not abide them. The above-mentioned Królikowski wrote that "Jański did not know how to control his lust. Not only did he not consider this a sin, he even pretended that it was a human need, very appropriate, especially for higher intellects, among which he counted himself most flatteringly. (E. Callier, *ibid.*)

Jański was on the down grade: carousing and getting drunk with Bronisz. He was living a merry life. He drank from the skull of a dead man, sang loose songs, indulged in extravagances, excesses, and demonstrated his light-heartedness. He felt a sense of humor, was inclined to tell jokes and engage in pranks. Eloquent and exceedingly gregarious, he possessed the secret of directing conversations, and discussions. One day he would say of himself "an ambitious idler".

In spite of his success in society, he suffered from poverty. He had to work, and he did not wish to do so. He would rather play the part of a lord. At that time in the life of Jański nothing could be small, gray, vague, or without meaning, for he had a passionate, lively nature, craving greatness. He fascinated those who surrounded him with ever greater corruption. He scandalized others, and at the same time achieved no small success. With all of this, recalls Janowski³ "young Jański, smooth cheeked, diligent and very sociable" was a man who was by nature good, ready to help, about which more later.

In 1827 Jański received his Master's degree. At the same time his closest friends Królikowski and Olechowski completed their studies. They decided to pursue further studies in Paris. They departed, leaving Jański, who shortly began to work as an advocate, or lawyer. In that year Jański made the acquaintance of Alexandra

³ John Nepomucene Janowski, a university colleague of Jański, later co-founder of the Democratic Society in the emigration. Cf. E. Callier, *op.cit.* p.14

Zawadzka, the daughter of a colonel in the Polish army. According to Królikowski "he made the acquaintance of this young lady in a house of ill-fame in Warsaw, where she was available to everyone."⁴ In the following year, when Alexandra was with child, Jański undertook to marry her in church in spite of the fact that he considered himself to be an atheist. Thereby, on her account, he assumed a moral indifference. Moreover, in conjunction with this wedding, in his notes he confirms that he "received the Lord's Body and Blood from the hands of the pastor". He committed a further profanation, "after "profaning holy things" in 1824.

What forced Jański to such behavior? "I was attracted to her by a good sentiment, by a desire to extract her from an abyss" he wrote. "Weakness, vanity, contempt (I lost reason, will) for society were, in the end, the only reasons for keeping my promise to her, and for doing good to one whom not only did I not love, but one whom I could not stand." In a letter to his brothers he justified himself: "My word given, the anticipation of marital affairs, and perhaps a certain individual weakness moved me to do this." It is difficult to determine unilaterally what Jański understood when he spoke of "a certain, individual weakness." Perhaps this means a weakness in relation to women? And perhaps, for Jański, a significant goodness which manifested itself as irresistible to the pressures exerted by "my sturdy one", that is Alexandra, his future wife. Aside from that, he wished to show, to take a position, even to demonstrate his disgust with the hypocritical society which treated such a "fallen virgin" with scorn.

The step taken by the both of them proved to be tragic in its consequences: it helped neither him nor her. Alexandra, restored to society by her marriage, was left to herself after her husband's departure - in spite of temporary help from her family. In April of 1829 she gave birth to a son, to whom she gave the name: Alexander (after her father), and Theodore (Bogdan, after her husband). After some time she gave her son to her family, and returned to her former way of life.

The epilogue of this sad marriage, requiring strict examination, will be Alexandra's decision to enter the institute of the Sisters of St. Martin in Wrsaw, indeed with a proper dowry. Alexandra outlived her husband. In 1839, the son, Alexander Bogdan, "only took care of the barns" of the Grabowski family. What happened to him after that is unknown.

Next Jański, having received a government stipend for further studies abroad after winning a contest, set out on his way immediately after the wedding. In spite of

⁴ E. Callier, op. cit. Part three, p.8 - Another unauthenticated written draft places Alexandra Zawadzka in the Sas Gardens, where Jański found her crying as a result of being seduced - a typical statement in the style of the romantic age.

his effort to maintain contact with his wife by way of letters, and in spite of the assurances that he would return, he did not keep his promise. He felt responsible for Alexandra, but for a thousand reasons he did not return to Poland.

The matter of the marriage was, and remained, an open wound in Bogdan's heart until the end of his life. In his diary we read: "A woman ruined my entire greatness. Humbled pride, humbled reason, the impossibility of correcting a mistake troubled me constantly." In a state of profound depression, but with "a feeling of hope for a successful future" which aroused in him a vision of "heaven at the setting of the sun" he left his native land - forever, as it turned out later, at the same time bidding farewell to his youth forever.

Jański, 21 years old, took with him to Paris the baggage of plans for studies, but also cares and anxieties. His exact intellect demanded rational justification, such as a response to the question about the sense of life. Neither materialism nor atheism, which at one time evoked in him a philosophical exaltation, were of any help to him, for they were not in a position to help in dealing with the anxieties that troubled him to the limits of his capacity. He was searching for a compromise between materialism and spiritualism, by way of eclecticism, Scotch philosophy - but that attempt was not successful. Still further he steeped himself in drunkenness, drowning the "concern", the existential restlessness, in forgetfulness and carousing in the Paris saloons and brothels. At the time Paris was considered a Babylon: "Here there is the greatest pomp, and the greatest shabiness; the greatest virtue and the greatest vice. Everywhere there are posters dealing with venereal diseases - noise, clamor, rumble, and more mud than you can imagine - one loses himself in this swarm, conveniently in this respect that no one asks how anyone lives [...] How many charitable women! - They chase after people [...]"⁵ None of the contemporary European capitals - outside of London - had so many "ladies" as Paris. In this great city it was easier for them to conduct their business, primarily in order not to die of misery, hunger, exhaustion.

Jański became a man "of weak and unstable character" (L. Królikowski). In his diary he notes the names of the women from Corinth. On them he wastes the money which he acquired with such difficulty. He borrows money, and falls into debt. And in this way he finds himself living in misery. "Poverty in the highest degree" he writes in his diary. He was so desperate that he thought of suicide.

In this time of extreme collapse he came in contact with the radical and fashionable movement of the saintsimonists. They proclaimed a new era for mankind,

⁵ *Correspondence of Frederick Chopin*. Collected and compiled by Bronisław Edward Sydow, Warsaw, 1955, Vol. I, p.187. A fragment, cited from a letter of Chopin to his friend Norbert Alphonse Kumelski. The letter is dated November 18, 1831.

a new morality, and a so-called "new christianity". By all means, however, non-christians exploited the images of Roman Christianity in order to annex new disciples. They also helped Jański to escape from his hopeless situation, and even assured him of material support. Królikowski, who at that time was living in Paris, and for some time kept his friend from the years at the university at his home, assures us that "he had fallen into even greater debauchery, and then into debts and indigence, which drove him to the saintsmonists"... that when he joined them, "he did so from financial necessity." (E. Callier, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 10).

Jański, initiated into the doctrine of Saintsimon, began to be reborn. He accepted their social radicalism, their hierarchical organization, in which he would within a short time - as the first foreigner, a Pole - occupy a significant position. Like them, Jański also took a stand against Revelation and "papism". He tried to satisfy his deep religious need in the neo-Christianism and pantheism which was being propagated by his new friends. In London, where, as the holder of a scholarship, he was pursuing further studies, he propagated a saintsimonism modified by his French friends among the economists, lawyers and philosophers. He felt himself to be an apostle by conviction, called to great tasks, to bring happiness to mankind. Wishing to perfect mankind, he must first perfect himself, free himself of prejudices and habits, especially those of the flesh, which was a special requirement of the saintsimonist doctrine. To this end he began to write a diary - to perfect himself, to maintain a daily control over his actions.

It was in London, in December of the year 1830, that he learned of the outbreak of revolution in Warsaw. This made a great impression on him. He thought of returning to Poland. However it seems that the saintsimonists, accepting cosmopolitanism as their view, dissuaded him from this intention by attempting to weaken his patriotism.

In Paris, after his return from London, he was experiencing a subsequent crisis, possibly the greatest up to then. This was brought about in part by the split in the saintsimonist movement. The ideal, moral and organizational havoc among the saintsimonists became a personal havoc for Jański. This was all the more painful because, as he mentions in one of his letters from 1836, he had placed in these apostles and their teaching "the trust that belongs only to Christ." In that same letter he adds that breaking with the leaders of this movement "plunged me into a most unsettled and painful state."

In turn, the failure of the uprising in Poland and the uncertain lot of those closest to him - his father and his brothers, awakened in him a feeling of helplessness. Already since December of 1831 he had not received his stipend from Warsaw. "I was in such a pitiable state that I could earn either too little or nothing at all." He fell into

debt. He was in a state of psycho-moral collapse. Desperation returned, thoughts about taking his life, about running away somewhere, even to America. He was restless, wavering "between bestiality and despair." "I cannot open my heart to anyone." He is overcome by an acute sense of loneliness. He is seized by an "impotence as great as moral death."

Stunned by all this, he must nevertheless still have the means to live. He helped a Frenchman, Burgaud des Marets translate Adam Mickiewicz's *Conrad Wallenrod* into French. He wrote historical and journalistic articles for French newspapers. He published news from Poland. The would-be saintsimonist cosmopolite re-polonizes himself, becoming involved in the life of the Polish emigration. And he does not cease to interest himself in metaphysical questions, manifesting a tendency to reflection in a high degree. He moves toward an acknowledgement of the primacy of spirit over matter, and moves away from pantheism, and consequently from fatalism. This is the first intellectual step in the direction of conversion.

He was the witness of tempestuous political, social and economic events, as well as cultural and artistic sensations. He experienced historical convulsions such as the famous "three days of glory" - the revolution of 1830 when, in place of the dethroned king Charles X, Prince Louis Philip was named king of France, and the constitutional monarchy was assured. The middle-class which was growing rich gained a voice. Bankers, who contributed to the growth in meaning of the bourgeoisie, played an ever increasing role. A free press was active. Ostentatious political trials were held, repression in the form of edicts was employed, and severe fines were levied. Gradually the working class gained a voice. Its appearance in the first (1831) and second (1834) uprising in Lyons caused social unrest. A cholera epidemic was rampant in Paris in 1832. A series of severe battles began on June 5, 1832, and also an uprising in April of 1834. Socialist views began to spread. Along with the growth of industry, capitalism was born. Anarchy crept in along with the production of material goods, bringing with it the impoverishment of the masses.

After the July monarchy, romanticism reached full flowering in the area of culture, proclaiming the priority of faith and sensation over reason.

Jański came in contact with novelties in religious and ecclesiastical life. Right after the July revolution of 1830, stemming from the inspiration of the famous religious writer, Fr. Lamennais, the L'Avenir movement was born. It agitated the contemporary laicism, and above all caused unrest and protests among the Gallican members of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in France. The movement declared fidelity to the teaching of the Catholic Church and its Head, but also postulated a division between Church and State in the name of freedom and the welfare of interested groups. Jański studied the writings of the leaders and advocates of this movement: "reading d'Eckstein allowed me to become acquainted with a somewhat

different catholicism." Writings of the leading promoters of religious rebirth in France: Lamennais and his closest collaborators, such as Fr. Gerbet, Fr. Lacordaire, Count Montalembert and others, as well as the historical studies of René François Rohrbacher dealing with the Church, opened Jański's eyes to intellectual and moral values of Catholicism. "My mind turned to Christ, and I entered into a relationship with a few people, friends of Lamennais." Reading Goethe's works on the immortality of the soul lifted Jański up high. He elaborated his opinions on the topic of Catholicism. The religiously disposed Mickiewicz, with whom he lived for a while, "confirms me as it were in my opinions" by his personal example (Diary 1835, Mss, p.242, ACRR).

However Jański's opinions changed, and were not always the same as those convictions which move the will... For a long time yet both my recent ideas and the issues and projects which were agitated here among my former French friends, tore apart and disturbed my soul" (in a letter of 1836 to Louis Królikowski, which it seems was not sent). Once he accepted Catholicism intellectually; at another time he fashioned it, mitigated it, and even considered his "catholicism as compromising himself" (Diary, December 6, 1834). He began to pray and go to church, but on almost any occasion "ventured into relations with women." Complex meandering, mental and moral zigzagging are marked along the way: "throughout the year a terrible, constant weakness of both soul and body" (ibid. p.243). He acknowledged a need for "a revolutionary emancipation of the Church", returned to republicanism, to the mysticism of Saint-Martin, but "only in intention, for in thoughts and actions there is absolute nothingness" (ibid.).

He continued to work for bread, writing popular scholarly articles for French periodicals, occupying himself with editorial work in Januszkiwicz's publishing house, and with the shipment of various Polish books. "At the same time there is work dealing with the spirit, internal and personal; at the same time constant anxieties, distress, mystical storms all day and all night, yearning for the Kingdom of God, and seeking the way to it finally terminated in physical weakness: my lungs broke down. I was already diagnosed as a consumptive, and many consigned me to death! Meanwhile, after two months of extreme weakness in bed, I arose healthy, even healthier than ever before. That was in August. At the end of that year, 1834, I resolved to return completely to the universal unity of the Church of Christ, and I fulfilled my resolution (in a letter to L. Królikowski: ACRR 8590, pp. 1069-1073).

Before it came to reconciliation with God, Jański had to pass through internal changes, which lasted a long time, for as long as seven years. In this period he noted in his diary moral weaknesses, falls, manifestations of egoism, pride and sensuality, wishing to get to know himself thoroughly, so that in this way he might be able to rise

from degradation by his own efforts, thanks to the keenness of his intellect and his exceptional inclination to reflection. He did not succeed until he convinced himself that he must seek help outside of himself, and not just within himself. The awareness of his own limitations was a painful wound to his oversensitive pride. His blind egocentrism, closing itself to God and people, burst and was disarmed. His interior opened itself to prayer, an acknowledgement of evil, a resolution of amendment, and a desire to unite in Holy Communion, along with the practice of charity.

Jański's Diary indicates successive phases, periods of his spiritual rebirth. Stumbling along this way, he gradually began to take stock of who he was, who he is, and what he ought to do. However the awareness of his own moral misery was nevertheless pervaded with an awareness of the goodness and mercy of God the Father. From 1832 a process of intellectual conversion began, in which, as was mentioned above, reading of the works of the French promoters of religious renewal and contact with them, especially with Adam Mickiewicz, played a significant role. The dramatic experiences which preceded, and perhaps even caused the illness into which Jański fell, along with the almost fatal illness, and the unexpected recovery, might have hurried that process. There no longer was any reason to delay the time of return to God's mercy, to unity with the Church of Christ. This first reconciliation with God followed at the end of 1834 and the beginning of 1835. It was the first moral conversion. This was his confession from his entire life, together with the reception of Holy Communion. Jański's diary speaks of this.

Reborn spiritually, Jański was happier than ever before. This first general confession and his first Holy Communion since conversion elicited in him joy and unlimited gratitude toward God, who had granted him the desired peace. The 11th of January, 1835, was for him a "day of joy and hope". His fault became a happy fault, for it brought him divine mercy. As a result he then felt most himself. However he would not really be himself if he did not share this joy with others. He would not really be himself if he did not express his gratitude to God by his life. His diary speaks of this as well.

In that diary we also find Jański's accusations and laments that he fails, that he falls, giving in to temptations of the flesh, that he suffers, that the demon of pride continually gains the upper hand over him. Precisely because of pride and sensuality he experienced the strongest, most intense, interior struggles. As a result he turned to God by way of ejaculations full of intensity and prayerful zeal. He was passing through agonies as a result of inconsistency in his behavior, not knowing initially that he was passing through a process of purification, which gradually was freeing him from the lack of truth and love, from egotistic inclinations, instincts and passions. He was experiencing metanoia.

However, in this process of drawing close to God, Jański was also drawing closer to himself, to his own identity, not locking himself within himself, not limiting himself to a dialogue with God. He became involved in the service of others, fellow Poles, emigrants. Already in the period of breaking his contacts with the saintsimonists he became involved in the turmoil of life in the Great Emigration. Initially he was engaged politically in the work of the emigrant committees in Paris. However soon he was alienated by the political programs which, rather than unite, separated the emigrants into various factions mutually combatting one another.

He experienced that famous "Polish hell", a parody of polishness. By temperament he did not feel that he was a politician. Practically he had missed his calling as a professor at the Politechnic Institute. He felt that he was called to be a socio-religious activist. For this he possessed unusual charisms: He was able to win over associates, and convince them. He undertook cultural, journalistic, and editorial activity. In the year 1833, of which he left no notes in his diary (aside from daily notes) he worked very closely with Adam Mickiewicz, with him, editing the "Pielgrzym Polski - Polish Pilgrim", which after July passed into his hands exclusively. He was then translating into French his great friend Adam's "Books of the Polish nation and the Polish pilgrims". He worked as a proof-reader (for, among other works, *Pan Tadeusz* - Mr. Thaddeus) and engaged in editorial work for the publishing firm of the already mentioned E. Januszkiewicz. He became involved in the work of providing assistance to the emigrants - their names fill many of the entries in his diary from 1832 to 1839.

By way of contact with Polish emigrants, he became more and more aware of their mental, moral, and religious status, and not just of their material status. Their "being torn out of" the natural environment, i.e. their native country, resulted in their living in a state of continual depression. Living among strangers, they felt estranged. They experienced their situation deeply as profoundly not normal. Deprived of moral bases, they engaged in duels about almost any foolishness. They committed murders, fell into psychic illnesses, entered into conflict with the law, initiated brawls and quarrels. The picture of the Polish emigration in its first years is disheartening!

Jański's conversations with Adam Mickiewicz as well as other Poles who were close to him had to move in the direction of establishing a spiritual diagnosis of the emigration and seeking means to remedy its needs. Some emigrants, themselves engaged morally and religiously, saw the need to organize such a society, such a "new monastic order", which by the moral stature of its members, and by its members' practice of ethical and religious values, might reach out to the wider circles of Poles, especially in France, but also to their countrymen in Poland. To this end, in December of 1834, an Association of United Brethren (a Society of United Brethren) was or-

ganized. This union proved to be unstable, and soon fell apart. However the idea itself consumed the mind and heart of Jański, which were already filled with the thought of a "brotherhood", of a "new congregation". The seeds of this were already hidden in Jański's resolutions written in his diary under the date of November 12, 1835. It still remained only a step which needed to be taken, so that the idea might take on flesh.

It seems that it is not irrelevant to recall here the notation of Fr. Paul Smolikowski: "I heard from the lips of Fr. Kalinka, who undoubtedly heard it from others in the emigration, that the United Brethren gathered every Friday for Mass; and after Mass at the home of Mickiewicz they read the Sacred Scriptures, and discussed means of rescuing their homeland. Once Mickiewicz, more than usually tormented by the sad news that was coming to him from Poland, and by what was happening in the emigration, cried out: "There is no other salvation for Poland. A new Congregation is needed. But who will found it? A saint is needed for this. I? I am too proud. You? (to Plater) You are too much of an aristocrat. You (to Zaleski) are too much of a democrat. Jański will found it." (Smolikowski, vol I, p.41). We can acknowledge this to be a "golden legend" of Polish romanticism, in which however there is something of historical truth. Mickiewicz recognized Jański and his charism, and offered him help in realizing his idea.

In February of 1836, on the first Sunday of Lent, a brotherhood arose consisting of the first enthusiasts for the work of God. Jański dedicated himself heart and soul to the development of this brotherhood, sparing no efforts to maintain it. With time the brotherhood obtained a house, which received the name of the House of Jański. The charismatic gift of attracting people to the idea of a brotherhood manifested in Jański the nature of an apostle. He himself, distinguished by an uncommon intelligence, the culture of his personal life, religious zeal of heart for his neighbor, carried the cross daily, meeting with the arrogance of his fellow Poles and their foolishness, with their ignorance in matters of faith. He experienced many disappointments and disillusionments and did not avoid being scolded by them.

At the same time he suffered from his personal weaknesses and the errors of his past. More and more rarely did he become irritated, exasperated. More and more frequently did he study patience. He bore with himself better. He took into account that what he was doing, he no longer was doing of himself and for himself, but by the will of God, who had simply designated him for apostolic service. Jański had that awareness which obliged him to work for the religious and moral rebirth of his fellow Poles, to establish a staff of priests, the framework of which he began to form in Rome, and which would become a support to the emigration, the nation, and the Church.

From the time that Jański entered upon the way of a stiff "battle with satan, the world, and the flesh" he would not withdraw from it, and would stay with it to the

end. He recognized that he was weak; but he also knew that in this weakness his faith, hope, and love were also being perfected. Sometimes he felt "a very foolish urge to seek significance among people", "the urge to appeal to others." Sometimes he was beset by the "lustful memories from the past, thoughts that he had not enjoyed the sensual pleasures and the world as much as he might have" (a note in his diary, June 19, 1838). However it is with ever-greater peace that he accepts vexation on the part of pride and the flesh as the original corruption of human nature, without permitting them in his life.

In the already mentioned "looking at the past", reflecting upon it and recapitulating, Jański noted that from 1823 - when he was 16 years old - he lived 12 years outside the Church, and for 9 years did not believe in Christ; that from that year, for 7 years he remained in total irreligion (infidelity); and moreover for 5 years he was a materialist and atheist.

In order to further clarify his spiritual portrait it is possible to add that Jański, formerly an opponent of "papism" and revelation, accepted the Church with all of its strength and weakness, in its natural and supernatural dimensions. He was aware of its errors, and at the same time of its historical mission. In the work of conversion as a lay apostle, he experienced many hindrances on the part of his fellow countrymen-emigrants, who had been turned away from the Church by the brief of Gregory XVI. He understood well the importance of their objections. And so he intended to conduct a "consultation" in Rome dealing with the brief "a public announcement of which could be of great benefit." However he did not manage to accomplish this, for within a short time he died. In the last years of his life Jański was a person completely different from what he was during his time at the university. In the biblical sense, he cast off the garment of the "old man" and, like the prodigal son, put on the garment of "a new man".

Considering the life and activity of Bogdan Jański from the perspective of our time, we may have the impression that he accomplished little; indeed that he could not have considered, developed, and accomplished much. Humanly speaking, he lived too short a time to be able to bring his work to fulfillment. He died at a moment in which his House was experiencing many upheavals. He was spared the feeling of failure, when a considerable number of his companions and followers switched to the camp of Andrew Towiański - and that not without the influence of Adam Mickiewicz!

Jański, who had a clear awareness that Providence had chosen him to be an apostle, and committed to him the tasks of religious and moral conversion of his fellow Poles, dying trusted that Providence unconditionally. To it he commended the work which had just begun, which by the will of that Providence he was not allowed to direct it to its end. A contemporary of Jański, Frederick Ozanam spoke the words

which can with conviction be referred to a Pole: "We are here to fulfill the will of Providence. That will is fulfilled day after day, and one who dies leaving his work unfinished, is as far advanced in the eyes of the highest justice as one who has the possibility of finishing it completely."⁶

In the initial period of my work on the Diary of Bogdan Jański, I met with great assistance from the Foundation Centro Incontri e Studi Europei in Rome. To the directors of this institute, the secretary, Mrs. Wanda Gawrońska, and the Chairman, the architect Mr. Robert de Luca, who showed me unusual, truly sincere kindness, I owe the outstanding conditions for living and working. I offer to both of them an expression of my deepest gratitude.

I offer a most sincere expression of gratitude to Mister Christian Zimmerman, who in conjunction with my work assured me not only comfortable conditions during my stay in Paris, but also by his gesture arranged for me to continue my scholarly research by overcoming unforeseen difficulties.

I thank Professor, Mrs. Caroline Lanckoroński from the bottom of my heart for her unexpected assistance. Thanks to her I was able to finalize my work in Rome. Here the initiator and intercessor was Doctor Wojciech Biliński, an adviser at the Embassy of the Republic of Poland to the Vatican. I thank him most sincerely for this.

I think with pleasure of the sincere hospitality of Doctor Stefan Frankiewicz, Ambassador of the Republic of Poland to the Apostolic See. Thanks to the conditions which he provided for me, I was able to labor peacefully on the work of Jański. I ask him to accept my words of most sincere gratitude.

I sincerely thank Sister Aline Merdas, RSCJ for her assistance in checking the French text occurring in the Diary of Bogdan Jański, and its translation into Polish.

In the the course of the last stage of my work in Paris I was assisted by the historian and author, Mr. Christopher Rutkowski, as well as his co-worker at the Polish Library in Paris, Mr. Witold Zahorski. For this I offer them my most sincere thanks.

For friendly assistance, counsel and hints in editorial matters I offer thanks to the Editor, Anthony Podsiadów.

I incurred a debt of gratitude toward many co-workers in libraries, archives, and various cultural institutions. I mention especially the National Library, the University Library, the Library of the Institute of Literary Research - in Warsaw, the Jagiellonian Library, the Princes Czartoryski Library, and the Library of the Polish

⁶ A statement of F. Ozanam cited from Callistus Morawski *Frederic Ozanam*, Warsaw, 1955, p.21.

Academy of Science - in Kraków, the Library of the Papal Institute of Ecclesiastical Studies in Rome, the Polish Library in Paris, Archevêché Catholique de Paris - Archives historiques and Bibliothèque Nationale.

I express special words of thanks to Priest of the the Congregation of the Resurrection in Rome for having offered me the task as editor of the diary of Bogdan Jański. I offer sincere thanks to the Assistant General of the Congregation, Father Gregory Treder, C.R., as well as to the secretary of the archives of the General House of the Congregation of the Resurrection, Mrs. Lillian Drózdź, for her work in connection with the technical preparation of the diary.

Above all, I am grateful to the late Father John Iwicki, C.R., archivist of the Congregation, who encouraged me in my editorial work. Thanks to his initiative, in the end - for a little less than 150 years later - the diary of Jański was compiled and prepared for publication.

Andrzej Jastrzębski

ABOUT BOGDAN JAŃSKI'S DIARY

Editorial note

The autographs of the diary of Bogdan Jański, published here for the first time, constitute a portion of his writings which the Congregation of the Resurrection has preserved in its archives in Rome (ACRR) at via San Sebastianello 11.

Under the date December 12, 1839, Jański, extremely ill at the time, before leaving Paris, to which he intended to return from Rome, and which he was to leave forever, noted in his diary: "I am arranging papers all day". These papers were kept in "a low red cupboard which is situated on the right side of Bogdan's room." This cupboard contained "an accumulation of cartons and various papers pertaining to Bogdan himself" - his confidant, Edward Duński, wrote to Charles Królikowski on March 20, 1840 (ACRR 35331). In a following letter to the same Królikowski, overseer of the Paris house at rue Vavin 13, Duński informed him: "Bogdan reminds you of his papers and the cabinet with ascetical books etc., which you are to keep as they have been up to now" (March 27, 1840; ACRR 35532).

Edward Duński delivered "various papers pertaining to Bogdan himself" - who died in Rome on July 2, 1840 - that same year from Paris to the Roman cloister. He did this upon instructions from the Elder Brother, Peter Semenenko.

In this way Jański's archives were safeguarded by his closest co-workers: Peter Semenenko, Jerome Kajsiewicz, Edward Duński and others. They treated with reverence the papers left by Jański, which they understood to have value as witness, the rank of a spiritual testament. Thus, it is impossible to imagine that they might freely penetrate Jański's archives. They kept in mind the words directed to Królikowski: "keep them as they were up to now."

Father Jerome Kajsiewicz, his would-be monographer, emphasized the value of Jański's archives: "Should God grant favorable conditions and his grace for this, later we will publish a lengthier account of the entire spiritual process which took place in our dear deceased brother throughout his entire life, especially from the time of his departure from Poland. For he had the custom of writing everything down for himself, and the Congregation has inherited his papers. and preserves them in its col-

lection." This passage is taken from the handwritten memoirs of H. Kajsiewicz, "written in the year 1850."¹

The contents of Jański's archives consisted of a few copy books, along with a multitude of loose pages and cards. They are arranged side by side, it would seem haphazardly. The author did not include any page numbers. Only in 1960 were they given page numbers in the

consecutive order which was then being used, and which they retained up to now. No change was made in this consecutive order, even when obvious errors were discovered in it. Thus, there are instances where an already even numbered side (verso) preceded an uneven numbered side (recto). After completing the pagination, pressmarks were added.

Jański's entire archives is included within pressmarks 8428 (page 1) to 8654 (page 1060). The diary itself, which is a part of these archives, bears the pressmark 8627, and includes pages 104-965.²

The external appearance of the autographs which make up the diary is extremely varied, when it comes to the kind of paper, its color and its format. The texts are recorded on yellowish paper, but also on light blue and blue paper. Once on thick, and another time on thin, and even on tissue paper. The paper size differs, sometimes bigger and sometimes smaller, the largest measuring 27 x 23 centimeters, and the smallest 11 x 7 centimeters.

Jański's handwriting, careful and readable in letters addressed to officials, in private notes is very often careless and twisted; it is slanted, rough, and not always distinct, so that sometimes one does not know whether in a given place the letter " _ " or " _ " was being used. We meet with spaces so narrow that the letters of a given verse cover a preceding verse, so that the contour of these letters is obliterated. A special difficulty encountered in reading the text was due to notes that were written on both sides of a thin sheet of paper. The author used pen and ink, rarely an ordinary or an indelible pencil. Therefore reading Jański's writing offered various difficulties which could not be solved in all cases. Almost as a rule he used abbreviations, that is he shortened words. Sometimes he did not finish a sentence.

¹ H. Kajsiewicz, "Beginnings of the Congregation of the Resurrection, written in 1850 (ACRR 7496, p.11)

² In the Catalogue of the Congregation listing archival material of its founders, the collection of Jański's handwritten documents is preceded by archival collections of Peter Semenenko and Jerome Kajsiewicz. In 1960, for exclusively technical reasons, pagination was begun, and then in turn the autographs of Semenenko and Kajsiewicz were assigned numbers (the last number was 8426), and only after them Jański.

Cases where the autograph was damaged are rare. There are instances of ink stains, blots and holes from an extinguished cigar.

Jański began writing his diary - without any introduction - on Tuesday, October 28, 1830 in London, and he continued writing it with interruptions for ten years. Before he left Paris, on December 13, 1839, he managed to write in his diary at the end of the day: "God, help me!" As it turned out later, these were the last words he wrote in his diary. A continuation of the diary was halted irrevocably.

As a form of personal expression Jański chose the diary, that is a form of notes from day to day, and recording not so much the course of external events as above all his own experiences, thoughts and aims.

As already mentioned, the author began writing his diary in London, where he was living on the basis of a scholarship. In Paris he experienced a profound spiritual and moral crisis, the result of a loss of faith, and a sense of life. Unexpectedly he found help from the saintsmonists in Paris. He joined them, becoming their zealous co-religionist, and an apostle of the new faith. He wished to be worthy of the name saintsinnist, and so he had to free himself "from habits and prejudices". "In order to destroy their control over my thoughts and actions, it will definitely be beneficial to be aware of each of my days." "What I write and will write, I write for myself."

Three days later he notes in his diary: "I acknowledged that it would be necessary to control my feelings, thoughts and actions daily", until "by such strict control and reasoning, by designating the individual future acts of my life, I become stronger, more religious" (the latter citation is from November 17, 1830).

From the draft of a letter written in French in December of 1830 in London, he tells Talbot, one of the saintsmonist "father"s: "As of a month and half ago I began writing a diary in order to perfect myself and in order to achieve daily control over my actions, so that they may be found to be in harmony with that one feeling, thanks to which I unite myself with our holy faith."

Here we discover the purpose for which Jański began writing his diary. The officially declared morality of the saintsmonists required personal morality on his part, especially in the area of sex. However almost a year later Jański dramatically experienced another crisis of ideas, occasioned by the division in the saintsmonist movement, which was definitely realized in November of 1831. He put aside writing the diary, which was to be for him an instrument of moral rebirth. The faith of the - saintsmonists proved to be an illusion, and so continuation of the diary seemed to lose sense in his eyes. And yet Jański would return to it: on March 7, 1832 he notes: "I am writing this diary the first time since February 25th," and in May he wrote: "I am gathering first of all remnants of recollections from a month ago."

On June 8, 1832 he notes: "I remind myself that I am writing such small items in these memoirs because I am not doing anything great. As a result, for me who wish to live interiorly and analyze my actions, every trifle has extreme importance."

At this time Jański involved himself in the affairs of the Polish emigration, which were often, and at the same time extremely ascetically, written up in the Diary. In spite of his generous participation, he did not cease to feel the need, which tormented him to the depths of his being, for finding some sense in his life. In the name of this need, he immersed himself in the study of the work and writings of the enlightened Catholics who were centered about the newspaper "L'Avenir". As a result of pressure from Rome, the editorial staff was disbanded. In the name of this need, he continued his diary, and writing it became for him something in the nature of an imperative.

A gradual process of conversion was taking place. On January 4, 1835, he writes: "I am beginning to continue writing my confession and this diary." A little later, on October 25 of that year, he emphasizes the following tasks: "reminding myself of the time spent in the last week, reflecting upon my mistakes, writing the preceding notes." On one occasion, (toward the end of December, 1835) he states: "I also completely neglected these notes controlling my life." Keeping up his diary gradually took on an almost sacred significance. In June of 1834, while staying in the Abbey of Solesmes, he prays: "O God, once again you give me the will and the strength to begin anew to write this daily and detailed control of my life... so that I might persevere very strictly in this practice, and that I might fulfill it as well as possible, for my own spiritual benefit, Your glory, and my eternal salvation." On May 25, 1839 he resolves: "From now on I will take account of every hour, of almost every minute, and I ought to write this as a memorial, and as a lesson. O God, help me to accomplish this."

As already mentioned, Jański wrote the diary with interruptions, and sometimes these were notable. He accused himself of neglecting it, of putting it off due to laziness, for coffee, a pipe, and unnecessary conversations. But he also mentions that he could not continue the diary due to sickness and fatigue. Such a longer break was sometimes caused by fellow Poles, refugees living far from Paris. They looked to him for help and advice. Jański went to visit them. A great deal of time was spent in work as a source of income, for bread. He noted such intervals in his diary. He safeguarded his notes by keeping them in a private archive. Thanks to this individual cards and papers from the first years of the diary were preserved. Jański would refer to these

toward the end of his life in his jottings. One can say that everything he wrote for his diary was not thrown away, was not lost.³

While preparing B. Jański's diary for publication, we can base ourselves only on what has been preserved, or rather on what has been carefully preserved. It seems to be a useless discussion as to whether the diary was diminished with detriment to it. Among the diary entries drafts of Jański's letters were included, which did not formally belong to the diary, and these are not the subject of my closer analysis. Apparently the same was true of original letters addressed to Jański, which were found outside of the scope of the diary, and which have already been published in part.⁴

In approaching an analysis of the diary we must keep in mind that Jański wrote it solely for himself, for his own use, and for no one else. Moreover he wrote it with inner freedom, not hampered by any literary discipline. He was aware of selection. He

³ Cf. K Górski: *Bogdan Jański's religion before conversion*. "Our Past". vol. 10, 1959, pp 249-276. Professor Górski had knowledge of the autographs of Jański's diary from personal inspection. He also knew the work of Fr. Paul Smolikowski, C.R., *History of the Congregation of the Resurrection* (written in accord with handwritten sources. A new edition, reworked and completed. Vol. I, Kraków 1925). The professor judged that Smolikowski "took advantage of these precious materials, which I also had available, but he also used others, which apparently have been lost..." He referred to a fragment in Jański's record cited by him: "in the records (i.e. in the diary) today, this text is lacking" (p.250). This is the text: "January 8 (Saturday, 1831, London) at a meeting of Owenists, toward the end of my discussion with them, and especially with Owen himself, some of his former students, especially women, hardly permitted me to speak, contradicting their master, explaining our teaching to him, and urging him to become a saintsmonist. After this conference Owen told me that he would soon go to Paris in order to talk with our main fathers" (P. Smolikowski, op. cit. p.7). Professor Górski was not aware that this text was not a fragment from the diary, but rather a draft of a French letter which Jański wrote to the saintsmonists, and which Fr. Smolikowski translated in part, preceding his translation with the remark that Jański "was informing about his mission in London" (loc. cit. p.6) Jański's letter to the saintsmonists is dated January 19, 1831. (ACRR 8626, pp 70-81)

⁴ The [Polish] *Letters of Bogdan Jański* were collected and published on the basis of the originals, and commented on by Fr. Bolesław Micewski, C.R. Cf. Bibliography. *Letters of Peter Semenenko to Bogdan Jański* in *Letters*, Vol.I, Rome, 1980; Vol.II, Rome, 1986. Archival collections of Jański include not only his autographs, but also original manuscripts in someone else's writing. These are, among others, French letters, and many Polish letters of emigrants. They wrote to Jański - about which he himself writes in his diary - Adam Mickiewicz, Peter Semenenko, Jerome Kajsiewicz, Joseph Hube, Valerian Wielogłowski, and others. Their letters, which should be in the archival collection of Jański, are not there. They were taken out and transferred to other parts of the archives of the Congregation

wrote what he wanted to write. He may have placed the written sheets in cardboard boxes, placing diary entries as well as non-diary entries one on top of the other, within the bounds of practical possibility, while respecting both chronological and synchronous principles. In this way, more or less, the notes accumulated, following one upon another in such an order and such an arrangement, as was established by the author himself. As one can see, Jański recognized that it was unnecessary to paginate them. The sequence of notes and their arrangement possess a decided author's character which was ultimately "sealed" 120 years later by a pagination that was not that of the author. This assertion is not weakened by sporadic chronological deviations, which we notice when we study the sequence of the notes accepted by the author. Neither is it weakened by the, few, diary entries which have separate pressmarks, other than the pressmark 8627. Indeed, they were combined with the aggregate of notes included in this signature, and were accepted in this edition of the diary.

Checking the notes included under the pressmark 8627 to which the general title, *Diary 1830-1839* was given, we find that it is made up of 3 different kinds of notes.

The first kind of notes includes notes of various length, which are dated, and in which the author turns to himself, talks with himself, and speaks about himself, with the thought of his own personal moral rebirth. These are soliloquies in the form of a diary, written one day after the other. The author intended the diary to be a means to help him understand and perfect himself. It was written with exceptional sincerity and honesty. There is no trace of posturing here. These are notes which make up the personal diary, an intimate journal. The personal trend of the diary was intensified, gathering strength, intensity and fervor. In time it would widen its scope to include matters that are not personal, but in which the author participated personally: matters dealing with the Polish emigration, the birth of the Brotherhood of National Service. "I am writing this diary in order to know something about the organization of the brotherhood" (June 14, 1836) - also to establish the house which would receive the name "House of Jański" Thus the first kind of notes constitute a personal, private, diary. The author himself did not qualify his confidences in this way. He was satisfied with the simple word "diary", sometimes using such titles as "notebook", "remembrances", "notes".

A second kind of entries, written on loose, individual cards, consists of remarks, observations, reflections etc., which did not belong to the personal diary, but which - not necessarily all of them - were mentioned or signaled in it.

It is not easy to qualify this second kind of notes. If it came to gathering them, we would receive something like, what is usually called, a conglomerate. What is not here! Here we have notes dealing with various things, as e.g. moral, religious, ascetical, personal and not personal reflections, extensive autobiographical notes, such

as: "Brief recollections of my past", or "Looking forward to the future". Further: a profession of faith: "Why I returned to the holy Catholic faith." In that group we find many texts of confessions or examinations of conscience; further "Motives " for a good life, and "Reminders". Also observations pertaining to organizational matters, dealing with the organization of the brotherhood, the House; and also "My lessons for the brothers", "Rules for behavior in the house", and the anticipated publication of "Our profession of faith". Here we meet with Jański's remarks and reflections on the topic of country, patriotism, the Polish emigration, such as: "National Service", Patriotic miscellanea", "The national question", "our politics" etc.

There are also letters dealing with the presence of Polish emigrants. We might add also his plans and projects for the future. Jański placed this type of notes in the diary in chronological order mixed with synchronous order. An example of this may be a case belonging to the second type of notes, a text entitled "Confession of September 14, 1835" from page 293 of Jański's autograph, which he placed in the diary on page 295 of the original, with the date "Monday, September 14, the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross". He localized, that is, in view of the same date, he placed two different texts next to one another, in the same place and time (synchronization), which is indicated not only by the dates given, but also by the page number. Another example of convergence.

The text already mentioned: "Why I returned to the Holy Catholic faith", found on pages 244-247, under the date December 28, 1834, Jański placed in the Diary before page 248, which contains notes dated from the 25th to the 31st of December of that year. The last example: Jański wrote short notes entitled "for clarification" (p.112) from November 5, 1830, as well as "organization of my future" (p.113) from November 23rd of that year, and localized both texts which were outside the diary on page 110 of the diary, where we read: "I set down on a separate sheet some problems to be clarified." It seems that Jański's intention was to synchronize these non-diary texts with texts of the diary, which were indicated, and as it were forecast, in them. However this intention was not entirely realized by the author. A number of undated texts of the second kind, which Jański wrote in the years 1837-1839, and which we find on the border of the diary for 1839 remained.⁵

5 Jański, rummaging through his papers, could have overlooked something, e.g. he could have put some note in an improper place. However, the number of such pages improperly localized is comparatively few. On the other hand it is difficult to discern Jański's omissions when he placed texts which were purposely selected side by side, and which he left on the edge of his archives. Such texts are, for example: "Our profession of faith" from August 1, 1839, pages 844-847 (the next page, 488, is empty), "Resolutions of November 12" from 1835, pages 849-851, and "National service" from December 4,

A third class of notes embraces all the notes which the author made use of for purely practical purposes: to simplify his work, not to waste time, or for the sake of memory. He undertook various occupations and matters connected with public, publishing activity. He was engaged in providing help for his emigrant-fellow Poles. His obligations and interests were increased constantly. In order to meet these obligations, and fulfill them better, he began to make a note of them on separate cards - especially from the year 1836, when he embraced the idea of establishing a religious-lay brotherhood. This is the case with the notes, which we will provisionally call "daily notes". These are daily notes with a schedule of occupations, an "order" of the day, in which he planned definite occupations for the following day, for the next few days and weeks, and even for a few weeks. "I am writing down tasks for tomorrow" he noted under the date of August 17, 1838. He noted days, even hours of appointments. Some of the occupations he noted, he chose for a specific purpose giving them collective mini-titles, such as: "important tasks", "very important tasks", "things to be done", "the most urgent needs", "works before departure", "buy", "Accounts", "My primary intentions" etc.

In the group of these notes we find cards with notes reminiscent in outline of pages from a calendar, from a church calendar, since for some time Jański provided the list of works foreseen for a given week with captions such as: "Works for the first week of Lent", "The fifth week after Pentecost", "The week after Easter", "The second week of Advent" etc. We might also mention here notes which included recommendations, dispositions, tasks and obligations, or instructions which Jański established for his brothers and disciples.

Thus, these were memory notes, provided for immediate use, cards with notes positioned vertically in at least two rows, or also in various configurations. Moreover he also used various distinguishing marks in the text, such as underlining, spaces, italics, wavy lines, parentheses, brackets, etc.

It would seem that such cards with recommendations or dispositions which had already been realized, were no longer useful, superfluous, and thus could be thrown out. That was not the case. Jański kept these notes, spread them out currently in the diary in just any chronological order. It seems that the author's intention was to use the preserved daily notes at some time in the future. We know that he did not manage to complete the writing of the diary. Burdened by various urgent matters, he could at

1835, pages 852-853. Here it is clear that these texts are not numbered sequentially, and their pagination, which does not stem from the author, did in fact perpetuate the status quo. These texts selected by Jański are united by an idea, a thought in common, so that transferring some page from this whole to another place - and that is what happened in the case of page 851, would be an altogether a priori attempt.

least provide daily notes. It is precisely these that could be, and undoubtedly were, for him something of a substitute for the unwritten diary. He thought that having preserved the daily notes, he could, on the basis of these, recreate past events, and in that way make up for what was in arrears in the diary. He did this at times.

Now we are able to note that quite frequently daily notes and diary notes have the same date as an entry in which, at least in part, we find the same information. In turn, in some cases gaps in the diary can be clarified by way of the content of the daily notes for a particular date. Thus such notes can, at least in part, complete some of the gaps in the diary. And, the other way around, gaps in the daily notes can in some measure be implemented by way of the diary. Thus both kinds of notes, daily and diary, formally independent of one another, indicate unintended implications, useful for interpreting the entries, and enriching them with regard to information.

When interpreting Jański's diary its historical context must be taken into account. Thus, we must remember that he wrote the diary solely for himself, and for his own use. In an opposite case, one could freely explain the distinctive features of this diary, considering it to be a literary composition composed of three different - kinds of notes, or perhaps "discovering" in it a new - other than a personal diary - composed of daily notes - an individual diary of tasks to be accomplished! However these would be interpretations foreign to Jański's mind.

We need to remember, sometimes Jański wrote that he must look into the diary in order to note something. At that time he might have had in mind above all the personal diary. However it cannot be excluded that at any given moment, thinking about the diary, he might also have in mind notes not belonging to the diary, but which had been placed there, that is notes of the second, or especially the third kind. Thus he could in globo consider all of his notes as diary, to which he had not given a specific name, since he did not feel such a need for himself, recognizing it as something obvious. The Congregation of the Priests of the Resurrection, which had "inherited Jański's papers", treated the aggregate of autographs as his diary. This became a tradition in its history enduring to our time.

In the present edition of the diary, to which, as already mentioned, Jański did not give a specific name, it receives the title which we have already indicated: *Diary 1830-1839*. Likewise, the yearly titles stem from the editor: *Diary of the year 1830*, *Diary of the year 1831*, etc. up to the *Diary of 1839*.

There still remain to be discussed notes from the fringe of the diary, to which Jański did not give a name, and names which were given by the editor on the basis of historical indications partially preserved by the author. At issue here are "Notes for the diary of the journey" (ACRR 8591, pp. 1140-1145; 8599, pp. 210-211) and "Inti-

mate notes" (ACRR 8591, pp. 1133-1139) - all of which were written before the end of 1828.

Jański prepared draft notes for his journey diary of that year. He wanted to fulfill the obligation placed on him by the Politechnic Council of the Government Commission in Warsaw. He had received an official document dated September 29, 1828, containing "Instructions and obligations for mister Bogdan Jański, master of law and administration, as a candidate who is being sent abroad in order to prepare him to become a professor of the Politechnic Institute." One of his obligations was: "Moreover he shall keep a Diary of his journey, writing in it his scientific observations, and everything worth remembering." (ACRR 8495, p.3; Cf. Annex in the present edition). Such observations were to serve Jański in writing the "Journey Diary" in a proper form.

He wrote such observations during his journey from Warsaw to Poznań, and recorded in very concise words the impressions of his journey, especially in Turin, Berlin, Lipsk, and Frankfurt on the Main. These are simply austere notes, pertaining most frequently to architecture, farms, mementos, and monuments of Polish, as well as German national culture.

Already during his voyage, for first in Poznań, he began to write, by way of a conventional diary, his intimate memories, which ultimately filled only a few pages of his notebook. He amplified these at various times and places during his brief voyage. They are filled with a very personal content, such as strictly private remarks pertaining to his marriage, accompanied by a remark about "fulfilling ridiculous parish formalities", about "receiving the Body and Blood of Christ from the hands of the pastor", and "it is consummated". Jański added there, with some irony, "as during the day, so also at night, one had to do things only pro forma," words which express the moral indifference of the author who, at that time, considered himself to be an atheist.

One can presuppose that under the influence of nostalgia, an inner need, and under pressure by reason of his painful experiences, Jański assumed the attitude of one writing intimate details, at least something reminiscent of a confidential diary. And this was a literary form which had become popular in the world of romantic literature. The formation of new concepts of human personality, emphasizing individualism and personal experience influenced this in no small measure. This intimate diary, written by Jański in a tone of melancholy and sentimentality, constitutes an event without precedence or continuity in the notes of the author. Jański closed this notebook with the word "Welcome!", as though he wished to bequeath it to someone (ACRR 8591, pp. 1133-1136, 1138-1139).

When Jański arrived in Paris for the first time, that is on November 18, 1828, further noting of observations and impressions for the purpose of completing the journey diary was superfluous. We do not know whether he prepared the "Journey diary" for the Politechnic Council in a suitable form.

In 1829 Jański was not thinking of something like a diary. He decided to write a personal diary only early in the autumn of 1830, while he was staying in London. In December of 1839, the author's departure from Paris to Rome, and his death in July 1840 - which was already mentioned - brought about a final break in the continuation of the diary.

In 1891, a Polish reader could recognize for the first time original fragments of Bogdan Jański's diary, selected by Fr. Paul Smolikowski for his *History of the Congregation of the Resurrection*. Fr. Felix Szreder, C.R. a biblical scholar undertook an attempt to interpret the whole of Jański's diary; however the work which he completed in 1941 did not go beyond the stage of an introductory composition. In 1958 Professor Charles Górski of the University of Nicholas Copernicus in Toruń published some until then unknown fragments of the diary in his work.

Fr. Bolesław Micewski, C.R. undertook the task of preparing the whole of the diary for print. In this he was guided by his own concept of the work. Fr. Micewski prepared the text of the diary on the basis of the autograph, and clarified it with footnotes in 1985. A xerox copy of this version of Jański's diary was made and was made available to people interested in his life and activity. Fr. Micewski included many citations from the diary in his biography, *Bogdan Jański, founder of the Resurrectionists, 1807-1840*, which he published in 1983, anticipating in this way his final study of Jański's diary. Fr. Casimir Wójtowicz, C.R. prepared a selection of thoughts from Jański's writings: *Wisdom of Service - Thoughts*, Wrocław, 1991. Recently in her work *The Surviving Crown*, Warsaw 1995, (in the chapter on Bogdan Jański), Sister Alina Merdas, RSCJ, cited significant fragments from the writings of Bogdan Jański. We might add that chapters of her book: A Picture of the era and Menezjanism - constitute a reliable introduction to the religious creativeness not only of C. Norwid, but also of B. Jański.

In February of 1987 the Superior General and General Council of the Congregation of the Resurrection in Rome decided that B. Jański's diary should be elaborated by a lay person with editorial qualifications. This task was committed to Andrew Jastrzębski from Warsaw, who was granted complete freedom in consulting the archives and in elaborating a concept for publishing the diary.

In the editorial task of preparing the diary of B. Jański, the following principles were accepted:

1. The transcribing of the diary was to be based on existing autographs.

2. The texts of the diary are presented in chronological order. These are preceded by slight daily notes, which, in the original, were written together, divided into days and weeks, but were not divided into any further fragments.

3. All the texts - with the exception of the daily notations - are presented in ordinary type, but the daily notations are in smaller type. The personal diary is presented here as a record independent of other entries.

4. Non-diary texts, in large part mentioned in the diary of a given year, are placed at the end of this diary in a separate section called Supplement.

5. In the margin of the text, its origin is noted in the form of a fragment: the number of the signature with a line, under which the sign of the page of the autograph is cited (e.g. 8627/426); the arabic number noted in the margin indicates the page of the autograph, together with which the signature is not repeated.

6. In dating the entries it was decided to indicate in the usual manner the day (or name of the day), name of the month, and eventually the year, with which the notation of the author is always given first, then - if not complete - in square brackets the remaining elements of the notation (e.g. *Wednesday [January 12]* or *12 [January, Wednesday]*); dates are distinguished by italics.

7. In the diary, under the same date, occasionally two similar versions of a fragment occur cited on different pages: the first, earlier (?) version of the fragment, is marked by the + sign before and after to differentiate it from the fragment of a later (?) version. Jański preserved two versions of the fragment similar in content. In the same way individual fragments, sentences or words, which were written by the author on the margin of the notes without indicating their place in the original, were introduced into the text by the editor.

8. In every case the square brackets used in the diary indicate an intervention of the editor. He is the source of all the reconstructions of works (e.g. *Ung* = U[mschwu]ng). As a rule clarification of words that are little known, when they appear for the first time, as well as Polish and foreign phrases, and finally Polish translations following immediately after texts in other languages, is given in square brackets. I cite fragments of B. Jański's French letters according to the translation of Professor Stephen Meller; translation in ACRR.

In the present edition are found all of the diary notations written by Jański. Only one fragment was not included, which nevertheless the author himself left out of the diary. This is the text marked by the pressmark 8601, page 350, without any note of the year: "May 13, which until recently disturbed my peace, hindered my activity, and poisoned my emotions? - Madness, ambition, lack of experience and habits."

From the notes of a different kind those texts were selected for the Appendix which the author himself marked in his diary, as well as those which, in the estimation of the editor merited special attention. Other texts were omitted, since for the most part they repeated wording of the author already included in our edition. In that case one can say that the Appendices represent a selection of reflections, or considerations of Jański, made by the editor.

From the entries of a third kind, only a few notes, of little significance, which the author did not date, were left out.

Great efforts were made to make sure that the text of the diary would be faithfully reproduced in print, and that it would retain all of the proper characteristics of the author's language and style.

Therefore the following were retained:

archaic forms, departing from present-day Polish, e.g. "wspomnął, pomięszany, sąmnienie, mięszkanie, fragmenta, strunica, zobaczemy, tłumaczyć, czyniemy."

a consonant in position before another consonant: "szkarpetki, Szląsk, szlady, szlub, zesze, nadesze"

the ending -ą in the accusative of feminine nouns: "kompanią, emigracją, pensją, propozycją, na mszą, na lekcją.

former adverbial forms: poboczno, jednajno, możebno, piechoto, po trochę.

dialectical forms: chyba (meaning chyba), posełam, jachał, spiemy, etc.

The author often uses często after a negation of the fourth case, although at times he uses the second case.

The author sometimes uses words forms such as: zniósłem, społeczeństwo, tlómaczenie.

Variant forms are sometimes used in the text: e.g. chrześciański/chrześcijański, sławiański/słowiański.

In some places in the text syntactical or morphological errors have not been corrected.

In a limited measure the author's underlining and spacing of words has been preserved.

Changes

Jański, in writing his diary, usually strove for precision and conciseness in his statements. For this purpose he used various methods, thanks to which these expressions sometimes took on a telegraphic character (e.g. in the area of daily notes).

He used ellipses, that is in a sentence he omitted words which could often be inferred on the basis of the wider context.

A favorite trick of Jański was the abbreviation of words; moreover he used his own system of abbreviation.

The principle was accepted that abbreviations used by the author be silently developed in accord with the contextual meaning, or substituted by the proper words - where this was possible - without using square brackets. In doubtful cases some abbreviations were retained.

And thus: the one letter abbreviation *p.* can pertain to such word forms as *pan*, *pani*, *panna*, *państwo*, *pater*, and the like. The abbreviation *x* or *ks.* can refer to a *ksiądz*, *księcia*, or *księży*, and even *księstwa*. The same is true of the abbreviation *ś.* or *św.* which might relate to *świętego*, *świętej*, *świętych*, and also to *mszy*, *komunii*, *patrona kościoła* etc. Words like *ks. Giedrojć*, out of context, were preserved since it is unknown whether this refers to *księcia* or *księżnej*.

The author of the diary used one-letter abbreviations of names or surnames, which in obvious instances was replaced by the proper words, and in doubtful cases the proposed explanation was placed in square brackets, sometimes with a question mark. Examples: F.L. = [Fanny Lebert]; A.M. = [Adam Mickiewicz].

For Jański the manner of abbreviating certain words was characteristic; e.g. *na śnie* = *na śniadanie*; *pwienie* = *postanowienie* (on this abbreviation the author sometimes used a wavy line ~); *niebnie* = *niepotrzebnie*; *wści* = *wiadomości*; *ndowy* = *narodowy*; *rty* = *rozwinęty*; *wny* = *wewnętrzny*; *zny* = *zewnątrzny*; *ony* = *ogólny*; *stsim* = *saintsimonizm*, etc. And in these cases we do not use square brackets.

All main, collective, or serial numbers following arabic numerals (e.g. 8^{miu}, 9^{ciu}, 7^{ro}, 3^{ciej} etc) have been replaced by the proper words, in certain cases taking into account the proper sound of the developed version, as for example *ośm* or *osiem*, et al.

The orthography and punctuation was modernized. The pause used in the autographs was replaced by all of the writer's marks, especially the period, comma, semicolon. Other punctuation marks were retained in accord with the original (e.g. the question mark, the exclamation point.)

All the titles of the periodicals and titles of book stores, as well as the names of institutions and organizations were verified. Individuals mentioned in the diary were identified, and geographic names were verified.

It should be emphasized that in the diary no factual errors were found. In Jański's accounts one is struck by his reliability and accuracy of expression.

Andrew Jastrzębski

JOURNEY DIARY

NOTES¹

Year 1828

I received the Instruction [of the Education Commission]² on Friday, 8591
October 10. 1140

¹ The title, "Journey Diary," and the sub-title, "Notes", as well as the following "Private Diary. Year 1828", derive from the editors. In the first case, they relied on the Government Instruction "for Mr. Bogdan Jański" (cf. Appendix), which laid the following obligation on him: "Moreover, he shall keep a Diary of his journey, noting in it his scholarly observations and anything worthy of memory." The subtitle follows the practice of the author himself, who used the word "notes" for some of his remarks written in draft form, which are like those in the "Journey Diary." The original manuscripts, with notes from the journey, were not given page numbers by the author, and are not included in the basic collection of the "Diary" (with the archive number 8627). They were given two archive numbers (8591 and 8599), and received incorrect page numbers. The text of these manuscripts is located on five sheets of different sizes. They were written on both sides, either in ink, indelible pencil, or ordinary pencil. The hand written notes are compressed, crammed together; in places they have become faded, and even erased, with the passage of time. As a result, there are gaps in the text now being presented, which by mutual agreement are marked by periods. Places where the notation is illegible are marked in the same way.

The arrangement of the notes, which the author most probably composed straight away, as it were on the run, is chaotic. These notes were not always dated, and very often the date given is incomplete. As a result, it was necessary to reconstruct the text, and to shift the notes about with regard for the chronology. Some doubts concerning abbreviations used by the author, and certain words whose meaning is not clear, are indicated by a question mark in brackets.

² Bogdan Jański, a Master of Law and Administration, "as a candidate to be sent abroad in order to prepare him to become a professor of the Polytechnic Institute," received an official letter from the Government Commission for Religious Denominations and Public Education of the Kingdom of Poland dated September 29, 1828. The letter contained "instructions and obligations" for the period of graduate studies outside of Poland, mainly in Paris. Cf. the text of this instruction in the Appendix.

A Letter of Recommendation [from Minister Stanislaus Grabowski]³ - October 13, Monday. I was to leave on Friday, October 17.

[October] 20 - Left Warsaw on Monday.

[October] 21, Tuesday - Left Serock, near Złeciały; moved to Pękowo. I am feeling weak.

[October] 22, Wednesday - [to Kozłów]⁴.

[October] 23, Thursday - Przewodowo; wedding⁵.

[October] 24, Friday - Departed from Pękowo.

1141 Płock: Cathedral, a factory for women's dresses; an appeal [needed money]; friends⁶.

³ An open letter of recommendation, in both Latin and French, from the Government Commission for Religious Denominations and Public Education of the Kingdom of Poland, recommending the holder of a scholarship, Theodore [Bogdan] Jański, to authorities at universities outside of Poland. The letter is dated September 29, 1828, and is signed by the Minister of the Commission, Stanislaus Grabowski, and the Secretary General, Edward Rakiety. The original is found in ACRR 8495, p.152.

⁴ In the original manuscript, the notes under October 21 and 22 are smudged, and in some places are illegible. Relying on data from the Private Diary, which carries greater weight chronologically, (Cf. November 5, 1828, Berlin), the following conjectures were made: The note from October 22, "To Pękowo, I am weak," was moved to the 21st of October, and [to Kozłów] was put in its place. Pękowo and Kozłów, a few kilometers apart, are villages northwest of Pułtusk. In 1828, after their wedding, Francis and Caroline, nee Zawadzki, Grabowski ran a farm on leased property in Pękowo. Caroline was Alexandra's sister. They were the daughters of Isabel, nee Łaszowski, and August Zawadzki, a Colonel of the Polish Army. At the time, their father was staying in Kozłów with his brother-in-law, Matthias Łaszowski, who was the village squire.

⁵ The wedding of Alexandra Zawadzki and Bogdan Jański took place in the parish church in Przewodowo, near Pękowo. Cf. Private Diary: November 5, Berlin.

⁶ Płock - One of the oldest cities in Poland, it was known as early as the middle of the 9th century. From that time it was the seat of the Mazovian province, and temporarily the residence of kings. In 1075 it became an episcopal see. After the second partition of Poland (1793), Prussia occupied Płock along with other cities. In 1807, it was the departmental seat of the principality of Warsaw. When the Kingdom of Poland was created in 1816, it became the capital of a province. This led to gradual economic and cultural development. The Płock Scientific Society came into being in 1820.

The Romanesque cathedral (tym) was rebuilt in Renaissance style, and later as Neo-Roman. In the empire Chapel of the Kings, one can see the sarcophaguses of kings Władysław Herman, and Bolesław Krzywousty, designed by Zygmunt Volga, professor of the Department of Education and Fine Arts at the University of Warsaw.

[*October*] 25 - left Płock on Saturday. 1140
 Gombin: church with monuments, new, in new stylemonument. Town 1141
 hall.

[*October*] 26 - left Gombin on Sunday. 1140
 1141
 Gostynin: a beautiful area, Evangelical church, and a Catholic church in a
 small forest.
 Rakutowo: about 100 settlements, a more numerous array of huts; fizys
 [shape], dress, peasant dwellings.
 Kowal: houses, windowpanes. - My head hurts.
 Włocławek: quite large [a city], business, churches, cafes. Gros[s]
 V[a]e[d]tke, with Mr. Palmer⁷.
 A fall.
 Nieszawa at night, U[mschwu]ng [a sudden change] of course.
 Służewo Małe, before the money was dug up.

[*October*] 27 - left Służewo on Monday. 1140
 T[h]orn [Toruń]: Toruń stone, citadel (Brusch), Festung [fortress], 1141
 bridge, town hall, houses⁸. A mold used to fashion an image of Copernicus
 made of gingerbread, population, a Prussian soldier, Polish Jews. Post-office.
 Kamolein⁹. Did not see a money exchange. Friedländer¹⁰.

The author mentions names of his friends in Płock in the Private Diary.

⁷ Włocławek - One of the largest cities of Poland at the time of the Piasts. The first paper factory in Poland was built here in 1799.

In the author's manuscript we have the note Gros velte, This undoubtedly refers to the abovementioned paper factory which was established by Gotfryd Gross and the soap factory established by Vaedtke in 1825.

Palmer - an unidentified person.

⁸ Toruń - Once an old settlement; in the 14th century it became a commercial market belonging to the Hanse. In the years 1793-1820 it had been annexed by Prussia, and belonged to the Principality of Warsaw only in the period 1807-1815. This is the birthplace of Nicholas Copernicus, and of Jański's acquaintances Samuel Bogumił Linde and Francis Skarbek, professors at the University of Warsaw.

Franz Bruschi von Neuberger (1767 - May 15, 1809), an Austrian colonel. He was Chief of the General Staff with the 7th Corps of the army led by Archduke Ferdinand. After capturing Warsaw in 1809, the Austrian armies moved on to the castle at Toruń, where the government of the Principality of Warsaw sought refuge. Colonel Bruschi perished when the city was taken. Archduke Ferdinand erected a monument to his memory, situated in the courtyard, at the bridge abutment.

⁹ Kamolein - In a letter to his wife (Berlin, November 6, 1828), Bogdan Jański notes: On the trip from Płock to Toruń "I made the acquaintance of two Frenchmen. One especially, Mr. Camolen, a young businessman from Brussels, became a good friend...

A quintal of gingerbreads costs about 10 dollars.

- 1140 A gingerbread-maker from Toruń made one large one for 30 dollars, as a gift from a Jewish speculator to a Polish major. Bäcker Gasse [Piekarska Street] and Althorn strasse [Old Toruń Street]. The house of Copernicus, where there is a self-portrait, made when he was still a young man, with the inscription: Clarissimus et doctissimus Nic[olaus] Cop[ernicus] Can[onicus] Varm[iensis]. Astronomus incomparabilis. Anno 1593.

[The most illustrious and most learned man, Nicholas Copernicus. Canon at Warmia, incomparable astronomer. In the year 1593.]

A French general offered 60 dollars. Visited with Mr. Mathiesus.

- 1141 Schnellpost 8 Silber Groschen de Danzig a Konin, 8 Silber Groschen de Bomberg a Berlin.

[Fast mail-coach, 8 silver coins from Gdańsk to Konin, 8 silver coins from Włocławek to Berlin.]

- 1140 Left Toruń at 2 o'clock.

- 1141 Gniewków.

- 1140 [October] 28 - Left Gniewków on Tuesday.

- 1141 Inowrocław: churches, Jewish [synagogue], Evangelical church.

Pakość: small churches, dams - caution is necessary. A beautiful forest, a lack of wood.

- 1140 [October] 29 - Left Pakość on Wednesday.

Near Gniezno we began [?] to sway.

- 1141 Gniezno: environs, cathedral, architecture of the houses. Episcopal See. The people are quite clever.

- 1140 In Gniezno. The silver tomb of St. Adalbert, resting on 6 eagles; the figure is on a couch, leaning on his right arm, a book in his left hand, etc.

¹⁰ David Friedländer (1750-1834) was active in the cause of emancipation of Jews, who were subjected to a variety of petty annoyances and restrictions in Prussia under Frederick the Great. He contributed to the break-down of social and legal barriers imposed upon his fellow Jews and gradually obtained equality of rights for them. He was the first Jewish city councillor in Berlin, established a free school for the Jews, was co-founder of the magazine "Meassef," and obtained permission to open a Jewish printing house.

14 chapels, full of old monuments. In the chapel of the Circumcision of Christ, statues of Zachary, St. Joseph, Christ, etc., and a Pole, shaven, and with a great moustache, leaning forward. [The year] 1646 on the chapel¹¹.

[October] 30 - left the village beyond Gniezno on Thursday.

1141

Pudwitz [Pobiedziska]: Jewish, small.

Posen¹²: crowded, houses, a dam, city hall, shape of the houses, Archbishop's residence, hotels, churches, book stores.... citadel. - Wineries, obstacles barring the way to the center, Wilde. - An open fire in the stoves, ... 2 fountains¹³. A city hall, with kings¹⁴ in the various rooms. Hotels.....etc. ...

¹¹ In Gniezno, the seat of the first Polish Metropolitan See (1000), the cathedral bears the name of the Most Holy Virgin Mary, and was erected by King Mieszko I prior to 977. In one of the chapels dotting the side aisles of the cathedral, the Lubieński chapel, also called the Chapel of the Presentation (Circumcision), in a stuccoed altar of the late baroque there is a picture of the Presentation of the Child Jesus in the Temple, bearing the date 1646.

¹² Poznań - a principality which dates from the middle of the 10th century, later rebuilt and fortified by Mieszko I and Boleslaus Chrobry. From the 10th and beginning of the 11th century, it was the capital of Poland. Situated next to the principality, are the cathedral enclave and the Śródka market place. In 968 the Episcopal See was established, and the building of the cathedral began. In the following centuries, the city became one of the main commercial centers in Europe (East-West). The second partition of Poland resulted in the Prussian occupation of the city. In the years 1806-1815, together with Greater Poland, it became part of the Duchy of Warsaw. By a decision of the Congress of Vienna, Great Poland and Poznań its capital achieved status as an integral part of the Prussian State. The king at that time, Frederick Wilhelm III Hohenzollern, bore the title of Great Prince of Poznań. The office of King's Deputy was established, with residence in Poznań. The office was conferred upon Prince Anthony Radziwiłł, the husband of Princess Luisa Hohenzollern. The chief president of the principality, at that time Johann Baumann, was nominated by the king of Germany.

In 1821, archiepiscopal sees were established in Gniezno and Poznań. The cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul is located in the cathedral enclave. The body of Bishop Andrew Szoldrski (+1650) is entombed in a silver coffin in one of the 12 chapels within this shrine, that is, in the chapel of the Most Holy Virgin Mary. Mieszko I and Boleslaus Chrobry, the first rulers of Poland, were buried in the center of the nave. It wasn't until 1837 that their remains were transferred to the Golden Chapel, which, in the years 1837-1838, was furnished with their statues. These were etched in bronze by Christian Daniel Rauch (Cf. below, footnote 18).

¹³ 2 fountains - Marcellus Motty tells us that "in former times what was considered to be the best water came from the regent's courtyard, i.e., the post-Jesuit building - water which the Jesuits brought in from a spring outside the city, as well as water from the fountains in the Old Market which also came from springs. Thus, I can remember how, when I was still young, servants were told that to draw drinking water they were to go to the line, that is, to the college or to the pipe, that is to the market, where water from the fountain flowed from pipes." (*Walks Through the City*, Warsaw, 1957, Vol. I, p. 211).

Pielarski [?], Listecki [?]. Money exchange 8. Königlich [royal], König [king], fountains.

1145 The [cathedral] church in Poznań, a totally ordinary structure, tapestry, 2[?] columns, 2 pedestals, a high altar. Monuments, Szoldrski, Radzi[ej-jowski?]. Organ, dormer window.

I did not see the doors¹⁵ in Gniezno,
in Poznań - the tomb of the kings, the parish
church, in the townhall [?] I did not take note.

Schöneman.

Bauman.¹⁶

1144 [*October*] 31 - left Poznań on Friday, at 12.

1145 Jankowice. Engeström. Sz[osa] Chwałkowska... Bruce with Prusimski¹⁷

Bytyn: a village, small, wealthy.

Pniewy: small Jewish town.

Silna: a village.

Międzyrzecz: Kreisstadt [district town].

Moraczewski¹⁸

¹⁴ The city hall. At the end of the 13th century this was expanded in Renaissance style. Portraits of Poland's kings hang in the rooms of the hall.

¹⁵ "I did not see the doors in Gniezno." This is a reference to the famous bronze doors (c.1170 A.D.) on which scenes of the life and death of St. Adalbert are depicted.

¹⁶ Johann Baumann (1767-1830), a Prussian bureaucrat mentioned above in footnote 12, was chief president of the Great Principality of Poznań 1825-1830. During his administration, in 1828, great grounds and building projects were initiated. This was connected with the building of the fortress.

¹⁷ Jankowice - a village in the jurisdiction of Poznań, the property of Engeström, obtained as a part of the marriage dowry of his wife Rose Chłapowski.

Lawrence (Lars) Engeström (1751-1826) - chancellor of Sweden; former secretary of the Swedish King Gustave III. As charge d'affaires in Vienna, he made the acquaintance of a number of Poles. One of these Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, later obtained for him the right to Polish citizenship. Court Chancellor under Gustave IV. Husband of Rose Chłapowski. In 1824, he left government service. He spent the rest of his life in Jankowice, where he died on August 19, 1826.

After Engeström's death, his widow Rose managed the estate. Matilda Bruce, a foster-child born in Sweden, remained in her care from childhood. According to the records, Matilda was exceptionally beautiful, and was related to the Swedish royal Waz family. Matilda married Maximilian Prusimski (born in 1800). Jański made a note of their marriage at the time of his journey from Poznań to Berlin in October 1828. A son, Edmund, was born to the Prusimskis (in 1830). But the marriage did not last. Maximilian re-married; and the divorced Matilda married Hertzog, a doctor in Poznań.

¹⁸ This undoubtedly refers to Jędrzej Moraczewski (1802-1855). His family belonged to the landed gentry in the jurisdiction of Poznań. He pursued higher studies in Leipzig and Heidelberg, and, in 1827, at the law school in Warsaw. It is possible that Jański made his

About stage-coaches. Kamieński.
 About passagierstubach [rooms for travelers], (Nowicki).¹⁹
 About stubach [rooms], about lying down, and the sound of horns.

November 1, Saturday.

1144

Breakfast in Międzyrzecz.

November 2, Sunday - spent the night in Frankfurt [on the Oder].

Left Frankfurt, arrived in Berlin²⁰.

acquaintance at that time. In 1829 Moraczewski received a master's degree in both laws. In that same year he was co-editor of "The Universal National Gazette" in Warsaw, and a translator (in 1827, in Wrocław, he published the "Elegies and Verses of Albius Tibullus"). He took part in the November uprising, and was an agent of the National Government in Germany. In later years he gained prominence as a social worker and nationalist, as well as a historian and journalist, collaborating with the Polish press in the Principality of Poznań from 1834 to 1839.

Kamieński - the name is closely associated in the manuscript with the name of Moraczewski, and points unequivocally to a Leo Louis Felix Kamiński (1806-1873), an editor, publisher, bookseller and printer who, in cooperation with Jędrzej Moraczewski, founded a bookstore and publishing house in Poznań in the Old Market.

¹⁹ The note about the passagierstubach, or rooms for passengers, and the mention of Nowicki concurs with the account of Marcellus Motty. It approximates, and to some degree clarifies, the meaning of Jański's statement. In 1836, Motty left Poznań for studies in Berlin: "The first conductor with whom I rode was a Pole named Nowacki, a short, ruddy individual [...] The first stations on this journey were: Gaj, Pniewy, Kamionn and Górzyn. In Pniewy, as I remember, we always took delight in the excellent coffee [...] as well as the brahmans and dancing girls, the elephants and tigers, the palms and the temples which were depicted in magnificent colors on the wall hangings of the room for passengers." (M. Motty, op. cit., vol.I, p.184).

²⁰ Berlin after the Congress of Vienna - The capital of Prussia, and the primary residence of King Frederick Wilhelm III from 1797 to 1840, in the Brandenburg province. Seat of the university which was founded in 1810, as well as of academies, schools and military institutes. Carl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841), one of the most distinguished architects of the first half of the 19th century, employed the style of both classicism and romanticism, and contributed to the architectural splendor of Berlin. Among others, he built: the New Guardhouse (the Royal Guardhouse), a theater and concert hall, the (Schauspielhaus), the castle bridge, a new Wilhelm Street, and the war memorial on Kreuzberg.

Along with Schinkel, Christian Daniel Rauch (1777-1857) played an important role in the embellishment of Berlin. He was a famous sculptor who, at the request of the king, planned and executed the monument to Queen Luisa, as well as statues of participants in the war of liberation, Generals Scharnhorst, Bülow, and Blücher, which are situated in the Guardhouse square in Berlin. In close cooperation with Schinkel, Rauch participated in the erection of the monument on Kreuzberg.

November 3, Monday.

At the exposition,
at Hegel,
the city, monuments.

November 4, Tuesday.

At the theater, Königstrasse [King Street].
At Kreuzberg. At Bent[h]'s.

1143 Kreuzberg²¹ behind the Halle Gate [Hallesche Thor]. A Square surrounded by a lattice, in the form of an octagon with eight towers, on an octagonal marble base with five steps; made of cast iron in separate furnaces by Rauch. One enters by walking up 10 steps.

1142 King....., Rauch, up 4 steps.....Scharnhorst²² surrounded by a cast grating.

Inscription on the base:

Der König dem Volke, das auf seinen Ruf hochherzig Gut und Blut dem Vaterland verbrachte,
den Gefallenen zum Gedechniss,
den Lebenden zur Anerkennung,
den kunftigen Geschlechtern zur Nacheiferung.

In Berlin, an Opera House [Opernhaus] was constructed in the Greek style; museums came into being, as well as an observatory, banks, exchanges, an arsenal [Zeughaus], a gas works operated by an English firm, textile and other factories, Gewerbsinstitut [an Industrial Institute], whose director, Benth, refused to allow Jański to enter the building, even "to look at the machines."

In view of the high standard of teaching, and especially the unprecedented success of the lectures of the philosopher George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831), the University in Berlin drew many students and auditors, among these many Poles, especially from the territories annexed by Prussia.

²¹ Kreuzberg, a sandy hill near Berlin at the southern end, on which, in the years 1818-1821, a national monument was erected to commemorate the war of liberation. Upon the summons of Frederick Wilhelm III, An mein Volk [To my People], on March 17, 1813, the German nation went to war against Napoleon. This monument, in the form of a Gothic tower, was designed by Schinkel. it was made of cast iron, contained 12 symbols of victory set in niches, which were executed by Rauch, among others.

²² Gerhard Johann von Scharnhorst (1755-1813) – a Prussian general, distinguished re-organizer of the army; participant in the war of liberation. He was mortally wounded in the battle of Gross Görschen. A national hero commemorated in, among other things, a marble statue sculptured by Rauch.

[The King to a people, who, at his call, generously gave blood and life for the Fatherland; in memory of those who died, as a mark of recognition to the living, as an example to future generations.]

A gothic tower with towers on five levels, 12 figures depicting ancient leaders or gods of victory; it is constructed with something like 12 windows, with an inscription beneath each as follows:²³

Gross Görschen den 2 Mai 1813

Culm 30 August 1813

1143

²³ Under the niches containing the 12 symbols of victory, the places and the dates of the battles are indicated. Jański noted these dates and places on a sheet of paper. Gross Görschen den 2 Mai 1813 - a village on the Saale, west of Leipzig and south of Lützen where, on May 2, 1813, in a battle (called "the battle of Lützen) Napoleon won a victory over the Russian-Prussian armies; however, the victory was not decisive.

Culm, August 30, 1813 - a village in Czechoslovakia noted for the battles between the French and the Russo-Prussian allies that were fought there on the 29th and 30th of September, 1813.

Dennewitz 6 7bre 1813 - in the manuscript: Denkewitz. A village in the Prussian district of Potsdam. On September 6 (7bre is a French abbreviation for September) 1813, the Prussian general, Friedrich Wilhelm Bülow defeated the armies of Napoleon. For this the king conferred on him the title: Graf von Dennewitz.

Leipzig 18 8bre, 1813 (8bre - a French abbreviations for October) - from October 16 to 19 1813, near Leipzig, stubborn battles were fought in which soldiers of many nations participated (hence the name, "battle of the nations"), and which ended in the defeat of the Napoleonic armies.

Wartenburg 13 8bre 1813 - a village in the Prussian district of Merseburg, where, on October 13, 1813 French forces suffered losses in a battle with the Prussian army.

La Rothière February 14, 1814 - a village in the French department of Aube. On February 14, 1814, the Prussian general Blücher defeated the French armies, forcing Napoleon to retreat to the Seine.

Paris March 30, 1814 - The battles around Paris which were fought on March 30 ended early on the 31st of March with the surrender of the French capital to the allied armies of Prussia, Russia, Austria and England.

Bar sur Aube, February 27, 1814 - a locality south of La Rothière, where Blücher gained a victory over the Napoleonic forces on February 27, 1814.

Laon, March 9, 1814 - a city northwest of Reims, where Prussian generals Blücher and Bülow defeated the French armies on March 9, 1814.

Belle Alliance, June 18, 1815 - the name of a tavern on the road from Brussels to Genappe in the province of Brabant. Here, on June 18, 1815, the Anglo-Prussian army defeated Napoleon decisively, forcing him to abdicate. This battle, known as the Battle of Waterloo, is called the "Battle of Belle Alliance" in German historical literature.

Gross Beeren August 13, 1814 - a village near Potsdam. The Prussian general Blücher, at the head of a Silesian army defeated Napoleon on August 13, 1814.

Katzbach 26 August 1813 - On the left bank of the Oder in Silesia (Kaczawa) the Prussian general Blücher emerged victorious in a battle against the French forces on August 26, 1813.

Dennewitz 6 7bre 1813
 Leipzig 18 8bre 1813
 Wartenburg 13 8bre 1813
 La Rothière 14 Febr. 1814
 Paris 30 Mars 1814
 Bar sur Au[b]e 27 Febr. 1814
 Laons 9 Mars 1814
 Belle Alliance 18 Juni 1815
 Gross Beeren 13 August 1813
 Katzbach 26 August 1813

1144 *November 5, Wednesday*

At Gans, Jaeger, Fuchs²⁴.

At the exposition.

At the zoological and anatomical displays.²⁵

In the Schauspielhaus [theater].

[Thursday, November] 6

Letters. At the Opernhaus [Opera].

At the diorama of Gropius.²⁶

[Friday, November] 7

At the porcelain factory.²⁷

²⁴ Eduard Gans (1792-1839) - a representative of the philosophical school of jurisprudence. From 1828 he was a full professor of the faculty of law in Berlin. He was the author of a number of treatises. His principal merit was the compilation and publication of the lectures of Hegel under the title *A Philosophy of History*. He was co-founder of "Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik".

Jaeger - the German name means literally "hunter, trapper"; but it may be the name of an unidentified person.

Johann Fuchs (1774-1856), one of the outstanding mineralogists of the 19th century, a doctor of medicine and a member of the Academies of Science in Berlin and Vienna.

²⁵ The University of Berlin possessed a number of rich collections: zoological, anatomical, mineralogical, etc.

²⁶ Diorama - a picture painted onto a transparent material or glass which, as a result of artificial lighting from both sides, gives the impression of three dimensions. The painter Karl Wilhelm Gropius (1793-1870) introduced such a diorama in Berlin on October 20, 1827, and with this presentation initiated a permanent exhibition of paintings. He was considered to be the originator of decorative painting, and held the position of inspector of the royal theater.

²⁷ Commissioned by the Prussian King Frederick II, in 1763 a Pole, Jan Ernest Gockowski (1710-1775), established a porcelain factory in Berlin. Beginning as an assistant in the

Wilhelmsplatz [Wilhelm Square].
Oranienburg Thor [The Oranienburg Gate].

[Saturday, November] 8 - left Berlin at 6 PM. 1145

Sunday, [November] 9 - left for Leipzig²⁸ at 2 o'clock. ~~8290~~ 211

In Leipzig, in the Reichenbachsche Garten [the Reichenbach Garden], a monument to Poniatowski, on the banks of the Elyster:

"Here, in the waters of the Elyster, Prince Joseph Poniatowski, commander-in-chief of the Polish armies, Marshal of the French Nation, afflicted with three mortal wounds while covering the rear of the great French army, and the last to leave the battlefield, reached the end of a life dedicated to honor and country on October 19, 1813, at the age of 52.

This modest memorial, was erected and sprinkled with his own tears by a Pole for a fellow Pole, by a soldier for his Commander."

(Hic in fluctibus Elyster[ae] Josephus Poniatowski, Princeps, dux exercitibus Poloniae praefectus, Imperii Gallici Marescalcus, tribus mortalibus vulneribus tactus, et ultimus a proelii campo cedens, vitae gloriae et patriae sacratae die 19 8bre A[nno] 1813, aetatis impleto 52.

Populus populari, duci miles hoc monumentum suis lacrimis irrigatum posuit.)

trade, he later made a fortune by establishing a famous shop specializing in fancy goods. He ran into financial difficulties and died a pauper.

²⁸ Leipzig - From 1165, a city famous especially for autumn and spring fairs, but also known for its musical traditions; it was a center for publishers and book-sellers.

From the Paris letter which Jański wrote to his wife Alexandra on December 24, 1828: "I left Berlin November 8. Within 18 hours I had moved comfortably by fast coach through Potsdam and Wittenberg – the latter took pride in the fact that Martin Luther once lived there, and in the beautiful monument erected to his memory - on to Leipzig. Since I could not connect with a stage coach that was going further, I remained there for a day and a half. In itself it is difficult to believe that such pedestrian surroundings became the grave of the might of that child of fortune [Napoleon], and of the commander [Joseph Poniatowski] who, rightly or wrongly, was loved by the Poles. The latter's grave is an inconspicuous brook, marked only by a simple stone bearing an inscription."

Prince Joseph Poniatowski (1763-1813), commander of the Polish army of the Principality of Warsaw, a marshal of France, drowned in the Elster while trying to swim across. He was 50 years old.

[November] 10 - left Leipzig on Monday, and arrived in W[eimar]²⁹ at 6.

8591
1145

November 12, Wednesday - left for Frankfurt [am Main] at 5 in the evening.³⁰

13 [November, Thursday].....

14 November, Friday - [Frankfurt-am-Mein] - bridge, streets, roofs. Met Łyśniewski³¹ here; at the theater.

15 [November, Saturday] 4 P.M.; the hotel is expensive.

16 [November] Sunday - [from Frankfurt-am-main through] Mainz, Kaiserlautern, dinner.... At night in Sa[a]r brü[c]ken. - Vorbach [Forbach], Fouligny, Metz.

²⁹ Weimar - From 1579 the capital of the Weimar princes, and from 1815 capital of the Grand Duchy of Weimar. It was an artistic and cultural center. The following lived and composed there: the painter Lucas Cranach, Johann Sebastian Bach, Herder, Wieland; but especially Frederick Schiller (+1805) and Johann Wolfgang Goethe, who lived here from 1782 to the time of his death, that is, March 22, 1832.

In the same letter to his wife Alexandra, Jański writes: "Like a bird I flew through Weimar, the capital of German elegance, and through the beautiful encircling region of Goth."...

³⁰ The manuscript does not note the date November 11. The notes that follow, from November 12 to 16, written with pen and pencil, are meager, twisting, partly obliterated, very difficult to read, and in places unintelligible. Obscure passages and gaps can be cleared away in part by referring to a fragment which we cite, and which comes from the rough draft of Jański's letter of December 25-26, 1828 addressed to his wife Alexandra: "14 [of November] I arrived in Frankfurt-am-Main. Not knowing where to go, I chose a room in a nearby post hotel. If I had not been in the capital of polite and formal expressions, I would have said: Let the devil take this frankfurtian hotel and its host! For I ask you: Is it right to charge more than 3 ducats for 2 days of a room, linens, breakfast, table d'hote dinner and tea in the evening? What could I do? I had to pay. [...] I left Frankfurt on the 16th. I passed through Mainz by night. [...] In Saarbrücken we made our first contact with the custom officials. [...] After passing through Metz, Verdun, Chalons, Chateau Thiery and Meaux, I arrived safely in Paris on November 18th."

In a letter to Michael Jaroszewski dated December 13, Jański summarized his stay in Prussia: "I arrived in Paris on the 18th [of November], having left the capital of Prussia on the 8th [of that month]. Prussia left me with a very agreeable impression by reason of the works of art and industry, as well as by reason of a few people I came to know, friends of Louis [Królikowski] and Theodore [Olechowski], now deceased."

³¹ This may be Gaspard Łyśniewski, who later participated in the November Uprising, or Ignatius Łyszniowski from Poznań, who later participated in the Uprising as captain in the 21st infantry regiment.

PRIVATE DIARY

Year 1828

Warsaw October 10, Friday after the Tuesday
session, I received a summons from the Council

Poznań, 31 octobre 1828

8591
1133

of the Polytechnic Institute¹ to serve as a government emissary for the Institute of technology. I also received an Instruction of the Educational Commission. On Monday, October 13, I received a further open letter of recommendation from the minister. Everything was speeded up so that I might leave by the Kalish coach on Tuesday the 14th. However, friendly and economic concerns

¹ In 1825, a Polytechnic Council was created in Warsaw. Its task was to form a Polytechnic Institute. To this end, the Council, with its President Count Louis Plater at its head, set up a preparatory school for students, which, in time, would become the actual Institute. Further, the Council secured government stipends to study abroad for candidates who, having finished their studies, were to assume positions as professors of the Polytechnic Institute. In 1827 it selected two students to pursue commercial studies: Anthony Barciński and Joseph Puchniewicz. The latter died shortly after reaching Paris. Bogdan Jański, who was selected to take the place thus vacated, left for Paris toward the end of 1828. As the holder of a government scholarship, he was obliged to maintain correspondence with a member of the Polytechnic Council, Professor John Cantius Krzyżanowski, and to send him bi-monthly reports concerning topics "which had occupied his attention since the last report, the progress that he had made, as well as observations about his own qualifications and further plans." Over and above his scholarship stipend, Jański received funds with which to buy books that he needed; however, he was obliged to turn these over to the library of the Institute after finishing his studies. There was another special fund to cover registration fees. Jański was also obliged to send semester reports to the Council - in May and November - describing some factory or machine. This explains the emphasis in the Journey Diary on factories which he visited, as well as commercial installations which he inspected, etc. [Cf. Alexander John Rodkiewicz, *The First Polish Polytechnic Institute*, Kraków - Warsaw, 1904, pp. 37-39.].

prolonged my stay in Warsaw, to the extent that, although I had informed my superiors that I would leave Warsaw on Friday, October 17 by coach to Poznań, it was only on Monday, the 20th, about two o'clock in the afternoon that, using Kwiatkowski's² horses, I was able to leave the place where I was staying on Marszałkowski street, about 8 miles within the region of Pułtusk. (It cost me 46 złotych and 20 grosze to hire the horses). I spent the 18th [of October, Saturday] completing the ridiculous formalities at the parish.³ On the 19th [of October, Sunday], I received the required dispensation from Fr. Starzyński.⁴

1134 Can I ever forget the farewells to people in Prague - people with whom I was bound by ties of long-standing relationships, a common education, and even a number of shared sentiments? Can I ever forget the marks of affection they showed me during those last days of my stay in Warsaw? Unfortunately, along with such marks of affection, there was also some stubbornness, a certain lack of forbearance and understanding, as they strove to influence my decision.

But it happened. I have drunk the cup of bitterness prepared for me by my weakness and fatal relationships with people.

*Berlin, November 5
Brüderstrasse No.43*

1135 When I left Serock, on Tuesday the 21st, my mind was plunged in deep distress. There were no incidents along the way, except for the loss of our wheels between Serock and Dzierżenin. We arrived in Pękowo at about 2 in the afternoon. The absentee landlords,⁵ soon came to greet us. However, a weak stomach did not allow me to accomplish quickly what I intended to do. It was only on the following day [Wednesday the 22nd] that I went to Kozłów. The character of the people with whom I became acquainted will stick in my mind without any need to write about it.⁶ It was their will that the act be further post-

² Theophil Kwiatkowski (1809-1891) of Pułtusk, the son of wealthy parents, proprietors of a brewery, an alcohol distillery, and an apartment house. From 1825 he was a student in the faculty of science and fine arts at the University of Warsaw. A painter, and a participant in the November uprising. After 1832, he was an emigrant in France. He studied painting in Paris, where he met Bogdan Jański.

³ Formalities required by the parish in order to contract a marriage.

⁴ "The required dispensation", that is, an indult, or dispensation, here: permission granted by an ecclesiastical authority, the retraction of an ecclesiastical prescription, which was granted in certain special cases. - Fr. Paul Straszyński (+ 1847), a doctor of theology, a prosynodal judge, a Canon of the Warsaw Chapter and, from 1836, Bishop of Sejny.

⁵ "The absentee landlords" are the already mentioned landlords from Pękowo, Francis and Caroline, nee Zawadzki, Grabowski.

⁶ "The character of the people with whom I became acquainted...in Kozłów." It is possible that Jański was left with a unfavorable impression after meeting Alexandra's parents, that is, Augustine and Elizabeth, nee Łaszowski, Zawadzki, and Elizabeth's brother Matthias Łaszowski.

poned to the following day. And so, it was only on Thursday, the 23rd, having received the Body and Blood of the Lord from the hands of Fr. Prusiński, the pastor of Gzy, who was substituting for the pastor of Krzyków, that the act was consummated in Przewodowo, in the presence of the witnesses, Matthias Łaszowski and Augustine Zawadzki.

Once again, at night, as during the day, it was only "pro forma" that I was required to complete the act.

I left after lunch on October 24th. In spite of all my thoughts and bitter feelings, at our parting in Strzegocin, I recognized that I was still very weak. However, if I was moved by my Twardosia,⁷ I was probably equally moved by her sister Caroline, an angel of goodness and innocence.

*Leipzig, November 10
Böttcher Gäschen No. 43*

Before the sun set, a beautiful sky filled me with a sense of hope for a successful future. Moving west under a full moon, I struggled with sadness and an onset of sentiments, my mind occupied with earthly memories and emotions, but also with heavenly ecstasies. I arrived at last, and almost mechanically managed the transfer to another coach at Kołoząb. The first night of my journey, spent at an inn in Płońsk, was quite uncomfortable. I reached Woźniki in time for breakfast. I did not meet the innkeeper, [Michael Szreyber],⁸ but I was well received by the domestics, and left with feelings of affection for Michael, and a memory of his hospitality.

Do you wish to know something of the history of my life up to now? Read these few pages. I am forever beginning, forever making some new changes. Will I never move along a regular road toward a single lofty goal?

*Frankfurt am Mein.
November 14, Hotel
de Paris ans Paradeplatz* 1137

I finally left Woźniki, on October 25th in the morning. It is the rainy season, and the melancholy lowlands in the southeast section of Płock filled my heart with pedestrian emotions, as I continued to struggle with the as yet unextinguished sparks of enthusiasm and ideals. The prospect of polonized Germans spoke to my soul.

I arrived in Płock at eleven. Who is the first person I should have visited there? Surely the one who was once a companion of my transports, my innocence youthful zeal, but who was also my companion in error, weakness and

⁷ "Twardosia" - the playful name by which Jański referred to his wife Alexandra.

⁸ Michael Szreyber from Zalesie, in the province of Płock; in 1824, at the age of 20, he began to study Administration at the University of Warsaw. According to the "Warsaw Courier" of October 14, 1827, nr. 276, he finished the course in 1827, having earned a master's degree in Administration. Lord of the manor. 1138

sensual pleasures. he was the one sent to me by blind fate to be like that magical rod which Moses would use to bring forth water from the rock; the one who, with a single breath of his soul, in the spirit of the age, filled my soul with a new and more noble spiritual direction, loftier, better suited to the organism prepared for it, and who even today continues to cause me to question the level of my thoughts, intentions and actions? It is no wonder that this fate is blind. -- I soon found my dear friend, Leopold Thaddeus Bronisz.⁹ Of what will my present meeting with him remind me? His kindness, my own tender sentiments in remembering, as well as my incapacity to detect the state of soul (he too is a man). He saw me as someone quite uninspired; he saw me as sad, and he led me back. The quiet Swinarski; Sadkowski, with his affected dignity in word and movement; John Grzybowski, a recent acquaintance, an image of the generality of today's youth; Jaworowski, a bank teller, a man of the old school - these are the individuals with whom I spoke.¹⁰ These are all modern people. I love them and hate them.¹¹ I esteem them and despise them. O how heterogeneous is my present self!

⁹ Leopold Thaddeus Bronisz - born c.1804 in Charszewo, in the district of Lipno; a close friend of Jański; after graduating from the school in Pułtusk, at the age of 20, he enrolled in the School of Law at the University of Warsaw in September of 1824. His father was a nobleman, court clerk, and Lord of the manor.

¹⁰ Swinarski - this individual is not identified.

Sadkowski - very probably Ferdinand (1802-1853). After he finished school in 1821, he worked for one year as an assistant at the provincial school in Pułtusk. In 1822, he enrolled in the law school at the University of Warsaw, completing the course in 1825 with a master's degree. While he was still a student, he served as a legal apprentice in the office of the Attorney General. In the years 1827-1835, he was an advocate with the Civil Tribunal of the province of Płock; until 1847, a lawyer in the Appellate Court; and in the following years, almost to the time of his death, counsel for the defense in the Warsaw Departments of the Governing Senate. He wrote treatises on the law of succession and defense pleas. He died in Warsaw.

John Grzybowski (1800-1881) - born in the district of Płock, the son of a tenant nobleman. He began the studies of law and administration at the University of Warsaw when he was twenty years old. In 1823 he received a master's degree in law. He took part in the 1831 uprising; in January of that year he signed the proclamation of the province of Płock expressing his readiness to take part in the uprising. When the uprising failed he went into exile. In 1849 he fought with the Polish Legion in Hungary. When the Hungarian uprising was put down, he was interned at Szumlo, and from there he came to Liverpool, in 1851, along with other companions. He died in Kraków.

¹¹ "I love them and hate them..." - the beginning of a famous couplet by Caius Catullus, a Roman poet of the first century B.C. : "Odi et amo. Quare id faciam, fortasse requiris. Nescio. Sed fieri sentio et excrucior." In the Polish translation of Zygmunt Kubiak: "I love and I hate. How is this possible? - you ask. I do not know how it is possible. I feel that it is, and I suffer."

1139 I met Prusinowski, my old colleague,¹² at Sadkowski's residence. How many similar sad impressions am I experiencing! Circumstances independent of us, as well as our own revealed or already hidden qualities, determine the fate of our fortune and significance. I also met a noblewoman, who revealed a secret which caused me to blush; she was a witness of an action which is constantly on my mind, and which, however earthly it might be, is constantly mingled with heavenly sentiments, as if it wished to tell me that these are only the consequence of the former.

Good-bye!

¹² Undoubtedly John Prusinowski, who, in 1824, at the age of 20, began his pharmaceutical studies in the school of medicine at the University of Warsaw. In November 1830 he received his master's degree in pharmacy. As a pharmacist he took part in the campaign - of 1831. From 1833 to 1847 he was the proprietor of a pharmacy in Przedbórz.

DIARY
1830 – 1839

DIARY

Year 1830

March 6, [Saturday] 1830

8601

Rich in experience - having passed through so many trials, so many ways of feeling, thinking and acting, should I not profit from the lessons of the past? Is it not about time to change this troublesome, contemplative [given over to empty considerations] and impotent life to a life of sensible, as well as energetic, reflection and activity? I propose to take an account of my past life in order to harmonize my memories and my convictions. Here let us see, first of all, how I should go about occupying myself efficiently, and then what works I should undertake.

393

1. Finish the remaining correspondence as quickly and completely as possible [the manuscript breaks off here]

completed – completed

March 28 [Sunday] 1830

346

I was warned that I shall receive an official reprimand for failing to fulfill my obligations.¹ I am indeed unfortunate! O dear! Work, work! I cannot allow myself to waste a single moment. My immediate goal shall be to study geography, history, and commercial law.

[Monday, March] 29

What should I work at first? How should I distribute my work?

¹ According to the "Instruction of the Polytechnic Council," Bogdan Janski was obliged to send to Warsaw monthly reports dealing with his studies and research papers. The Secretary of the Council, Dionysius Lanckoronski, called this to his attention, in a letter written to Anthony Barciński, the holder of a scholarship, on March 16, 1830.

- | | | | | | | |
|---|---|--|---|-------------------------|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Materials dealing with commercial law 2. Materials dealing with commercial geography 3. Materials dealing with the history of commerce, especially the latest developments |) | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> - legal problems and the relations between one person and another - a sketch of political economy - methods used in presenting history and geography |) | Technonomy ² |) | concern-
ing trade...
separately |
|---|---|--|---|-------------------------|---|--|

1. Principles of political economy The condition of commerce in France,
2. Principles of commercial law and administration "Revue Commerciale"³
3. Commercial geography and its most recent history.
4. Gouget⁴

Suspend all historical, statistical, and philosophical studies which do not lead immediately to the achievement of these goals. In a word, make:

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Systematic outline of | { | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. commercial geography b. history of commerce and wealth c. commercial law d. political economy e. studies of legislation, philosophy of law, ideology, etc. | { | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> exegetical lexical legislative historical philosophical |
|--------------------------|---|---|---|---|
2. Collect French literature concerning the above in the greatest possible detail.

8627 *October 26, 1830, London.*

104

Throughout this entire day I accomplished practically nothing of which I might be proud. Why? Indeed, I am inspired by the notion of sacred unity, the

² Technonomy - principles guiding the technology of processing raw materials in industry and crafts.

³ "Le Revue Commerciale, Journal d'economie publique" - a Paris publication, dedicated to matters dealing with commerce; published in the years 1828-1830.

⁴ Antoine I. Gouget (1716-1758) - a French jurist and councillor in Parliament; author, among others, of *De l'origine des lois...* 3 volumes, Paris, 1820.

full sense of which will bring happiness to the human race; indeed, it is my concern and my obligation, my mission, to contribute to this great work, at the cost of all my strength, my whole life.⁵ And so, why?

Habits and prejudices, acquired in that turbulent time of my life which preceded my rebirth are the reason why. In order to destroy these, it will surely be useful to control my thoughts, actions, and feelings each day.⁶ How many times have I begun to do this! How many times have I resolved to do this! Why is it that I have not yet done so effectively on a regular basis? I know the reason: today I am able to account for my entire past life, and can determine my future, for I know the past and the future of all things - I love and worship the great God.

Indeed, under his inspiration, I wish to, I should exert care to use that one means to conquer the old man within me. What I am writing now, and what I will write in the future, I write for myself. Today I see the society that surrounds me in another light. I regard public opinion differently. That fact will lead me to accomplish my purpose with greater constancy and sincerity. I write for myself. Let everyone who is [like] me read what I write. Such a one knows me. He shares my feelings. Let him read. I will not hide anything of myself or about myself. The opinion of those unfortunate sons of the past, or of those who are unfaithful does not sway me. They cannot judge me, but I can judge them.

My thoughts are still shallow, my mind heavy, and it often continues to exert itself only on the surface! Would that its whole life might become a life in God - as soon as possible! And my actions? How often my actions are far from what they should be! How often my feelings render me unworthy! O God, when will I begin to live wholly in you, through you, for you? Today, I still find it difficult to remain with you for any length of time; but the time will come - and that time is not far off.

October 30, Saturday

⁵ This declaration is a statement of Janski's saintsimonist faith. In order to understand the pathetic ardor of Janski, his enthusiasm for the doctrine of Saint-Simon, it is necessary to get acquainted with this school of thought, and also to study the profile of its patron, a fascinating individual. He was, at the same time, a philosopher and historian, as well as the founder of a socialistic utopia. Concerning the life of C.H. de Saint-Simon, his doctrine and school, cf. the separate note at the end of the 1830 Diary.

⁶ Jański confirmed this "control" in a letter to the saintsimonist Father, Talabot, written in December 1830: "For the past month and a half I have begun to keep a diary, for the purpose of perfecting myself, controlling my actions day by day, so that they might be brought into harmony with that single sentiment by which I commit myself to our holy faith." (ACRR 8626, p. 22).

Three days have passed. Did I live these days under the holy inspiration of religious unity? No! Habit is still there, as well as prejudice and trivial concerns. I recognized that it is necessary for me to control my thoughts, feelings, and actions every day. Nevertheless, inspired by religion, full of love and hope, I must, I will, fulfill my mission. For me this is an obligation. Here is where I will find happiness. That thought, that feeling, which in germ governs my whole life, will in fact surpass all of its manifestations, and my life will be none other than its true image.

It is already noon, and I should write a letter to my [saintsimonist] family. What joyous, and at the same time, what sad feelings this act awakens in me! Hope, lively sentiments, energy and reflection. I must scan the two newspapers I borrowed. Notes from the Exposition of Doctrine.⁷ A letter to my wife, and one to Lebert.⁸

It is 12:30 at night. What did I accomplish today? Nothing! This afternoon my mind was in a so-so condition, and I spent an hour in meditation. I was in good shape, and had to make the most of this. Dinner. Barciński⁹ came. I

⁷ This refers to *Exposition de la Doctrine de Saint-Simon (An Exposition of the Doctrine of Saint-Simon)*, which includes 17 lectures by A. Bazard, which he gave in the period from December 17, 1828 to August 12, 1829. The texts of these lectures, representing Year One of the Exposition, appeared in Paris in August 1830. Year Two of the Exposition, including 13 lectures also by Bazard, which he gave in the period from November 18, 1829 to June 1830, was published in December 1830. Therefore, Jański had available a copy of the August edition of *An Exposition of the Doctrine*, which, for the disciples of Saint-Simon, presents a noteworthy transition from a philosophical to a religious era. A third edition of *An Exposition of the Doctrine*, edited and revised, appeared in 1831.

⁸ Jański's wife, mentioned previously, Alexandra (Alex), nee Zawadzki. Françoise (Fanny) Lebert, Jański's lady friend in Paris from 1829, then the friend of Philip Walter, with whom she associated almost to the end of his life (Cf. 1831, note 54).

⁹ Anthony Felix Barciński (1803-1878) - a university colleague of Jański. The son of a tradesman. From the age of 16, he began to work to support himself. After finishing the provincial school in Lublin, he became a collaborator there. In 1823, he enrolled in the mathematical section of the department of philosophy at the University of Warsaw. Due to his extraordinary talent, even during the course of his studies he was able to teach analytical geometry and algebra in the Preparatory School for the Polytechnic Institute. He was also a tutor at the Chopin boarding school. In 1826, he received a degree of Master of Philosophy, and obtained a position as private tutor in the Preparatory School. Selected for the position of professor of accounting, bookkeeping and commercial correspondence in the future Polytechnic Institute, he was granted a government stipend, and was sent abroad for further studies in October 1827. At the School of Commerce in Paris, he completed a three year course in one year. To familiarize himself with the various systems of trade and industry, he visited Germany, France, Holland, Italy and Switzerland. In England he met B. Jański, who won him over to the saintsimonist movement. When he returned to Poland in 1831, he was employed by the Bank of Poland

went for a walk with him. His remarks about my past life were most unflattering. I will have to give this some thought. Two hours of reflection and anxiety. Tea - It seemed that I was good for nothing. I wasted another evening with Barciński - and when will things be better? Tomorrow I absolutely must write to Paris.

Sunday, [October] 31

I got up late - it was already twelve o'clock - with a heavy head. Nevertheless, I did raise my heart to God, thought about my mission, and considered what value I should give to opinions of me on the part of those who are unfaithful. This reinforced my sense of mission. It also soothed the anxiety which Barciński's not too well considered remarks had awakened in me, and which I had refuted only weakly. I now have a livelier sense of the value of my past, as well as of my present obligations and future aspirations. Feeling somewhat stronger, and putting aside idle contemplation, I now wish to get down to work.

I still devoted two hours before dinner, that is from 12 to 2 o'clock, solely to meditation. I reflected first on my past moral worth, and on my relationships with individuals with whom I had closer ties. As far as I can judge, the latter were totally dependent on my moral principles which, for the good of humanity, prompted me to make my external life a big lie. This was a direct result of the fact that the energy of my will had been undermined by the antecedents [by prior circumstances], and by my failure to discern the intellectual and moral basis for relationships in a society which lacked unity. But if I was guilty - for I was aware of the abyss into which I had fallen - I did not have sufficient desire to, that is, I could not, extricate myself. Yet it was their fault too, for although they could not have been completely devoid respect and goodwill for me, they did nothing to help me. A truly religious person should never regret his past - it was the condition for his vocation.

in Warsaw, and remained there until the end of the uprising. In 1833 he accepted the position of professor of mathematics at the Provincial Grammar School, and of descriptive geometry in courses for teachers in secondary schools. In 1834 he married Isabel Chopin, the sister of Frederick. In 1841 he became superintendent of the Provincial Grammar School, as well as a member of the Chief Examining Commission. Due to ill health, he resigned from his career of teaching, and for three years, from 1843, he acted as office director in the Government Commission of Revenue and Finance. In 1848, even after he retired, he was named director of the Board Governing Steamboat Shipping on the Vistula. An eminent expert of commercial arithmetic and bookkeeping, he was the author of a few books and papers in this field, e.g., *On the London Stock Exchange*, - (1826), *On Commercial Accounting*, (1833), *A Popular Explanation of the Fundamentals of the Arithmetic*, (1834).

Second: How should I behave toward these people in the future? I must make them aware that my habits are changed for the better; that my general reasoning and ideas, which they respect, have carried over into my public and private acts, into the total aggregate of my thoughts - in a word, into my behavior, and that, as a result, I continue to be animated by one and the same feelings, so that they who had ceased to trust the sincerity of my feelings might once again be convinced of their sincerity and strength; and that people who had not lost trust in me, might extend it to the point where it embraces my whole being.

Third, with regard to grades of friendship: there is a need to avoid scorn, indifference and partial respect. There is need for well-wishing and performing good works - for complete respect and total trust - for saintsimonist brotherhood. If I sincerely desire to win associates, I cannot hold the first in contempt. On the other hand, if I strive to be worthy of the least ones, while possessing one of the former, I am not, and surely will not be, unworthy of him; in fact, I can truly be regarded as a friend, to the degree of sympathetic unity. However, I must remember that true friendship is the ultimate bond between individuals. Therefore, in the first instance, it is necessary to take into consideration the character of these individuals, as well as the social proprieties which they acknowledge - in such circumstances one cannot behave as one would in the saintsimonist family - requiring as little as possible, and yet doing the most good.

Fourth: As a result of yesterday's talk, the resolution to act openly with regard to Barciński. However, he does not yet belong to the family, with roots in the successful future of humanity.

November 2, [Tuesday]

It is past 11 o'clock in the morning. The other night I had quite a long conversation with Burke¹⁰ concerning the progress of the human race, and to a certain extent I was satisfied with it. I thought about it a great deal yesterday. Once again this morning I began to write a letter to the family. Before lunch, a walk with Barciński. In conversation with him my attitude was not a proper one. In the evening, I visited with Hume.¹¹

¹⁰ Edmond Plunkett Burke (1802-1835) - An English Lawyer, and an expert on Roman and civil law. An associate of the London periodical, "The Law Magazine", established in 1828 as a quarterly law review.

¹¹ Joseph Hume (1777-1855) - Son of a Scotch skipper, he spent seven years as a medical student in India; an English lawyer and political writer. Rector of the University in Glasgow for one year, and then a professor at the University of London. From 1812, a member of the House of Commons, known for his radical views. In 1832, after the failure

Early this morning, I was in better condition morally. An important 107 thought occurred to me concerning the nature of my present activities. My obligation here at present is to spend more time on theological rather than priestly study - first, to strengthen myself, infusing my mind and actions with feelings that stimulate me; next, with an eye to my future priestly mission, which should consist mainly of a remote influence on my people by way of scholarly works. And if, in time, I find someone who can take my place at least in part, I might be able to do more priestly work. However, both here and in Germany, speaking with someone who is more capable about our teaching, I need to talk like a theologian and a priest - using an intellectual as well as a friendly approach. I must keep that situation in mind during the rest of my voyage, and mention it from time to time in letters to the family.

With regard to Barciński, I should not allow any one of his thoughts, feelings, or actions to slip by without measuring them according to the criterion of saintsimonism. I must strive to form him, at least as an individual, without touching the issue of hierarchy for the time-being. With him, as well as with others, I must keep in mind that I should not conceal even the least thought that might contribute to their improvement, or make them my competitors in scholarly work. I should pay no attention to a tendency to ascribe a certain merit to themselves on this account, for it is not they, but I, and my superior, who can make such a judgment. They will only be able to make the judgment when they are qualified to become members of the family. Neither should I pay attention to the judgment of the general public, ascribing scholarly merit to one of my immature sons, if (as I might expect) the individual were to desire to possess that honor. In that situation, I should rather support him with my whole mind and heart, even if I did not to receive from him even the slightest recognition in external society as a result of my works. To someone more mature I might even explain my theory of competition, or rather cooperation. Then, perhaps, he will accept the hierarchy, and will not strive for individual recognition by external society. Instead he will seek recognition for the family, and only within the family for individual recognition, which is measured by other standards than those by which the public judges.

The following are the degrees that separate candidates: 1. those who are higher than liberalists, who grasp intellectually the need for, and the existence of, future unity; 2. philanthropists who see the need for unity; 3. those who have accepted the historical and religious views; 4. those who have accepted the latter, and wish to act as individuals guided by these views; 5. together, but as

of the November uprising in Poland, in a famous debate dealing with the Polish cause, he emerged as its advocate, and spoke against Russian repression.

far as possible secretly; 6. those who accept the hierarchy openly and completely.

After dinner I went with Barciński to hear a lecture by Mr. Morgan.¹² Along the way, it suddenly struck me that my relations with the saintsimonist family were public, while there was some need to keep them secret. As a result, I lost peace of mind until I was able to clarify my ideas in this regard. Consequently, I found myself less capable of conducting a good conversation with the people I had just met: Mr. Mac Culloch, Dr. Rou, and a third person, a professor of Greek.¹³ Since I was not able to make a proper impression, once again the question: why? disturbed me. Now I know why. I know how to remain calm and how to preserve presence of mind. I need to improve, as much as possible.

November 3, Wednesday

There is always need for improvement. Why is it that day by day I see no improvement in myself? Why do I find no peace and hope in my life? When I got up today I was in a pretty good frame of mind; but after breakfast, and after reading the papers, once again I felt that I was good for nothing. I need to believe that tranquility, hope, happiness, and the fulfillment of my most sacred obligations are possible for me; that, having sanctified and harmonized my whole life, they are already there within me. If this is so, why do I approach every single task without experiencing this sacred harmony?

1142 + *[November] 5, Friday*

Visited Barciński in the evening; discussed plans concerning astronomy.

108 *Friday, November 5*

The day before yesterday, I accomplished almost nothing. However, the ideas I had conceived previously must have had an influence on the calm I felt.

¹² August Morgan (1806-1871) - mathematician, Professor at the University of London, and a member of various academic societies.

¹³ John Ramsay Mac Culloch (1789-1864) - a student of D. Ricard at the University of Edinburgh. From 1828 to 1831 professor of political economy at the University of London. The author of treatises which were translated into French and German. His main works are: *Principles of Political Economy* (1825), and *Dictionary of Commerce and Commercial Navigation* (1830). He published A. Smith's *An Inquiry* with a biographical foreword and footnotes in 4 volumes (Edinburgh, 1828).

Dr. Rou - an unidentified person.

George Long was the only professor of Greek and ancient literature at the University of London at that time.

At 2 o'clock I went to visit Mr. MacKay.¹⁴ In conversation with him I was able to maintain a proper stance. However, his manner was cold and indecisive. I didn't know how to explain this or what attitude I should take, and this disturbed me. But I soon remembered what my attitude should be with regard to external society. This helped me to recall the principles that are to govern my behavior in relation to it. I do not always need to behave like a priest, or insist on my mission, relying for the most part on theological activity. In dealing with each new individual, I need to consider his position, and yet take advantage of my relations with him, especially on the intellectual level. I must try to influence that position, and yet observe particular restraint in this respect.

I spent the evening with Barciński; there is a closer union between us. Alcohol helped to raise my spirits. I experienced both a keen awareness of my principles, and an eager readiness to fulfill my mission.

Thursday, [November 4] began well for me. I was able to free myself from an obligation that was weighing on my mind: the slight, but unfulfilled, obligation to read some of the books which I had borrowed from Mill, Hayward¹⁵, and Burke, as well as a need to return these to their owners. This led to a

¹⁴ Robert William Mackay (1803-1882) - An English philosopher; he published articles and scholarly dissertations in periodicals.

¹⁵ John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), the son of James - An English philosopher, logician and economist. He studied under the direction of his father from the time he was three years old. When he was ten, he read the works of Plato and Aristotle in the original language, and when he was sixteen, the works of Locke, Berkley, Hume, Bentham, and his father. When he became acquainted with French culture, he became its staunch admirer. He abandoned legal studies and became an official of the East India Co. He preferred to spend free time in France. He died in Avignon.

He represented a more developed utilitarianism than that of Bentham, distinguishing the quality and quantity of what people find good and pleasing. As an economist, he considered that a person is not only a producer and a mechanical element in economic processes, and that the human needs, and the status of the worker require government intervention in order to curtail the abuses and defects of laissez-fairism.

In his earlier years, he was in personal contact with Saint-Simon. He read Comte. In 1827, when he was 27, he underwent an internal crisis, developing an aversion to scholarly work, and to the views in which he was reared. However, he conquered intellectualism, accepting, and developing, a theory of emotional factors of intelligence. In 1830, while still young, he joined a group of "philosophical radicals" which had no success. In that same year, while living in Paris, he met with the Fathers of saintsimonism. He enjoyed a reputation as a "holy rationalist", and was considered to be one of the most interesting people of his century, known for his nobility of character. He postulated the need to preserve and respect the opinions and views of the minority, and also insisted that women be granted the right to vote.

certain sense of inner freedom. I need to work at this. I need to strengthen this sense by manifesting it at frequent intervals, and by unifying and energizing my life.

My conversation with Mill was too self-seeking. I recognized how such conversation can help, but also how it can hinder me. I need to examine this more closely, discerning its results, and the ways to profit by its continuation. It influenced me in two ways: First, because it was full of reasoning, it provided me with a sense of intellectual accomplishment; also, it had the character of an intellectual exercise, and so it filled me with the pleasure that I experience in the latter. Second, it convinced me that if I am to profit by such conversation, I must prepare my arguments beforehand, taking care to make them more scientific and coherent; then in the course of the conversation I will be able to summarize my opponent's thoughts and single out his main points of opposition. I can then indicate to him why he came to these conclusions, and go on to refute his position decisively on the strength of some of my own primary and proven principles. Considering the radical reason for some of the main concepts that exist in the minds of present-day thinkers in external society, how imperfect their harmony is, and how any sense of need to unify the actions of their individual lives was lacking, (something that is impossible without uniting them with those of the entire universe and accepting religious unity as personal unity) - I became convinced that in my discussion with those who are not called, I need to make it a rule not to waste time on useless sympathy with them, and to reflect with them on only a single segment of past phenomena. Meanwhile, I should go on improving my own mind, and if possible, prepare them for initiation - but not convert them. Initiation is for those who are called.

I spent yesterday evening [Friday] with Barciński. I intended to read Mill's¹⁶ *Political Economy* with him, and, by means of our shared reflection, to create a genuine political economy: recognizing the reason why our present - false contemporary economy is in error; from the sense of great unity drawing a whole series of concepts about wealth and commerce; discussing, bringing together, and uniting some of the concepts already accepted. We both had the

Abraham Hayvard (1801-1884) - lawyer and publisher, editor of "The Law magazine" from 1829 to 1844. An essayist, as well as a translator of Plato, and J. W. Goethe (*Faust* in prose).

¹⁶ *Elements of Political Economy*, a work written by James Mill especially for his son, John Stuart. James Mill (1773-1836) - Son of a Scotch shoemaker. An English economist, historian, and philosopher. Once he became acquainted with Bentham, he became his propagator. He published works based on the theories of Bentham and Ricard. One of the main representatives of the Liberalism of his time. He contributed to the establishment of the University of London in 1828.

same intention. I did not insist on bringing it to fruition, and Barciński had nothing to say in that regard. He comes on strong in revealing his older ideas or a few new ones - stronger than me. However, in the matter of unifying his life, in his feeling for God, and the need to manifest Him through every act of his life - in this he is weak, weaker than I am. Therefore, I need to use his strength as a model, at least in part; but I must put it to a different use, and influence him to make a different use of it. In every meeting with him, immediately after our initial greeting, I need to adopt a religious tone; in which case then, either he will unite with me completely, or we will recognize how we stand in relation to one another.

I did not accomplish all that I had intended to do this evening, even though I was properly prepared. Why? - Here, while I was reflecting on a response, even after I had come to a decision and had adopted a suitable plan for my further conduct with regard to Barciński, I suddenly hit on an idea concerning the way I should behave in the future with relation to external society: what position I should desire and what kind of position I should take in its regard - and I set down on paper certain problems that require clarification.¹⁷ This was not a good action on my part, for after planning something well, I should always strive to fulfill the original intention rather than occupy myself with a work that was not intended and go on considering other ideas connected with it. Yet it was good, for I was able to reduce practically an hour's reflection to some sound points; and since I had neither the desire nor the obligation to explain these ideas immediately, I did not waste time adapting the results of my reflection to any continuation of such notions.

Why then, (there was a lengthier interruption here which developed out of the association of other ideas - another mistake), why, when yesterday I had such a good intention to spend time with Barciński, why did I not fulfill that intention? I needed to speak with Barciński about settling a few urgent ideas, concerned with finding a solution for some of my present critical financial problems. I could have spoken with him about this later, and I wanted to do this; but at the time I did not have sufficient will to do so. A lack of decision, a lack of courage and strength, resulted in my allowing him to begin an ordinary conversation. I became quite, though not completely, interested in what he was saying, and, as a result, I freely abandoned my original intention. On the other hand, I was not fully attentive to the story of his interesting youth, lacking both the decision and the will to listen to him, as well as a proper stance in his

¹⁷ "Problems," that Bogdan Jański felt "required clarification" are preserved in the Roman archives on a separate sheet of paper with the title "For clarification." This text is presented in the Appendix to the Diary for the Year 1830 before the footnotes.

regard. I wondered why I did not speak with him about my needs, and weakened even further, feeling that it was necessary to examine my conversation with Mill. Further, I realized that Barciński nurtures some bad feelings about his past and I wanted to reveal my judgment about this, but my concern was not a proper one. My mind was functioning well, but I lacked strength of will, and my feelings were too weak, detached from my religious unity. Consequently, I should never allow myself to nurse such murderous *arrière-pensées* [hidden thoughts]; as soon as I become aware of them I must decide either to resolve them immediately or leave their revelation for later. At all times I must have a decisive will, take a proper stance, and retain a strong sense of my mission, along with all I should be doing to further it. Every word, thought, and action should be a clear expression of my intense feeling - for I am alive, and aware of how I am living - why then should I manifest my life in any other way than the way in which I am living?

I returned home at about eleven. My feelings were somewhat in turmoil but my mind was resolute - I wanted to do some intellectual work. I erred by not being sufficiently energetic in choosing a definite subject in this regard. After a half hour of idle musing I fell asleep peacefully.

Today I did not rise immediately - this is another area in which I need to improve. Why should I waste a few hours every morning?

After rising, I experienced a similar lack of decision, dormant feelings, and a sense of useless activity. I wasted an hour reading all kinds of foolishness in the "Times".¹⁸ I took a walk, and then got down to writing these few lines. As yet I have not accomplished anything today, even what needs to be done as soon as possible, the letters - I did not write them. At least I examined myself, and took account of my status since the last time that I touched pen to paper. I accomplished what I most wanted to do, and at least I am at peace. Such is the secret of peace and happiness: maintain a lively sense of your active life, give your thoughts and actions a sense of life, do what desire and obligation require of you - fulfill your mission.

+ *Saturday, [November 6]*

I thought about haste in making decisions etc. I began a letter to Paris. I was supposed to visit Hayward - rain. Barciński was here for dinner - before that we spoke about money (I was supposed to accompany him on a visit to

¹⁸ "The Times" - a London newspaper established in 1785.

Pleszewski¹⁹, but it was after four when I arrived). I spent the evening with Hayward and Someres²⁰; we talked until twelve.

[November] 7, Sunday

It was late when I arose. I wanted to begin work before noon. Lunch. To Hayward, and with him to the club.²¹ Barciński (Mill) in the evening.+

November 7, Sunday. After one o'clock.

The day before yesterday, after writing the above, and after a walk and dinner, I went to visit Barciński in the evening, with the notion of reading Mill with him, discussing what we had read, and then formulating a theory about wealth. I wanted to talk to him about my financial concerns. I had the desire to do this, but again without any firm decision. As a result, I allowed him to begin telling me about his past, and we spent the entire evening in conversation on this point. At this point I was in better condition than the day before yesterday; but since I still did not have the desire I ought to have, and therefore was not doing what I wished to do and what I ought to do, what followed? The result was that I could not be entirely content with the way I spent my time, and I spent it badly. Nevertheless, now I was considering his words and feelings from the proper point of view. When I returned home, I paused to consider these once more. After some reflection I came to the following conclusion about Barciński: by reason of his organization and the circumstances of his previous life, his moral character is such that he reacts with extreme intensity to every single feeling.

+ With regard to my plans to stay in Paris, as these are ins[pired] by the saintsimonists. Tasks at the club. How to reach a quick decision. Tasks in Lon-

¹⁹ The Pleszewski mentioned by Jański is most probably the same person mentioned by Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz in his Diary: "Pliszewski, born in Raczyn, a carpenter, a very industrious person, who works with a master carpenter, and earns up to 6 pounds a week; a delightful, friendly, and warm hearted person, who helps his own as much as he can, even scoundrels who do not repay him." (*Memoirs... a Diary of my stay abroad, from July 21, 1831 to May 20, 1841*, Vol.I, 1831-1832, Poznań, 1876, pp. 525-526).

²⁰ Undoubtedly John Somers-Cocks (1760-1841) – an English jurist, author of, among others, *A defense of the Constitution of Great Britain of Ireland* (London, 1817).

²¹ This Club could only be the Literary Union Club. Jański, in a letter to Talabot (the first from London), wrote that "I have been assured of an admission card to the best public libraries, and I have been accepted into the Literary Union Club" [ACRR 8626]. The members of this club, bearing the name Literary Union, were mainly writers, scholars, and business men. They met at the Club for social purposes and reading; banquets were held there as well as receptions for important persons.

don: Owen, Taylor²², talks with Barciński, reflections on my conversation with Hugo²³; memories of the talk with Zubelewicz²⁴ and the result of that talk; how to present the idea of future scholarly works. - I lack decision, and this lack is strength ened by the present openness to changes in nature. However, ultimately I will not change the plans for my work. +

118 +In the evening. I Read Mill. A conversation. Astronomy. Monday, a talk with Harwik.²⁵ Barciński. The club. Burke.+

Monday [November 8]

²² Robert Owen (1771-1858) - an English social reformer, writer, and philanthropist; one of the pioneers of the cooperative movement. As a partner of the textile factories in New Lenark, he began his reformatory activity to improve the conditions of life and work for the workers employed there. Toward the end of 1824, he and his followers left for the United States. In the State of Indiana he founded a colony, to which he gave the symbolic name of New Harmony, in the spirit of his constitutional reforms. As in New Lenark, so in this new colony, Owen's project did not succeed. Moreover, his efforts to unite labor unions in a federation, with the society of the future in mind also met with no success. During the years 1830-1832, counting on the more affluent segments of English society, he tried to institute a labor exchange in London. During Jański's stay in England, Owen propagated his views tirelessly, proclaiming them at weekly public gatherings in London and also by writing speeches and articles. He travelled extensively, twice to France.

The work of Owen, based on the principles of materialism of the French 18th century and unsuccessful in practice, constituted one of the successive efforts to realize a socialistic utopia.

Richard Taylor (1781-1844) - an English lawyer historian, and journalist, co-editor of the "Philosophical Magazine" and "Annals of Natural History."

²³ This could well be Gustav Hugo (1764-1844), professor of law in Getyndza, founder of a school of the history of law, researcher of the historical sources of Roman law and publisher of the same.

²⁴ Florian Zubelewicz (other forms of the name are: Zebelewicz, Zabellewicz] (1801-1859) - received a degree of Master of Philosophy from the University of Warsaw in 1823. In 1824 he won a prize for his competitive essay in the Department of Philosophy. In 1826, he received a government scholarship, and was sent to France to study chemical engineering; after completing his studies he was to assume the position of professor at the Polytechnic Institute in Warsaw. He also spent some time in England. In February of 1831 he returned to Poland. From 1833 he was secondary school teacher in Płock, and after that a teacher of commercial accounting and bookkeeping at the royal secondary school in Warsaw.

²⁵ Charles Ph. Hardwicke (?1799-1873) - according to Jański, a candidate for saint-simonism. In his second letter to Talabot, Jański wrote of him: "For many years he travelled throughout Europe and America as a commercial agent for a number of business firms; at present he has settled here. From all I know of him, he seems to possess a great talent for business. The (saintsimonist) doctrine finds all the more sympathy in him, since he was once a victim of the present commercial wars, and went bankrupt" (ACRR 8626, p. 64).

At home until noon. Conversation with Harwik. Barciński; we were to visit Pleszewski. Amos²⁶ - the club - Burke.

[November] 9, Tuesday

Spent the night with Barciński. An incident, grog. I wanted to go home. I wanted to go to the club. I bought a newspaper - returned with him after five - a walk from 3 o'clock, and conversation while walking. Dinner - before that only the newspapers and a walk to the Guild-Hall.²⁷

[November] 10, Wednesday

Slept at Barciński's. On the way home, I was lost in thought, and on the street I fell again. Went home. I returned to Barciński's house at one, took the newspaper, and remained until three. Went to visit Pleszewski. Dinner, conversation with Falk.²⁸ Went with Harwik to the "Morning Chronicle"²⁹, and then to Barciński. I met Zubelewicz there, greetings. Went home at ten. Lorenz.³⁰

+ [November] 11, Thursday

Went for the newspaper at nine. With Syme.³¹ I thought about the recent incident and myself. Dinner. Barciński and Zubelewicz - the first was sad; went with the latter to visit Pleszewski at three. I was lost in thought, and there he was telling me about his sojourn and return. Barciński's story about the "Morning Chronicle". He was inefficient and weak, and I was sad. The housekeeper. Cards; money from Zubelewicz. The night with Mary - only a few times.

[November] 12, Friday

Went home at 8 A.M. Breakfast, snowshoes, dinner, gloves. Barciński - I was supposed to go to the club; a walk. Came home at six.

²⁶ Andrew Amos (1791-1860) - professor of English Law at the University of London.

²⁷ Guild Hall - the London City Hall, in which the mayor (*Lord Mayor*) was chosen, and in which lawsuits pertaining to his jurisdiction were tried.

²⁸ Falk - Undoubtedly a contemporary name (Falck?) of one of the German writers of whom Jański wrote in a letter to Thalabot: "I also know a few German writers who live here [in London] at present, and before whom I also expressed my views" (ACRR 8626). - Jański was seeking a loan from him.

²⁹ "The Morning Chronicle" - a London newspaper that began publication in 1769.

³⁰ Johann Friedrich Lorenz (1738-1807) - a German naturalist and mathematician. It is not certain that this is the person Jański had in mind.

³¹ Perhaps John Syme (1795-1861), a Scotch portrait painter.

[November] 13, Saturday, 11 A.M.

Newspaper in the morning. Went to visit Morgan at 12. To Hayward at three. Dinner. After tea, to Barciński.+

[November] 13, Saturday. 11 A.M.

O God! How do I fulfill the mission which you have entrusted to me, the fulfillment of which is my total responsibility, my complete happiness? Today is the eighth day since that day when I judged myself to be strong, when I was sure that henceforth my religious love would continue to manifest itself in every phase of my life - and yet, what did I accomplish in this past week? Nothing! In fact, my personal situation was lower than it had been; I was regressing. Weakness and more weakness, empty contemplation, doting on single, often antireligious, sentiments, my spirit in turmoil, indifference, apathetic indifference, in relations with the people with whom I was living - such is the history of this past week. And yet, my present state is also dependent on the past. May this be a new lesson for me, a new condition for my perfection. Faith, hope - energy. O God! May the holy sentiment with which you inspired me, dwell in me without interruption. Then my life will be an expression of your love, a means to perpetuate your glory on earth, an effort to erect for you a temple in which all people will love you, in which the whole world will honor you!

I will now collect my thoughts about this week - a week in which I thought about you only infrequently - in an effort to develop my ability to keep you in mind always and everywhere, in the very depths of my being, so that I might more surely root out all of my bad habits and prejudices, whatever is left of my former self, and to reach a better understanding of how I am to love and honor you.

119 Friday [November 5] I spent the evening with Barciński. I have already begun a sketch of my own life here; however, I postponed sketching his, for on the basis of this and past conversations, I have concluded that it is a part of Barciński's character to be deeply sensitive to individual impressions. He has a vivid imagination; but all of his feelings, in fact his whole way of thinking is in a state of confusion. His life is governed by very unfavorable memories and feelings. When he speaks of something in his past, he does so with the kind of feeling he experienced at the time, and he seems to feel the same way today. It is total confusion, for there is nothing innate about his faith. There is only indifference and scepticism, and the latter has not yet been reduced to its ultimate consequences. Combined with his habits and prejudices are sentiments that sanctify some of his friendly relationships and obligations; but, what is their moral and intellectual basis? There is no such basis! Friday ended with me thinking about Barciński's moral condition.

Saturday [November] 6th. As usual, I got up fairly late. First, I made the above remarks about Barciński more precise. I also gave further thought to my plans for a visit to Paris and my family next year, and to asking them for a small sum in order to realize these plans. As I was considering these plans, I reached some genuine ideas on this subject, religious ideas, ideas that somewhat changed my desires in this regard - desires which I have been nurturing for some time. There would definitely be a reason for going to Paris. Visiting the family would certainly increase my love for them. But Why? How can I ask the family for assistance to realize this purpose? Should I not now be making some notable sacrifice in order to realize this plan, a sacrifice of time and money? Alas, at present this is the primary means to further my religious work, and the main condition for my religious perfection! If the family were in a position to grant me this assistance, dare I accept it? Could not this money be used more beneficially elsewhere? Without a doubt.

+ [November] 14, Sunday

I rose at eleven; until two I day-dreamed about the future professorship. Vain desires to achieve fame in the eyes of the public. At two o'clock, dinner. Hayward. Shee.³² The club. Barciński and Zubelewicz. Returned home at ten.

[November] 15, Monday

I rose before ten, and went to the library at one. Mac Culloch, Macpherson.³³ Dinner at four. Barciński, conversation with him about work, capital, and land. To Burke at eight-thirty, conversation about principles of government, fraternal organization, and the character of the present epoch.+

[November] 15, Monday

Was there a change for the worse from the day before yesterday? Writing 120 the above, I understood that I must finally put a definite end to emotional unrest, weakness of will, and imprudent behavior. Am I always to be anxious, weak and imprudent? Is my future, like my past, to be lost to me, to humanity, to the glory of God? No! Neither was the past lost if the future will be good. But in order for the future to be good, I have to shake off past bad habits. Which of them are still with me today? Idleness, slight ambition, a confusion of action in contrast to my thoughts and feelings, and this leads to idle contemplation, wastefulness and debauchery.

³² Martin Arder Shee (1769-1850) - a portrait painter who lived in London.

³³ Mac Culloch, MacPherson - Cf. 1830, footnotes 13 and 38.

Ten o'clock. How many very beautiful sentiments animated me momentarily? How many very excellent ideas passed through my mind? How many most noble and wise plans? And yet, I have only to glance at my past, at my two and a half month stay in London, at the almost two full years since I came to Paris (first, living alone for one month; after that two months with Królikowski³⁴, and

³⁴ Louis Królikowski (1799 - the year of his death is unknown; it is only known that he died at the home of his daughter in New York about 1879). At the time of his studies in Warsaw, he was one of Jański's closest friends. A leading Polish utopian socialist.

Born of a peasant tenant family, he attended the school in Kielce along with Peter Sciegenny, the son of a peasant, who later became a priest, and organized a plot against the Tsar. He studied in the Department of Law and Administration at the University of Warsaw, and received a Master's degree in 1827. For further studies he set out on foot to Paris; there, toward the end of 1828, he met Bogdan Jański, who had just arrived from Poland. It is difficult to determine whether it was Królikowski who called Jański's attention to saintsimonism at this time. We know from Jański himself that Królikowski was acquainted with some of the saintsimonists. In May of 1831 he returned to Warsaw in the midst of the uprising and made contact with the Patriotic Society, publishing articles in "The Polish Gazette." Already at that time he felt that an armed uprising should be transformed into a social revolution. In July he moved to Kraków with his French wife, and opened a boarding house for students there. Because of criticism that he employed people who had been politically compromised, he was forced to close the boarding house; he emigrated to Paris with his family. There he met Jański again. He came into contact with the Union for Polish Emigration, as well as a group of Advocates of Social Responsibility and Gatherings of Polish People. He edited "Zjednoczenie, a publication dedicated to the union of all, through all, for all," propagating socialistic ideas in the spirit of the Gospel. In 1840, in Paris, he published an indictment of the Polish aristocracy: "A pious lament in behalf of the Czartoryski dynasty, sent from the land of oppression to her sons in dispersion." In 1842, he purchased the Slavonic Bookstore in Paris. In 1842-1843 and again in 1846, he published installments of a planned work, "Christ's Poland." In 1846, together with John Czyński, he organized the Society of United Brethren. In 1847, he joined forces with the French communist Etienne Cabet in a cooperative effort, involving ideas and propaganda, proclaiming the need for revolution, and a war of the working classes against their oppressors. In an article, "Socialism," citing Christian ethics, he came out against the exploitation of one person by another. In the years that followed, he interrupted his sociopolitical activity, but returned to it in the years 1862-1864, yielding to the persuasion of John Czyński. Together with Czyński, he became involved in efforts to form an association, a "National Fraternity of All Faiths." Toward the end of the sixties he came out in opposition to the panslavists, and their participation in the congress that took place in Moscow in 1867. He left for New York in 1871.

Initially a saintsimonist, then a cabetist and at the same time a Christian ethicist, but also a messianist, ascribing a special historic mission to the oppressed Polish and Jewish people, he exerted considerable ideological influence on the Polish emigration.

In a letter which Bogdan Jański wrote to Caesar Plater from Nevers in March of 1838, he mentions L. Królikowski: "While still living in Paris, he married a French woman, who held such sway over him that the entire "gouvernement temporel" [temporal power] in the family rests absolutely in her hands. He can incur no expense (over and above his

then alone again. I experienced one catastrophe in April 1829, but seemed to be more prudent through May and June. I lived with Lebert. After a second catastrophe in February, 1830, I entered into a relationship with the family, and then spent three weeks without Lebert). As I recall my entire stay in Paris, from the end of 1828 until my departure, and before that, my journey to Paris and my stay in Warsaw, including my relationship with Alexandra, and prior to that, living with Tur, the Cyprysińskis, the Jaroszewskis and Jaroszyński³⁵, and even

budget, for tobacco or beggars) without an all-out war or leaving himself open to a long persecution afterwards. In a word, my compatriot walks around in a skirt, a slave, totally devoid of freedom, something I did not know." (ACRR 8637 a). He had a son, Miłosław, and a daughter whose name is not known.

³⁵ Adalbert Tur (1800-1875) - after completing his studies at the University of Warsaw, he worked as a clerk in the Government Commission of Revenue and Finance. At the time of the November uprising he was serving as director of the Chancellery of the Chamber of Deputies. After the uprising was put down, he escaped from Poland, carrying with him the archives of the Sejm which had been entrusted to his care. As a result of his thoughtlessness, a part of the archives were confiscated by the police in Hanover. From 1834 he lived in England, and remained there until death. Until 1838 he supported himself on an allowance which he received from the British government. He participated in the life of the emigration as a member of the Committee of the Entire Polish Emigration, and from 1838 he was a member of the Union in London. In 1834 he endorsed a declaration condemning the politics of Adam George Czartoryski, and in 1856 the act rejecting tsarist amnesty.

The Cyprysińskis, brothers, Anthony and Vincent.

Anthony Cyprysiński (1806-1860). In 1824 he began simultaneous studies at the University of Warsaw in the departments of Philosophy, Medicine, and Law and Administration. In his second year he received a gold medal for his competitive essay in the field of medicine. He supported himself by tutoring, among others at the Zamoyskis. He was considered one of the most talented students. He was an editor. In December of 1830 he was appointed a member of Grand Duke Constantine's Scrutiny Committee, called to study the activities of the secret police. After the failure of the uprising, he was arrested by Paskiewicz, but was set free thanks to the efforts of Count Andrew Zamoyski. Until 1854 he was the head of the chancellery overseeing the estates and business affairs of the Zamoyskis, as well as plenipotentiary for the Zamoyski estates. He introduced collection of rents from the peasants on the estates. He provided employment for university colleagues to whom the tsarist authorities had denied work. He went to Paris to collect materials left by his brother Vincent.

Vincent Cyprysiński (+ December 2, 1835). Studied in the school of the Piarist Fathers in Warsaw. Edited a school publication "The White Liberal Hat"; this led to his expulsion from school, and in the end from Warsaw. He continued his studies in Płock, was active in the Academic Society, and arranged sightseeing tours. In 1823 he began to study law at the University of Warsaw. He was considered to be a brilliant student and an eccentric. He took part in conspiratorial gatherings. In 1830, he received a Master's degree in Law. In the uprising he was a captain in the National Guard as well as an active member of the Democratic Society, a member of the editorial staff of "The Polish

before that, my relations with Bronisz, Cyprysiński, the Danilowskis and Ziemecki³⁶, up to the time when I began my critical tasks, once I had started to think about and to sense that there were needs other than my own, of people in my immediate surroundings - how very many experiences, and how great the lack of improvement!

Gazette", and a co-worker of J.N. Janowski. After the collapse of the uprising, he lived in exile in Strasburg working with J. Lelewel. Expelled from that city by the French police in 1832, he surfaced in Poitiers. He was a member of the Polish National Committee, and maintained his contacts with the Polish Democratic Society. He initiated and elaborated an "act of protest" against Adam Czartoryski, dated July 29, 1834. In the balloting for the first Centralization, he was chosen a member by an absolute majority of votes; however, because of increasing ill-health he was forced to resign. He devoted himself with extraordinary dedication to organizational work in behalf of Centralization, among others by editing "Young Poland", "Circular Letters of the Correspondence Commission", and "TDP Circulars". Worn out by these efforts, and the consumption that was eating him up, he died in Poitiers.

The Jaroszewskis - brothers Andrew, Joseph, and Michael, sons of Joseph, and Bogumiła Theophila, nee Hryniewiecki, the sister of Agnes Jański, and so first cousins of Bogdan Jański.

Andrew Jaroszewski (+ 1859), a Master of Law from 1829, and lecturer from 1837, then head of the section in the Law Department at the Bank of Poland.

Michael Jaroszewski (+ January 14, 1870), a member of the landed aristocracy. He received the degree of Master of Law in November of 1824. In 1837-1839, he served as assessor at the Criminal Court in Warsaw; in 1840-1847, he was a clerk for special charges with the Government Commission of Justice; in 1848-1858, a judge in the Appellate Court of the Kingdom of Poland; in the years 1859-1860 he served as the president of the Civil Tribunal in Warsaw; in 1863, a member of Department IX of the Senate.

Henry Jaroszyński (1805-1877) - Heir of the Tywrów and Nowokonstantynów estates. In 1826 he received the degree of Master of Administration. July 13, 1827, he sent the Grand Duke Constantine the first volume of his Polish translation of *Political Economy*, written by the vice-president of the Russian Academy, Heimrich Storch, with the request that he obtain the Tsar's permission to dedicate this translation to him. Nowosilcow gave an unfavorable evaluation of this translation. Jaroszyński was a marshal of the nobility of the vineyard district from 1829 to 1831. At the time of the January uprising, by order of the Russian authorities, he was forced to sell his estate. He moved to Warsaw, where he died. Henry Jaroszyński's brother, Edward, was a close friend of Zygmunt Krasiński. Bogdan Jański considered Henry to be a very close friend.

³⁶ Leopold Thaddeus Bronisz - Cf. footnote 9 of the Private Diary.

The Danilowskis - companions of Jański's youth. One of them, Joseph Danilowski (1809-1847), was from Pultusk. He participated in the November uprising as a captain in the rifle brigade. From 1832 he was an emigrant in France.

Ziemecki - This could possibly be John Ziemecki, who, at the age of 22, enrolled in the Department of Fine Arts at the University of Warsaw in September of 1820. In 1825 he received the degree of Master of Architecture and Surveying; in 1829 he worked as a territorial engineer, and later as a provincial engineer in Radom.

There is some progress here, even some great and rapid progress; in fact, progress in the most radical reason for such, and no other, life - in feelings and in theories. Moreover, I eliminated holiness from all my obligations, that is, what external society regards as holy. Moreover my actions paid no attention to the counsel of experience: that my life was full of confusion, great turmoil, weakness and imprudence - this too was a condition for this progress in my feelings. Yet, today feeling and theory cannot, and will not, see any further change, only progress. I have now come to believe. As a result, I wish to honor the great God, the knowledge, love and worship of whom embrace all that a person can possibly desire. He is the source of all happiness and responsibility, of the most perfect Person, a Person with an unlimited future. It is with the full force of faith, conviction, and sympathy that I feel and desire what I say that I feel and desire.

I have erred! Just now I erred, when I wished to make the counsel based on past experience the source of future improvement; indeed, that concept belongs to my past. The very fact that I could only count on my experience explains why, in spite of all such experience, until now I never made any improvement. I paid no attention to the deep feelings, profound thoughts, and great hopes which would have effected a complete change for the better in me - down to even the least aspect of my life. I erred yesterday, when I allowed myself to be overcome by grief, by a sense of my own weakness, and when, by means of recalling my past, I tried to establish some definite partial principles to govern my behavior, some particular ways to improve. O God! Once again I forgot about you! How difficult it is to pass from a life that is devoid of faith and worship to a life that is inspired by religion!

Should not the pure and simple elevation of sentiment to my God, the God of my future, along with a simple reminder of my mission, be sufficient to bring peace, comfort and discernment into my life? Should my past not be justified in this way, and my future filled with life, wisdom and power?

I need, yes, I need to unify my life and set it in order. I need to exterminate the irreligious sentiments present within me, and see to it that my thinking is both orderly and scientific, and that my behavior is prudent. I need to exert very strict control over each day of my past life, and at the same time to employ the strictest reasoning to decide beforehand what each day of my future is to be like. I must be convinced that I cannot neglect this means to improve my life. I should not, I will not, neglect it. However, not because I once momentarily experienced beautiful sentiments and noble thoughts, for my behavior has never corresponded to these. And not in order to benefit by counsel based on personal experience, but rather because I know, love and worship the great God; because religious sentiments govern all of my thoughts, feelings and interests. This is

not due to personal conviction, or to any vision of my personal life and the corresponding sentiments, but rather to the revelation of all that exists, all that directs, regulates and forms my entire life.

Peace to the past. I wish to enter, in fact I do enter, a future full of life, wisdom, and power. All my past dreams, all the idols of my younger days, I leave you behind forever. I no longer seek scholarly titles, fame in my native land, joy in dissolute company, the embrace of a prostitute, dancing to a lively tune, or the lure of riches. These are no longer for me! I leave you: academies and boudoirs, drawing rooms and parliaments, and revelling in philanthropy. The lifeless temples of humanity are now too small for me. Now I wish to live in the temple of the great God, and to call all humanity to follow me into this temple of God which is everything. In this temple I find all that I had loved most rapturously, all that I had considered to be most true, all the most beautiful things that I once wished to accomplish. Now, all my desires are satisfied; all of my thoughts and actions are invigorated and integrated.

123 And so, peace to the past, since for me it gave birth to such a beautiful future. Error, restlessness, weakness and imprudence are no longer possible for me, because where I live, and in the way I live, there is harmony, power and wisdom. For I love the true God, and His love embraces all of life's charm, everything a person can and should want, all that concerns me, all that obliges me. It is impossible for error to exist in me. I could possibly forget who I am, or that I have made mistakes; yet this does not come from me. My will, my whole life, should be a manifestation of God. I write: "should be," for I do not yet venture to write: "is an expression of God." The deed and the will, born of love for the true God, cannot be erroneous. Already, in advance, I know the cause of the error I am capable of committing. Despair, anxiety, or weakness can never follow upon such an error. I need only raise my heart to God and error becomes the condition for good; the correction has already been made. From now on, can my sentiments, can my life, be other than religious?

115 + *[November] 16, Tuesday*

Reflection on my conversation with Burke. Rain, and once again day-dreams. Dinner. Zubelewicz, and the evening with Barciński. A fall.+

[November] 17, Wednesday, 10 A.M.

After writing the above the other day, I was not in the mood for writing letters. Went to the library. On the way, I gave further thought to the past week: Why, in that time, did I not live as I should? Why wasn't every moment of my life animated by religious fervor? Why did I forget about God? Because I did not strive to make every thought and deed an intense manifestation of my

religious sentiment. But why did I fail to manifest this sentiment? Precisely because I had forgotten about God, and my religious sentiment was not sufficiently intense. What conclusion should I draw from this? That my organic sentiment should inspire every act of my life, and should continue to animate me. Once imbued with this sentiment, having renewed it, and having been reborn by means of it, I must make sure that I do not withdraw from its influence for even a single moment. Then, immediately and beforehand, I must designate its manner of expression within a certain period of time. Moreover, I must specify how I will spend one or another day; and after these days have passed, I must render an account of them. Then, once again, under the influence of this holy sentiment, I must designate the order of my thoughts and actions beforehand, so that by means of strict control of my past actions, by planning and specifying individual future actions of my life, I might become stronger and more religious.

+ [*Wednesday, November*] 17

I Left for home at eight. I began my diary. I gave some thought to future projects in Warsaw, lectures at the Welfare Institute, at the Recourse³⁷, at the University. I slept. Hat. Barciński. At Barciński's place, a discussion about net profit and prices. Went home. Tea. Whist.+

[*November*] 18, *Thursday, 10:30 in the morning.*

124

Yesterday passed without accomplishing anything. Lack of a decision on the part of the will and weakness. Here I would like to continue what I began yesterday.

A few days ago, on Monday [November 15], once again I thought about my relations with the external society, especially with reference to sexual functions. I came to the conclusion that, here too, I can expect true delights only to the extent that I can have this type of relations with one or more women who are faithful. While in the library, I skimmed the editions of Smith prepared by Mac Culloch, and MacPherson's³⁸ *Annals of Commerce*. Although I spent only a

³⁷ The Welfare Institute - the Warsaw Welfare Society established in 1814 in Warsaw, an philanthropic Institute whose purpose was to provide material aid for the poor, and also the building where persons cared for by the Institute lived.

Recourse - a local social club. The Mercantile Recourse functioned in the area of Warsaw from 1821. The New Recourse was established in 1827; members included scholars, artists, owners of land or houses in Warsaw, as well as merchants, accountants, business agents, and manufacturers. Jański may have had this New Recourse in mind.

³⁸ Adam Smith (1723-1790) - English economist, and one of the architects of classical economy in England; an advocate of economic liberalism, a concept of natural order (the

few hours at this task, and actually obtained a surface knowledge of these works, I would have profited more had I immediately put down on paper the information acquired and my observations. On my way home, I intended to stop at two houses of prostitution to search for an umbrella which I lost the other day. Financial concern counselled me to do this. However, the shame of renewing such dishonorable acquaintances, together with a sense of my own dignity, and perhaps, in part, weakness of will urged me to drop the idea - yet, in the end I decided to add further to the financial and physical waste incurred by my lapse on Saturday!

Dinner, after tea to Barciński. Discussion about land and capital. I, a person who is considered to be dedicated primarily to the study of political economy, need, desperately need, to put in order, settle, and formulate some of my sainsimonist ideas on that subject. At seven to Burke. There I met Mr. Neate.³⁹ We talked about: recent events in France⁴⁰, principles of government, the organization of society, the nature of this present epoch and the status of the working class, especially in England. The questions were not arranged in right order, nor were they stated with proper precision. Finally, I was not at my best intellectually. As a result, we reached no definite conclusions, and I ran on about things that need not have been mentioned, so that I am undoubtedly regarded as a "reveur," an "esprit inquiet" [dreamer, a restless soul], without a proper education.

law of nature). Initially he taught literature and rhetoric in Edinburgh; from 1751, professor of logic, and from 1752, professor of moral philosophy in Glasgow. Mac Culloch, cf. above, footnote 13.

David MacPherson - an English economist, author of *Annals of Commerce...* vol.4, London, 1804. In this work, the author published statistics for the most important commercial departments in 1795.

³⁹ Charles Neate (1806-1879) - a lawyer, economist and politician from Lincoln's Inn in London.

⁴⁰ A reference to the July 1830 Revolution, and its consequences. On July 26, King Charles X, a firm advocate of reaction, issued the so-called "ordonanse", which announced the dissolution of the House of Deputies, new elections with certain restrictions (e.g., decreasing the number of deputies, and depriving portions of society of their right to vote), and the restoration of censorship. The outraged citizens of Paris protested against this violation of the Constitution of 1814, and started a revolution that lasted three days (July 27-29) and took over control of the city. As a result, Charles X abdicated, and left France for Edinburgh. On August 7, 1830, Louis Philip, the Prince of Orleans, was proclaimed "King of France" in Paris. The July Revolution evoked a socio-political resonance: a part of the Belgian Kingdom of Nederland, where, on October 4, the independence of Belgium as a sovereign and independent monarchy was announced. Indirectly, this influenced the November uprising in the Kingdom of Poland.

Tuesday morning [November 16]. Reflected first on my conversation with Burke, and recognized that I made a big mistake, both by getting involved in that conversation, and by directing it the way I did. First, I did not keep my resolution: to avoid entering into an initial conversation with people who are not prepared, that is, people whose sentiments are not in sympathy with our cause. Second, even if they were somewhat prepared, or at least not very much opposed, the conversation could not be carried on except along scientific lines, using arguments supported by specific facts - and I am convinced that in this respect I have a long way to go. Therefore, I should have settled upon topics of lesser importance, which would have been more pleasant for them and more profitable for me. Third, since there was no strong decision of the will on my part, or a proper state of mind, I definitely should not have touched on such matters. But it happened - and now I feel even more strongly what I should have felt then: the way to accomplish my mission, which is indicated by its very nature. Further, on Tuesday I pondered the need to understand eastern legislation, and went on to think about my historical projects until one o'clock. Dinner. There was a heavy rain. I had promised to visit Zubelewicz in order to go to the parliament⁴¹ with him. In spite of the rain I wished to keep my promise, and so I went. Zubelewicz changed the plans, and so I remained with Barciński. Once again we talked about political economy; and once again felt the same need in this regard as I did yesterday. When Zubelewicz and Barciński went to dinner, I took another helping of alcohol, and this lifted my spirits somewhat. I thought about yesterday's conversation, and in general about ways to reconcile myself with external society. Having raised my heart to God, and remembering the family, I was humbled by my weakness, and felt animated to adopt a constant manner of conduct inspired by love.

+ [November] 18, Thursday

Breakfast at nine; at 10:30 to the diary. At 12 I visited Mac Culloch, and spoke with him about political economy in our country, as well as in Germany, France and England, and about statistics. At 1:30 I visited Mackay. We spoke of the cholera-morbus [the epidemic of cholera]⁴²; I borrowed Smith. I left for

⁴¹ Parliament - The meeting place for the House of Commons in Westminster Hall, and the seat of the High Court.

⁴² In 1830-1831, an epidemic of cholera, which began in Orenburg in 1829, swept across Russia, and moved on into Europe, arriving in France from England in 1832. Many articles and publications dealing with this epidemic appeared in England and France. Jański refers to this event in the article *Le Choléra-morbus et les empereurs d'Autriche et de Russie*, which was printed in "Le Globe" (1831, nr. 212).

home at three, and read a little of Smith. I spent the evening with Hayward. I was depressed. Our conversation dealt with saintsimonism.

[November] 19, Friday

A sad situation. I rose late, went to get a newspaper at twelve, was back home at one, and day-dreamed until three. At 3:30 downhill. Arak. Harwik. I went out to look for a girl, and remained with her from 6 to 8:30. Went to visit Barciński and slept for an hour. We spoke of the nobility etc.

[November] 20, Saturday

I went out at eleven with the library in mind, but it was closed; to the club, the "Revue Encyclopedique," Schlegel.⁴³ At 2:30 I went to see Barciński. We talked about his status, as well as his intentions with regard to saintsimonism. Dinner. Rum. Hayward. To Cary⁴⁴, and spent the evening there. A feast; a bad mood.

[November] 21, Sunday

I rose at ten. At eleven I went out intending to visit Owen. Met Barciński and Zubelewicz, and went with them to St. James Park, and stayed there until one. We talked about the reform of Parliament, Napoleon, etc. I spoke with Barciński about my wastefulness; his response was degrading. Dinner. Rum. At four a few verses concerning my memories here. Tea at five with Falk at the Strand. To Barciński at 6:30; we spoke about his joining me in the course of the next half year. At eleven home. Supper.

[November] 22, Monday

Arose at ten in good condition. Breakfast. Newspaper. Meditation. To Hayward at one, to Senior, and then to Tufnel.⁴⁵ (Thought about moving; to the

⁴³ "Revue Encyclopédique" - a monthly review, one of the most dignified French, or even european, magazines, printing 60,000 copies. Its founder and editor-in-chief was Jullien de Paris (actually Marc-Antoine Jullien). From 1818 the full title of the periodical was: "Revue Encyclopedique ou Analyses Raisonnées des Productions les plus Remarquables dans la Littérature, les Sciences et les Arts."

Schlegel - famous name of two German brothers: August Wilhelm (1767-1845) - a writer, linguist, and translator (among others, of Shakespeare); one of the creators of Indian philology; lived in London, where he studied Sanskrit - and Friedrich (1772-1829) a philosopher, writer, and translator of ancient Indian literature.

⁴⁴ Henri Cary (1804-1870) - a London jurist.

⁴⁵ Nassau William Senior (1790-1864) - a teacher of political economy; in the years 1825-1833 a professor at Oxford; author of a new form of political memoirs.

Henry Tufnell (1805-1854) - An English jurist and politician.

club - a French newspaper). Dinner. Barciński; talked with him about his status, about my idea. Came home at eleven. After supper Mac Culloch about taxes.

[November] 23, Tuesday

Got up at nine; breakfast and the newspaper until 10:30. Took a letter to my wife to the post office. To Barciński; talked about political events today. Barciński wants to be active, if the action is in Poland. - Sad, because in the letter to my wife I lied about my motive for a quick return. Dinner. At home in the evening; a few lines about organizing my future.⁴⁶

[November] 24, Wednesday

Rose at ten. Breakfast. To the library. I read Chitty.⁴⁷ Felt better. To Hayward, and went with him to Cooper;⁴⁸ he was out. I Went back with Hayward; got along with him quite well, but not on the proper level. Spent a half hour thinking about my work, myself, the need to arrange and resolve some legal questions. Dinner. Pipe. Read Vincens.⁴⁹ Tea. Meeting with the latest girl. To Barciński. He is always so stagnant. I did not act properly. I Need to shake him up, and either learn something from him, or stimulate him. Cards. Home in good condition, feeling a need for a quick decision. Supper. I read a little of Mill. +

[November] 25, Thursday

130

Got up at nine; was in the library before eleven. First a search of the catalogues. Indecision about my work. I have before me the "Law Magazine" and Blackstone.⁵⁰ The clock strikes twelve. I put aside Blackstone and the "Law Magazine." I would like to enter into myself and restore

⁴⁶ The text with the title "The organization of my future" is located under point II in the Appendix to the Diary, Year 1830.

⁴⁷ Joseph Chitty (1776-1841) - an English jurist and writer.

⁴⁸ Charles Purton Cooper (1893-1873) - an English jurist and writer, a lawyer and bookseller. Bogdan Jański wrote of him to Thalabot: "I became acquainted with the lawyer Cooper, whose literary fame us undoubtedly known to you (the saintsimonist Fathers). The latter invited me to use his library, very rich in books in all modern languages on the topic of the history and legislation of all countries. I am taking advantage of his invitation" (ACRR 8626,p.23). It is possible that Jański did not realize that it was James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851), an American novelist, who was enjoying "literary fame" at the time.

⁴⁹ Emill-Maria-Antoine Vincens (1764-1850) - a French economist, author, among others, of a three-volume work entitled: *Exposition raisonné de la legislation commerciale*, Paris 1821.

⁵⁰ Blackstone - Cf. footnote 52 below.

harmony to my feelings. I returned to Blackstone and the "Law Magazine." Left the library at four. Thoughts about arrangements for the evening, my legal studies and relations with acquaintances. Dinner. A dream. Barciński was in a bad, I in a good, frame of mind. Felt a need to write to the family. Left him at eleven. Erred by not keeping my resolution. First fall - 6 sou, the second - 5 sou. Went home in bad humor.

[November] 25, Thursday

A week passed, and once again I have neglected to fulfill the plans I made with such strong determination - plans which could, in fact, greatly contribute to my improvement - I have written nothing here about myself. I did not live constantly with God and by God. My active and intellectual life was not a harmonious reflection of my religious sentiment. How much wasted time; how many antireligious sentiments and actions in the course of this week!

I am now in the British Museum.⁵¹ A few legal volumes lie open before me. It is 12:30. It was only a short while ago that my thoughts and my feelings were: never again anxiety, never again weakness of will; always hope, and a quick decision; always occupy yourself always with something definite. But can such strength of will and such activity fill me with peace if it is not the outgrowth of my religious sentiment? Can that joy, that hope, that peace be alive and permanent in me if it is something other than religious? Yes, I will be strong, peaceful, and prudent only if I am religious in each and every action of my life; only if I conquer the habits and prejudices of my past; only if I completely suppress the sentiments which sprang from it. If I continue to be animated by one great and holy sentiment, with a sense of my mission, I will generate in thought and act, within my whole being, a great and holy harmony, along with power and wisdom.

Why does this past week seem to be so far away for me? I need to remind myself about what happened in this time, what I did yesterday, in the same way that I remember information about the Romans or Greeks which I learned in

⁵¹ The British Museum was established in 1753, and, at the time, was the only institution in London with free admission. It included works of art, scientific collections, a library, and the like. In his book entitled *England and Scotland, Memoirs from a journey in the years 1820-1824*, which was published in Warsaw in 1828, Krystyn Lach-Szyrma wrote: "The library occupies a considerable part of the building. The public does not have direct access to it; and rightly so, for a simple view of the exterior of books has no value. There is a reading room, where any of the books is available. A person who desires a particular book has only to present the title of this book on a card with his signature. But not everyone without exception is admitted there. A letter of recommendation from a citizen, to be presented to the librarian, is required" (Cf. op. cit. p.402).

school, as though this were not part of my life. That's it: It was not really my life; this week I did not live religiously. How many of my thoughts, actions, and sentiments this week were not really mine; even at this moment I feel no sense of divine harmony between my past and the present moment.

I made a holy resolution eight days ago not to forget about God, to see to it that my life would be nothing more than a manifestation of my religious sentiment. Once caught up in this sentiment, I should not allow myself to escape from its inspiration; rather, I should put it to use immediately in order to clarify my present situation, solve my problems, say peace to my past, and determine my immediate future.

And so, I set aside the legal volumes and abandoned the work which I had begun without any religious sentiment, determined to raise my heart to God, and once again I found peace. I am now returning to the work undertaken; but now I return with a new sentiment, resolved not to spend this evening in the way I had intended. I will spend it trying to clarify my present situation, so that the above resolution might prove to be more fruitful. I would like to free my mind of turmoil and avoid any hasty actions. My life, this evening and always, should be one of peaceful activity and harmonious work, a strong and wise manifestation of lively faith - and so I wish to be fully alive, and wholly religious. It is already 1:30 A.M.

[Friday, November] 26

130

I got up at ten. I was thinking that my sin is not a sin, but rather the result of my unfortunate position in society. I am forced to decide to commit this sin in spite of any consideration of health and money, up to the time when I can get properly situated, and for as long as I fail to exercise proper care in seeing to it that I have no money on my person. I wished to return the visits - shift of attention. It is twelve o'clock; I am in the library. Blackstone-Lee, Hertslet⁵², the "Law Magazine". I remained in the library until three, busy running through Hertslet and Blackstone, and finishing the article *On the study of Law* in the "Law Magazine." At three, to Hayward; discussed some points of law with him,

⁵² Sir William Blackstone (1723-1780) - an English lawyer, professor of law at Oxford, later a judge. His fame was assured by his four-volume *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, a classic work concerned with the form of the English State and law. Thomas Lee (+ 1769), an English lawyer, collaborated in the preparation of the fourth volume. That volume was published in London in 1829.

Lewis Hertslet (1787-1870) - an English lawyer and publisher of *A Complete Collection of the Treaties and Conventions*, London, 1820; after 1829 the author expanded this work considerably.

especially about procedure. I was home at four. I reflected on the need to clarify my ideas about private law. Dinner at five. Kef. At 6:30, to the parlor with a toddy, reading an article about codification.⁵³ At nine I went to my room, where I read an article on French procedure, another on pleading [judicial defence], Mac culloch's *Commers Law*, and a little on notarized legacies and primogeniture.⁵⁴ Then, exhausted by analysis, I fell asleep.

[November] 27, Saturday

I got up at eight - that was good - ready to engage in detailed work, but at the same time feeling a need to enter into myself. After breakfast and a bowel movement, beginning at 9:30, I spent an hour thinking about my future in Poland, and lectures at the Resurs, the Welfare Society, and the University; about promoting learned societies; about the future in Germany; about a room with sexual pleasures, life with students, and the need here to write something to Skarbek⁵⁵. - n.b. yesterday I felt an urge to write an article about law for the

⁵³ Codification - signifies the systematization and combination of legal codes from a specified sphere into a single whole; preparing a codex.

⁵⁴ Primogeniture - in accord with English law a firstborn son is tied more closely to the father than those that follow; he inherits property, but he may also inherit the title connected with this property.

⁵⁵ Frederick Florian Skarbek (1792-1866) - an economist, historian, novelist, dramatist, translator and diarist. Professor of political economy at the University of Warsaw, patron of Bogdan Jański. He studied in Żelazowa Wola on the family estate; his teacher was Nicholas Chopin, the father of Frederick. In the years 1809-1811, in Paris, he studied penal law and French literature, as well as chemistry, geology, and horticulture; moreover, he studied political economy and administration privately. In 1818 he was appointed assistant professor of political economy at the University of Warsaw, and later was named a full professor. He lectured in the field of the theory of economics and the science of administration, as well as in the field of finance and police law. As early as 1818 he taught in the School of Forestry. He was a member of the Society of the Friends of Learning in Warsaw. Together with K. Brodziński and J.K. Skrodzki, he edited "The Warsaw Diary." He travelled abroad, visiting welfare institutes and prisons from May to October 1828. At the invitation of Tsar Nicholas I, in October 1830 he resided in Petersburg, familiarizing himself with hospitals and arrangements for social welfare. He was active in many spheres of social life, as a philanthropist striving to improve conditions in the prisons within the Kingdom of Poland. In 1846 he received the title of Count, was a privy councilor, a senator, and a director of the Government Commission. After he was removed from this position, he served for some time as the president of the Herald's College in the Kingdom of Poland. Released from government service in 1858, he dedicated himself to writing. He was the author of works in the field of political economy, of text books for the use of students at the university.

Warsaw publication "Themis".⁵⁶ I continue to feel the need to write something to the family, as soon as possible, and to make arrangements for future works, now and later - but first, and that immediately, I need to write something to the [Politechnic] Council. – I skimmed through the "Law Magazine"; at 12:30 I went to return it to Hayward. Before that, I went to the barber for a haircut. I borrowed Cooper from Hayward, then went to see Barciński, but he was not at home. I stayed with Elizabeth, and began to read Cooper. At 2:30 Barciński returned, but he was in bad humor, as usual. I was not in very good condition myself, for I had not yet decided what to do: to read Cooper, to write a letter to the family, or to talk with Elizabeth. I went to Westminster, and then stopped at Barciński's once again. I spoke with him about current events. For dinner (I was supposed to go to Neate; but since I was not in good condition, having a lot of work to do, I did not go). After dinner, a glass of toddy, [I began] to read Cooper - until eight. To Barciński; cards, a toddy, a capitalist - in good humor. Thoughts about relations with unbelievers in Warsaw, feeling a sense of superiority in their presence; they are strangers to me. Back home - more of Cooper.

[November] 28, Sunday

132

I woke up at ten. I lay in bed for a long time pondering my relations with former friends and women. Breakfast. I was supposed to go to Barciński for a lecture - I stayed at home. Exhaustion, the result of analysis, led to a need for reflection; I reflected on works in the immediate future, on Cooper and how I should talk to him; then I read until dinner. After dinner a toddy, Cooper. At four to Barciński, a pipe - they came - cards. Barciński lied, telling me that he would like to go to Paris to meet with our pope⁵⁷, and claimed that I had not explained the matter well enough (?!). To the divan. "Constitutionnel", "Gazette de France".⁵⁸ Rendezvous on Surrey Street. Chasing after girls. An encounter on Goswell Street, moved all the way to Hatton Garden - 3 glasses of wine on Bouviere Street, then accompanied her on returning. Back home at 11:30, a pipe - fell asleep.

⁵⁶ "Themis" - a legal periodical, established and edited by Romuald Hube in the years 1828-1830.

⁵⁷ The "pope" of the saintsimonists, Enfantin.

⁵⁸ "Le Constitutionnel, Journal politique et Littéraire" - a French newspaper with a large circulation, published in Paris in the years 1815-1914. Co-founder of this liberal-legitimist organ was Marc-Antoine Jullien (pseudonym: Jullien de Paris).

"La Gazette de France" - The oldest French newspaper (from 1762); after the July Revolution the organ for legitimists offering a generally moderate critique of the government.

[Monday, November] 29

I got up at nine in good condition. Breakfast. The "Times". At eleven to my room and Cooper. I read until three and finished. During this time I spent a half- hour thinking about my legal research papers in Warsaw. To Barciński. He told me of his talk with Zubelewicz about succession - he feels better. Dinner, pipe and toddy. Thoughts about prestige in relations with the unbelieving. Rendezvous at Hatton Garden, wine, at St. Paul's Church until nine, accompanied the return. An unfortunate waste of a sovereign⁵⁹ - went home in bad humor. Supper and to bed at ten.

[November] 30, Tuesday

Got up at ten; breakfast; the newspaper. Thought about conditions for having sexual relations, and suddenly it was twelve. I wanted to copy a section from Cooper, but it was late and my mind was dull - managed only one excerpt dealing with the reforms he projects. To Hayward, returned the copy of Cooper - spoke briefly about English judicial topics. To Barciński, a pipe; he had a headache; spoke with him about doctors Gałęzowski and Brawacki⁶⁰ and their wives. At 3 o'clock to St. John Street. I waited a quarter of an hour; met Miss

133

⁵⁹ Sovereign - an English gold coin, equal to one pound sterling.

⁶⁰ Severin Gałęzowski (1801-1878) - doctor of medicine and professor of surgery at the University of Wilno, participated in the November uprising. Future patron of the Polish School at Batignolles.

John Brawacki (1785-1876) - From the district of Augustów. In 1809 he graduated from the University of Wilno as physician and surgeon, and shortly after that began a period of military service in French and Polish hospitals. He participated in the battles at the time of the retreat from Moscow of the remnant of the Great French Army. He fought, among other places, in the vicinity of Lipsk. He was taken prisoner by the Russians and was sentenced to exile. Ransomed, he returned to work in a hospital. In the army of the Polish Kingdom with the rank of a staff-surgeon of regiment of infantry riflemen, and later of a battalion of engineers. After 1828 he was retired from the service. During the November uprising he was the head surgeon of the Institute of Orphans of War and cholera hospitals. He participated in battles, among others, in the vicinity of Grochowice. As an active member of the Patriotic Society, he participated in the events on the night of August 15, 1831. He was arrested and brought before a military court, freed, and again arrested and freed two more times. After the failure of the November uprising, he emigrated to France in January of 1832, and took up permanent residence in Paris. As a doctor, he helped the Polish refugees, and also during the cholera epidemic he offered assistance to the residents of the Ile de la Cité. He was a member of the Polish National Committee. After the French authorities confirmed his license as a doctor, he worked as such practically to the end of his life. In 1848, as a result of his participation in the June incidents, he was arrested and sentenced to deportation. This was changed to 5 years in Sainte-Pélagie, a prison in Paris. In 1862 he lost his sight.

Hussban,⁶¹ who seduced me. Reflections on the depravity of women today. Dinner. Toddy. To Hayward. I met Cooper, and was very happy with the meeting. I did not mingle much with the others; it is better not to make acquaintances and waste time if there is no purpose in doing so. Stopped to see Mill for a moment; met Hayward and Burke, and then home. I could not fall asleep until 2:30 - thinking about relations with the family, and about legal research papers.

December 1, Wednesday

I got up at nine. Breakfast, the newspaper, pipe. Eleven - thoughts about a letter to the family, my new acquaintance with Cooper, and settling down here. Went to visit Mackay; he was out; at the courts. To Cooper. He showed me around his library from one until two. To Barciński. Talked about my moving somewhere else and about a loan. He went out for a lesson and to make inquiries, while I remained with Zubelewicz for some time. Home. Dinner, pipe, day-dreams. To Barciński. They vetoed my move from Humel Street, Supper, songs; read a little of Mill.

December 2, Thursday

I got up late. Intended to go to the library, and to visit Mackay and Cary. I was not myself. Went for a walk - Hyde Park. Returned at dinner time. Returned to the institution⁶² healthy and happy; pipe. Bought rum, a todody - and dozed. To the reading room. Returned; read Zacharia's⁶³ "Zeitschrift" until twelve. In this interval, supper.

December 3, Friday

I got up at nine. Breakfast with Falk for a pound and a half. Bought an umbrella, boots, gloves. Home, a pipe etc. To Cooper, and there until four, read Landrecht [National Law], and his [Cooper's] letters concerning mortgages. Dinner, pipe, whist and todody. To Barciński; cards and todody; talk about trivial matters, future travel. Sexual attraction on my way home. I must not take money with me. Once again, I am occupied with trifles, I forget about God.

⁶¹ Miss Hussban - Perhaps a play on words. In English, "miss" is an unmarried young woman, while "husband" is a married man.

⁶² Institute - this could be the London Institute, or the Metropolitan Institute, which were rooms designated for reading of books, periodicals etc.

⁶³ Karl Salomo Zachariä von Lingenthal (1769-1843), lawyer, professor in Leipzig, Wittenberg, and Heidelberg; co-publisher, and editor, of the periodical "Kritische Zeitschrift für Rechtswissenschaft und Gesetzgebung des Auslandes", which began publication in Heidelberg in 1829.

December 4, Saturday

I accomplished nothing at all. I got up at nine. Went to visit Cooper at 10:30, read the "Times"; went with him to the courts. Home at twelve, but nothing at home. At one, a toddy before dinner, the "Times". To the institution, and the "Monthly Review"⁶⁴; to Barciński at 3:30; in a sad state (for, weighed down by sins). At five I went to Cooper for dinner; met Bache⁶⁵; talked about law. Left with Hayward at ten; wanted to go home, but could not make up my mind. - I did not meet Burke or Someres. To Hills.⁶⁶ Went home at 11:30.

134 *December 5, Sunday*

I got up late. After breakfast, before eleven, Barciński came (with Zubelewicz?). They told me a lie about a duel; I went with them to Pleszewski, there we talked and talked until twelve. Embraces followed and socializing - I with Miss Johnson and brandy. To dinner at two; a pipe. Before four to Barciński, and cards to 5:30. Home, tea, thinking and reflecting on the whole evening. I read a few issues of the "L'Organisateur"⁶⁷, and recognized my terrible neglect. At ten a glass of beer; to my room, and more pondering. After extinguishing the candle, loss of illusions of grandeur. Fell asleep at 1:30.

December 6, Monday

I got up at ten; to Cooper at 11:30, and then to the courts. I met Cooper, went with him to the library at Lincoln's Inn.⁶⁸ To Neate; he was out; to Cary, I found her [his wife] alone with little John Bull⁶⁹; we talked about love-affairs and various troubles. My attitude in this conversation was not a proper one. To Barciński in order to read through Jacobs'⁷⁰ report. Reflected on the way to live

⁶⁴ "The Monthly Review" - a monthly magazine which was published in London from 1749.

⁶⁵ Samuel Bache (1804-1876) - lawyer and a Unitarian pastor.

⁶⁶ Possibly Walter Hills, An English lawyer, author, among others of *The Law of Church*, London, 1837.

⁶⁷ "L'Organisateur" - a French sainsimonist periodical which published the reports of lectures given at meetings arranged by their disciples.

⁶⁸ Lincoln's Inn - a Legal Institute, a foundation whose name derives from Henry de Lacy, Count of Lincoln, councilor of Edward I, and propagator of the teaching of law. The library of the Institute, dating back to 1497, and considered to be the oldest in London, enjoyed the reputation of possessing the largest collection of books dealing with law.

⁶⁹ John Bull - a witty name for a typical Englishman.

⁷⁰ Sir William Jacobs (1762-1851) - an English merchant, parliamentarian, and agronomist; according to J.U. Niemcewicz, he was in Poland in 1825, and visited him in Warsaw. "Mr. Jacobs published a book about precious metals; he translated my *Leiba and Siora* from the German; he is an expert in agriculture and mineralogy" (op. cit. p.88). In his *Uprising of the Polish Nation in 1830-1831*, M. Mochnacki wrote that: "Jacobi, an

with strangers. At 4:30 dinner, pipe, kef. At seven a rendezvous with El[izabeth]. I was 15 minutes late. I erred by drinking tea and buying a cigar. I waited until eight. A walk. I met a young lady from New Broad Street. One cannot visit her without obtaining her father's permission. A walk - and an affair with a silly girl. Another walk, and not much thought. Home at 10:30. Once again I accomplished nothing.

December 7, Tuesday

I got up before ten; at 10:30 I was finished with breakfast, pipe etc. Began to read Zacharia's "Zeitschrift". At 10:45 to Hayward, with him and the sheriff of London, Mr. Whimboy, to Newgate.⁷¹ Of 19 young lads, up to 14 years of age, and even as young as 9, 9 were condemned to death; 2 of them sailors, did not receive a pardon; some women, a Quaker.⁷² Back at twelve. Met 135 Mr. Bache; have an invitation for tomorrow. I was supposed to go to the Chancery Court, and then on to the House of Deputies.⁷³ Finally, at 12:20, went home to write a letter to the family.

December 8, Wednesday

Englishmn, sent by his government to study agriculture abroad, presented a very sad picture of our nation's agriculture." S. Kieniewicz, in his commentary on the work of M. Mochnacki, states that "Lubecki wanted to win him [Jacobs] over to the idea of lowering the duty on corn in England, which would have been a benefit to Polish agriculture. Jacobs explained that even then the Congress Kingdom of Poland would not be in a position to produce more wheat on its not very fertile land" (M. Mochnacki, *The Uprising...*, op.cit., vol.I, pp.181, 362).

⁷¹ The sheriff - an administrative-executive official, maintaining order and seeing to the execution of court decisions. In London the city appointed the sheriffs.

Newgate - one of the older London prisons.

As early as the middle of the 18th century, penitentiary problems occupied the minds of philanthropists. John Howard (1726-1790), the author of several books on this topic, stands out among these. Under his influence, the English parliament approved changes in appropriate regulations which were meant to contribute to the improvement of the lot of prisoners. The ideas of humane treatment for prisoners were then, and in the first decades of the 19th century, being propagated throughout Europe. F.F. Skarbek, author of a treatise *On the moral improvement of culprits in prisons* ("Warsaw Diary", year 1822, n.6), showed interest in these questions.

⁷² A Quaker - a member of a protestant sect founded in the 17th century, widespread in England and America. This sect held that the root of faith is individual inspiration; it preached principles of peace, and also recommended simplicity in manners, speech and dress.

⁷³ The House of Deputies, or the Lower House - the hall for members of Parliament, together with a gallery for the public. Next to this was the House of Lords, the Upper House. Both of these houses were located in Westminster Hall.

It happened. For more than three months in London I did not live like a saintsimonist. I ought to start, today at least - with people with whom I can live completely as a saintsimonist, with Barciński and Harwik. I should do something with regard to Owen, with the gentlemen. I must not shock them, or talk about politics or religion, but try to take advantage of conversations with them, seeking detailed information, but not hiding my religion from them. Announce it more boldly to others, urging them to read books that will help them to get acquainted. A lesson for the future: If I had proceeded with greater zeal and power, I might have been able to establish the church already. A lesson for the future: Since the time is short, I can do little, but I should do whatever I can. N.B. Talk with Morgan.

Yesterday, as I sat down to write a letter to the family, I received and invitation from Cary. I found it difficult to respond; and having sent a letter that was poorly written, this began to bother me somewhat. But I soon regained my composure. It is cold in my room; I had to go to the parlor. I bought some rum - grog, one glass. I went back to my letter, but by then it was time for dinner. I read the "Times" for half an hour. After dinner I erred, going to visit Barciński at seven - I should have finished the letter in one way or other - also, once again his words about saintsimonism excited me; however, there was too much empty talk about women. I left him at 10:30, and chased after them until 11:30. Fortunately, I did not fall.

128 I awoke this morning. Barciński came at eleven. There was a piece in the "Times" about the saintsimonists, the result of a discussion in the French House of Deputies concerning pensions for Jewish priests. Barciński was frightened again, for we were referred to as enthusiasts, and compared to the anabaptists.⁷⁴ I gave him the third number of the "L'Organisateur" - I will have to finish with him soon.

About twelve I went to New Broad Street with a letter from Harwik. Back home - the thought of writing a letter to the family kept me from visiting Cooper. It is close to one o'clock. I will eat dinner now; after dinner I will get down to the letter, and send it out today. After dinner. The truth is: what stands in the way of my living a fully religious life is the circumstance that I will not be able to profess my faith publicly in Poland; therefore, even before I return, I must be careful about revealing myself, either to Poles or to others. But apart from all this, without revealing myself to the people with whom I live, what have I done, what theological works have I prepared? To what extent have I tried to appreciate the state of thought and the sentiments prevalent here? What

⁷⁴ Anabaptists - members of a protestant sect which was founded in Germany in the 16th century, preaching the reception of baptism only by adults.

have I accomplished where most could have been accomplished here, that is among the followers of Owen? For, it is practically certain that any of the local Liberalists⁷⁵ who are close to us goes to Owen. What have I accomplished among the radical liberalists here, to whom I had entry through Mill and Morgan? To what extent have I managed at least to shake those viewpoints which could not be given new life? - Oh! I have not accomplished anything here! Out of my whole life here I did not live even one week as a saintsimonist. Indeed, I did not live as a saintsimonist at all, since during the last more than 3 months I have not lived according to the sentiments of the hierarchy. "Tout cela a été, tout cela était bien" [All that has happened, all this has turned out well]. Today I am more religious, more religious than when I left Paris.

Since at this time I am imbued with religious sentiment, I should not withdraw from its influence for even a single moment. This is the condition for a good life on my part.

On the 25th of last month I said the same thing to myself, yet I did not keep my resolution even for that one day. A little later I will collect my memoirs of the 5th, or rather of the 9th of November - right now I include here only some of the brief notes that I made about my activities from the time of my more fervent contact with this bit of paper. May whatever I write in the future be especially dedicated to arranging my future.⁷⁶ I need to live completely as a saintsimonist.

December 9, Thursday

136

Yesterday, after I wrote the above I sat down with a toddy to write a letter to the family. I wrote a few lines, became agitated about what I should write, and finally dozed off at four. I slept until 5:30, and then dressed and went to visit Hayward. On the way there I barely escaped having sexual intercourse, at least I felt the urge. As I walked with Hayward, we talked about "irrevocabilité des juges" [the irrevocability of judges]. Although I offered more solid proofs in support of my position, I did not explain my views on this matter with perfect calm. Visited Bache. First a conversation with Bache about writers on political economy. My criticism of them was not what I would consider to be substantial.

⁷⁵ liberalist - he speaks here of a disciple of economic liberalism in the first half of the 19th century, and so of someone who preached noninterference on the part of the State in economic conditions, in order to assure full freedom of activity for each and every economic entity.

⁷⁶ These notes, written on a single sheet [ACRR 8627, p.111], have been distributed - chronologically in the present Diary and are indicated by means of the + sign at the beginning and end. The "arrangement of my future" which Jański mentions further on, is related to "The Organization of my Future", cited in the Appendix, under II.

We also spoke about centralizing industrial activities, and about the commercial crises accompanying open competition - especially with Hayward. I erred: 1) I spoke with him at length but did not attempt to acquaint myself with and understand the other people present there; 2) in conversation with him I did not make a sufficient effort to grasp his point of view, present my own, and then conclude the conversation; 3) I attached myself too strongly to Parigot⁷⁷, recognizing his good intentions and so neglected others; 4) I could have derived greater profit from my conversation with Bache if I had conducted it otherwise; 5) in general, I should have been calmer, more patient, firmer in stating my position, and more open.

I came home at twelve, but could not fall asleep until 2:30. Today I rose at ten o'clock. After breakfast etc., wrote a letter responding to Cary's second invitation, and [a letter] to Neate - I took them to the post office. I returned at 1:30, and want to write a letter to the family. Yesterday I could have used my time with Bache better if I had been animated by religious sentiment - then I would have been calmer, more patient, bolder, and more certain in presenting my views; in the future I must be more religious and, above all, be definite about fulfilling hierarchical responsibilities. Hope! Living faith!

137 Another sexual failure. I should have reflected beforehand that my need for carnal intercourse is often more imaginary than real. I must try to find another remedy for moodiness, another way to lift my spirits, perhaps by the use of alcohol, or by going to sleep. Even if this were a real need, should I not take into account my present very critical financial situation? Even if the situation were not so critical, wouldn't it be better to wait for something safer and cheaper? In the future, when I am in the same mood as today prior to the act, I ought to read these few lines - but in the end, it happened. Hope! Living faith in the sacredness of my mission!

139 *[December] 10, Friday*

To Neate at 7:30 P.M. Merival⁷⁸, Tufnell.+

137 *December 10, Friday*

Yesterday, after returning from the post office at 12:30, I wrote a short letter to Thalabot⁷⁹; but the rest of the time, until 3:45, was spent in anxiety and

⁷⁷ Parigot - an unidentified person.

⁷⁸ Herman Merivale (1806-1874) - a lawyer from Lincoln's Inn in London, a professor of political economy at Oxford from 1837, later Under-Secretary of State for colonial affairs.

⁷⁹ Edmond Thalabot (died of the cholera prior to July 15, 1832) - a member of the college of sainsimonist Fathers. In his first letter to Thalabot Jański reminded him that "on the day

reflection. I visited Barciński, and spoke with him about saintsimonism. He went out for a lesson. I was elated but calm, because I was religious. I found a card from Tufnell waiting for me. Dinner, Grog, etc. To the institution; read the evening paper. I took the *View of All Religions* by Ross, 1653, and Lowe.⁸⁰ On my way home I met a young woman, and accompanied her all the way to Goswell Road. Came home at eight depressed, wanting to have sexual intercourse, pipe, grog - before nine I went out again, and spent a long time running around unnecessarily. On New North Street it finally happened. Came home at ten. Wrote these few lines, and another few lines of correspondence with Thalabot - was asleep before twelve.

Today I got up late, just before ten. Received an invitation from Hayward for a literary dinner tomorrow. The "Times", breakfast; it is already 11:45 - I want to finish a letter to the family.

[December] 11, Saturday

139

The "Times" - a great impression.⁸¹ A letter to the family in the parlor. To Barciński for shirts. In the evening, dinner at the club. Dr. Lardner.⁸²

[December] 12, Sunday

Got up late. Zubelewicz and Barciński came, conversation, dinner.

[December] 13, Monday

[December] 14, Tuesday

[December] 15, Wednesday

Finished a letter in the evening.

of my reception, you situated me on the third level of our hierarchy. On your part this was a favor, the greatest favor I ever received, from anyone, in my whole life" (ACRR 8627, p.30).

⁸⁰ Alexander Ross (d. 1654) - teacher, author of *A View of all the religions in the world*.

Joseph Lowe - English economist, author of *The present State of England*, London, 1822.

⁸¹ "Times" - a great impression - an allusion to the November uprising. In Jański's first letter to Father Thalabot, mailed from London on December 16, 1830, he writes: "This morning [Monday, December 13], the rumors which circulated here yesterday concerning a revolution in Poland were verified in the papers. This occurrence made a great, a very great, impression on me."

⁸² Denis Lardner (1793-1859) - an English mathematician, physicist and astronomer, professor of the philosophy of nature and astronomy at the University of London in the years 1820-1840. Noted for his work as author of articles in the field of exact science which appeared in the multi-volume English Encyclopedia from the year 1829 on.

[December] 16, Thursday

Sent a letter to Paris. After that to Hayward; I paid Falk the money I borrowed from him for dinner (that was on Wednesday). Tufnell visited me Thursday in the evening.

[December] 17, Friday

Wrote letters of apology to Senior and Tufnell.

[December] 18, Saturday

In the evening I forgot about my rendezvous with Tufnell, but he came to me.

[December] 19, Sunday

After breakfast to Barciński. Met Hayward on Fleet Street; a short walk and a visit with him. Visited Hayward in the evening. To Morgan.

[December] 20, Monday

Went to visit Cooper, but he was out.

[December] 21, Tuesday

[December] 22, Wednesday

[December] 23, Thursday

Visited Hayward. Received a letter.

[December] 24, Friday

Received the money. With Frenkel in the Colosseum.⁸³

⁸³ Frenkel, actually Fraenkel, is the name of a Jewish banking family, residents of Warsaw near the end of the 18th century. Their eminent representative was Samuel Leopold Anthony Fraenkel (d. 1863), the proprietor of the Banking House "S.A. Fraenkel", one of the most illustrious bankers in the Kingdom of Poland, and even in the Russian Empire. He was a long-term officer of the Warsaw Exchange. It seems that Samuel's son, Anthony Edward Fraenkel (1809-1883), spent some time in London in 1830. He was a co-owner of the Banking House, as well as a long-term officer of the Warsaw Exchange and later a member of the Commercial Council, as well as of the Government Commission for Internal and Spiritual Affairs. In 1839 he was raised to the rank of nobility in the Kingdom of Poland and in 1857 received the title of Baron of the Russian Empire. At the recommendation of the Warsaw Polytechnic Council he was also empowered to send Jański the stipend due to him.

[December] 25, Saturday

Visited Pleszewski.

[December] 26, Sunday

Went to see Frenkel, but he was out. Dinner at home; wine, toasts. Pleszewski.

[December] 27, Monday

Met Cooper. Received a passport. To Barciński. Visited Bache. Newspapers. Dinner. At Barciński. Committed a christian sin twice.

[December] 28, Tuesday

Volume I of [*Exposition*] *de la doctrine*⁸⁴ was delivered to me. Evening at Bache.

[December] 29, Wednesday

Received "L'Organisateur" and 6 copies of Transon's⁸⁵ *Sermons*.

Colyseum (the Latin *Colosseum*, a contamination of the Italian *il Coliseo*, or *Coliseum*) - the great rotunda, erected in the years 1824-1826 in London's Regent's Park, which was designed to house the panorama. About the year 1829 artists painted the entire city of London on the panorama. Visitors to the rotunda entered by three flights of steps unto a platform to view the paintings.

⁸⁴ Cf. footnote 7 of this Diary.

⁸⁵ Abel Transon (1805-1876) - a member of the saintsimonist college. He preached the "sermons" which became part of the collected *Sermons*, (*Prédications*), a journalist. In 1823, after a competitive examination, he received an honorary award in the field of mathematics, and in 1825 he finished first at the Polytechnic School in Paris. Like many of the students of this school, he succumbed to the influence of Saint-Simon's doctrine and became one of its most zealous propagators. On the second Sunday of January 1832, he severed his contacts with the saintsimonist school for reasons which he presented in "*Simple advice for saintsimonists*". In the years 1832-1834, he became a follower of the teaching of Fourier and his beloved disciple, along with Considerant and J. Lechevalier. His return to Catholicism was due to the influence of Coëssin and Hoene-Wroński, among others. As he admitted: "In the year 1829, inclined to reflect on the faults of this social system, in which education and welfare are the privilege of a small minority, I dedicated myself totally to the study and propagation of doctrines which promised to remove this great evil. Thus, for several years, I was successively a follower of the views of Saint-Simon, and a student of the famous Charles Fourier. From that time, that is from 1835, noting the imperfection of purely human doctrines, and ultimately convinced that the Christian religion contains the conditions needed for every sort of progress, both social and individual, I returned to the faith of my fathers. However, this return to Christianity did not elicit within me the need to condemn my original flights of mind." (Cf. J.B. Duroselle, *The Beginnings of Social Catholicism in France 1822-1870*, *op. cit.*)

[December] 30, Thursday

Received Barciński's profession of faith. Went to Cooper, to Pleszewski, and then to Barciński. Home.

[December] 31, Friday

11 o'clock, at home; writing a letter to Thalabot.

APPENDIX

I.

November 5, [Friday] 1830

8627

112

FOR CLARIFICATION

1. What should be, what will be, my position and behavior with regard to people outside [the family] after my return to Poland:

a) with regard to former friends when I meet them, and on further association with them;

b) with regard to my wife when I meet her, and then later;

c) with regard to colleagues;

d) with regard to new acquaintances, both literary and political;

e) with regard to students.

2. With what kind of works should I be occupied here, in Germany, and then in Poland - initially and also in general +(the history of political economy – of Poland)+.

3. Clarify my recent relations with Lebert: what kind of pleasant or unpleasant memories are connected with these relations. How do I explain these? Where was I wrong in my attitude toward her? What would it be, what should it be? Why wasn't it such as it is today, and as it should be in the future?

4. In external society, what position should I wish to maintain with regard to prestige and income?

5. As I begin a record of my life, commenting on my past and the present as related to it, I should first consider how many times I have made a similar resolution and why. Why did I not keep it? Why do I make such a resolution today, and why am I keeping it now? The solution to this particular phenomenon is closely linked with the whole theory of my life.

6. There is a need to reflect on how to proceed further with Harwik with regard to doctrine.

7. On what does speed of decision or strength of will depend? - Analyze the phenomena of will, mind, and body.

II.

8627 *November 23, [Tuesday], 1830*

113

ORGANIZATION OF MY FUTURE LIFE

A. Live completely as a saintsimonist. The fulfillment of my mission is my sole obligation, happiness.

B. Since my life should complement my mission, it will be suited:

- a) to my faith, and so,
- b) to the will of my Elders.

C. In organizing my works in accord with my faith, I should consider:

- a) that here, just like any other saintsimonist, I am involved in general relationships with external society, with unbelievers;
- b) moreover, that I find myself in an all too special situation in Poland, where I will live,
- c) that I still have many habits and prejudices to be eradicated.

D. Organizing my works, with these three considerations in mind, I will arrange:

- a) the constituent elements of my mission, and the individual methods of my work;
- b) the stages in their fulfillment.

The last will involve the arrangement of my tasks for each new day.

NOTE

Concerning the life of C.H. de Saint-Simon, his doctrine and his school
(Cf. footnote 5).

Claude Henri, comte de Rouvroy de Saint-Simon (1760-May 19, 1825) was born in Paris. He regarded himself as a descendant of feudal stock: "I am a descendant of Charles the Great" (*Histoire de ma vie*). He was educated under the direction of the famous encyclopedist, d'Alembert. He completed his military service, and participated in the United States War of Independence. After returning to his own country, he remained in the army. At the time of the Great Revolution, he was in Paris. Through speculation with State property, he ensured excellent material conditions for himself. He led a pompous life, arranged magnificent receptions, to which he invited artists, scholars, politicians and bankers. He showed consistent interest in social studies; moreover, he wished to dedicate himself to a career as a philosopher. In about 1802, due to a lack of money, he abandoned his former life-style. In that same year, in Switzerland, he published his first work: *Lettres d'un habitant de Genève a ses contemporains* (Letters of an inhabitant of Geneva to his contemporaries). He found himself penniless. "Count de Ségur informed me that he had found a job for me in Lombardy. The position was that of a copyist; it paid one thousand francs a year, for nine hours of work daily. I worked at this for six months, doing my own personal work at night. I was spitting blood."

In these difficult times, he found a helper in his former servant, Diard, "the only person whom I could call my friend. ...For several years, I lived with him; he provided for all my needs, and even covered the considerable cost of publishing my book." 100 copies of the book were printed, under the title *Introduction aux travaux scientifiques du XIX siecle* (An Introduction to the scientific works of the 19th century). After Diard's death, he found himself penniless once again. Nevertheless, he continued to advertise his book, preparing several copies, and sending them to outstanding scholars with the note: "Sir, please be my savior: I am dying of hunger..." His poverty led to a nervous breakdown. He was treated in hospitals for those suffering from nervous disorders. In the period of his convalescence he received a small yearly pension from his family. This allowed him to hire a secretary to assist him in his work. In 1814, Augustine Thierry a 19 year old history teacher who was destined to become a famous historian became his secretary. Auguste Comte, later a famous philosopher, took his place in 1817.

In December of 1816, Saint-Simon began to publish a monthly magazine entitled: "The literary and scientific industry, as associated with the commercial and manufacturing industry; or, Opinions concerning Finances, Politics, Morality, and Philosophy, of interest to all people devoted to useful and independent works." However, after publishing the fourth volume of "Industry," the magazine was discontinued

due to lack of funds. The next undertaking of Saint-Simon was a periodical entitled "La Politique," which came out in the year 1819. It also failed. In spite of this, in November of 1819 he began to publish the periodical "L'Organisateur."

Saint-Simon gained considerable fame in France as a result of a lawsuit accusing him of having insulted the royal family, which ended in acquittal. He published a new work in 1822-1823, *Du Système Industriel (Concerning the Industrial System)*, and in 1823-1824, *Catéchisme des Industriels (A Catechism of industrialists)*.

In 1823 Saint-Simon attempted suicide. His life was saved, and he lived two more years after that. In that same year, Saint-Simon met Olinde Rodrigues, a descendant of the well-known Jewish banking family, a mathematician who, because of his descent was unable to pursue a university career during the period of restoration. Rodrigues introduced his cousins, acquaintances and friends to Saint-Simon, and after the death of the philosopher it was they who laid the foundations of the saintsimonist school. These people were fascinated by the philosopher's personality; however it was not they, but rather Saint-Amand Bazard and Barthélemy Prosper Enfantin who were destined to play a deciding role in the spread of the movement, even though they scarcely knew Saint-Simon. At the beginning of 1825 plans were made for a new publication, "Le Producteur" (The Producer), the first number of which appeared only after Saint-Simon's death.

The last work written by Saint-Simon before his death in 1825 was *Nouveau Christianisme, (The New Christianity)*. This became the best known of his writings and, for the first saintsimonists, this was an ideological testament. Written in the form of "Dialogues between a conservative and an innovator," it contained this message, which was based on personal experience: "Listen to the voice of God who speaks to you through my mouth: All people should be brothers to one another." He regarded contemporary Christianity as corrupted by Catholicism and Protestantism, which, in his opinion, were Christian heresies. Christianity must be completely reborn, in order to become a universal movement tending to "improvement, in the shortest possible time, of the moral and material existence of that most numerous class, the class of the poor, in order to assure for humanity the highest degree of happiness attainable in the course of one's life on earth." Saint-Simon bases himself here on his own idea for the correct development of society: every new social system, replacing a system that has become obsolete, constitutes a certain step forward in the development of society. Therefore, the aim of the new Christians should be: "the fastest possible growth in the welfare of the poorest class, which is the sole end of Christianity." Consequently, it is necessary to provide, "for nations truly meriting their trust, leaders who are capable of directing people's views in a way that makes it possible for them to evaluate wisely whether the proposed political measures correspond to the interests of the majority, or are contrary to such interests."

Jański was a student of political economy, or in the contemporary understanding, the study of the administration of a nation and society. It was soon after his arrival in Paris that he came into contact with the school of Saint-Simon, which was then enjoying the period of its greatest prosperity (1830-1832). Its fame had reached even as far as distant Moscow, as Alexander Hercen writes in his memoirs. In the spirit of their

prophet's teaching, saintsimonists set about spreading their views concerning the role which a nation or society should play in the administration of earthly goods. They spoke out in favor of a right which was meant to take the place of the right of conquest (by the use of force), and of birth (by way of inheritance): "To each one according to his ability, and to each ability according to its works." In the matter of progress of people striving to assure their own happiness they ascribed a significant role to art (artists), science (scholars), and industry (manufacturers). They proclaimed their views in the columns of such periodicals as "Le Producteur," "Le Organisateur," the popular "Le Globe," and "Revue Encyclopédique." However, above all, they propagated their teaching by way of the spoken word, by way of instructions which were sometimes called "sermons."

It is not without significance that, even before he became acquainted with the doctrine of the saintsimonists, Jański was experiencing an ideological and moral crisis bordering on despair and involving an attempt at suicide. After he became acquainted with the views of this school, the dazzling perspective they opened up before him really shocked him. The idea of happiness for the human race aroused his enthusiasm, and awakened in him the conviction that here and now he can, and truly wishes to, realize the exceptional mission about which he had dreamed, and of which he had some intuition during his years at the university. Moreover he experienced great comfort in the thought that his morally reprehensible past - in the interpretation of the saintsimonists - was "absolved", justified, by the fact that it was a necessary preparation for a future having as its goal the happiness of the human race.

The Diary of Jański for the years 1830 and 1831 presents formulas characteristic of the saintsimonist mentality, terms that relate to their ideological and organizational activity. It would seem to be absolutely necessary to attempt some general examination of the hermetically significant terms of both orders, using a system such as spaced underlining to distinguish them.

It has already been mentioned that the goal of the saintsimonist school was: to provide happiness for the entire human race, all the people on this planet. The family, that is the human family, already fulfills this purpose by means of priestly and theological work, as well as by way of apostolic mission and associations or unions. At the head of this family are leaders with the highest moral and intellectual qualifications. Bazard and Enfantin were both recognized as such leaders, with the title of "Father," (the latter also receiving the title of "Pope"). Subordinate to these two was the college of twelve, twelve (initially) Fathers, constituting the first level of the Hierarchy. Then there were lower levels: the second and third, and finally a preparatory level for "catechumens." Jański belonged to the third level; later, in May of 1831, he was raised to the second level. Above him were the Fathers of the College, as well as members on the second level - all of these were called "Elders." The whole family, composed of disciples, referred to as "the faithful," who rendered fraternal services and assistance to one another (which is why they were called brothers and sisters), constituted the internal society, one by reason of religious unity (church), and animated by one holy sentiment, an organic sentiment activating members to positive action, for the apostolate, in order to win for their doctrine and their communion (community) new disciples, and from them to build new churches, disciples recruited

from among the unbelievers, who constitute the external society. These new Christians accepted an impersonal God, identified with matter, an optimistic religion. The close cooperation between Bazard and Enfantin, harmonious up to now, underwent a violent change. This was due, in large part, to the increasing differences in their views concerning the role of women in society. Saintsimonists preached equality of rights for women in society. But Enfantin went even further, espousing liberation of women, and their right to free love, thus undermining the institutions of marriage and family. At a gathering of saintsimonists on November 11, 1831, Bazard spoke out against the innovations of Enfantin and left the movement. This resulted in a split. Enfantin remained on the field of battle with his followers, as their Father, awaiting a woman-Messiah, to become for them the supreme couple. They continued their activity, forming a community, at the Paris estate of Enfantin, Ménilmontant. Enfantin and his companion, Michel Chevalier, were arrested by the French authorities on December 15, 1832. This was the beginning of the end of the saintsimonist movement.

From the notations in Jański's Diary (1830-1832) it is clear that he did not sympathize with Enfantin, but rather stood on the opposite side. In any case, for Jański, the split among the saintsimonists was a shocking experience. Here it is worth mentioning that Zygmunt Krasiński ridiculed saintsimonism, parodying their theories and practices in a scene depicting the ceremony of freedom in his drama, *The Non-Divine Comedy*, which appeared in 1833, and was published (not without Jański's cooperation) in Paris in 1835.

Even before the split in the saintsimonist movement, in June of 1831, d'Eichthal, one of the Fathers of the college, put together a complete list of members of the hierarchalized family. This list includes 79 names, half of which are mentioned by Jański in various places throughout his Diary. Moreover, for his own use, he drew up a separate list of names of saintsimonists (ACRR 8600, p.305-306). Sébastien Charléty cites the list of d'Eichthal, on page 78 of his monograph, *Histoire du saint-simonisme* (1825-1864). The list of members of the family cited below is taken from this page. Jański mingled with these people, and worked with them to achieve the future happiness of the human race.

"Here is the list:

The two highest Fathers, Bazard and Enfantin.

16 Fathers of the College (including Mrs. Bazard and Cécile Fournel): Bazard's mother, Rodrigues, Margerin, Barrault, Michel, Fournel, Jules Lechevalier, Cécile Fournel, Duveyrier, Carnot, Dugied, Talabot, Laurent, d'Eichthal, Transon, Cazeaux.

22 members on the second level: Isaac Pereire, Jallat, Ch. Lambert, Henry, Simon, Saint-Chéron, Delatour, Lemonnier, Charton, Ollivier, Reynaud, Fuster, Duguet, Baud, Rigaud, Pereire Sr., Guérault, Caroline Simon, Julie Talon, Palmyre Bazard, Claire Bazard, P. Leroux.

39 members on the third level: Lesbazeilles, Huguet, Metman, Bonamy, Séguin, Rogé, Ernest Cazeaux, Buchez, Holstein, Bontemps, Mapolle, Courtney, Pin, Béranger, Raymond Bonheur, Jules Ribes, Husson, Pouponnel, Cavel, Benoiste, Jański, Maliński, Broët, Robinet, Nichet, Capella, Haspott, Clouet, J. Leroux, Pecqueur, Rousseau, Botiau, Maurice, Bourdon, Sophie Lambert (the sister of Charles), Eugénie Niboyer, Lise Véron, Caroline Thiébaud, Hortense Cazeaux.

Total members: 79."

DIARY

Year 1831¹

8627

January 3 [Monday]. 12 P.M., [London]

138

Not desire to be perfect, but make an effort to be perfect. - Today I wrote a second letter to the family; but, I labored all day over it, all the way to 8 P.M. Why hide behind false pretenses, day-dreaming while performing a given task? Why do I need to require that it be absolutely perfect?

At eight, to Owen. Consultation concerning the creation of a committee to support Owen in the realization of his plans - 30 or more members were enlisted; there are 67 in the Social Union.² Owen spoke several times. He protested that he is a practical man. He explained how today every social level, every class, has its own separate world, and protested that he is trying to know

¹ A situation occurring in the notes for 1831 is similar to that which occurred in the notes for 1828: the notes in the draft copy are very short, terse, rarely put in the form of sentences, and often illegible. As a result, here also it has been necessary to indicate by dots the places in which it was not possible to read one or more words. The greater number of the notes from 1831 are written out in Polish; some - for the first time - in French. This is related to the lessons Janski was giving at the time. He conducted these in French for students on the preparatory level, who were applying for membership in the saintsimonist movement. Under the supervision of Fathers of the college who were assigned as directors to a specific level - e.g. Carnot, Guérault, and Lechevalier - Janski, along with students subordinate to him, was doing whatever research work they required. Also from this time are notes in French relating to organizational matters, lectures, instructional problems, etc. These notes often include an autobiographical thread, are provided with a date and are framed in diary form. It is specifically these notes that have been chosen for this Diary of the Year 1831. Manuscripts with the French text survived in the form of single pages, while the manuscripts with the Polish text are preserved in the form of a small notebook. In this notebook the author has also noted expenses for a variety of personal needs, as well as debts to be paid. These latter notations, along with French texts that are not part of the Diary, have been omitted in the present edition.

² The second half of the 18th century in England saw the rise of labor unions dedicated to the protection of the interests of industrial workers. In the beginning these were proscribed and subdued by the current state authorities; although they gradually gathered strength and influence, it was not until 1824 that they were legalized within restricted limits.

them all, and to create a common world. Why not say that every person has his own world? Egoism - how is it possible to establish an organism within society? - that is the whole question. Tomorrow I will have tea with Crellin.³

8600 7 février arrivé à Paris
323

[February 7, Monday,
arrived in Paris]

lire les ouvrages

[read the books]

fréquent[é] les enseignements

[attend lectures]

copier les correspondances

[copy correspondence]

toutes les soirées occupées à la doctrine

[every evening dedicated to doctrine]

jusqu'à déjeuner ordinairement rien fait

[ordinarily did nothing before noon]

Visits - inactivity.

I was supposed to write a response to Owen.

Hope of departure for England - hope for the cause of Poland - hope
aut.[?] in study.

In what kind of state am I internally?

Great confidence in the Elders.⁴

d'Eichthal's proposals⁵ - disturbances at the lessons.

8627 February 17, [Thursday] - in the library.

141 Already eight days in Paris. I could already have used at least 100 hours productively - and with all the ease that I possess today - but yet such inefficiency. Where does this come from? Humanity is suffering, humanity must know greater happiness through us. Energy, energy!

³ John Victor Crellin - a lawyer who lived in London, a close associate of Owen. Janski became acquainted with Crellin at the time of his journey to London and, thanks to him, came in contact with a circle of "young English lawyers." Crellin took interest in the doctrine of Saint-Simon, and according to Janski, "agreed almost entirely with our doctrine." In February of 1831 he began instructions on this topic.

⁴ Elders - a title given to saintsimonists who belonged to the first level of the hierarchy; cf. footnote 5 for the Diary of the year 1830.

⁵ Gustav d'Eichthal (1804-1889) - member of the saintsimonist college. Of Jewish origin, he was a historian, writer, mystic, an expert on the teaching of Spinoza. Together with Eugène Rodrigues, he played an important role in assimilation of pantheism by the saintsimonist movement. He maintained close contact with the English sympathizers of this movement. In a letter to Thalabot Janski wrote that d'Eichthal "gave me fatherly advice, urging me to pay attention to Christian customs, in order to understand that our religion requires progress and not expiation (ACRR 8626, p.64).

What can possibly be the reason for my coldness? I came here, and I have not yet been received in the warm and friendly way I would wish; and that has left me cold. Nevertheless, I know the sentiments, ideas and interests of my family - if there is anything in their form that is cold, this gives me a new reason for energy. I need to correct this.

Second, uncertainty about my future economic situation - this has subsided.

Third, acknowledgment of my personal weakness - so many more reasons to work, and so energy.

Fourth, a certain reserve, indecision with regard to external society and the family.

Oh, as soon as possible, may every act of my life become a living expression of my intense religious love!

8600

March 7, [Monday] - finally a letter to Poland.

323

I took out a subscription to Galignani's⁶ publication. Essays dealing with the teaching of Owen [for] d'Eichthal.

I am drinking grog, but it doesn't help.

Articles dealing with finances from the newspapers for Królikowski.

A few dispatches of books to England.

Visit to Roy[er]-Collard⁷, and his return visit. To Julien.⁸

⁶ John Anthony Galignani (1796-1873) - with his brother William (1798-1882), he was the owner and director of the daily "Galignani's Messenger." This paper, which was printed in English, was published in the Paris office of their firm. He achieved considerable notoriety and recognition for his thorough study of the political and cultural agreement between France and England.

⁷ Pierre Paul Royer-Collard (1763-1854) - lawyer, philosopher and statesman. Initially a counsel for the defense in the Paris Parliament. From 1810 to 1813 he was professor in the Faculty of Letters, where he was successful in teaching Scotch philosophy. He preached confidence in sound reasoning, and acceptance of a natural view of the world (by rejecting the radical solutions of materialism and materialism). He acknowledged that there are truths which cannot be proved, but which are absolutely certain, and introspection as a legitimate method of philosophy. On this basis Royer-Collard repudiated the teaching of the enlightened "ideologists" in France and, with his followers, contributed to the dominance of Scotch philosophy there. In this action he was supported by Théodore Jouffroy, and his former student Victor Cousin. He translated Thomas Reid, the animator of Scotch philosophy.

In political life he performed the function of president of the House of Deputies. Standing at the head of a group of moderate liberals who were called "doctrinarians", advocates of a constitutional monarchy, in 1830, in response to the March intervention of Charles X in the House, he prepared a letter to the king in defense of the constitution. After the fall of the king, the "doctrinarians" adopted a moderate course in politics, the

Mrs. Huston, Hamilton⁹, English people.

I am beginning Demaistre.¹⁰

Response to....degrees.

Quelques relations avec une compatriote, et quelques questions - correspondance. [Some relations with a compatriot and some questions - correspondence.]

philosophy of the "golden mean" (*juste milieu*), as the characteristic method of behavior for one ruling the bourgeoisie under King Louis Philip.

In the Diary, alluding to the Scotch philosophy, to the *juste milieu*, to restraint or moderation in life, Janski had in mind the views of Royer-Collard, to which at that time he felt an affinity.

⁸ Marc-Antoine Jullien (1774-1848) - Known under the pseudonym of Jullien of Paris, the former secretary of Robespierre, the founder and editor of "Revue Encyclopédique", a Polophil, author, among others, of a life of Thaddeus Kościuszko. From 1828 a member of the Society of the Friends of Learning in Warsaw. Jański published his articles in the "Revue Encyclopédique".

⁹ Mrs. Huston - An English woman and follower of Owen. Hamilton - mentioned in a letter which Jański sent to Crellin in Paris, on February 26, 1831: "Please, sir, relay our expression of friendship to Mr. Owen. Thank him for the kindness he showed me, introducing me to Mr. Hamilton. The latter left yesterday for Italy. He is well disposed to our doctrine" (ACRR 8626, p.61). Possibly he may be referring to Prince Alexander Douglas Hamilton (1767-1852). In the years 1806-1807 he was an envoy in Petersburg. At that time visited Poland and "became acquainted with many Polish families, forming a close friendship with some of these, which he maintains to this day. He is one of those magnates from whom Poles traveling in Scotland experience caring hospitality" (K. Lach-Szyrma, op. cit., p.191P). He was known as a collector of works of art. In 1820, Prince Hamilton presided at a public gathering in the county of Lanark, close to his estate. At that time R. Owen wrote "A memorial for the region of Lanark concerning projects whose purpose it is to alleviate the universal misery"...

¹⁰ Joseph de Maistre (1753-1821) - Count, French diplomat in the service of the King of Sardinia, his ambassador to the capital of Russia, Petersburg, in the years 1802-1815. A philosopher and politician. In his *Considérations sur la France* (1796), he presented a theocratic doctrine. He considered that humanity had broken away from the primitive unity of the world, and had fallen into suffering; however, by way of various forms of suffering, such as wars, cataclysms, revolutions and the like, and as a result of of the instigation and mysterious decree of Providence, it is moving toward its salvatrimon (providence) on the strength of progress. In this great historical process, the Catholic Church and her Head have a unique role to play: all peoples will unite in one religion, and so will achieve their end, by reintegrating themselves into the womb of primitive unity. He was also of the opinion that the infallible authority of the Pope was the key to rebirth of religious order, an early forecast of intellectual and political ultramontanism (*Du Pape*, 1819). De Maistre, moralist and prophet, included his views in the famous *Evenings in Saint Petersburg*, (*Les Soirées de Saint-Petersbourg*, 1821). He claimed, e.g., that "Orthodox religion is nothing more than hatred of Rome." It is a fact worth underlining that the writings of de Maistre were especially studied by the saintsmonists who, like Eugène Rodrigues, found for themself in them valuable premises, and so cited them readily.

1. avril - Il faut que je me coordonne, formule, et développe toutes les volées de 8627 la doctrine, le plus tôt possible. Ce travail, je devais faire depuis longtemps - 96 aujourd'hui j'en suis capable.

Et toujours avoir sentiment vif et précis de ma mission, toujours agir, avec prévoyance - organiser mon avenir immédiat et le plus proche.

Hier, j'y a manqué.

Faire un projet des moyens qui pourrait hater les progrès de la doctrine.

L'enseignement intérieur sur l'industrie.

Lettres à Crellin, à de Morgan, à Bache, à Tufnel, à Moustier¹¹, à Neate.

Analyses de quelques ouvrages pour "Le Globe".¹²

Hayward - et pour Juien sur le christianisme et le millénisme.

Lettre à un Américain des États-Unis du Nord.

Concession au moment etc.

[*April 1, (Friday)*

I have to pull myself together, to formulate and develop all the ideas of the doctrine as soon as possible. This is work that I ought to have finished long ago, but today I am not in condition to do so.

And always have a lively and accurate sense of my mission, always act with foresight - organize my immediate and impending future.

Yesterday I fell short of my mission.

Draw up a plan for ways that might speed up progress of the doctrine. Internal instructions on the topic of industry.

Letters to Crellin, de Morgan, Bache, Tufnel, Moustier and Neate.

Analysis of some works for "Le Globe".

Hayward - and for Julien, concerning Christianity and milleniarism.

Letter to a certain American of the United States of North America. Confession at the moment etc.]

¹¹ Moustier - an unidentified person.

¹² "Le Globe" - one of the leading French periodicals published in Paris in the years 1824-32. The co-founders and editors were Paul Dubois, a politician and inspector general of the Sorbonne, and Michel Chevalier, who later, as an admirer of saintsimonism, opened the columns his publication to its followers. "Le Globe" carried a sub-title: "Journal Littéraire", later "Journal de la doctrine de Saint-Simon", and finally "Journal de la religion saintsimonienne. Religion, science, industrie, association universelle."

The ideological program of "Le Globe" - evident from the title itself involved: "an understanding of other nations, and an evaluation of their efforts toward perfecting the great human family, are manifestly matters of great importance." Concern was also shown for *actualité et vérité* ("actuality and truth"). "Le Globe" played an important role in the formation of romanticism; it bunched together believers and unbelievers, catholics and protestants, who were united in politics by way of liberalism.

About April 1 [Friday]

One lesson rue Fran[cs] Bourgeois. Royer [Collard] is leaving.
Ballanche, vol.I¹³ read.

I am moving to the fourth floor.

Gurowski¹⁴ is arriving.

¹³ Pierre-Simon Ballanche (1776-1847) - a French poet and philosopher. In 1830 he published his four volumes of *Oeuvres complètes*. In essays from the cycle *Palingenèse social* (1827) he presented the history of mankind as a great process of gradual rising from a primitive fall. Leading representatives of the French cultural elite, such as, Charles Nodier, Pierre Leroux, Edgar Quinet, as well as Félice-Robert Lamennais and Catholic liberals were fascinated by this concept. Ballanche developed his historical-philosophical ideas in his two-volume work *Œrphé* (1827-1828) and, taking advantage of accomplishments in Greek culture, he traced an evolutionary process in world history. In *La Vision d'Hebal, chef d'un clan écossais* (1831), he summarized the historical development of mankind in the spirit of his philosophy.

¹⁴ Adam Gurowski (1805-1866) - a political activist during the November uprising and the great emigration - a journalist and panslavist.

He was the son of a Count's family, a resident in Greater Poland. He completed his university studies in Germany. In Warsaw, before the uprising, he belonged to secret associations promoting independence. After the outbreak of the uprising he served as editor of the revolutionary paper "Nowa Polska" (New Poland), working with Joachim Lelewel and Xavier Bronikowski. He was a radical member of the Democratic Society. In the summer of 1831, wishing to rid itself of a troublesome journalist, the People's Government sent him abroad with a mission to Paris. He arrived there in March 1831.

In the emigration, he was one of the most active organizers of Polish political life. At the time of the rioting evoked by the cynical declaration of the Minister Horace Sébastian: *L'ordre règne à Varsovie* ("Order reigns in Warsaw"). He was arrested on September 18, 1831, but was released upon the intervention of General Charles Kniaziewicz and the editor of "Le Globe". He was a member of the Provisional Emigration Committee (the so-called "kaliski"), which was headed by Bonaventure Niemojowski. Then, together with Joachim Lelewel and other partisans of the Paris community (also called the "Taranne" community, from rue Taranne 12, where Polish emigrants gathered), he organized the Permanent People's Committee (December 8-15, 1831) and was a member of that committee.

On March 17, 1832, he resigned from that committee along with a group of his followers. He also resigned from the Community, establishing the Polish Democratic Society, together with John Nepomucene Janowski, Thaddeus Krępowiecki, and Father A. Pułaski. In May of that same year he went to London as an emissary of a committee of that Society, in order to counteract the manipulations of Prince Adam Czartoryski. In January 1834, he was editing a monthly magazine "Przyszłość" ("The Future") (only one issue), in which he expressed popular-republican views, in a spirit like that of the former school of the saintsimonist Buchez. This met with vigorous opposition from Peter Semenenko.

In September of 1834, in the periodical "Augsburger Zeitung", and also in the "Gazette de France", he published a political article in the form of an open letter, in which he

About 5 [April, Tuesday] - election to the second level - I am not content. Arrack.

Lack of money. Boussonel¹⁵ is leaving on about the 15th. Article to Julien.

A former lady friend.

In April I began to attend the course offered by Lerm[inier]¹⁶, and also to hear Jouffroy.¹⁷

+ Constant minor unpleasantness in relations with people; too much pride in the reaction.+

8627

96

declared that he has ceased to be a Pole, and that he requests amnesty from the Tsar. In that same year, in Paris, he published a pamphlet entitled *La vérité sur la Russie et sur la révolte des provinces polonaises*, (*The truth about Russia and the revolt of the Polish provinces*). In this pamphlet he contrasted an ever weaker Poland with the growing power of the tsardom, judging that Poland had fallen irrevocably, and nothing could ever raise it up again.

Among the emigrants this blatant national and sectarian apostasy called forth universal indignation and condemnation. Bearing this stigma of a national renegade, Gurowski left for Poland, where he surrendered to the Russian authorities. After a few years, in 1844, failing to realize any broader prospects there, he returned to Europe, visiting the western countries and working as a journalist. In America he tried to obtain a position as a teacher of foreign languages. He died a pauper in Washington.

¹⁵ Boussonel - an unidentified person.

¹⁶ Jean-Louis-Eugène Lherminier (Lherminier) (1830-1857) - a lawyer, philosopher, and journalist. In 1831, in the Collège de France, he began a series of lectures in comparative law. An eminent speaker who enjoyed exceptional success, especially among the liberally inclined young students. On April 8, 1834, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz wrote in his *Diary*: "Today a lecture on law given by the eloquent professor Lherminier... The hall was filled. I saw there individuals with beards, strangely dressed; these were the followers of the new sect of Saint-Simon" (op. cit., Vol II, p.311). Lherminier was the author of *Philosophie du droit* (1831), *Histoire des législateurs et des constitutions de la Grèce antique*. Initially he cooperated with "Le Globe", but later associated himself with the publication "Revue des Deux Mondes."

¹⁷ Théodore Jouffroy (1796-1842) - a follower of Victor Cousin, professor of philosophy in the École Normale in the years 1819-1822. He propagated Scotch philosophy in France. After 1830, on the basis of this philosophy, he and Minister Cousin elaborated a program for teaching in secondary schools which resulted in Scotch philosophy becoming the official doctrine of France for at least twenty years. A writer, translator, a member of the Academy of Moral and Political Science, and a member of the House of Deputies. From 1824, he worked as a journalist (with Dubois and Damiron) as "Le Globe". The author, e.g., of *Mélanges philosophiques* (1833), *Cours d'histoire de la philosophie moderne*, *Philosophie morale*. These were lectures given in 1831 at the Paris Faculty.

3. *avril* - Il faut absolument, que je me forme le plus tôt possible un milieu d'action, des conversations particulières, des petits enseignements, un travail sur les femmes.

[April 3, (Sunday). I must definitely create a milieu for activity as soon as possible, some private conversations, short lectures, and an essay on the topic of women.]

98 5. *avril, soir* - dans la journée assez bien. J'ai travaillé avec Metman¹⁸ sur la question de la famille. J'ai consacré quelques heures à la conversation de Ruebes¹⁹, pendant diner et après assez bien. Il a commencé à me préoccuper la pensée de mon indolence et de ma plus généreuse ambition du passé. Mais la
99 premier des étrangers je suis entré à la doctrine - et réellment quelles idées, quels projets gigantesques, quel feu m'animaient-ils, mais à côté de celà, et comme la condition de ma flexibilité, de ma perfectibilité, une espece de faiblesse morale, qui me faisat de ne pas dominer les circonstances qui m'entouraient, les hommes avec lesquels j'avais des relations - et de là le mécontentement de nos actions accomplies, de plus en plus grande hauteur de celles que je me proposais à accomplir. De la baisseement de mon activité, cette rêveuse ambition - de là l'abysse du [scep]ticisme et du sensualisme dans lequel je suis tombé - de là les fautes et les remords continuels - le grandeur des désirs et la nullité des actes. Aujourd'hui tout est changé, je bēnis mon passé, je m'en donne plein d'enthousiasme et de puissance vers l'avenir - calme, espérance, vie. Si je sens tout bonheur de ma vie d'avenir pourrais-je ne pas bēnir celle du passé?

[April 5 (Tuesday) evening; during the day things went quite well. I worked with Metman on the question of the family. I spent a few hours talking to Ruebes, during dinner and after; it went well enough. He began to fill my mind with thoughts about my inadequacy, and my very intense ambitions in the past. I was the first foreigner to become acquainted with the doctrine - and really, what ideas, what gigantic projects, and what fire animated me! But aside from this, as a condition of my flexibility and my capacity for perfection - a kind of moral weakness, which made it impossible for me to control the circumstances that surrounded me, or the people with whom I had personal contacts, which led to a lack of satisfaction with our accomplishments, and an increasing arrogance with regard to what I planned to do. Hence a decrease in my activity, unreal ambitions, and the abyss of scepticism and sensuality into which I fell - this led to constant failures, qualms of conscience, the vastness of my desires, and the nullity of my actions. Today all this has changed. I bless my past. I am filled with enthusiasm and strength as I look to the future - peace, hope and life. If I feel such a sense of happiness as I look to my future life, can I not also bless my past life?]

¹⁸ Metmann - a saintsimonist of the III degree.

¹⁹ Jules Ruebes - a lawyer; in 1831, when he was 29 years old, he was a saintsimonist of the III degree. He went mad.

6. *avril*. Pour agir avec toute la puissance de la vie dans l'avenir, pour harmoniser tout mon être, il faut que j'aie la conscience, comment ait-il ressorti de tout mon passé. On laisse paisible le passé, on se défait de tout remords si l'on a la foi et l'énergie pour l'avenir, l'espérance. J'ai.

[April 6, (Wednesday) - In order to act in the future with all the power of my life, in order to bring my whole being into harmony, I must have an awareness of the way in which that future flows from my past. The past is left in peace; we set aside all reproaches, and we possess faith and energy for the future, hope. I have it.]

+ In May..... doubts. I would like to have a class in religion.+ In May 8600
Królikowski is leaving. 324

+ Ryb will be coming in May; friendly relations with him, offer him advice. A conversation with Father Enfantin.²⁰ I would like to teach classes in

²⁰ Barthélemy Prosper Enfantin (1796-1864), bore the title of Father; the chief exponent of saintsimonism.

The son of a banker, he studied at the Polytechnic School in Paris. As a commercial traveller, he had been in Belgium, Germany and Russia. In 1821, he became a clerk at a bank in Petersburg. In 1823, he returned to Paris, and worked as a cashier in the Mortgage Bank. Together with a friend, Olinde Rodrigues, he studied the teaching of Saint-Simon, and in the last two years of the latter's life he became his closest disciple.

He recognized that his life vocation was to be the propagation of the doctrine of Saint-Simon. In 1825, he formed a partnership to maintain the periodical "Le Producteur". As early as 1828, together with Bazard, he began to form the school of Saint-Simon, enlisting new recruits. While Bazard was perfecting the philosophical-political side of saintsimonism, Enfantin pursued a philosophical-social direction, giving it a religious and visionary form. He called attention to the growing opposition between workers and owners, and the need to socialize the means of production. The church of the saintsimonists was organized on the rue Monsigny in Paris and in 1830 a hierarchy was created with a division into lower and higher levels. Enfantin and Bazard received the status of supreme Fathers. Father Enfantin, the exponent of an increasingly religious-mystical direction within the saintsimonist movement (and also for utilitarian purposes) tended in the direction of establishing two people at the head of the hierarchy: a man and a woman (*prêtre and femme prêtre*). In his opinion, this high priestly pair could, and should, enter into the most intimate areas of the life of the "faithful" in order to help them in their striving for a single goal.

He demanded the emancipation of women, to whom he granted freedom in the sphere of sex. This became the cause for schism among the saintsimonists. In November of 1831, Bazard withdrew from the "church" along with his followers. In April of 1832, with the remaining saintsimonists, Enfantin founded a commune in Mélimontant, in the suburbs of Paris, a kind of patriarchal-socialistic worker community. Its activity was interrupted by government authorities who arrested Enfantin and some of the people in his entourage, accusing them of violation of the laws governing associations, and outrage against public morals. The court sentenced him to one year in prison and imposed a monetary fine. As a result, the saintsimonist community in Mélimontant was dispersed. After getting out of jail in 1833, Enfantin left for Egypt, where he worked as an engineer

religion. Friendly relations with Ryb. I am especially happy. I have begun to receive dernier des enseigner [final instructions].

About [Tuesday, May] 10 - pain [bread] for the first time etc.

Frytz²¹ is moving in.

I am beginning English lessons.

..., Dulaure²², bibliography, about paganisme [paganism] Saint[e] Croix.²³

With Benoiste²⁴ articles about Lerm[inier], disputes about destinée [predestination], about a future life.

[Should I?] eat at Symon's.²⁵

In June Holland²⁶, Harwik. Received coldly, a foolish hope of money. Benet.²⁷

building dams along the Nile. Upon returning to France, he received a position as a postal clerk, and later worked in the railway administration in Lyon. In the peak period of saintsimonism, the years 1828-1831, Enfantin gave lectures and published his works, such as: *Économie politique, et politique Saint-Simonienne* (1831), *La religion Saint-Simonienne* (1831), *Morale* (1832), *Le Livre nouveau* (1832).

²¹ Undoubtedly Fritz, whose name was entered in the list of saintsimonists by Jański.

²² Jacques-Antoine Dulaure (1755-1835) - a delegate to the Convention, a member of various literary societies, and of the Société royale des antiquaires de France. A writer, expert in Greek antiquities, and journalist. Author of: *Divinités des génératrices, ou du Culte du Phallus chez les anciens et les modernes, des cultes di dieu de Lampsaque, de Pan, de Venus, etc.* (1805), *Histoire critique de la Noblesse ...* (1790), *Histoire physique, civile, et morale des environs de Paris* (1825).

²³ Guillaume-Emmanuel-Joseph Sainte-Croix (1746-1809) - a baron; captain in the French calvary and corps of grenadiers. From 1803, a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belle-Lettres; an expert antiquary and a writer. He engaged in studies in the field of ancient history, publishing the history of the ancient federated governments and legislation, as well as religious cult. Among the books he published are: *Recherches historiques et critiques sur les mystères du Paganisme* (1784) and *Observations sur le temple d'Eleusis* (1802).

²⁴ Martin Benoiste - A saintsimonist of the III level; a lawyer in Paris. He worked in the Royal Commission. Jański visited him at his residence in Boulevard Montparnasse 26 bis.

²⁵ François-Suisse-Jules Simon (1814-1896) - a saintsimonist on level II; a close associate of V. Cousin. In later years he won recognition as a philosopher and statesman. He was professor of philosophy at the École Normale, then later at the Sorbonne. A member of the Academy of Moral and Political Studies.

²⁶ Henry Richard Fox Vassal Holland (1773-1840), a British statesman. In the years 1830-1834 he served in the government of Charles Grey, a Whig of the House of Lords. He fought for mitigation of the death penalty for theft, and for the abolishment of slavery. He supported the emancipation of Catholics in Ireland, and manifested a lively interest and sympathy for the cause of Poland. He was noted for his intellectual culture; his drawing-room was a gathering place for scholars and artists.

²⁷ Benet - a religious brother and Anglo-Norman poet at the beginning of the 13th century. Nothing is known of his life. Under his name a rhymed poem has survived, dedicated to

With Benoiste.

I begin recherche [research].

Je continue, about property; a few words [?] about slavery Karn[ote?].

Kreuzer²⁸ begun. Pastoret.²⁹ The Orient - begun.

Kurte³⁰ is reading a treatise on the future life to me.

Christianity; some inquiries. Bergier.³¹

Histoire de Philosophie par Cousin.³²

The writings of Buchez.³³

the life of Thomas a Becket, who came from a Norman family and was Archbishop of Canterbury. It is possible that Jański intended to develop the "Benet" theme as a slogan for some French periodical.

²⁸ Friedrich Creuzer (1771-1858) - a German classical philologist, author of *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker* (1810-1812). He propagated a view of a primitive universal revelation.

²⁹ Claude-Emmanuel-Joseph-Pierre Pastoret (1756-1840), Marquis, professor of natural and international law at the Collège de France. After the restoration he became a peer in France, Speaker of the House of Peers, and chairman of the commission for the revision of the legal code. A Minister of State, and ultimately Chancellor. Author, among others works, of the ten volume *Histoire de la Législation* (1817-1827).

³⁰ Victor Courtet (1813-1876) - a follower of Saint-Simon, economist and journalist.

³¹ Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier (1718-1790) - A French theologian, apologist, and writer. He defended the Christian faith against the philosophical doctrines of the Enlightenment. He engaged in polemics with, among others, Holbach in his *L'Apologie de la religion chrétienne* (1769), and *Examen du matérialisme ou réfutation du Système de la nature* (1771). He gained fame as the author of *Dictionnaire théologique* (3 volumes, 1788-1790), which appeared in several editions in the 18th century, and also in the years 1826-1828. He was considered one of the most outstanding defenders of the Catholic religion in the 18th century.

³² Victor Cousin (1792-1867) - a French philosopher and politician, a disciple of Royer-Collard. From 1814, a professor at the École Normale. An adversary of the Restoration, and a liberal. After the June 1830 Revolution a professor at the Sorbonne. He held important positions in the state administration as Director of École Normale, Rector of the University of Paris, and Minister of Education. He was a French Peer, a state councillor, a member of the French Academy. He favored eclecticism in philosophy, recognized the Scotch philosophy, and also studied the philosophy of history. He claimed that God cannot exist without the world, just as the world cannot exist without God, since great people, whole epochs and peoples reveal ideas; therefore, history must be understood as a development of ideas. Among the lectures he published: *Cours de Philosophie* (1836), *Cours de l'histoire de la philosophie moderne* (1846-1848).

³³ Joseph-Benjamin-Phillipe Buchez (1796-1865) - a Paris tax-collector, doctor of medicine, philosopher and journalist. Together With Saint-Armand Bazard he established French Carbonarism, and was a member of a masonic lodge. He discovered the doctrine of Saint-Simon after the latter's death, and became a member of the saintsimonist school. He began to write for "Le Producteur". However, already in 1829 he rejected the materialism of this school propagated by Enfantin and Bazard. Gradually he came closer to

An idea about enseignement interieur [interior instruction].

Fourier.³⁴

Hugo Jus Zivile.³⁵

I am to write an article about Poland. Lelewel³⁶, Malte Brun³⁷, pamphlets.

Catholicism, accepting belief in a Creator, as well as acknowledging Revelation, dogmas, and their concordance with the idea of progress. In the introduction to his *Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution française* (Vol. XVII, 1835), he placed special emphasis on this concordance, and indicated the social character of catholicism. In the periodical "L'Européen", which he established (1831-1832; 1835-1838: the first series bore the subtitle "Journal des sciences morales"; the second, "Journal de Morale et de Philosophie") he addressed the issue of morality, which he considered to be the source of philosophy. He argued that all the actions of people are explained by the conflict of egoism with unselfishness. Mankind's purpose is to realize disinterestedness, and this can be achieved by workmen's productive unions and social credit. He published *Introduction à la Science de l'Histoire our Science du développement de l'humanité* (Paris, 1833), and *Essai d'un traité complet de philosophie au point de vue du catholicisme et du progrès* (1838-1840, 3 volumes). He was considered a pioneer of Christian socialism, who opened the way for social Catholicism in France. He was a republican by conviction; already in 1831, he was offering the Polish emigrants the assistance they needed in order to obtain passports under assumed names.

³⁴ François-Marie-Charles Fourier (1772-1837) - The founder of a utopian socialistic system called Fourierism, and the school of Fourier. Cf. the Note concerning the life and activity of F.M-Ch. Fourier at the end of Diary for the year 1831.

³⁵ Gustav Hugo (1764-1844) - professor of Law in Göttingen. In Germany he established the so-called Historical School of Law. He engaged in research on the sources and history of Roman Law. He edited "Zivilistischen Magazin" (1790-1837), and was the author of *Lehrbuch eines zivilistischen Kursus* (1792-1802, 7 volumes). Among other works, he published *Jus civile antejustinianum* (1815, 2 volumes).

³⁶ Joachim Lelewel (1786-1861) - Historian, political activist, exponent of Polish democracy. He completed his studies at the University of Wilno, and for a short time taught in the Krzemieniecki Lyceum. In the years 1815-1818 he was an assistant professor of world history in Wilno; after this he taught bibliography and served as a lecturer in the Library at the University of Warsaw. After he was awarded a doctorate at the Jagellonian University, he became a member of the Society of the Friends of Learning in Warsaw. By open competition in 1821 he was appointed to the chair of world history in Wilno; however, he was removed from this position in connection with a trial involving a secret patriotic student society at the University of Wilno. He then returned to Warsaw.

Aside from his work in education, he maintained contact with clandestine organizations composed of university students. In 1828, he became a delegate to the Sejm, taking his place there as a member of the opposition. During the November uprising he was a member of the People's Government; at the same time was president of the Patriotic Society. Up to this time he had published more than 150 scholarly works, in the field of history, historical geography, numismatics, etc. After the failure of the uprising, he took up residence in Paris on October 29, 1831. On December 15 he was chosen by the Paris Community (that is, the General Assembly of Polish Emigrants gathered in Paris) to be president of Permanent Polish People's Committee. Toward the end of 1832, for political

+ For Symon - about commerce.

Comte, Storch, Dunoyer, Arnoud, Peuchet³⁸, corporations - in good condition.+

8600

310

reasons, French authorities expelled him from Paris. He lived in the outskirts of Paris, at the residence of General Lafayette, and helped to organize a secret masonic lodge, *Zemsta Ludu* (Vengeance of the People), which was making preparations for the expedition of Joseph Zaliwski. He kept in contact with the guerillas in Poland.

Expelled from France in 1833, he settled permanently in Brussels, where he engaged in scholarly work and journalism. He continued to take part in the political life of the emigration, trying to unite it around a program of activities dealing with independence. He supported the Association of Polish People, and in the years 1834-1836, he was a member of the organization "Young Poland". He supported Simon Konarski's expedition. In 1837 he co-founded the Union of Polish Emigrants, and was a member of the ruling body of this organization. In 1847 he was a member of the International Democratic Society. In the years 1851-1853 he was a member of the Polish Historical-Literary Society in Paris. By his lectures, as well as his historical and journalistic work, he contributed to the intellectual development of many Polish romantic writers (e.g., A. Mickiewicz). His research works and monographs, some of which were written in French, and then translated into other languages, brought him recognition in the European scholarly community.

³⁷ Konrad Malte-Brun (1775-1826) - A Danish-French geographer. In Paris, with Mantelle, he published *Géographie mathématique, physique et politique de toutes les parties du monde* (1803-1807, 16 volumes in folio). From 1806 he was associate of the "Journal des Débats", publisher of "Annales des voyages de la géographie et de l'histoire" (1808-1814), and from 1818 of "Nouvelles annales des voyages". His main work, *Précis de la géographie universelle* (1810-1829, 8 volumes).

³⁸ Comte, Storch, Dunoyer, Arnoud, Peuchet - names of authors of works in the field of law and economics:

Charles-François-Louis Comte (1782-1837) - a French lawyer, politician, and journalist. Collaborated with the economist Ch. Dunoyer (cf. below), with whom he established the periodical "Le Censeur". The author of, e.g. *Traité des législations ou exposition des lois gens* (1827).

Heinrich Storch (1766-1835), of German extraction, a Russian economist, teacher of statistics, state councillor of the Russian government, and a member of the Emperor's Academy of Science in Petersburg. Author of a work which appeared in French translation: *Cours d'économie politique, ou expositions des principes qui déterminent la prospérité des nations* (1815). This work was published again with a critical apparatus by Jean-Baptiste Saye in 1823.

Charles-Barthélemy Dunoyer (1786-1862) - a French economist, co-founder of the periodical "Le Censeur" in 1814; after the July 1830 revolution, a statesman and administrator of the Royal Library in Paris. Among other works, he published *L'industrie et la morale considérées rapports avec la société* (1825), which appeared again in 1830 under the name *Nouveau traité d'économie sociale*.

Ambroise-Marie Arnould (1750-1812) - the author of *Histoire générale des finances de la France...* (1806).

Letter to Alex, Hayward.	
travail sur la propriété et sur	[a treatise on property and commerce]
l'industrie travail sur la législation	[treatise on legislation]
travail sur le développement reli- gieux (question de la vie future)	[treatise on religious development (question of a future life)]
exposition en 5 séances	[lecture in 5 sessions]
Notes sur l'histoire	[notes about history]
travail sur la Pologne	[article about Poland]
[languages:] English, German, Italian.	

-
1. Poland.
 2. Languages.
 3. Gather objections and responses about various questions.
 4. Finish Kreuzer.

In July

Finished reading *Orpheus*.
 Italy
 Margeryn.³⁹
 Closer acquaintance with Kurte.
 Dissatisfied with women, with everything.
 Influence of Lerminier - I only want philosophy.
 Distrust of the Elders. Crisis.
 Elections. I want to withdraw.
 Reaction - a talk with Father Fournel.⁴⁰
 Tiéry.⁴¹

Jacob Poechet (1760-1830) - lawyer, professor of maritime and commercial law, as well as author of works in the field of statistics, and especially of dictionaries, such as: *Dictionnaire universel de la Géographie* (1799-1800), and *Vocabulaire des termes de commerce banque, manufactures, navigation marchande, finance mercantile et statistique* (1801).

³⁹ Carl (Charles) Marie-Desiré-Hippolyte Margerin - a saintsimonist on level I in 1831; a member of college, emissary of saintsimonism in Belgium. Along with B. Jański he converted to the Catholic faith. An Editor of "L'Université Catholique".

⁴⁰ Marie-Jérôme-Henri Fournel - an engineer; a member of the saintsimonist college (a Father), co-editor of *An Exposition of the Doctrine of Saint-Simon* and author of *Bibliographie saintsimonienne* (1833); director of a "group of workers", i.e. proletarians, who constituted a separate group in the saintsimonist organization.

⁴¹ Augustine Thiéry (1795-1866) - writer and historian. In his early years he served as Saint-Simon's secretary. He was interested in historico-social and philosophico-social

A question of war. Skimmed through many works.

[*Monday, July*] 25 - I discontinue my work on war and am fully occupied with Lermin - I accomplished nothing. I am very dissatisfied.

[*Beginning?*] of August

In the first days, an article will be published about Lermin. I am more peaceful.

Continuing the work on war - Aristotle⁴², Greek and Roman antiquities.

Dans la réunion du degré préparatoire du 5 Août, sept membres de de 326 degré ont déclaré a ma demande, leur désir de prendre [art aux travaux des recherches. Leur noms sont: 1. Surblez, 2. Vaulquin, 3. Brailoi, 4. Selaries, 5. Madolle, 6. Souza, 7. Raymond.

[At the meeting of the preparatory level on [Friday] August 5, at my invitation, seven members of that level declared their desire to participate in the research work. Their names are: 1. Surblez, 2. Vaulquin, 3. Bariloi, 4. Selaires, 5. Madolle, 6. Souza, 7. Raymond.]

[*Saturday, August*] 6 - I returned the notes on war to Guérout.⁴³ I was tired when I returned. Heeren.⁴⁴

Sunday, [August] 7 - after the sermon, a chronological work on Heeren. Evening, went to bed early.

questions. He was of the opinion that: true history is the history of people; in historical events, conflicts occur between ethnic groups; as time passes, within these groups there develop tendencies to transform themselves into classes. In the spirit of romanticism he wrote, e.g., *Lettres sur l'histoire de France* (1827), and *Récits des temps mérovingiens* (1835-1840). Toward the end of his life he lost his sight. He enjoyed great popularity among contemporary readers.

⁴² Aristotle (384-322) - Next to Plato, the most outstanding thinker of antiquity. In his practical philosophy he considered the question of war (in *Politics*, Book 5).

⁴³ Adolph Guérout (1810-1872) - In 1832, he was a saintsimonist on level II. He left the school of Enfantin and became a journalist, working, e.g., in "Le Temps", "Journal des Débats", and "Republique". He published the *Lettres sur Fourier et son école* (1837-1838).

⁴⁴ Arnold Hermann Ludwig Heeren (1760-1842) - a German historian, professor at the University in Getyndza. He dealt with ancient and modern history. By his writings he contributed to the development of the science of history. Among his works, conspicuous by reason of the quality of its form and content, is *Ideen über Politik, den Verkehr und den handel der vornehmsten Völker der alten Welt*, (1793-1812; 4th edition 1824-1826, 6 vols).

Yesterday, [Monday, August] 8, Régnier⁴⁵ in the library and then Heeren. In the evening Ballanche; exchanged many ideas about the formation of the epoch.

Today, [Tuesday, August] 9, I read *Vision d'Hebal* in the library. Later, I felt weak. In the evening, these reflections.

Dans la réunion du 12 j'ai invité, au nom du P. Carnot en personne ainsi 279 quatre membres du degré qui voudraient s'occuper de ce genre de travaux a se réunir dimanche suivante rue Monsigny.

[At the meeting on [Friday], August 12, in the name of Father Carnot⁴⁶ personally, I asked four members of the [preparatory] level who wished to occupy themselves in this kind of work to attend a meeting next Sunday at rue Monsigny.⁴⁷]

Le 14 dimanche ils sont venu a la réunion: 1. Menestrier, 2. Verolot, 3. Vrailoi, 4. Vaulquin, 5. Souza, 6. Raymond, 7. Dedupart, 8. Jules Mercier,⁴⁸ 9. Gueit.

Après leur avoir indiqué le but nos travaux, je me suis occupé immédiatement de leur distribution.

280

Menestrier, Verolot, Jules Mercier n'ont pas pu prendre part. [...]

⁴⁵ Adolph Régnier (1804-1884) - philologist, professor at Collège Saint-Louis, Collège Charlemagne, and Collège de France. A member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belle-Lettres. Together with Ph. Lebas he published the *Cours complet de lague allemande* (1830-1837)

⁴⁶ Lazare-Hippolyte Carnot (1801-1888) - French journalist and statesman. At an early age he studied the German language and literature. He attended Hegel's lectures in Berlin. On his return to France he became a lawyer, and editor of periodicals that were becoming radical. He declared himself a republican, and participated in the July 1830 Revolution. At an early date he established connections with the saintsimonist movement, as associate editor of "Le Globe", "L'Organisateur", and "Revue Encyclopédique". He became a member of the college as one of the twelve Fathers. He was co-editor of *An Exposition of the Doctrine of Saint-Simon*, and director of the saintsimonist research group. He came out against the religious-mystical innovations of Enfantin. After the February revolution (1848), he held the title of minister of education and cult. He was a member of the senate. Author, e.g., of *Sur le saint-simonisme*, in the periodical "Académie des Sciences Morale et Politique" (1837).

⁴⁷ rue Monsigny - a street in Paris where Enfantin lived, and where the saintsimonist offices and editorial bureau were located. On December 17, 1828, the first lecture on doctrine was given in the room of Enfantin; the following lectures took place on rue Taranne 12, where from December 31, 1828, every two weeks on Wednesday the lectures of Bazard and Enfantin were held.

⁴⁸ Jules Mercier (d.1834) - a poet connected with the saintsimonist movement. He published two small books: *Le réveil de la France, ou Trois jours de la gloire, poëme* (1830), and *Nouveaux chants saint-simoninnes* (1833). He committed suicide.

Mais d'un autre coté quelques unes de personnes, qui ne sont pas venus a la réunion ont déclaré leur désir de prendre part á nos travaux, savoir: 10. Surblez, 11. Madolle, 12. Jocquelin.

[*Sunday, (August) 14* - The meeting was attended by: 1. Menestrier, 2. Verolot, 3. Brailoi, 4. Vaulquin, 5. Souza, 6. Raymond, 7. Dedupart, 8. Jules Mercier, 9. Gueit.

After indicating to them the object of our work, I immediately set about dividing it up. Menestrier, Verolot, and Jules Mercier were unable to participate in our work. [...]

But, on the other hand, a few people who could not attend the meeting declared their desire to participate in our work, namely: 10. Surblez, 11. Madolle, 12. Jocquelin.]

8627

146 [*Tuesday, November*] 29

I began eating at Steinhauser's⁴⁹ with the Mochnackis⁵⁰ and Gurowski - I say nothing. With them for coffee, in the evening a walk through the gallery.

At the end of November, I visited with Dugied.⁵¹ Theater. Ryb is sick, and I - in poultices.

[*Thursday, December*] 1 - I am beginning at Carnot. Liberalism. Still seeing Ryb. I am looking through the latest copies of "Revue" in detail. I don't know

⁴⁹ Steinhauser - a German who conducted a boarding house or "cook-shop", where he offered a common table (table d'hôte) at 30 francs a month. Polish emigrants took advantage of this inexpensive restaurant, with their discussions often changing it into a little Sejm.

⁵⁰ The brothers Maurice and Camille Mochnacki:

Maurice Mochnacki (1803-December 20, 1834) - literary critic, romantic theorist, political activist and historian of the November uprising. Cf. the note dealing with the life, creativity, and political activity of M. Mochnacki, at the end of the Diary for the year 1831.

Camille Mochnacki (1806-August 18, 1833) - student at the Warsaw School for Officer Cadets; an editor and a member of secret societies. He participated in the November uprising, was promoted to the rank of major, and received the Golden Cross Virtuti Militari. After the uprising, he arrived in Paris on November 2, 1831. He had a hand in organizing the Literary Society under the direction of J. Lelewel. French authorities sent him to a camp for Poles in Avignon. He became a member of their council, and in its name acted as a delegate in matters of reorganization in negotiations with Lelewel's committee in Paris. Thanks to recommendations from General Lafayette and the Franco-Polish Committee, he obtained permission to live in Paris. He participated in disputes that arose among the emigrants, and was worn out by them. Sick and harassed by poverty, at the recommendation of his doctor he left for Hyères together with his brother Maurice. There he died of consumption.

⁵¹ Pierre Dugied - member of the saintsimonist college.

whether I should return to Poland, or what I should do here - sometimes I want to return.

Carnot gives me no money. I am not smoking a pipe, only cigars. I want to be a teacher at Soltyk's.⁵²

[Monday, December] 12

J'entre dans la rue des Marais porté vers isolement - la réunion à la rue Monsigny possible. [I enter the rue des Marais, inclined to isolate myself - the meeting at rue Monsigny is possible.] After dinner for coffee, the evening with Camille [Mochnacki]. I am pretending to work on Fichte.⁵³ I usually spend the whole day frolicking.

Walter⁵⁴ will be arriving. I take a few pamphlets in order to review them. In general, I feel very weak.

⁵² Roman Soltyk (1791-1843) - a lieutenant-colonel in the Polish armies of the Duchy of Warsaw, he participated in the Napoleonic campaign. In the years prior to the November uprising, he was a member of secret societies. At the Sejm in 1829, he presented a plan to enfranchise the peasants. During the uprising he organized the National Guard, was a commander of the artillery, and worked his way up to the rank of brigadier general. As delegate to the Sejm, he presented a resolution to dethrone Nicholas I. Initially a follower of J. Lelewel, he was vice-president of the Patriotic Society. He wrote a book on the November uprising: *Précis historique, politique et militaire de la révolution du 29 novembre* (Paris, 1833), and also reports from the campaign of *Napoleon en 1812* (Paris, 1836). He had two children: Helen and Roman.

⁵³ Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814) - A German philosopher. He occupied the chair of philosophy in Jena, but lost that position when he was accused of atheism. During the Napoleonic wars, in the years 1807-1808 in Berlin, he presented a series of fervent *Talks to the German People*. In philosophy he passed through an evolution from rationalism to mysticism, and from autonomous to religious ethics, ultimately recognizing the primacy of God over the ego. Initially he espoused humanitarianism, but he ended in nationalism. His views, arranged as a system, he presented in popular fashion in *Bestimmung des Menschens* (1800).

⁵⁴ Jean Francis Philip Walter (1810-1847) - A Polish-French chemist. His father was a merchant in Kraków. Prior to the November uprising, he received a doctorate in philosophy at the Jagellonian University. During the uprising, in 1830, he was a lieutenant, an aide-de-camp of the general staff. After the uprising he left for France, and took up residence in Paris. He worked very closely with a French pharmacist and chemist, Joseph Pelletier (1788-1842), discoverer of quinine among other things. Later he became a director of chemical experiments in the Central School of Arts and Crafts in Paris. A Knight of the Legion of Honor. His brother Leo was a doctor.

F. Walter and B. Jański became sincere friends, for the latter, the longest friendship during his stay in Paris. It seems that in the first phase of acquaintance Fanny Lebert was an intimate friend of Jański, but later moved on to F. Walter, and stayed with him permanently. Over a period of time, F. Walter carried on a correspondence with Jański's

The Literary Society.⁵⁵ Sometimes, in the evening, I visit Fanny, sometimes Carnot. I go to bed early.

One Sunday I read Damiron.⁵⁶ I go for Buchez. I come back home early. I want to read Hugo's⁵⁷ poems, Lelewel, "Morgenblatt"⁵⁸, occasionally the *Sermons*. Sometimes I take a walk in the evening.

devoted friend, Valerian Wielogłowski (cf. Philip Walter, *Letters... to Valerian Wielogłowski 1836-1844*, Poznań, 1927).

⁵⁵ The Literary Society was established in Paris on December 24, 1831, upon the initiative of J. Lelewel, as the Literary Society of Polish Exiles. Its purpose was to propagate Polish culture in the west, and to acquaint Europe with the history of Poland and its literature by means of translations of the most eminent of Polish authors. J. Lelewel planned for about 50 volumes of translations, which would be undertaken by the language departments into which the society would be divided. The Society counted a little over thirty members, emigrants and a few French polonophiles. The president of this society was J. Lelewel. His assistant was M. Mochnacki, and the secretary as Joseph Mayzner. Lelewel's plan, favoring the works of Polish writers of the 18th century but also including, to a lesser degree and not too aptly, some of the romantic writers, met with opposition from Mochnacki. The activity of the society proved to be short-lived (cf. *The Emigration Letters of Joachim Lelewel*, vol. I, p.10, and *The Letters of Maurice Mochnacki and his brother Camille*, in *Writings*, Vol. I, Poznań, 1863).

Information concerning the establishment and membership of the society was provided by "Le Constitutionnel, Journal du commerce, politique et littéraire", Monday, January 9, 1832, Number 9 [page 2]. From this source we learn that B. Jański belonged to the society.

The following is the French text from "Le Constitutionnel": "Les Polonais réunis en France ont formé, le 24 Décembre 1831, et sous la présidence de M. Joachim Lelewel, une *Société littéraire des réfugiés polonais* ... Ce sont: MM. Bartholomé Beniowski, Léonard Chodzko, Jean Czyński, Kasimir Dobrowolski, Antoine Gorecki, Jean Grotkowski, Adam Gurowski, Antoine Hłuszniewicz, Bogdan Jański, Albert Kazimirski, Joseph Kondratowicz, Thadé Krempowiecki, Joseph Maliński, Joseph Meyzner, Maurice Mochnacki, Camille Mochnacki, Julien Mrozowski, Antoine Oleszczyński, Wladislas Oleszczyński, Jean Kasimir Ordyniec, Valérien Pietkiewicz, Pluzanski, Michel Skibicki, Jules Słowacki, Roman Sołtyk, Albert Sowinski, Charles-Edouard Wodzinski, Louis Wolowski, Kasimir Wolowski, Adam Wolowski, Louis Zambrzycki, Georges Zenowicz."

⁵⁶ Jean-Philibert Damiron (1794-1862) - French philosopher, a disciple of V. Cousin, professor at the Sorbonne and member of the French Academy. He was an associate and editor of "Le Globe". In this periodical he published many articles, which were collected and published under the title *Essais sur l'histoire de la philosophie en France au XIX siècle* (1828, third edition in 1834).

⁵⁷ Victor-Marie Hugo (1802-1885) - a French writer, politician, and member of the French Academy. He was the leading writer of romanticism. From his rich and diverse literary legacy, the following were outstanding works, published by the author before 1840, while Jański was still living, should be mentioned: Collections of poems entitled *Odes et ballades* (1826), *Les orientales* (1829), and a lyrical masterpiece *Les Feuilles d'automne* (1831); of his prose, the novel based on the history of Paris in the Middle Ages *Notre Dame de Paris* (1831); from works for the theater, *Cromwell* (1827), with a foreword that

There are days, especially after a sermon by Transon, when I think of returning to rue Monsigny.

I do not forsake rue Monsigny often, and perhaps only to fortify myself. Impressions after the sermons. Talks with Benoist.

I am reading Gerbet⁵⁹, the "Correspondant," and the "Revue Européenne".⁶⁰

is a manifesto of romanticism, *Hernani*, or *The honor of Castille* (1830), and *Ruy blas* (1838).

⁵⁸ "Morgenblatt" - the full title is "Morgenblatt für gebildete stände", a German periodical which was published by the famous firm of Cotta in Stuttgart and Tübingen in the years 1807-1865. Articles which were published in the so-called Appendices dealt with current intellectual life, literature and the arts. These were noted for their high intellectual level, and were meant for educated readers.

⁵⁹ Philippe-Olympe Gerbet (1798-1864) - Philosopher, theologian, and one of the revivers of French Catholicism. He was ordained after finishing his studies in 1822. He became acquainted with Felicité de Lamennais, and, with him, issued the publication "Mémorial catholique" in 1824, and later, in the years 1830-1832, the periodical "L'Avenir" ("The Future"). In his publications he defended Lamennais when he was attacked, but withdrew his defense when the views of his master were condemned by the Pope. He dealt with the rejection of the Catholic Church by Lamennais in *Réflexions sur la chute de la Monseigneur de Lamennais* (1836). He continued writing articles, and from 1836 edited the periodical "L'Université Catholique". He was professor of homiletics, and taught at the Sorbonne in Paris. He was appointed Vicar-General in Amiens, and then Bishop. In the field of philosophy, he gave a critical evaluation of Descartes' system of philosophy, as well as his justification of motives for the foundations of faith. He based himself on traditionalism, and spoke in favor of the so-called "common sense". In theology he placed great emphasis on the Eucharist and Penance in their sacramental dimensions, and explained their emotional role in religious experience in such works as *Considérations sur le dogme générateur de la piété catholique* (1829, third edition 1839), and *Vues sur le dogme catholique de la pénitence* (1836). He was a social radical, who spoke out in the defense of workers' rights. He preached religious-philosophical conferences which appeared in print: *Conférences de la philosophie catholique, Introduction à la philosophie de l'histoire* (1832). In later years he moved somewhat away from radicalism, but did not cease to be *an ecclesiastic who was especially sensitive to social injustice*. His *Conférences...* and *Catholicisme et decalogue* (1835) enjoyed popular acclaim.

⁶⁰ "Le Correspondant" - A Paris newspaper published from March 10, 1829, to August 30, 1831. The editors gave this paper a new title: "Revue Européenne", but retained the former sub-title: "Journal religieux, politique, philosophique et littéraire". It was published from 1831 to November 1834, and periodically in 1835, from April to October. The editors of this new monthly advanced liberal Catholic views, and supported "Liberté civile et religieuse pour tout l'univers". They were also legitimists. Such authors as Charles Montalembert, Julien Michelet, and others wrote for this monthly. As A. Mickiewicz wrote: "They edited a periodical that was among the best in France from the literary and historical standpoint"; but he did not hesitate to add: "It holds to the center, moving alternately to one or the other side: in theology, it more often follows the school

I am beginning to drink grog in the evening. I am calmer, since I have come to recognize the superiority of intellect over nature. I am hoping to distinguish myself after my return.

of Lammenais, but in politics it leans toward the side of "The Daily Paper" [i.e., "La Quotidienne", a royalist publication]" (citations from an article by A. Mickiewicz *On French Catholic newspapers with reference to the cause of Poland*, published in "The Polish Pilgrim" of February 5 and 9, 1833).

NOTES

1. A note concerning the life, and work, of F.M.-Ch. Fourier (cf. footnote 34)

Fourier was the son of a rich merchant. He engaged in commerce and, as a tradesman, lived in Germany and Holland. In Lyon he established a business firm dealing with colonial wares. He was an adversary of the Jacobins, and barely escaped their vengeance with his life. He spent two years in military service, after which he moved back into the field of commerce. His free hours were spent in reflection on the nature of man and his destiny, as well as on possibilities for enhancing the lot of mankind. To a degree seldom encountered, he demonstrated an exceptional gift for observing contemporary socio-political conditions. From such observation, as well as from personal experience, he drew the conclusions contained in his greatest work *Théorie des quatre mouvements et des destinées générales* (*The theory of four movements, and of general destinies*) published in 1808. From that time he lived alternately in Besançon and Paris. After 1826, he took up permanent residence in Paris. He published other works, such as: *Le nouveau monde industriel et sociétaire...* (1829), *Pièges et charlatanisme des deux sectes Saint-Simon et Owen...* (1831), and *La fausse industrie...* (1835). He died in poverty.

The central point of Fourier's philosophy was his concept of a personal God. Matter and mathematics limit his creative will by their independent existence. God must remain in harmony with the laws of mathematics which are proper to him, and which manifest themselves in creatures by his creative will. All together, God has twelve passions, among which is the passion for variety; in a certain sense, he is a social person who requires collaborators in a variety of functions.

He himself is subordinate to the laws of nature, and in creating the world "in his own image and likeness", God subordinates it to these laws. The God of Fourier is a God who is more anthropomorphic than the God of Christianity. God created the world to serve a purpose, fashioning it in such a way that, in the end, universal harmony would be achieved. The recognition of natural laws and the codices on which the created world depends, consists of recognition of the destinies leading to this harmony. Fourier believed that he had uncovered these codices, and in so doing, had uncovered the plan of God.

In his theology uncovering the plan of Providence, he relied on a mystical and theosophical theory related to medieval philosophy, to the Cabala, and to the ideas of natural law which were propagated by rationalists of the 18th century.

Keeping to this theory concerning God and the human person, Fourier plunges into the sphere of socio-politico-economic life, and subjects it to a penetrating analysis and criticism. In contemporary civilization he exposes the economic structure, its commercialism and fiscal stringency, as well as its anarchism in commerce and production, leading to economic, political and social crises. He

uncovers the illusions of political economy, and claims, e.g., that banks represent "freedom to practice usury", and commerce, "freedom to lie". In his opinion, every class is the enemy of another class; the interests of the rich are incompatible with those of the poor. The government, in its dependence on the rich, causes the poor to be deprived of their political and social rights, since these are the privileges of the rich.

In order to prevent such anomalies, it is necessary to develop "without revolution" a social structure which relies on agricultural-commercial communities, called "phalanxes". Every phalanx should consist of 1620 persons, who live in a common dwelling called a "phalanstery". In each such phalanstery the following obligations would be in force: work in common, which should be a pleasure, common possession of products and their proper distribution, a common education of children, etc. Fourier's project with regard to the phalansteries was never realized, and attempts to do so proved to be complete failures.

In spite of its fantastic nature, Fourier's theory won some followers. Among these, the main continuer was Victor Considérant, an editor and propagator of his master's teaching in France, as well as in the United States, where settlements on the model of Fourier were established.

2. Concerning the life, work and political activity of M. Mochnacki (cf. footnote 50)

After finishing Linde's Lyceum in Warsaw, in 1821 he enrolled in the Faculty of Law at the University of Warsaw. He was accepted into the secret society, the Union of Free Poles, where he met K. Bronikowski, W. Heltman, J.B. Ostrowski and S. Goszczyński. Together with Law, to which he did not apply himself overly, he gave himself enthusiastically to a study of literature and philosophy, the works of Goethe and Schiller, I. Kant, the two philosophers of the romantic period, J.G. Fichte and F.W. Schelling, as well as others. In 1822, he was punished for slapping a police officer, and then expelled from school.

In 1823 he was arrested for belonging to the Union of Free Poles, and put into a prison which was formerly a Carmelite monastery. After eight months, he was released, at the price of bringing charges of liberalism against the educational system. This price proved fatal in its consequences, and weighed heavily on his future life and political career. At the insistence of his parents, he worked as a censor until 1827. This too was accounted as a sin by his adversaries. He began to pursue the profession of literary critic, working together with a university colleague and friend, Michael Podczaszyński, at "The Warsaw Daily" in which he published his treatises, such as: *Concerning the spirit and the sources of poetry in Poland* (1825), and *Some observations on romantic poetry* (1825). As a result of these works, he became an advocate of romanticism. He gained authority as a theorist of this new literary trend in disputes with the classicizing writers of Warsaw. In the years 1826-1830, he was an associate working with such romanticist organs as "The Polish Gazette", and "The Polish Courier" - and a member of the editorial staff of the latter. He was awarded a master's

degree at the University of Lwów, in 1829. He reviewed and evaluated not only contemporary literary events and trends, (*On the Sonnets of A. Mickiewicz*, 1827, *Concerning Polish literature in the 19th century*, 1830) but also theatrical and musical performances. He propagated the view that literature is a reflection of "national spirit", and performs a service function in this regard.

The outbreak of the November uprising tore him away from the work he had been doing until then as a literary critic. He became one of the most active political figures and journalists. On December 1, together with his editorial colleague and friend, K. Bronikowski, on December 1, he organized the "Patriotic Club". A year later, he joined A. Gurowski on the editorial staff of the leftist rebel periodical "Young Poland".

Completely immersed in the political climate, he demanded radical action, which required dictatorship and stirring up the masses. He accused the highest government authority in the Kingdom, the Administrative Council, of actions hostile to the revolution. As an ordinary soldier, he took part in the revolutionary battles, and was seriously wounded at Ostrołęka. For his efforts he received an officer's epaulets and the Golden Cross Virtuti Militari. On January 19, 1831, after the fall of the dictatorship of General J. Chłópicki, whom he accused of treason - which caused K. Bronikowski to distance himself from him - he organized a meeting of the Patriotic Society. The purpose of this meeting, among other things, was to bring pressure to bear on the Sejm. By the spoken and written word he was constantly stirring up people to continue the battle for independence.

After the failure of the uprising, together with his brother Camille, he worked his way to France, and reached Paris on November 3, 1831. Shortly after that, on November 6, he took part in the inauguration of the Temporary Emigration Committee, directed mainly by "the group from Kalisz", headed by B. Niemojowski. A little later, together with A. Gurowski, he withdrew from the Committee, and in anonymous pamphlets (dated November 18 and 25) he protested against a committee consisting of people seeking authority "who had lost the revolution." He was secretary at meetings of the Paris Commune (December 8-9) which created the Permanent Polish People's Committee, under the leadership of J. Lelewel. He was not elected as an officer of the committee since he did not receive a majority of votes. Instead, he became a member of the Literary Society, established by J. Lelewel in December to acquaint the West with the achievements of Polish culture.

However, Mochnecki did not agree with Lelewel in the matter of how the program of the society was to be realized, and so he withdrew. In the following month he left Paris, and from January 11 to the end of March he resided in Metz, living in poverty. At that time he helped to organize a welfare performance, taking part in J. Hummel's *Piano Concert*. While still in Metz - and not avoiding participation in social life - he went about preparing materials for a history of the uprising. In the summer of 1832, he returned to Paris, and shortly after that came out against Lelewel's Taranne Committee, with its center on rue Taranne, thus creating a split in the Paris Commune, and creating a secessionist group called "Voban" (from their meeting place, the Hotel Voban) in opposition to "Taranne". "Voban" chose General J. Dwernicki, the head of this committee, to be the leader of the Polish emigration. Mochnecki did not become a part of this committee.

From July 1832, he worked together with Michael Podczaszyński, editor of the periodical "A Diary of the Polish Emigration", where he included *A few letters to the editor relative to some topics dealing with the national uprising, and other materials bearing on the revolution*. He wrote *The Revolt of the Polish Nation in the years 1830 and 1831*. He finished volume I in the middle of 1833 (the year his brother Camille died), and volume II followed in July of 1834. Mochnecki wanted his *Revolt...* - "a masterpiece of Polish romantic prose (S. Kieniewicz in PSB) - to be translated into French and English. B. Jański undertook the French translation, but decided to interrupt his work when the author changed his views.

Mochnecki underwent an evolution in his political views regarding the Polish cause, moving from a radical to a moderate position. In 1833 he declared himself on the side of Prince A.J. Czartoryski, considered by the wider circles of the emigration to be "an enemy of the emigration and of the Polish cause." He opposed linking the program of social struggle to that of independence, and the existence of political parties in the emigration. He spent his time in the company of people from the camp of Czartoryski, such as: Alexander Jełowicki, Jacob Maliszewski, Sobański, Charles Hoffman and Julian Wronowicz. With some of these people, using funds from Czartoryski, he planned to initiate the publication of a newspaper in Auxerre. In the so-called "Auxerre Writings", he came out against the Polish Democratic Society. He tried to complete his *Revolt...* but poverty and illness prevented him from doing so. He died of consumption in Auxerre before he reached the age of 31.

DIARY

Year 1832

In the new year, a walk with Walter. Oysters. Fanny. I am beginning to tie 8627 my past with my present - reflection. One Sunday I am feeling especially good. 146

In the beginning of January, I am planning books. A plan to open "Enseigne" ["Standard"] in Polish.

[*Sunday, January*] 8 - Fanny is moving. I begin to sleep in Walter's room.

[*Wednesday, January*] 11 - Le soirée chez Bazard¹ - discours de Reynaud,² je sors le libéralisme et le philosophisme³ raffermi. [The evening at Bazard. Reynaud's discourse, I touch on the topic of basic liberalism and philosophism.]

¹ Saint-Amand Bazard (1791-1832) - After the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy, a co-organizer and leader of French Carbonarists, founder of a republican conspiratorial organization, Amis de la Verité (Friends of Truth). Sentenced in absence to death for participating in a failed uprising, but later pardoned. He entered the company of the first saintsimonists, and together with Enfantin became one of its leaders. He deepened and systematized the main assumptions of the doctrine of Saint-Simon. In the years 1828-1831, he propagated these in the form of lectures, which enjoyed great success, and brought the school new followers. Bazard's lectures were published in *Exposition de la doctrine de Saint-Simon* (Cf. 1830, footnote 7). When Enfantin began to spread his mystical religion and his ideas of sexual freedom for women in the school of Saint-Simon, Bazard opposed him, and brought about a rift in the movement. This occurred in November of 1831. Some saintsimonists stayed with Enfantin, others followed Bazard, and still others - prompted by Victor Considérant - joined the group of followers of Fourier that was in the process of formation. Bazard died in the summer of the following year leaving his children and his wife Claire, with whom Jański maintained contact, and who in the end became a Catholic.

² Jean Ernest Reynaud (1806-1863) - An engineer, geologist, philosopher and journalist. In (June) 1831, he was a saintsimonist on level II. He was a teacher in the saintsimonist school and also published articles in their weekly "L'Organisateur". He published *Religion saint-simonienne. Prédication de la constitution de la propriété* (Discours de Jean Reynaud), Paris, 1831. Like Bazard, and along with Lechavalier and Charten, Reynaud abandoned Enfantin. Critically opposed to the latter, he stepped forward in the columns of "Revue Encyclopédique: (January, 1832) with an article entitled *De la société*

[Saturday, January] 14 - Dinner at Fanny's place. The day was spent at home and in the art gallery.⁴

147 *About the tenth or fifteenth [of January]*, after planning books and work on a few small items for the "Revue", I feel the need for some other occupation, first, working on general, original, articles for the "Revue": concerning political economy, Catholicism, the efforts to reorganize, Poland. After that, a plan to work among Poles, and special work for Poland.

After that, republicanism and neo-Christianity.

After that, spiritualism and philosophism.

After that, spiritualism and Catholicism.

[Thursday, January] 19

Chez Bronikowski,⁵ le desir d'agir initialment. [At Bronikowski's place, a desire to begin work.] I am working on "The Leipzig market",⁶ announcements, Owen.⁷

saint-simoniennes. He dedicated himself to professional interests (mining). At the same time he was engaged in philosophical-scientific journalism, along with Pierre Leroux publishing the *Encyclopédie nouvelle* (cf. 1834, footnote 25).

³ Philosophism - from the French *philosophisme* - spurious philosophy, sophistry. In France, this was the name given to a trend of thinking characteristic of the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, claiming the dominance of philosophy over religion, and rejecting scholasticism.

⁴ The reference here is probably to the famous Louvre gallery, about which Julius Słowacki wrote in a letter to his mother (December 10, 1831): "The grand Louvre gallery, is about a thousand feet long, and filled with most beautiful paintings..." But it may also refer to a contemporary Paris show-room for works of art, called the "gallery".

⁵ Xavier Bronikowski (1796-1852). At the University of Warsaw in 1820, he received the degree of Master of Law and Administration. He was a member of secret societies, among others, the Patriotic Society. In 1823, he was an advocate at the Civil Tribunal of the Warsaw province. In that year he was arrested, and sent to a jail that was a former Carmelite monastery. Deprived of the right to serve in government office, he dedicated himself to journalism, and together with Maurice Mochnacki published "The Polish Gazette", and later "The Polish Courier". He participated in the November uprising, beginning with capturing the arsenal. Together with Mochnacki, he took part in establishing the Literary Club, and served as its secretary and leader. He fought in the army of General Dwernicki. Before the collapse of the uprising, he became vice-president of Warsaw. He reached France, and became a member of the Paris "Community", and of the Permanent Polish National Committee which he established. He expanded his journalistic activity, publishing a few periodicals, e.g.: together with Stanislaus Kunatt and Andrew Plichta, he edited "Feniks" (1833-1835), and "La Revue Slave" (1839 -1840). He joined the camp of Prince Adam George Czartoryski, and edited the periodical "Chronicle

[Friday, January] 20 - Gurowski's duel.⁸

[Saturday, January] 21

Porté vers l'étude du catholicisme [I intend to study Catholicism.]

Now I ought to:

1. reach peace with the world, and an understanding with Poland;
2. live here as a Pole;
3. undertake energetically, especially works in French;
4. initiate a diary, notes. Biography; an elaboration [in writing] of general ideas.

On Monday, [January] 23, I visit Carnot. I am embarrassed. I see that I will never find my place among the French. I am fully determined to return to Poland. - I am reading Saint-Simon's introduction to the *Encyclopedia*, his adoration of Corneille, his family prejudices.⁹ I conclude that he was not the sole founder of the organic period, but one of etc. A new reason to return to Poland. 144

Today, reflection on my situation, a dangerous return. There is always a need to write for money, now to [Joseph] L[ubowidzki].¹⁰

of the Polish Emigration" (1834-1839), a camp organ. From 1844 he was a teacher, and director of the Polish School in Batignolles.

⁶ *I am working on "The Leipzig market"* - On the basis of, primarily German language, press releases, Jański was preparing an article for the "Revue Encyclopédique" dealing with the famous spring markets held in Leipzig. His article, entitled *Le Foire de Leipzig dans l'automne of 1831* appeared in a delayed number of the "Revue" dated 1831 (annual 14, vol.52, pp. 517-521).

⁷ Owen - Cf. 1830, footnote 22.

⁸ Undoubtedly the duel between the last minister for foreign affairs of the revolutionary government, Theodore Morawski, a "partisan" of General Bem, and his adversary, Adam Gurowski. In a letter of January 25, 1832, Adalbert Grzymała informed Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz that "they shot at 10 paces, and inevitably neither one even winced, for they were using Page pistols with percussion caps; if it was not the fog, then it was dampness, or some miracle, the both shots fizzled, and in accord with the agreement they could not shoot a second time." (Cf. Gadon, p.189).

⁹ The reference here is to *Nouvelle Encyclopédie* by C. H. de Saint-Simon. Première livraison servant de prospectus, Paris, 1810. In this work the author included *Epître dédicatoire à mon neveu Victor de Saint-Simon i Postscriptum*. This was a footnote-dedication to his nephew Victor, obliging him to fulfill the tasks which the very fact of descent of the Saint-Simon family from Charles the Great placed upon him. Jański treated these genealogical confidences of C.H. Saint-Simon as "family exaggerations".

Pierre Corneille (1606-1684), a French dramatist.

¹⁰ Joseph Lubowidzki (1788-1871), studied law and philosophy in the Królewiec. He was, in turn, apprentice, then assessor, and in the years 1818-1825 procurator of the Tribunal;

Tuesday, January 24

On Sunday, the 22nd, a very long walk. Plans for a Polish life abroad.

On the 24th, I attended a lecture by Buchez:¹¹ Christianity will continue to exist until the world is completely populated as a result of the growth in population. Later, to Josephine and spent the night, an imprudent expense, the acquaintance is pleasant. My behavior was not completely affectionate, since I was preoccupied with general notions, especially about the need to spiritualize mankind, and about the future.

[Wednesday, January] 25 - I am supposed to attend a general assembly.¹² I decided to write a letter to Joseph Lubowidzki.

145 Yesterday once again I experienced the conviction that I need to avoid looking back at the past, at accepted opinions, and consider rather my

then president of the Criminal Court of the Płock and Augustów province; after that he was a judge in the Tribunal of the first instance. He was a member of the Masons. By way of relations with Henry and Thomas Łubieński, he became acquainted with the Minister of the Treasury, Prince Xavier Lubecki, and thanks to him he acquired the post of director in the newly created (May 6, 1828) Polish Bank, as its vice-president. On February 21, 1828, he was chosen as a member, and then in May of 1830 a Marshal, of the Sejm, which evoked the displeasure of the people, who called him a Fortunat (fortune hunter) since he had unexpectedly made a quick career for himself. In view of the fact that his brother Matthew was vice-president of Warsaw and chief of the secret police, he did not enjoy the confidence of the people. This became evident at the time of the uprising when he facilitated his brother's escape to Silesia. In connection with this affair, he was arrested, and sentenced, by the Criminal Court. After the collapse of the uprising, he became a loyal official in the eyes of Russian authorities. In November 1832 he became president of the Polish Bank. After he became involved in suspect financial-economic interests, he was removed from his office, accused, and in 1848 sentenced to four years of hard labor in jail "for abusing authority in office" (Gerber). Jański, who "due to your influence, kind sir, obtained the nomination to be a professor of industrial economy and commercial legislation in the Warsaw Polytechnic School," wrote a letter to Joseph Lubowidzki begging him, "in my sad situation for help and counsel," and asking: "Could some form of employment, some mission in behalf of the Polish Bank, might be entrusted to me here?" This letter in the form of a rough draft, dated "Paris, March 2, 1832" is preserved in (ACR 8599, pp 120-121).

¹¹ Cf. 1831, footnote 32. Buchez's lectures, such as *Cours d'histoire de l'humanité*, for the most part took place in a quite large room of his private home in Paris on rue Chabannais 8.

¹² This refers to a meeting of Polish emigrants living in Paris announced by the Permanent National Committee to take place on January 29, in the home of the committee on rue Taranne 12. Established on December 15, 1831 the committee, under presidency of Lelewel, was obliged in accord with the rule agreed upon then, to call for a meeting of the general assembly, which in time came to be known as "the Paris Community" and "Taranne", two times a month, on the 15th and 29th.

obligation to express my love boldly and spontaneously, love for humanity, along with my desires, my intentions.

N.B. Reflect on to what extent this is related to what I think about authority.

Buchez's distinction between love, religion, and sympathy.

Thursday, [January] 26

Why should I renew my Polish identity?

1. Because I can accomplish more among the Poles.
2. Because having accomplished something among the Poles, I can do more among the French.
3. Because, it is false to think that, by being active now in France, I can be most helpful to humanity.

How should I go about renewing my Polish identity? By reading in Polish? This means practically nothing. I must be with Poles, occupy myself once again especially with the Polish population. Therefore, I need to occupy myself with statistics and history of Poland.

But above all, I need to take account of myself and live with God. The first thing to which I should strive for here, is to initiate a course for Poles, the organization of a society, and therefore of a mission, publication, etc.; and that instead of writing for "Globists"¹³, and in general for former saintsimonist publications.

On Saturday, January 28, I went to listen to Lerminier. A plan to write for the "Tribune".¹⁴ Republicanism and neo-Christianity. 158

On Sunday [January 29] a general assembly;¹⁵ patriotic republican and neo-Christian projects.

¹³ This is an auto-ironic comment of the author, who wrote articles, reviews, etc. for publications such as "Le Globe" (Cf. 1831, footnote 12).

¹⁴ "La Tribune Politique et Littéraire" was a post-war republican organ established already in 1829. This publication, connected with the Carbonarists, often occupied itself with labor questions, and so was frequently subject to government oppression. John Czyński worked closely with the "Tribune" which sympathized with the Polish cause and took a stand in her defense.

¹⁵ At this Sunday meeting Lelewel's committee drew up a petition to the French House of Deputies in which he "protested against them (Poles) to places in the provinces, and demanded the creation of a Polish legion with national insignia" (Gadon, pp.100-101). This petition proved ineffective. Already in November 1831 the French president of the council of ministers as well as the ministers for external affairs, Casimir Perier, instructed the departmental prefects and commanders to accept exiles from the November uprising:

Wednesday [February 1] - Transon's pamphlet clarifies saintsimonism for me.¹⁶
I sleep at Josephine's place.

Thursday [February 2] - I begin to read *Mélanges de "L'Avenir"*.¹⁷ Within me I sense the fruits of spiritualism.

send soldiers to Avignon, and civilians to Châteauroux. For political reasons Polish exiles, with some exceptions, were forbidden to come to Paris.

At this same meeting, among other items, the committee considered the formal motion of Captain Skowroński to remove from the committee Krępowiecki and Gurowski, both of whom were accused of sowing intrigue.

Jański enrolled in the Paris "Community" which noted a "list of Polish exiles who were enrolling in general groups and in the Polish National Committee in Paris up to the end of April [1832]; however, already on April 10 he requested that his name be deleted from this list. The project of "creating Polish legions" prompted Jański to "think about enlisting in one of the legions", a thought which he noted in his Diary on February 10, 1832.

¹⁶ This undoubtedly refers to a pamphlet *Simple écrit d'Abel Transon aux Saint-Simoniens* (*Simple counsels for saintsimonists*), indicating the motives which prompted the author to leave the saintsimonist family in January of 1832.

¹⁷ *Mélanges catholiques; extraits de "l'Avenir"*, published by the L'Agence générale pour la défense de la liberté religieuse in Paris in 1831. This publication contained various planned articles selected from the daily "L'Avenir" which suspended publication later in November of 1831.

After the July revolution in 1830, the newspaper "L'Avenir" ("The Future") was born, and supplied with the motto "God and liberty." The first number appeared on the 16th of October, 1830. The purpose of the paper was "to defend matters of religion and freedom." It appeared with Fr. Félicité-Robert de Lammenais as editor-in-chief (cf. below, footnote 93). Lammenais gathered about him a group of young people, such as Gerbet, Lacordaire, Montalembert, de Coux, and also people who belonged to the Congregation of St. Peter (moved from Brittany to Juilly in the outskirts of Paris), of which he was the director such as: Bautain, Guéranger, Rohrbacher, and others. About the "L'Avenir" a Catholic movement was formed, which had as its goal: "Spiritual affairs in society must be completely free of political authority. This means: 1. Complete freedom of conscience and cult must exist... 2. Freedom of the press cannot be limited in any way... 3. Freedom of education must be as complete as freedom of cult...4. Freedom for intellectual, moral and industrial associations." (Cf. *History of the Church*, Vol. IV, p. 270). The editors of "L'Avenir" declared that it is the obligation of the Church to stand on the side of people who are fighting for freedom against oppressive governments, and on the side of nations struggling for independence. They appealed for material aid for the Polish uprising, taking the side of the insurgents. They undertook practical action within the framework of the organization L'Agence générale pour la défense de la liberté religieuse (General Agency for the Defense of Religious Liberty), directed by Montalembert. At the end of 1831, this Agency was defending, among others, the Trappists in Brittany, threatened by the government with the confiscation of their house. It attacked the French authorities, sending them appeals, sending out petitions, and initiating legal proceedings, for interfering in religious affairs. This movement won adherents, and enlisted many famous writers (e.g. Sainte-Beuve, who, influenced by Lammenais, became a Catholic for a

Friday [February 3] - I am reading "Revue Européenne" and notes about Catholicism. In the evening, *Mélanges*. Liberal Catholic projects in Poland.

February 4 [Saturday] - letters to Lubuwodzki, to my wife, to Królikowski with reference to Libelt,¹⁸ to Burgaud¹⁹, to England. 157

time). On the other hand, it called forth a strong reaction, becoming the subject of a mass attack on the part of Bishops of the French Church who adhered to Gallicanism, government authorities, and also French anti-clerical liberals, for whom "L'Avenir" was an "organ of bigotry and civic discord." As a result of various impediments, the editorial staff was forced to discontinue its activity as of November 21, 1831. Only the Agency mentioned above remained. At the end of December 1831, Lammenais, Lacordaire and Montalembert traveled to Rome, awaiting the verdict of the Pope relative to their activity. Lammenais and Montalembert remained there until July of 1832.

P.N. Stearns, author of the monograph *Father Lammenais*, states: "On February 3, 1832, a banquet was celebrated on the occasion of the favorable conclusion of the action brought against the editors of "Avenir". Victor Hugo was present at the banquet, and a few protestant lawyers also participated. The former editor of the "Globe" represented the liberal wing. This was a joyful event; an atmosphere of doctrinal and personal harmony prevailed. In the principal toast, it was emphasized with acknowledgement." (p.131) - On the day before that, that is, on February 2, Jański began to read *Mélanges de "L'Avenir"*.

¹⁸ Charles Libelt (1807-1875) - philosopher and aesthetician; a social, political, and cultural activist; a pioneer in organic work. He was born in Poznań. He received a government scholarship and left for Berlin, where, from 1826-1830, he studied philosophy. After he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1830, he left for further studies in Paris (where Jański and L. Królikowski were already living), where he studied the views of Saint-Simon and Fourier. When he received news of the November uprising, he interrupted his studies, returned to Poland, and took part in the uprising. It is possible that Libelt became acquainted with Jański and Królikowski in the course of studies when they were passing through Berlin.

¹⁹ Henri Burgaud des Marets (1806-1873) - A French philologist, book-lover, poet and translator. The son of a wealthy merchant and land-owner from Jarnac. He completed the study of Law at the Sorbonne, and became a lawyer in Paris. His primary interests were linguistics and literature. He became acquainted with Jański, and undoubtedly through him learned the Polish language as well as the early works of Adam Mickiewicz. He made a prose translation of *Conrad Wallenrod*, and published it anonymously at his own cost in a very small printing in 1829, even before the July revolution. Jański may have played some part in the translation. A fervent Polonophil, Burgaud des Marets showed high regard for the author of *Dziady*. This work also emerged from his translator's workshop, and was published in segments in "Les Polonais" (1833-1834). On February 7, 1833, Jański proposed Montalembert and Burgaud des Marets as candidates for the Literary Society. On February 21st both were accepted, and Burgaud des Marets was chosen as an associate member. Thanks to Jański, in April 1833 the translator was able to make the personal acquaintance of Mickiewicz whom he admired so greatly. In the Roman Archives of the Congregation of the Resurrection a portion of the correspondence between Burgaud des Marets and Jański from the years 1832-1833 has been preserved.

Saturday, February 4 - On Saturday morning I am thinking about a need to write to the Owenists against the saintsimonists. 158

159 *Sunday, [February] 5* - A general assembly.²⁰ Confusion; I am in low spirits. Dinner with Camille [Mochnacki] at Steinhauser's. Coffee at Fanny's, and then home.

[Monday, February] 6 - I find a letter from d'Eichtal in the "Revue". Jules from Laurent²¹; a dispute about saintsimonism. At four I go to rue Monsigny. A letter from Mr. Crellin. In the evening I read *Enseignements* of Père Enfantin.²²

Tuesday, [February] 7 - A dispute with Benoist about spiritualism. To Bariloi - apply leaches to Walter. In the evening I read *Muiron*.²³

²⁰ Already from January 1832, at the general assemblies of the Polish National Committee at rue Taranne impassioned discussions and disputes dealing with the reasons and people responsible for the failure of the uprising were carried on. Moreover, accusations against the Polish National Committee were also advanced. It reached the point where in the course of deliberations on February 5 Xavier Bronikowski formally accused Lelewel's committee of partisan and dishonest activities.

At the following general assembly on February 16, in connection with Bronikowski's motion, a commission was appointed to investigate the activities of the members of Lelewel's committee: J.R. Płuzański, K.L. Pułaski, J.N. Janowski, J. Czyński, and E. Januszkiewicz.

²¹ Jules Lechevalier (Le Chevalier) (1800-1850) - an alumnus of the Polytechnic School. He pursued studies at German universities in 1826-1828, e.g. with Hegel. A member (Father) of the saintsimonist college (June, 1831). From March 1830, along with Transon and Cezeaux, he lived at the home of Enfantin on rue Monsigny. He left the saintsimonist "familie" in January 1832, and joined the growing school of Fourier. He was editor and manager of "Moniteur du Commerce", spent some time in public service, and was a journalist.

Paul-Mathieu Laurent, called Laurent de l'Ardèche, (1793-1877) - a member (Father) of the saintsimonist college, journalist, conservator in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, a lawyer, later a member of a French Congregation.

²² In the period from November 28, 1831, to February 18, 1832, Father Enfantin delivered his lectures (enseignements) mainly at rue Monsigny. In all there were 18, and in these he dealt with questions of transformation of dogma, rehabilitation of the body, authority and freedom, etc. Enfantin's lectures were taken down in shorthand by Alouette, one of those participating. (Cf. J. Walch, op.cit. 34-36) Cf. also footnote 82.

²³ Braloi - Cf. footnote 52.

Muiron - Undoubtedly the title of a publication.

Wednesday, [February] 8 - Until two o'clock I bathe Walter. Then, at the "Revue". I read the *Conférences* of l'abbé Gerbet. In the evening I finish, and approve of them. After dinner, a discussion with Transon about Fourierism.

Thursday, [February] 9 - At twelve I visit d'Eichtal, and then on to Gurowski. There I defend Catholic unity against the former. Maliński.²⁴ Dinner. I prepare for an analysis of Enfantism.

February 10 - In the evening I went to visit Mochnacki; marks of his friendship. 160
After returning home, I read Transon and Jules [Lechevalier].²⁵ As a result, tendencies toward Monsignism evaporate. Thought about joining the legions.²⁶

²⁴ Joseph Maliński (?1801-1871), painter, friend and follower of Jański. After finishing preparatory school in Kalisz, in 1821, he enrolled in the department of Fine Arts at the University of Warsaw. First he took classes in draftsmanship, and then in painting. On February 11, 1828, he received a scholarship from the Government Commission for Public Education, and left for further studies in Paris, where he arrived already in May of that year. In 1829, he lost the stipend which he had received through the intercession of Anthony Oleszczyński, undoubtedly because he failed to forward reports concerning his studies. He studied drawing, initially with Guillaume Lethiér, and later in the Paris Academy. He exhibited his works occasionally. In 1832, he was listed as a student of Antoine. In this period Maliński was on friendly relations with Jański, with whom he had first become acquainted in 1828, and who exerted strong influence on his life and his work. In 1830, he shared lodgings with Jański at rue Vivienne. Along with him, he was a member of the saintsimonists, on level III, (June, 1831), and also was converted to Catholicism with him in 1835. He was a friend of the painter Fabian Sarnecki, who painted his portrait. He participated in the life of the Polish emigration in Paris. He was a member of the Literary Society of Polish Emigrants founded by J. Lelewel (initially called the Literary Society), and in 1832, of the Polish National Committee. In the autumn of that year he withdrew from the Committee, and took part in the meetings of Polish emigrants presided over by General Umiński. From February 20, 1836, he resided in the "House" of Jański on rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs, but prompted by fear of repression on the part of the French police, in May of that year he left the House and moved to England. He remained in London until 1839, participating in an effort to establish a religious house there. He returned to France, and shortly after that, in 1841, he took up permanent residence in Rome, maintaining close relationships with the Resurrectionists.

Maliński produced mainly oil paintings, occasionally water-colors, that were based on religious and patriotic (historical scenes) themes, in which one can detect influence of the ideas of Jański and his closest associates. He painted portraits, and also made copies of works of Italian art. According to notes in Jański's Diary for 1830 and 1832, he painted Bogdan's portrait; however a copy of this has never been found. In the Roman Archives of the Congregation of the Resurrection there is a pen-sketch of Jański's head in the monastic tradition that is attributed to Maliński.

²⁵ This undoubtedly refers to open letters, in which both presented the motives prompting them to withdraw from the saintsimonist movement. The first declared his position in the pamphlet mentioned above (32 pages, in 8^o): *Simple écrit d'Abel Transon aux Saint-*

[February] 10, Friday morning - Thought about taking money from [Lelewel's] committee, and becoming involved in the Polish cause.²⁷ Thoughts about a course, and publication of a bi-weekly newspaper, for example, the "Polish Phoenix" - a patriotic newspaper edited by etc. A plan to form a Catholic, neo-Christian Polish party.

159 [February] 11, Saturday - To Górecki in reference to Chodźko.²⁸

Simoniens, Paris 1832 (cf. footnote 16). The second presented a *Déclaration de Jules Lechevalier...aux Saint-Simoniens*, four printed pages in 4^o, Paris, 1831.

²⁶ Cf. footnote 15.

²⁷ On January 28, 1831, a French-Polish Central Committee was established in Paris, to support the Polish cause. At the head of this Committee was General La Fayette, a former associate of Kościuszko. Members of this Committee, with sub-committees spread throughout France, were famous representatives of French social, political, military, and cultural life. The general deputy of the Committee was a friend of the Poles, Eugene Cassin (Cf. footnote 44). The Central Committee provided financial support for Lelewel's committee, assigning funds exclusively for Poles living in Paris to be distributed through his agency. Each one received an allowance of 2 francs daily, along with an addition for lodging (up to 15 francs monthly). Leonard Chodźko, a member of both committees participated in the distribution of these funds. With the assistance of the French committee, the Polish committee rented rooms and distributed coupons entitling the holder to receive sums of money, services, etc.

²⁸ Leonard Chodźko (1800-1871), came from the Oszmiański region (Lithuania). In 1816-1817 he studied law at the University of Wilno, and attended Lelewel's history classes. He was a member of the secret patriotic student society at the University. From 1819, as secretary of Prince Michael Cleophas Ogiński, he travelled abroad with him, visiting western Europe. In 1826 he settled in Paris, and published the French memoirs of Prince Michael *Mémoires de M.O. sur la Pologne et les Polonais, depuis 1788 jusqu'à la fin de 1815* (Paris 1826-1827, 4 volumes; second edition, Paris 1833). He participated in the 1830 July revolution, as a captain of the Paris National Guard, and one of the adjutants of General La Fayette. He obtained French citizenship. In Paris, he began to work as a publisher and journalist. He publicized and propagated the Polish cause, especially after the November uprising. He was one of the founders of the French-Polish Central Committee, its archivist and secretary. Thanks to the funds of the Committee, he offered the Polish exiles coming to Paris a variety of assistance. He entered into friendly relations with Lelewel, who came to Paris toward the end of October of 1831, and worked hand-in-hand with him. He served in the Polish National Committee, the Literary Committee, and later in the "Zemsta Ludu" (The People's Vengeance) Committee, which was helping to organize Joseph Zaliwski's expedition to Poland. French authorities exiled both Lelewel and Chodźko from Paris. In 1833 he was in England, but returned to Paris in 1834. He occupied himself, publishing propaganda concerning Poland that was tied in with his previous editorial work: *Histoire des legions polonaises en Italie* (1829). He wrote biographies of Casimir Pułaski, Thaddeus Kościuszko, and Joachim Lelewel. He edited "Pologne historique, littéraire, monumentale et pittoresque" (1836-1838), and "Pologne

[February] 12, Sunday morning - Camille [Mochnacki] is leaving. I am in the midst of spiritualism and pantheism.

[Monday, February] 13 - Chodźko for a receipt. In the meantime, to Bronikowski.²⁹

[Friday, February] 17 - I receive a letter from his father.³⁰

[Tuesday, February] 21 - Chodźko for a second receipt. Hube.³¹ I against Czyński³², etc.

historique, littéraire, monumentale et illustrée" (1839--1840). He published 2 volumes of A. Mickiewicz's *Poems* in 1828; C. Malte-Brun's *Tableau de la Pologne ancienne et moderne...* nouvelle édition entièrement refondue, augmentée et ornée de carte (from the works of Michael Podczaszyński) (2 volumes, Brussels, 1830; second edition, Brussels, 1831); *Three Polish Constitutions: 1791, 1807, 1815* - Joachim Lelewel compared them, and considered their differences. L. Chodźko reprinted and offered these for the use of Polish exiles in France, Paris, 1832.

He belonged to many foreign scholarly societies, such as Société Géographique et Statistique, Société Philotechnique in Paris; and also to Polish societies such as the Historical-Literary Society in Paris, and the Lithuanian-Russian Society. He left an enormous collection of documents and copies, which became the foundation for the archives in the Rapperwilski Museum in Switzerland.

²⁹ In *A list of Poles who died during the emigration from the year 1831*, John Bartkowski listed a Frances Bronikowska, from the Nakwaskis, according to Krosnowski: nee Nowakowska, born in Kraków, died in Paris on April 23, 1836, as well as 3 Bronikowskis, among whom was the already mentioned Xavier Bronikowski born in the Sandecki administrative district (Cf. footnote 5). It is not certain that Xaviera Bronikowski mentioned by Jański was the same person mentioned by Bartkowski in his list.

³⁰ On February 12, 1832, French authorities forced Camille Mochnacki to leave Paris. It is possible that Jański may have received a letter from Basil Mochnacki, who lived in Lwów, to his son Camille. The latter had written to his father from Avignon on March 7, 1832: "Dear father, what joy I experienced when I received you last letter, which was sent to me from Paris." (*Letters of Maurice Mochnacki and his brother Camille ... written to their parents in Galicia, from Paris, Metz, and Avignon*, Poznań, 1863. p.82). Mochnacki's closest friend, Michael Podczaszyński, was then living in Metz; of those who were close to them, the only one who remained in Paris was Jański, who visited Camille Mochnacki on February 10, and received from him "expressions of his friendship."

³¹ Joseph Hube (1804-1891) - The son of Michael, an Official in the Council of State of the Kingdom of Poland, the younger brother of Romuald, an eminent jurist and legal historian.

He received a degree of Master of Law at the University of Warsaw in 1824. After a brief period of judicial practice, he received a government scholarship and went to Berlin for further studies. There he attended, among others, the lectures of Hegel (under the

influence of whom he lost his faith). He pursued further studies in Paris. After his return to Warsaw in 1828, he became first an apprentice, and then associate judge in the Procurator General's Office of the Kingdom of Poland. In August of 1830, and until outbreak of the November uprising, he taught the history of law at the University. He authored works in the field of law and published them in the legal magazine "Themis Polska". At the time of the uprising, he was active in political life, a member of the Patriotic Society, among others. In 1832, together with his father Michael, he broke through the border to Paris. He belonged to the Historical-Literary Society. He published a work entitled *An Examination of Slavonic probate cases* (1832), which was translated into other languages. He collaborated with French legal periodicals. In the years 1832-1836, he lived with his father in Normandy. Under the influence of Jański, he entered his House on August 15, 1836. He was a teacher at Collège Stanislas. Toward the end of October, 1837, he left for Rome to pursue theological studies. He was present at Jański's death. After he obtained a doctorate in theology, on January 9, 1842, he was ordained a priest. He was one of the co-founders of the Congregation of the Resurrection. He worked in Paris as a catechist, and from 1845 as superior of the Polish Mission. In the years 1848-1855, he served as Superior General of the Congregation. He fought against Towianism, and declared himself against Adam Mickiewicz as a Towianist and opposed the founding of a Legion by the latter. He published works dealing with theology and religion, such as *A Study of the Bible, On Frequent Holy Communion, Concerning Humility*.

- ³² John Czyński (1801-1867) - He was a descendent of the Jewish Franks (Jacob Frank). After receiving the degree of Master of Law at the University of Warsaw in 1822, he worked as a lawyer in Lublin. During the uprising, 1830-1831, he was active there, and later in Warsaw where, as one of the leaders of the leftist democratic Patriotic Society he became its vice-president and a member of the editorial staff of "New Poland". He opposed the National Government. After the collapse of the uprising, he took up residence in Paris as an emigrant, and lived an exceptionally active life there. He founded the "Society of the Friends of Progress" (cf. footnote 55), belonged to the Lelewel's National Committee, and from October 1833, to the Polish Democratic Society. He was associated with French masonry, published "La Russie Pittoresque", and collaborated with radical French publications: "Le Reformateur", "La Tribune", Cabet's "Le Peuple", "Le Constitutionnel". He opposed the politics of Prince George Adam Czartoryski, and also attacked the ideology of Mickiewicz's *Books of the Polish Nation and the Polish pilgrimages*. He urged cooperation with those Russians who were moving toward revolution, and establishment of contacts with French Jews. An eminent radical journalist, in 1834 he was co-editor of "Progress". In the years 1835-1836, along with Simon Konarski, he published the magazine "The North", belonged to the editorial staff of "The New Poland", and in 1837 to the staff of "Poland". He was involved almost exclusively with Polish affairs, emphasized the need to activate the Polish middle class and grant citizenship to Jews. He became a follower and theorist of Fourierism. He published some of his works and pamphlets in foreign languages. He was the author of four novels, the fictional publication *Cesarevitch Constantine and Joanna Grudzińska, or the Polish Jacobins* (1833-1834), and also wrote comedies in French. In the 40's and 50's in his publications he concerned himself with European, social-political, workers, and Jewish problems. In the 60's he returned to Polish affairs, maintained contact with Louis Królikowski (with whom he established the Polish Fraternity of all Religious Denominations). He contacted Karl Marx during the latter's visit to London.

Saturday, February 25 - Last week, on the 19th, there was a ball at Steinhäuser's, and the week before that two general assemblies.³³ Especially the latter aroused my indignation against our barbaric democrats. Czyński, about the "Memoirs".³⁴ Janowski³⁵ attempts to justify them to me. I am planning to read a course in which I would cast doubt on their patriotism, etc. It was d'Eichtal and Jules who first caused my spiritualism to waver, but my patriotic plans have strengthened it.

Visited Chopin.³⁶ He gave me a few tickets for his concert (I gave them to Carnot). Went to see Chodźko for a receipt. Visited Wodziński³⁷ - Unpleasant

³³ The "last" general assembly took place on February 16. At this meeting it was resolved to appoint a delegation to investigate the activity of the Polish National Committee. The democrats became members of this delegation. (Cf. footnote 20).

³⁴ It is difficult to establish whether this concerns the establishment of a periodical or someone's memoirs. Certainly this does not refer to "Memoirs of the Polish Emigration" edited by Michael Podczaszyński - a periodical which began publication on July 1, 1832.

³⁵ John Nepomucene Janowski (1803-1888) - the son of a tenant farmer. In 1827 he completed his studies in the Faculty of Law at the University of Warsaw. He did not possess a good reputation among the supervisors at the school. He was accused of immorality and "the most abominable qualities of soul." He was, in turn, an apprentice in the judiciary, an official in the Government Commission of Revenue and Treasury, and librarian. After the outbreak of the uprising, he began a flashy career as leftist activist and radical journalist: co-editor of "The Polish Courier", editor of "The Polish Gazette", secretary, and then vice-president, of the Patriotic Society, founder of the Society for the Improvement of the Status of Peasants. After the collapse of the uprising, at the beginning of 1832, he was in Paris and became involved in renewed activity among the emigrants as co-founder of democratic societies such as The Society of the Friends of Progress, and the Polish Democratic Society (he was the first to sign the act of its establishment). He became an outstanding democratic activist with considerable authority, as well as one of the most radical journalists of the Great Emigration. In 1835 he was a member of the First Centralization of the Democratic Society, co-editor of its Manifest in 1836, editor of such periodicals as "Progress" (1836), "Polish Democrat" and "A Review of Polish History", as well as author of articles published in foreign periodicals. He carried on a controversy with right-wing activists in the Polish emigration, and fought against Towianism. He claimed that the Polish aristocracy and the Church (Rome and Poland, 1863) were responsible for the downfall of Poland, and the disaster of the uprising. He left, among other works, *Autobiographical Notes* (1803-1853, published in 1950). In two letters addressed to E. Callier, author of a monograph on B. Jański, he jotted down recollections concerning a former colleague and friend from years at the university.

³⁶ Frederic Chopin (1810-1849) - a Polish composer, pianist and pedagogue. The outbreak of the November uprising found him in Vienna. He left there for Paris, where he arrived in September of 1831, and took up residence at Boulevard Poissonnière 27. Jański, who very probably was acquainted with Chopin from the time of his stay in Warsaw, received tickets for his first public concert in Paris.

visits. Even more unpleasant is the arrogance of a few of our ignoramuses. I am beginning to occupy myself with our history. Reading Buchez strengthens my spiritualism.

Yesterday, Friday, a meeting of the literary society; today a general assembly.³⁸

After his return from London, Bontemps came to visit me yesterday.³⁹

Yesterday I read my wife's letter.

Yesterday I was thinking that it should not be a course, but rather a book, perhaps anonymous. Today I am in favor of a course.

164 A general assembly - Krępowiecki (I embrace him), Słowacki.⁴⁰ After the meeting, dinner at Steinhauser's. Fanny.

³⁷ Undoubtedly Charles Edward Wodziński (1807-1837) - Came from the Volhynian region. He participated in the November uprising, and became an emigrant in Paris. From December 9, 1831, he was treasurer of the Polish National Committee. Lelewel sent him to London as a special agent of the Committee "to serve as an observer there, and to act accordingly." He was co-founder of the Society of Lithuania and the Russian territories, as well as of the Slavonic Society. He was a member of the Literary Society in Paris.

³⁸ Undoubtedly Jański had in mind the Friday, February 24th meeting organized for the members of the Literary Society established by J. Lelewel (Cf. 1831, footnote 54) which shortly took the name of the Literary Society of Polish Exiles. - "Today - general" - the Saturday meeting of the Paris "Community" which took place on February 25.

³⁹ George Bontemps (1801-1888) - Industrial engineer; in 1831 he was a saintsimonist on level III.

⁴⁰ On Saturday, February 25, in the hall at rue Taranne, Lelewel's National Committee organized a formal anniversary celebration of the battle of Grochowo. One of the anniversary speeches, delivered by Thaddeus Krępowiecki, caused commotion among the listeners by reason of its radical democratic nature, and its severe criticism of the nobility. Moreover, Julius Słowacki, who was present at the meeting, read some of his verses and odes, which were also warmly received by the listeners. On the motion of Leonard Chodźko it was agreed that, in recognition of his patriotic declaration, Słowacki should be offered a ring, with the inscription: "Grateful countrymen, to Słowacki, revolutionary poet."

Thaddeus (Simon, prior to the revolution) Krępowiecki (1799-1847) was a descendent of noble converts. From 1821, he studied law at the University of Warsaw. He was an editor and associate editor of the metropolitan press. At the time of the uprising, he was an officer in the army of General Dwernicki, a co-founder and vice-president of the Patriotic Society. Already at that time he was recognized as a radical agitator, opposed to the politics of the National Government. He demanded freedom of the press, and a solution to the peasant issue. From November 1831, he was an emigrant in Paris. Initially a member of Lelewel's National Committee, in February 1832 chairman of the political section of the Society of the Friends of Progress, in the years 1832-1834 an associate in the leftist Carbonari movement (Amis de Peuple, and La Société de Droits de l'Homme et du

Sunday [February] 26

Fourier - after that we look for a room. Walter goes out for the first time, and we eat at Viot[h]. We go to see *Robert le Diable*.⁴¹

Citoyen), and of radical leftist publications (Cabet's "Le Populaire", and "La Tribune Politique et Littéraire"). On March 17, 1832, he resigned from Lelewel's committee and became a co-founder of the Polish Democratic Society (co-author of the decree of its establishment, that is, its first Manifesto). Not only was he a member of the Carbonari but also a Mason.

In his pronouncements (of February 25, and especially of November 29, 1832) he condemned the nobility's past, and proclaimed that a social revolution was the only means for the rebirth of Poland, and that it was the task of the emigration to become involved in this. In 1832 his pamphlet *About the Polish aristocracy and the status of peasants in Poland*, and the French text of his November speech *Discours de Thadée Krępowiecki prononce a Paris le 29 Nov. 1832, anniversaire de la Révolution polonaise*. His views became the point of departure for the program of the revolutionary democrats, but also the reason why his name was cancelled from the list of the Democratic Society, and why he was exiled to Belgium by the French authorities. In turn, the Belgian authorities expelled him for revolutionary agitation. In June of 1834 he was in England. In Czyński's publication "Progress" he published an article entitled "Nationality" in which, along with criticism of the nobility's past, he also presented a plan listing principles for a structure of social justice of a Poland governed by the people. Co-founder of the organization "The People of Poland", as well as of the manifesto of the Grudziąz Community, a member of the Union of Polish Emigrants. In 1846 he returned to the Democratic Society. Debilitated physically, he died in poverty.

Julius Słowacki (1809-1849) - poet and dramatist, along with Adam Mickiewicz the most famous architect of Polish romanticism. In March of 1831 he left Warsaw to serve as diplomatic courier of the National Government to London and Paris. On about the 6th of September, he came to Paris from England; and after the collapse of the uprising he settled there as an emigrant. He became active in the life of the Polish emigration in Paris as a member of the Lithuanian Society and the Academic Society of Polish Exiles (of which Jański was also a member). From January of 1833, he lived in Geneva - and from December 20, 1838, once again in Paris.

He included his early work in a Paris edition of *Poems* (3 volumes in 1832-1833). During the November uprising, he stood out as one of the leading political poets (*Hymn, Ode to freedom*). Up to 1840 (the year of Jański's death) he wrote dramas such as *Kordian* (1834), *Balladyna* (1835, published 1839), *Lilla Weneda* (1840), a prose poem, *Anhelli* (1838); also, poems such as *In Switzerland* (published in the volume *Three Poems*, Paris, 1839), *Beniowski*, a wandering poem containing, among other things, critical remarks concerning emigrant and national community; finally lyric verses.

41 On this day, that is February 26, the Théâtre du Palais-Royal presented a few plays, among which was a popular one-act parody *Robert le Diable*, "a masterpiece of Mr. Mayer-Ber" [malicious reference to the composer Meyerbeer]. This theater occupied the exhibition hall in the Royal Palace, built in 1784, renovated and enlarged in 1831. Its presentations were mainly vaudeville, parodies, operettas, and comedies.

The parody *Robert le Diable* was based on a libretto by Eugene Scribe and Casimir Delavigne, written for the great opera of this title, composed and presented by the

A Chopin concert,⁴² return with Carnot. Positivism.⁴³
Monday [February 27] - We look for a room. A desire to work immediately, and to earn a lot of money. Cassin.⁴⁴

[February] 28, Tuesday - I met Lacordaire,⁴⁵ We arrange a rendez-vous. At about two o'clock I went to see Bontemps. There I was in bad humor. Mr.

composer Giacomo Meyerbeer in Paris. Its premier took place on November 21, 1831. The libretto presented the misfortunes of a Norman Prince Robert, who "sold himself" to Bertram, a devil incarnate.

⁴² The first public concert of Frederic Chopin in Paris took place in the Pleyel Hall at 8 P.M. He played the *Concerto in F Minor and Variations*, based on the motif "La ci darem la mano" from Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni*; He also participated in Friedrich Kalkbrenner's *Polonez* for 6 pianos. In the audience, among others, were Franz Liszt and Felix Mendelssohn.

⁴³ Positivism - a philosophical trend of thought proposed by a former follower of Saint-Simon, Auguste Comte, who called it "a philosophy of positivism." Comte based himself on the supposition that the human intellect is incapable of knowing the essence of things and ultimate causes; therefore, it is necessary to stop at investigating facts and forming assertions about the relations between phenomena, keeping in mind the possibility of using them to transform reality. Philosophy should be a theory of learning, establishing a logical and historical order among the individual scientific disciplines. Theology and metaphysics, which propose questions surpassing human knowledge, are condemned to fruitlessness.

⁴⁴ Eugène Cassin (1796-1844) - co-founder and member of many welfare societies, secretary general and agent of the Central French-Polish Committee, friend and aid of the Polish National Committee, dedicated body and soul to the Polish emigrants. His home, which Lelewel lived, was in the house on rue Taranne - the same place where meetings of Lelewel's Committee, and the Paris "Community" were held.

⁴⁵ Jean-Baptiste-Henri-Dominique Lacordaire (1802-1861) - a French Dominican. Initially a deist, then a follower of the teaching of Jean Jacques Rousseau. He studied law in Dijon. In 1824 he entered the seminary of Saint-Sulpice in Paris, and was ordained a priest in 1830. He was a chaplain of the Visitation Sisters. Already at that time he entered into friendly relations with Frs. Gerbet and Lammenais, and together with them in October of 1831 established the daily "L'Avenir". Together with Montalembert, he established an institute (not possessing university powers). At the end of December 1831, after the printing of "L'Avenir" was suspended, he was in Rome, together with Fr. Lamennais and Montalembert, where efforts were made to obtain an audience for them with Pope Gregory XVI, in reference to the ideological program of the suspended periodical. However, they were not received. This gave them to understand the position of the Holy See in this matter. Lacordaire understood this and immediately returned to Paris, where he went to work as a teacher and preacher, first in the Collège Stanislas, and then in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame, where he gained a reputation as an outstanding preacher, sensitive to contemporary religious, ecclesiastical, social, and political problems. When, in his encyclical *Mirari vos*, the Pope condemned the program of "L'Avenir", Lacordaire prevailed upon Lammenais to submit to the papal decree. But in spite of this the leader of the movement did not cease to criticize the Pope unofficially. In the end this caused

Thibaudeau⁴⁶ - conversation about England. Returned late; dinner at Tirechappe.⁴⁷ After dinner, I go out with Bolesław Gurowski.⁴⁸ I catch hold of Annette.

On Wednesday [February 29] - With Walter, I look for a room. A change of climate, the blues [a feeling of hopelessness]. I sit at home. We go to the Palais-Royal for *Louis le Bronze*.⁴⁹

Lacordaire to discontinue any ideological or friendly contact with him. However, Lacordaire did not cease to believe in the possibility of a positive dialogue between democracy and the Catholic Church, a dialogue based on different intellectual and moral premises than before. His former relationship with Fr. Lammenais was the indirect cause which led the Archbishop of Paris to detect undesirable views in Lacordaire's sermons, which were called "conferences", and so he withdrew the latter's permission to preach. The former preacher presented his views in relation to current and former questions in *Considerations philosophiques sur le système de Lammeanis*, and in *Lettre sur le Saint-Siège* (1838). In 1839, he left for Italy, where he entered the Dominican Order (April 8, 1839). He professed vows on April 12, 1840, taking the name of Dominic. A little more than two months later, he took part in the burial services for Jański, who had died in Rome.

Together with Montalembert, for some time he directed the publication of a fairly revolutionary newspaper of the Christian democrats, "Ere Nouvelle" (from April 15, 1848), standing on the side of those who, in a democracy, modelled on a foundation of Catholicism, saw the sole remedy for the current social problems and a way to defend the Church against the attacks of the revolutionists. In 1850, he became the Provincial Superior of the French Dominican province. He was a member of the French Academy.

⁴⁶ Adolphe-Narcisse Thibaudeau (1795-1855) - Count and administrator. He participated in the July Revolution in 1830. He was actively engaged as a republican and editor of the periodical "National". He took part in the June disturbances in Paris in 1832, and was put in prison. He spent some time in England, where he observed the growing economic and industrial issues. He wrote many articles and letters from England to the Paris "National".

⁴⁷ The name of a street near the Pont-Neuf, the location of a cook-shop directed by a German who, at that time, charged only 30 sous for a portion of sausage and cabbage. Polish emigrants often took advantage of this cheap dinner. The street no longer exists.

⁴⁸ Boleslaus Gurowski (? 1812-1835) - Adam's brother, a lieutenant in the quartermaster corps. He lived in Paris as an emigrant; died in Berlin at the age of 23.

⁴⁹ *Louis Le Bronze*, the title of a parody written by Langlé and Vanderburk, who based themselves on Casimir Delavigne's five-act tragedy *Louis XI*, was presented in the Théâtre Français from February 11, 1832. An anonymous critic in Nr. 65 of the "Le Constitutionnel" (Monday, March 5, 1832) informed the readers that, to speak precisely, this is a strong, malicious rebuke directed at saintsmonism, a parody of the work of Delavigne in the full sense the meaning of that word. The verses of Messrs Langlé and Vanderburk evoke laughter at the cost of adherents of the "Globe" and the enlightened people of rue Monsigny. However, in spite of all of the sharp wit of these gentlemen, the saintsmonists will emerge victorious. They will rise above their parody. They are people who are more comical than all comedies."

Thursday [March] 1 - At about eleven o'clock I go to see Gurowski. Cavaignac.⁵⁰ I leave at about 2 o'clock. At the "Revue" I excuse myself to Walter and Lacordaire, claiming that I have a headache. I receive the money, pue Taranne, the "Tribune" for Carnot. In the evening I go to visit Gurowski, but he is not at home. To Arcola.⁵¹

Friday [March] 2 - I begin to write a letter to Joseph Lubowidzki. A visit to Brailoi.⁵² Together with Walter we make a down-payment on his room. We arrange to go to dinner at five. I meet Metmann, and tell him that I am depressed. With Olszowski,⁵³ I go to Gurowski for dinner. A philosophical discussion. Champagne. I sleep with Josephine. A materialist. I think about the course - for example, pour les problemes [about the problems] - philosophy - improvisation.

Saturday, [March] 3 - a bath, breakfast at Vioth. General assembly, a report of the delegates, a question of a profession of faith on the part of the Committee⁵⁴ -

In his Diary, Jański frequently mentions the Palais-Royal and this calls for a commentary. The palace, built by Lemercier in the years 1624-1645, was the private residence of Cardinal-Minister Richelieu, who in his will deeded it to King Louis XIV. It came into the possession of the king's brother, Philip I, the Prince of Orleans, and became thereafter the residence of the Orleans princes. The father of King Louis Philip, who bore the name Philippe Égalité, was ever in debt, and wished to assure himself of a stable income. Therefore he surrounded the palace gardens with columns and commercial galleries, and, in order to gain popularity, opened the gardens of his residence to the public. The Palais-Royal, with its restaurants, coffee houses and shops became one of the most lively centers of social and political life in the capital, readily visited by the Paris demi-monde and outcasts of society.

⁵⁰ Louis Godefroy Cavaignac (1801-1845) - politician, republican leader, participated in the July revolution. Editor of "La Tribune Politique et Littéraire", a militant republican organ, one of the leaders of the society Amis du Peuple, later founder of the Société de Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen, a secret republican organization that remained under the influence of free-masonry, also founder of the periodical "La Réforme".

⁵¹ To Arcola - Café d'Arcole, a coffee-house on the rue de Grenelle-Saint-Honoré, to which Polish emigrant often came.

⁵² I have not been able to identify this person. He may have belonged to a group of the followers of saintsimonism.

⁵³ Olszowski - participated in the November uprising; an emigrant.

⁵⁴ At the general assembly of the Polish National Committee, a commission appointed on February 16 to investigate the activity of Lewelel's Committee, presented its report. It expressed acknowledgement for his good intentions, hard work, and zeal, which justified the trust that was placed in him. At the same time, it declared that the committee did not take into account of the importance of its task. Informing Europe about its election it should have presented an open and bold profession of its (presumably, political) beliefs.

finishes at seven. Dinner at Vioth, then to Arcola, he [?] to Feroussach.⁵⁵ After Arcola, with Pauline, rue des Marais.

Sunday [March] 4 - Pinard⁵⁶ comes to see me. Go to Fourier - (diarrhoea). To l'abbe Gerbet. To the Society for Progress,⁵⁷ Korzeniowski's⁵⁸ remarks. I go for a walk, and meet Dugied; with him a discussion, and a petit verre [drink]. A

The committee did not take advantage of this opportunity, and therefore could not establish any close, extensive political relations with Europe." The general assembly recommended that the committee make "a sincere and open declaration of its political principles to Europe", and establish relations with European nations, with America and other countries, not excluding the Jews and Russian liberals.

⁵⁵ In the autograph, the notation Féroussach. Clearly Jański is concerned here with a person named André-Étienne d'Auderbard de Férussac (1786-1836) - a French baron, zoologist, professor of geography and statistics at the School of the General Staff in Paris. He completed the work initiated by his father, *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière des mollusques terrestres et fluviatiles*; in the years 1824-1831 he edited "Biulletin universal des sciences et de l'industrie". Jański had in mind Férussac's private library; cf. 1833, footnote 12).

⁵⁶ Auguste Pinard (+ 1832) - owner of a Paris publishing house: "Topographie de A. Pinard. Imprimeur du Comité Polonais", which, together with a foundry, was located at Quai Voltaire 15. After A. Pinard's death, his daughters Anais, Cora and Nelly continued to operate the firm under his name. The printery produced many Polish publications, among others, *Pan Tadeusz* (first edition), Słowacki's *Poems* (volumes 1-2, 1832), (vol.3, 1832), various periodicals and pamphlets in the Polish language. For a while, Jański worked very closely with the firm of A. Pinard.

⁵⁷ On February 14, 1832, the anniversary of the victorious battle of Stoczek, the Society of the Friends of Progress was established in Paris. It appealed to the most sincere groups of exiles to unite in this society which, aiming at the liberation of the Polish nation, will strive to "work on itself, acquire knowledge, and perfect itself in military science." John Czyński became president of the society, Theophil Zakrzewski the secretary, and Anthony Hłuśniewicz the treasurer. T. Krępowiecki, J.N. Janowski, E. Rykaczewski, and J.O. Korzeniowski were chosen as members of the board. Alexander Smolikowski was elected secretary of the general sessions. Due to discord and quarrels, the society was unable to play any more important role, and soon fell apart.

⁵⁸ Humphrey Anthony Joseph Korzeniowski (1809-1868) - a Podolian, participated in the November uprising, as a lieutenant, and then captain, of the artillery. In Paris he attended the School of Mines. In 1833 he was working in Toulouse in a copper smelting works as an assistant director of a foundry producing weapons. In 1837, along with John Koźmian and Michael Miłaszewski, he tried to organize about 40 emigrants, in order to form "a joint society to think about Poland and to work on Polish issues" (a statement of J. Koźmian). In 1838, under the influence of interior experiences, he became a practicing Catholic, and joined the House of Jański as an external brother. He was a social and patriotic activist. From 1849 he lived in Rome, in contact with the Resurrectionists. He was a collector and lover of art. After his death, Father Peter Semenenko delivered the funeral eulogy.

dinner for 32 sous. To Arcola for coffee with Adam Gurowski, and I catch hold of Annette. I give her my address. To Mrs. Wheeler (Fourier, Laurence⁵⁹). I return home at eleven. Materialism - freedom.

165 *Monday, March 5* - I finish a letter to Joseph Lubowidzki, and at four o'clock I take it to the post office. When I return I find Walter with Wolski⁶⁰, to the Palais-Royal. Champagne, to Rossignol⁶¹ for coffee and then to Arcola. At about nine I leave for home. I meet Celestine and another woman, and with her I go to rue Foursulth [?], then with the other to place Saint-Michel, and arrange a rendez-vous for Thursday.

Tuesday, [March] 6 - I want to write a letter to Bontemps, but I cannot. I go to "Revue" and skim through the newspapers. I visit Benoist, and discuss spiritualism and Catholicism. I am ashamed to borrow; home at four. With Walter to Hallevent [a hall for trade in the place designated for wool]. After dinner, to Arcola. A journey without purpose along passage Choiseul. There is no course being given at Buchez. A fall with some Virginia on rue Neuve des petits Champs. To Rossignol for beer; go home at ten. I read the *Third Conference* by l'abbé Gerbet. I become aware of where materialism leads in fact.

[Wednesday, March] 6 - Today I am writing this diary from February 25; later I read more of Gerbet, I go to "Revue", the newspapers. I enter into a discussion with Ahrendts⁶² about spiritualism - I explain this by the superiority of the roots of humanity over the external world. Reynaud's inadvertence to this stems from

⁵⁹ Laurence - I was unable to identify this person.

⁶⁰ Wolski - any more definite information is lacking.

⁶¹ Hotel Rossignol on the rue Croix des Petits Champs, where Polish emigrants lived, among these Lelewel and his companions.

⁶² Heinrich Ahrendts (actually Ahrens) (1808-1874) - a philosopher and lawyer. He studied in Getyndza, where he was one of the foremost students of the philosopher K.Ch.F. Krause (1781-1832). Due to his participation in the coup d'état in January of 1831 in Getyndza, he fled to Belgium, then on to Paris, where he lived safely for three years. Grateful for the assistance he received, he presented free of charge a series of instructions in the field of the history of German philosophy, beginning with Kant. At that time he wrote articles for "Revue Encyclopédique", which was then under the direction of Carnot and Leroux. Already in 1834 he was a professor of philosophy and natural law at the University in Brussels. The people of his electoral district elected him to the Frankfurt Parliament. He helped to spread his master's philosophy, pantheism, in western Europe. The term "pantheism" is normally used to describe concepts somewhere between theism and pantheism, especially the doctrine according to which God, as the sole substance, retains his personal separateness, and surpasses the boundaries of a world that exists altogether in God.

arrogance. Dinner with Walter at Steinhauser's. To Arcola; There I predict Rettel's⁶³ skepticism and discouragement. To Carnot for the evening (Ordyniec⁶⁴).

Reynaud monopolized the conversation - concerning Enfantin's projected celibacy. After a while I leave for home. A letter to Bontemps. A dispatch to Benoist. Cassin. 166

[Saturday, March] 10 - To Fourier, about education. I accompany Mrs. Wheeler.

⁶³ Leonard Rettel (1811-1885) - took part in the capture of the Warsaw Belvedere in 1830; emigrant, writer and translator. A Podolian. In 1830 he enrolled in the faculty of law and administration at the University of Warsaw. He was a member of Peter Wysocki's conspiracy. On the day the November uprising erupted, he participated in the capture of the Belvedere. He took part in revolutionary battles, achieving the rank of captain. He was an active member of the Patriotic Society. On November 9, 1831, he came to France. While he was in Paris, in early spring of 1832, he joined the Polish National Committee; but already on March 17th of that year he withdrew to become a member of the Polish Democratic Society. As one of the first members, he signed its act of establishment. He declared himself against the Polish Legion of Joseph Bem, which was being organized in Portugal, and burned the latter's speeches at a meeting at rue Taranne. He was a good speaker. As a result of his protest activity, in July of 1833 he was expelled from Paris along with Jerome Kajsiewicz. Both emigrants settled in Angers, and occupied themselves publishing their poetic efforts, which were translated into French. In spite of material difficulties, they led a care-free life. They came in contact with circle of Fr. Lammenais. At the end of 1835, Rettel, Kajsiewicz, and Montalembert made a retreat at the Trappist Abbey in Solesmes. Rettel then left for Brussels, but returned to Paris, and from that time remained in close contact with Adam Mickiewicz, Bogdan Jański, and John Koźmian. He worked as a journalist. As early as 1832 he was a member of the editorial staff of "The Polish Pilgrim" and "The Polish Democrat". From 1839 he wrote article in "Pszonka". He worked as a translator from German, but especially from Spanish. From 1841 he became a disciple of Andrew Towiański.

⁶⁴ John Casimir Romuald Ordyniec (1797-1863) - A native of Volhynia. He studied at the Krzemieniecki Liceum, and then in the faculty of philosophy at the University of Wilno, completing the course there in 1824. For one year he was a teacher in Winnica, and then began to work in Warsaw. He established close contacts with the lordly Zamoyski family. In the year 1828-1831 he was director of the Government Printery. In 1826, he bought the "Warsaw Daily" from Michael Podczaszyński, and edited the paper to the end of 1829. In that year he began to publish every 10 days installments of "The Polish Decameron". He was the author of articles and poems, as well as a translator. At the time of the uprising, he became a member of the Patriotic Society. On October 29, 1831, he came to Paris together with Lelewel. On May 18, 1832, he joined the Polish Democratic Society as a member and librarian. Also, together with John Nepomucene Janowski and Casimir Alexander Pułaski he edited the organ of the "TDP" society. He worked as a tutor. In his social-political views, he gradually evolved from a democrat to a conservative. He became a member of the camp of Prince Adam Czartoryski. In 1854 he was custodian of the Polish Library and a member of the Historical-Literary Society in Paris.

[*Monday, March*] 19 - A material reaction. Celine comes to me, etc. [March] 20th I rent her room. (I receive money about the 15th).

Friday, [March] 23 - [Adam] Gurowski delivers the plan for the manifesto.⁶⁵

Sunday, [March] 25 - Gurowski comes to see me in the morning, and anger. Camille [Mochnacki] arrives; he delivers Albert [Łempicki's⁶⁶] letter. A walk with [Joseph] Hube.

[*Monday, March*] 26 - I attend Buchez's private lesson. [Tuesday, March] 27 - Oysters with Joseph [Hube] - I feel very weak after dinner.

[*Wednesday, March*] 28 - In the evening, I visit with Carnot, Lherminier. I am experiencing a state of moral weakness.

Thursday, [March] 29 - In the evening, after supper at Steinhauser's, we find Maurice [Mochnacki] at the house.

Friday, [March] 30 - a walk to Neuilly,⁶⁷ plans dealing with Poland. Dinner with Walter for 32 [sous]. I sleep at Celine's place.

⁶⁵ In Paris, in the house of A. Gurowski, on March 17, 1832 the Polish Democratic Society came into existence on the basis of an Act of Establishment, the so-called "Manifesto". The founding members (J.N. Janowski, T. Krępowiecki, Fr. C.A. Pułaski, and A. Gurowski) were convinced that in the course of a free discussion with followers and sympathizers, it would be possible to establish guiding principles for the liberation of Poland. We can presume that Jański, although he did not become of a member of the TDP, might be asked to familiarize himself with the proposed text, which was later published in the publication "TDP": *A projected Act of the Polish emigration, manifesting the main principles governing the selection of its Representation, written by members of the Polish Democratic Society, and transmitted to the Councils of the Polish depots* (Paris, 1832, fascicle 1, p.16).

⁶⁶ Adalbert Napoleon Łempicki (1807-1884) - in 1827 he received the degree of Master of Law and Administration at the University of Warsaw. A contemporary and colleague of Jański at the university. At the time of the uprising in 1831, he was a lieutenant in the Płock cavalry. After the collapse of the uprising, he was an emigrant in France, and was sent to the depot in Avignon, and later in Lunel. He worked in the bureau of the Foncier Credit Society as a clerk, and later as a director. He died in Paris. Camille Mochnacki was in Avignon in February and March of 1832 as a result of pressure by the French authorities. From there he came to Paris as a delegate of the Polish Council living in that depot.

Saturday, [March] 31 - Today, for Lerminier. Maurice's proposal that I participate.⁶⁸

Sunday, April 1 - I go for Fourier's lecture - the course is not in session. I meet 169 Camille, and have breakfast with him. I am ill-tempered. Dinner at home.

[Monday, April] 2 - To Brawacki; he gives me some medicines. I am occupied all day with them. Dinner ditto [as above] with Walter and Fanny. Plans always about going to Poland; I am busy reflecting on this. To Buchez for a lecture.

Tuesday, [April] 3 - To Chopin; I talked too much unnecessarily about the letter to Poland.⁶⁹ To Lherminier's lecture; conversation with Kunatt.⁷⁰ Pac.⁷¹ Once again plans to remain here. A bath; dinner at home with Walter and Fanny.

⁶⁷ A town situated west of Paris and north of the Boulogne Woods, presently a section of Paris.

⁶⁸ Maurice Mochnacki - After coming to Paris from Metz in March of 1832, he wished to add to the work he had already completed, that is, the "history of the Polish revolution". To accomplish this goal he wished to make use of the literary assistance of his friends. Michael Podczaszyński promised to prepare a chapter on "the nationality of the ruling authority and the tendencies of Russia since the 19th century", and a second chapter on "our peasants". Also Roman Sołtyk had assured Mochnacki that he would try "to prepare some things" in connection with becoming co-author of the entire work. Was it just such a project that Mochnacki had in mind when he tried to persuade Jański to take part possibly in completing the great work that resulted: *The revolt of the Polish nation in 1830 and 1831? Cf. Mochnacki, op. cit. vol.I, pp. 9 and 100-101.*

⁶⁹ In the Roman Archives of the Congregation of the Resurrection (ACR 8627, pp.142-143) the rough draft of an undated letter written by Jański which was addressed to "Good Tony". It contains a response to a letter of Anthony Felix Barciński, suspecting Jański of "hinting" to Frederic about his relations with a certain English woman, in whose home Barciński rented a room in London, and to whom he had given his word. At one time Barciński lived with the Chopins, and was on friendly terms with them. Now, undoubtedly, after his return to Warsaw from London, he was seeking the hand of Isabelle, the sister of Frederic. In Jański's letter we read: "Immediately after I received your letter, I went to visit Frederic. First of all, as for me: Your suspicion was completely unfounded. I did not hint at anything to him about your relations with Miss G.; as a result, I felt that I had a strong right to scold him for coarse jokes without any foundation... I feared... that by some extraordinary chance, Frederic might have heard something from her (the English woman's) side. Therefore, I tried as skillfully as possible, to the engage him in conversation on this matter. However, I became convinced that he knows nothing about it. If he had written anything about you, it is obvious that it was only by way of a joke. He assured me, even very solemnly, that he does not even remember this. However, on my insistence, he promised with equal solemnity that, in the future, he would be more careful in his letters. Therefore, I expect that the matter is ended as you wished."

Wednesday, [April 4] - Went for a rendez-vous to Boulard.⁷² I purchase a portrait of Enfantin. (?)

Sunday [April] 8 - to Fourier's lecture, then for the course in history by Lechevalier. Dinner and evening with Walter.

⁷⁰ Most probably the reference here is to Stanislaus Kunatt (1790-1866), whose brother Michael, an emigrant, lived in Nancy. In 1820, after Stanislaus had received a degree of Master of Law at the University of Warsaw, thanks to the support of Professor Frederic Skarbek, he received a government scholarship, and left to pursue further studies abroad, studies in the area of administration, technology, and economy. In Berlin he attended courses offered by F.K. Savigny and A. Humboldt; in Paris, he attended lectures of J.B. Saye. He studied A. Smith and D. Ricard's economic liberalism. He served as an apprentice at the Lafitte bank. He observed economic life in Holland, Switzerland and England. After his return to Poland in 1823, he taught courses in commerce, administration, and statistics. Jański attended lectures by Professor Kunatt, his future examiner. After 1827, Kunatt taught civil law at the University of Warsaw, and political economy in the Preparatory School for the Polytechnic Institute. He propagated an economic liberalism. He translated Ricard's *Principles of political economy*, and a work of the same title by Mac Culloch (Cf. 1830, footnote 13), and also, in 1831, a work by Zachary concerning the French civil code (Cf. 1830, footnote 62). He was the author of treatises in the area of political economy, and organization of the school system in France. During the November uprising he was an officer of the Academic Honor Guard. He was a state councillor, an official in charge of a department of the administration, and secretary-editor of the minutes of meetings of the Supreme National Council. In October, 1831 he lived in Paris as an emigrant. In 1832 he was a member of Lelewel's Committee, and then of the Council of the Polish Depot in Paris. He entered into friendly relations with the camp of Czartoryski, and after 1833, together with Xavier Bronikowski and Andrew Plichta, he was editor of the aristocratic wing's publication "Phoenix". He belonged to the Society of the Third of May. In the years 1834-1837 together with Bronikowski, and from 1837 to 1840 alone, he published the "Chronicle of the Polish Emigration". Co-editor of the monthly "Polish Democracy in the 19th century" (1845-46). He taught for 20 years in the Young Ladies' Institute in the Hotel Lambert, and in the Polish Academy (Montparnasse). From 1832 he was a member-founder, co-worker, and from 1838 secretary of the statistical section of the Literary Society, later the Historical-Literary Society in Paris. He was a member of the Society for Assistance to Education; from 1864 a member of the THL Council, and conservator of the Polish Library. (Gerber)

⁷¹ Louis Michael Pac (1780-1835) - Governor of the palace-senator, voivode of the Kingdom of Poland, general of a division, awarded the Cross Virtuti Militari, the Commander's Star of the Legion of Honor, and the Sash of St. Stanislaus. He participated in the campaigns of 1808, 1812-1824 in Spain, Austria, Russia and Germany. During the November uprising he was commander of the first reserve corps, and took part in the battles at Ostrołęka, where he was wounded. He was noted for his dedication to the cause of Poland in the emigration. He visited London in 1832 in order to inform the English parliament about Poland's interests.

⁷² Further information is lacking.

170 *Monday [April] 9* - Before dinner [Maurice] Mochnacki reads me his history. In the evening at Kunatt. I defend the principle of authority, and discuss Catholicism with Szemieth⁷³ - inappropriately. The law concerning aliens is passing in the House.⁷⁴

Tuesday [April] 10 - I request that my name be deleted from the list of the Society.⁷⁵ I visit Mejnzer;⁷⁶ he agrees with my political opinions. Celine is ill. Dr. Heald⁷⁷ came to see me. Dinner at my place with Walter.

Wednesday [April] 11 - At Mochnacki's residence, conversation concerning revolutionary and restoration [restoring a system that has been abolished]

⁷³ Francis Szemieth (1803-1882) - He came from Samogitia; a leader of the uprising in that area in 1830. A major in the Polish army and a deputy. He was a political activist among the emigrants in Paris.

⁷⁴ In the French House of Deputies, on April 9, 1832, by a great majority of votes, a law was passed limiting the personal freedom of foreigners. On April 19, the House of Peers also confirmed this by a majority vote. On the strength of this law, the minister for external affairs could assemble foreigners-exiles in one or more places, and by way of an administrative process, without any judicial decree, could expel from France those who opposed or disturbed public order and peace. This law dealing with foreigners was mainly concerned with the Polish exiles, and left them at the mercy, or lack of mercy, of the police.

⁷⁵ This refers to "The list of Polish Exiles enrolling in General Assemblies and the Polish National Committee in Paris, until the end of April, (1832)." This list was printed in a publication entitled: "*An account of the activity of the Polish National Committee. From December 1831 to May 1832*, Paris, the A. Pinard Press, rue D'Anjou-Dauphine 8, 1832, p.110.

⁷⁶ Joseph Mayzner (1803-1841) - In the years 1822-1826 he studied law at the University of Warsaw, receiving the degree of Master of Law. On occasion of a Church jubilee (1825) he wrote *Religious Poems* in a classical form. He worked in a provincial criminal court as an apprentice. He was a member of the Patriotic Club. He participated in the November uprising, throughout the entire campaign as a lieutenant in the 9th corps of infantry. He advanced to the rank of captain. He was an emigrant in Besançon, where he worked as a journalist and poet. In 1832 he wrote *A poem of perpetual memory of November 29, 1830, read at the celebration of the second anniversary of that occasion in France, in the city of Besançon, November 29, 1832 by ... a captain of the 9th corps of the Polish army*, Paris, 1832. He was elected secretary of the Academic Society of Polish Exiles in Paris. He was a member of a masonic lodge, and then of the Hungarian camp. In 1833 he edited "A Periodical of Mutual Enlightenment", and published his compositions there. In that same year he participated in an unsuccessful expedition to Frankfurt-am-Mein by a group of Polish emigrants. He returned to France, and lived in poverty. Julius Słowacki knew Captain Mejnzer from the time when he was secretary of the Academic Society, and honored his memory in one of his lyrical verses entitled *The Funeral of Captain Mejnzer*.

⁷⁷ Dr. Heald - no further information available.

principles, and about Russia. He has a different opinion of me. Camille's proposal dealing with a professorship for Poles. I am determined to remain here at all cost. A spiritualist - with the intention of providing a strong religious impulse.

I am finishing reading *Mélanges de "L'Avenir"*. Rohrbacher's articles made a great impression on me.⁷⁸

[Sunday] April 15 - I eat dinner at Walter's, along with tea. He loses in cards.

Monday, [April 16] - Breakfast with Brawacki. Somehow his materialistic principles seem foreign to me.

I am reading the introduction by Salverte,⁷⁹

Many walks.

171 Evenings at the Mochnackis with tea.

I am reading Waga.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ René-François Rohrbacher (1798-1856) - an eminent thinker, dogmatist, moralist, Biblicist, and historian of religion. The son of German parents, he was ordained a priest in 1812. He was a historian of the Catholic Church, a professor at the seminary in Nancy. He worked closely with Lamennais, and wrote for the "L'Avenir". After the Papal condemnation, he severed his contacts with the leader of liberal Catholicism. He engaged in an extensive study of Church History, and showed great commitment in defending the institution of the Church. In his works that were more apologetic than historical, he demonstrated that the Catholic Church, one and universal, embraces all places, interests and affairs of the entire world, and that the center of the universal Church is the Pope, the Vicar of Christ and successor of St. Peter. In the years 1842-1849 he published the *Histoire universelle de l'Eglise catholique* in 29 volumes, Paris. In the second volume of *Mélanges catholiques; extraits de "L'Avenir"*, two articles by Rohrbacher appear: *Que signifie une croix?* (pp.260-266) and *Célibat ecclésiastique* in two parts (pp.315-331).

⁷⁹ Anne-Joseph-Eusébe-Baconnière de Salverte (1771-1839) - scholar, philosopher, writer, liberal politician, from 1828 a member of the French House of Deputies. After the revolution of 1830, he joined the opposition. He cooperated with the publishers of the "Revue Encyclopédique". He was author of many works, among others: *Des maisons de santé destinées aux aliénés* (1821), *Essai historique et philosophique sur les noms d'hommes, de peuples, e lieux, etc.* (2 volumes, 1823), *Des sciences occultes our Essai sur la magie, les prodiges, les miracles* (2 volumes, 1829).

⁸⁰ Theodore Simon Waga (1739-1801) - lawyer, historian and geographer. A student of the Piarists, he later entered their congregation, taking the name of Theodore. After completing his studies, he taught in the Warsaw Collegium Nobilium and other Piarist schools. He held high offices in the congregation, and was a preacher. He spent three years in Italy, France and England. He published "A short history of the princes and kings of Poland, with some remarks on the history of the nation in order to enlighten the youth of the nation" which was reprinted several times. J. Lelewel added to, and published this History in Warsaw in 1818, and in this edition it appeared in Vilno (1818, 1824, 1831), in Warsaw (1819), and in Kraków (1822)...He was editor of *An inventory of laws, statutes, and constitutions of Poland and the Great Principality of Lithuania*,

Friday, [April] 20 - A general assembly. I meet Gurowski, and return Lelewel's three constitutions.⁸¹

Easter Sunday, April 22

I step into St. Sulpice⁸² by chance. Walter and Fanny have dinner with me. They play cards and lose.

Monday, [April] 23 - Mrs. Enfantin's⁸³ funeral. I meet Puławski.⁸⁴ I speak with Janowski, and buy burgundy wine.

located in the 6 first volumes of the Voluminis Legum... (Warsaw, 1782; second edition, Warsaw, 1789), *Terms of office of the district and town courts, as well as the legal jurisdictions of final instance of both nations ... collected* (Warsaw, 1785). He translated the works of the Italian lawyer and economist Cesare Beccari *Concerning crimes and punishments* (1764; Polish edition, 1772).

⁸¹ This refers to *Three Polish Constitutions: 1791, 1807, 1815*, compared and differences weighed by Joachim Lelewel, published in Warsaw in 1831. The next edition, prepared by Leonard Chodźko, appeared in Paris in 1832.

⁸² Saint-Sulpice - A church of the 13th century bearing the name of St. Sulpice, located in what was then a suburb of Paris, south of the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Près.

⁸³ The mother of Barthélemy Prosper Enfantin, owner of the property in Ménilmontant. She died of cholera on April 20, 1832.

⁸⁴ Anthony Felix (1800-1838) whose religious name was Alexander, and most often later Casimir, Pułaski. a Piarist and a political activist at the time of the November uprising and the Great Emigration. He professed vows as a Piarist in 1817, but due to his free-wheeling life style, accumulating debts while in vows, he was ordained in Warsaw only in September of 1834. At the time of the November uprising, he made his appearance as Casimir Pułaski (an allusion to the hero of the Confederacy). He proclaimed radical social and republican views, and propagated ideas concerning enfranchising and educating peasants. In the Patriotic Society he was the leader of the radical left. Along with Maurice Mochnacki and Thaddeus Krępowiecki, he was a member of the statutory commission of the Patriotic Society, and one of its vice-presidents. In his sermons, he preached that "God chose the Polish nation to prepare Russia for a union of Asia with Europe by the eternal bond of enlightenment and freedom." He was the head chaplain of General Dwernicki's corps. In his speeches he praised the Paris July revolution. Before the Russians entered Poland, he left Warsaw, and by way of Prussia, reached France, together with John Nepomucene Janowski. He became a member of Lelewel's Committee of the Polish Nation. as a result of differences of opinion, on March 16, 1832, he joined a five-member commission which was supposed to re-organize the Committee. When the report of the commission demanding the dissolution of the Committee was rejected, Pułaski seceded and signed the Act of Establishment of the Polish Democratic Society. As a result of his conflicting ideas his name was erased from the list of members of the Society. He presented himself as a priest, even though he had ceased to fulfill his priestly obligations. He criticized the activity of General Dwernicki's Committee, siding with Zaliwski's partisan expedition. He made friends with the Carbonari, and became a member of a Masonic lodge. As a consequence of the arrests of members of the Carbonari-Masonic

[Tuesday, April] 24

I go to visit Alouette.⁸⁵ Camille gives me a letter from Adalbert Łempicki. On my way back from Alouette I meet Brawacki.

Wednesday, April 25

In the evening I go to visit Carnot after I don't know how long.

[Thursday, April] 26

I send a letter to Adalbert Łempicki.

[Friday, April] 27

I go to visit [Louis] Plater,⁸⁶ and from there to Lacordaire. I discuss Fletcher, as well as treatises on Genesis.⁸⁷

underground, Pułaski and his companion Worcell found themselves in the Paris jail of Sainte-Pélagie. In July of 1833 Pułaski was expelled from France, and took up residence in Belgium along with Lelewel and Worcell. From November 1833 he was administrator of the radical Brussels weekly "La Voix du Peuple", in which he called for solidarity with those conquered nations who were fighting against despotism. He supported the participation of Poles in the Sabaudian expedition, and severely criticized the politics of Czartoryski and the Belgian government. On April 16, 1834, he was expelled from Belgium. He settled in London, where, together with Thaddeus Krępowiecki and Stanislaus Worcell, he began organizing the "People" of London, concentrating on Poles with republican-democratic convictions. He was active in London and in Portsmouth, as well as on the Isle of Jersey, never ceasing to be in conflict with his companions. He became destitute and mentally ill. According to Lelewel, he died in a hospital for the mentally ill; according to Janowski, after being beaten on a dark street. In the opinion of some people, he was considered a bold and ambitious tribune of the people; while in the opinion of others, he was a clever and enterprising patriot.

⁸⁵ Alouette (more properly, Lalouette) - an advocate of saintsimonism; he made a shorthand copy of Father Enfantin's lectures given at the end of 1831 and the beginning of 1832 (Cf. above, footnote 22).

⁸⁶ Louis August Broel-Plater (1775-1846) - Thanks to the ambition of his wealthy parents, he received a solid domestic education. He distinguished himself especially in the exact sciences and in the knowledge of languages. He occupied himself with Polish chemical terminology, highly esteemed in this regard by J. Śniadecki. He took part in the Kościuszko uprising. In the first years of the reign of the Russian Tsar Alexander I, he became acquainted with Adam Czartoryski, who was a friend of the Tsar. In 1801, he married Mary Anne Brzostowska, who distinguished herself in the emigration in Paris by her philanthropic and cultural activity. In 1802 he belonged to the Warsaw Society of the Friends of Learning. He traveled throughout Germany and France. In the service of Russia he served as inspector of schools in the Province of Vilno, and then inspector of government forests. He was disappointed in Napoleon. After moving to Warsaw, he became a minister of state in the government of the Kingdom of Poland, and performed responsible functions in the Government Commission of Revenue and Treasury,

Sunday, April 29

becoming the right hand of Minister Lubecki. In 1816, he was named Director General of Government Forests, and in this position, he demonstrated exceptionally beneficial economic and social activity. He was also a member of the Government Commission for Religious Beliefs and Public Education. In 1825 he became a member of the Polytechnic Council, preparing plans for the Polytechnic Institute. In the Warsaw Society of the Friends of Learning he effected changes raising the standard of efficiency of its activity, and putting its archives in order. He belonged to the Masons, and in their circle exercised constantly higher functions, always subordinating them to patriotic goals. He did not enjoy the favor of Nowosilcow, who placed difficulties in the way of his career. In 1829 he became a senator-castellan. He accepted the November uprising without conviction. Appointed by General Chlopicki to be the secretary of the state of dictatorship, he signed the official acts, thereby recognizing the uprising as a national act, and an act of dethronization of the Romanovs. On orders from the National Government, on January 31, 1831, he left for France, where, together with General Kniaziewicz, he established a Legation seeking to obtain the favor of the French government for the Polish cause. After the collapse of the uprising he held talks with the French authorities in the matter of assuring protection for the exiles. He maintained contact with Prince Czartoryski. Along with other outstanding emigrants he established the Literary Society in Paris (April 29, 1832), of which he became a life-time vice-president. Under pressure from Czartoryski, he presented to the Society a plan to move Poles to Algeria, a plan which multiplied his enemies. In connection with Gregory XVI's Encyclical *Cum Primum* of 1832, he prepared a memorial for the Holy See. At the end of 1832 he became a member of the Council of the Society for Educational Assistance. He favored giving the peasants freedom and the right to possess property. He was a member of the editorial staff of "The Chronicle of the Polish Emigration". He was director of the Polish Club which had a reading room providing latest releases. In 1838, at his home, the act establishing the Polish Library was signed; Plater was a member of the library council. Bankruptcy of the Society of Commerce and Finance, established by Louis Jelski, and of which Plater was a member, forced him to endure severe material limitations. In the end, with the permission of the Prussian authorities, he took up residence in Poznań on property he had purchased, and it was there that he died.

⁸⁷ James Fletcher (1800-1832) - An English historian, author of a monograph dedicated to the history of Poland. This monograph appeared in French translation in Paris in 1832: *Histoire de Pologne...* traduite de l'anglais et continue depuis la révolution de novembre jusque' la prise de Varsovie et la fin de la guerre, par Alphonse Viollot. Jański reviewed this work in the "Revue Encyclopédique", March, 1832, vol.53, pp.657-659. Debates concerning *Genesis*, or the first book of the Old Testament. Undoubtedly Jański was concerned about studies he needed to prepare for a review of the book of J.B.C.B. Leroux-Moisand, *Disertation sur le 22 Chapitre de la Génèse: Sacrifice d'Abraham...* (Paris, 1832). Jański's review appeared in the "Revue Encyclopédique", 1832, vol. 54, pp.154-156.

I return two articles to Carnot, and take away the pamphlets of [Louis] Plater.⁸⁸ At four I accompany Lacordaire to visit his brother [Jean Theodore];⁸⁹ I am beginning to eat at table.

[Monday, April] 30

I wanted to go [to hear] Paganini,⁹⁰ but it was already too late.

[Tuesday, May] 1

I return Waga to Mochnecki, and return Kołłątaj's⁹¹ letters.

[Wednesday, May] 2

A debate with Leroux⁹² at Carnot's house. I give him articles about Plater's pamphlet. In these days, unexpectedly, a new sin.

⁸⁸ These two articles are undoubtedly two reviews of the publication of the authors named above: James Fletcher, and J.B.C.B. Leroux-Moisand, which Carnot announced in the columns of the monthly "Revue Encyclopédique". In 1832 an anonymous pamphlet entitled *La Pologne province russe* appeared in Paris. It was written by Louis Plater, who in it compared the Constitution of 1815 with the Organic Statute of 1832. The Russian Tsar Nicholas I, formally taking into consideration the decisions passed by the Congress of Vienna, on February 26, 1832 issued his legal act called "The Organic Statute" which severely limited the autonomy of the Polish Kingdom by abolishing its army and its Sejm. From that time on Poland was to be "an inseparable part" of the Russian empire. Jański wrote an article about Plater's pamphlet which appeared in the "Revue Encyclopédique", 1832, vol. 54, pp.654-657.

⁸⁹ Undoubtedly Jean-Théodore Lacordaire (1801-1870) - the older brother of the priest. A traveler, he wrote reports of his travels throughout South America for the "Revue des Deux Mondes". From 1835 he was professor of zoology and comparative anatomy at the University in Liège. He was an author of scholarly works.

⁹⁰ Niccolò Paganini (1782-1840) - An Italian violinist and composer, one of the most outstanding virtuosos in the history of performing arts. He appeared in Paris in 1831, and again in 1832, giving 10 concerts from the second half of March. He designated the proceeds from one of these concerts to benefit victims of the cholera epidemic which was raging at the time.

⁹¹ Hugo Kołłątaj (1750-1812) - a priest who was also a political activist and writer. He was Poland's deputy chancellor of the treasury, promoter of schools, historian and philosopher. He was one of the principal representatives of Polish education, a promoter of a theory according to which land is the one source of a nation's wealth, and working of the land the sole productive labor (physiocracy). He was a leading agent of the patriotic party, co-author of the Constitution of the Third of May. In the period of the first years of the Great Sejm a publication which did not identify him as its author appeared: *To Stanislaus Małachowski, a Government official. A few anonymous letters concerning the upcoming Sejm: part 1: Concerning the restoration of the nation's...; parts 2 and 3: "Concerning the reformation of the Republic..."*, Warsaw, XII 1788-V 1789.

⁹² Pierre Leroux (1798-1871) - philosopher, journalist, political activist, an educated printer. In 1831 he was a saintsimonist of the second rank. In 1824 he established "Le Globe",

Thursday, May 3

A meeting (Chodźko, Lelewel).⁹³ Dinner with Tonnelier on the other side of the Montparnasse toll-gate - a meeting of superiors [higher superiors]. I return at eleven. I am beginning to spend evenings at home; tea with rum.

[Friday, May] 4

I send a letter to Joseph [Zawadzki] in Avignon.⁹⁴

[Sunday, May] 6

I am finishing the first part of Kołłątaj's letters; I take the June issue of "Mercury"⁹⁵ from Maurice. I go to visit Walter. He invites me for dinner. I do not wish to go. To Mochnecki; and then at home a third letter to Adalbert [Łempicki].

Monday, [May 7]

I am already correcting my proofs in the "Revue".

Tuesday, [May] 8

which in about 1830 became the organ of the saintsimonists. After the division within the saintsimonists that took place in November of 1831, he withdrew from their school and began to form his own socio-religious theories. It was been written that he was the first to use the term *socialisme* in its modern sense. His philosophical-religious system generally supported the utopian assumptions of Saint-Simon. In his basic work, *De L'Humanité, de son principe et de son avenir* (1840) proclaimed humanity to be a "universal" being, solidary and capable of progress: "Human intelligence aims at rebuilding an earthly paradise, and erasing original sin by the labor and blood of humanity" (in the words of Armand de Melun). Proclaiming a "religion of humanity", and consigning Christianity to its service, Leroux based himself on a conglomeration of various philosophical ideas and the beliefs of various religions. He exerted a considerable and lasting influence on the views of his friend, the famous writer George Sand. He cooperated closely with Jean Reynaud (Cf. above, footnote 2), together with whom he published, among others, the *Encyclopédie nouvelle*.

⁹³ A common gathering of the Paris "Community" and Lelewel's Committee, organized to celebrate the anniversary of the enactment of the Constitution of the Third of May.

⁹⁴ Joseph Zawadzki, captain in the 13th ulan regiment, was living in Avignon at the time. He was applying for permission to reside in Paris. In a later letter to "Mr. Joseph", Jański, married as we know to Alexandra Zawadzka, stated: "I solemnly assure you, that I continue to love you sincerely as my brother-in-law and a fellow Pole" (ACRR 8568, p.45).

⁹⁵ "Mercury, a Political, Commercial, and Literary Newspaper", published during the time of the November uprising (in Warsaw, from December 17, 1830 to September 7, 1831) Stanislaus Psarski (1810-1875) editor-in-chief, a graduate of the University of Warsaw (law and administration), and a member of the Patriotic Society. 222 numbers of the newspaper were printed.

Chodźko gives me a receipt. Fr. Lacordaire brings me Gerbet and Delamennais.⁹⁶

Wednesday, [May] 9

Karwowski pays me a visit. I take Bronikowski's⁹⁷ brochure from the "Revue", and "Mercury" of March and April from Mochnacki. Mr. Maurice told the truth. Camille returns the 19 francs he owed me. I take a bath.

Thursday, [May 10]

I am occupied with the "Mercury". In the evening I meet for coffee with Maurice and Podczaszyński.⁹⁸ The latter's gossip.

⁹⁶ Philippe-Olympe Gerbet, Cf. 1831, footnote 59.

Felicité-Robert de Lamennais (Le Mennais, De la Mennais, Laméné) (1782-1854) - French priest, writer and socio-religious activist, leader of the liberal Catholics in France. Cf. Note I, at the end of the Diary for the year 1832, for the life and activity of Fr. F.R. de Lamennais.

⁹⁷ This refers to the publication in Paris in 1832 of Xavier Bronikowski's *Griefs nouveaux des cabinets européens contre le cabinet russe*, which Jański reviewed in the "Revue Encyclopédique", 18322, vol.54, pp.509-513.

⁹⁸ Michael Podczaszyński (1800-1835) - born in Krzemieniec. He studied first at the University of Vilno, and then in Warsaw (administration). In 1824 he worked in the Government Commission of Revenue and Treasury of the Kingdom of Poland. Already in 1824 he became acquainted with Maurice Mochnacki and his family, and visited at their home in Warsaw at ul. Długa. He and Maurice visited Joachim Lelewel, who lived across the street, and who was for them a great authority. He did translation from the French. In June 1825, together with Mochnacki, he began to edit and publish the "Warsaw Daily". For lack of funds, within a half year he handed over the task of editing the newspaper to John Casimir Ordyniec and he left for Paris, where he served as a tutor in the home of the Ladislaus Potockis. He became acquainted with Leonard Chodźko, who had settled permanently in Paris, and began to work together with the Paris press; e.g., for the "Revue Encyclopédique" he wrote reviews of periodicals and publications from Warsaw. After returning to Warsaw in 1827, he began to work at the "Polish Gazette"; however next year he returned to Paris as a tutor in the home of Clementine, nee Sanguszko, the wife of Ladislaus Ostrowski. For the third and last time he left for Paris in 1829, and settled there permanently, occupying himself with editorial work (a one-volume edition of *The Works* of Ignatius Krasicki, Paris-Geneva, 1830, which was republished a few times thanks to Ostrowski's financial assistance). He wrote *Fragments sur la littérature ancienne de la Pologne*, 1830, which was included in C. Malte-Brun's *Tableau de la Pologne ancienne et moderne* (Brussels, 1830, and a reprint). Leonard Chodźko reprinted this work in 1831. It had still another edition, and was also published in foreign languages. In difficult material circumstances, sometimes Podczaszyński did not have enough to eat. He placed articles and information on the topic of the November uprising in the French press ("Revue des Deux Mondes", "Le Temps"). When in Paris, on January 28, 1831, a Comité Central Franco-Polonais headed by General Lafayette was

Friday, May 11

First I collect these memoirs left over from the last month. To Paulin⁹⁹ concerning some of Skarbek's business, and then to Michael Chevalier¹⁰⁰ for books to Warsaw.

Saturday, [May] 12

172

Jouffry and Lerminier. I meet with Gurowski, about Mochnacki. I go to visit Carnot; I stay there too long. I take various pamphlets for Warsaw with me.

established, Podczaszyński, a co-worker of the General, became involved in the work of the committee. In spite of his difficult situation, he provided Maurice and Camille Mochnacki with financial assistance when they came to Paris, and was co-founder of Lelewel's Learned Society of Polish Exiles. From January to April of 1832, he resided in Metz, where he organized assistance for Polish exiles. After he returned to Paris, he became a member of the Lithuanian and Russian Territories Society and of the Literary Society. In September of 1832, along with Maurice Mochnacki, he resigned from Lelewel's Committee, and joined the newly established Paris Institution which took its name from the place of its meetings "Woban" (hotel Vauban). This Paris Institution became the germ of the National Committee of the Polish Emigration. In Paris, from July 1832, Podczaszyński edited and published a political periodical, "Memoirs of the Polish Emigration". He published these "Lives of famous Poles" in the *Biographie universelle portative des contemporains...* In November of 1832, he was living together with Maurice Mochnacki in a single hotel room. Both were experiencing financial difficulties and ill health (Tuberculosis). At the end of July 1833 they moved to a suburb of Paris, but returned to Paris at the beginning of 1834. When Maurice Mochnacki, already seriously ill, moved to Auxerre, where he died in December of 1834, Podczaszyński went on preparing material for publication, hiding the condition of his health and his poverty. He ended in a Paris hospital, where he died on July 4, 1835. The funeral took place in the church of St. Thomas Aquinas, and he was buried in the Montparnasse cemetery.

⁹⁹ Alexander Paulin (1793-1858) - A Paris bookseller and publisher, co-founder of the daily "National", founder and editor of "L'illustration", a politician.

¹⁰⁰ Michael Chevalier (1806-1879) - A student at the Paris Polytechnic School. He continued his studies at the school of mines. Even before the July revolution he held the position of engineer in the French northern department. For reasons of health he resigned his position, and engaged in journalism. He was involved in the saintsimonist movement, and was one of its outstanding leaders. He was a Father, that is a saintsimonist of the First Rank. He published articles in the columns of the movement's organs, "Organisateur" and "Le Globe", among these a significant article: *Système de la Méditerranée* (February 12, 1832). In the conflict between Bazard and Enfantin, he came out in favor of the latter. He was arrested together with Enfantin and sentenced to a year in jail. After his release, he traveled to North America, Mexico and Cuba. He published articles dealing with his travels in the "Journal des Débats" of which he was the editor. In 1840 he became a professor in the Collège de France, where he taught political economy (he published *Cours d'économie politique* in 1842-1844). He was a senator. In a letter to Louis Królikowski, Jański referred to him as: "doctrinaire of the arriere-pensées saintsimonist industrialists" (1836).

Sunday [May] 13

Rostkowski¹⁰¹ come to see me - about his interests; a meeting with Cassini. He comes again with Józwick.¹⁰² We go out for wine. To Mochnacki (he is out). Bois-de-Boulogne.¹⁰³ I go to visit Cassini. To the reading room¹⁰⁴ and dinner. To the Oleszczyńskis¹⁰⁵ and Hube. In the evening I read about the

¹⁰¹ Theodore Rostkowski (1804-1840) - a doctor. He was born in the Pułtusk district, and was a student of the Piarist Fathers in Warsaw. In 1822 he enrolled in the medical school at the University of Warsaw. He was the tutor of Adolph, the son of Martin Roliński, the Dean of the School of Medicine. He did not apply himself overly to his studies, along with his charge made merry in the Warsaw taverns, thus gaining a reputation as a "playboy and madcap". As a result he lost his position as tutor. At the final examination at the University, the Dean accused him of putting to death the incurable ill. Rostkowski brought suit against his former dean for defamation of character, but the case was interrupted by the outbreak of the November uprising. At the beginning of 1831, he was a practicing civilian physician, and then a staff doctor, and finally a division doctor of the General Staff. He was awarded the Golden Cross Virtuti Militari. At the end of April, 1832, he reached France by way of Prussia, together with Rybiński's Corps. He settled permanently in Paris. He made friends with Jański, and with Maurice Mochnacki, whom he idolized. He was Mochnacki's last doctor, and was present at this death. In 1835, he enrolled in the faculty of Medicine at the University in Montpellier, and in the following year continued his studies in Paris. He became a drunkard, and allowed himself to be talked into cooperation with the French police. As a result, He was boycotted by the Polish emigration. In 1839, he was discharged by the police for abuse of alcohol. He died in April 1840 in the Paris hospital, Le Charité, "without anyone to take care of him."

¹⁰² Louis Józwick (1808-1855) - In 1828 he enrolled in the School of Theology at the University of Warsaw. He participated in the November uprising, and emigrated to Paris. He returned to Poland and was ordained a priest. From 1847 until his death he was a pastor in the Augustów Deanery.

¹⁰³ The Boulogne Forest - an extensive forest and park near Paris.

¹⁰⁴ Reading Room - French "cabinet de lecture". Lucy, nee Giedrojć, Raustenstrauch in *My Memoirs of France*, (Kraków, 1839, p.291) described the Paris *cabinets de lecture* that were well known to Jański: "There are a few of them on every larger street, and all of them are crowded. These rooms, clean, richly decorated, lighted at night, heated in winter, supply all sorts of newspapers and literary novelties for a small fee. A person goes there in the morning, tired of his own lodgings, or avoiding his creditors. In the evenings a factory worker, tired from his daily work, hurries there, hoping to learn something about the world from the newspapers. The parsimonious miser also goes there, having figured out that, in the winter, the cost of a candle and wood is greater than the few sous it costs to read the papers and a few new pieces."

¹⁰⁵ The brothers Anthony and Ladislaus Oleszczyński.

Anthony Oleszczyński (1794-1879) - an artist and engraver, the older brother of Ladislaus, a sculptor. Through the efforts of Nowosilcow, he was accepted, at the cost of the Russian government, to Imperial Academy of Fine Arts in Petersburg (1817-1824). Next, from the Government Commission for Public Education of the Kingdom of Poland he received a stipend for further studies in Paris (from 1825). He won medals and awards

French language. Rostkowski comes to see me in the evening. + A letter from Adalbert.+

for his works. After the outbreak of the November uprising, he did not return to Poland, but remained in Paris, where he lived until death, on rue de Cluny 5, and later on rue Saint-Jacques 187. Since he chose to remain in France, he lost the government subsidy. Nevertheless he refused the proposal of the Imperial Academy in Petersburg which in 1832 offered him a position as professor. He was active in the Great Emigration. In 1832 he belonged to the Polish Literary Society in Paris, and was a member of the Polish Democratic Society. In 1832 he published the first number of the lithographed work "Babin in a foreign land" - one of the first polemical-satirical Polish publications in Paris. He cooperated with the publication "Le Polonais", which appeared in Paris in the years 1833-1836. He belonged to the Polytechnic Society and the Ethnographic Society in Paris. In 1840, he was one of seven members of the Commission of Funds for the Polish Emigration. He collected iconographic materials pertaining to the history of Poland and Polish arts. He prepared an album *Polish Miscellany* (Paris, 1832-1833), which contained 60 steel engravings with texts from the history of Poland, and he published two catalogues to go with this album: *Catalogue de l'ouvrage Variétés polonaises...* (Paris, c.1832), and *Gravures par...* (Paris, c.1832).

The sketches of Anthony Oleszczyński embellished various periodicals and books, e.g. Leonard Chodźko's "La Pologne historique, littéraire, monumental et pittoresque" (Vol. I-III; 1835-1839), Clementine, nee Tański, Hoffman's *New games for children* (Paris, 1834), Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz's *La Vieille Pologne, Album historique et poétique* (French edition of *Historical Songs*, Paris, 1833-1836). The steel engraving portrait of Adam Mickiewicz, the work of Anthony Oleszczyński, based on a medallion of David d'Angers, was frequently included in Paris editions of Mickiewicz's works, e.g. in the second edition of *Dziady, part III* (1833), and in the first edition of *Mr. Thaddeus* (1834). Vignettes of his graver often adorned Polish books appearing in Paris, e.g., *The Works of Ignatius Krasicki* (1830), and Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz's *Letter to Kniaziewicz* (1834).

Ladislaus Thomas Casimir Oleszczyński (1807-1866) the brother of Anthony, a sculptor, medal-maker, and engraver. In 1824 he enrolled in the Faculty of Fine Arts at the University of Warsaw. In 1825, like his brother Anthony with whom he left Poland, he received a government stipend to study medal-working in Paris. Up to 1829 he studied sculpture at the École des Beaux-Arts, under the direction of David d'Angers, and medal-making under N. Tiolier, the head engraver in the imperial mint. From May of 1830 he worked in the Warsaw mint. He participated in the November uprising. At the end of 1831 he emigrated to Paris, where he lived for 25 years. He worked with various emigrant organizations as an artist. In recognition of his merits, the Historical-Literary Society elected him to be one of its members. He was the engraver of the Polish emigration, producing epitaphs and monuments of its outstanding representatives. He cast in bronze many medallions of people who fascinated him: Mickiewicz, Słowacki, Fr. Alexander Jełowicki, Fr. Jerome Kajsiwicz. He also produced medallions of Copernicus, the Scotsman R.C. Fergusson (1832), LaFayette (1834), and King Louis Philip I. He made a death-mask of Hoene-Wroński. He was the author of a few articles on contemporary art. He died in Rome. He was the most distinguished Polish sculptor of the romantic period.

Monday, May 14

The first lesson with Jóźwik. After breakfast I am not feeling well. I write a letter to [Adam] Jabłoński.¹⁰⁶ I buy Gerbet's *Second Conference*. I go to visit Cassini, and then to Carnot. I buy the first lessons of Jules [Lechevalier], and receive all five for myself from Achille [Rousseau]¹⁰⁷. I take my purchases and gifts back home. I give Rostkowski's letter to Jabłoński. An unfortunate meeting with Emilia. I go to rue Monsigny in order to visit Riba, but he is not in. I go to see Mrs. Moller.¹⁰⁸ Once again I am weak, and accept her intended advances. I pick up letters at the Postal Exchange.¹⁰⁹ I go to visit the Mochnackis, and there read a dissertation about the Ukrainian and Russian languages.¹¹⁰ After dinner I purchase a grammar for Jóźwik. I return the books to Karwowski.¹¹¹

Tuesday, [May] 15

A lesson (Rostkowski). After breakfast I drop in on Karwowski and go to see Mrs. Levi.¹¹² I go to Carnot for the newspapers, and for Lerminier. A

¹⁰⁶ Adam Stephen Jabłoński (1809-1892) - In 1826 he enrolled in the faculty of law and administration at the University of Warsaw. At the same time he studied physics in the faculty of philosophy. He participated in the November uprising as a second lieutenant in the 9th uhlán regiment. In France he was located in the depot at Bourges (c. April 19, 1832), and then in Aveyron near Toulouse (c. December 3, 1833). He obtained the degree of licentiate in the School of Law at Toulouse, and settled there as a lawyer. He died in Paris.

¹⁰⁷ Achille Rousseau - a saintsimonist of the third degree (June, 1831); author of religious hymns written for the use of co-religionists.

¹⁰⁸ Further information is lacking.

¹⁰⁹ At the post-office located in the great building of the Exchange (La Bourse), which was erected in the years 1808-1827.

¹¹⁰ I was unable to determine the provenance and authorship of the treatise mentioned. Attention should be called to the distinction between "Ukrainian" and "Russian" ["ruski" and "rosyjski"]. The Ukrainian language pertains to the Russian territories, that is, Volhynia, Podolia and the Ukraine, and so to countries which prior to the partitions, i.e. before 1771, belonged to the Republic of Poland. This is the sense in which the word "ruski" is to be understood in names of various emigrant organizations such as the Lithuanian and Ukrainian Territories Society, or in publications such as "Memoirs of the Lithuanian and Ukrainian Territories uprising".

¹¹¹ In the rough drafts of Jański's letters written from Paris in June 1832 to Professor Frederick Skarbek and Anthony Barciński (ACRR 8568, pp. 131-132), the name "colleague Karwowski" appears. Very probably this "colleague" was Michael Martin Karwowski (b.1809), who from 1828 studied law at the University of Warsaw, and participated in the November uprising. After the collapse of the uprising, he emigrated to France where he continued his legal studies.

¹¹² I was unable to identify this person.

conversation with Hube and Kunatt, as well as with [Adam] Gurowski and Płuzański.¹¹³ I walk with Gurowski toward Cavaignac and we talk about Ostrowski,¹¹⁴ Mochnacki, Rybiński¹¹⁵ etc. on the way to Passy.¹¹⁶ After dinner,

¹¹³ Ignatius Romuald Płuzański (1803?-1879) - one of the co-founders of the Polish Democratic Society. In 1821 he enrolled for legal studies in Warsaw. He worked as a clerk. At the time of the November uprising, he became a member of the Patriotic Society, and as a "fiery revolutionist" participated actively in its activities. He took part in secret political discussions in the home of Mrs. Adam Chłędowska. With the nomination of General Krukowiecki, he became director of the "External Police" (that is, head of the intelligence department). He made his way through to the emigration in France. He belonged to the Paris "Commune", which on February 18, 1832, selected him to be a member of a commission that was to investigate the validity of the accusations against Lelewel's Committee. Since the March 16 motion of the commission was not accepted by Lelewel, along with the other members of the commission, Płuzański ostentatiously left the meeting place and on the following day, signed the Act of establishment (i.e. the Manifesto) of the Polish Democratic Society. By way of parentheses, it might be added that Płuzański was co-author of the Manifesto, as well as of the first constitution of the new organization. He worked as a member of the organization until the French police expelled him from Paris on November 11, 1833. In the spring of 1834 he began to apply for naturalization in France. With time he began to distance himself from the TDP [Polish Democratic Society] and in the end, on February 5, 1835, he removed his name from the list of members. He returned to Paris and worked as a legal adviser in cases of bankruptcy. He was engaged in political activity as late as 1848, when he became a member of the Polish Emigration Committee.

¹¹⁴ Josephat Boleslaus Ostrowski (Ibuś, cryptonym: B. J. C., J.B.) (1803-1871) - journalist and political writer in the emigration. In the years 1824-1827, he studied law and administration at the University of Warsaw. From 1830 he worked at the "Universal Journal" of Adam Chłędowski. During the November uprising he was a member, and then vice-president, of the Patriotic Society. Together with Maurice Mochnacki he edited the leftist periodical "New Poland". He was interested in politics, and was in favor of enfranchisement of the peasants. In the emigration he was first a follower of Lelewel, together with whom he published the Manifesto of September 20, 1832. He was a member of the Revenge of the People committee of the Carbonari. From August 1833 to 1845 he was the editor of "New Poland" in Paris with the exception of a few years due to his expulsion from France as a result of the intervention of the Russian Embassy. With verve and temperament, but also as a demagogue, he did not shun libel and slander, attacking practically the entire emigration press. With the consent of French authorities he returned to Paris from England in 1844. He accepted a job as translator in the police prefecture, and under that guise he informed the prefect about matters pertaining to the life of the Polish emigration. He harmed the Polish emigrants, and denounced Adam Mickiewicz. In the 40's he entered into friendly relations with General Matthias Rybiński, in whose name he wrote proclamations and whose name he affixed to his own pamphlets. The author and translator of historical-literary works, he also occupied himself with philosophy.

to the Mochnackis; a discussion with Camille about the government and about France; with Maurice about his backbiting (the first evening, not myself). + A letter from Joseph Zawadzki.+

Wednesday, [May] 16

A lesson. After breakfast I read Gerbet's *du dogme générateur*.¹¹⁷ An observation that my intentions were shaken by Sainte-Beuve's¹¹⁸ article and relations with Carnot. To Carnot for the newspapers. After dinner to Karwowski. A discussion with Rostkowski about revolutionism and patriotism. Then to Carnot.

Thursday, [May] 17

¹¹⁵ Matthias Rybiński (1784-1874) - General of a division, the last Commander-in-Chief of the Polish armies. In the emigration he was regarded as a representative of Poland in relation to the French and English parliaments.

¹¹⁶ A site west of Paris, near the Bois de Boulogne, noted for its mineral springs.

¹¹⁷ Cf. 1831, footnote 59, where mention is made of the work *Considérations sur le dogme générateur et de la piété catholique*. This was translated into Polish and published under the title *A Work dealing with the dogma of the Eucharist and the Catholic piety of parents*, Berlin, 1844.

¹¹⁸ It is not easy to say what kind of "intentions" Jański had in mind. If these were intentions of breaking with saintsimonism, they may have been weakened by reading Sainte-Beuve's article *Profession de foi saint-simonienne* (in "Le Globe", January 13, 1831), or that author's *Doctrine de Saint-Simon* (ibid., February 13, 1831).

Charles-Augustine Sainte Beuve (1804-1869) - a French literary critic and writer. He began studying medicine in Paris and began to work at "Le Globe", in which he published his articles, e.g. concerning the poetry of Victor Hugo. He became a friend of the latter, and through him was introduced to the Paris literary circle linked with romanticism. He wrote *Vie, poésies et pensées de Joseph Delorme* (1829), *Consolations* (1830), and the autobiographical novel *Volupté* (1834). He did not cease his work with "Le Globe" when it became an organ of saintsimonism during the editorship of Pierre Leroux. "When Pierre Leroux, faced with financial difficulties, sold the periodical to the saintsimonists I did not leave it on that account. I continued to publish a few of my articles there. My relations with saintsimonism, which I never renounced, were always loose and without any obligation." Ideologically Saintsimonism did exert some influence on Sainte-Beuve. However, he did break with the movement, alienated by the extravagances of its followers. He drew near to the liberal Catholicism of Fr. Lamennais, but not for long. He became acquainted with the writer George Sand, whom he met in 1833 thanks to his friend Pierre Leroux. In the years 1837-1838, at the invitation of the university in Lausanne, he delivered a series of lectures about Port-Royal. In this city he became acquainted with Adam Mickiewicz. In 1840 he accepted a government position in the Bibliothèque Mazarine. He wrote for many French publications, and gained a reputation as an outstanding columnist and literary critic.

Carnot, Cf. 1831, footnote 46.

A lesson, breakfast, a few chapters from Delamennais - and now I am writing these memoirs from Friday. Rum, and I fell asleep. After dinner to Podczaszyński; there I meet Mochnacki and Dunin¹¹⁹ - plans for a Russian society.¹²⁰ Then to Rossignol. I draft plans for a confederation.¹²¹

Friday, [May] 18

After a lesson, letters to my wife, my brothers, and I began a letter to Skarbek. Then to Carnot. I put in an order for Maciejowski from Hinrichs.¹²² A walk. After dinner to Rostkowski. He shows me a letter to Szaniawski.¹²³ To Arcola. Puławski, Ordyniec, etc. Stupid loitering.

¹¹⁹ Anastasius Dunin (1802-1840) - participated in the November uprising, with the rank of captain in the cavalry in Volhynia. He was General Dwernicki's Adjutant General. He lived in Paris until 1836, and then moved to London. He was active among the emigrants. He published *A response to accusations brought against General Dwernicki by Charles Różycki* (London, 1838).

¹²⁰ On December 10, 1831, upon the initiative of the brothers Caesar and Ladislaus Plater from Vilno, and a few Lithuanians, the Lithuanian Society was established in Paris. At the 13th session of the Society, on March 4, 1832, when fellow countrymen from Volhynia, Podolia, and the Ukraine joined the Society its name was changed to Lithuanian and Ukrainian Territories Society. The president of the Society was Caesar Plater; the secretary was Leonard Chodźko, and after him Felix Wrotnowski. The most distinguished Polish poets, Adam Mickiewicz and Julius Słowacki, were members of the Society.

The Lithuanian Society arose as a reaction to the antipathy, and animosity, of the Royalists toward the Lithuanians, who felt that they were looked down upon by them. It seems that the insurgents coming from the Ukrainian Territories were treated in like manner, and it is possible that, in spite of the existence of the Lithuanian and Ukrainian Territories Society, they felt a need to establish a separate society bringing together participants in the uprising from the Ukrainian Territories. It should be noted that "plans for a Ukrainian society" were discussed within a group of people from the Ukrainian Territories: Podczaszyński from Podolia, and Dunin from Volhynia.

¹²¹ I did not find a copy of the "plans for a confederation" of 1832 among the hand-written documents of Jański preserved in the Roman Archives of the Resurrectionists.

¹²² Wacław Alexander Maciejowski (1792-1883) - historian, and professor of classical philology from 1819, and of Roman law at the University of Warsaw. He participated in the November uprising. He was loyal to the invaders, and so in the years 1833-1840 he was able to hold high offices in the judiciary and administration. He won European recognition as the author of *A History of Slavic legislation*. This was published in Lipsk in the years 1832-1835, in four volumes, by a publishing firm established by Johann Konrad Hinrichs (1763-1813).

¹²³ Gerber lists among the students of the University of Warsaw Michael Szaniawski (1806-1840), who received the degree of Master of Law and Administration in 1828. He participated in the November uprising as a member of the 6th Uhlán regiment. Szaniawski became an emigrant in France, where he was sent to Châteauroux. In the years 1833-1837 he studied in Paris in the Faculty of Medicine, achieving the degree of Doctor of Medicine.

[Saturday], May 19

173

After a lesson and breakfast, I go to Jouffroy - There is no class. I meet Bolesław Gurowski, and in his presence I criticize the Patriotic Society.¹²⁴ To the "Revue" for the newspapers (and a foolish proposal to Carnot about articles which Ordyniec, or others, could provide.) A short walk near the place where the body of Mrs. Perjer is to pass. Back home, I first write these memoirs, then plans for an article for the "Revue" about the future of Europe and Slavic nations.¹²⁵ Camille Mochnacki pays me a mystical visit; he gives me Leibnitz.¹²⁶ After dinner to Walter for coffee. I borrow 10 francs from him. Loitering until 11:30.

Sunday, May 20

Rostkowski comes with a request that I write a petition to the Minister of Interior Affairs.¹²⁷ After breakfast I ponder what I should write to the Poles and

¹²⁴ The Patriotic Society, also referred to as a Club was established in Warsaw on December 1, 1830. It was dissolved on August 18, 1831. It was the most politically active segment of the insurgent camp, and exerted a decisive influence on the central authorities in the uprising. It initiated the call to arms to the people of Warsaw during the night of the 15th to the 16th of August, 1831, under the banner of leadership in the uprising, energetic leadership in the battle, and punishment for traitors. This call to arms degenerated into lynch law (34 people were killed), and was crushed by the army.

¹²⁵ Undoubtedly this plan was not realized. In the Roman Archives of the Resurrectionists, all that has been preserved is a note entitled: "Concerning the future of Europe and the Slavic people" (ACRR 8608).

¹²⁶ Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716) - a German philosopher and mathematician, organizer of scholarly life in Germany, the founder of the Academy of Science (1770) in Berlin. In his lifetime he published *Theodicy* (Cf. below, footnote 240), and academic treatises and bulletins primarily in French. Leibniz's most important works appeared after his death: *Monadologie* (1720), *Principes de la nature et de la grâce* (1740), *Nouveaux essais sur l'entendement humain* (1765). He was the author of an original philosophical system, which not being either materialism or pantheism, presented itself as a uniform, coherent outlook upon life. According to Leibniz, the world is a group of individuals, of individual substance (monad), endowed with powers, which, while differing among themselves and independent, are mutually agreeable. While studying the ideas of Leibniz, Jański based himself on his inspiration when he was struggling with pantheism. Aside from that he discerned in monadology fascinating messages pertaining to the role and vocation of man as creator (Cf. below, footnote 354).

¹²⁷ During the reign of King Louis Philip, the French banker Casimir Périer was Minister of Interior Affairs, from 1831 directing the government. He died of cholera on May 16, 1832. After his death the portfolio of this department was taken over by a politician who worked closely with the king, Martin-Camille Bachasson, Count of Montilivet (1801-1885).

for the "Revue". I go the "Revue" for the newspapers - I stay there too long without necessity. I take a letter to the Mochnackis sent to my address¹²⁸, and once again stayed there too long. I write the petition for Rostkowski to the Minister in French. I continue my letter to Skarbek. After dinner loitering in the passage Dauphine, and then again on rue Verneuil. I return home after ten. Musing.

Monday, [May] 21

Józwik does not come. I walk briskly to the Luxembourg Gardens¹²⁹ and read "Le Temps".¹³⁰ After breakfast I move on to continue correspondence, finishing a letter to Skarbek. I think about what I am to do, and write things to be remembered.¹³¹ After two months of illness, Benoiste comes to see me, and I have a long talk with him. Before him I defend the Catholic theory of certainty. I walk back home with him. After dinner I doze and then go for a walk. I go as far as the Place du Châtelet. Then, somewhere on a side street, an awkward fall, with which I am not pleased. To Arcola for beer. Adam Gurowski talks about Fourier, saintsimonists and London. I promise to give Pułaski the first year of the *Exposition*.¹³² On returning I discuss liberalism and the changes it requires with him. Rostkowski accompanies me back home.

Tuesday, [May] 22

¹²⁸ After the collapse of the November uprising, exiles did not always receive letters from their families since these were held back by the usurping authorities. As a result, correspondence with Poland was kept hidden with envelopes addressed to people with foreign names, was handled through banking houses, or with the help of trustworthy travelers.

¹²⁹ Situated in the vicinity of the Latin Quarter, a garden with many fountains, statues and sculptures. It was established on lands that formerly belonged to the Prince Francis Luxembourg, purchased from him in 1612 by Queen Mary de Medici, the widow of Henry IV.

¹³⁰ "Le Temps, Journal du Progrès", one of the largest French newspapers - 8,500 copies in 1832-1833.

¹³¹ In the Roman Archives of the Congregation of the Resurrection there is a page with Jański's notes on the topic of religion in the earlier national life of the Poles (ACRR 8568, p.20). He made these notes on the margin of a lecture dealing with a novel by Professor Frederick Skarbek (Cf. 1830, footnote 55) with the intention of sending him his observations. After this he made a list of activities and his plans for work in the near future. This note, possessing the character of "memoranda" can be found in the Appendix under I.

¹³² This refers to the *Exposition de la doctrine de Saint-Simon*, a series of lectures of Bazard, among others, from December, 1828 to August, 1829. (Cf. 1830, footnote 7).

The entire lesson passed in conversation about the behavior of the Polish generals. Rostkowski came by. I am finishing a letter to Lanckoroński.¹³³ I go to see Benoist. We discuss method, passion and faith. I go to Carnot for the newspapers (I have a headache). I begin to write clear copies of the letters. After dinner, a little nap. I take the note to the Minister to Rostkowski. A walk. To Arcola for beer. I read [Theodore] Morawski's¹³⁴ letter in the "Tribune". I talk with Boleslaus Gurowski about him. He accompanies me, and tells me the news from Poland about the more lenient behavior of the Russians. I return at 10:30.

¹³³ Dionysius Lanckoroński - Educator. He came from a Frankish family. He studied law. From 1809 he was a teacher in private schools in Warsaw, from 1818 in the Warsaw Lyceum. A freemason. In the years 1824-1830, the secretary of the Council of the Polytechnic Institute. In later years he worked in education, first as an inspector, and then as a professor.

¹³⁴ In the May 1 issue of the newspaper "La Tribune Politique et Littéraire" T. Morawski published a letter to the editor of "La Tribune" criticizing Thaddeus Krępowiecki's views on the situation and the question of enfranchisement of the peasantry in Poland. The letter was also printed separately (Paris, 1832).

Theodore Morawski (1796-1879) - a journalist and a liberal politician, the last Minister of Foreign Affairs for the November uprising. His family belonged to the landed aristocracy which had settled in the region of Kalisz. He completed his studies at the School of Law and Administration in Warsaw in 1816. As Secretary of Interior Affairs, he was a colleague of Stanislaus Staszic. From 1818 he was co-editor of "The Daily Gazette, National and Foreign". At that time he was known as a liberal. Because of his participation in a patriotic demonstration, he was arrested and put in the jail that was formerly a Carmelite monastery. Fearing repressive measures, he left for Paris, where he wrote for the "Constitutionnel" and the "Morning Chronicle". During the November uprising he actively supported the Polish cause in Paris. At the beginning of July, 1831, he appeared in Warsaw, was chosen as an envoy from Kalisz, and at the end of August of that year received the nomination as Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was an opponent of General Skrzynecki and the Patriotic Society with which he had previously cooperated. After resigning from his office, he left Poland and joined the emigration in Paris. He was an opponent of Joachim Lelewel. He belonged to the Polish Emigration Committee directed by General Joseph Dwernicki, but within a few months he resigned from the Committee. He worked as a journalist in the French press, and engaged in polemics with Adam Gurowski, Vincent Chelmiecki, Thaddeus Krępowiecki and others. At his place of residence on April 29, 1832, the Polish Literary Society was founded. He as an active member of the Society. He was sympathetic to the politics of Adam Czartoryski. During his stay in France he produced the *History of the Polish Nation*, (6 volumes). He was author of *Exile Conversations* (Paris, 1843), in which he supported the idea of a monarchy.

175 *Wednesday, May 23*

Jóźwik grew faint and left. I fell asleep. Rising, I get down to re-writing and correcting the letters. Gadebled¹³⁵ drops by and we talk about Gerbet, political economy, saintsmonism, etc. I finish the letters and take them to the main post-office. Walter comes for dinner, and comes with me to visit Jóźwik. I meet Mr. Jakubowski¹³⁶ there; wine. They walk back with me. I go to Carnot (Sainte-Beuve, Bras,¹³⁷ Lerminier, Ahrends, etc.). I return, and read Lamennais.

Thursday, [May] 24

I read Lamennais. Camille Mochnacki drops by before ten. He invites me to breakfast, and leave his books. Stawiarski¹³⁸ comes for Bazard's¹³⁹ *Exposition*. (I have a headache). Gadebled drops in and I talk with him about revelation and divine mediation. I go to the "Revue". Carnot and I talk about Mr. Artaud.¹⁴⁰ He recommends that I purchase the works of Saint-Simon at one of the second-hand bookshops. I begin the "Revue Européenne". At home, I begin to read articles about Swedenborg.¹⁴¹ I have dinner with Mr. Artaud, with

¹³⁵ L. Leon Gadebled - A French geographer, statistician and educator. He was a collaborator of the "Revue Encyclopédique" in which, like Jański, he published his reviews.

¹³⁶ Undoubtedly Henry Jakubowski (1804-1854), a friend of John Nepomucene Janowski. From 1824, he studied at the University of Warsaw in Faculty of Science and Fine Arts. He participated in the November uprising, was an active member of the Patriotic Society, and was a lieutenant in army's corps of firemen. After the collapse of the uprising, he was an emigrant in France. In 1832 he became a member first in the Polish National Committee, and then in the Polish Democratic Society. In the years 1832-1847, he was an active member of the latter Society, and also a member of the Centralization (1835-1838). He wrote the first draft of the proclamation, the so-called "Great Manifesto TDP", to the emigrant "Community". He directed the Paris branch of the Centralization, cooperated with the "Polish Democrat" and the satirical periodical "Pszonka". He took an active part in the life of the Polish emigration.

¹³⁷ Bras - possibly August Lebras (Le Bras) (1816-1832), a poet and dramatist.

¹³⁸ Undoubtedly Napoleon Ignatius Stawiarski, who as an exile became a member of the general assembly of the Polish National Committee in Paris, and remained there until the end of April, 1832.

¹³⁹ Cf. above, footnote 132.

¹⁴⁰ Nicolais-Louis Artaud (1794-1861) - General inspector of studies, Vice-rector of the Paris Academy, writer and translator. He published his articles in the journal "Revue Encyclopédique", "Courrier Français", and "Le Globe".

¹⁴¹ Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) - a Swedish mathematician, physicist, naturalist (mineralogy), and theosophist. A member of the Academy of Science in Upsalla. At the peak of his scientific career, at the age of 55, he abandoned it in favor of religious activity. His plan was to reform of the Christian religion. He wrote a few theosophical works in Latin, e.g., *Arcana Coelestia* (1749-1756, 8 volumes), and *Vera christiana Religio seu universalis theologia novae Ecclesiae* (1771). He contributed to the birth of a new current in the bosom of contemporary pietism: "The Church of the new Jerusalem." In his religious views he drew upon pantheism, rationalism and allegorical interpretation

whom I became acquainted through Carnot. After a siesta, to Arcola. I play cards with Dąbrowski;¹⁴² Mr. Szwejcer¹⁴³ treats us to wine. Rostkowski walks back with me. I borrow 5 francs from him.

Friday, [May] 25

I scan the "Revue Européenne". After breakfast I take the books to my reading room, and pay for the month. I take two volumes of de Lamennais. I return the "Revue Européenne" to Carnot. He tells me of Courtet's affair. I take with me Péreire's¹⁴⁴ pamphlets for Mr. Artaud. I meet Mr. Leroux. I return the books to the Mochnackis, and there meet Mr. Barbezat,¹⁴⁵ a friend of theirs. I take Czyński's pamphlet, and another dealing with the Polish cause.¹⁴⁶ Before three I go to visit Józwik. I write a few requests for him (his proposal to

of the Sacred Scriptures, in which mystical symbolism played a large part. This did not pass without influence upon the creativity of the romantics. The works of Swedenborg were translated into European languages, e.g. French: *Le Ciel et l'Enfer* (1782), *La Nouvelle Jérusalem et sa doctrine céleste* (1781), *La Nouvelle Jérusalem* (Paris, 1832-1835, 8 volumes).

¹⁴² There were many emigrants with the name Dąbrowski and so it is impossible to verify which of these Jański had in mind.

¹⁴³ Michael Szweycer, or Szwajcer (1809-1871) - In 1827, he enrolled at the University of Warsaw, in the Faculty of Law and Administration. In October of 1830 he was put in the Carmelite jail at Leszno, accused of belonging to conspiratorial organization, but was freed on the first day of the November uprising. He participated in the uprising, and was a member of the Patriotic Society. He achieved the rank of lieutenant in the first uhlan regiment. An emigrant in Paris, he worked for French railroad companies. He was the owner of a photography shop. In the 40's, he belonged to a Towianist Association.

¹⁴⁴ Isaac Péreire (1806-1880) - a saintsimonist of the second degree (June, 1831). In 1832 he presented a series of lectures on the topic of loans at a percentage. He published *Leçons sur l'industrie* (Paris, 1832). He and his brother, Jaques-Emile (1800-1875) were French financiers, initially stockbrokers. They accumulated a fortune building railroads. They established the bank, *Crédit mobilier*.

¹⁴⁵ J. Barbezat - a Paris publisher and bookseller with whom Leonard Chodźko and Michael Podczaszyński, close friends of the Mochnackis, arranged their publications. Thanks to the efforts of Chodźko, in 1828 Barbezat published the first two volumes of Adam Mickiewicz's *Poems*, and in 1829 the third volume at his own cost, "solely to satisfy the Polish people," as he stated in the preface to this final edition. Moreover, in 1830, in one volume, he published the *Works* of Ignatius Krasicki, which were prepared for publication by Podczaszyński.

¹⁴⁶ John Czyński - Cf. above, footnote 32. Czyński's "pamphlet" is undoubtedly the document *The fifteenth day of August and the judgment upon the members of the Patriotic Society* (Warsaw, 1831), which appeared in Paris in a French translation in 1832, under the title *La nuit du 15 août, 1831, Varsovie*, traduction, notes et détails de J.C. Ordyniec. - With regard to the "second pamphlet concerning the national cause", I was unable to establish either the title or the author.

translate for Rybiński). I drink too much wine. I arrive late for dinner. I give the pamphlet to Mr. Artaud. After dinner I begin to glance through the pamphlets I brought with me. I go to visit Podczaszyński, and smoke a pipe. I take Maciejowski's works from him. We go out to the passage du Commerce, I for beer, he for whiskey. I stay there until 11:30, listening to his dissertations and complaints.

Saturday, [May] 26

I get up quite late. Rostkowski drops by asking me to write a request to Laffayette.¹⁴⁷ I receive letters from Avignon and Lunel.¹⁴⁸ After breakfast I write the request for Rostkowski. I read Maciejowski. At three I go out to return Maciejowski to Podczaszyński, and give Rostkowski what I had written. This is the last day of the display of flowers - I meet Dr. Roulin¹⁴⁹ and we go to view the display together. After four, to Józwick. I share with him some of the information from Avignon, and once again write a note to the Minister of War for him. I meet Ostrowski. After dinner and a pipe, I go to visit Podczaszyński. Once again I take Maciejowski - he is going to Richelieu¹⁵⁰ to attend a dinner for Poles. He tells me about Maurice's business in the committee¹⁵¹ and about

¹⁴⁷ Marie-Joseph de La Fayette (Lafayette) (1775-1834) - a French Marquis, General, and politician. He was a friend of Washington, and participated in the United States' War of Independence. An advocate of constitutional monarchy. Initially he was a supporter of the Great French Revolution, and the July revolution, commanding the national guard (1830). He was noted for his great friendship for Poland. On January 28, 1831, he established the Comité Central Franco-Polonais, (the Central Franco-Polish Committee).

¹⁴⁸ Avignon - a city in southern France (Provence). In November of 1831, the French Ministry of War designated Avignon as the place of rendezvous for Polish military emigrants, establishing there the first large depot for the emigrants. In April of 1832, a portion of the emigrants were transferred from Avignon to Lunel, a town in the Hérault department.

¹⁴⁹ François-Desiré Roulin (1794-1874) - A French naturalist. He studied medicine in Paris, and served as a doctor in Cuvier. He worked in the library in Arsenale (1832). He published "Annales des Sciences naturelles", and also collaborated with the "Revue des Deux Mondes" and the "Magazine Pittoresque".

¹⁵⁰ Undoubtedly this refers to a banquet held on Sunday, May 27, 1832, sponsored by the Society for the Support of the Freedom of the Press, in honor of the political emigrants of various countries.

Richelieu - another name for the Palais-Royal, formerly the residence of Cardinal Richelieu, situated on the street bearing his name.

¹⁵¹ This undoubtedly refers to the negative response from the Polish National Committee to Maurice Mochnacki's request for a two-month stipend to enable him to print a work about the Polish revolution, *The uprising of the Polish Nation in the years 1830-1831*. Mochnacki sent this request to the Committee on May 23, 1832.

the knavery of Lelewel and Chodźko.¹⁵² To Arcola for coffee; Rostkowski and Jakubowski. To Jóźwik, but he is out. For the evening papers, and then to Arcola for beer. Rostkowski. Adam Gurowski wants to go to London on the fifth of June, and he wants to borrow money etc. Küner from Neuchâtel,¹⁵³ Janowski, etc.

Sunday, [May] 27

I get up after ten, read Maciejowski, and begin to translate Maurice's work. Breakfast; read Maciejowski.

At about two I go to the "Revue"; it is closed. I go to the Mochneckis where I meet Ostrowski and Lelewel. They are going to Neuilly for a dinner sponsored by the Germans. Camille [Mochnecki] shows me his nomination to the delegation. Along the Champs-Élysées¹⁵⁴ I continue reading Maciejowski. After dinner, a nap. At about eight I go to visit Podczaszyński. He tells me bits and pieces about his misfortunes, about [Louis] Królikowski. We talk about philosophy, theology, and about good and evil in human nature. I give him a New Testament in Polish. At ten I go to passage du Commerce for beer. At eleven I go home and make excerpts from Maciejowski.

176 *Monday, [May] 28*

The laundryman wakes me up at 6:30. Meditation and writings these notes from the day when I sent a letter to Warsaw, that is, from Wednesday, the 23rd. Breakfast at 10:30. Adam Gurowski stops by. We talk about Czyński, Krępowiecki, Ostrowski, London, etc., and about the affairs of the Democratic Society.¹⁵⁵ I write a reply to Joseph [Zawadzki] in Avignon. Benoiste drops by.

¹⁵² It is possible that Podczaszyński refers here to the unfavorable opinion of the adversaries of Lelewel, who, in their judgment, treated the Polish National Committee as his own party: "He tried to win supporters by means of private, secret, and devious endeavors, which in the early days of the emigration became a huge stumbling-block. He tried to win over Polish emigrants arriving in France by way of "immediate recruitment of adherents at the station," by "picking up signatures" and touting for followers at the border (Gadon, op. cit., p.212). As we already know, Leonard Chodźko was one of the closest co-workers of Joachim Lelewel.

¹⁵³ I was unable to establish the identity of this person connected with a city situated in the western part of Switzerland.

¹⁵⁴ Champs-Élysées - a wide avenue leading from the Tuilleries to the plaza where at that time work on the Triumphal Arch was still going on. This work was finished in 1836. Citizens of Paris were happy to go out to the Champs-Élysées to catch a breath of fresh air, for a stroll, and to frequent the restaurants there.

¹⁵⁵ Płużański, Pułaski and Janowski, aware that there was no use of collaborating with the General Assembly and its representatives - Lelewel's Committee - for the Polish cause,

We talk about reasons why I do not return to Poland, and then about the difference between a person and his work, the difference between what is beautiful and what is good, etc. I take the letter to Joseph to the post-office. I go to the "Revue", and glance through a few newspapers. Carnot reminds me about the articles. After dinner a nap, coffee. I go to see Jóźwik, but he is out. I meet a former acquaintance at Hôtel Choiseul in the passage Choiseul, and what is it

decided to join two members of the Committee, Gurowski, and Krępowiecki, in a motion to dissolve the "General Assembly" and its Committee. The motion, presented on March 16, was defeated. "Shouted down, we left this famous Assembly on rue Taranne, and the very next day, March 17, having everything already prepared, the five of us (Płuzański, Pułaski, I, Gurowski and Krępowiecki) established the Polish Democratic Society (J.N. Janowski, *Autobiographical Notes 1803-1853*, p.368). Thus was the republican-democratic organization established which, basing itself on internationalism, in their "Little Manifesto" defined the role of the "solidarity of peoples", and placed "the entire and sole hope for a rebirth and future of Poland" under their protection, and based on their help.

In conjunction with Fergusson's motion in the English Parliament (Cf. below, footnote 247), the Democratic Society decided to send Adam Gurowski to London as their plenipotentiary, in order to present to the members of Parliament "a protest against the treaties from 1772-1815 that partitioned Poland." The society demanded a restoration of the Poland before partition, and Gurowski was to step forward in the role of defender of the integral whole of his native land.

It seems that, at Gurowski's request, Jański was preparing to write letters of recommendation to his friends and acquaintances in England, asking them to help Gurowski in his patriotic and political activity. Płuzański, Pułaski and Janowski, aware that there was no use of collaborating with the General Assembly and its representatives - Lelewel's Committee - for the Polish cause, decided to join two members of the Committee, Gurowski, and Krępowiecki, in a motion to dissolve the "General Assembly" and its Committee. The motion, presented on March 16, was defeated. "Shouted down, we left this famous Assembly on rue Taranne, and the very next day, March 17, having everything already prepared, the five of us (Płuzański, Pułaski, I, Gurowski and Krępowiecki) established the Polish Democratic Society (J.N. Janowski, *Autobiographical Notes 1803-1853*, p.368). Thus was the republican-democratic organization established which, basing itself on internationalism, in their "Little Manifesto" defined the role of the "solidarity of peoples", and placed "the entire and sole hope for a rebirth and future of Poland" under their protection, and based on their help.

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that prompts me to a protracted conversation with her? Unfortunately, a sinful thought.

I drop in to the Arcola. And once more a stupid loitering... etc. I return at 9:30. Heaps of work. An article for Carnot, letters to Gurowski, finish Maciejowski. I read the Bronikowski's pamphlets until twelve.

Tuesday, [May] 29

177

I get up late. My head is heavy. Breakfast after ten. I sit down to write an article about Bronikowski. My work is interrupted by general musing. Dinner. After dinner to Rossignol, where I meet Gurowski, Janowski and Puławski. I borrow two francs from Rostkowski. Janowski walks back with me, and we talk about a variety of things. Unfortunately on my way home, a fall. I get home at eleven. I finish the article about Bronikowski's pamphlet.¹⁵⁶ I write rough drafts of letters to Bowring¹⁵⁷ and Mill for Gurowski.

Wednesday, [May] 30

I get up at ten. I begin to re-write the article about Bronikowski's pamphlet, and write the letters to London for Gurowski. To the "Revue". The article is already too late to be included in the next number. I meet Camille, and go with him for a whiskey - we talk about the quarrels between Bem and Umiński.¹⁵⁸ At home I meet Boleslaus Gurowski, and he tells me that someone

¹⁵⁶ Cf. above, footnote 97.

¹⁵⁷ John Bowring (1792-1872) - an English statesman, an expert political economist, connected with followers of radical reforms (e.g., with J. Bentham, in 1824, he established "The Westminster Review"). From 1832 he was a member of the English Parliament. He traveled extensively. He published collections of folk songs, and translation of foreign poets, e.g. *Specimens of the Polish Poets* (1824). He was said to have known about 200 languages, and could speak a hundred. He nourished a great friendship for Poland, and came to its defense in Parliament. He was a member of the Hull Literary Polish Association, which was established in June, 1832, as a branch of the London society.

¹⁵⁸ Joseph Bem (1794-1850) - General, and outstanding specialist in the area of artillery. In the armies of the Kingdom of Poland he was in command of the rocket artillery. He was a member of the Polish Freemasons. He participated in the November uprising, and distinguished himself in battles near Iganie and Ostrołęka. He was in charge of the artillery during the assault on Warsaw. After 1831, he lived among the emigrants, associating himself with the camp of Adam Czartoryski.

John Nepomucene Umiński (1780-1851) - A member of the Poznań landed aristocracy. He served under the command of Joseph Henry Dąbrowski, and took part in the Napoleonic campaigns. In 1826, he was sentenced by a Prussian tribunal for conspiratorial activity. At the beginning of 1831 he managed to escape from prison in order to take part in the November uprising. He allied himself politically with people from Kalisz (Vincent and Bonaventure Niemojowski). After the fall of Warsaw he was

had been there and had ransacked my papers. I am angry. I go with him to see Adam [Gurowski]. There I meet Janowski and Brawacki. I remain with them until four. At home I read Maciejowski. After dinner, to Jóźwik. I meet Carnot and take a walk with him. Jóźwik tells me about the dispute between Matuszewicz and Rybiński.¹⁵⁹ In the evening to Carnot. Mr. Artaud is there. There is a debate between Reynaud and Jules [Lechevalier] and Considérant.¹⁶⁰ I get back home at about eleven. (The desire to make an impression with my position in this company thrust me into a somewhat fatuous role.)

Thursday, May 31

I rose at nine. Boleslaus [Gurowski] comes to me with a request that I come to see him at one o'clock in order to correct an article he had written in

chosen as commander-in-chief, but was such for only one day (September 23, 1831). As an emigrant, he lived first in France, and then in Germany.

"Undoubtedly the quarrels between the two generals were tied to misunderstandings that arose in the Council of Polish military leaders with a rank of general, established on May 9, 1832. This Council intended to send a letter to King Louis Philip in the matter of representation of the Polish army. In connection with this, Bem disagreed with General Sierawski, and Umiński in turn, considering himself to be the commander-in-chief, refused to sign the letter and resigned from the Council.

¹⁵⁹ Vincent Matuszewicz (1801-1862) from Lithuania. He participated in the November uprising in Lithuania, was organizer of a partisan group and carried out lightning military operations in the battle with the Russians; as a result he was nick-named "Lightning". He advanced to the rank of lieutenant. In the emigration in France, primarily in Paris, initially he was a member of Lelewel's Committee. He demanded funds from French, Belgian and German committees for the needs of the emigrants, especially in order to organize a Polish army in foreign service (French, Belgian, Spanish). He came into conflict with General Rybiński, who regarded himself as the representative of Poland to European Parliaments. On April 11, 1832, he headed a Committee, also called the "lightning" Committee, protesting against supervision of emigrants by the French police. From 1832 he belonged to a group of Carbonari in Paris. He linked himself politically with the camp of Prince Adam Czartoryski. Mickiewicz dedicated his poem *Nocleg* to Matuszewicz.

¹⁶⁰ Prosper-Victor Considérant (1808-1893) - officer, politician. Fourier theoretician. During his studies at the Polytechnic Institute in Paris he became acquainted with the teaching of Fourier (Cf. 1831, footnote 34).

He studied it more thoroughly during the period of his service in the army. He became a ardel student of Fourier and together with him began to establish a school. In 1832 he attracted the former eminent saintsimonist, Jules Lechevalier, to the school. In 1834, he published his first important work, *Destinée sociale*, which was placed on the Church index (1836), and which he continued in two further volumes (1838, 1845). He edited the periodical "La Phalange", and then the "La Phalanstère, which he later converted into the daily "Le Démocratie pacifique".

response to the article of Ramorino.¹⁶¹ I remain there a good hour. I begin to read Maciejowski. After that I took the New Testament and until dinner I read the whole of the Gospel of St. Matthew, excerpting texts suitable for my letters. After dinner and a nap, I go to see Jóźwik, but he is not in. To the Mochnackis. Camille shows me letters from Avignon. With Maurice there is talk about the Government of France. To Arcola. There I meet Boleslaus, and excuse myself for not receiving him at one o'clock. (Umiński is angry with Adam for a remark in the article about Skrzynecki¹⁶² - one cannot express his feelings except in fragments - an intention to do this in the "Revue"?) - I should have been reading Maciejowski especially, but did not do so. Letters to [Louis] Królikowski, Burgaud and Crellin are equally urgent. I begin to write a letter to Burgaud.

178 *Friday, [June] 1*

Boleslaus comes to see me at nine. I correct his article in response to Ramorino. At two I go out to the "Revue". Leroux is reading Mr. Reynaud's article about the working classes, and representative government¹⁶³ - a wish to

¹⁶¹ Antonio Girolamo Ramorino (1792-1849) - A Polish and Italian General, who participated in the Napoleonic campaign of 1812. He participated in battles against the Austrian armies for the liberation of Piedmont. On hearing the news of the November uprising, he left for Warsaw, where he joined the military forces which initially achieved some success. He was appointed by the National Government to be a brigadier general; but on the field of battle he showed an incapacity for leadership, dilatoriness, and indecision. In spite of that, he received first an appointment as general of a division, and then as commander of the Second Corps. Contrary to the orders of the Polish commander, he did not come to the aid of Warsaw, but turned in the direction of the Galician border, and on September 18, 1831, he surrendered. He arrived in France on December 5 of that year, and in that same month published in Augsburg in six installments: *Der Kampf des polonischen Volkes auf Tod und Leben, oder Polens neueste Schicksale, in historischen Gemalden - aus den zuverlässigen Quellen gezogen*. In the following year, in the "Courrier Français" he published a letter dated May 18, 1832, in which he revealed that he did not execute the orders he had received in September of 1831. This evoked replies from participants in the uprising, the National Government, the army, and also Boleslaus Gurowski.

¹⁶² Adam Gurowski inserted a note about General John Skrzynecki in the May 29, 1832 issue of the French periodical "Cabinet de Lecture". In it he wrote, e.g., "The invincible Umiński. This is a General who did not surrender a single redoubt into the hands of those who were besieging Warsaw, neither did he give them any occasion for such. "Cabinet de Lecture", aside from being the name of a reading-room, was also the title of a fairly widely read newspaper published in Paris from October 1829 to 1842, which included information about the current publishing business.

¹⁶³ *Leroux is reading an article by Mr. Reynaud about the proletariat and representative government* - this article, *De la nécessité d'une représentation pour les prolétaires*, was published in the April issue of "Revue Encyclopédique" (Vol. 54, 1832, pp.1-20).

publish something as soon as possible in Polish. After dinner and a smoke, to Walter, and then loitering on the Champs-Élysées, and meeting some girl etc. Home at eleven. I read Czyński's pamphlet.

Saturday, [June] 2

After breakfast I begin to read St. John, and Lamennais about miracles. At twelve I go out for Jouffroy, who speaks about ways to be happy, about moral delight - this results in a great deal of reflection. To Cassin. To the "Revue". Leroux and Reynaud are reading revolutionary poetry (Sylvain Maréchal¹⁶⁴). With Benoiste, Gadebled and Achille, talk about Mélimontant, about former saintsimonism, etc. Before dinner I visit second-hand bookshops. After dinner and a pipe, to Walter. There I meet Lipowski.¹⁶⁵ I take 10 francs for coffee. Then, at nine, to Eugenia, where I remain for the night.

179 *Sunday, [June] 3*

I get home at 7:30. I write these memoirs of the last two days. Fatigued, I lie down. Rostkowski stops by asking me to write another request to Lafayette. He is angry at Chodźko. After breakfast I go to the "Revue". Carnot is there with de la Roche.¹⁶⁶ From the "Revue" to Kazimirski to inquire about a gathering of Poles at the funeral of Delamarque's¹⁶⁷ funeral. A conversation with

¹⁶⁴ Sylvain-Pierre Maréchal (1750-1803) - poet and dramatist, editor of the popular gazette "Les Révolutions de Paris". He wrote, e.g., *Jugement des rois* (1792), which, in its time, was a great success of the revolutionary theater.

¹⁶⁵ This could be Joseph Lipowski (1810-1866), born in Saragossa, he was the son of an officer of the Nadwiśle legion. He Attended the school of artillery in Strasbourg. He worked in a foundry. Later he was a professor of mathematics in French schools.

¹⁶⁶ Very probably this refers to a noted and popular French painter of the time, Paul-Hippolyte Delaroche, (1797-1856). He was noted for his historical paintings for which he drew themes from the history of England and France. In 1832 he became a professor at the École des Beaux Arts, and a member of the French Institute. The romance of Delaroche, a widower, with Delphine Potocka (after her separation from Zygmunt Krasiński) lasted until the sudden death of the painter. His son Horace (1836-1879) was also a great friend of the Poles. He married the daughter of Andrew Plichta (Cf. below, footnote 225), Casimira (1831-1900) and was one of the closest collaborators with Adam Czartoryski.

¹⁶⁷ Jean-Maximilien de Lamarque (1770-June 1, 1832) - A french Count and General in the service of Napoleon. From 1828 a deputy of the radical left, he was strongly opposed to the Bourbons. He contributed in no small way to the July revolution (1830). At the time of the November uprising, he was a strong defender of the Polish cause. On the day of his funeral, June 5, there were scuffles in the streets of Paris between republicans and the government forces inspired by secret Carbonari associations. The scuffles were led primarily by workers who were dissatisfied with Louis Philip's bourgeois rule. Contrary to the will of authorities, the people wished to bury the General in the Pantheon. The

Boleslaus Ostrowski, in which I support Demaistre, unnecessarily inveigh against the liberalists, and engage in a dispute about the freedom and morality of human actions, etc. After dinner and a nap, Maurice Mochnacki and Podczaszyński come to see me. I lend them books, and return Maciejowski to Michael. I go to him, while Maurice goes to Cassin - pipes and Polish songs until eleven. I walk back with Maurice. He justifies his politics; we talk about Boleslaus Ostrowski. Maurice urges me to translate his manuscript as soon as possible. At home, I write a draft of the petition for Rostkowski.

Monday, June 4

180

Jóźwik comes by and returns 16 francs. A lesson. Rostkowski drops in. After breakfast and a shave, I go out for the funeral. There is none. I meet Lemonier¹⁶⁸ who tells me about Cavel's affair.¹⁶⁹ I go back with him, rue Monsigny, and receive the permit for Benoist and Gadebled. I go to the Quai Saint-Michel to look for Saint-Simon's works for Carnot. I do not find it in the first store, but do so in a second store where I also find many older works about Poland (I purchase gloves). I go to the "Revue", and give Carnot a report on my visit to the second-hand bookshop. We talk about Cavel and Enfantin. After dinner and a pipe, I go to visit Podczaszyński, in order to get a historico-bibliographical book.¹⁷⁰ He is not in. He is writing letters. After smoking a pipe on his bed, I leave. I meet M.. on the rue de l'Abbaye. I go back home for money and spend a half hour with her.

[Tuesday, June] 5

A lesson. I leave for the funeral. (I go with Kazimirski, Boleslaus Gurowski, Puławski, Szwed,¹⁷¹ and Wodziński); rain and mud. Discussions on

attempt to initiate a revolution on the following day, June 6, met with bloody defeat. Poles took part in Lamarque's funeral, among them a member of Lelewel's Committee. As a result repressive measures were also taken against some Poles.

¹⁶⁸ Charles Lemonnier (b.1806) - a saintsimonist of the second degree (June 1831). Author of *Présent et Avenir*, Toulouse, 1834. He published *Oeuvres choisies de C.H. de Saint-Simon*, précédées d'un essai sur la doctrine, Brussels, 1859, 3 volumes.

¹⁶⁹ A saintsimonist of the third degree. We do not know to what the "affair of Cavel" refers.

¹⁷⁰ This may refer to the "Bulletin Bibliographique... ou liste des ouvrages nouveaux publiés en France.

¹⁷¹ Szwed - A Pole who participated in the funeral of General Lemarque. This could be John Cantius Szwedowski (b.1808) from Poznań. In the years 1823-1828 he studied in the Faculty of Fine Arts at the University of Warsaw. He participated in the uprising of 1830 as a second lieutenant. As an emigrant in Paris, he studied under A. Groz. He exhibited his paintings in Paris (1837 and 1846) and in Dijon (1837). He was a member of the Polish Democratic Society, and the Union.

Place Bastille.¹⁷² I stay there until the end - a fusillade - I return; the boulevards are barricaded. Near the Palais-Royal I meet Józwik and Dzierżawski.¹⁷³ We go to dinner for 32 sous. I return home at seven, tipsy and worn out, and so I go to sleep.

181 *Wednesday, [June] 6*

I get up at eight. First I go to the "Revue" (Metmann, Gadebled, Carnot, etc.). At twelve I go to the Sorbonne¹⁷⁴ with Gadebled, and we eat at Viot. Along the rue de Seine and the Quay at the Pont Neuf everything is finished. After dinner and a nap I meet Maurice. To Podczaszyński for a while, and then to the passage du Commerce for coffee. I meet Anthony Oleszczyński, and then Podczaszyński arrives - we talk about the Polish parties. To Carnot for the evening (Didier¹⁷⁵, Reynaud, Leroux, Cassin, Benoiste, etc.). I return home at eleven. I read Czyński's pamphlet.

[Thursday, June] 7

I get up at nine. Krakowski comes to see me with the news that he is sending his expedition to Warsaw - letters need to be written. After breakfast I write the memoirs from Sunday. I go out, to Jenny, and sit there until three. To the "Revue". At four to Karwowski; he is to send the letters tomorrow. After dinner I return the books to the reading room. I do not meet Eugenia on the rue de Verneuil. I go to Podczaszyński, and from there to the passage du Commerce for beer. I leave at 10:30, and very foolishly loiter about on rue de Verneuil,

¹⁷² La Bastille - the name of a Paris castle from the 14th century, which was converted into a state prison by Louis XIV. As a symbol of oppression, the Bastille was taken by the people of Paris on July 14, 1789, and demolished soon after. The Place de la Bastille took the place of the former prison.

On the day of General Lemarque's funeral, speeches were made over his coffin in the presence of a hundred thousand people. The speakers were: General Lafayette, a Portuguese emigrant and former Marshall Alveria Carlos Saldanha, and the "Reverend" Boissagne, a member of the masonic lodge and a republican.

¹⁷³ Aloysius Dzierżawski - participated in the November uprising. An emigrant in France in 1832. He took part in the army expedition to Portugal.

¹⁷⁴ Sorbonne - the name derives from Robert de Sorbon, who established a theological college in 1257. Up until the 18th century, the college fulfilled the role of a Church tribunal. In 1806 it was reactivated by Napoleon Bonaparte as a university with four faculties: Science, humanities, law and economy, medicine.

¹⁷⁵ Undoubtedly Charles Didier (1805-1864) - a Swiss writer. Author of: *Mélodies helvétiques* (1828) - lyrical works replete with "national poetry", a novel *Rome souterraine* (1833), and *Campagne romaine* (1842). He wrote a *Diary*.

Jacob, etc., until finally a fall on rue Dauphine 41. - Before falling asleep I begin *Barnave*.¹⁷⁶

182

Friday, [June] 8

Jóźwik and Rostkowski drop by in the morning, and we talk about women. After breakfast Rostkowski returns we talk about the immoral consequences of materialism. I begin to read Boulanger's *Antiquité dévoilée*¹⁷⁷ - about the moral consequences of the flood. I read the *Apocalypse* of St. John. In comparison with previous days, my mind is more spiritual and elevated. At three to the "Revue" for the newspapers. I look at the erotic engravings from the Neopolitan Museum. After returning home at five, I write these memoirs. After a pipe, to Podczaszyński, to Arcola, and I roam about far and wide chasing various bodies, and then to the passage du Commerce. Oleszczyński gives me a report on "Babin".¹⁷⁸

Saturday, [June] 9

Jóźwik. A letter to Adalbert [Łempicki]. Rostkowski. Vannieuvenkuysen.¹⁷⁹ We talk until twelve. Letters to Radomiński¹⁸⁰ and Barciński. At 4:30 to

¹⁷⁶ Antoine-Pierre-Joseph-Maria Barnave (1761-1793) - a politician and envoy. He was guillotined. He wrote: *An introduction to the French Revolution*, drafted hurriedly. He enjoyed well-deserved fame. His life served as an outline for the biographical novel *Barnave* (1831) of the pen of Jules Janin (1804-1874), a French critic and romantic writer.

¹⁷⁷ Nicolais-Antoine Boulanger (1722-1759) - an engineer. He collaborated with the editors of *The Great French Encyclopedia*, for which he wrote articles on the topic of Hebrew culture, as well as political economy. He was fascinated by the subject of cataclysms in nature (the biblical flood), upheavals, the end of the world, the *Apocalypse*, etc. In his work *L'Antiquité dévoilée*, he stated that in ancient religious and customs memories of a universal flood were preserved, and moreover, that great catastrophic events are related to specific astronomical periods.

¹⁷⁸ A periodical entitled *Babin in a Foreign Land* was published by Anthony Oleszczyński in May of 1832. Only one number was published.

¹⁷⁹ Vannieuvenkuysen - as such in the autograph. It is a Dutch name, Gustave van Nieuvehuysen (1812-1862), of a citizen of Brussels living in Paris. He was the author of stage plays and opera librettos (e.g. Donizetti's *La Favorita*, and Rossini's *Otello*). His pseudonym was Gustave Vaez. He was a saintsimonist sympathizer (he may have been the co-author of *Der Leer van Saint-Simon Ontround*, Amsterdam, 1860).

¹⁸⁰ John Aloysius Radomiński (1789-1864) - Initially a teacher of mathematics and physics; later an official in the Government Commission for Religious Beliefs and Public Education in the Kingdom of Poland. Prior to 1824 he was Bureau Chief in the Office of Public Education, and prior 1830 he became the Head of this Office, serving as State Official in charge of the department. He was appointed visitor of schools in the Kingdom

Oleszczyński. He reads me the second number of "Babin", of which I do not approve. To Maliński. We talk about his lodgings. After dinner I accompany Russek¹⁸¹, stop by to see Beaumont¹⁸² who is sitting in jail, and go to see Podczaszyński - he is not in. At home, I read a few chapters of *Barnave*. Sad, I go out to passage du Commerce, and wait until eleven for my faintness to pass.

Sunday, [June] 10

Early in the morning Rostkowski drops by and tells me more about his own adventures, and those with Adolphine. I rewrite letters. Maliński comes along. At eleven I take the letters to Karwowski, and go to the "Revue". At one o'clock I go to visit Jóźwik (a great revue and an excellent dinner). At four we go out to the toll-gate and to Montaignes Françaises. We discuss adultery. There is still punch at Jóźwik's. Rostkowski tells me about various thefts by our bigwigs. I go home at twelve and write these memoirs.

Monday, June 11

The laundress comes, and I forget about my philosophy of yesterday. Before eight I go out to visit Maurice. He tells me about his plans to sell. After I return, breakfast, and I write a letter to Maurice - I am very irritated.¹⁸³ I decide to room together with Maliński, and to live, as far as possible, very frugally. I go to the "Revue". At about four I take the letter to Maurice, and meet Miss Zoe. After dinner and a nap, to passage du Commerce, where I engage in a

of Poland. He was the author of the manual *The Principles of Arithmetic* (Warsaw, 1821, 1827 ...) and of various other publications.

Anthony Barciński - Cf. 1830, footnote 9.

In the Roman Archives of the Congregation of the Resurrection draft copies of Jański's letters to the above-mentioned individuals have been preserved (ACRR 8568, pp.131-133).

¹⁸¹ In the Polish Library in Paris, in the file prepared by John Bartkowski, among others, there is a list of the Poles who died in the emigration (1832-1923). Lawrence Russek is listed as having died in Paris on May 15, 1891.

¹⁸² Gustave de la Bonninière de Beaumont (1802-1866) - Lafayette's nephew. On orders from the government, he traveled to North America in 1831 in order to study the conditions of prison management there. In 1832 he published *Note sur le système pénitentiaire*, along with Alexis de Tocqueville's *Traité du système pénitentiaire aux États-Unis et de son application à la France*, (Paris, 1832), and other works. They enjoyed recognition, received awards, and were translated.

¹⁸³ The rough draft of Jański's letter dated June 11, 1832 is preserved in ACRR 8599, pp.165-166. At the urging of Maurice Mochnacki, Jański undertook the translation of the latter's hand-written text dealing with *The Uprising of the Polish Nation*. Poverty and the need for money to pay for translation and printing, caused Mochnacki to begin to consider the sale of his book.

philosophical-religious discussion with Anthony Oleszczyński until eleven. I feel strong, and wish to write something for the Poles as soon as possible.

Tuesday, [June] 12

183

A lesson with Jóźwik. Rostkowski sends me to Cassin with a bond - Cassin is not in. I go to Karwowski to say good-bye. He invites me to drop by tomorrow evening. I return to Cassin. He refuses both me and Rostkowski. I go to see Jóźwik at 3:30, and meet Szostakowski.¹⁸⁴ I borrow 50 francs from Jóźwik. After dinner I give the money to the landlord, but he complains that it is too little. After a nap I go to see Walter. Because of a heavy rain, I stay there until eleven. After I return I read *Barnave*.

Wednesday, [June] 13

Jóźwik. Rostkowski tells us about Pajol's decree concerning foreigners.¹⁸⁵ Because of my bruised leg I do not go out. I read Kock¹⁸⁶ and reflect upon my past in the light of my age - I still felt young. I spent a few hours talking with Rostkowski, and about my wife. After dinner I go to visit Karwowski. Punch, Polish songs and Rostkowski's and Raciborski's¹⁸⁷ sterile jokes. I return after eleven. Podczaszyński's reproaches for the letter to Maurice.

Thursday, [June] 14

¹⁸⁴ Undoubtedly John Szostakowski (1782-1836) - an official of the Warsaw Treasury Commission, participated in the uprising as a captain, an official of the military police. Together with his wife and two children he reached France, and arrived in Paris in February, 1832.

¹⁸⁵ Claude-Pierre Pajol (1772-1844) - a French General and Peer of France, a Napoleonic veteran. He notified Roman Sołtyk that "forty Poles in Paris will be exiled" (he cited Lelewel), and he prepared ordinances in the matter of recruiting emigrants for the foreign legion.

¹⁸⁶ Paul de Kock (1794-1871) - son of a Dutch banker who was killed in course of the French Revolution. He began to write when he was 17 years old and demonstrated writing talents. He became a popular romantic writer whose novels were translated into German. He was famous for his coarse jokes, enjoyed by contemporary members of the lower class.

¹⁸⁷ Adam Raciborski (1810-1871) - a colleague of Theodore Rostkowski. From 1827 he studied medicine at the University of Warsaw. During the November uprising, as a 4th year student, he became a battalion doctor in the 4th infantry regiment. From February 1832 he lived as an emigrant in France, first in Besançon where, in the time of the cholera epidemic, he provided active medical assistance, and then in Paris, where he enrolled in the school of medicine in February of 1833. In the following year he obtained his diploma as doctor of medicine. He practiced medicine in Paris, and in 1838 he became the director of the university clinic at the La Charité hospital. He was author of scientific works, written and printed in French, and translated into other European languages. Later he was secretary of the Society of Polish Doctors in Paris.

I write the above memoirs. At twelve I go out, first to my Mrs Bourgeois¹⁸⁸ with regard to shoes, and then to the prefect of police. I meet the Kołyskos.¹⁸⁹ Seeing the Poles, and the conceit of some ignoramuses, as always, I have the urge to write something as soon as possible. At 1:15 they are dispatched with bonds for 2 days. To the "Revue". A short conversation with Leroux about orientalism and Christianity. I take my number.¹⁹⁰ Before three I go to Jóźwik. Rue Monsigny. I take a few books, and then to Gauthier. I commission him to make me a few pairs of pants. To Maliński, hôtel Boston - he is not in. When I return home I glance through the books I brought, and the "Revue". After dinner and a pipe I go to Benoiste - he is not in. To Maliński, hôtel du Nord - he is not in. For beer to passage du Commerce. I leave at ten. Once again, even less necessary, I wait for my weakness. After returning I sit, lost in reverie.

Friday, [June] 15

Maliński drops by at seven. We talk about living together etc. I write yesterday's memoirs. Rostkowski and Stoltzman¹⁹¹ come to see me, asking me to write a petition to King [Louis Philip] for the latter. About two o'clock I go to the "Revue". I meet Pecqueur¹⁹² there. He corrects what I had written. Benoiste comes in (he had been to my place to find out whether I had received the residential permit) together with Leroux - we talk about Fourierism. After returning home I rewrite the petition for Stoltzman. After dinner and a pipe, to

¹⁸⁸ A popular, jocose description of the French middle class (bourgeois).

¹⁸⁹ In 1832 there were at least three Kołyskos living in Paris. Two of them were envoys: Adam (1796-1870), one of the leaders of the Wilkomirski uprising, and Lubart; the third, Jarosław from Vilno, was a second lieutenant of the mounted riflemen of the 6th regiment. Adam and Jarosław were members of the Lithuanian and Ukrainian Territories Society (present at the meeting on September 10, 1832).

¹⁹⁰ Cf. above, footnote 97.

¹⁹¹ Charles Bogumił Stoltzman (Sztolcman) (1793-1854) - a native of Warsaw. He entered military service in 1810. Before that he belonged to conspiratorial organizations. He participated in the November uprising as a Lieutenant Colonel. After the surrender of Warsaw he emigrated to France. He lived in Besançon where he became a member of the Carbonari. He negotiated with German revolutionists and participated in the abortive expedition (April 5, 1833) to Frankfurt am Main, the capital of the German Coalition, to offer armed assistance to the French revolutionists fighting for German freedom. By the Poles who were living in Switzerland after that expedition he was chosen Chief-of-Staff of the "Holy Detachment" with its seat in Bienne. He was a writer and speaker, as well as an active member of Young Poland, Joachim Lelewel's Union of the Polish Emigration in Belgium and England, and the Polish Democratic Society.

¹⁹² Constantin Pecqueur (1801-1887) - a saintsimonist of the third degree (June, 1831), and later an apostle of his own system of Christian socialism.

Rostkowski. He tells me about his duel,¹⁹³ but refuses to loan me money. We go to Arcola. I meet Boleslaus [Gurowski]. He loans me 5 francs, shows me letters from [his brother] Adam, and tells me that he has broken off with the democrats - their criticism. I return home at about eleven, and continue to write the - short - memoirs of my past, from my childhood, year by year.¹⁹⁴

Saturday, [June] 16

171

I get up at nine. Karwowski drops in to say good-bye. I receive a foolish letter from Joseph Zawadzki. At about twelve I go to see [Joseph] Hube. He reads me his dissertation on democracy and aristocracy. I offer him a few remarks on the his work. He suggests that I become a member of their Literary Society.¹⁹⁵ I reject the offer (I have a headache). At five I go to visit Zdzienicki.¹⁹⁶ After dinner to Luxembourg.¹⁹⁷ I meet Ernest Cazeaux¹⁹⁸ and go to his place; Briard¹⁹⁹, young Barrault.²⁰⁰ To passage du Commerce. At 10:30 I leave and loiter about - back home. I read Reynaud's article about the representation of the proletariat - and a fall.

Sunday, [June] 17

I get up at nine. I am disturbed by yesterday's fall. Much reflection on what I could have done in my recent past (?). I write these memoirs.

I receive a letter from Lanckoroński. I go to Hube for my umbrella - he is not in. To [Anthony] Oleszczyński. He tells me about Szyrma's letter from

¹⁹³ I was unable to obtain further information about this duel. At that time the Polish emigrants engaged in duels often, and for all sorts of stupid reasons.

¹⁹⁴ In the Appendix under II, Jański noted *Some brief memoirs of my past*. Cf. below, footnote 361.

¹⁹⁵ This refers to the Polish Literary Society, established on April 29, 1832. Cf. below, footnote 330.

¹⁹⁶ Charles Zdziennicki (d.1860) - from 1808 he served in the Banks of the Vistula Legion. He participated in the Napoleonic campaign. He remained in Paris and maintained himself as a tailor.

¹⁹⁷ A place in Prais in the reign of Louis Philip, the seat of the Senate. It was built in first half of the 17th century, on the orders of Maria de Medici, by Salomon Brosse, who modelled it on Florentine buildings, especially the Pitti Palace in Florence, the Queen's place of origin.

¹⁹⁸ Ernest Cazeaux - a saintsimonist of the third degree (June, 1831). With Charton, co-publisher of "Magazine Pittoresque".

¹⁹⁹ Briard - further information is lacking.

²⁰⁰ Alexis Barrault (1812-1865) - an engineer, a specialist in metallurgy. His older brother was Émile Barrault (1789-1869), member of the saintsimonist college, collaborator at the "Globe" and teacher in Talbot Hall.

London.²⁰¹ To the "Revue". I read the newspapers. I meet Lelewel, who proposes that I translate his work, and complains about the aristocrats. To Jóźwik - he is not in. I return home at 4:30. After dinner I read *Barnave*.

186 *Monday, [June] 18*

Jóźwik until 11:30. I return books to the Reading Room, and discontinue my subscription. To the "Revue" for the newspapers. I talk with Carnot about Reynaud's article. To Boleslaus with the letter I received from Adam - he is not in. To [Theodore] Morawski - he is not in. I return to Boleslaus. Heine²⁰² drops in. It is already three. A conversation and a walk until five. We have dinner

²⁰¹ Krystyn Lach-Szyrma (1791-1866) - writer and political activist. After studies at the University of Vilno, for a few years he joined the house of Czartoryski, where he resided as tutor for Prince Adam Czartoryski's son Constantine. He travelled with his charge through France and England. In the years 182-1823 he lived in Edinburgh, studying philosophy and political economy. In 1824 he became a professor of philosophy at the University of Warsaw. He participated in the November uprising. After its collapse he emigrated to England and lived there. He carried on a lively political and social activity, published many articles in the English press, and also in the Polish press as a correspondent for "Czas" (Time), and the "Warsaw Gazette". He was the secretary of the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland.

²⁰² Heinrich Heine (1797-1856) - A German poet, prose writer and essayist. He was Jewish by birth. He became a protestant for opportunistic reasons. Before arriving in Paris from Germany in 1831, he was already a recognized poet, and author of *A Book of Songs* (1827) - one of the most famous collections of German lyrical poetry - as well as *Pictures from travels* (4 volumes, 1826-1831) - the fruit of his travels through Germany, England and Italy. He was a master of moods, wit and irony, a polemicist and satirist. He manifested enthusiasm for the July Revolution. Disappointed with the social and political situation in his country, he decided to move to Paris, where he took up permanent residence. He became a friend of the saintsimonists, studied their publications, the "Globe" and the "Observer", and became a friend of their leader Enfantin. He accepted the ideas of *The New Christianity* and the views of Hegel as a foundation for his own philosophy of life. He spoke out in favor of rehabilitation of matter, the human body, and equal rights for women. He maintained a chronicle of contemporary cultural events (*Salon*, 1833-1840). In his publications he attacked the clergy as the support of despotism, the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie, the Metternich reaction, and middle-class narrow-mindedness. He also favored the freedom of peoples, arousing political consciousness for romantic literature, whose "impracticability" he criticized severely. He lived and created amid very difficult material conditions. As a result, from 1835 he received a pension from the French government, the government which he criticized so severely. He was an atheist, and toward the end of his life became a deist. He became acquainted with Theodore Morawski and Eugene Breza, who back in the university years in Berlin invited him to his estate in Great Poland - the result of this trip was an essay *On Poland* (1823).

together, along with Dondorf²⁰³ and Mr. Nisart.²⁰⁴ With Boleslaus for coffee. I meet Wieszczycki and Zenon [Świętosławski]²⁰⁵ - ice-cream and maraschino (a liqueur made from Dalmatian cherries). To Arcola. A conversation with Boleslaus about domestic service and with Zenon about democracy. Home at eleven.

Tuesday, [June] 19

I am not happy with the conversation I had yesterday with Heine. It dealt with liberalism, the rights of man, Poland, the third estate, saintsimonism, etc. There was not enough force in my thoughts, and a lack of feeling for his position. Rostkowski drops by, and tells me about Chodźko's fears connected with a duel.²⁰⁶ After breakfast, at eleven, these memoirs. At the Lerminier lecture. He talked about Fréret,²⁰⁷ Boulanger, Dupuis,²⁰⁸ and Reynal.²⁰⁹ With Boleslaus [Gurowski] for the military trials. To the "Revue". Dinner at home.²¹⁰

²⁰³ Dondorf - Further information is lacking.

²⁰⁴ Undoubtedly Jean Desiré Nisard (1806-1888) - a French historian of literature and literary critic - his brother, Charles Nisard (1808-1889) was also a historian of literature.

²⁰⁵ Rudolph Wieszczycki (1796-1838) - an envoy from Gostyń; participated in the November uprising. He came to France in February of 1832. He became a member of Lelewel's Committee. He committed suicide.

Zenon Boleslaus Świętosławski (1811-1875) - in 1830 he enrolled in the Faculty of Law at the University of Warsaw. He participated in the November uprising, and belonged to the Patriotic Society. In Paris he was a member of Lelewel's Committee. Later he joined the Polish Democratic Society, but withdrew in 1833 in order to take advantage of Zaliwski's expedition, and return to Poland. After the failure of the expedition he lived in London.

²⁰⁶ The reason for the duel, undoubtedly with Leonard Chodźko as a participant, is unknown. Cf. above, footnote 193.

²⁰⁷ Nicolas Fréret (1688-1749) - A French writer, lawyer, member of the Literary Academy. He dealt with the chronology and history of ancient peoples. From 1742 until his death he was secretary of the Academy. He was one of the first to admit openly that he was an atheist. He worked at describing atheism as a system. His collected works were published, in 20 volumes, in Paris at the end of the 18th century, and again in 1825 also in 20 volumes.

²⁰⁸ Charles-François Dupuis (1742-1809) - A priest, scholar, professor of rhetoric at Collège de France, a member of the Academy. Author, e.g., of the work *Origines de tous les cultes ou religion universelle* (begun in 1794, 7 volumes), in which he explains myths and religions as astronomical and physical allegories. He developed the same idea also in his later works, e.g., *Mémoire explicatif du zodiaque chronologique et mythologique* (1806).

²⁰⁹ Reynal - an unknown person.

²¹⁰ Here there is a break in the Diary. Cf. below, footnote 221.

187 *Wednesday, [June] 20*

Breakfast at home. As I was leaving I received a letter from Mr. Mécou.²¹¹ The "Revue". The whole day was sad. Dinner at rue Saint-André. After dinner a talk with Płużański. I refute his negative and terroristic liberalism. We go to Arcola for a while, then to passage du Commerce. He accompanies me to Carnot after nine. I find a letter from Rochette²¹² - After a while I leave with Bronikowski.

Thursday, [June] 21

Walter asks me to go to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in order to receive legalization for Kozakowski.²¹³ +I promise.+ I go to Viot for breakfast. I come back home; I am worn out and think about dinner - and I go to sleep. At about three I go to the "Revue". To Kunatt - he is not in. I leave a note. At four to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I meet Cavel and Tański.²¹⁴ At five I am at Arcola. I obtain three francs from Zenon [Świętosławski]. I pay for two dinners at rue Saint-André des Arts,²¹⁵ and smoke the tobacco I brought with me. +Boleslaus is surprised.+ With Rostkowski and Stolzman to passage du Commerce. I pay for the beer. On my return - whiskey.

Friday, [June] 22

Józwik. Walter stops by for information about the resolution. I do not agree to go a second time to take care of his business. I leave at eleven, a demi-tasse for breakfast. To the "Revue". I talk with Carnot about my poverty (he is

²¹¹ Landlord of a house on rue des Marais Saint-Germain 3 in Paris. Jański rented a room in his house.

²¹² Raoul-Désirée Rochette (1789-1854) - A French archeologist and journalist, later a collaborator with the "Université Catholique".

²¹³ Undoubtedly Francis Kozakowski, a lieutenant living in Paris in 1832. Legally he had the right to live in the capitol of France. Except for a few, arrival and residence in Paris was forbidden to Polish exiles. In order to live in Paris, an exile needed to obtain a *permis de séjour*, a residence permit.

²¹⁴ Joseph Victor Tański (1805-1888) - from Płock. He participated in the November uprising, and later was an emigrant in France. He resided in Paris in the years 1832 and 1833. He studied at the school of the French Staff. He served in the Foreign Legion in Algeria and Spain. He was editor of the "Journal de Débats".

²¹⁵ The Winiarska cook-shop, located on rue Saint-André-des-Arts, was managed by the wife of Francis Guilbert-Danielle, a former French teacher at the Piarist school on the Długa ulica in Warsaw. It enjoyed popularity among the Polish emigrants. J.N. Janowski in his *Autobiographical Notes 1803-1854* states: "At that time I was living at rue St. André-des-Arts, at the house of a so-called Polish woman, nee Winiarska, who was born in Prague, the wife of Guilbert-Danielle [...] For many years this woman provided meals for the emigrants, and also afforded rooms for some." (pp.390-391).

quite cold; I declare that I am not asking anything from the "Revue"). Gadebled corrects my article about Bronikowski. I borrow Herder²¹⁶ from Kunatt - an unnecessarily too lengthy discussion about freedom and necessity. I leave with Benoiste. I tell me about my poverty. He reacts very affectionately. Dinner at Saint-André. Ordyniec. We read the poems (?) of Praniewicz²¹⁷ After dinner I criticize the principles and behavior of our democrats. I go to visit Podczaszyński, and meet Stoltzman there. We go to passage du Commerce to play dominoes. I pay. Rostkowski drops in. I go home at eleven.

Saturday, [June] 23

188

Rostkowski drops by early in the morning asking me to write a second request to the Minister. I promise to do so. I receive a letter from my wife and one from [my brother] Stephen; I am delighted. To Steinhauser for breakfast on credit. I return Herder to rue Monsigny (Pin,²¹⁸ Fournel, Chabannais²¹⁹ about the dissolution of Ménilmontant). To Lerminier's lecture. He speaks of the

²¹⁶ Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803) - A versatile German theoretical scholar, poet, and philosopher *Sturm und Drang* ("Storm and Pressure"). He dealt with the philosophy of language, literary criticism and aesthetics. In his philosophical views he accepted pantheism, and understood the history of mankind as an expression of the evolution of nature, an evolution which makes progress of the intellect and justice possible. He presented his basic views in *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (*Ideas concerning a philosophy of human history*) which he published in the years 1784-1791. One of the chapters in this book is dedicated to Slavic themes. This chapter constitutes a kind of manifesto for national movements of liberation among the Slavic nations in the first half of the 19th century. Herder rendered a service to the cause of awakening interest in the creativity of peoples.

²¹⁷ Thomas Praniewicz (1793-1869) - A priest and poet. Thanks to his knowledge of languages, he was sent to America as a missionary by the Vilno Chapter. Along the way, however, he stopped in France, and from 1822 he lived in Paris, performing pastoral duties, e.g., on the Island of Saint-Louis. From 1832 he worked among the Polish emigrants arriving in Paris after the November uprising. He was the "court chaplain of the Czartoryskis". He was co-organizer of Polish Women's Welfare Society. He became a naturalized citizen of France, and worked as a priest in Paris.

He was recognized among the Polish emigrants as the author of many panegyrics in honor of individuals, and also on the occasion of meetings that took place, often providing accompaniment of music on the piano. He published these ornately at his own cost. In remembering Praniewicz, Louis Rettel wrote: "He showered incense on people with artistic skill, without any trace of even the least self-interest. He neither recognized nor desired acclamation even of those whose heroic acts were extolled by him, composed not only in verse, but also in music." (*Annals of the Historical-Literary Society in Paris*, 1869, pp. 289-290).

²¹⁸ Pin - a saintsimonist of the third degree (June, 1831).

²¹⁹ Chabannais - Presumably a saintsimonist, but further information is lacking.

beginning of the Prussian monarchy. After the lecture Boleslaus invites me to a reception at Arcola. I speak with Kunatt unnecessarily about plans for a testimonial from Plater. To the "Revue" (Leroux, Charton,²²⁰ Reynaud about Ménilmontant, politics in France, poetry, and sculpture - about fraternities, groups - about astronomy). I leave with Benoiste, and he gives me 20 francs. At dinner I speak with Płużański about the foreignness of his opinions, both aristocratic and French-constitutional, and about the breed of civil servants. To Podczaszyński, Rostkowski, Stoltzman - talk about a Polish newspaper. Chodźko drops in. I try to reconcile them, but formalities are an obstacle. We set a rendezvous for tomorrow at one for this purpose. I go out to Arcola, where I meet Bronikowski. We talk about the Literary Society. I agree to become a member. I wait until ten for Boleslaus [Gurowski]; he does not come. On my way back, rain. To Eugenia for the night - I am still strong.

189 *Sunday, [June] 24*

I get up before eight and go home. I have a few francs in my pocket, my ill humor has been dissipated during the night, and my mind has recovered somewhat, for it had been depressed the last several days. I am writing my memoirs from Tuesday²²¹ on a separate piece of paper. Rostkowski drops in. I have not yet written his request, but I promise him that I will get down to it. Lalouette²²² comes to see me (I give him the address to the "Revue", Courtet is to come to Paris). I go to Viot for breakfast. I meet [Theophile] Kwiatkowski,²²³ who begins to tell me about his happy life in Warsaw. Per force he pays for me, and later even for a demi-tasse at passage du Commerce. Together we go to visit

²²⁰ Edouard-Thomas Charton (1807-1890) - a French politician and journalist; a lawyer. He was a saintsimonist of the second degree, and as such offered lectures for an audience. He was an adversary of Father Enfantin. He was linked with Hippolyte Carnot and Jean Reynaud by bonds of friendship and work together. He was the author of *Mémoire d'un prédicateur saint-simonien* (1832). He published articles in the "Magazine Pittoresque".

²²¹ *I am writing these memoirs from Tuesday on a separate piece of paper.* This "piece of paper" has been preserved in the form of a page with writing on both sides (ACRR 8627, pp.161-162). Notes on these pages, dealing with occupations and friendly meetings, span a period from (Tuesday) the 19th to (Saturday) the 23rd of June, as well as (Monday and Tuesday) the 25th and 26th of June. After a break in keeping his Diary, Jański returned to it on (Wednesday) June 27, making use of the notes made on this "piece of paper", developing them and bringing them to a final version. The initial version was omitted in this publication; only some of the words not included in the final version were noted here, indicating them by the + signs.

²²² Lalouette - Cf. above, footnote 85.

²²³ Theophile Kwiatkowski - Cf. 1828, Private Diary, footnote 2.

Kunatt. I withdraw the demand I made yesterday that he understand Plater accurately. Sarnecki.²²⁴

To the "Revue" where I read Morawski's letter in the "Tribune". I go to visit Morawski. There I meet Plichta,²²⁵ Umiński and Olszowski. They leave. There is a second discussion about parties in Poland, various revolutionary incidents, Skrzynecki, [Louis] Plater, Ramorin, etc., and about our democrats. He invites me to join the Literary Society. He promises to give me a reply to my demands within four days. I reject plans to visit Mélimontant as a waste of time. Dinner at rue des Boucheries for 32 sous. After dinner, having decided to change lodgings, I go to see Maliński in order to come to an understanding with him about this. We go out together for beer at passage du Commerce. I go home at ten.

Monday, [June] 25

190

A lesson. At eleven Szlesynger²²⁶ comes by and leaves with Jóźwik. I write the petition for Rostkowski. He comes to get it. I go to passage du Commerce for breakfast. To the "Revue" with hope. There I meet Bronikowski.

²²⁴ Fabian Sarnecki (1800-1894) - A Polish painter, lithographer, copyist and conservator. He was a native of Kalisz. From 1825 he studied in Berlin, and from 1828 to 1837 in Paris with Antoine Gros, a French artist, a professor at the École des Beaux Arts. He was a member of the Academic Society of Polish Exiles in Paris (from December, 1831) and to Lelewel's Committee. In 1837 he moved to Italy, residing in Rome from 1840. In that year, before Jański's death, he painted his portrait in oils at the request of his brothers. In a letter to Adam Mickiewicz dated May 22, 1840, Jerome Kajsiewicz wrote: "We approached him [Jański] in such a way that he permitted Sarnecki, a former acquaintance, to paint his portrait [...] and he did so very accurately." That portrait was preserved in the Roman house of the Congregation of the Resurrection. In 1840 Sarnecki returned to Poland and settled in Poznań. Toward the end of his life he became blind. He died in Poznań.

²²⁵ Andrew Plichta (1797-1866) - a lawyer (he studied in Warsaw), journalist, secretary of the State Council of the Kingdom of Poland, a member of the secret Patriotic Society. He was involved in the conspiracy of Valerian Łukasiński, was arrested and sent to jail (1825-1829). During the November uprising he was secretary of the National Government. He served in the army as a simple soldier. An emigrant in France, he came to Paris on October 24, 1831. He was co-founder and secretary of the Literary Society in Paris. He worked closely with Adam Czartoryski. Taking a stand against the politics of Lelewel's Committee, on September 5, 1832, together with 39 emigrants, he resigned from the Paris "Community". Cf. below, footnote 320.

²²⁶ Undoubtedly Joseph Szlesynger (Szlesinger, properly Schlesinger) - a Doctor, participated in the November uprising. He resided in Paris as an emigrant (1832-1833).

We skim through "Literatur Zeitung" from Leipzig and Halle.²²⁷ Carnot quietly writes letters. Having lost hope, I decide to write a letter to Mr. Mécou with excuses concerning the dead-line. I go for a walk in the Tuileries.²²⁸ On my way back I meet Hłuśniewicz.²²⁹ I walk back home with him, disappointed once again in this hope, since he has no money. I meet Hube and Oleszczyński - we make plans to go to Chateauroux.²³⁰ Dinner at Viot at 2:30 - demi-tasse at the passage. To Rostkowski; smoke a pipe with him lying in bed. He says that Umiński told him that he recognized me yesterday etc. (unnecessarily I immediately tell him about my affairs - I tell him about the Literary Society). Unnecessarily I tell him too much about my marriage, my past, and especially about my relationship with Jaroszyński.²³¹ I step in to see Podczaszyński, and make apologies to Mochnacki. I am totally silent. Stolzman and Bronikowski. To Oleszczyński. I browse through his collection, and scan Święcki's treatises concerning Polish scholars at the time of the Jagellonians;²³² His concubine arrives. At nine we go out for beer; I go home at ten.

²²⁷ The newspaper "Intelligenzblatt der Allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung" in the years 1787-1849. The paper was published first in Jena, then in Halle and Leipzig; supplement "Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung".

²²⁸ Tuileries - a royal garden near the Louvre. It was created at the behest of Catherine de Medici in 1554 on the spot of a middle-age public refuse heap where later kilns to bake roofing tiles (tuileries) were located.

²²⁹ Anthony Hłuszniewicz (1793-1861) - Studied medicine at the University of Vilno, completing the course there in 1822. At the time of the November uprising, he worked as a doctor in army hospitals. He was an envoy to the Sejm. As an emigrant in France he was an active member of Lelewel's Polish National Committee, the Lithuanian and Ukrainian Territories Society, and also the Society of Friends of Progress (as treasurer, Cf. 1831, footnote 54). He became a member of the Polish Democratic Society, and later of the Polish Emigrant Union. He settled in Versailles. He was generous in his services to the Polish emigrants. Later he served as a doctor at the Polish School in Batignolles, and vice-president of the Society of Polish Doctors in Paris.

²³⁰ Châteauroux - a town in the Indre department. In the spring of 1832, French authorities established a depot there for civilian participants of the Polish uprising, non-military emigrants. Among the latter were a number of students from the Universities of Warsaw and Kraków, later from the University of Vilno, even a few from Wrocław. At the request of the leaders of the Polish emigration, the French government agreed to allow students, whose studies were interrupted by reason of the uprising to continue their studies in French institutions (Cf. R. Bielecki, *A Sketch of the dispersion of the Great Emigration in France 1831-1837*. The Materials were drawn from French archives, op. cit. pp.27-29).

²³¹ Henry Jaroszyński - Cf. 1830, footnote 35.

²³² Thomas Święcki (1774-1837) - historian, geographer and heraldist; from 1818 a member of the Society of the Friends of Learning in Warsaw. Author of *A Treatise including memoirs concerning famous scholars in Poland at the time of the reign of the Jagellonian House*, published in "The Annual of the Warsaw Society of the Friends of Learning", Vol. 19, 1827.

Tuesday, [June] 26

191

Józwik. After the lesson to passage du Commerce. I run into Royer-Collard, but do not have the courage to greet him (?). I meet Podczaszyński having coffee. He reads me plans for his newspaper. I accompany him to the committee. We find no one there. I go back home for a while, and then go out for Lerminier. His lecture is about Frederick the Great.²³³ Ostrowski [Boleslaus] wants to visit me. I refuse to allow him to come even for a moment. Boleslaus [Gurowski] shows me Adam's response from London concerning Morawski's article. In the Reading Room I reprove him severely. We meet Huguet,²³⁴ who begins to point out some errors in that article. He speaks to me of Mélimontant - that they are once again materially solvent; Petit was to have accepted the apostolate completely.²³⁵ I write a polite letter to Mr. Mécou, and at five I go out for dinner to Steinhauser. After a demi-tasse, I accompany Stolzman to the Mochnackis. Camille and Stolzman have received an order to leave Paris.²³⁶ I go out at about seven to visit Józwik. We go for a walk to the Champs-Élysées. Józwik shows talent in ascetical matters. Punch after we return. He goes back with me at ten (in conversation with him I was more jovial than serious, while he was a sentimental ascetic). On my return home I write an article about Wołowski's²³⁷ pamphlet. I go to bed at one.

Wednesday, [June] 27

I get up at nine. Already in bed I am thinking about my mistakes in recent days, about my weakness, about engaging in some work and showing energy. I am finishing additional notes for the article concerning Bronikowski's

²³³ Frederick II Hohenzollern, called The Great (1712-1786), the King of Prussia from 1740, who initiated the first partition. He was a representative of enlightened absolutism.

²³⁴ Huguet - a saintsimonist of the third degree (June 1831). His name also appears in Jański's list of saintsimonists.

²³⁵ Alexis Petit - a saintsimonist; he carried on correspondence with Michael Chevalier, Enfantin and Marie-Jerome-Henri Fournel. After some time he accepted the Catholic faith, entered a seminary, and was ordained a priest. (Cf. 1838, footnote 225).

²³⁶ In connection with events, for which the pretext was the funeral of General Lamarque, the French authorities proclaimed a state of siege, and consequently expelled from the capitol those Polish emigrants who they considered especially dangerous. According to the words of Camille Mochnacki: "Without becoming involved in any reasons or explanations, the government ordered many emigrants to leave, among these myself and my colleague in office and mission, Charles Sztolcman."

²³⁷ Jański wrote an review of the work of Francis Wołowski's *L'Empereur Nicolas et la Constitution Polonoise de 1815* (Paris, 1832), which was published in the "Revue Encyclopédique", Vol. 54 (1832), pp. 513-514).

Francis Wołowski - envoy to the Sejm from the city of Warsaw - Cf. 1835, footnote 210.

pamphlet. To passage for breakfast, and to the "Revue" to give the article to Julien; he is not there, and neither is Gadebled. I leave to go home. On the way I browse in the bookshops along the Quay and buy a Viennese²³⁸ treatise for two sous. On my way back to the "Revue" I drop in to the committee for a New Testament, but no one is there. At the "Revue" I promise to have an article ready for Julien. I return home, and here, from a separate sheet, I copy memoirs up to Sunday,²³⁹ and put together later memoirs. At 4:30 I go out to dinner.

Mochnacki discusses the siege of Paris, the degradation of the French nation, and inevitable triumph of the allies. Unnecessarily, I get involved in these proclamations of his (?) decision. I go with him to see them. We get down to discussing what happened among us not too long ago. He calls me an enthusiast of ideas, a youngster, and an old man, for lack of attention to current trends - a wind-bag as always. I take Leibnitz' *Theéodicée*²⁴⁰ from Camille. At seven I go out to visit Maliński. He begins to make alterations in the portrait of me begun two years ago - I have changed considerably since that time. He loans me five francs. On my return I am overwhelmed, impelled, by carnal desires as I walk along the rue de l'Abbaye. I meet Amelia and arrange a rendezvous for Friday. For beer to passage du Commerce. The Oleszczyńskis. And once more, mad chasing in many directions for flesh. And so should I be angry with Alexandra when I myself chase about madly, even after making the strongest resolutions not to waste time, and to tend resolutely at all times toward my moral goals? Pollution at night.

+To Bourgard, Crellin, Joseph [Zawadzki], Maciejowski, Lanckoroński, Courtet.+

192 Thursday, [June] 28

²³⁸ A treaty approved at the Congress of Vienna (November, 1814 - June, 1815) by a conference of nations belonging to the victorious anti-Napoleonic coalition. The conference was chaired by Russia, England, Austria and Prussia. On the basis of a decision of May 3, 1815, the Kingdom of Poland was established. Its separateness from Russia was limited greatly after the November uprising by the so-called "Organic Statute", issued by Tsar Nicholas I on February 14, 1832.

²³⁹ ...*I am writing this from a separate page with my memoirs from Sunday...* - The "separate page" is the "piece of paper" which Jański mentioned under the date of June 24, 1832. (Cf. above, footnote 221).

²⁴⁰ G. W. Leibniz's philosophical tract *Essai de Théodicée* was published in 1710. The title, "Theodicy", was introduced into philosophy by the author himself, for whom it signified the defense of God's justice in the face of objections to the existence of Providence that are based on the ascertainment of the existence of evil in the world.

193

The laundress arrives at seven. Fortunately I am at a distance. Jóźwik comes, and then goes off to look for a dentist together with Rostkowski. I write these memoirs until nine; we do not have a lesson. After I shave, breakfast. To Morawski. (I meet Boleslaus Ostrowski; we talk about conversion, and about thinking for oneself). Morawski has not yet given me the resolution; I stay there only a half-hour. While returning I realize that I did not reflect upon what I was to say, that is, about the amount of my pension, and the time from which it should be paid to me. I note for myself that I write these memoirs in such minute detail while I do no great works; as a result, for me, one who wishes to lead an interior life and to analyze my own actions, every little detail carries great weight. And so, what great activity should I begin? What great works? With what should I occupy my time in order to escape from my present financial embarrassments? With these thoughts in mind I arrive at the "Revue". I read the newspapers, and at 2:30 I leave. I go to rue Taranne for a whiskey. Warmed, I feel I have strength for work, but also a need to move about. I go to visit Janowski. He is still ill. On returning I meet Rostowski (he was at Broussais).²⁴¹ For dinner. Indeed I do not enter into disputes, but remain jovial, as one should in such circumstances. To Maliński for a sitting - and I think about the Slavs and about myself. I borrow another five francs. I feel the urge to go to the rue l'Abbaye. I visit Jenny, jolly and insistent - unnecessarily insistent - when it could have been, unnecessarily and too much, when she was already tired. For beer; and returning, still desires to chase after flesh. And so once again I accomplished nothing.

194

Friday, June 29

Jóźwik at seven. Rostkowski stops by a nine. An idle conversation. At ten I write these memoirs.

²⁴¹ François-Joseph-Victor Broussais (1772-1838) - an army doctor, noted professor of medicine, from 1830 a member of the faculty of medicine in Paris. In a letter to his parents (July 24, 1832) Camille Mochacki wrote: "Baron Broussais, doctor of the manor, gave me a certificate stating that in my weakness I would not be able to travel to Avignon. With the help of this certificate, I am able to protect myself from the police who often visit my residence. The generals also assure us that with the help of this certificate, since Mr. Broussais is a very eminent person, they will obtain a recall of the ministerial order. Voivode Ostrowski and Lelewel have already received such a recall." (p.126).

195

June 29 - at Jenny's; a rendezvous for Monday. I would like to borrow her money.

Saturday, June 30

On Friday I received from Carnot the address to La Société de Londres.²⁴² Verdict of the Court of Appeals cancelling the state of siege.²⁴³ At the "Revue" I take the "Revue Européenne". It contains an article on metaphysics by Bautain.²⁴⁴

²⁴² On February 25, 1832, the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland was established, the members of which were exclusively Englishmen. The president of this association was Thomas Campbell, a poet, and the secretary - Adolph Bach. Until 1898, the Literary Association was situated in London, at a place called "Sussex Chambers", 10 Duke Street, St. James.

²⁴³ The lifting of the state of siege caused by the events of the 5th and 6th of June, 1832, in Paris, one of the results of which was, e.g., the prohibition of more numerous meetings.

²⁴⁴ An article by Fr. Louis Bautain *De la vraie et de la fausse Philosophie* was published in two parts in the "Revue Européenne", Vol. V, Nr. XVIII, pp. 637-655, and in Nr. XXII, pp. 524-588. (Cf. 1831, footnote 60).

Louis-Marie-Eugène Bautain (1796-1867) - philosopher and theologian. As a professor at the University of Strasbourg he taught rationalist philosophy as well as the philosophy of I. Kant and G. Fichte. In 1822 he interrupted his work as a teacher and turned his interest to the study of natural science and medicine. He underwent an interior crisis, the result of rationalism, and turned to fideism. In 1823 he became a Catholic and, after completing theological studies, was ordained a priest. In Strasbourg he organized the Society of the Priests of Saint-Louis, whose purpose was the education of clerics who would be able to meet the demands of the existing spiritual situation. Under the influence of Kant, Bautain came to consider metaphysical knowledge as impossible. Natural human reason is powerless when it comes to demonstrate any sort of metaphysical affirmation. Certitude results only from faith anticipating reason. Scholasticism no longer has any reason to exist. Bautain presented his views in *De l'enseignement de la philosophie en France au XIX^e siècle* (1833). This book was condemned as fideism by the Bishop of Strasbourg, and then by Pope Gregory XVI in December of 1834. Bautain submitted to the decision of Church authorities, and on November 18, 1835, signed Catholic statements such as: reason can demonstrate the existence of God, and that revelation is authentic on the basis of Tradition and Sacred Scripture. Called to Rome, he arrived there in 1838, and changed some of the assertions he had made in his *La philosophie du christianisme* (1835). At the Roman French Church of St. Louis he organized a study center for French priests. He was the author of many scholarly works, e.g., the innovative *Psychologie expérimentale* (1839) recommending experimental methods. In Strasbourg he was both a preacher at the cathedral and rector of the seminary, noted for his sanctity of life. He received special attention in *Correspondence religieuse de L. Bautain*, published by L'Abbé H. de Bonnechose (2 volumes, Paris, 1835).

Sunday, July 1

To Morawski, for information about the London Polish Literary Society, and my business.

Monday, July 2

Podczaszyński's pamphlet of the first of July is published.²⁴⁵ I receive a letter from [Louis] Plater. Morawski tells me to wait. Maurice [Mochnecki] promises seriously that he will give me a hundred and more than twenty francs. I return the "Revue Européenne" to the "Revue", and give Carnot Morawski's printed article. A rendezvous with Jenny, but she is not there.

Tuesday, July 3

I take Lesur²⁴⁶ from the "Revue". I change plans for a pamphlet about the Polish cause to plans for a series of articles. Camille receives an order to leave. An announcement about Fergusson's motion.²⁴⁷ A gathering at Camille's in order to thank him. Dysiewicz.²⁴⁸ Camille becomes ill.

²⁴⁵ This refers to "Memoirs of the Polish Emigration" which Michael Podczaszyński edited and published from July 1, 1832. In order to avoid paying the large deposit required for publication of periodicals, Podczaszyński decided to publish the "Memoirs" in the form of separate pamphlets, each bearing a different title, but retaining the same format of print and arrangement. Individual numbers of the pamphlet were published bearing a series of titles bearing the names of Polish kings. Thus, the first pamphlet bore the title "Ziemowit", the second "Leszek" etc. This periodical, published by Podczaszyński, together with Maurice Mochnecki, was the first more important Polish political publication. It presented a moderate democracy, and political independence. It was something of an independent platform. The "Memoirs" was published from July 1832 to August 25, 1833, a total of 36 pamphlets, which together came to three volumes. It ceased to exist as a result of financial problems.

²⁴⁶ Louis-Charles Lesur (1770-1849) - writer and historian, author of plays for Paris theaters. He wrote about Russia, the Cossacks, and his own country.

²⁴⁷ Robert Cutlar Fergusson (1768-1838) - a lawyer, born of an old Scotch family, member of Parliament, a Whig. On April 18, 1832 he gave a speech in the lower house in which he made it clear that it was the repression of the Great Prince Constantine which caused the November uprising, the ukase of Tsar Nicholas (within the framework of the Organic Statute) concerning religion and nationality, the arbitrary incorporation of the Kingdom of Poland into the Russian tsardom, as an action contrary to the resolutions accepted at the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815). At the same time he made a motion that England, as a guarantor of the Viennese pact, should take proper steps against this violation committed by the Russian government in Poland. He made a second motion on June 28, 1832 in which, referring to the acts of oppression against Poland, he demanded that the English Parliament be provided with copies of Tsar Nicholas' manifesto of February 14, 1832 (i.e., the Organic Statute). Fergusson repeated the motion on July 9, 1833,

On Wednesday, [July 4] - With Morawski. He advises me to write to the prefect of police. I have decided to travel to Chateauroux. I speak of this with [Michael] Hube and the Oleszczyńskis. To Kazimirski for the report of the committee.²⁴⁹ He gives me a Bible.

Thursday, July 5

The kind Maliński gives me another five francs.

supporting it with further facts testifying to Russian persecution in Polish territory. The Polish translation of R.C. Fergusson's pamphlet, *Awareness of discussions in the lower house on April 18, 1832*, appeared in Paris in 1832. This author's speech, entitled *The cause of an enslaved Poland, introduced in the Parliament of Great Britain for the third time on July 9, 1833* was published in Paris in 1834. In October of 1832 Fergusson met with a deputation of Poles in Paris, a member of which was Adam Mickiewicz, and was enrolled in the list of honorary members of the Polish Literary Society.

²⁴⁸ Louis-Hipolitus Dysiewicz (c.1807-1869) - In 1827 he enrolled in the faculty of law and administration at the University of Warsaw. He participated in the November uprising. In January of 1831 he signed the address of the Honorary Guard to the Sejm as one of its deputies. He was an emigrant in France. He was a professor of German in the Collège d'Epinal.

²⁴⁹ Albert Felix Ignatius Kazimirski (Kaźmierski, Kazimierski) (1808-1887) - He studied law and eastern languages at the University of Warsaw from 1824. After receiving his master's degree in 1827, he worked as a defender in the Lublin tribunal, and then as a librarian in the home of General Vincent Krasieński, the father of Zygmunt, and in 1829, as librarian in the library in Kórnik, with the Count Titus Działyński. He spent some time in Berlin, studying foreign languages. In 1830 he returned to Warsaw, and during the November uprising he served as one of the secretaries of the Patriotic Society. He came to Paris with Lelewel (October 29, 1831), of whom he was a follower during the initial stage of his stay among the emigrants. He belonged to the Polish Exiles Literary Society, which was directed by Lelewel, and to his Committee. In September 1832, along with Jański, he kept the minutes of meetings of the Paris "Community" (copies of these minutes are preserved in ACRR 8605, p.612). In the emigration, thanks to the Society for Scholastic Assistance, he pursued Oriental Studies. He became a noted orientalist and translator of Persian literature. From 1833 he was a member of the Société Asiatique in Paris, in 1834 a founding member of the Slavic Society in Paris, and finally a member of the Literary Society. Together with Stanislaus Ropelewski in 1839 he published the *French-Polish and Polish French Emigrant dictionary*. In 1839-1840 he was a translator with the French embassy in Teheran. In 1840 he published his French translation of the Koran, and later fragments of a Polish translation of this work. He published valuable works of lexicography, and translations of oriental literature. He was decorated by the French Government with the Star of the Legion of Honor, and by the Persian Government with the Order of the Sun.

The "report of the committee" mentioned by Jański may have been the recently published *An account of the activity of the National Committee* (Paris, 1832), or maybe some hand-written report of Lelewel's Committee.

Friday, July 6

On Thursday Benoiste corrected my letter to the prefect of police.²⁵⁰ I ask Dugied if he knows anyone in the prefecture. No. From Chodźko I take Lelewel, maps of Poland, and information about the Lithuanian Society.²⁵¹ - I leave one copy for Carnot. I go to see Jenny, and ask Amelia to be there on Monday. I meet Eugenia, and remain with her for the night. We read *Hernani* and *Richard d'Arlington*.²⁵² She tells me about her strange adventures.

Saturday, July 7

Returning from Eugenia, I eat breakfast at passage du Commerce. After cleaning myself up at home, I remember Bussonel's watch²⁵³ - after it is sold, he gives me the rest of the price, 25 francs, and with these I pay a part of my debt at the grocery store, and a part to Steinhauser. I busy myself correcting Bronikowski's article concerning Dębiński's²⁵⁴ pamphlet - I do not deliver it today as yet. +Reflections on greatness and littleness where

²⁵⁰ On June 12, 1832, the French Police declared all former permits to stay in Paris (permis de séjour), invalid, and required application to the Ministry of Interior Affairs for a new permit. On June 14, Jański presented his petition to the prefect of police, asking that his stay in Paris be legalized. After writing to the Minister in this matter at the beginning of July, Jański received permission for a further stay in Paris only at the beginning of September, 1832.

²⁵¹ Leonard Chodźko (Cf. above, footnote 28), the publisher of J. Lelewel's *Three Polish constitutions...* as well as maps of Poland: *Atlas des partages de Pologne 7 cartes*. He was the secretary of the Lithuanian Society, established in Paris on December 10, 1831.

²⁵² *Hernani*, a drama in verse written by Victor Hugo. The premier of this work took place in Paris on February 25, 1830; as a proclamation of romantic drama it became an important event in the history of the French theater.

Richard Arlington - an historical drama by Alexander Dumas (father), author of many novels and plays. From the day of its premier, which took place in December of 1831, this work enjoyed great success in Paris theaters by virtue of excellent performers.

²⁵³ Bussonel - Undoubtedly the Boussonel mentioned by Jański in his Diary for the year 1831, "about April 1": "Money is lacking. Boussonel is leaving..." Jański's sorry financial situation is repeated in conjunction with the name Boussonel, whose identity I have not been able to ascertain.

²⁵⁴ Henry Dembiński (1791-1864) - a general. He participated in the Napoleonic campaign. In the November uprising he fought at Wielki Dąb, Igania, and Ostrołęka. He and his corps were sent to Lithuania, but, in the face of Russian superiority, he had to turn back, which he did by way of a clever maneuver. At the beginning of August, 1831 he was Governor of Warsaw, and later, for a short time, commander-in-chief of the Polish army. An avowed opponent of the Patriotic Society. After 1831, he was an emigrant in France, where he joined the camp of Adam Czartoryski. In Lipsk, in 1832, a German translation of a pamphlet by General Dembiński appeared: *Mein Feldzug nach und in Litauen und mein Rückzug von Kuszarny nach Warschau*. In French he also published his *Mémoires* (Paris, 1833) and other memoirs.

careers are concerned.+ An article about artists in the "[Revue] Européenne"²⁵⁵ impresses me. I ask Carnot if he knows anyone in the prefecture of police. - he sends me to Cassin and Charton. Dugied comes to visit me; his conversation etc. At one, to Steinhauser for breakfast. At four to Maliński, and at five to Steinhauser for a demi-tasse.

Sunday, +July+ 8

I leave the house at about twelve. I receive a letter from Radomiński. I show it to Rostkowski. I go with him to visit Camille, and then for a small assembly to [Boleslaus] Rostkowski.²⁵⁶ I talked about my marriage with Aleksandrowicz,²⁵⁷ and with Rostkowski and Jóźwik about my concerns. Jóźwik walks back with me.

²⁵⁵ This refers to *Des artistes en France, au seizième siècle*, written by Eugène de la Gournerie in the "Revue Européenne", Vol. V (1832), Nr.13, p.40.

²⁵⁶ "A family gathering", or "a family meeting" of envoys under the direction of Anthony John Ostrowski, with the idea of convening the Sejm in the emigration in Paris. Anthony John Ostrowski (1782-1845) - the brother of Ladislaus, Marshal of the insurgent Sejm of 1830-1831; founder of Tomaszów in Mazovia, voivode senator, in 1831, Commander of the Warsaw National Guard, "famous for the awkward situation in which he found himself on the night of August 15" (Gadon, p.321). An advocate of economic liberalism, deserving credit for the industrial development of Tomaszów. From March of 1832 he was an emigrant in France. He resided briefly in Paris, where he participated in the political life of the Polish emigration, assuming a position in the middle, between the followers of Czartoryski and the democrats of Lelewel's circle. Moved by a concern to prevent the constant divisions of the emigration, the result of parties and disagreements among his countrymen, he undertook energetic action to convoke a Sejm in Paris. As a result, he presided at "family meetings" of envoys from the second half of 1832 to 1836. On January 26, 1833, he composed the "act of 25 envoys demanding the convocation of the Sejm. However, his initiative was not accepted by the majority of the exiles. He was a member of General Joseph Dwernicki's National Committee of the Polish Emigration. He sympathized with the Confederation of the Polish People. He provided financial support for educational and cultural institutions. He was an adversary of immediate enfranchisement of the peasants. He participated in the organization of an international committee for the emancipation of the Jews. He published a treatise entitled: "*A thought concerning the need for social reform in general...*" (Paris, 1834). He collected and prepared materials dealing with the history of Poland from the end of the 18th, and the beginning of the 19th centuries, as well as a history of his own family, especially the life and work of his father (*A Life of Thomas Ostrowski*, Paris, 1836). A diarist.

²⁵⁷ Undoubtedly Joseph Aleksandrowicz (1790 or 1793-1874) from Lithuania. He joined the army in 1812. He participated in the November uprising. As an emigrant in Paris, for a time he was a member of Lelewel's Committee. As correspondent and delegate of the depot in Besançon, he was active among the Paris emigrants. He was a signer of the September declaration in 1832, drafted by a commission of which Maurice Mochnacki, Andrew Plichta, and Bogdan Jański were members.

Monday, [July] 9

I go to see Jóźwik at about eleven. After much ado we go to visit Rougemont²⁵⁸ with mortgage letters - I do not even want to talk about them. Walter loans me 30 francs. A watery wine at Jóźwik's. I do not eat dinner, but go straight home - and then to Ostrowski's for the small assembly. I return with Rostkowski to Arcola. He gives me 40 francs. I take Bronikowski's corrected article to the "Revue". I am not happy with the conversation about my wife with Aleksandrowicz, and with Bronikowski at dinner.

Tuesday, [July] 10

Maliński comes to see me in the morning. Not dinner, but only breakfast at one. Walter loans me 40 francs of Kozakowski's money.

Wednesday, [July] 11

I give Mrs. Mécou 100 francs. In the "Revue" I notice flaws in the article on Russian songs and in the introduction to Morawski's article.²⁵⁹ I bathe in the Seine at three, and then go to dinner. After dinner, sauntering with Kwiatkowski for beer. In the evening to Carnot - Benoiste, Séguin,²⁶⁰ Gadebled. I leave at about eleven - and to Eugenia.

Thursday, [July] 12

A lesson with Jóźwik - he has not improved much. Rostkowski visits. What heat! In the "revue" I write a short introduction to Morawski's article, which is awkward and takes too long. After Leroux's comments - he remains the same as ever. He encourages me to work on matters relating to the Slavs. Podczaszyński informs me of wish of the Academic Society²⁶¹ that I translate

²⁵⁸ "With bonds issued by institutions providing long-term loans on security; Rougemont - the name of a bank in Paris on rue Bergère No.13bis, established by Rougemont de Löwenberg.

²⁵⁹ In the "Revue Encyclopédique" (Vol. 54, May and June, 1832, pp. 437-443) there appeared an unsigned article by Theodore Morawski, with a short introduction by Jański: *Des intentions de la dernière révolution polonaise en faveur des paysans*. The title of Morawski's article was preceded by the heading: *Institutions politiques de la Pologne*. In this same volume of the "Revue" on pages 414-416, an unsigned small publication entitled *Chansons populaires des Russies*.

²⁶⁰ Jules Séguin - a saintsimonist of the third degree (June, 1831).

²⁶¹ The already mentioned Academic Society of Polish Exiles (Cf. 1831, footnote 55), according to Lelewel's plan, was to be divided into language sections: German, French, etc. Jański would belong to the French section. Within this framework, translations of works representing the "ancient history of Poland" would be prepared by such translators

materials about Poland etc. I return with Hube. I meet Husson,²⁶² and go to the Luxembourg with him. I go to visit Podczaszyński, take Kock, after all he is less eccentric, and go to café Deschamps for beer - a fall on rue Mazarine.

Friday, [July] 13

Walter comes in the morning asking me to return the money I borrowed, and Rostkowski brings me information about the Constitution of the Third of May. After breakfast to Zdzienicki; he pawns my overcoat for 25 francs. To the "Revue". Home at three, and I doze. After dinner with Rostkowski, we go to visit Camille. I take Maliszewski.²⁶³ At eight to Walter; he is no longer in. He comes later. He does not need louisdor.²⁶⁴ Fanny is sick. I stay there until eleven.

Saturday, July 14

A lesson with Jóźwik. It is already after twelve when I leave the house to visit Walter - I am to visit him at four. I pay nine francs and ten sous in passage du Commerce. I want to visit [Louis] Plater, but I am undecided, and turn back. News about the decision of the Diet of the German Reich.²⁶⁵ To the "Revue". Carnot promises to write a letter to Montalivet. I return home at three and fall

as Chodźko, Lelewel, Podczaszyński, and Jański. (Cf. below, footnote 306, and Joachim Lelewel's *Emigration Letters*, *op. cit.*, p.3).

²⁶² Jean-Christophe-Armand Husson - a saintsimonist of the third degree (June, 1831). Jański included his name in his list of saintsimonists. (Cf. 1838, footnote 70).

²⁶³ Peter Paul John Maleszewski (1767-1828) - economist, historian, journalist. The son of Michael Poniatowski, Abbot of Czerwieńsk, and future Primate. He studied in Poland, and then in Paris, where he served as a secret agent of King Stanislaus August, informing the French press about matters dealing with Poland. He was a mason. In 1809, on the motion of Thaddeus Czacki, he was selected to be a member of the Warsaw Society of the Friends of Learning. By virtue of his marriage to a Frenchwoman, he obtained French citizenship. He lived in France, engaged in scholarly work. He took Polish students arriving in Paris under his care, among these e.g. Frederick Skarbek, Adrian Krzyżanowski, and Leon Sapieha. He conducted a private seminar in economy for their benefit. In 1823 he lost his sight; he died in France. He published a few works in the field of economy and history in French and Polish.

²⁶⁴ Louisdor, luidor, literally "golden Louis" - a gold coin in France in the years 1640-1803, replaced by a twenty franc coin.

²⁶⁵ On may 27, 1832, in the Hambach castle in the Palatinate, on the anniversary of the approval of the Bavarian constitution, liberals and democrats gathered to celebrate the occasion. In the name of Lelewel's Committee, John Czyński, and in the name of the Polish Democratic Society, Thaddeus Krępowiecki, came to this meeting. At this meeting a statement was issued asserting the need to unite Germany, and to create "a confederation of European republics", such as Poland, Hungary, and Italy. These celebrations evoked a reaction on the part of the Diet of the Reich, which in July of 1832 issued laws forbidding political meetings and speeches, and more stringent censures.

asleep until 4:45. Walter is no longer at home. To Steinhauser for dinner; to Oleszczyński, a walk with Hube - we talk about Szyrma, Kunatt, saintsimonism, Demaistre, Catholicism and freedom. At home, musing until 1:30.

Sunday, July 15

I rise at nine. After breakfast at passage du Commerce, I rewrite the request to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I drop in to see Walter. He is angry with me because of yesterday. To [Louis] Plater; he had already left. To Morawski; he is not in. Home; and after musing, these memoirs until dinner. After dinner I accompany Hube without necessity. To Maliński. I return the first five francs. Home, and once more these memoirs. For beer; and then once again a very foolish loitering - and at home, a sin.

[Monday], July 16

I leave the house at ten. Breakfast at Steinhauser. To Moraszewski (Plichta, Umiński). I am well received. He advises me against having Kniaziewicz²⁶⁶ sign my request. To Podczaszyński. To the "Revue" and to Pinard for the proofs. To Podczaszyński, and once again to the "Revue". I meet Buchez. Carnot corrects my request, and promises to write a letter to Montalivet, to newspaper men. A new issue of the "Revue" is being published (Benoiste, Gadebled).²⁶⁷ For dinner. After dinner, without any need, I loiter too long with Skarżyński²⁶⁸ in search of a brownie. I meet Sainte-Beuve. Back

²⁶⁶ Charles Otto Kniaziewicz (1762-1842) - A General. He participated in the Polish-Russian war in 1792, and the uprising in 1794. As a Major-General he fought in the defense of Warsaw and at Maciejowice. From 1797 he was a member of Dąbrowski's Legions. He was Commander of the First Legion, and distinguished himself in the Neapolitan war. From 1799 he was a Brigadier General; as Commander of the Danubian Legion, he distinguished himself at Hohenlinden (1800). In protest against Napoleon's politics concerning the Legions, he resigned in 1801. From 1812 he was with the army of the Duchy of Warsaw. Appointed General of a division, he participated in the 1812 campaign. He resided in Paris, where he represented the Polish Government in the time of the November uprising. After the resignation of Theodore Morawski, who "temporarily took care of Polish interests in France", he became the head of the Polish Legation, cooperating with its active member, Castellan Louis Plater. From September 3, 1831, after submitting a memorial to the French government, accusing it of failing to offer any assistance to Poland, the Polish Legation was formally dissolved. However members of the Legation, by virtue of their widespread contacts with Frenchmen, did not cease to care for the Polish cause, and to seek assistance for the Polish exiles.

²⁶⁷ Here: "Revue Encyclopédique", 1812.

²⁶⁸ Undoubtedly Vincent Skarżyński (1806-1876), who in 1826 received the degree of Master of Administration at the University of Warsaw. He participated in the November

home, I begin to read correspondence from Poland. I leave the house; loiter; a fall on rue Dufour, and with Liza an odd night at rue des Cordiers. 4 times.

197

Tuesday, July 17

I rise at eight, and go out for coffee. Jóźwik was here, but I was out. Podczaszyński is here. We read a piece in the "Constitutionnel" from our unpublished correspondence from Poland.²⁶⁹ Back home, I wash up after rewriting the request to Montalivet. Boleslaus [Gurowski] drops by. He shows me a letter from [his brother] Adam; he is leaving, etc. I go to the "Revue" about one; Carnot is not there. Dumont.²⁷⁰ Achille tells me about the death of Talabot and Buchez²⁷¹ - I am sad. Wychodzę około trzeciej, spotykam Füstera²⁷² – jakże zimno przyjął te nowiny. I take the letters home, and to Rostkowski. I am worn out by the previous night. For dinner. To Podczaszyński to read the proofs (Maurice). I take them back to the printer. To Walter. He receives me well, as always. For beer, and to bed.

Wednesday, July 18

The laundress comes before seven, then Jóźwik. The lesson ends at about ten. For breakfast to "Revue". Carnot gives me a letter to Montalivet. After I change clothes at home, I go to see Mr. de Wailly, and leave the letter with him

uprising. In 1832 he made his way through Galicia to France. He lived in Paris for three years "becoming satiated with the stormy and idle life of the emigration" (M. Motty, op. cit., vol.I, p.330). In 1835 he left from Spain, where he fought against the Carlists, leading a regiment of the Spanish army. He retired as a colonel. He returned to Poland in 1846. In the last years of his life, he participated in the work of the Poznań Society of the Friends of Learning.

²⁶⁹ "Constitutionnel" in its (Tuesday) July 17, 1832 number published on the first page, in the Extérieur (Foreign) section: Pologne - Varsovie, 3 Juillet, Correspondance particulière, with the title: Cruauté de Nicolas envers la Pologne (Nicholas' Atrocities against Poland).

²⁷⁰ Dumont - According to the list of names of saintsmonists provided by Jański, a person associated with that movement.

²⁷¹ Undoubtedly Achille Rousseau, a saintsmonist, and co-author of religious songs in the collection *Foi nouvelle*, Nantes, 1833.
Talabot - Cf. 1830, footnote 79.

Buchez - saintsmonist of the third degree (June, 1831). Not to be confused with the former follower of saintsmonism, Phillipe Benjamin Joseph Buchez.

²⁷² Joseph Jean Nicolas Fuster (Fuster) (b.1801) - a saintsmonist of the third degree (June, 1831), later a doctor of medicine, professor at the clinic of the hospital Hôtel-Dieu in Montpellier.

at about two.²⁷³ To Steinhauser for breakfast, and then take the coach from the Place des Petits Peres to Ménilmontant. I arrive at 4:30 (Bras, Carnot, Barrot).²⁷⁴ I return at eight (Ribes, Massol²⁷⁵). At Steinhauser in the evening; to Carnot, Leroux and Didier with regard to the work about the Apocalypse etc. For beer, and then to bed (Reynaud, Roche and Desloges²⁷⁶ about women.)

198

Thursday, July 19

Jóźwik arrives at seven, and shortly after that Rostkowski, asking me to translate the certificate of his degree. There is no lesson. I translate the certificate, and begin to correct Jóźwik's work. I give the certificate to Rostkowski. For breakfast. Mrs. Nain²⁷⁷ gives me a ticket to the theater for three persons. I am still full of memories from yesterday and emotions of the situation at the "Revue", as well as the desire to translate correspondence from Poland into French, but nothing is decided. At home, I make corrections for Jóźwik. I think about a way of life in the future, about being with other people, about universalizing my knowledge, and about working. At 3:30, I go to the "Revue" (Everatt);²⁷⁸ deliver the texts to Jóźwik. I go out for dinner - I have an unpleasant feeling about eating so long on credit. Bronikowski's thanks for my article in the "Revue", and excuses, as it were, why I should give him my articles about Umiński, Dembiński, and Chłapowski²⁷⁹ leave me with an

²⁷³ Undoubtedly a higher official in the Ministry of Interior Affairs directed by Montalivet - perhaps Jules de Wailly, who worked together with Charles Duveyrier (1803-1866), well-known to Jański, a saintsimonist of the first degree (in 1831), active in Belgium and England; a dramatist.

²⁷⁴ Camil-Hiacynth-Odilon Barrot (1791-1877) - French lawyer, leader of the leftist dynastic opposition, a saintsimonism sympathizer; a republican.

²⁷⁵ Marie-Alexandre Massol (1805-1875) - saintsimonist philosopher, author of works dealing with saintsimonist doctrine. Together with Rousseau he published *Explication de la religion saintsimonienne* (Nantes, 1833). He was the editor of "Réforme", and co-editor of "Voix du peuple".

²⁷⁶ Achille Roche (1801-1834) - a political and literary writer; the former secretary of Benjamin Constant. Editor of the "Tribune". He published his articles in the "Revue Encyclopédique".

Desloges - author of two pamphlets: *Des enfants trouvés et des femmes publiques* (published only in 1836), and *Abolition de la tyrannique conscription*.

²⁷⁷ Mrs. Nain - an unknown person.

²⁷⁸ L. N. Everrat - a Paris publisher and bookseller.

²⁷⁹ Dezydery Adam Chłapowski (1788-1879) - General of the Polish Army. He studied military science abroad. He participated in the Napoleonic campaign. In 1813 he resigned from military service, and went to England for two years. After that he returned to his native Great Poland, and became involved in economic activity based on English models.

unpleasant feeling. I give a ticket to Mrs. Bronikowski. I accompany Skarzyński to Maliński's residence; the good man gives me 5 francs. For coffee a second time to passage du Commerce. Melancholy, I go home, and after a pipe and a nap, I go out for a small cup of punch. Then, stupid loitering along rue de Bac and de Grenelle. Thoughts about writing under the name of "Dieudonne de Poulousque ["Theodore of Pułusk"]²⁸⁰, and more stupid loitering until eleven; finally, a fall with an old, fat and ugly woman on rue de Coeur Volant. I buy half a bottle of punch syrup. Unhappy and sad, I drink almost the whole bottle and read Ortolan²⁸¹ until twelve.

Friday, July 20

I rise at ten, and cannot recognize myself. I am still sad - those memories. For breakfast. Mrs. Nain gives me three tickets to the Théâtre du Panthéon.²⁸² To the "Revue", Didier gives me a book about the Apocalypse. On my way home at three I meet Reynaud. At home I scan through the book. I leave one ticket for Walter. For dinner, I invite Kondratowicz,²⁸³ to go to the theater with him. I give the second ticket to the Bronikowskis. I go to pick up Maliński. We

He participated in the November uprising, distinguishing himself in the Lithuanian expedition. He was a Prussian prisoner for two years. After he was freed, he returned to economic activity, working with, e.g., Charles Marcinkowski. He was regarded as a clerical-aristocratic leader. Already in 1841, in Rome, he became a friend of Jerome Kajsiewicz and his confreres. In 1857 he invited the Sisters of the Sacred Heart (Sacré-Coeur) to Poznań. He provided financial support for the "Przegląd Poznański" which was edited by John Koźmian, whose daughter Sophie died a tragic death, and who later became a priest (Cf. 1834, footnote 35). He maintained contacts with intellectual Catholics (e.g., de Montalembert). Author of *Memoirs*.

²⁸⁰ Jański's French pseudonym, which went back to his youth, when he attended the Provincial School in Pułusk. It is worth noting that "Bogdan" is the indigenous Polish form of the name, while "Bohdan" is a form that derives from the Ukrainian. Both forms correspond to the Greek *Théodoros* (Polish Teodor), which means "Given by God".

²⁸¹ Joseph-Louis-Elzéar Ortolan (b. 1802) - professor of penal law at the faculty of law in Paris.

²⁸² Théâtre du Panthéon - On March 25, 1832, "Le Constitutionnel" informed its readers about the establishment of a new theater with an auditorium, installed in the church of Saint-Benoît next to the Benedictine monastery, near place Cambrai, between rue Saint-Jacques and rue de la Harpe. The Church of Saint-Benoît previously served as a grain warehouse.

²⁸³ In the original erroneously Kondradotowicz - Joseph Kondratowicz, participated in the November uprising as a second lieutenant in the 2nd uhlan regiment. An emigrant, a resident in Paris in 1832. In that year he became a member of Lelewel's Committee.

have tea, and go to the theater, *L'Egoïste*.²⁸⁴ Tired, we do not wait until the end. We talk about women, I in morals. I go home and go to sleep.

Saturday. July 21

Huguet finds me still in bed - about himself, about [Louis] Królikowski, about Ménilmontant. I am beginning to translate the correspondence. For breakfast at twelve. To the "Revue" - the newspapers and a little research about what was written about the Apocalypse. I talk with Carnot about what works I should undertake, and about making a name for myself here. I am feeling very apathetic. Gadebled - about Ménilmontant. Carnot gives us a ticket to Théâtre du Palais-Royal.²⁸⁵ I stop by to visit Mr. Debert.²⁸⁶ For dinner. Camille gives me 2 francs. A conversation with a reserved Bronikowski. Praise God, the conversation is reserved. To the Palais-Royal for a rendezvous with Gadebled. They are showing *Temptation*. We leave before it is over. I go to the passage du Commerce for beer (Hube), and then home at eleven. Thoughts about women. "Revue Européenne" - Molitor.²⁸⁷ (Strengthened) I fall asleep after two.

Sunday, July 22

Rostkowski drops in and wakes me at eight. I go out for breakfast, and return about ten. (Thoughts about bringing my wife here.) A visit by Vannieuvenhuysen. These notes from Friday. I continue doing a bit of translation. I go out at two. I stop by to see Debert. To the "Revue" - it is closed. I turn around near Port-Royal, and go to Steinhauser (Zatwardzicki's dissertations²⁸⁸). After dinner I go home and read *Marin Mniszech*.²⁸⁹ At ten I go out for a walk, for beer, and then back home. I think about future works.

²⁸⁴ In one evening, Friday, July 20, 1832, four stage plays were presented in the Panthéon Theater: *Louise*, *L'Egoïste*, *La Sorcière*, and *Le Curé*.

²⁸⁵ In this theater, on July 21, 1832, the premier of the play *Antoine, ou la Tentation* was presented. Beside the premier, *Une Affaire d'Honneur*, and *Anne* were also presented.

²⁸⁶ Debert - further information is lacking.

²⁸⁷ Franz Joseph Molitor (1799-1860) - a German philosopher. Under the influence of Schelling and the Christian thinkers Franz Baader and J.J. Goerres, he dedicated himself to studies of fortune-telling and mysticism. He wrote: *Ideen zu einer kunftigen Dynamik der Geschichte* (1805); *Philosophie der Geschichte oder über die Tradition* (1827-1853) (a work never completed).

²⁸⁸ Zarwardzicki - thus in Jański's autograph. Other sources, in this and other hand-written notes of Jański himself, have Basil Zatwarnicki. He was tutored at home in the Great Poland Szaniecki (Sczaniecki?) family. He participated in the November uprising, and then was an emigrant in Levroux. In the summer of 1832 he was in Paris and in September he participated in deliberations of the Polish Emigration Committee.

²⁸⁹ In 1830 *Marina Mniszech ou Fragments de l'histoire de Pologne* was published in Paris. This historical novel was written in French by Arthur Potocki (1787-1832), an officer of

199

Monday, July 23

Józwik comes at seven; (Rostkowski drops in for a moment). A lesson until eleven. After twelve for dinner. To Rougemont; he has no money. Back home, and to thoughts about future works, especially about what can be printed in French to earn money. At four I go to the "Revue". I look through the newspapers. For dinner (I do not engage in any conversations). After dinner I go to visit Camille along with Rostkowski. He presses me for money. On the way back I stop to visit Zenon [Świętosławski]. I am in a good mood. I think about my wife. Why do I waver so in my desire to unite with her? What is it? For in reality this could be disastrous for me. I could forget completely about her past if she had the qualities to correct this; or at least, if by her conduct she would give me some guarantee concerning the future; but unfortunately the situation is the direct opposite. Therefore, I need to hesitate. I should not bring her here until I am able to find myself in a situation where I can support her without difficulty - where I can behave toward her more freely, more dispassionately, and more independently. On my way home I meet Banet.²⁹⁰ He tells me about the death of the upright Buchez. We talk about saintsimonism. Without any need I accept a demi-tasse from the poor fellow. On my way home I think about possible efforts required by my sabbatical, about putting together some money, and then of publishing some works for Poles. I go home at about ten. I wanted to busy myself by continuing the translation, but some observations concerning national philosophies and cosmopolitan politics cross my mind. I write these down, along with materials for further letters to my fellow Poles.²⁹¹

Tuesday, July 24

The laundress comes at eight. I cannot give her any money and she needs it very much. I am embarrassed. I promise to pay her soon. I make an account of my debts, and write these notes from yesterday. After nine I get down to continuing my translation.²⁹²

the Polish Army, adjutant of Prince Joseph Poniatowski, adjutant of Emperor Alexander I, and proprietor of Krzesowice.

²⁹⁰ Banet - An individual mentioned by Jański's on his list of saintsimonists.

²⁹¹ At the time letters were still a constant popular literary form of declaration directed toward specific social circles. In Jański's papers I ran across various texts containing material relating to topics mentioned by him.

²⁹² This undoubtedly refers to the French translation of correspondence from Poland for the Paris press. Cf. above, footnote 269.

202 +Monday, August 6+

200 [Tuesday], August 7

I have not slept since midnight. It is already 2:30. After various considerations of my situation, I come to the conclusion that, since it is possible that our return to Poland will not come about soon, I must definitely try to secure some kind of more stable means of support and a more certain social position. Reflecting upon the studies with which I could occupy myself in view of this prospect, for many reasons I select statistics - not so much geographical, or even numerical, but rather typographical, pertaining to social institutions. For as far as other studies go, especially those relating to reasoning, it is inevitable that I would have more competitors. I would also have to speak better French. Moreover, it would be difficult to incorporate fragmentary general works into a single whole. In these times it is practically impossible to write treatises on philosophy or political economy - or having written them to find more than only a small number of followers. As for politics in general, I need to stay with action, rather than make an appearance before time with great projects. Further, as a philosopher, politician, and citizen in Poland, I could reap greatest benefits from these statistical works. Here, knowing languages, and possessing a fairly wide universal knowledge, within a short time I will be able to become known as a savant, a specialist, a writer - with time I might become a professor, first a member of learned societies etc. - and, above all, in this way find the means to earn a living and achieve a social position.

201

202 Wednesday, [August] 8

Thursday, August 9

203

Friday, August 10

Having received a letter from Mallet,²⁹³ I go to visit him at twelve. To the [Russian] embassy, to the police station, and once again to the embassy. Not having achieved anything, I go to Mallet. He gives me a letter to the embassy.

²⁹³ Mallet - The name of owner of a bank in Paris.

Spiss²⁹⁴ is not there; back to Mallet. To Steinhauser. It looks bad. I may not be able to achieve my purpose.

Saturday [August] 11

I rise at nine, go to rue Dauphine for breakfast. I meet Podczaszyński. The innkeeper is ill with the cholera. For breakfast to rue Guénégaud, and then to the embassy. I wait about an hour for Spiss, and finally he gives the seal of approval. To Mallet; the money is ready. I give 50 francs to Steinhauser and go home. To Emilia. At four to Rostkowski. Hube promises a new way to make money. With Rostkowski for dinner and coffee. - 11 francs. I tell him about my hopes and my plans. To Arcola, and with Boleslaus [Gurowski] for ice cream. I go to visit Mochnacki along with Rostkowski. He is drunk, and he lies. On the way home, beer with lemon.

Sunday, [August] 12

I rise at ten and go to Viot for breakfast. I buy suspenders for 8 francs. To the "Revue"; I take the "[Revue] Européenne". I feel faint. I go home. I borrow Henszel²⁹⁵ from Reutz.²⁹⁶ A pipe. To dinner at Palais-Royal for 2 francs. Coffee at Palais-Royal. To Mickiewicz. We talk about saintsimonism and Catholicism.²⁹⁷ I am tired and not completely happy with myself. For beer to passage. Later a short chase after flesh - home.

²⁹⁴ Undoubtedly the name of an official of the Russian Embassy in Paris.

²⁹⁵ Henszel - further information is lacking.

²⁹⁶ Undoubtedly Edward Reutz (1804-1891), who lived in Strasbourg. A theologian; a professor specializing in Biblical and Oriental Studies. The author of scholarly works in the field of theology and Biblical studies.

²⁹⁷ Jański met Adam Mickiewicz for the first time in June or July of 1831 in Paris, perhaps through Leonard Chodźko, with whom the poet corresponded. Mickiewicz came to Paris from Switzerland, and stayed at the Hôtel de Lille, rue St. Thomas du Louvre. At the time of this meeting, Jański interested the poet in saintsimonism, translating for him the *Exposition de la doctrine de Saint-Simon* (1829-1830), a two-volume publication only recently, i.e. in 1831, released in Paris. In Jański's written notes there is no mention of this meeting. On the other hand, we are grateful to Mickiewicz for information about his meeting with Jański, who was then an apostle of saintsimonism. In a postscript to Anthony Gorecki's letter to Leonard Chodźko, mailed from Würzburg on July 28, 1831, Mickiewicz asks: "Give my greetings to all, and also to Mrs. Marlay [Elizabeth, an Irishwoman, who was a correspondent for an English paper]; obtain from her the *Exposé de la doctrine de St. Simon*, and return it to Mr. Jański. Ask him to pardon me for leaving without saying goodbye."

About a year later, on July 31, 1832, Mickiewicz came to Paris. Two weeks later Mickiewicz and Jański met once more, undoubtedly after having agreed to do so. As a result, in a Sunday discussion, Jański was able to tell the poet about the decline of

[Monday, August] 13

Jóźwik at eight. He tells me about his magnetic acquisition.²⁹⁸ Rostkowski at 9:30; to Viot for breakfast, and then to Hube. I feel a kind of lassitude of mind. I am alone with Valentine and do not go out. To the shoemaker. I look for a room at five hotels. To the "Revue" before two. To the baths after three with Benoiste, and after four to Wołowski (I meet a girl from the boudoir). For dinner at rue Dauphine. Coffee. To Maliński. To Jóźwik - he is not in. I meet Mickiewicz. I chase after flesh along the boulevards. Near Arcola - a fall somewhere close to Place Châtelet, as much as 5 francs. The innkeeper, the shoemaker and Maliński are all paid.

Tuesday, August 14

The laundress wakes me at seven. I am frightened. I notice something leaking from the urethra. I pay the laundress 10 francs. I get down to writing these notes. Rostkowski stops by and prescribes electuarium hustivum²⁹⁹ - I take it before and after eating. I look for a room. Dinner at rue Dauphine.

[Wednesday, August] 15

The medication is effective. Breakfast at home, soup. I stay at home until three, and then take a walk. A downpour. I enter the boudoir (my girl is sad). Dinner. I meet Dugied in the Luxembourg. To Carnot for the evening, in spite of reminder, I do not go, but rather go to Arcola for water with sugar. A conversation with Jakubowski, Krosnowski,³⁰⁰ etc.

saintsimonism and the growing role of liberal Catholicism, which was officially condemned three days later by Pope Gregory XVI in the encyclical *Mirari vos* (August 12, 1832).

²⁹⁸ ...about his magnetic asset - i.e., having the property of a magnet. Magnetism, popular at the beginning of the 19th century, at that time consisted of F. A. Mesmer's, a Swiss doctor, system of healing. Cf. 1835, footnote 64

²⁹⁹ "electuarium" - in Polish "powidelko", a semi-liquid medicine for internal use, made up of powdered medication and thick juices drawn from plants, fruits, or plums. The opinion of a professor of pharmaceuticals, Barbara Kuźnicka, to whom I owe thanks for this information, is that the name *electuarium hustivum* is very probably a current designation, and is not mentioned in any scientific sources or articles.

³⁰⁰ Undoubtedly Valentine Ladislaus Krosnowski (d.1787 in Paris). He was the son of a noble family from Great Poland. He began his studies in Warsaw in 1830. He participated in the attack on the Belvedere, served in the 1831 campaign, and ended as an emigrant in France. In 1832 he was a member of The Polish National Committee. In that same year he enrolled in the Polish Democratic Society, and as one of its first members, took part in a convention of German democrats. On May 28 he signed an address to the Germans.

Thursday, [August] 16

Breakfast at passage du Commerce, rice. Then I look for a room, but can't find anything. After dinner and a nap, a walk. I meet Albert Reyer,³⁰¹ and go with him for water and sugar. We talk about his professorial plans and de la vie bourgeoise (city life).

Friday, August 17

Breakfast, tea at passage du Commerce. To Benoiste to give him an article for the newspapers. About the pamphlet. A dispute about the theory of certainty and freedom. To the "Revue". After a half an hour Benoiste arrives and argues with Carnot about Fourier. I reply negatively in two hotels, having decided to remain in my hotel. Plans to live on rue Richelieu etc. on a grander scale have definitely fallen apart. Dinner on rue Dauphine with seltzer water. To Maliński, and to Sophie. To Walter. Fanny goes too far with her jokes. Back home, I cannot sleep. I read first about the Constitution of the Third of May,³⁰² and then Hallam about England.³⁰³

Saturday, [August] 18

Rostkowski drops in. Breakfast at home. Once more the écoulement is greater. It calls for taking cubeb.³⁰⁴ Chatting until two o'clock. After him, Grzymała³⁰⁵ with a proposal for the Academic Society;³⁰⁶ my advice is to make

³⁰¹ Albert Reyer - further information is lacking.

³⁰² Cf. above, footnote 81.

³⁰³ Henry Hallam (1777-1859) - An English historian; a Whig, a member of a secret wing of that party. His famous book was published in 1827: *The Constitutional History of England, from the Accession of Henry VII to the death of George II*. For a long time this was considered the basic work on that topic.

³⁰⁴ "kubeka" - a medication made of the Javanese plant *Piper Cubeba*. In the second half of the 19th century it was mainly prescribed as a remedy for gonorrhoea.

³⁰⁵ Undoubtedly this refers to Francis Grzymała (1790-1871), a literary critic, journalist, and poet who participated in the Napoleonic campaign. He published literary works in Paris. He was secretary of the Patriotic Club organized by Maurice Mochnacki. From 1832, he lived in Paris as an emigrant. Initially a follower of Joachim Lelewel, he presided at meetings of the Paris "Community". He edited the "Sibyl of the Polish Exile" (1833, 1835, 1836). It is impossible to establish the content of Grzymała's project for lack of data.

We might add that at this same time there was an Adalbert Grzymała (1793-1871) in Paris who was not a relative of Francis Grzymała. The former was co-founder of the Polish Literary Society, and of the journal "A Chronicle of the Polish Emigration". He was supporter of the aristocratic party (of A. Czartoryski), and a friend of Frederick Chopin and George Sand.

it a national society. I go to the "Revue" for the powders. I take the "Européenne". I take the powders, and go to rue de Scipion for dinner. After that I go to visit Jóźwik (I meet Ernest Cazeaux, Boleslaus, and Zatwardzicki). Jóźwik is not in. From the Pont-Neuf once again I chase after flesh. Tired, I go home.

Sunday, [August] 19

After the powders and breakfast and a visit with Walter. I read a chapter from a work about the Constitution of the Third of May, and a pamphlet about Thomas a Kempis³⁰⁷ and John Gerson³⁰⁸ - then thoughts about my past and future, about problems with sexual and family relations (uncertainty concerning their solution says much in favor of celibacy in my position; however I am uncertain about its merits and my responsibilities with respect to it); also thoughts about individualism and socialism.³⁰⁹ There is an article in the "Européenne" about Nodier, and about Italy.³¹⁰ My mind is filled with reasons

³⁰⁶ Undoubtedly this refers to The Scholarly Society of Polish Exiles in Paris, established by a few of the exiles headed by Joachim Lelewel in December 1831, originally under the name of The Literary Society (Cf. 1831, footnote 55). Jański belong to this society.

³⁰⁷ This refers to Thomas Hamerken, a Dutchman, the presumed author of *The Imitation of Christ*. He was born in Kempis on the Rhine in 1380, and died in 1471. A religious of the Congregation of Canons Regular of St. Augustine, he was the author of the chronicles of his monastery, of many biographies, as well as ascetical and mystical writings.

³⁰⁸ John Gerson (1368-1429) - a theologian and philosopher, Chancellor of the University of Paris. He participated in the Council of Constance, and the Council of Basle. He held that a council was the highest court in the Church, and that the Pope should be subordinate to it. He wrote epistemological and metaphysical treatises. In his time he was considered to be the author of *The Imitation of Christ*.

³⁰⁹ About 1832, Pierre Leroux (Cf. above, footnote 92) in his famous article *Concerning individualism and socialism* which was published in the "Revue Encyclopédique", used the word "socialism" in its modern meaning. Leroux noted that "We have grown accustomed to apply the name socialist to all thinkers concerned with social reforms, to all those who criticize and condemn individualism, and finally to those who, using other names, speak of social welfare and solidarity, including not only the members of a single nation, but of all mankind." (Cf. J.B. Duroselle, *The beginnings of social Catholicism in France (1822-1870)*, *op. cit.*, p.13.

³¹⁰ In the "Revue Européenne" (vol.III, 1832, Nr.IX, pp.314-326) the French critic Edmond de Cazalés wrote an article dedicated to the creativity of Nodier on the occasion of the appearance of a five-volume work entitled: *Oeuvres de Charles Nodier. Romans, contes et nouvelles*.

Charles-Emmanuel Nodier (1780-1844) a French writer. He was a librarian in the Arsenal Library where, in the years 1823-1829 he conducted a literary salon which became one of the main centers of the developing romanticism (Victor Hugo, Sainte-Beuve, Alfred de Vigny, Alphonse de Lamartine, Alfred de Musset, Alexandre Dumas, Frédéric Soulié). He assured himself a place in the history of French literature by such novels, full of

prompting me to lean completely toward Catholicism; this solution would lead to freedom. For dinner. A short walk. To the Reading Room. I read Lerminier's article about saintsimonism³¹¹ - while it is superficially written, it has its points. One needs faith in human reason and in freedom. Lengthy reflection and agitation. In my thoughts I return to my own theory, related to views, in part of Buchez, in part of Lamennais, and in part of Leroux. I need to write something for Poland. I need to pour out my thoughts, if not to someone, then on paper.

N.B. During the day I was also engrossed in plans for my upkeep. Besides my newspaper work etc., there is also the possibility of giving lectures on statistic etc.

205

Monday, August 20

Powders. Thoughts from yesterday. Stański³¹² drops in. Our conversation is quite short. Why am I constantly so confused? Because I do not know what I should do and what I should not do. Boleslaus Gurowski stops by. He speaks to me of his great projects (?); after one hour he leaves. I get down to these thoughts and reflections about myself, and about mankind. Plans to write something soon about the Polish cause. To be active, active, active! Dedication and hope. A further review concerning sexual relations. The result: At the present time it is impossible to make any progress either in views of complete socialism or individualism.

I three I dress and go out. On my way to the "Revue" I meet Walter along with Kondratowicz, and repeat my promise to visit him in the evening. I go back home for further reflection, and after dinner I go to visit him. We talk

romantic phantasy as *Le peintre de Saltzbourg* (1803), *Jean Sbogar* (1818; a two volume Polish edition in 1830), as well as the romantic novels *Thérèse Aubert* (1819), *Les Vampires* (1820), *Smarra ou les Démons de la nuit* (1821), *Trilby ou le Lutin d'Argail* (1822), stories such as *La Fée aux Miettes* (1832), *La Neuvaine de la Chandeleur* (1839), as well as critical and historical sketches, memoirs, and poems. As an inspirer in the field of French literature, he exerted a spiritual influence on young writers. From 1833 he was a member of the French Academy.

In the same number of "Revue Européenne" there was an article about Italy: *Italie - Seizième siècle écrits pieux de l'Arétin* written by Eugène de la Gournerie.

³¹¹ Lerminier was still writing about saintsimonism in the "Globe" in 1830 - Cf. 1831, footnote 16).

³¹² This could be Cajetan Stański (1805?-1879) who came to France in October 1831. He served first as a doctor's assistant, and then as a highly-valued doctor.

about nothing. At two I still go to Rostkowski's hotel, asking him to visit me tomorrow morning. Plans to write soliloquies.

Tuesday, [August] 21

The laundryman. After breakfast I return home, and then go to the drugstore for powders. I take the powders, and go to the "Revue". Benoiste. Julien gives me an account. I take 16 copies, and make a circuit of 8 newspaper offices. I go back home for a powder, and take a catalogue from a Reading Room on rue Jacob. After dinner, to Podczaszyński; an empty conversation, though quite short. Back home I read a copy of his [?] newspaper, and glance through his catalogue.³¹³

Wednesday, [August] 22

Breakfast at Viot, and then to Wołowski.³¹⁴ I take back the catalogue to rue Jacob. To the "Revue". Julien presses me for money. Wodziński from London. A conversation about republicanism in England. I go to see him and he gives me a copy of "Crisis".³¹⁵ I return home. News about Owen and his cooperators quicken my hopes that religion will be established philosophically, organization - liberally. I am still ready for work of emancipation in a constitutional spirit.

³¹³ It is impossible to establish any concrete details concerning this "newspaper". It may refer to the periodical "Cabinet de Lecture" (Cf. above, footnote 162).

³¹⁴ Louis Wołowski (1810-1876) - the son of Francis, and the brother of Casimir (Cf. 1835, footnote 210) - He studied administration at the University of Warsaw. At the time of the November uprising he was a member of the Patriotic Society, a captain on the General Staff. He was the secretary of the Polish Legation in Paris, with General Charles Kniaziewicz and Louis Plater. In 1832 he became a member of the Polish National Committee in Paris, and then was co-founder and member of the board of the Literary Society. He was naturalized in France in 1834. He was editor of of the periodical "*Revue de legislation et de jurisprudence*" and a long-time collaborator at the "Revue des Deux Mondes". From 1839 he was professor of administrative law and political economy in the Paris Academy of Arts and Crafts. He was the founder of the, first in France, Land Credit Association (Crédit Foncier). He was a partisan of the Czartoryski camp. He was the author of many scholarly works in the field of economy.

³¹⁵ "Crisis" - An English press organ of the Owenists which divided "society into those who favored competition, or social warfare, and cooperators, those who favored joint ownership" (cited in Edward Callier, op. cit., chapter I, p.64). The full title of this periodical in the Polish translation was: "Crisis, or the change from error and misery, to truth and happiness. An Organ of the National Trade Society, Mankind and Knowledge.", a periodical published from April 14, 1832, to April 20, 1833. Later, "The Crisis, a National Cooperative Trade Union" gazette published from April 27, 1833, to August 23, 1934.

Zoe comes to see me. I become somewhat aroused. I change my ascetical theories about women. At four I go to visit Binet; he left for Annonay.³¹⁶ I stop by to see Johannot;³¹⁷ he does not give me any philosophical works to read. Dinner. I visit Maliński for a moment. To Arcola. I am stymied in my conversation with Polonia, (for I still do not have a position in their regard). At home, reflections. I do not fall asleep until one o'clock.

206

Thursday, August 23

Once again I get up at nine. Poor Steinhauser comes to see me (I give him ten sous, addresses, etc). Rostkowski; memories of school etc. By this time I am well. For breakfast at eleven. To the "Revue". I look through the papers; there is nothing there. Home for a pipe, and these memoirs from Monday. I go back to the "Revue". Leroux and Benoiste are there. A discussion concerning the doctrines of the discoverers, humanity, formation of religion by Councils, syntheses as a result of individual ideas, the fusion of spiritual and temporal authority, etc. (Delamennais, Infantin, Cousin, Villemain,³¹⁸ Lherminier, etc.). My head is spinning. To the baths. For dinner at rue Dauphine. To Reading Room No. 156. Back home I continue to read Carné's³¹⁹ article about the revolutions of 1789 and 1832.

Friday, [August] 24

I get up at eight. Reflections and these memoirs.³²⁰

³¹⁶ Binet - no further information available.

Annonay - a city in the department of Ardèche.

³¹⁷ Tony Johannot (1803-1852) - a copper engraver and painter. He worked with graphics, decorative art (vignettes and engraving), illustrations for books. His brother, Alfred Johannot (1800-1837), shared the same occupations. Both lived and worked in Paris.

³¹⁸ Abel-François Villemain (1790-1867) - professor of Rhetoric at the Sorbonne, one of the initiators of comparative literature; he practiced historical criticism. The author of *Cours de la littérature française*, 1828-1829.

³¹⁹ Louis-Marcien de Carné (1804-1876) - a Count, a French politician and diplomat, the author of many books, e.g.: *Du système de l'équilibre, l'occasion de la nationalité polonaise* (1831), *Vues sur l'Histoire contemporaine* (1833), *Des intérêts nouveaux en Europe depuis la révolution de 1830* (1838, 2 volumes), among others. In the "Revue Européenne" his two-part publication: *Vues sur l'Histoire de la Restauration* (Vol.II, Nr. V).

³²⁰ A longer break in Jański's entries occurs here, undoubtedly cause, among other things, by his involvement in the current affairs of Polish emigrants living in Paris. On Wednesday,

207

Monday, October 1

I give Mary her monthly payment for the "Temps". Two honorable gentlemen from the Ministry stop by to obtain information about me. I and the housekeeper give them the information they seek, but I forget to mention my rank of captain.³²¹ I continue to mull over a program for Jełowicki's newspaper.³²² A discussion about the national cause. Plans for a memorial for

September 5, 1832, at the home of General John Nepomucene Umiński, about forty Poles established a Paris depot (like the depots in Avignon and other cities where the Polish exiles resided) "for purposes of unity with the Poles in the provinces, and also to overcome the spirit of discord and dissension, of which the Paris "Community" had become the centre. A committee was formed, consisting of three members: Maurice Mochnacki, Andrew Plichta, and Bogdan Jański. An act of establishment was drafted, together with a manifesto, in which those present at the meeting declared their withdrawal from the "Community", and the establishment of a Paris depot ("Voban"), to which they invited their fellow Poles. These meetings took place in the Vauban hotel.

E. Januskiewicz, in his *Notes and Memoirs from the life of A. Mickiewicz* ("Czas" 1859, Nr.17-20) noted that: "In 1832 the poet came to Paris and lived at rue Louis-le-Grand. There he first met Bohdan Jański, whom he came to like very much. After daily conversations with his fellow Poles, he conceived the idea of writing the Books." With reference to "the first meeting" of Mickiewicz with Jański, cf. above, footnote 297.

Joseph Bohdan Zaleski, in a letter to Ladislaus Mickiewicz, the son of the poet (Paris, 1875) mentions that his father, Adam, was then writing *Mr. Thaddeus*, surrounded by "a close group of people: Anthony Gorecki, Ignatius Domeyko, Bohdan Jański, Stephen Zan, I myself, and somewhat later Stephen Witwicki [...] We had free access to Adam at any time of the day [...] We used this privilege, and often abused it, individually bringing in unnecessary chatter from the Paris streets and the emigrant councils."

³²¹ Jański received the army rank of captain for the Polish emigration authorities, and was listed as such by the French authorities who periodically (in 1832 and 1833) published the names of the Polish exiles residing in Paris with permission from the Minister of War. In the Roman Archives, French documents dealing with Jański's legalization have been preserved: permission for his stay in Paris, as well as the book authorizing him to receive payments.

³²² For some time Jański was thinking about the establishment and publication of a Polish journal for the emigrants. This need for some kind of journal was universally felt among the exiles, among others by Alexander Jełowicki, a wealthy Podolian, who had recently arrived in Paris (July 21, 1832). No doubt he also proposed to Jański that he prepare an ideological program for a future Polish publication, which in their estimation was to be daily newspaper. However, soon after Jański's and Jełowicki's plans were realized in some measure by Eustachius Januskiewicz, who began to publish the "Polish Pilgrim" in Paris on November 4, 1832.

Alexander Jełowicki (1804-1877) studied philosophy in Kraków and Warsaw, where in 1825 he received the title of Master of Philosophy. He participated in the November uprising together with his father Waclaw and his brothers Edward and Eustachius. They

Czartoryski.³²³ I draw up an account of my debts - all 950 - 650 are urgent! I need to work to earn money in every possible way. I go out to see the hatter. He

fought in Podolia and Volhynia. He was a prisoner in Austria, but found his way to Warsaw, and on July 9, 1831 became a member of the Sejm as an envoy. He was a member of the Patriotic Society, and the Ukrainian Territories Committee. As an emigrant in Paris, on August 31, 1832, he became a member of the Polish National and Annexed Territories Committee, established under the presidency of General Joseph Dwernicki. He worked with exceptional energy both socially and culturally. He was co-founder and secretary of the Society for Educational Assistance which was established in December of 1832. Together with Maurice Mochnacki, with whom he became acquainted, he wrote a pamphlet about this society: *About the Society for Mutual Assistance* (Paris, 1833). He was a member, and from May 3, 1835, secretary of the Lithuanian and Ukrainian Territories Society. From 1833 he was a patron of Adam Mickiewicz: He purchased the 4th volume of the *Poems* which was published in Paris in 1832, and at his own cost published Part III of *The Forefathers* (1833), *Mr. Thaddeus* (1834), and *Books of the Polish Pilgrims* (1834). On July 1, 1835, he established a printing-firm and Polish bookstore in Paris, and with Eustachius Januszkiewicz, a Commission House. He published the works of Casimir Brodziński, Clementine, nee Tyński, Hoffman, Ignatius Krasicki, Zygmunt Krasiński, Joachim Lelewel, Maurice Mochnacki, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, Vincent Pol, Henry Rzewuski, Julius Słowacki, Stephen Witwicki, Felix Wrotnowski, as well as other authors. In 1836 he edited the *Polish Emigration Annual*, a political and literary periodical; in 1837 "Information concerning the Nation and emigration", a historical and literary periodical, and in 1838-1840 "Calendar of the Polish Pilgrimage" (3 Yearbooks). He collaborated with the editors of "Souvenirs de la Pologne, historiques, statistiques et littéraires". He was the author of articles, memoirs (*My Memoirs*, 2 volumes, Paris, 1839), a translator, e.g., of F. de Lamennais' *Paroles d'un croyant*, which appeared in Polish in 1834 with the title *The prophetic words of Fr. Lamennais*. At the end of 1838 he entered a seminary in Paris, and then in Versailles. On October 1, 1839, he sold his printing firm and bookstore to Julius Marylski. He was ordained a priest in December 1841, and in the following year entered the newly established in Rome Congregation of the Resurrection. He was superior of the Polish Mission in Paris connected with the church of St. Roch, and then the church of the Assumption. He was opposed to revolutionary movements, and vigorously combatted Towianism. He gave moral support to the January uprising. He was the protector of Makryna Mieczysławska, through whom he attempted to exert an influence on Adam Mickiewicz and his Legion. He was a preacher, a translator of classical works of religious literature, such as *The Imitation of Christ* of Thomas a Kempis, the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius Loyola, and others. He contributed to the establishment of the Polish College in Rome. After his death he was buried in the Cemetery of St. Lawrence (Campo Verano) in the tomb of members of the Congregation of the Resurrection.

³²³ I was unable to ascertain the content of the proposed memorial.

Adam Czartoryski (1770-1861) - Prince, eminent politician and senator of the Kingdom of Poland, patron, poet and diarist. He took part in the war of 1792. After his return from the first emigration, he entered into a close relationship with Tsar Alexander I, becoming his friend and counselor. He was one of the latter's co-workers in planning the reform of the State authorities in Russia. He held the rank of Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs,

is to return my old hat, for which he does not offer credit. To the "Revue". Pecqueur and Achille. I take with me Demaistre's *Considérations sur la France* which was brought for Benoiste. To Maurice; Camille has not yet arrived from Eaubonne.³²⁴ I begin to read Demaistre before dinner - I am greatly moved. After dinner a conversation with [Jules] Mercier about Ménéilmontant and pantheism. Lagarmité³²⁵ arrives with things for the hotel. To Maliński. We chat. He foresaw the coronation of Flandrin.³²⁶ Foucaut³²⁷ brings money; he promises me 5 francs. Back home. Fanny is sick. I go to see her. With Barbette a fruitless search for a syringe.³²⁸ To bed at eleven, and a few chapters of Demaistre.

208

Tuesday, October 2

and was also a member of the Russian board of education. In 1803 he was appointed curator of the Vilno school district, and in this position he contributed to a fruitful development of Polish education. From 1804 to 1805 he was Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs. He declared himself opposed to Napoleon I. He played an important role at the Congress of Vienna (1815). In the years 1815-1830 he was a member of the Administrative Council of the Kingdom of Poland. Initially opposed to the November uprising, he later accepted the presidency of the National Government (January 29-July 25, 1831). After the collapse of the uprising, he emigrated to France, where he directed political and diplomatic activity, centered at the Hotel Lambert. Conservative elements of the emigration regarded him as the uncrowned king of Poland. He tried by diplomatic means, and with the help of the Western European governments, to free Poland, counting on an eventual war between the powers both in the West and in the East. He also developed cultural activities among the emigrants, personally supporting various educational initiatives, such as the Polish Library, and the Literary (Historical-Literary) Society.

³²⁴ Eaubonne - a suburb of Paris, where the Mochnacki brothers lived: Maurice (from August 25 to November 6, 1832) and Camille.

³²⁵ Henri Lagarmitté (1807 - May 25, 1834) - lawyer, journalist, translator from the German language, editor of the "Journal du Haut-et du Bas-Rhin". A collaborator at the "Nouvelle Revue Germanique", "Globe", and "Revue Encyclopédique".

³²⁶ Hippolyte Flandrin (1809-1864) - a student of the French painter Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, his teacher at the Paris Académie des Beaux-Arts. At the age of 23, that is in 1832, Flandrin received the Grand Prize, Prix de Rome, at a competitive showing for his painting *Thésée reconnu par son père dans un festin*. Thanks to this he was able to travel abroad for further studies in Rome. He became an outstanding painter of the French school. He painted pictures of a religious nature, and portraits.

³²⁷ Foucaut - no further details.

³²⁸ It is not certain whether this is Auguste Barbet (b.1800) - a French economist, formerly a tax-gatherer. He was devoted to Fr. Lamennais, and was his publisher. He was interested in social problems. He was the executor of Lamennais' testament.

I awake after seven. I few memories of my sensual past. The emptiness of its delights; and what have I done up until now for spiritual delights? I am already 27 years old.³²⁹ On my feet. Instead of a course, the thought of writing letters. This puts one on a higher plane addressing everyone; topics can then be treated at greater length and more boldly. I get down to writing these reflections. That scoundrel Maliński does not come with the 5 francs.

On Wednesday, [October 3] I receive a letter inviting me to become a member of the Polish Literary Society.³³⁰

209

On Thursday, [October] 18, I attended a session of the Literary Society, after an absence of two weeks. Czartoryski is present.

210

Saturday, [October] 20

Breakfast with Umiński (Podczaski,³³¹ Łagocki³³²). I gather signatures. At one o'clock the session³³³ begins. I am not satisfied with myself. A very disord-

³²⁹ Jański, born in March, 1807, was not yet twenty-six years old in 1832.

³³⁰ The Polish Literary Society (Société Littéraire Polonaise á Paris) was established in Paris on April 29, 1832. Cf. Notes to the Diary for the Year 1832 for notes concerning the Polish Literary Society in Paris, the list of members of the Society, its program, and the sessions at which the presence of Bogdan Jański is noted.

³³¹ Ladislaus Louis Podczaski (1791-1865) - participated in the Napoleonic campaign and the November uprising; a colonel, and commander of the 20th infantry regiment. In March of 1832 he emigrated to France. In Bourges he was the president of the Polish Council. He held to a conservative position, which brought him into conflict with soldiers of democratic convictions.

³³² Peter Ludomir Łagocki (Łagowski) (1774-1843) - a colonel in the Polish army. He participated in the Prussian, Austrian and Russian campaigns, as well as in the war of 1809-1814. He was one of the members of the secret Knights Templars in Volhynia. He was imprisoned and persecuted by the Russians. During the November uprising he was commander of the Sejm Guard. He was an emigrant in France.

³³³ On Saturday, October 20, 1832, all of the delegates of the Polish depots in France gathered in Paris to familiarize themselves with the reports and the acts pertaining to the establishment of a central authority for the Polish emigration. In accord with the custom already accepted in the depots, General Umiński, as president of the new Paris council, with Bogdan Jański as his secretary, presided at the meeting. This met with opposition on the part of a few malcontents, who registered their protest by leaving the meeting. Especially stormy were the discussions on the topic of a letter to Adam Czartoryski. Jański, who had been at such meetings before, was disgusted with the meeting, and on October 22 (the date in the Diary) decided that he would not take part in the installation, that is in

erly discussion deafens me. I speak up unnecessarily when I should have been a listener. Umiński's charges. I am bored to the point of anger. To Dunin for dinner, completely dazed. To Maurice for a pipe. To Zdzenicki for money; he is not in. To Fanny; I do not eat dinner. I go out to buy wine and a bun for her. I stay there until nine. I go home; a few chapters of *du Peintre de Saltzbourg*³³⁴ and I fall asleep.

Sunday, [October] 21

Zdzenicki brings me 5 francs. I take them to Fanny. I meet Kronenberg,³³⁵ Frydrych,³³⁶ and Hoffman.³³⁷ To Dunin; too much talk about my bad

the establishment of the Polish Emigration Committee, the head of which was General Joseph Dwernicki.

³³⁴ A fantastic 1803 novel by Charles Nodier (Cf. above, footnote 310).

³³⁵ Salomon (Stanislaus) Kronenberg (1809-1843) - the son of a wealthy Jewish family in Warsaw, the brother of Leopold, a future financier and industrialist. From 1825 he studied in the faculty of medicine at the University of Warsaw. In 1830 he received a Master's degree in Medicine and Surgery. During the November uprising he was a battalion doctor in the Main Warsaw Hospital. On April 6, 1832, he received his doctoral degree in Berlin. Before returning to Warsaw, he lived in Paris. After his return to Poland, he became ward head of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Warsaw.

³³⁶ Bartholemew Frydrych (1802-1867) - Medical studies begun in 1819 at the University of Warsaw were completed in Vilno in 1827. He worked in Warsaw. During the November uprising he was a doctor in the barracks hospital of the Royal Guard, then staff doctor in the 2nd uhlán regiment. He emigrated to Paris in December 1831. In October 1835 he returned to Warsaw, where he assumed the position of ward head in the Hospital of the Child Jesus. He was the author of scholarly works.

³³⁷ Alexander Hoffmann (1805-1867) - Studied medicine in Warsaw in the years 1822-1826, and then in Berlin. After receiving his degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1828 in Vilno, he returned to Warsaw. In the November uprising, from December 1830 he was a staff doctor of the 5th uhlán regiment, and then ward head in the barracks hospital of the Royal Guard. He was an emigrant in Paris where he worked as a doctor in the years 1832-1838. From 1838 he worked in the same capacity in Alsace, then in Śląsk, and finally in Śrem. He was a friend of Frederick Chopin during their school years, and from the middle of 1832 lived with him in the same house.

Other than the Alexander Hoffmann, mentioned here, Charles Alexander Hoffman (Hoffmann) (1798-1875) was also active in the emigration. He was a writer, journalist, lawyer and historian. He was the husband of Clementine, nee Tański. From 1828, he was a counsellor of the Office of the Attorney General, and in that same year an adviser in the Polish Bank, as well as co-editor of the legal periodical "Themis Polska". During the uprising, from January 1831, he was one of the directors of the Bank of Poland. He was an emigrant in Paris, a follower of Adam Czartoryski, advocating a hereditary constitutional monarchy. He was editor of "Chronicles of the Polish Emigration" and a member of the Historical Society in Paris. After 1848 he took up permanent residence in Galicia. He was the author of historical works, the novel *The Exile King*, and *A Polish Vademecum*, as well as an open letter to members of the French Parliament: *La*

humor and my work as secretary. To Paprocki.³³⁸ To the Reading Room. In the "Revue de Paris"³³⁹ I read about Tieck,³⁴⁰ and Balzac's³⁴¹ about Nodier etc. After dinner to see Podczaszyński. He has no money. To Mickiewicz (Bohdan Zaleski³⁴², Grzymała, Hube, Orański³⁴³) about the Zaporozcans³⁴⁴, Czarnecki,³⁴⁵ and Polish literature in recent times. I am in very good humor.

Nationalité polonaise détruite. Lettre d'un Polonais adressée aux députés de la France (Paris, 1832), and others.

³³⁸ Undoubtedly Casimir Paprocki (1796-1857) - A Lieutenant Colonel of the grenadiers. He participated in the November uprising. During the defence of Warsaw he suffered a bruised left hand, which remained palsied until the end of his life. He was an emigrant in Paris. In spring of 1832, he was one of the founders of the Paris depot. He belonged to the "Voban" group, which stood in opposition to Lelewel's Committee. He joined the followers of Prince Czartoryski. He conducted instructions in the area of military science (infantry tactics). He was a member of emigrant welfare and educational societies, and was active especially in the Association for Assistance to Education.

³³⁹ "Revue de Paris. Journal critique, politique et littéraire" - A Paris periodical published initially from 1829 to 1833. It published articles of prominent French writers, reviews and critiques, as well as reports dealing with cultural, social and political life.

³⁴⁰ Johann Ludwig Tieck (1773-1853) - a German poet, prose writer, dramatist, and critic. The author of fables and popular legends, e.g., vulgar tales drawn from fables for presentation on stage *Leben und tod der heiligen Genoveva* (1800), which became the model of romantic tragedy. A translator.

³⁴¹ Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850) - a French writer, journalist, and literary critic. He spent his first years in school with the Oratorians. In 1814 he began to study law in Paris. From 1819 he dedicated himself to producing literature. He possessed a wide philosophical culture. His "masters" were Joseph de Maistre, but especially Louis de Bonald, Emmanuel Swedenborg, and Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin. In politics he was initially a liberal; but after the July revolution he became a legitimist, recognizing "two eternal truths: Religion and Monarchy". In his creative work he presented the life of a few generations, beginning with the great French Revolution, and ending with the time of Louis Philip.

During Jański's stay in Paris, the following works of Balzac appeared: *Salamander* (1831), *The Pastor from Tours* (1832), *Eugenia Grandet and the country doctor* (1832), *Louis Lambert* (1833), *A search for the Absolute* (1834), *Père Goriot* (1834-1835), *Lily in the Valley* (1836), *Lost Illusions* (1837). Balzac presented Parisian society in, e.g., *The Officials* (1837), *Nucingen's Bank* (1838), and the society of the 30's, which were the years of Jański's stay in Paris. In 1832 a correspondence was initiated between Balzac and the Polish artist Evelyn Hańska, with whom the writer became acquainted in 1850, three months before his death.

Nodier - Cf. above, footnote 310.

³⁴² Joseph Bohdan Zaleski (1802-1886) - a poet, who came from the Kijowo Province. He spent his boyhood days in the Ukraine, along the Dnieper. He studied with the Basilians in Human, where he became a friend of his colleague Severin Goszczyński. From 1820 he studied at the University of Warsaw. Already then he began to publish his poems, for which he was to become famous. Casimir Brodziński took him under his wing. The young Zaleski supported himself by tutoring. In his early and as well as in his later creative years he extolled his native Ukraine. He sang the praises of the knightly-Kozak

Monday, [October] 22

Rostkowski wakes me up. He tells me about Gurowski's fits of temper. I am still lacking in concentration due to my complicated situation in the midst of the emigration and materially. I do not go to visit Umiński. I have decided that it is better to apologize to him than to flounder once again in a vacuum. To the post-office on business for Masłowski.³⁴⁶ I meet Madame Steinhauser, and have breakfast with them. Back home I finish *Le peintre de saltzbourg*, and *Méditations du Cloître*.³⁴⁷ Dinner. To Fanny - she received a letter from Walter.

tradition, and published historical elegies (*The Dumka of Hetman Kosiński*, *The Dumka of Mazepa*, etc.), lyrics, sometimes paraphrasing Ukrainian folk poetry. He participated in the November uprising, and was an envoy to the Sejm. After the collapse of the uprising, he resided in Lwów, where he became acquainted with Major Joseph Zaleski. In April of 1832, he left for Paris, to which the envoys were summoned. From the end of July 1832 he lived first in Paris, then in Sévres, actively participating in the socio-political life of the emigration. At that time he became acquainted with Adam Mickiewicz, and with Jański was a member of his inner circle. In December 1834 he was one of the founders of a religious brotherhood, bearing the name The United Brethren. At the beginning of 1835 both he and Joseph Zaleski became members of the Polish Democratic Society; however, both withdrew from the society in 1837. They both visited France, Switzerland, Italy and the Holy Land. Joseph Bohdan was deeply devoted to the Catholic faith. He held Jański's religious work in high regard, and provided material assistance. He organized this assistance among people both in Poland and in the emigration. He continued to produce his lyrical works. Although Zaleski distanced himself from Mickiewicz when he became a towianist, the latter regarded Zaleski as "undoubtedly the greatest of all poets". Krasiński and Słowacki also shared that opinion.

³⁴³ Xavier Orański came from Volhynia. He participated in the November uprising as a lieutenant in the 7th infantry regiment. As an emigrant in France, he resided in Paris. He was a member of Lelewel's Committee.

³⁴⁴ Zaporozcy - inhabitants of Zaporozhe, the lowlands along the lower Dnieper, later called "the rapids", and often the Wild Fields. In the 19th century the inhabitants of Zaporozhe were also called Cossacks.

³⁴⁵ Stephen Czarniecki (1599-1665) - Castellan of Kijowo. a Russian voivode from 1657, a royal field hetman from 1665, an outstanding commander. He participated in the Swedish campaign and in battles with Bohdan Chmielnicki. In Polish national tradition he is an example of a steadfast and sacrificial soldier memorialized in the national hymn.

³⁴⁶ Dionysius Masłowski (1791-1884) - Participated in the Napoleonic campaign (1812-1814), as well as in the November uprising. A lieutenant colonel in the artillery. As an emigrant he resided in Besançon, the second depot after Avignon, founded at the beginning of February, 1832. He was on the list of Poles who wished to enroll in the Portuguese Legion planned by General Bem; and in connection with that he lived in Charente-Inférieure from August 1832.

³⁴⁷ The *Journal des émotions d'un coeur souffrant, suivi des Méditations du Cloître* was added to Charles Nodier's novel *Le Peintre de Saltzbourg*, which was published in 1803.

To Podczaszyński (Meyzner). I read *Adela*³⁴⁸ by the fire - and reflections. I resolve not to accept administrative functions, but to write a proposal for a committee dealing with the education of our youth.

Tuesday, [October] 23

I get up before ten. A letter from Courte. What a knave I am. I still have not written to him. Maliński tells me about Gurowski. Rostkowski and Józwick come to visit. At eleven I go out for the newspapers, to the army office - in vain. I go back home for a while. I feel quite strong. To Steinhauser for breakfast. He tells me his troubles. For a walk to the Bois-de-Boulogne. Plichta, always polite, plans for literary work and income. Dinner. Humann³⁴⁹ is supposed to have entered Ménilmontant. Fanny does not come to visit, even though she promised.

211

N.B. I met Podczaszyński before dinner. Umiński feels that I am offended about a trifle. From Fanny to Mrs. Nain for coffee - and remembrances of the past.

Wednesday, [October 24]

How very painful it is to beg day after day for a few francs! I went to see Oleszczyński; an excuse. A long walk. In the evening I read *Terese*.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁸ Undoubtedly a novel by the French author Adélaïde de Souza (1761-1836), entitled *Adèle de Sénange* (1793), written in the contemporary sentimental style of J.-J. Rousseau. Her six-volume compilation *Oeuvres complètes* appeared in 1811-1822.

³⁴⁹ Humann - son of a French statesman Jean-Georges Humann (1780-1842), Finance Minister in the years 1832-1836.

From the end of April, 1832, about 40 followers of the teaching of Father Enfantin resided at his estate in the vicinity of Paris. They manifested great reverence toward their leader, and worshipped him in prayers offered up to him. They adopted garments of a specified color and fashion, requiring them to offer one another mutual support. In two months of isolation adepts were to perfect themselves internally, in order to prepare themselves for the apostolate, to "liberate women and the proletarians." They worked in the garden, participated in meditations, instructions and community singing of hymns. After two months of isolation they could receive visitors, but only on Wednesdays and Sundays. Many curious people came to visit them, sometimes in such numbers that the Paris authorities considered this as organization of illegal gatherings, and in the end, on the basis of article 21 of the penal code, they accused Enfantin, Rodrigues, Barrault and Chevalier of violating the law, and even of indecency.

³⁵⁰ The novel *Thérèse Aubert* of 1819, written in the romantic convention by Charles Nodier (Cf. above, footnote 309).

N.B. When I come to dinner, I receive a letter from Celine on rue de la Touraine; Adela is there.

Thursday, [October 25]

I glance through the catalogue of the Lipsk fair. To Podczaszyński. Rue de la Touraine, with a decision to take Adela. To the bureau. There is still no reply from the Minister. I do not find Benoiste. I look at the boarding-houses near the Luxembourg. I am forced to borrow another 5 francs from Niemir[owski?].³⁵¹ In the evening I read *Smarra*³⁵² - with what great joy!

Friday, [October] 26

Lagarmité gives me the "Revue Germanique".³⁵³ Göthe about immortality of the soul³⁵⁴ makes an impression on me. I am deeply moved! I make a

³⁵¹ ...from Niemir[owski?] - It is impossible to identify the person Jański had in mind.

³⁵² Charles Nodier's novel *Smarra ou les Démons de la nuit* (*Smarra, that is Demons of the night*) of 1821, in which the author painted a picture of a long nightmarish dream, full of spells and scenes of horror (Cf. above, footnote 310).

³⁵³ This refers to "Nouvelle Revue Germanique", a monthly literary and scientific periodical published by the Société d'Hommes de lettres français et étrangers. Its publisher was F.G. Levraut (Cf. 1833, footnote 7). It appeared in the years 1829-1833. H. Lagarmité was co-editor of this publication.

³⁵⁴ In the July issue of the periodical "Nouvelle Revue Germanique" (1832, pp.262-268) a fragment of Johann Falk's posthumous work *Göthe, aus naherm persönlichem Umgang dargestellt* (*Goethe seen up close*) was published, Leipzig, 1832, in a French translation entitled *Goethe, Sur immortalité de l'âme*.

Johannes Falk (1768-1826) - pedagogue and scholar, an inhabitant of Weimar, wrote down conversations with Goethe, which were published only after the death of both of them. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-March 22, 1832), a German writer and thinker, under the influence of the death of his friend, the poet Christopher Martin Wieland (1733-January 20, 1813, in Weimar), declared himself on the topic of the immortality of the soul. This was noted by Falk on January 25, 1813. The following is a fragment of this declaration: "Generally speaking, from the moment we perceive the eternity of the world, it is impossible to attribute to monads as active, vivid powers of another fate anything else but eternal participation in the bliss of the gods. The formation of the universe, the eternal regeneration of creation, was conferred precisely upon them. Summoned, or not summoned, they come by themselves, by all roads, from all mountains, seas, and stars. Who could possibly hinder them? As for myself, as you see me here, I am sure that I have already existed a thousand times; and I have the hope that I will return another thousand times." (Translation from the French by Alina Molska). In the opinion of those who know the mind and creativity of Goethe, Falk's notes from conversations with the poet "are often very problematic, and often very valuable" (R. Friedenthal). The view of the creator of *Faust* concerning immortality of the soul gained confirmation in Johann Peter Eckermann's *Conversations with Goethe*.

synthesis of my past: my struggles with fatalism, absorbing mysticism, and materialistic inclinations. Despair, or follies of mind and of heart! This is my recent past. For the future, faith in God and self. Freedom, dedication, fortitude! Plans for a life that is free, and sincerely dedicated to love of neighbor and truth.

212

In the evening Lagarmité tells me about the beautiful character traits of the young Humann. Unfortunately, he entered Ménilmontant recently.

An end to vanity and despair, to pride and abnegation. Love is not mistaken. Love lives by faith and freedom, and a person lives by love of God and neighbor. Faith and freedom do not die beneath the blows of adversity.

On Saturday, [October 27] Walter arrives. Dinner and the evening at his place.

On Tuesday, [October 30] - I see that Adela is spoiled by Celine, and so I drops my plans concerning her. The great news is that I am impotent.

On Wednesday [October 31] I receive 10 francs from Walter - a material impulse. Dinner for 5 francs. I sleep with Clarissa. Being active in temporal affairs, one needs to be temporally animated. Abandonment of puritanism.³⁵⁵

Goethe's reflection on the immortality of the soul is based on his individual understanding of the philosophy of Leibnitz (entelechy, activity, monad, a hierarchy of monads...) and otherwise merits being cited in its entirety, at least with regard to the intellectual and moral impact that Jański experienced under the influence of reading this. He expressed this in further notes in his Diary. Instead of the long text printed in "Nouvelle Revue Germanique", it is possible to cite a fragment from *Conversations with Goethe* from February 24, 1829, which includes a philosophical conclusion already recognized in Falk's version: "They draw the conviction about our eternal existence from the concept of activity. For when I continue to act without rest until death, nature is obliged in my regard to designate another form of existence for me when my present form can no longer keep pace with the spirit." Eckerman adds something that Jański would experience: "At these words my heart beat faster with wonder and love. Never did I think, never was there any teaching that would stimulate a person more to noble acts than precisely this teaching. For who would not wish to work and act untiringly until death when he sees in this a guarantee of eternal life!" (Translated by K. Radziwiłł and J. Zelter, Vol. II, Warsaw, 1960).

³⁵⁵ There is a break here in the Diary with no entries for November and December 1832. In this time events occurred which in some measure affected the division of Jański's activities. At about the 10th of December, and again at the end of that month, Adam Mickiewicz's *The Books of the Polish Nations and the Polish Pilgrims* appeared in print. Jański would be occupied with their French Translation.

From November 4, 1832, the periodical "The Polish Pilgrim, a Political and Literary Journal" began to appear in Paris, edited by Eustachius Januszkiewicz.

In Paris the printing of *The Forefathers, Part III* began. This was Volume IV of the complete edition of *Poems* (1832) which was ready for sale in January 1833.

At the end of December the Society for Assistance to Education was organized.

On December 2, 1832, Jański wrote a letter to his friend, the translator Burgaud des Marets, in which he indicated his reasons for belonging to the saintsimonists and for his separation from them; he also revealed his psychic and moral status connected with this event. This "autobiographical" sketch goes a long way to complete the Diary of 1830 from the perspective of December 1832. For that reason I cite below a fragment of that letter of December 2, 1832 in a Polish translation from the original French by Fr. Paul Smolikowski:

"You know that before you left Paris two and a half years ago, I was drawing close to Saint-Simonism, which at that time was only a small philosophical school, practically unknown. Shortly after, I embraced it completely. Why? You guessed it. The generosity and grandeur of the views of this society blinded me, as many others, to all that was incomplete, false, or impossible in it. Full of faith and ardor for the work which I considered most useful for humanity, and further carried away by the events in Paris [he speaks about the July revolution] of which I was a witness, I went to London, and there spent six months in the role of a very zealous missionary, which only served to increase my illusions. After I returned to Paris, being in a position to get a close look at my principles in people who were their highest representatives, I began slowly to become disillusioned. But, although I had enough sense not to push forward, although I chose to keep silent rather than to speak to everyone about my faith, as an apostle, yet the principles once accepted with the best of faith were too deeply rooted in my mind to enable me to reject them immediately. This struggle between sentiment and reason that was wearing me out, killing me, lasted up to the time when the schism that occurred between the leaders of saintsimonism showed me the complete emptiness of my convictions, and at the same time brought on a state of complete weakness and apathy. It seemed to me that all certainty, all efficiency, my entire will were completely taken away. The thought that my illusions, which had only then unravelled, had influenced the neglect of my obligations as a Pole, and that I had thus sinned against my Country by remaining in London and Paris when I should have been fighting along the Vistula, the collapse of our national cause, the loss that I suffered in this uprising of my father and many members of my family, served to depress me completely. It is already one year since I ceased to be a saintsimonist, and I have scarcely been able to collect my thoughts and find enough strength to dare to live again." (ACRR 8631, pp.971-973 - *History of the Congregation of the Resurrection*, new edition, reworked and completed, Volume I, pp.7-8).

It is worth calling attention to the fact that, in his Diary for 1832, Jański noted an event that had such a powerful effect on the Polish emigration namely, the proclamation on June 9, 1832, of Gregory XVI's Brief *Cum primum*, addressed to the Polish Bishops. In that Brief, the Pope severely criticized the Polish clergy for their participation in the uprising, which came to be recognized as a revolution impairing "established order" and a revolt against "lawful authority".

APPENDIX

I. MEMORANDA

8598

20-21

May 21, [1832]

In these days a visit with the Wodzińskis.¹

As soon as possible read Malte-Brun about Slavs.

With reference to an historical atlas of Poland, go to the Geographical Society with Leonard Chodźko for maps and geographical works.

To Férussac.

For Polish newspapers, obtain information from Podczaszyński about books in public libraries dealing with Polish affairs,

Consult the "Révue Encyclopédique" under the title "Slavs", the "Bulletin Bibliographique",² and "Nouvelles".³

Therefore, there is a need to investigate German newspapers, various geographical, statistical and archeological news items, expeditions etc., and seriously study the literature and history of the various Slavic people (Malte-Brun's indexes and works).

Balbi's statistical tables.⁴

A letter to Dąbrowski, to Korn.⁵

¹ Undoubtedly this refers to the Wodziński brothers, Anthony and Felix - Cf. above, footnote 37.

² "Bulletin Bibliographique de Bossange, libraire, ou Liste des ouvrages nouveaux publiés en France", Paris, 1830-1878. The publisher of the bulletin was Hector Bossange (of whom Eustachius Januskiewicz was a collaborator), and then by Gustave Bossange. The Bulletin appeared also in English and German versions.

³ Jański had in mind "Nouvelles annales des voyages, de la géographie et de l'histoire", a periodical published from 1819 to 1865 in Paris.

⁴ Adriano Balbi (1782-1848) - an Italian geographer and statistician. He lived in Paris from 1821, working for a long time on his work: *Atlas ethnographique du globe, ou Classification des peuples anciens et modernes d'après leurs langues* (Paris, 1826). After he completed this work, he returned to Italy in 1832. His most famous work is *Abrégé de géographie* (1832).

⁵ The name of a family of German booksellers and publishers in Wrocław, active in the 18th, and the beginning of the 19th centuries. Undoubtedly Jański initiated contact by way of letter with Johann Gottlieb Korn (1765-1837), who was involved in the

To Brailoi, to find out about the notes in his former monthly periodical - rue d'Enfer or Diamans.

Russian in Hłuszniewicz, or... etc.

II. "BRIEF MEMOIRS FROM MY PAST FROM CHILDHOOD ACCORDING TO YEARS"⁶

8627

233

[?June 13-17, 1832]

1812 - We move to Pękowo

1813 - my seventh year⁷ - My mother takes me to Niestępowo. Szelling. to schools. Osowski.⁸

1814 - my eighth year - I finish my first year of the lower grades. We move to the vicariate. Director [Benedictine] Tański.

1815 - my ninth year - I finish the lower grades, and move up to the first class; in the good graces of Fr. Prusiński.⁹ I am good at arithmetic.

administration of the firm and established a printing house. A consultant of the Korn publishing division was, e.g., George Samuel Bandtkie.

⁶ Jański did not supply a title for his memoirs. The title listed by the publisher, noted here in quotation marks, is a fragment of the last sentence of a Diary entry dated "Friday, [June] 15, [1832]". Cf. above, footnote 194.

⁷ After each year noted, B. Jański indicates the year of his life.

⁸ Pękowo - a village and grange in the Kozłowo commune, belonging to the parish of Kozłowo, about eight kilometers from Pułtusk. Pękowo was leased by Peter Jański, Bogdan's father.

Mother - Agnes, nee Hryniewicka, of the Przegoć crest (February 4, 1773-October 26, 1824), was married first in 1804 to Francis Winnicki (d.1805), and then a second time to Peter Jański (Cf. below, footnote 365). She brought with her as her dowery a portion of Pogorzelec.

Niestępowo - a village in the commune of Gzowo (Gzów), about 7 kilometers from Pułtusk. In this village lived the married sister of Agnes Jański, Bogumiła (Theophila) Jaroszevska, the mother of Michael, Joseph and Andrew, cousins of Bogdan Jański.

Joseph Szelling (Schelling?) - an inhabitant of Pułtusk, occupying a room there.

Fr. Adalbert Osowski (Ossowski) - directed an elementary school for youngsters, and the school choir.

1816 - my tenth year - a slacker and wastrel. We are living in a dilapidated canonicate. However, I obtain a promotion to the second class. We move to the Jasińskis. My father arrives.¹⁰

1817 - my eleventh year - I am a slacker and insubordinate. Rudłowski is the Rector. I am not promoted to the third class. After vacation I am not placed in the first-class.

1818 - my twelfth year - In the second class for the first months. The Weslowys.¹¹ A miserable vacation period. My mother is in Pogorzelec, while my father goes to live with his family. In a room with Mr. Braun.

1819 - my thirteenth year - I am in the good graces of Fr. Górecki. I am number one in my class. A reprobate. Bagieński. Vacation with the Jaroszewskis and Długołęcki. Misery. I move up to the fourth class, and am in the good graces of Fr. Rostkowski.¹² We are living at the Jasińskis together with the Jaroszewskis and my father. First in a large room, then in a small one.

234

1820 - my fourteenth year - an insubordinate idler, but in the good graces of my teachers. We are living with the Jaroszewskis, along with Dytel. I receive a copy of the Bible as a reward. Suddenly I am religious, hard-working and quiet.

⁹ Fr. Ambrose Prusiński - a Benedictine who taught arithmetic, algebra and geometry.

¹⁰ Father - Peter Jański (1773-1831) - the son of Ignatius Joachim of the Doliwa crest, and Magdalen, nee Zborowski. He married Agnes, nee Hryniewicka, Winnicka. They had five sons: Bogdan (b. March 26, 1807), Anthony (b. July 5, 1808), Stephen (b. May 29, 1809), Stanislaus and George Gregory - the last two died as infants. He participated in the Napoleonic campaigns and was the tenant of crown lands. He participated and was killed in the November uprising.

¹¹ Weslowie (Weslowys) - a noble family in Pułtusk.

¹² Gerard Górecki (b. 1781) - A Benedictine priest. In the years 1818-1831 he taught Greek, Latin, German, world history, the history of Poland, natural history, geography, geometry, and physics, at the Provincial School in Pułtusk. Later he was a professor of theology, and the Prior of a Benedictine Monastery.

Bagieński - no further information available.

Undoubtedly Joseph Długołęcki - the son of Vincent and Marianne, nee Hryniewicka, the younger sister of Agnes Jański.

Fr. Stephen Rostkowski (b. 1769) - A Benedictine, professor in the years 1820-1831, prefect at the Provincial School in Pułtusk. He taught religion, languages (Latin and Polish), Polish and Latin literature.

The first reaction against carousing. I am immersed in contemplation - discussion about the immortality of the soul.

1821 - my fifteenth year - Ultra religious. I mingle with the Narzymskis. Work and happiness; an award (a violin). A mission in Pułtusk.¹³

1822 - my sixteenth year - work and religiosity less intense. Jakacki. Secondary-school certificate. Tutoring. Delight in teaching. Szaniawski - philological plans.¹⁴

1823 - my seventeenth year - Acquaintance with Bronisz - an atheist. Sadkowski, Łebkowski.¹⁵ A love affair. Ziemecki. Daniłowski. Arrival in Warsaw - poverty; a second reaction against carousing. Work, poverty and happiness.

1824 - my eighteenth year - I enter the service of the Skierkowskis - hard work. A spiritualist. A Kuncist. Skarbek's political economy. An economist. Bronisz, the travels of Anakreon.¹⁶ The death of my dear mother. Cyprysiński.

¹³ The Narzymskis - perhaps the brothers Jacob (b. 1808) and Stephen (b. 1807), the sons of wealthy land-owners, proprietors of lands in Przasnyski. After their studies in the school in Pułtusk, both studied law at the University of Warsaw. They participated in the November uprising, and after the battle at Grochowo joined the first uhlán regiment. Missions - here: special devotions for the purpose of stimulating religious spirit among the people, conducted by priests invited to preach.

¹⁴ Vincent Jakacki (b. c.1804) - a graduate of the Provincial School in Pułtusk, the son of a squire of a village in the Pułtusk region. In 1823 he enrolled in the faculty of law at the University of Warsaw. He received his Master's degree in 1826. In the years 1830-1855 he was an advocate associated with the civil tribunal in Płock. In January of 1831 he signed a letter of the Płock Province to the Sejm.

Collaboratorship (Apprenticeship) - one year of practice for those chosen from among the graduates of the Pułtusk school as candidates to become teachers.

Undoubtedly Fr. Francis Xavier Szaniawski (d.1830) - professor of civil law, a canon, author and publisher at the University of Warsaw in the field of Canon and Civil law. From 1809, a member of the Warsaw Society of the Friends of Learning.

¹⁵ Undoubtedly Theodore Łebkowski (b. 1802) - studied in Pułtusk. Three days after Bogdan Jański, on September 22, 1823, he enrolled in the faculty of law and administration at the University of Warsaw.

¹⁶ The Skwierkowskis - undoubtedly the parents of Hilary (b. 1810), who hailed from Serock (in the region of Pułtusk). The father was Silvester - a townsman and postal official. His son Hilary studied law at the University of Warsaw from 1828. At the time of the November uprising he was a lieutenant, an aide-de-camp to the staff of the National Guard. He remained in Poland.

Kuncist - an individual form, perhaps a derivative of "kancist", which in turn could be a variant of "Kantist", that is a follower of the philosophy of I. Kant.

1825 - my nineteenth year - Drunken revels with Bronisz come to an end. I write a treatise on political economy. A third reaction against carousing. Śniadecki. *Système social. Système de la raison*. Acquaintance with [Louis] Królikowski.¹⁷

1826 - my twentieth year - I begin to live with Rybicki. Acquaintance with [Henry] Jaroszyński. Statistics. Powerful ambition. Storch. Newspapers. Friendship with Królikowski and Olechowski.¹⁸

1827 - my twenty-first year - I part company with Jaroszyński. Pocijew.¹⁹ The first prostitutes. The Jaroszewskis. Adalbert Lempicki. Great plans. Górecki,²⁰

Anakreont (Anakreon), from Teos, a Greek lyricist from the middle of the 5th century before Christ. In his songs he extolled love, wine and revelry.

¹⁷ Most probably John Śniadecki (1756-1830) - A mathematician, astronomer, geographer, philosopher, pedagogue, literary critic, and language theorist. In the years 1807-1815 he was the Rector of the University of Vilno, and director of the astronomical observatory. He was the author of: *Philosophical treatises* (4 volumes, 1822), as well as *Concerning the philosophy and writings... concerning the philosophy of Kant* (1821). He was also the author of *A philosophy of the human intellect, or a thoughtful exposition of the intellectual powers and activities*, 1818 (4 volumes of *Various writings*, 1822). In these treatises he took a position opposed to Kant.

Système social - the title of a work published in 1773, written by Paul Thiry d'Holbach (1723-1789) a French philosopher of the Enlightenment. Holbach was also the author of the famous "bible of materialism", which was the name given to his *Système de la Nature, ou des lois du monde morale* (1770), and *La Morale universelle* (1776). He held that all of nature is a material organism governed by determinism and usefulness, which is known by experience, the only source of human knowledge. According to him, the idea of God is an anthropomorphic creation of intellects of the ignorant and unenlightened, while the only rational ethic is a hedonist-determinist ethic.

Louis Królikowski - Cf. 1830, footnote 34.

¹⁸ Theophilus Rybicki (1805-1859) - from Pułtusk. He studied in the faculty of philosophy at the University of Warsaw, and also worked in the chemistry laboratory of the university. After receiving his Master's degree in 1826, in October of that year he was sent abroad (Vienna, Paris) for further studies in technical chemistry. He returned to Warsaw in 1830, and was engaged as a professor of technical chemistry in the Preparatory School for the Polytechnic Institute. As a result of his participation in the November uprising, he was deprived of his right to teach in government schools. He worked as a teacher in various schools. He was the author of scientific works.

Theodore Olechowski (1805-1828) from the Kielce region, co-heir of property at Topol. He studied law and administration at the University of Warsaw along with his closest friends, Louis Królikowski and Bogdan Jański. In 1827, along with Królikowski, he left for Berlin, where he died shortly after.

¹⁹ Pocijew - Very probably a variant form of the name Pocijów, a section of Warsaw. Originally the palace of the Pocijów family was built behind Maryville, on the right side,

Wosiński,²¹ Kropiwnicki,²² Barciński, Królikowski, and Olechowski are going abroad. Tur. Rich man and protector. An ambitious idler. Acquaintance with Alexandra.²³

1828 - my twenty-second year - Alexandra. Ambition becomes impotent. Competition. Paris. Depression after the wedding.

1829 - my twenty-third year - My cares are drowned out in forgetfulness and debauchery. Hortense, Fanny [Lebert].²⁴ A new attack of impotence. Gościcki.²⁵ Poverty of the highest degree.

along the ul. Senatorska (today the Theater Square). With time the palace was neglected, and then leased, made into market stalls and shops, for the most part controlled by Jews. Pociejów "became the abode of a crowd of Jews living there, who engaged in cheating to such an extent that it was frightening even to enter that knavish district, strewn with shabby merchandise, which market later [...] always is referred to by the name Pociejów." Anthony Magier (1762-1837), *The Beauty of the capital city, Warsaw*, Wrocław, 1963.

²⁰ Joseph Górecki (1803-1870) - studied in the faculty of science and fine arts (architecture) at the University of Warsaw. In the years 1822-1828, he was a full-time employee, in charge, that is, having supervision over the building of the palace of the Ministry of Revenues and Treasury under the direction of Anthony Corazzi, and then in charge of completing the building of the Great Theater in Warsaw. He remodeled the palace in Puławy. He drew up plans for the building housing the Society of Land Credit.

²¹ Theodore Wosiński (1803-1872) - In 1824 he was awarded the degree of Master of Law at the University of Warsaw. From 1829 he was in turn defender, assessor, private counsellor of the General Office of the States Attorney in Warsaw. He held responsible positions in the Warsaw administration of the Polish Kingdom. He was an eminent expert in law.

²² Alphonse Kropiwnicki (1803-1881) - from Łomża. After completing his studies in the faculty of science and fine arts in Warsaw, already in 1827 he became an architect for the city of Warsaw and the Welfare Society. He restored churches in Warsaw, and participated in building the Great Theater under the direction of A. Corazzi. In 1831 he was a captain in the army fire department. In February of that year he signed the letter of the Warsaw National Guard to the Sejm. He remained in Poland.

²³ Alexandra Zawadzka (August 31, 1806-October 21, 1843) - From October, 1828, the wife of Bogdan Jański. In April of 1829 she gave birth to a son, to whom she gave the name Augustine Theodore (Bogdan), and whom she committed to the care of her married sister Caroline Grabowski. For further details concerning Alexandra and her son, see 1839, footnote 109.

²⁴ Hortense, and Fanny Lebert - Parisian friends of Jański. Cf. 1830, footnote 8.

²⁵ Arcadius Gościcki (1805-1872) the son of a wealthy land-owner in Płock. He studied in Pułtusk. In 1827 he was awarded the degree of Master of Law and Administration in Warsaw. According to Jański he lived in Paris. After he returned to Warsaw, at the beginning of the November uprising he became a lieutenant in the Poznań cavalry. After the collapse of the uprising, he was sent to Wiatki. After his return from exile he was a

1830 - my twenty-fourth year - Still Fanny. Ambition grows weaker, until it reaches a just level. Saintsimonism. Thoughts are elevated. A woman and debauchery drag me down. The July Revolution. The fourth bout of impotence - another just level. Letters from Paris. Owen, Bontemps (a saintsimonist). Renewed hopes and strength. I arrive in Paris.

1831 - my twenty-fifth year - Impotence reaches the point of moral death.

Seventh, eighth, ninth - quiet, hard-working, doing well in studies.

Tenth, eleventh - an idler and insubordinate; I am doing poorly in my studies.

Twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth - doing well in studies even though I am an idler and insubordinate. Mathematics and eloquence.

(Fourteenth), fifteenth, sixteenth - ultra-religious, hard-working.

Seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth - reactions between carousing and work, spiritualism and materialism.

Twentieth and twenty-first - strong moral and intellectual life.

Twenty-second, twenty-third, twenty-fourth, and twenty-fifth - struggle between ambitious moral strength and the consequences of materialism, carousing, and impotence.

A transition from synthesis to analysis and vice-versa. Alternate interiorization and exteriorization.

NOTES

I. A note dealing with the life and activity of Father F. R. de Lamennais (Cf. footnote 96):

Descendent of an old noble family residing in Brittany. Through the influence of his brother, Fr. Jean, he was ordained a priest in 1816. He was an ultramontanist, zealously dedicated to the Catholic Church, and to the Pope. In his first publication, co-edited with Jean Lamennais in 1808, he called attention to the low intellectual level of the French clergy, to the type of training offered in seminaries which was not suited to meet the conditions of the present age, and to a need for renewal of the Church. In 1817, he published the first volume of *Essai sur l'indifférence en matière de religion* [An essay on indifference in matters of religion]. This publication made the author famous, and won a name for him as an apologist for the Christian faith. The book was a debate with atheism. In this book, written with passion, he revealed his deep attachment to the Church and its tradition. In the next volume, published in 1820, he undertook to continue in later years the attempt to provide religious faith with a philosophical (traditionalist) foundation. He held that an individual person is not capable of achieving any kind of certitude with the help of his natural intellectual faculties. In other words, a single human intellect is completely impotent when it tries to reach an understanding of any truth with certitude. Therefore the person is left with only one sure criterion of certitude: sound judgment, based on opinions that are universally recognized (the principle of certitude). Universal agreement of the human intellect concerning certain conclusions which it reaches by the use of reason (such as the existence of God), constitutes the sole criterion of truth. Certitude excludes doubt. Our personal judgment cannot be doubtful if it agrees with sound reason, that is, with the universal opinion of other people. Sound reason, in agreement with others, guarantees our personal certitude, and possesses the property of authority. Therefore, the sole criterion of truth is authority. We recognize the truth of religious faith on the basis of authority. Universal agreement of people concerning the existence of God implies the recognition of a primitive revelation, while faith in the teaching of the Catholic Church implies recognition of a further revelation accomplished in Christ and through Christ. The guardian of the tradition that preserves that first revelation is the Pope.

In his political views Lamennais was definitely opposed to the achievements of the French revolution. Initially he was an advocate of theocratic monarchy. But he recognized the restored Bourbon monarchy as "a venerable memorial of the past." He claimed that the French Church, held captive by Gallicanism, had been subjugated by the State. The Catholic Church must be assured of freedom by freeing it from guardianship on the part of the State, and by complete submission to the Pope. The Pope, by reason of the authority that he possesses and his infallibility, has the right, and the responsibility, to point out to people the ways and means to achieve freedom and independence: from legitimism, contemporary governments, and political

systems. Lamennais declared himself in favor of complete freedom for the Church, and of freedom for nations, a freedom that is possible in democratic governments, where the separation of Church and State is guaranteed. He voiced his political and socio-religious views in the pages of the periodical "L'Avenir" (Cf. above, footnote 17). He enjoyed popularity among the ordinary people, and in great part among the Catholic clergy. He was respected by the leading representatives of French culture. On the other hand, he was opposed by advocates of the contemporary regime, the Catholic Church hierarchy, and the liberals. He wished to enlist the support of the Pope for his program; and so, after discontinuing the "L'Avenir", with his friends Lacordaire and Montalembert, he left for Rome at the end of 1831. Failing to receive any statement from the Pope, he decided to return to France in July of 1832, and to continue to publish his discontinued periodical. On hearing of this, in 1832, Pope Gregory XVI issued the encyclical *Mirari vos* in which he condemned "the abominable doctrine", the teachings of "L'Avenir"'s program: religious freedom for all, freedom of the press, the separation of Church and State, etc.). On the advice of his friends, Lamennais submitted to the Papal verdict and was silent publicly. However, he did not change his convictions, and with a sense of personal mission, and moved by a rebellious impulse, he wrote his famous *Les Paroles d'un croyant* (1833). In this book, styled on a biblical model, he proclaimed the highest authority in the area of religion to be the authority of the people who wishing to free themselves can count only on God and self. He recognized as his own the ideals of the French revolution: freedom, equality and brotherhood. In turn, (on July 25, 1834) Gregory XVI issued a new encyclical, *Singulari nos*, in which he condemned the "small, but immensely deceitful" book. *Les Paroles d'un croyant* was translated into many European languages, including the Polish language. It appeared in Paris in 1834, in two editions, in a translation by Alexander Jełowicki, under the title of: *The prophetic words of Fr. Lamennais*. Lamennais found himself outside the Church, and his closest friends abandoned him. Two years later, in the book *Affaires de Rome* he expressed the conviction that it is impossible to achieve social order by means of monarchs or the Pope. He believed in the sovereignty of the people. Later he wrote that Christianity in its organized form has ceased to be useful; but in spite of this religion has not lost its meaning, for the divine element uniting him with God, and with his neighbors, continues to develop in the human person. He was chosen as a deputy; but toward the end of his life he withdrew from politics. He died without being reconciled with the Church, of which, in his time, he had been such a zealous apologist.

In a letter (from Dresden, March 23, 1832) to Joachim Lelewel, Adam Mickiewicz asks: "Do you know of the works of Lammenais? He is one Frenchman who sincerely wept for us. His tears were the only ones I saw in Paris."

II. A note concerning the Polish Literary Society, established in Paris on April 29, 1832 (Cf. footnote 330)

The founding members were: General Joseph Bem, General John Umiński, Senator-Castellan Louis Plater, Theodore Morawski, Stanislaus Kunatt, Louis Jelski, Adalbert

Grzymała, Andrew Plichta, Francis Wołowski and his son Louis, Felix Prot Prószyński, Alexander Colonna-Walewski, Alphonse d'Herbelot. Prince Adam Czartoryski, who was then living in London, was chosen as president of the Society; Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, also living in England, was made a member of the Society. The duties of the president were fulfilled by the vice-president, Louis Plater. The secretary was Theodore Morawski.

The purpose of the Society was - according to the basic article of the statutes - "to gather and publish materials pertaining to the former Kingdom of Poland, its present situation or future welfare, and that with a view to preserving and stimulating in the opinion of nations a sympathy which they had shown toward Poland."

The following data was preserved in the Paris Polish Library: hand-written minutes of the meetings of the Society. I mention only the meetings in which Jański participated: At the 15th session of the Society (September 27, 1832) which took place at the home of General Umiński, in the presence of the members, among whom were Joseph Hube, Xavier Bronikowski and Adam Mickiewicz, as well as associates (non-members) such as Ladislaus Oleszczyński, Caesar Plater and others, Bogdan Jański took an oath to observe the rules of the Society.

At the 18th session (October 18, 1832) among others present were Czartoryski, Jański, Mickiewicz.

At the 23rd session (November 29, 1832) the society was divided into two sections. Jański announced his access to the second section, undertaking to prepare surveys of materials from the French press.

At the 24th session (December 6, 1832), present, among others, were Jański, Mickiewicz, Witwicki.

At the 26th session (December 13, 1832), present, among others, were Domeyko, Jański, Marcinkowski, C. Plater.

At the 28th session (December 27, 1832), present, among others, were Czartoryski, Jański, C. Plater.

At the 33rd session (February 7, 1833), present, among others, were Jański, Mickiewicz, Witwicki. Jański proposed as members: Count Charles de Montalembert, a peer of France, and Bourgaud des Marets, a lawyer.

At the 37th session (February 28, 1833), present, among others, was Jański.

At the 38th session (March 7, 1833), present, among others, were Jański and C. Plater.

At the 39th session (March 14, 1833), present, among others, was Jański.

At the 40th session (March 28, 1833), present, among others, were Dworzaczek, Jański, Kopczyński, Montalembert, C. Plater.

At the 43rd session (April 25, 1833), present, among others were Jański, Montalembert, Ladislaus Zamoyski.

After a long absence, Jański was present only at the 53rd session (October 24, 1833)

After an even longer absence, Jański appeared at the 95th session (November 29, 1834). At this session. present, among others were Czartoryski, Domeyko, Jełowicki, Mickiewicz, Niemcewicz, C. Plater.

At the 134th extraordinary session (November 29, 1835) present, among others, were Jański and C. Plater.

At the 177th session (November 29, 1836), present among others was Jański.
In the minutes of further sessions of the Society Jański's name does not appear.
In a "List of the works of members of the Polish Literary Society in Paris" included in "An account of the ten-years of work of the Polish Literary Society", Paris, 1843, on page 50, under number 32, we find: "Jański (1) a French translation of Witwicki's work: *Moskale w Warszawie* ("The Russians in Warsaw").

DIARY

Year 1833¹

¹ Most probably Jański did not continue his diary in 1833. Only a few daily and monthly notes dealing with various matters pertaining to the activities of the author at the time have been preserved.

In January, 1833, Jański lived with Adam Mickiewicz at rue Louis-le-Grande N.24, and after that, also with the poet, at Carrefour de l'Observatoire N.36. In a letter, dated January 11, 1833, to Stephen Garczyński who had sent him some of his writings, e.g. *Waclaw's Story* from Dresden (December 4, 1832) Mickiewicz wrote: "Yesterday [...] I spent the whole evening reading *Waclaw*. It made a greater impression on me than I had expected. [...] I immediately read a few excerpts to one of my friends [Bogdan Jański], who had philosophized a great deal and was involved in saintsimonism. The excerpts stuck him more forcefully than my own new *Forefathers* [...] You can be sure that this work is set completely in the present time, and wondrously reflects the state of soul of many people. I am exceptionally pleased that, even from a moral point of view, it will have a salutary effect, for it will immediately lead youth through a long route of reasoning." It is worth noting that *Waclaw's Story* originally had a different title: *The Apostate, or the Life of Waclaw*.

From the beginning of January, 1833, Jański began to translate into French *The Books of the Polish Nation and the Polish Pilgrims*. In a letter of February 22, 1833, written to Henrietta Eva Ankwiczów, Charles de Montalembert wrote: "I began to take regular lessons in Polish not from Mickiewicz, whose valuable time I did not wish to occupy, but from his friend Bogdan Jański, who, before the uprising, had received a government scholarship to study in France, and who became first a saintsimonist, and then a Catholic thanks to the books of Fr. de Lamennais and Fr. Gerbet. I noticed that the difficulties became greater rather than less, but I did not lose heart; on the contrary, I am compromising myself by my appearance, equally presumptuous and laughable, allowing my name to be printed as the translator of Mickiewicz's *Books of the Polish Nation*. As a matter of fact, it was not I who did the translation, as you, dear Lady, can easily understand. All I did was correct and rewrite it. Mr. Bogdan Jański translated it word for word, something I could not have done. I allowed my name to be used so that the book might spread among Catholics, former supporters of "L'Avenir", who will take delight in this book, even though it will be condemned by the false liberals of "The Courier" and the absolutists." (This is a fragment of a letter cited in translation from the French by John Siemieński in his book *Ewunia*, pp. 144-145). The French version of *The Books* appeared in print in Paris in May of 1833.

On February 7, 1833, at a meeting of the Polish Literary Society at which Mickiewicz was present, Jański moved that "Count Montalembert, a peer of France, and Burgaud des Marets, a lawyer, be accepted as members." The motion was accepted.

In the second quarter of 1833, Jański cooperated with Mickiewicz in editing the publication "The Polish Pilgrim, a political and literary publication." (Paris, A. Pinard printer).

A part of Janski's responsibility as editor was looking through French journals for matters relating to Poland. Undoubtedly this is how notes and excerpts from such publications as

Thursday, March 7

8627

267

To [Leonard] Chodźko, for information about Hr. Malmaison and Romanowski (Belfort near Strasbourg).²

To Benoist for a loan.

Try to find outg about a Catholic reading-room.

853 [Saturday] April 13

Concerning the future of Poland - Bogdan Jański's letters to fellow Poles - the first letter.³

Constitutional politics,

commercial

(finances, financial matters, administration)

educational

military

judicial (and police).

854 Concerning the future of Europe and our Country;

the "Courrier Français", and "La Tribune" of May 1833. These notes were preserved in Jański's archives, but were omitted as not a part of the Diary.

Beside this, Jański thought about articles for the "Polish Pilgrim", topics for which he listed (they have been included in the present edition). It should be added that Jański was also secretary-administrator, and so had to take care of correspondence, answer letters sent to the editor, send the magazine to subscribers, etc. This is indicated by the names, among these names of Polish emigrants. Jański listed these names on separate cards along with their addresses.

² We do not know whether this refers to a person by the name of Malmaison. The name itself, "Malmaison", refers to a castle in the French department Seine-et-Oise, in the neighborhood of Versailles, purchased in 1798 for Josephine de Beauharnais, who lived there after her divorce from Napoleon, and died there in 1814.

Undoubtedly John Chrisostom Romanowski (1810-after 1874) from Warsaw. He studied medicine. At the time of the uprising, he worked in a camp hospital. He was a lieutenant in a regiment of light cavalry. In 1837 he received the degree of Doctor of Medicine in Paris.

Belfort is a town in the eastern sector of France. According to the note in R. Bielecki (op.cit. p.42) "In March of 1833, 51 Poles crossed the border in Belfort."

³ Undoubtedly the author formulated his topics with the intention of developing and publishing them in the periodical "The Polish Pilgrim", which he edited along with A. Mickiewicz.

the first letter (parties and antipathies - the general character of our epoch).

The General Confederation of Polish Exiles.

866 [Friday] April 26

Concerning the history and constitutional politics of the new nations of Western Europe.

The history of modern times, preceded by memories of our nation's history, together with contemporary events.

Concerning political economy, and principles governing the study of law and administration.

Philosophy.

Philosophy of history (Diary).

867 Concerning the character of our epoch from the point of view of general interests of mankind, and the special interests of our Country.

834 [Tuesday] April 30

Universal history, with special consideration of the past and future of the Slavs.

Materials pertaining to the.

856 Fragments historiques et politiques sur le peupleq slaves. An analysis of Maciejowski's book.

Appendix from Ossoliński's work on Kadłubek, from Lelewel etc.,⁴ continuation from the 15th century.

Historical information.

⁴ Joseph Maximillian Ossoliński (1748-1826) - a prose writer and literary historian, one of the most noteworthy founders of Polish culture. In 1817 he established the National Ossoliński Foundation, later known as the National Ossoliński Institute. The author of studies planned on a wide scale and impressive by reason of their erudition and reliability: *Historical and critical information relating to the history of Polish literature about Polish writers...* Of the 30 planned volumes, he published 3 in Kraków in the years 1819-1822. S.B. Linde, whom Ossoliński supported financially in work on a dictionary of the Polish language, translated into German the life of Kadłubek from the second volume, and published it separately: *Vincent Kadłubek, ein historisch-kritischer Beitrag sur slavischen literatur*, Warsaw, 1822.

Vincent, called Kadłubek (c.1150-1223), Bishop of Kraków, author of *Chronica Polonorum*, published in 1612; beatified.

Joachim Lelewel wrote *A note concerning the oldest Polish historiographers, especially Kadłubek...* Warsaw, 1809.

The status of religion.

The present and future political situation of the Slavic people.

Friday [May] 17

Saturday [May] 18

Jouffroy at 11:30.

Return the *Theological Dictionary*⁵ to Dugie, and take Demaistre, etc.

To the Institute⁶ library concerning Polish works.

To Levrault for *History of the Church* by Matter, and Michelet's *Introduction*.⁷

Wednesday, [May 22] *Receveur's*⁸ course.

In the Royal Library "Annales de la Philosophie Chrétienne".⁹

⁵ *Dictionary of Theology*, Cf. 1831, footnote 31.

⁶ Bibliothèque de l'Institut - To the building erected in 1665 at the initiative of Cardinal Mazarin, in 1806 Napoleon transferred the French Institute (Institut de France), a union of five academies: The French Academy, the Academy of Science, the Academy of Literature, the Academy of Fine Arts, and the Academy of Moral and Political Studies. From the courtyard of the Institute on the left there was an entrance to the Mazarin Library. The building was located in the outskirts of the Saint-Germain-des-Près district, near the Pont-des-Arts.

⁷ F.G. Levrault, owner of a bookstore, and a publisher in Paris and Strasbourg. Jacques Matter (1791-1864) - a French writer and philosopher. Initially a general inspector at the University of Paris, and from 1845 of all the libraries in France. He was a professor in a Protestant theological seminary. The author of books in the area of history and religious philosophy, he published, e.g., *Histoire universelle de l'Eglise chrétienne*, 4 volumes, Strasbourg 1829-1835, Levrault et Fils publisher.

Jules Michelet (1798-1874) - a French historian and essayist, of Parisian origin. He taught philosophy and history in École Normale. In his writings he pointed to an indissoluble union between history and philosophy. He was convinced that "mankind is its own work", that "people are the makers of history" and that "freedom needs to be won again constantly." He presented his views in *Introduction à l'histoire universelle (Introduction to universal history)*, published in Paris in 1831. From the year 1831 he began publishing *Histoire de France*, and from 1847, *Histoire de la Révolution française*. He taught at the Sorbonne in the years 1834-1836, and in the Collège de France from 1838 to 1851. An exciting speaker, in his romantic historiography he presented a direction that was decidedly democratic. In the history of France he manifested a sense and direction of progress, a way to the unity of all mankind. A member of the Academy of Moral and Political Science. He defended that cause of Poland. He was on friendly terms with Adam Mickiewicz.

⁸ In French, the word *receveur* signifies "tax-collector. Here it is undoubtedly a nickname for the philosopher J.B.Ph. Buchez, a former tax-collector, who conducted public lectures. Cf. 1831, footnote 33.

Wroński's¹⁰ works at Reynaud.

To [Anthony Oleszczyński for Polish works.

To [Louis] Plater for newspapers.

To Chopin concerning Pauline.

168 From Bannet, Comte's¹¹ *Cours*.

⁹ The Royal Library was established in 1373 by Charles V. the Wise. After a variety of ups and downs it found a home on rue Richelieu. In the history of libraries, it was the first to maintain, from 1537, a conventional exhibit. It was opened to the public from 1743. From 1811 it began to publish "Bibliographie de la France."

"Annales de la Philosophie Chrétienne" - An annual publication from the year 1830, edited by its founder, Augustine Bonnnety. Cf. 1835, footnote 262.

¹⁰ Joseph Maria Hoene-Wroński (1778-1853) - philosopher, mathematician, astronomer, physicist, engineer-inventor, lawyer and economist. He was born of a Czech family that had settle in the region of Poznań. He participated in Kościuszko's insurrection, and served in the Russian army. He retired from military service as a Lieutenant Colonel. He studied law and philosophy in the Kingdom. From 1800, he lived in France, initially in Marseilles. He obtained French citizenship. From 1810 he lived in Paris, dedicated to research work. He supported himself by tutoring. From 1832 he worked on technical problems in the area of locomotion. In the years 1833-1847 he perfected his inventions with the help of Edmond Thayer. He wrote exclusively in French. He died in poverty. While Jański was in Paris, Hoene-Wroński published *Loi téléologique du hasard, aperçu 1-2*, Paris, 1828 (re-printed in *Accomplissement des théories des probabilités pour maîtriser les opérations de rentes e la bourse, les jeux et généralement tous les phénomènes dépendant du hasard*, Paris, 1833); *Loi téléologique du hasard, Réimpression de trois pièces rarissimes* (1833). Moreover, in Paris, in 1831, the first volume of Hoene-Wroński's work *Messianisme, union finale de la philosophie et de la religion constituant la philosophie absolue, vol. 1: Prodrôme du messianisme. Révélation des destinées de l'humanité* was published.

Hoene-Wroński developed his own system of philosophy, which he called messianism: "The subject of this doctrine is a final establishment of truth on earth, in this way realizing an absolute philosophy, the fulfillment of religion, a reform of the sciences, an explanation of history, a revelation of the highest goal of nations, the settlement of absolute limits for man and the unveiling of the call of the nations" (Cf. W. Tarkiewicz, *History of Philosophy*, vol.II).

Bogdan Jański was interested in the writings of Hoene-Wroński, as witnessed by the hand-written catalogue of his writings which is preserved in the Roman Archives ACRR 13 678.

¹¹ Bannet - a saintsimonist.

Auguste Comte (1798-1857) - a French philosopher and sociologist, a leading spokesman and representative of classical positivism (Cf. 1832, footnote 43). In the years 1814-1816 he studied at the École Polytechnique in Montpellier. Dismissed from the school for political reasons, he moved to Paris, and continued his studies of the works of idealogists, economists and historians. In the summer of 1817 he became Saint-Simon's secretary, and worked with him for seven years. He accused Saint-Simon of appropriating his research work, he left him, and began an independent career as a philosopher. From 1826, for a

To Boulard.

Statistical and historical works concerning the Slavs are necessary. To Karnot for a recommendation [to use] Ferussac's¹² library.

From Leroux to van Praet.¹³

8606

697 [Saturday] June 8 - General Henry Dembiński, Captain Francis Szemioth and doctor Hage left Marseilles for Egypt by way of Malta on the brigantine "Ajnqueur" (of Captain Attard)¹⁴

[Text crossed out by the author.]

[Sunday] June 16

This week I need to go to Zan¹⁵ to inquire about B.

699 [Saturday] August 24

Draw up an elongated copy-book, which would include: 1. a list of subscribers (to the "Polish Pilgrim") salaries, and people to whom we send it free of charge.

2. a list of expenses.

private group of listeners, he presented lectures on positivistic philosophy, which became the basis of his *Course of positivistic philosophy* (*Cours de philosophie positive*), his main work, printed in 6 volumes in the years 1830-1842. He was the creator of a sociology by that name, a study of the structure of society, its laws of development, and methods for studying it. In his utopian vision of the future of society, positivist philosophy was to be the religious dogma, and his followers - priests directed by principles of altruism and humanism. He propagated a theory of three phases of development of the human mind (theological, metaphysical, and positive scientific knowledge). He also created a system of "a religion for mankind", in which mankind would be the subject of religious cult.

¹² In Paris, besides public libraries, there were also private libraries - the libraries of Cousin (philosophy), Thiers (History of France), Burgaud des Marets (works dealing with dialects) which might be consulted by submitting a letter of recommendation.

Férussac - Cf. 1832, footnote 55).

¹³ Joseph van Praet (1754-1837) - a French librarian and bibliographer.

¹⁴ General Henry Dembiński left for Egypt in order to take part in the battle then being waged between that country and Turkey. However, an understanding reached between the combatants, not without the influence of Russia, resulted in the general's return to France in June of 1834, in spite of serious offers on the part of the pasha of Egypt Mehmed Alego.

Francis Szemioth - a major in the Polish army (Cf. 1832, footnote 73).

Gustave Adolf Hagen (Haage) - a physician-surgeon from Lithuania.

¹⁵ Stephen Zan (1803-1859) - a brother of Thomas; poet and member of a secret student society at the University of Vilno; participated in the November uprising. He came to France in August of 1832.

3. an alphabetical list of correspondents according to departments.

A second elongated copy-book: a diary of correspondence: letters received, and letters sent - according to dates.

To be answered:

Mercier, Hiedelberg¹⁶

Dr. Gąsiewski¹⁷ (talk with Dwerniecki), Heidelberg

Szotarski, Heidelberg¹⁸

Valentine Zwierkowski, Nancy¹⁹

Ignatius Zwierkowski, Arras²⁰

Zawadzki, Aurillac²¹

¹⁶ Victor Mercier - (has nothing in common with Jules Mercier, saintsimonist and poet); was located at the famous university in Heidelberg (Badenia).

¹⁷ Hippolitus Gąsiewski (1806-1896) - a doctor. He obtained the degree of medical candidate at the Jagellonian University. He participated in the November uprising. Initially an emigrant in Germany, where he received a doctorate in medicine in Würzburg, and then in France. In Montpellier, at the famous School of medicine there, he received a second doctorate in June of 1839.

¹⁸ Julian Szotarski (1807-1838) - doctor, journalist, literary critic. A relative of Casimir Brodziński, to whom he owed assistance in his studies. In 1830 he enrolled in the School of Medicine at the University of Warsaw. He participated in the November uprising. In July of 1831, after the death of the editor Stanislaus Psarski, he edited "Mercury". He left Poland with the corps of General Rybiński, and with his doctor friend, Victor Felix Szokalski, he lived in Germany. In 1832-1836 He studied medicine together with the latter. The authorities forced him to leave Germany, and in July of 1836 he came to Paris. He became acquainted with Adam Mickiewicz. In the German language he wrote: *Skizzen aus Polen* (1833), and *Puławy. Historische Erzählung...* (1834), published in Heidelberg. He also wrote articles for periodicals such as: "Young Poland", "Revue Française", and "Yearbook of the Polish Emigration". In the last mentioned he included a mention of Casimir Brodziński and his writings. He also wrote verses. He did translations from the English language. He died of consumption.

¹⁹ Valentine Joseph Vincent Zwierkowski (1788-1859) - participated in the Austrian and Spanish campaigns; a member and secretary of the Sejm. At the time of the uprising, he was one of the presidents of the Patriotic Club. He came to France in November, 1831. He belonged to Lelewel's Committee. The author of small articles published in the emigrant press. He was a half-brother of Florian Zwierkowski.

²⁰ Ignatius Frederic Zwierkowski (1804-1880) - the son of Florian and Catherine, nee Jański, the sister of Peter, the father of Bogdan Jański. From 1824 he studied law and administration at the University of Warsaw. He participated in the November uprising. He arrived in France in January, 1832. He enrolled in Lelewel's Committee in Paris, and then became a member of the Polish Democratic Society. For some time he lived in Arras, in the northern part of France, an ancient center for the manufacture of tapestries (arrases).

Adalbert Napoleon Łempicki, Rhodéz, Aveyron²²
 Kondycki, Melle²³
 Tokarski, Château-du-Loir, department de la Sarthe²⁴
 John Zieliński, Auch, Agen²⁵
 Hube, Saint-Brieuc²⁶
 Tur, London²⁷
 Jaszowski, Lwów²⁸
 Gordaszewski,²⁹ Stoltzman³⁰ and Mayzner,³¹ , Bienne

²¹ Joseph Zawadzki - Cf. 1832, footnote 94.

Aurillac - a town in France.

²² Adalbert Napoleon Łempicki - Cf. 1832, footnote 66.

Rhodéz - a city in southern France, administrative center of the Aveyron department.

²³ Joseph Kondycki (1807-c.1874). In 1834 he enrolled in the School of Medicine at the University of Warsaw. He participated in the November uprising. In 1833 he was an emigrant in Melle, in France. From March 1834 he was a member of the Polish Democratic Society. In 1838, he enrolled in the school of medicine at Montpellier where he later worked as a doctor in the Saint-Éloi hospital.

²⁴ Michael Tokarski (d.1840) - a sergeant in the November uprising. He came to France in August, 1832, and from July 15, 1833, lived in Château-du-Loir (department of Sarthe).

²⁵ John Zielinski (1806-1887) After completing grammar school in Płock, he joined the army. He participated in the November uprising, and advanced to the rank of captain of the grenadiers. He arrived in France in August, 1832, where he lived, among other places, in Auch, Agen. From 1836 he studied agriculture in Grignon (district of Versailles).

²⁶ Michael Hube (1779-1840), the father of Joseph and Romuald. For some time he was an official of the State Council of the Kingdom of Poland. At the time of the November uprising he was president of the Investigating Committee which was to examine the spy documents from the chancellory of the Great Prince Constantine. A member of Lelewel and Dwernicki's Committees, he belonged to the Polish Literary Society. The French authorities forced him to leave Paris, and so from 1832 he resided in Saint-Brieuc (Brittany).

²⁷ Adalbert Tur - Cf. 1830, footnote 35.

²⁸ Stanislaus Jaszowski (1803-1847) - poet, novelist, and editor. He completed his studies at the University in Lwów, and worked with such Galician periodicals as "Rozmaitości" (Variety), and "Pszczółka Krakowska" (The Kraków Bee). Publisher of the almanac *Sławianin* (Slav) (1837, 1839). He published *Zabawki rymotwórcze* (Toying with verses) (1826), *Polish historical novels* (1829-1830), and *The Battle at Stubno* (1841).

²⁹ Francis Gordaszewski (1801-1870) - After the collapse of the November uprising, in which he participated, he became an active worker among the emigrants. A member of the Carbonari and of "Young Europe", he participated in the unsuccessful expedition to Frankfurt-am-Mein. Together with Charles Stoltzman and others, on May 12, 1834, he organized the Committee of Young Poland with its seat in Bienne. He was a captain in the Polish army as well as in the Belgian army. A journalist. He belonged to the Union of Polish Emigrants directed by Joachim Lelewel.

³⁰ Charles Stoltzman - Cf. 1832, footnote 191.

Walter, Paris³²

Inquire about,

where is Cyprysiński from Levroux³³
 Kobyliński³⁴ and Czernski³⁵, what they wrote
 a letter with the minutes of the Academic Society [of Polish Exiles]
 Emeric Staniewicz, Bienne³⁶

Receive from Dwernicki³⁷ from Bourges to Lelewel

³¹ Joseph Mayzner - Cf. 1832, footnote 76. He worked together with Gordaszewski and Stoltzman among the Polish emigrants.

³² Philip Walter - Cf. 1831, footnote 54.

³³ Vincent Cyprysiński - Cf. 1830, footnote 35.

Levroux - a town near Châteauroux (Indre department).

³⁴ Undoubtedly Vincent Kobyliński (b. about 1806) - in 1828, a student of law at the University of Warsaw. He participated in the November uprising. As an emigrant in France he often changed his place of residence. From August 1833 a member of the Polish Democratic Society.

³⁵ Very probably Joseph Czernski (1806-1838) - At the age of 21, he began to study law and administration at the University of Warsaw. He participated in the November uprising. After crossing the northern border of the Kingdom of Poland together with other Poles, he was interned by Prussian authorities on the ship "Lachs". He lived on Oléron island (France). In 1834 he enrolled in the Polish Democratic Society, and in 1836 he signed the Society's Manifesto.

³⁶ Emeric Staniewicz - a member of a secret patriotic student society at Wilno University; a friend of Adam Mickiewicz and Anthony Edward Ordyniec. He taught in a grammar school in Wilno; participated in the November uprising. As an emigrant, he lived in the depot at Besançon. In 1834, he organized a collection of money among the Poles in Switzerland for a subscription to "The Polish Pilgrim". That same year, in Geneva, he met Julius Słowacki, to whom he had bid farewell a few years before that in Wilno, leaving him an inscribed copy of the New Testament. A member of the Carbonari and the Cadet Corps, he lived in Bienne. He was a member of the Polish Democratic Society. He spent some time in England.

³⁷ Joseph Dwernicki (1779-1857) - A General, active among the emigrants; leader of a regiment of the Principality of Warsaw; participated in the Napoleonic campaign; a brigadier general in the army of the Kingdom of Poland. During the November uprising, he led some victorious encounters with the Russian army at Stoczek. He led an army detachment against the Ukraine, but in view of the unsuccessful development of the uprising in Volhynia and Podolia, he withdrew, and at the end of April, 1831, he crossed the border of Galicia and gave up the struggle. As an emigrant he lived in Paris. He was president of the National Committee of the Polish Emigration (1832-1834), co-founder and president of the Confederation of the Polish Nation (1836). In politics he represented a moderate course. He was a political adversary of Prince Adam Czartoryski. From 1836 he lived in England, and from 1848 in Galicia. He died in Lwów. He was the author of *Memoirs* (published in 1870).

from the department des Landes.

The distribution of emigrant depots.

To Vincent Gostkowski from Marseilles.³⁸ Write to tell him that copies of all the issues were sent to him regularly at rue Peyron 18; have him write to us which numbers are missing, and these will be sent.

On September 13, Doliwa³⁹ sent me his complaint.⁴⁰

³⁸ Vincent Gostkowski (c.1807-1863) - from 1828 he was a student at the University of Warsaw. He participated in the November uprising as captain of the 20th infantry regiment. An emigrant, he lived in southern France (Toulouse, Marseilles). He 1845 he worked with the firm of watchmakers, Patek and Co. in Geneva.

³⁹ Adolph Doliwa (1809-1837) - participated in the November uprising with the rank of lieutenant. From 1832 he lived in Paris.

⁴⁰ In a letter of December 16, 1833, Adam Mickiewicz wrote to his friends Jerome Kajsiewicz and Leonard Rettel: "Jański is seldom seen; he is in serious financial difficulties, and lives in the midst of a great number of old and new friends. He suffers much, and does little. Koźmian, about whom Jerome asked, is an unfortunate person! He suffers from the illness of gambling. All that he has, he loses. He moves from one place to another, and has reduced Jański to poverty, for Jański's things were seized to pay Koźmian's debts."

Almost two years later, in a letter to Louis Królikowski, Jański wrote: "As you know, in 1833 I undertook the publication of a small Polish magazine, only on a trial basis, without any definite decision as to the future. As it turned out, while I was editor, the people to whom I wished to speak, full of old ill-feelings, could not as yet hear what I wished to say to them; moreover, as far as I myself was concerned, such public action was still premature. My magazine was discontinued at the end of 1833." (March, 1836, ACRR 8568, pp. 1106-1108).

DIARY

Year 1834

8585

935 February 19, 1834, Wednesday

Hope once again mounts within me - by the grace of God! Yes, I experienced this not too long ago - several times - clearly - without any merit on my part, but after humble spiritual prayer for that grace.

I have long felt the need to put my life and mind in order once again, and to make a general examination of conscience before God. I need hard work, and a sincere will, if I am to become worthy to fulfill this great work - the first step toward my reform.

In the last few days God has inspired me with some fruitful, regenerative ideas. May the first act resulting from these be at least a brief confirmation of them in my memory, for my own improvement, and for the glory of merciful Perfection.

Several times I began to control my life; but after a while I stopped without having achieved any useful results. Why? Oh why has my life up to now been a series of mistakes and transgressions, of weakness leading to impotence, to nothingness! Because there was no denial of self in tending toward the truth, the good of others, perfection. I thought about this yesterday while I was reading Saint-Martin.¹ Thanks be to God! Thanks to the good Saint-Martin! I

¹ Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin (1743-1803) - a French mystic who was called "The Unknown Philosopher." After finishing secondary school with the Oratorians and completing legal studies in Paris, he enlisted in the army at Bordeaux. There he became acquainted with the Portuguese mystic Martinus de Pasqually. He served as his secretary for some time, and remained under his influence until he became acquainted with the writings of a German mystic, Jacob Böhme. After various life experiences he became convinced of the superiority of prayer and contemplation over teurgic methods (that is, forcing God or spirits to desired activity). He was a determined adversary of rationalism and materialism.

have always been concerned about people's opinion of me, about my own glory, considering myself above others, seeking my own pleasure.

For the last two years I have been full of plans to write something useful for my fellow Poles. I feel a great need for an apostolate of truth! Vain intentions! Imprudent, I wished to produce something good of myself, whereas I have nothing good in me. For some time now I have been involved in a constant struggle with truth, order, unity of thought. O God! Give me the grace and the strength to examine my conscience, eliminate evil, and revive what is good. Grant me the grace to believe in You, in your perfection, your universal love, the only truth, your omnipotent power! Father of life, grant me the grace of awareness of your presence in me. Erase my old mistake of thinking that I, a man, am only an insignificant work, a result of minor earthly circumstances. I thank you for the thoughts with which you inspired me recently:

936 Love of neighbor without love of God is fruitless - it can lead to evil.

A thought has life only in act - only then does it live in the unity of our being, only then is it ours.

The art of living consists in the good use of time.

Surrendering one's whole self completely in any kind of relations with people and the world without submitting to God, without considering the obligations that flow from our eternal destiny - leads to evil.

He preached the need for man to return to nature. In his primitive state, man was an incarnate angel, God's idea, an external manifestation of God. A person discovers this truth in moments of suffering and humiliation. More than that, he feels a strong desire (*l'homme du désir*) to liberate himself, his spirit, from material shackles. By interior effort, he can achieve that primitive state of purity and glory. Saint-Martin insisted that human freedom depends on the fulfillment of God's law; that turning away from God, and closing himself within himself, he is plunged into darkness and nothingness. His goal is to save himself, and to regain his primitive nature. Saint-Martin thought that the great French revolution was intended in God's plan; as a result, he supported it, even financially. He was of the opinion that he himself was an instrument of God, destined, among other things, to translate J. Böhme's work into French. The principal works of Saint-Martin were: *Des erreurs et de la vérité ou les Hommes rapelés au principe universel de la science* (1775), *L'Homme du désir* (1790), *Ecce homo* (1792), *Nouvel homme* (1792), *De l'esprit des choses* (1800). In the last years of his life, he shared his inner experience with a small group of followers. After his death he exerted a very strong influence on romantic philosophy.

Certainty? In its fullest extent it is the result of the grace of God. Truth dwells in one who loves God and neighbor.

We are living in a time of social change. How can we distinguish what is passing from what is eternal, the chaff from the wheat?

- To what extent can we desire to know the truth? Perfect and imperfect truth - complete and incomplete truth - relative and absolute truth.

- How are we to search for the truth? (Beginning, middle and end = time. Human truth on earth - in time.)

938 How can I put my thoughts (and acquired knowledge) in order? - Further tasks: Is it necessary to discover the complete truth immediately, or only gradually? - timely and untimely. - Further: Is there, as Mickiewicz claims, a time to not speak to people, and an obligation - for a lover of the truth - to be silent and withdraw from society?²

Good use of time: do not occupy yourself at all with matters that do not lead to a proposed end, little with those that are a long way from the end, completely with those that lead directly to the end. (My goal at this time: moral improvement, order within my soul - casting off the bonds of the flesh and the world.) Do not divide your attention on many topics. Choose those that are not beyond your power to accomplish. Do not begin only what you wish to finish immediately; finish what you have begun. Associate with people who can contribute to my improvement; for the time-being avoid the others.

If you do not have the inclination to occupy yourself with a work to which you are obliged, do not move on to another work, but ask God for the grace to fulfill your obligation.

937 A great thought of Saint-Martin: "Il ne faut pas méditer pour avoir une grande masse de pratiques, mais pratiquer pour avoir une grande masse de meditations" [One should not meditate in order to have a great number of practices, but rather practice in order to have much on which to meditate.]

² An allusion to *The degrees of truths*, written by Adam Mickiewicz and included in his collection *Opinions and remarks from the writings of Jacob Bem, a Silesian Angel and Saint-Martin*.

What, and how. to practice? - Dedicate yourself completely to the cause of truth, and people; for the sake of God deny yourself completely, that is live with God, suppress your pride and the empty desire for glory and pleasure. The condition - a strong faith in God, in a future life.

O God! I recognize, I feel deeply, that I have become a slave of my flesh and the world. Grant me the grace, and the strength, to rid myself of those burdens that stifle my will, and speed up my improvement!

I need rules in everything, for the mind, and for action. O how many good thoughts, how many of Your inspirations, have I wasted! Please support me, so that I might dedicate the rest of my life to truth, virtue, to You Yourself, for Your glory! For the good of my neighbors! For my own salvation!

"Le manque de la volonté est la plus grande source des erreurs, et ce qui empêche l'homme de faire du progrès dans la recherche de la vérité" [The lack of will is the greatest source of errors, and this impedes a person in making progress in his search for the truth.] (Saint-Martin).

8586

985 Wednesday, March 26

To church - my birthday.

Step into the studio

to the library; maybe I can take some more books. A letter to Aicard³ - Frédéric Auguste.⁴

At one o'clock to G. [? A. Gurowski]

To the printery p Bożewski's⁵ address.

Mail, Pszenny,⁶ Gautier,⁷ Burgaud.

³ Jean Aicard (1810-1853) - Lawyer, scholar, author of many encyclopedia articles printed in the *Encyclopédie nouvelle*, edited by P. Leroux and J. Reynaud. In his time he became a follower of the doctrine of the saintsimonists, and attended Father Enfantin in Mélimontant.

⁴ Frederic Auguste (1750-1827) - Frederic August, a Saxon king; a prince of Warsaw in the years 1807-1815.

⁵ Possibly Jański may have had in mind Callistus Borzewski, who was born in Płock in 1805. As a captain he participated in the expedition of Joseph Zaliwski in 1833. After he returned to France from this expedition, he left for Spain and died there on the field of battle in 1836.

The portress.

Maliński, where is he; ask Ordega⁸ about him.

Paper - Wejssenhof.⁹

A letter to Wejssenhof, to Witwicki,¹⁰ after the *Comedy*.¹¹

⁶ Undoubtedly Pafnucius Nicholas Pszenny, born 1803. From 1819 he studied in the department of science and fine arts in Warsaw. In other lists: Michael Pszenny, a 29 year old negotiator, who came to France in 1831.

⁷ Gautier (Gauthier) - a tailor who lived in Paris.

⁸ Joseph Ordega (1802-1879). In 1821, a master of law and administration. A delegate to the Sejm; in the November uprising, a founder and captain of the Kalisz Cavalry. After August 1831, he and his family lived as emigrants in France. For some time he was a member of the TDP. He remained under the influence of Buchez. He edited "The Polish Democrat of the 19th century". In 1840, in Paris, he published a short treatise *Concerning the Polish nationality*, maintained in a Catholic and progressive spirit. Later he was a French Consul in Sarajevo.

⁹ Lucian Weissenhof (1807-1881) - a painter who came from Lithuania. He participated in the November uprising as a captain, first in the detachment of Emile Plater, and then in the corps of General Ramorino. He lived in Paris as an emigrant in the years 1832-1840. He participated in meetings with Adam Mickiewicz at which *Pan Tadeusz* ("Mr. Thaddeus") was read. He was a close friend of Zygmunt Krasiński.

¹⁰ Stephen Witwicki (1802-1847) - poet, journalist. After completing the Krzemieniecki Lyceum, he settled in Warsaw where, beside tutoring, he devoted himself to literary work. He made the acquaintance of Casimir Brodziński, Frederic Chopin, Joseph Korzeniowski, Maurice Mochnacki, Anthony Edward Odyniec (with whom he co-edited "Melitele"), and Joseph Bohdan Zaleski. He was an advocate of romanticism. As a poet he showed greatest originality in his *Rural Songs* (Warsaw, 1830). Chopin and Moniuszko composed music for some of the "songs" in this volume. He was the author of *Biblical Poems* (Warsaw, 1830). Poor health prevented him from participating in the November uprising. In 1832, he freely emigrated, and took up residence in Paris. In 1832 he published *Moscovites in Poland. Diary 9/8/1831 to 7/8/1832*. This diary also appeared in a French translation: Étienne Witwicki: *Les Russes en Pologne*, traduit en français par [Bogdan] Jański, Paris, 1833. He became acquainted with Adam Mickiewicz, and participated in meetings held at the latter's home, at which *Mr. Thaddeus* was read. Together with Adam and other friends and acquaintances, he was co-founder of the Society of United Brethren. As a journalist, he published *Evenings of a Pilgrim. A moral, literary, and political miscellany* (Number I - Paris, 1834; Number 2 - Paris, 1835). He published these later in two volumes (Vol.I, Paris, 1837; Vol.II, Paris, 1842). In this publication, which was highly regarded by his contemporaries, he presented moral, religious, patriotic, and social teaching; he came out against foreign influence, and defended national traditions. He published: *The Polish altar, i.e., a collection of Catholic devotions containing prayers for every occasion, to the Most Holy Trinity, the Blessed Mother and the Saints, adapted to various needs* (Paris, 1836), and in that same year a smaller *Polish altar*, an abridged version of the preceding. After a revised edition of *Biblical poems and Rural Songs...* (Paris, 1836), his *Letters from a foreign country* (Lipsk, 1842) were published among the emigrants. As an orthodox Catholic, he broke off relations with Adam Mickiewicz when the latter joined the sect of Andrew Towiański. Witwicki became a friend of Jański and the first Resurrectionists (Kajsiewicz, Semenenko), and

Thursday, [March] 27, to Bożewski.

to Wrotnowski,¹² to Aicard for money - shoes,
shirts.

To Korycki¹³ - Pszeny's letter.
Broszerka, Konopka,¹⁴ Dien.¹⁵

was one of their "external brethren". He intended to become a priest, and join the Resurrectionists. For that purpose he went to Rome, but died there of consumption.

¹¹ The drama of Zygmunt Krasiński (1812-1859) *The Non-Divine Comedy*. The poet began to write it in the summer of 1833 in Vienna, and finished on the 23rd of November of that year in Venice. The poet did not decide to print his drama immediately. It was published anonymously in Paris by the Pinard printery in February of 1834, but was first disseminated in April of 1835. In a letter of March 9, 1836, to his fiancée, Eugenia Lariss, Eustachius Januszkiewicz wrote that: "it [the *Non-Divine Comedy*] was printed here; however, after it was printed all the copies were put away. We have only one copy, and we are sure that it was written by Zygmunt Krasiński, the son of Vincent - an exceptional talent" (cited in J. Kallenbach, *From the Emigrant epoch (1833-1841)*, "Lamus" 1908-1909, p.456).

¹² Felix Wrotnowski (1803-1871) from Lithuania. Journalist, historian and translator. He studied law at the University of Vilno. From 1826 he worked in the editorial office of "The Vilno Daily News". He translated and published *The Spy* and *The last of the Mohicans* by James Fenimore Cooper. He participated in the expedition of General Desiderius Chłapowski against Lithuania. After the November uprising he emigrated to France, and lived in Paris. He was an active member of the Society of Lithuania and the Russian territories. He wrote and published *The uprising in Volhynia, Podolia, and the Ukraine in the year 1831... in accord with statements of the leaders and participants of this uprising* (2 volumes, Paris, 1837-1838). He had a close relationship with Adam Mickiewicz. - As a result of the initiative of the Literary Society, and the Society for Academic Assistance, books and other current emigrant publications were bought - Wrotnowski was made the curator of this collection in 1834. In his residence at the rue de l'Université a Polish Library was located. It was open on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Saturday from 10 A.M to 4 P.M. Jański often went to visit Wrotnowski, the curator of the library, and took advantage of its resources.

¹³ Fr. Francis Korycki - participated in the November uprising as a military chaplain. A member of the Warsaw Patriotic Society. As an emigrant he lived in France, from November, 1832, in the depot at Besançon, and in Dijon. A Carbonaro, he was co-organizer of the Frankfurt expedition. In Paris, he became acquainted with Jański, and for a time lived in his "House". After Jański's death, he served as a pastor among the Polish emigrants in Paris. He maintained friendly relations with the Resurrectionists.

¹⁴ Julian Konopka (1815-1899) - a mining engineer from Galicia. He studied in Kraków, in the faculty of mathematics and physics at the Jagellonian University. In 1833, he traveled to Paris for further studies at the École des Mines, completing the course in 1835. During his studies he was a colleague of Ignatius Domeyko. He visited England, and then returned to Poland in 1836, taking up residence on his family estates. He had two younger

To Carnot. Paper.
Wejssenhof, letters, etc.

8627

227

[Monday] September 28, 1834

Toward my improvement
RESOLUTIONS

First of all: write a profession and explanation of my faith.¹⁶

Second: Confession.¹⁷

God the Father, through your infinite goodness and the most holy Passion of your Son Christ, assist me by your grace! Stifle, destroy in me the effluvium of the old man, the spirit of pride and lust. I will undertake these two works with good intention and for your glory, for the good of my neighbor and complete reconciliation with you. Almighty and most merciful Lord, help me to accomplish these tasks successfully and soon!

Therefore, I put aside all my plans, as well as all literary, civic, and apostolic works until I have fulfilled the two resolutions mentioned above. - Only in snatches will I note ideas that come to me with regard to these two.

I intend to write a profession of faith with God's help, such as I now have, as God has given to me, and people have taught - no longer seeking anything new. I forbid myself to rummage through books, except to few pious works to help me, and this because my religious education has been greatly neglected.

231 Friday [October] 10

brothers: Joseph (1818-1880), later a famous ethnographer, farmer, and author of tales, especially historical; and Roman, who lived with him for some time in Paris.

¹⁵ Claude-Marie-François Dien (1787-1865) - A French engraver. His work was highly esteemed in view of its artistic level. He directed a workshop, where plates were also made.

¹⁶ Jański made this profession, in the form of a response to the question: *Why did I return to the holy Catholic Faith?* The text of this profession, dated "Sunday, December 28, 1834", was placed in the Supplement to the Diary for the Year 1834, under I.

¹⁷ *Confession* - The text of the confession, dated December 6, 1834, is presented in the Supplement to the Diary for the Year 1834, under II.

Change of residence.

Sunday [October] 12

With Jelowicki we go to Mass at the Abbey;¹⁸ To a pamphlet rack [?] to look for a magazine. I am finishing [an article on] Archangel.¹⁹

Account - I receive 17 francs. I ask Konaszewski²⁰ about Anthony.

Sunday [October] 19

At Mickiewicz - I give him 25 francs. Talk about America.

Tuesday, [October 21] - Once again at Mickiewicz. I bring back 100 francs.

Sunday, [October] 26

Dinner with an Englishman. I met Adam Gurowski at the Palais-Royal, etc. etc.

[Friday] October 31

To Podczaszyński for notes concerning Armenians. A downfall on rue du Hasard [?].

Saturday, November 1, All Saints

With Maliński in Notre-Dame.²¹ Dinner, with coffee. We did not find Kontradowicz at home.

¹⁸ A general name for the Abbacy, a part of which was the oldest church in Paris, Saint-Germain-des-Près, dating from the turn of the 11th-12th centuries, built in the Romanesque style, partially preserved. Inside, in the transept on the left side, is the tomb of the Polish King John Casimir (1609-1672), who after his abdication lived in the monastery as its abbot, and spent the rest of his life there. This was a place for yearly gatherings of Polish emigrants living in Paris.

¹⁹ Archangel - the first Russian seaport at the mouth of the Dvina River to the White Sea; in French Arkhangelsk. This entry, prepared by Jański, was published in *Encyclopédie nouvelle* (Paris, 1836. Vol.II, pp. 25-26); Cf. below, footnote 25.

²⁰ Adalbert Konarzewski (1805-1881) - served in the army. Participated in the November uprising, with the rank of Lieutenant. As a volunteer, he moved to the artillery. Deported from Trieste, he went to New York in 1834, and from there, in that same year, he left for France. An Army and civil engineer. The author of a report of the deportation of Polish emigrants from Trieste to North America, published in "A Chronicle of the Polish Emigration", 1834, II, p.151. - Anthony was Bogdan Jański's brother.

Sunday [November] 2

I go to visit Dugie. We talk about a rendez-vous to Saint-Mandé.²² A long walk alone; dinner in Meudon.²³

Saturday [November] 8

In the evening, at an audition of the organs in Saint-Eustache.²⁴

232 *Sunday, [November] 9*

I write to Dugie, telling him that I cannot go next Wednesday.

[Monday, November] 10

I go to him [Dugie], I find a letter. He asks me if I want to go either on Friday or Saturday - I reply: good.

Wednesday, [November] 12

The duel is over. Dugie stops by, and according to the letter, he designates Saturday for our trip. He goes to Cazeaux, I to Reynaud - I return the note concerning the Armenians. I receive the proofs, and the first volume of the *Encyclopédie*.²⁵ Dinner with Ropelewski²⁶ at the Italian.

²¹ Notre-Dame - built in the 12th century, it is the very famous cathedral in Paris, the building of which was completed in 1345. At the time of the great French Revolution in 1793, it was transformed into a shrine of Reason. The subject of Victor Hugo's famous *Notre-Dame de Paris* (1831).

²² Saint-Mandé - a locality in the suburbs of Paris, in the vicinity of the Vincennes Forest.

²³ Meudon - a village in the vicinity of Paris not far from Versailles. At the time, Charles Edward Wodziński lived there. Adam Mickiewicz was also there often.

²⁴ The church of St. Eustace, situated at the edge of the piazza where in the 19th century the main food market was located. The building of the church was begun in 1532, and completed in 1637. It was a source of admiration by reason of its variety of styles: gothic, renaissance, and classical. It is one of the largest churches of Paris, closely bound up with the history of the city. It is famous for its organs.

²⁵ Pierre Leroux and Jean Reynaud undertook the initiative of publishing an *encyclopédie* in the form of *livraisons mensiles* (monthly fascicles on a subscription basis). In the fascicles notes-articles were presented with entitled articles pertaining to various areas of human knowledge. Even before time, authors were sought - specialists in various areas of knowledge. It should be added that, as far as possible, these articles were illustrated. Undoubtedly this explains why in the first phase of the *Encyclopédie*'s publication, at the bottom of the first page of each fascicle there appeared, in parentheses, the title *Encyclopédie pittoresque*. However, in later fascicles this notation was discontinued, and from 1836 the fascicles appeared with a cover on which the final title appeared: *Encyclopédie nouvelle ou Dictionnaire philosophique, littéraire et industriel offrant le tableau des connaissances humaines au XIX siècle* par une Société des savans et de Litté-

Thursday [November] 13

I return the proofs to Reynaud.

Saturday [November] 15

rateurs, publiée sur la direction de MM. P. Leroux et J. Reynaud, Paris, Libraire de Charles Gosselin. Armand Pougin, libraire, Hector Bossagne et C^e Libraires. Quai Voltaire 11. - The fascicles with the printed title *Encyclopédie pittoresque* were included in the *Encyclopédie nouvelle*.

It is possible that the first volume of the *Encyclopoédie* about which Jański writes was as experimental volume, containing the first experimental fascicles.

For the editors of *Encyclopédie nouvelle* Jański prepared a total of 22 articles for the letter A and B. His name as the author of individual articles appeared at the end of some of the monthly fascicles. These articles were mainly in the area of history: *Alexandre Nevski* (Vol. I, Paris, 1843, pp. 273-274, fascicle 3 with a cover in 1836), *Arkhangelsk* (Vol. II, Paris, 1836, pp. 25-26); the next articles in Volume II: *Arpadiens*, pp. 66-67; *Asses [Assiese]*, p.154; *Astrakhan*, pp. 175-177; *Augsbourg*, pp. 239-341; *Auguste I de Saxe*, pp. 227-238; *Auguste II de Saxe*, pp. 248-249; *Auguste III de Saxe*, p.249; *Autriche*, pp. 281-287; *Avars*, pp. 298-299; *Azov*, pp. 318-319; *Babenberg*, pp. 322-323; *Bachkirs*, pp. 338-339; *Budé*, pp. 355-356; *Bar (Confederation de)*, p.408; *Bavière*, pp. 502-506; *Béla*, pp.546-548; *Bessarabie*, pp. 645-646; *Bohême*, pp.739-742; *Boleslas*, pp.758-759; *Brunswick*, (Vol.III, Paris, 1837, pp.99-100).

In the list of authors - collaborators with the *Encyclopédie nouvelle* we find the name of yet another Pole: Adalbert Kazimierski, who wrote articles in his area of specialization up to the time of the end of the activity of the editors-in-chief (to the letter Z) in 1844.

²⁶ Stanislaus Ropelewski (1814-1865); literary critic, poet, and lexicographer. He began to study law and administration in Warsaw in 1830. He participated in the November uprising. After its collapse he found his way to Paris. He attended the literary evenings at the home of Adam Mickiewicz. He participated in the expedition of Joseph Zaliwski, after which he returned to Paris and joined the Slavonic Society, established by Joseph Bohdan Zaleski (February 14, 1835). On February 25, 1836 he signed the Act of Confederation of the Polish Nation, and for that reason the French authorities expelled him from Paris (June 29, 1836); however, he returned in the following year. Eustachius Januszkiewicz published his small volume of verses *Sash Verses* (Paris, 1836). Ropelewski entered into friendly relations with the camp of Prince Adam Czartoryski and to the literary circle centered about the periodical "Young Poland" (Cf. 1838, footnote 61). In the columns of this periodical Ropelewski placed many reviews, e.g., on the topic of the poetry of Julius Słowacki. He was author of *Memoirs concerning Polish Literature in the emigration*, published anonymously in "A Calendar of the Polish Pilgrimage" (January, 1840). This was an attempt to present a synthetic grasp of Polish literature among the emigrants from 1831. Ropelewski was the translator of E. Jourdain's little work: *A Word of Truth. A religious-political reflection on the martyrdom and future resurrection of Poland*. From 1841, he was a member of the Historical-Literary Society, later a professor of Polish history in the Polish School in Batignolles. He compiled a Polish-French dictionary, supplementing the *Dictionnaire français-polonais* of Adalbert Kazimierski which was printed in 1839 (Cf. 1832, footnote 249). From 1849 he lived in Greater Poland, with his friend Caesar Plater.

With Dugie to Saint-Mandé. - From Leroux for the article about Alexander Nevsky.

[Sunday, November] 16

In the morning to Dugie for francs - He wasn't there. I go looking for a room, Dinner at the German. Meeting with an old man at Café Momus.

Monday, [November] 17

With Dugie to Rouen²⁷ - we did not meet, to the old estaminet [pub] - a long conversation. An article about arianism.

Tuesday [November] 18

I sent a letter to the pastor [Chaussotte].²⁸ A final accounting with Jełowicki.²⁹

Wednesday [November] 19

Dinner at Saint-Chéron. Wednesday the work of Voivode [A.J. Ostrowski]³⁰ will be completed.

[November 20], Thursday evening with Walter.

Friday [November] 21

Having received a letter from Fr. Chossotte, went to visit Dugie in the morning in order to set a day to go to Saint-Mandé.

[Saturday, November] 22

Move to another place.

[Sunday, November] 23

Visited Jełowicki, and Mickiewicz. Bought *Journée du Chrétien*.³¹ Vespers at Saint-Roch.³²

²⁷ L.P. Rouen - a former saintsimonist and editor of the periodical "Le Producteur".

²⁸ Fr. Jean-Baptiste Chossotte (Chaussotte) (1794-1865) was pastor of the parish in Saint-Mandé from 1831. He was Jański's confessor.

²⁹ Alexander Jełowicki, publisher of polish works in Paris (Cf. 1832, footnote 322). Jański played a large role in his publishing venture.

³⁰ Jański called Anthony John Ostrowski "Voivode" - he was a senator voivode of the Kingdom of Poland by reason of his office. 1834 saw the appearance in Paris of Ostrowski's treatise: *Ideas dealing with the need for social reform in general, and especially with regard to the Israelites in Poland.* (Cf. 1832, footnote 256).

³¹ H.F.R. de Lamennais was the author of *Journée du Chrétien, ou moyen de sanctifier au milieu du monde* (Paris, 1828).

Monday, November 24

First confession.

8588

1020 [Monday] December 8, 1834

Go to Kwiatkowski to inquire about Konarzewski and Girard,³³ in order to write a letter, as soon as possible, to [my brother] Anthony.

Write to Montalembert.³⁴

³² The Jesuit church of St. Roch, one of the largest churches in Paris, dating from the 16th century, was located near the Palais-Royal on rue Saint-Jerome; here in the first years of the Great Emigration, the Poles gathered for devotions.

³³ Girard - undoubtedly Anthony Gerard from Kalisz, an engineer, who settled in New York after 1832(?). Gadon tells us that he was "highly respected by the people of that locality". Cf. *Poles in America, or memoirs of fifteen years of residence*, by Julian Juźwikiewicz, one of 235 deported through Austria, who returned to France from America.

³⁴ Charles de Montalembert (1810-1870) - French journalist, Catholic activist, statesman, peer of France (1835-1848). Son of A Count, a French envoy in Sweden, living in exile in London. One of Fr. Lamennais' (Cf. 1832, footnote 96) closest co-workers; under his spiritual patronage Montalembert and Fr. Gerbet (Cf. 1831, footnote 59), and Lacordaire (Cf. 1832, footnote 45) together published the daily "L'Avenir" (Cf. 1832, footnote 17) from August 1830 to November 1831. Their activity contributed to the initiation of the menezian movement, presenting a liberal Catholicism. The leaders met with opposition both from the gallican ecclesiastical hierarchy, as well as from liberals and government authorities. When Pope Gregory XVI condemned liberal Catholicism, Montalembert separated himself from Lamennais, but did not cease to believe in the co-existence of religion and freedom. He himself was convinced that the Catholic religion can be reconciled with the aspirations of modern-day society. He spoke in the French parliament in defense of the rights of religion and the Church, demanded freedom to teach religion in secondary schools, and attacked the monopoly of ministry in this field.

In 1843 Montalembert published the pamphlet *Obligations of Catholics*. Together with Lacordaire, he directed the "Ere Nouvelle", a periodical representing a social program that was almost revolutionary. When, after the murder of Affré, the Archbishop of Paris, a division arose among Catholics, "Ere Nouvelle" had a part to play in this. At that time Lacordaire took a stand on the side of democracy, while Montalembert attacked "democratic and social Catholicism." In this he was close to the views of Alexis de Tocqueville, according to whom democracy, the inevitable contemporary political system, carries with it many dangers.

Montalembert was noted for his great friendship for Poles (Adam Mickiewicz, Bogdan Jański, and Caesar Plater), and for his support for the cause of Poland. He belonged to the Historical-Literary Society. In 1862 he and his family visited Great Poland.

He enjoyed the recognition of educated readers as the author of hagiographic works (*Histoire de sainte Elisabeth de Hongrie*, Paris, 1836). For Montalembert's efforts, in cooperation with Jański, in the publication of the French translation of Adam Mickiewicz's *Books of the Polish Nation*, Cf. above, 1833, footnote 1. Some of Montalembert's other works: *Les moines d'Occident, depuis saint Benoît jusqu'a saint*

Go to Rostkowski and ask him when they will write a letter to Warsaw.

To [Henry] Jaroszyński.

To [Louis] Królikowski.

Ask Maliński about the Englishman Crellin, and there find out about his family! - and also write a few words to London.

Letters to Rettel, +Kožmian+, Adalbert Łempicki, Fr. Dąbrowski, Joseph Zawadzki, Fiałkowski, Jabłoński, Hube, Cyprysiński, Trepka.

1021 In a letter to [my brother] Stephen, ask him for information about Mrs. Szotarski, the Grabowskis - is their son alive, and is his name still Bogdan.

What sort of office does Michael [Jaroszewski] hold.

In a letter to Michael send greetings to Szreyber, Wodz[iński], the Sonnenbergs, Gościński.

Górecki, Wosiński, Kropiwnicki, Radwański, Barciński, Rybicki, Kopytowski, Wójcicki.³⁵

Bernard (1860-1867); *Le Pape et Pologne* (1864); *Discours*; an extensive correspondence; an unedited *Journal intime*, written to the end of his life. Up to now, Volume I (1821-1929), and Volume II (1830-1833) of the *Journal* have appeared, edited by Louise le Guillou, and Nicole-Roger Taillade (Paris, 1990). It should also be noted here that Catherine de Montalembert, a nun, fearing an accusation of lack of orthodoxy, censored the whole of her father's *Journal*, and deleted or removed from it notes pertaining to Fr. Lamennais, and Adam Mickiewicz, the author of *Book of the Pilgrims*, a book censored by Rome. Undoubtedly any mention of Jański's name was lost, as a sacrifice to her fervor.

³⁵ Jański prepared a list of friends, university colleagues and acquaintances to whom he intended to write, (*Letters to Rettel...*), possibly in relation to the approaching celebration of Christmas. Here are the names on that list, in alphabetical order and furnished with biographical data (in the case of names identified previously, recourse is had to pertinent footnotes). Barciński, Anthony - Cf. 1830, footnote 9.

Cyprysiński, Anthony, or Vincent; Cf. 1830, footnote 35

Dąbrowski, John Paul (1804-1851) - a native of Płock; after finishing schools in Pułtusk, he studied theology in Warsaw. In 1830, he obtained the degree of Master of Theology. He participated in the November uprising as captain, head of the 5th infantry division. He was an emigrant in France, initially in Bourges, and then, in the years 1846-1852, in Paris. He was a member of the Polish Democratic Society, and an adherent of Buchez's social-religious views.

Fiałkowski (Fijałkowski), possibly Alexander - studied law at the University of Warsaw, completing the course in 1829. From 1829 he served as an informer for Henry Mackrott, a police officer in the service of the Great Prince Constantine. At the beginning of the November uprising, he joined the Kraków regiment as an officer. However, he was recognized and identified as a spy.

Gościński, Aracadius - Cf. 1832, footnote 380.

Górecki, Joseph - Cf. 1832, footnote 375.

Grabowski, Francis and Caroline, nee Zawadzki - Cf. 1828, footnote 4.

8627

248 Thursday [December] 25, Christmas

Séguin. I go to see Zienkowicz.³⁶ To Notre-Dame, Górecki,³⁷ Domejko.³⁸
 On leaving, we meet Klimaszewski.³⁹ To the Jełowickis.⁴⁰

Grabowski, the son of Francis and Caroline. It is not known whether or not his name was Bogdan.

Hube, undoubtedly Joseph - Cf. 1832, footnote 31.

Jabłoński, Adam Stephen - Cf. 1832, footnote 106.

Jański, Stephen - Cf. 1832, footnote 365.

Jaroszewski, Michael - Cf. 1830, footnote 35.

Kopytowski, Louis (1804-1871) - a teacher in the government schools in Warsaw.

Koźmian, John (1814-1877) - In 1830 he studied law at the University of Warsaw. Participant in the November uprising and an emigrant. He helped Jański edit "The Polish Pilgrim". He completed legal studies in Toulouse in 1838. After arriving in Paris he joined the House of Jański. A follower of the politics of Adam Czartoryski. From 1845, he edited "The Poznań Review". From 1859 he studied theology in Rome. He was ordained in 1860.

Kropiwnicki, Alphonse - Cf. 1832, footnote 377.

Łempicki, Adalbert, Wojtaś - Cf. 1832 footnote 66.

Radwański - further information lacking.

Retel (Rettel), Leonard - Cf. 1832, footnote 63.

Rybicki, Theophil - Cf. 1832, footnote 373.

Sonnenbergs - In his book, Gerber listed two Sonnenberg brothers who came from Płock, and received the degree of Master of Law at the University of Warsaw: Charles (1804-1869) a landed aristocrat, and Edward (1806-?), a participant in the November uprising, and from 1835 a clerk at the court of peace in Płock.

Szotarska, Julianna, nee Zawadzki, the sister of Alexander Jański and Caroline Grabowski, the widow of Humphrey Szotarski (1778-1831), an official in Kalisz, later in Piotrków.

Szreyber, Michael - Cf. 1828 (Private Diary) footnote 8.

Trepka, Vincent - undoubtedly a colleague of Jański; in 1826 he received the degree of Master of Law and Administration at the University of Warsaw. He was a court apprentice, and from 1829 a clerk at the police correctional court.

Wodzińskis - Gerber lists two brothers, students of administration at the University of Warsaw: Charles (1803-1859), and Leon (1807-?) a gentleman farmer.

Wosiński, Theodore - Cf. 1832, footnote 376.

Wójcicki, Casimir Ladislaus (1807-1879). In 1827 he enrolled in the Preparatory School (for the Polytechnic Institute) in the department of chemistry. He abandoned this after two years, and dedicated himself to literary work and historical studies. He occupied himself with folklore and editorial work. He participated in the November uprising.

Zawadzki, Joseph - Cf. 1832, footnote 94.

³⁶ Undoubtedly Victor Augustine Zienkowicz (1808-1885) - He studied physics and mathematics at the University of Vilno, and participated in the November uprising. After the collapse of the uprising, he lived in France as an emigrant. He worked in a quarry and studied in the evenings. With the money he saved he attended lectures at the École des Mines, where he received a diploma as a mining engineer.

[Friday, December] 26

Celiński tells me about his Galician history with P...,⁴¹ Benoiste interrupts. We go to Cellierier.⁴² - To [Alexander] Jełowicki with a show of vignettes.

³⁷ Anthony Gorecki (1787-1861) - from the region of Vilno. He was a colleague of Joachim Lelewel at the University of Vilno. He served in the Napoleonic campaign in 1812. He published fables and verses in periodicals in Vilno. He participated in the November uprising, as a colonel in the Lithuanian uprising. As an emigrant in Paris, he became acquainted with Adam Mickiewicz. During his stay in France he published 11 volumes of verses, notable among which were his fables and humorous verses, laced with harsh social criticism.

³⁸ Ignatius Domeyko (1801-1889) - At the time of his studies in Vilno., he was a member of a secret student society, and became acquainted with Adam Mickiewicz, who made him one of the figures (a Frog) in part III of *Dziady* ("The Forefathers"). He participated in the November uprising and, after its collapse, emigrated to Paris where he studied in the *École des Mines*. At the time of his first stay in Paris he enrolled in The Society of the United Brethren (1834-1835). Hired by the Chilean government, he left for Chile, where he taught chemistry and mineralogy. He was a Rector of the University of Santiago. In a booklet that was translated into Polish, *Araukania i jej mieszkańcy*, he defended the rights of aboriginal tribes. Other than scientific works, he wrote *Memoirs* (1908), and *My Travels* (published in 1962-1963).

³⁹ Hippolitus Klimaszewski (1802-1874) - poet and literary historian, teacher at a grammar school in Vilno. He participated in the November uprising, and lived as an emigrant in Paris. He was director of the Polish school in Batignolles until 1854.

⁴⁰ Besides Alexander Jełowicki (Cf. 1832, footnote 322), Alexander's brother Edward (1803-1048) also lived in Paris. He studied in the school of engineering, in the department of artillery. A Marshal of the Podolian nobility, he participated in the uprising of 1831 as a colonel. After the collapse of the uprising, he was interned by the Austrians and put in jail in Spielberg. After he was released, he left for France. In the years 1841-1847 he served in the Foreign Legion in Algiers. He participated in the 1848 revolution in Vienna. After its collapse, he was captured and executed.

⁴¹ Adam Celiński (1809-1837) came from the borderland of Lublin and Volhynia. He studied at the Krzemieniecki Lyceum. In 1829 he moved to Warsaw, and enrolled in the department of law and administration at the University. At the time of the November uprising, he was with the National Guard, and then in the Lithuanian-Volhynian Legion. Toward the end of the uprising he was living in Płock, where, at the grave of Boleslaus Krzywousty, he realized that he was an atheist. He worked his way to Galicia; in Lwów he made contact with Poniński's widow. In unexplained circumstances he left Lwów suddenly, and after a short stay in Kraków, where he met his friend, doctor Hippolitus Terlecki, and Louis Królikowski, he reached Switzerland. From there, in October 1833, he made his way to Paris. There he mixed in the company of gamblers and card-sharks and fell into poverty and illness. Wishing to extricate himself from this situation, in January of 1834 he accepted a post in the editorial office of "A Chronicle of the Polish Emigration". It seems that it was only from November 1834 that he began to visit Jański at rue de Verneuil. At the time, the latter was undergoing an intensive process of religious and moral rebirth, and was preparing for his great confession. Celiński became a kind of charge of Janski, finding in him understanding, moral-religious assistance, and protection. Jański and Celiński made their confession together at the beginning of 1835. In October

To Saint-Mandé, vespers - rendez-vous for Monday. On the way, thoughts about "The Pilgrim",⁴³ about a letter concerning my return to Warsaw. Dinner in Bercy, coffee - place du Châtelet.⁴⁴ I deliver the vignettes to the printery. Newspapers. Reflections.

[Saturday, December] 27

In the morning, Celiński, Semenenko.⁴⁵ To the printery in order to make arrangements for a cover for Niemcewicz's⁴⁶ letter. To the Jełowickis. I take

of 1835, Celiński left Paris and moved to southern France, to Agen, Toulouse, and later to Montpellier and Lunel. He lived with his friend Leon Przecławski, and became involved in the religious-moral apostolate among the Polish exiles. For a time he was secretary of the General Committee in Agen. At a distance from Paris, he corresponded with Jański. In his letters he revealed his plans to organize an "order of knights" possessing a religious-patriotic character, and urged Jański to resume publication of "The Polish Pilgrim". With his deep religious faith he expressed himself as a poet who possessed authentic talent. He died of consumption. Jełowicki and Jański were supposed to see to the publication of his compositions, but this was never realized.

⁴² Cellier (Celarier) - I do not know to what this refers.

⁴³ "Pilgrim" - a reference to "The Polish Pilgrim". In its last number from 1833 ("half-sheet 32, the last of the second part", final page - 128), edited by Jański, the following announcement was printed: "material difficulties force us to hold back from printing the next part of the Pilgrim until a time which we cannot determine at present." Throughout 1834 and the following year, the thought of renewing "The Pilgrim" did not leave Jański, which explains the mention of the title of the publication in the place mentioned in the Diary.

⁴⁴ Bercy - at the time, a hamlet in the vicinity of Paris, situated to the west of the Vincennes Forest.

Place de Châtelet - a public square in Paris, at the mouth of the Change bridge, close to the renaissance tower of the demolished church of Saint-Jacques. The name of the square derived from the name of former fortress Cyran Châtelet.

⁴⁵ Peter Semenenko (Semeneńko) (1814-1886), born in Tykocin. His father, a Russian officer and official, belonged to the Polish nobility that had settled in White Russia. In 1830 Peter enrolled at the University of Vilno. He participated in the November uprising as an officer cadet in the artillery. After the collapse of the uprising, he crossed over into Prussia with the corps of Anthony Gielgud. There, influenced by lectures and environment, he lost his faith. He went to France, and lived in the depots at Besançon and Châteauroux (Levroux). At the time he belonged to the radical democratic wing of the emigration. He was a journalist for the periodical "Progress", an organ of the central section of the Democratic Society founded by John Nepomucene Janowski. Co-founders were Semenenko, Henry Gracch, Peter Niewęglowski (Charles Kaczanowski was the secretary). After the sixth number of "Progress", Semenenko left the editorial staff (John Czyński took his place). Sought by the French police, he hid in Paris. Here in 1835 he met Jański, who took him under his wing, offered him material, and above all moral-religious, assistance. As a result, Semenenko the atheist became a believer. He was a member of the House of Jański from its very beginning. He studied theology at Collège Stanislas in Paris, and from 1837 continued his studies in Rome until the time of his

K.Z.R.⁴⁷ to the postoffice. To the library to consult Salverte⁴⁸ concerning the Ascension. Pecqueur. - Then to Roret.⁴⁹ With Mickiewicz. To Oleszczyński about the portraits. Dinner at rue Mazarine. To [Francis] Grzymała. Pecqueur at my place. Discussion with Celiński, about our relationships before we got to know one another, and about "The Pilgrim".

Sunday, December 28

I got up late. Went to the printery to deliver the "*Nie-Boska Komedia*" [the "Non-Divine Comedy"]. For Mass to St. Roch. Jóźwik. To the Jełowickis -

ordination to the priesthood (December 5, 1841). After Jański's death he was chosen to be the superior of Community in formation, whose statutes as the Congregation of the Resurrection were approved in 1842, with the outstanding cooperation of Fr. Jerome Kajsiewicz. In that same year, Semenenko was living in Paris, where he combated Towinism with the pen and the word. In 1845, as a result of slander, he was stripped of his superiorship by his brethren. He spent 1847 in Tunis. He returned to Rome, and there, in 1866, he contributed to the establishment of the Polish College, of which he became the rector. He enjoyed the confidence of the Holy See. After the death of Kajsiewicz, he was chosen as superior of the Congregation. He was a religious writer, author of *Mystika*, works for an innovative era (Thomism), an orator, apostle, and co-founder of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Resurrection. He was the author of an as yet not completely published *Diary* from the years 1851-1886.

⁴⁶ Jański undertook to prepare for publication verses of Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, A letter to Kniaziewicz, General of the Polish Army, written in France in the year 1834, at the time when both were staying in Montmorency. Published by A. Jełowicki, it appeared in Paris in 1835.

Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz (1758-1841) - poet, dramatist, novelist, satirist, journalist, translator, and diarist. He was a close associate of Prince Adam Czartoryski, an envoy to the Four Years' Diet. He was secretary and adjutant to Kosciuszko. In the years of the Principality of Warsaw and the Kingdom of Poland, he worked indefatigably in the areas of culture and politics. He was a member and president of the Society of Friends of Learning in Warsaw. Regarded as "a national oracle" he was also "the moral dictator of Warsaw". Although he was opposed to conspiracy, he joined in the November uprising. He became a member of the National Government, which sent him to England in 1831 on a diplomatic mission. From 1833 he lived in Paris, at the side of Prince Czartoryski. He was an active member of the Literary Society (later the Historical-Literary Society). He published his works in the emigrant press. Among the emigrants he was regarded as a symbol and example of integrity and patriotism, and was also a living memorial of the last years of independence for the emigration. He wrote, among others, *Memoirs of my times* (to 1829).

⁴⁷ K.Z.R. - What Jański has in mind here is unknown.

⁴⁸ Salverte - Cf. 1832, footnote 79.

The article *Ascension* was ultimately prepared for the *Encyclopédie nouvelle* by Abel Transon, and not by Jański.

⁴⁹ Roret - a parisian bookseller.

I read a little of *Evenings of a Pilgrim*.⁵⁰ To Kazimirski. To Wodziński - J.B. Ostrowski and Zaleski. Back home, dinner, newspapers; preparation for confession.

[Monday] December 29

I got up very late. Took a letter to Aicard. To the Jełowickis; they were out. I left [Maurice] Mochnacki. To Saint-Mandé. My mind was heavy. Confession - I felt better immediately. Return, to the post office, and home for dinner. Słowaczyński⁵¹ pays a visit; I am not satisfied with the conversation. I always allow myself to be distracted; I lack control in what I say. - A reply to Stecki,⁵² to rue Pot-de-Fer, Saint Sulpice, for the newspapers.

Tuesday, December 30

I got up very, very late. Aicard about Ascensions. To the goldsmith on Fr. Chossotte's business; to the post office, to the library. - I am reading John Potocki⁵³ and Ferrand.⁵⁴ Projects dealing with works concerning Poland's most recent history. To the "Revue Sociale"⁵⁵ Courtet lends her collection, and Gurowski's pamphlet;⁵⁶ conversation with Mallace⁵⁷ about the latter, after which I am not

⁵⁰ In the autograph the note: *Wiecz. Pielgrz.* undoubtedly refers to Stephen Witwicki's *Evenings of a Pilgrim* (Cf. above, footnote 10). Part II appeared in 1834.

⁵¹ Undoubtedly Andrew Słowaczyński (1807-?) - a geographer, alumnus of the University of Warsaw. He participated in the November uprising. He was an emigrant in France from February 1832. Secretary of General Joseph Dwernicki's Committee, and editor of the publication "The Polish Emigration Weekly", published in Paris from 1834.

⁵² Possible Adolph Stecki (1808-1889) - a first year student at the University of Warsaw. At the time of the uprising he was an officer cadet of a battalion of engineers. An emigrant in France, he studied in the staff school in the years 1832-1833. He received a diploma as an engineer. In 1845 he returned to Poland and settled in Galicia as a gentleman farmer.

⁵³ John Potocki (1761-1815) - Count, historian, traveler, writer of prose exclusively in French. A student of the enlightenment; an envoy to the Great Sejm. He traveled extensively, and studied the pre-history of the Slavs. A member of the Society of the Friends of Learning in Warsaw; author of the famous novel *A Manuscript discovered at Saragossa*.

⁵⁴ Antoine-Francais-Claude Ferrand (1751-1825) Author, among others, of a three-volume monograph *Histoire des trois démembrements de la Pologne, pour faire suite a l'Histoire de l'anarchie de Pologne, de Rulhière*, Paris, 1820.

⁵⁵ To the Paris bureau of the periodical "Revue du progrès social" which managed to publish only three issues in 1834. Sponsored by the editorial office, a "collection" appeared, that is *Revue du progrès social*, Paris, 1834, 3 volumes in two volumes.

⁵⁶ Adam Gurowski published in 1834 a pamphlet entitled *La verité sur la Russie et sur la révolte des provinces polonaises* (*The truth about Russian and the revolt of the Polish provinces*). Cf. 1831, footnote 14, where the content was characterized.

⁵⁷ E. Mallac (Mallace) - a French journalist. Together with the former saintsimonist, Jules Lechevalier (Cf. 1832, footnote 21) he signed a publication: *1834, Situation politique de*

happy with myself. To the Jełowickis - at the Kathombe.⁵⁸ Back home, I read Gurowski's pamphlet - Patriotic projects. To Leroux - to the lecture by Beslay.⁵⁹

Wednesday, December 31

Once again I got up late. Breakfast. Rostkowski tells me about [Camille] Mochnacki's death, about Kurek from America.⁶⁰ I leave the house not feeling well; 46 francs from *Encyclopédie pittoresque*. To the binder, to Oleszczyński, to the printery, to the paper-makers. and home at three. After dinner, musing on the occasion of the last day of the present year - I would like to write down my final reflections and projects. Łopaciński;⁶¹ I am not satisfied with myself in conversation with him. I do not control or direct my conversation sufficiently. - Later, once again I get lost in my reflections, until finally I make these notes.⁶²

la France, principes d'une alliance politique, ayant pour but de mettre fin a la lutte révolutionnaire par l'initiative du progrès social, published by the editorial board of "Revue du progrès social", Paris, 1834, p.32.

⁵⁸ Kathombe (Cathombe) - the name of a restaurant.

⁵⁹ Charles Beslay (1796-1878) - a French socialist. In 1830 he became a member of the House of Deputies as a liberal, but later joined the republican party.

⁶⁰ Francis Joseph Kurek (c.1805-1847) born in Lithuania. Before the November uprising, he served in the Russian army as a bandmaster. In the years 1833-1834 he directed an orchestra in Bourges. After moving to the United States, he worked as a member of an orchestra, undoubtedly in Boston, where he died.

⁶¹ Possibly Louis Łopaciński, a lieutenant residing in Paris at the time.

⁶² In a letter of (March?) 1836, addressed to his old friend Louis Królikowski who was then living in Kraków, Jański described his life in Paris in 1834 as follows: "In 1834, I worked quietly here on behalf of an entrepreneur - Jełowicki - publishing, that is editing various Polish books as a means of sustenance; along with this there was work relative to my soul, interior and personal, as well as constant disturbances, poverty, thoughts that tormented me all day, and sometimes all night, longing for the Kingdom of God and the way that leads to it; added to this, finally, physical weakness - an ailment of the lungs - I was already diagnosed as a consumptive, and destined for death by many.

Meanwhile, after two months of serious illness spent in bed, I arose well and healthier than ever before. This was in August. At the end of 1834, I resolved to return fully to the unity of Christ's Church, and I kept that resolution." (ACRR 8568, p.1107).

Jański's note about *Modern times*, located in the Supplement under II, dates from the year 1834.

SUPPLEMENT

I.

8627

244-247 Sunday, December 28, 1834

WHY I RETURNED TO THE HOLY CATHOLIC FAITH

Because, O merciful God, this was your wish! Your grace accomplished this, not any merit, work or reasoning of mine. I feel this in the depths of my soul, and thank you, O God, for deigning to look upon my misery and suffering, on my groaning, and my longing for the truth, for universal good. Come to my assistance, Almighty Lord! Grant me the strength to remain worthy of your kindness for the rest of my life.

However, O God, perfect Truth, your Word, our holy faith, does not contradict reason; indeed it is its root, its law, and its life. Every healthy intellect can and should accept this - therefore, it allows itself to be explained most clearly and most obviously by means of reason. I wish to undertake this task in my own case with your help, to satisfy my mind and for a better arrangement of my life - to put my relations with people in order, and instead of scandalizing them, to edify them by my speech and my writing. Today, as a result of the lack of order present in my soul, my whole life, until recently, I am in no condition to accomplish this. I will accomplish it if you give me your grace, most loving Father. I can scarcely indicate the steps by which I came to the beginning of this wisdom, which is the fear of the Lord, and ultimately to your holy tabernacle, the Catholic Church.

I confess, O God, that from the first inspiration by which you led me to sense where the truth exists, I should have, I could have, seen it, recognized it, and begun to live according to it. But weakness of will, overwhelmed by pride and lust, human respect, lukewarmness, and the disorder growing within me, served as an obstacle on my part; and so I continued to be troubled by my sins against you for three more years. Thank you, dear God, for all of the affliction and humiliation you allowed me to experience in the course of these years, by which you enabled me to gain a sense of my misery and my insignificance. I

thank you - I thank you three times over, for leading me finally to the source of purest truth, the Ark of the New Testament!

The first step toward truth in the metaphysical question concerning spirit and matter (pantheism disappears). Further: progress, recognition of the need for its beginning, end, and direction; leading to faith in the fall of the first man and salvation - and one mediator. Christianity, a revelation of ultimate destinies, higher than all temporal goals.

Ordre de foi, de charité, d'autorité [the order of faith, charity, authority]. Ordres de sciences, des jouissances, de liberté [Orders of science, exercise of liberty] (too great an attachment to this idea - I optionally place human orders as a condition for accepting the first, neo-Christianity, and the question of Poland).

De Lamennais, principe de certitude [the principle of certitude]. Gerbet. Holy Communion. (Always neo-Christianity, arriére-pensées of pride and lust). Mickiewicz. practice.

A vain desire for confession. - Saint-Martin.

I consider the fact of love of neighbor as a condition for the legitimate existence of the Church. From dependence of the Church on temporal authority, I wish to deduce the need for a revolutionary emancipation of the Church, for only then will it be the true Church. - A desire to join some Christian Church with the help of the reformed churches.

These two errors engage me for a whole year.

Finally, O Lord, you deigned to hear my prayer.

II.

8600

225 The year 1834

MODERN TIMES

The times, changing conditions, progress in human living are clearly recognized by Christ as important.

Present-day Church authority does not have a sense of the present time, and, as a result, its influence on society is both unskillful and ineffective.

Therefore, a good Christian, mindful of the eternal and unchanging obligations in his life, should also be mindful of the transitoriness of time.

Today, the spirit of political emancipation, the widespread nature of education (printing), wealth (machines), mutual connections and conditions (communications, etc.), should contribute considerably toward changing the former course, the former temporary ecclesial and religious norm.

If misconceptions about Catholicism are universal today, shouldn't such misconceptions be set aside first rather than starting ab ovo [from the very beginning], and, above all, abide by the forms and words of the ancient Church?

226 It would be important to indicate how positive, principal, changes in Church government, customs, and Christian practices were introduced, how great reforms were effected, how innovators exerted an influence on Christian society, and awakened within it a spirit of renewal? - Gregory VII.

III.

8627

235 [Saturday], December 6

[CONFESSION]

I have already confessed apostasy, profanation of holy things, leading many souls astray +(a bad son, bad brother, bad friend, bad citizen)+, pride and debasement.

Now I go on to confess in general that, in the last twelve years, that is, from the time when I renounced the holy faith, my entire life consisted in stifling and destroying the good, while fostering evil within myself. Intellectual and sensual egoism continued to increase; while an ever greater lasciviousness of spirit and body, an ever greater disorder in thought and act, an ever greater relish in mortal sins took the place of true love of God and neighbor:

1. Incredible conceit; 2. greed, concern for temporal goods; 3. envy, jealousy, distrust, destruction of all feelings of companionship and friendship; 4. impurity, more and more unbridled, bestialized, subjugating all the other faculties; 5. delight in lust, gluttony, drunkenness; 6. irritability, anger; 7. ever greater laziness.

As a result, finally, extraordinary incompetence and despair, together with constantly increasing pride and sensuality.

2236 My life over the past 12 years, full of errors and offenses, I divide as follows:

1. The first five years. Ever greater corruption and ever greater success. In the last two years the apogee of pride, I ascribe an extraordinary mission to myself.
2. In the next seven years. Debasement by way of a woman; ever greater inefficiency and debasement.
3. Finally, in the last three years, a return to the faith but held back by deeply rooted faults and habits, especially pride and sensuality.

I thank God that, in spite of such numerous and serious sins, when I was confirmed in evil, in spite of many occasions of sin, God placed external hindrances in my way, preventing me from committing even more numerous sins; and when he deigned to awaken within me a desire to improve, despite my desire to persevere in my bad habits, without delay he drew me away from these by the impossibility of exercising them. For this, O Lord, I should thank you throughout my life.

I begin with confession of the first five years.

Year one - I cannot remember when and how evil began in me; I cannot remember my last sincere confession and communion.

237 I remember that the revolt of the spirit and the flesh against God began together. The renunciation of Christ and his faith, love affair, liberalism.

Fervor in fulfilling my obligations disappeared immediately, and contempt for persons whom I had previously honored and loved ensued. Unfortunately, also coldness toward such a good mother! Within a short time God warned me about the evil by punishing me. Ziemecki. In a brothel for the first time. Infection.

At the university. Renouncement of God under the influence of *Système de la Nature* +(anti-Christian propaganda. Letter to Bronisz. Converting the brothers at Christmas)+. An ever greater loss of shame. Increasingly dissolute in speech and life (Ziemecki, a girl in the room).

238 Year two - Poverty forces me to work, but at the same time empty gaiety, licentiousness, conceit. Confession to Fr. Onoszko.¹

Greek platonic philosophy idealizes me somewhat; however political economy unbridles all social notions, confirms me in materialism, irreligion, and proud naturalism.

¹ John Onoszko - Priest, professor at the university of Warsaw, Canon of Łuck, and later of Mohylew. Rector of the Major Seminary in Warsaw. Honorary member of the Government Commission of Religious beliefs and Public Education.

I lose faith in the soul. Arystyp.² My mother's death! - Debauchery, +Jabłońska, I cannot stand the company of honest women,+ drunkenness, profanation of holy objects.

Year three - Poverty forces me to work. Śniadecki. Sensuality in logic, in the formation of ideas. Philosophical and revolutionary exaltation. *Système de la raison, Système social*.³

239 Year four - Jaroszyński. Sense of an extraordinary mission, greatness. Rejection of former, limited views. Undertake translation. Closeness to Louis [Królikowski] Undertaking *de la Morale universelle*, and *Système de la nature*.⁴

+Lodgings with Rybicki and Kopytowski. With the Jewish women - at the Child Jesus.⁵

Dissatisfaction with simple tasks, in fulfilling my obligations. My thoughts about women. (Visits at the Child Jesus).+

Year five - Lordly demeanor. Pride. dissoluteness without limits, Pocijew. +Drunken carousing, the skull of a dead man, and meanwhile singing...+ Scandal. The great master of revolution and carousing.+ Immersed in self, incapable of friendship, of the quiet and sincere love of neighbor.+ I am leading Stephen into evil. An unfortunate song. Pride without limits. Success. Patronage, impetuosity, sensuality, delights, wasting time.⁶

² Arystyp (c.435-355 B.C.) - Greek philosopher and founder of the Cyrenian school, which held that pleasure is the sole good (hedonism).

³ Cf. 1832, footnote 372.

⁴ Cf. *ibid*.

⁵ Through the efforts of the missionary and philanthropist Fr. Peter Gabriel Baudoin (1689-1768) the hospital of the Infant Jesus was built in 1733 in Warsaw (at the former Wawercki Square). The hospital was destined for foundlings, but also for the sick and for the poor as a temporary shelter.

⁶ A continuation of the confession is found in the Supplement to the Year 1835, beginning with January 4 (1835).

In the Diary for 1834 Jański did not write that on December 19 of that year The Society of United Brethren was established in Paris "with a Christian and Polish purpose of training in piety, as well as encouraging others among the Polish emigrants to the same goal." The act of establishment of the brotherhood was signed by: Anthony Górecki, Adam Mickiewicz, Stephen Witwicki, Caesar Plater, Bohdan and Joseph Zaleski. "In a few days they were joined by Ignatius Domeyko, and Bogdan Jański." (P. Smolikowski, History of the Congregation of the Resurrection, Vol.I, p.39).

DIARY

Year 1835

8627

254 Thursday, January 1, 1835

I awoke quite early with my mind at ease - I cannot remember the last time this was so - master of myself. +I picked up the letters to America from Konarzewski.+ Celiński came by. We exchanged greetings and comforted one another with hope, said prayers together and ate breakfast. At ten, I went to visit the Jełowickis, and failing to find them at home, went on to the church de l'Assomption.¹ From there to Mickiewicz. He received me with a kindness I did not deserve. I was ashamed to speak with him about an important matter between us. For some time we exchanged stories about a variety of strange things. After leaving, I went back to the Jełowickis, but they still were not there. From there to St. Roch, and for lunch to Lescophy - I spent too much - and then for coffee. There until evening, and then to Walter. Ropelewski, Rostkowski and Konopka came by - an empty, but pleasant, conversation until ten o'clock. Thus, the first day of the new year was not spent altogether well. God grant that it will be better on other days.

Friday, January 2

I got up late. To the Jełowickis - on business. To Caesar Plater.² On foot to Saint-Mandé; I have a headache. It is after three when I arrive. I meet Mrs.

¹ A 17th century church in Paris, dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, located at the corner of rue Luxembourg and rue Saint-Jerome. At about the middle of the 19th century, the Archbishop of Paris designated this church for the needs of the Polish mission.

² Caesar Augustine Broel-Plater (1810-1869) - Count. He participated in the November uprising in Lithuania, from the beginning together with Emilia Plater. An envoy to the Sejm in 1831. After the collapse of the uprising, he emigrated to Paris. In December 1831 he was one of the organizers of the Lithuanian Society (later "and the Russian Lands" was added to the title), and was its president until the end of 1833. A member of the Literary Society, as well as the Council of Educational Assistance for Polish youth (until 1841). He entered into friendly relations with Charles de Montalembert. On December 19, 1834, he signed the act founding the Society of the United Brethren. He provided financial

Bazard with her children.³ Initially I am a little embarrassed. Somehow she seems changed for the better. In spite of low spirits during the conversation, after that I feel better. Fr. pastor [Chaussotte] puts off confession until Monday. Returning, I reflected upon family ties as a means to preserve nationality. - Life is a struggle, a new characteristic of the sides that are fighting, etc. - I return by bus. Dinner at rue Mazarine. Coffee at home. I scan the "Revue du progrès social", articles about Bohemia [the Czechs] and Saint-Martin. I gave some thought to introducing new issues in the public arena among the Poles, speaking about various innovators, Lamennais, [Hoene] Wroński, etc. Went to visit Wrotnowski. I read Fredro's⁴ proverbs. Unfortunately, I did not immediately write down excerpts. It is already late night when I meet Séguin. I accompany him to his room for tea. I introduce him to Wejssenhof.

255 *Saturday, [January] 3*

I get up late, ill at ease. To l'abbaye Saint-Germain to recite a litany. For lunch to Viot. To Dien concerning Krasicki's portrait; to Anthony Oleszczyński, to Montgolfier,⁵ to Januszkiewicz,⁶ (Grzymała, Boyer-Nioche,⁷ Ropelewski,

assistance for the House of Jański, a residence for the first Polish emigrants preparing for religious service directed towards the moral rebirth of the emigration. As an "external brother," he showed constant interest in the development of the House. He was unofficial diplomatic agent of Prince Adam Czartoryski in Rome. There, in December of 1834, he took up residence in the "little cloister" of the future Resurrectionist Fathers. At that time he was preparing materials for the Roman Curia pertaining to the persecution of the Uniates under the Russian annexation. In 1842 the married Stephanie Małachowska (1818-1852), and settled in the region of Poznań. He was an advocate of constitutional work. In the administrative district of Śrem he organized a Polish Brotherhood, undertaking a variety of religious and charitable activities. He was a member of the Poznań Society of Friends of Learning. He was a brother of Ladislaus Plater (Cf. footnote 45).

³ Claire Bazard - the widow of Saint-Armand Bazard who died on July 29, 1832 (Cf. 1832, footnote 1).

⁴ Andrew Maximillian Fredro (c.1620-1679) - a political writer, moralist, historian and collector of proverbs. He published *Proverbs of current languages, or Cautions concerning customs, advice, and the military* (Kraków, 1658). George Samuel Bandtkie prepared the *Proverbs...* for print, basing himself on the Warsaw edition of 1769, and published them in Wrocław in 1802 and 1809. This is a collection of aphorisms, including moral maxims and observations pertaining to inter-personal relationships in daily life, various dictums and morals, dictated by sound reason and practical experience, and recommended by stoic philosophers.

⁵ Undoubtedly a paper factory, a part of the Montgolfier firm. The Montgolfier brothers, Joseph (1740-1810), and Jacques Etienne (1745-1799), inventors of the hot-air balloon, assumed control of the paper factory at the request of their father, and managed to develop it successfully.

discuss trifles with him unnecessarily). To the printery, and the for coffee at home; delivered the letter to the bindery. Once more to Dien. At home I read Raul Rochett's⁸ letter.

4 [stycznia], niedziela

Z rana do Jełowickich, zdaję Aleksandrowi rachunek. Wspomina mi o miejscu u Ogińskich.⁹ Na mszą do église de l'Assomption. Do domu, zaczynam pisać dalej spowiedź¹⁰ i ten dziennik. Do Cabinet de Lecture. Obiad w domu. Przerzucam przez cały wieczór dawne notaty, dzienniki życia.

Monday, [January] 5

Finished writing my confession in the morning. I met Caesar on the way. I reached Saint-Mandé at two. I waited an hour for the pastor in his study. Confession - A DAY FOR JOY AND HOPE. Next Sunday, the Feast of Three Kings,¹¹ I am to receive Holy Communion. I eat dinner with the kind priest. I return to Paris with joy in my heart. To Cauvin,¹² to the bindery, to Januszkie-

⁶ Eustachius Januszkiewicz (1805-1874), received the nickname "Icek" due to his superior business abilities. During the November uprising he was an aide-de-camp to General Samuel Różycki. As an emigrant in Paris, with Hector Bossagne, he established a sales bureau for Polish books in 1833, and in 1835, together with Alexander Jełowicki and Stephen Dembowski, a bookstore and Polish publishing company. From November 1832 to the end of December 1833 he published the "Polish Pilgrim", and in the years 1838-1840, "Young Poland". In the first days of January he reprinted the *Non-Divine Comedy*. His brother Romuald (1808-1865) lived in Paris with E. Januszkiewicz in the 1830's.

7

⁸ Raoul-Rochette - Cf. 1832, footnote 212.

⁹ The Ogińskis - a princely Lithuanian family. Gabriel Joseph Andrew Ogiński (1784-1842) was a member of the family. He participated in the Napoleonic wars of 1812-1813, and later in the November 1831 uprising in Lithuania. In the summer of 1833, he took up residence in Paris along with his wife Kunegunda, nee Broel-Plater (1781-1865). There he established a bookbinding atelier (a leaflet has been preserved: "Atelier Polonais de reliure, rue de Chartes No 12, dirigé par le prince Ogiński /refugié Polonais/"). King Louis Philip was known to visit there. Ogiński's wife collaborated with Clementine Hoffman in the Polish Women's Welfare Society. The Ogińskis had a son, Victor, whose "first tutor" was Bogdan Jański. In a report by Fr. Peter Semenenko (*Diary*, Thursday, April 24, 1879), Victor was "the illegitimate son of Prince Gabriel Ogiński." After 1870 he married Mary Plater, a cousin of Caesar Plater, of whom was born a son, Henry Caesar. Gabriel Ogiński had received permission from Tsar Nicholas I to return to Lithuania, but he was arrested there. He died soon after leaving jail.

¹⁰ Jański bean to write a continuation of his confession on the 4th of January. The text is located in the Appendix to the Diary for the year 1835, under I.

¹¹ ...*On the Feast of Three Kings*... This feast, celebrated in the Polish liturgical calendar on January 6, was celebrated by the French Catholic Church on Sunday, January 11, 1835.

¹² This could be Thomas Cauvin (1762-1846) - a Paris historian and antique dealer.

wicz (Wrotnowski and Weissenhof were there); to the Reading Room, and home. Spent much time musing; brief reading. Thought about "The Pilgrim", a religious journal, and about translating Gerbet.

256 *Tuesday [January] 6. Feast of the Three Kings.*

I inform Celiński that he can go to Saint-Mandé. We are to go together next Saturday. A kind of patriotic conversation about Sułkowski; he begins to declaim (and I allow him to do so needlessly) about Napoleon and St. Helena.¹³ Séguin interrupts him. I correct proofs and take them to the printery. I meet Chodźko. I Attend Mass at St. Roch. To the Jełowickis (how long will I fail to use the proper tone in conversation with him!); Orpiszewski¹⁴ comes in. - To Mickiewicz; he is not at home. I leave the Voivode's¹⁵ work. I meet Witwicki. To de Berry;¹⁶ for the paper for covers to Mickiewicz. To the printery; to Wrotnowski. Home for dinner, and the entire evening at home. I glance through Waga and Violet.¹⁷ I would like to continue writing my diary, but in vain; constant thoughts about my future and my present situation. (From the material standpoint this situation is very uncertain, until I reach a decision about plans

¹³ Joseph Sułkowski (1773-1798) - participated in the Polish-Russian war in 1792, and in the Kosciuszko uprising. A Polish Jacobin, an aide-de-camp to General Napoleon Bonaparte, he participated in the Italian and Egyptian campaigns. He died in Cairo. Adam Celiński was the author of the poem *Napoleon Bonaparte*.

¹⁴ Louis Orpiszewski (1810-1875) - From 1828 he was a student of law and administration at the University of Warsaw. He was interested primarily in literature, history and politics, to which he gave priority over his scholastic studies. He took part in the capture of the Warsaw Belvedere in 1830, and was a member of the Patriotic Society. He was an emigrant in Germany and France, from the beginning of January, 1832, in Paris. He renewed the contacts made in Warsaw and Dresden with Adam Mickiewicz, Maurice Mochnacki, Thaddeus Krępowiecki and others. He became acquainted with Charles Montalembert and other representatives of the Catholic movement in France. He was on friendly terms with Bogdan Jański and Jerome Kajsiewicz. He was an advocate of the politics of Prince Czartoryski. In 1839 he became a member of the Literary Society, and editor-in-chief of Monarchist organ "The Third of May". He was a tutor to Witold, Prince Adam Czartoryski's son. As a diplomatic agent of the Hotel Lambert, he resided in Rome, in contact with Vatican Curia, in the years 1844-1849, seeking the neutralize Austrian and Russian diplomatic influence. He was also interested in the belle lettres: He wrote poetry, dramas, novels, and pursued the profession of journalist in the French language. He was the father of Ladislaus (1856-1942), a future Resurrectionist and rector of the Polish mission in Paris.

¹⁵ ...the work of Voivode. - Cf. 1834, footnote 30.

¹⁶ Undoubtedly the paper store and graphic studio of the de Berry firm. Cf. footnote 62.

¹⁷ Alphonse Viollot - historian, translator of the works of James Fletcher (Cf. 1832, footnote 87).

for lessons; about [John] Potocki, work at specific objects, articles for the encyclopedia, prepare materials for "The Pilgrim".)

Wednesday [January] 7

Offer advice to Celiński... together we read a few chapters of the Bible, the Books of Esdras.¹⁸ Gautier; I sign a promissory note to him for the 20th. - I continue reading the Bible, prayer, and would like to get down to the diary. Suddenly Semenenko begins to talk about visions, and about the Przeclawski's¹⁹ duels. Podczaszyński insists on reading the brochures, declaims about the Bible, blasphemes - I am left with the worst impression from his company, sad that I did not chastise him for his blasphemy. - J[ohn] C[asimir] Ordyniec about his periodical²⁰ - my neighbor. We go out; it is already four o'clock.

257 I invite Semenenko to have supper with me. I go alone to Wrotnowski, taking with me Lamennais' *A Christian's Day*, which has been translated into Polish.²¹ To the printery; a third correction of the last sheet of the *Comedy*, covers. Home, dinner. Talk with Semenenko about printed materials, visions, etc. Visit Burgaud des Marets, who has just arrived - He receives me graciously, full of delicacy, and without pretense; we discuss various bits of news. After returning home at eleven, I am writing this diary.

Thursday [January] 8

In the morning I go to visit Leroux in order to receive his recommendation to Magnin²² to obtain books from the latter's library. I do not find him at "Revue" or at *Encyclopedie [pittoresque]*. I go to the library in the hope of meeting someone who knows me and who could give me a recommendation. I do not meet anyone. I read John Potocki. I froze. I go to the bindery, to printery. To Januszkiewicz, to the Jełowickis, to Dembowski.²³ I return home for dinner

¹⁸ ...*The Books of Esdras* - This was the name given to the Old Testament book of Esdras, and the book of Nehemiah, which the Vulgate calls Second Esdras.

¹⁹ Leon Przeclawski (1806-1839) - a captain in the November uprising. As an emigrant, he lived in Paris from 1832. Known for his frequent involvement in duels. In 1834, he was a member of the Central Section of the Polish Democratic Society. Later he lived in southern France. He became a friend of Adam Celiński, who lived with him.

²⁰ From the beginning of 1835, John Casimir Ordyniec (Cf. 1832, footnote 64) published a satirical-literary periodical, "The Common Touch". Only one number was published.

²¹ Fr. Theodore Kiliński was the translator of Lamennais' book. He published it under the title "The Day of a Christian Catholic" (Kraków, 1834). Cf. 1834, footnote 31.

²² Charles Magnin (1793-1862) - Scholar, librarian; he possessed a valuable collection of books, from which persons who were recommended were able to benefit.

²³ Undoubtedly Stephen Dembowski (b.1795) - a major of a corps of riflemen in the November uprising. An emigrant in Paris, together with Alexander Jełowicki and

at six. I spend the evening reading Lamennais' *A Christian's Day* translated by Kiliński, and in reflection.

Friday [January 9]

In the morning (I have a stomach ache) to the Jełowickis. I put the books in order. (Hauke).²⁴ He keeps me a very long time, until 2:30. I am to make a decision within a few days concerning the Ogińskis. To the binder. I meet Mr. Leroux, and tell him about my interest. To Walter. Fanny makes soup with wine for me; I stay until seven.

258 To the printery for a minute; to the Reading Room until eleven. Reflections. I read Henrion's *History of monastic Orders*.²⁵

*Saturday, January 10*²⁶

Visits of Rostkowski, Ordyniec, and Kraiński.²⁷ We go to Saint-Mandé with Celiński. Confession. I feel better. However, I am not as fervent as I would like to be - undoubtedly due to my carelessness, delay in fulfilling most holy obligations, neglecting inspirations of the Holy Spirit - and yet I am already cleansed, united with God; I have received absolution. O merciful God, I thank you over and over. Grant me the grace to assure that my new covenant with your Church, with You, will be forever - that throughout my entire future life I will prove myself worthy of your mercy. Tomorrow I am to receive Holy Communion.

Eustachius Januszkiewicz, he established the Polish Bookstore and Printery (July 1, 1835), as well as a Commission House.

²⁴ Ladislaus Leopold Maurice Hauke (1800-1852) - an officer of the Polish army; participated in the November uprising. After the collapse of the uprising, he emigrated to France. In 1833 he directed a course on artillery for the Polish armies in Paris. He moved to England. In the period of "The Springtide of Nations" (the revolution of 1848-1849) he was commander of the Polish Legion in Tuscany.

²⁵ Matthew-Richard-August Henrion - French historian, director of the society "Ami de Religion." Author of *A History of religious orders...* Paris, 1831 and 1835, *A History of the Papacy (1832)*, and *A General History of the Church in the 18th and 19th centuries*. (1836, 4 volumes).

²⁶ Under this same date, Jański wrote a prayer and a self-accusation (Cf. Appendix, II).

²⁷ Vincent Kraiński (1786-1882) - a lawyer; participated in the November uprising; secretary of Voivode John Anthony Ostrowski. In the years 1836-1839, he worked as a lawyer in Paris. While living in Rome, he served as procurator (econom) in the Congregation of the Resurrection. He did not profess religious vows. He studied theology in the Roman College, and when he was 60 years old he was ordained a priest. Later, at the Wrocław University, he was a lecturer in Slavic languages and literature. A writer.

On returning we meet Semenenko; he wishes to talk with me (?). We eat dinner together, and drink coffee together after dinner. Walter comes, and I visit with him until 10:30. We talk about his temporal projects, and about my plans, and so about religion. O infinitely good God, turn him away from this evil road on which I helped to confirm him. Enlighten his mind and set his heart straight, awakening your holy faith within him.

259 *Sunday, January 11*

The forty-eighth day from the beginning of my confession.²⁸ A day in my life which will always be solemn! A day of a new covenant with God!

However, there was still laziness in the morning. After awakening I did not rise immediately, and so we barely made it in time for Mass at 10:30. In church, seeing the eyes of all turned toward me, I fell prey to weakness and confusion. Holy Communion. I am not as zealous as I would wish to be. Celiński was somewhat distracted (breakfast, together with the priest, amid swarms of little girls). We return home; I feel weak due to a headache. Dinner. We read a chapter of the Bible: the Lord's Last Supper according to St. John.²⁹ Celiński makes his declarations to me.

I feel that the whole day was not spent in as holy a manner as it should have been. There was not enough prayer; not enough pious exultation.

Monday, January 12

I arose earlier than usual. Prayer for spiritual zeal. Celiński talks nonsense. He justifies heresy, which leaves me feeling disgusted. After breakfast I attend Mass for [Maurice] Mochnacki. I meet Semenenko. I sense his shady situation, and feel that I should not associate with him publicly; but I do not have the strength to take a proper position in his regard and act openly. Therefore, I move toward the church with him, which results in confusion and humiliation. In church I ought to have been able to lift my mind to God without any regard for people, especially since this is a day after receiving Holy Communion; but quite the contrary, I was occupied with people, consideration for how I appeared in their eyes, distracted. - After Mass I went to the printery, and the library. I read practically without any benefit - my mind occupied with Celiński's talk and meeting with Semenenko. To the Cabinet littéraire and the Palais-Royal; a waste of time. I go to Burgaud for dinner, but there too I do not experience any interior peace. To Mickiewicz. He is kind and simple hearted; I

²⁸ Jański began his confession on November 24, 1834. On January 10, 1835, 48 days had gone by.

²⁹ The Last Supper of Jesus with his disciples, described in the Gospel of St. John 13:1-30.

am more alert than ever before in his presence, but still too occupied with my own concerns. O God, help me in my interior improvement!

260 I return home with Domeyko, who is friendly; once again he justifies Chełkowski,³⁰ Łopaciński,³¹ etc. who he had been condemning so strongly not too long ago. I continue reading Karamzin³², and reviewing notes on the Asses.³³

Tuesday, [January] 13

Morning prayer neglected. I write a little about the Asses. A letter to Aicard. At eleven to the printery; to Jełowicki - question about the article he submitted to the "Chronicle".³⁴ I speak with him about my acceptance of a position with the Ogińskis, At 1:30 to the library gathering further material about the Asses. I meet Heyne [Heine]; confusion, I pretend needlessly that I read his article; I am too absorbed in myself, etc. To the printery; to Wrotnowski concerning Wroński. Dinner. I begin to read Wroński. I am dissatisfied with my meeting with Heyne - why can't I let others see me as I am? Why do I not have greater confidence in my good cause? Why not support it as far as I can? Whence such secretiveness, falsity, conceit? O God! How sinful I am once again! O God, have mercy on me! Semenenko stops by. I make a few suggestions to him - he decides to go to confession. My joy is fearful, but sincere. I thank God for the inspiration he granted me; I ask God to grant him perseverance. O God, do not abandon him. Draw him out of the abyss of sin and ignominy. Grant me the grace to be able to help him.

261 I consider my own self - I resolve that in the near future I will confess the sins I have already committed in the last three days: sins of neglect, lack of zeal, excessive concern with self, and human respect. O God, I wish to lead a holier

³⁰ Valerian Chełchowski (1811-1872) - a student of law at the University of Vilno; participated in the November uprising. As an emigrant he lived first in Avignon, and from July 1833 in Paris. He first worked as a type-setter and, from 1841, as a polyglot and sworn translator in the French judiciary.

³¹ Louis Łopaciński - Cf. 1834, footnote 61.

³² Nicholas M. Karamzin (1766-1826) - a Russian writer and historian. The author of a work highly esteemed in his time, *A History of the Russian Nation* (1816-1829, 12 volumes). It began to appear in a French translation in 1819, and in a Polish translation from 1824.

³³ Asses, Yasses - in the early middle ages a tribe occupying lands north of the Caucasus, in the area of Mount Elbrus.

³⁴ Alexander Jełowicki published a *Declaration* on December 29, 1834, in the "Chronicle of the Polish Emigration", Vol.2, pp.207-208.

life; but I feel that I will not achieve that goal without your loving grace. O infinitely good God, grant me this grace! I think about my financial problems; there are numerous deadlines for payment in the near future, and no funds are available. I place myself in the hands of God, acknowledging my poverty to be just punishment for my transgressions, resolving to appease the divine decrees and merit better success by patience, humility, work.

262 *Wednesday, January 14*

In the afternoon, I accompany Semenenko to Saint-Mandé. I deliver a letter to Vannier,³⁵ asking him to extend the deadline to the 20th.

Thursday [January] 15

In the morning Semenenko goes to Saint-Mandé alone and makes his confession. After he returns, he takes a room in my hotel, and spends the night there.

Friday [January] 16

I find a position for Semenenko at Pinard. He is to begin work next week. We dine at rue de l'Arbre-sec.

Saturday, [January] 17

We dine at rue des Canettes for 30 sous.

Sunday [January] 18

Attend Mass at St. Roch. Celiński and Semenenko at St. Sulpice, and for vespers at St. Roch. In the evening to Walter - they are going to a masked ball.

Monday [January] 19

In the library; I froze terribly - I got my feet wet. To Maliński. I am glad to hear that he has already been to confession; apologies, pledges. In the evening at the Jełowickis, Dembowski, Louis³⁶ - he continues to make fun of me. I bear this patiently, but am unnecessarily confused and anxious. I take 35 francs for cases.

³⁵ Vannier - Jański's creditor.

³⁶ Valentine Anselm Louis (1805-1872) - the son of Michael, director of the Kraków number lottery, progenitor of the famous Louis family. He participated in the November uprising, serving in the 4th infantry regiment (the famous "fourths"). An emigrant in France from May of 1832, he lived in Paris, and in the Oise department. About 1840 he settled in Lyon.

Tuesday [January] 20

Although I do not have money, I buy shoes; I sign an promissory note for 20 francs, and promise Vannier that I will come to him during the day - and God provides me with money for all this. I give Vannier 25 francs.

Wednesday [January] 21

Once again Divine Providence comes to the rescue. I give the hotel attendant 20 francs, which I am to return to Jełowicki.

263 *Thursday,*³⁷ *January 22*

264 *Friday [February] 6*

I was supposed to visit either Lacordaire or Zieńkowicz in the morning. In the meantime, I got up late - and Semenenko did not run the errands - I was in bad humor. Asselin³⁸ came by with the news of 100 copies at Beuchet.³⁹ After breakfast, prayer. Bohdan Zaleski came by with further discussion about Saint-Mandé on the 14th. I am supposed to purchase *Journée du Chretien* for him; talk about his plans, about Semenenko, Mickiewicz and Rettel. They arrive from the printery with proofs of the catalogue, and extra offprints of "Polonais";⁴⁰ +a parcel of two packages, given a year ago for Gorecki.+ I go to see Semenenko. Celiński write a letter in his way, mutual consolation, his promises. I go to the printery to deliver two sheets that are ready for printing. To Januskiewicz to find out whether Eustachius will be at home in the evening. For paper, d'Anglet⁴¹ at Palais-Royal. It is one o'clock already. I would like to go to the library, but it is already too late. I go out for parchment.

265 Snack on figs. Day dreams; patience with worries and arduous tasks, chasing about, etc. To Oleszczyński; the portraits are still not ready. It is so nice there that I scarcely wish to leave. To Dien; he is sick; I leave the papers. To the

³⁷ In the manuscript, on page 263, after the note: "Thursday, January 22", Jański left an empty space for further notes, which he intended to write later. However he never got to it. On the following page, 264, he already began to write under the date of "Friday, February 6".

³⁸ Asselin - possibly a worker in a printery or bookstore.

³⁹ Beuchet - undoubtedly a Paris book-seller or publisher.

⁴⁰ A monthly, "Le Polonais, a Journal concerned with the interests of Poland", subsidized by Adam Czartoryski, and edited by Ladislaus Plater in the years 1835-1836. The editors of the monthly sought to gain French readers for the cause of Poland. Jański worked there from time to time.

⁴¹ Undoubtedly a paper store of the d'Anglet firm.

packer; I send him to Cauvin. I go back home for my coat. To Januszkiewicz; he is not longer there.

8586

984 Monday, March 2

To Leon [Przeclawski]; to Domaradzki;⁴²
 to Adolph [Zaleski]⁴³ for Celiński
 to Carnot, asking what he has about Austria⁴⁴
 to Aicard (permission to use the library)
 to Ladislaus Plater.⁴⁵
 ("Revue" for the Princess [?Ogińska].
 To Walter for an English dictionary.
 Letters, if possible, to Vannieuwenhuysen,⁴⁶ Gautier, Burgaud.

Tuesday, March 3

to Błotnicki⁴⁷

⁴² This could be Adelbert Fortunat Domaradzki (1805-1888) - a second lieutenant in the November uprising. As an emigrant he lived in Paris, where he obtained a position as an inspector in the Crédit Foncier.

⁴³ Adolph Zaleski (1810-1853) - He came from Płock. He studied law at the University of Warsaw. During the November uprising he was a lieutenant in the infantry. As an emigrant in France, he was engaged in political and conspiratorial activity (apparently he was a Galician conspirator. An extreme revolutionary. For some time he lived in the House of Jański. He died in Poznań as the result of an unfortunate accident.

⁴⁴ Jański was collecting materials for an article on Austria, which appeared later in the *Encyclopédie pittoresque*, 1836, vol. 2, pp. 281-187.

⁴⁵ Ladislaus Broel-Plater (1808-1889), Caesar's older brother. - Participated in the November uprising, was an envoy to the revolutionary Sejm, a journalist and an emigrant politician. Together with his brother Caesar, he established the Lithuanian and Russian Territories Society (1831). In his publications at that time he emphasized the common lot of the three branches of one nation (*The Poles, The Lithuanians, and the Ruthenians*, Paris, 1832). Initially a follower of the politics of Adam Czartoryski. He belonged to the Literary Society, on behalf of which he undertook the publication of the monthly "Le Polonais" (Cf. footnote 40). From the New Year, 1841, he began to publish the "National Daily", which was to rest on the Catholic faith, and also to be monarchical, but not dynastic like "The Third of May". The editor of the paper was Felix Wrotnowski. Ladislaus Plater organized various social and political campaigns in which he was concerned with his own publicity. He undertook the very valuable enterprise of establishing the National Museum in Rappersville, where handwritten documents that dealt with the Great Emigration were gathered.

⁴⁶ Vannieuwenhuysen, van Nieuwenhuysen - Cf. 1832, footnote 179.

⁴⁷ Hippolitus Błotnicki (1792-1886) - a classical philologist, writer and educator. He was a tutor of Julius Słowacki (1818-1821). From 1822 he was in the service of Prince Adam

to Leon
 to Karski⁴⁸
 to Peter [Semenenko] its., and Korycki
 to Carnot - Chevalier, etc.
 Letters, if possible, etc.

8627

269 [Sunday], April 26, 1835 Resolutions

Day of a new reconciliation.⁴⁹ Confession, Holy Communion. Resolutions. A strange dream. I left for Saint-Mandé at 6:30; I received the Body and Blood of the Lord during Mass at 8 o'clock. On the way back I was delayed by rain. Mass at St. Roch. To the Giedroyces at one o'clock to take Napoleon⁵⁰ for

Czartoryski, among other things, as a home tutor in Puławy. As an emigrant in Paris, he was the prince's secretary and tutor of his sons Witold and Ladislaus. On the instructions of Prince Adam Czartoryski, he busied himself with affairs of the Polish emigration and the lot of emigrants needing assistance.

⁴⁸ Marcellus Karski - a pseudonym for Edward Duński (1810- 1857) - Duński studied first in Pułtusk, under the direction, among others, of Bogdan Jański. In 1829 he began the study of law at the University of Warsaw. He participated in the November uprising, emerging as a lieutenant of the 9th infantry regiment. As an emigrant he resided in Avignon. He took part in the expedition of Joseph Zaliwski in 1833. Under the assumed name of Karski, he served as an emissary in the western region of Poland. After the defeat of Zaliwski's partisans, he returned to France and, in 1834, joined the Polish Democratic Society. Accused of spying by the French government, he was imprisoned in 1835, and there he contracted tuberculosis. Freed from prison, he came under the influence of Bogdan Jański, and became a member of the Brotherhood of National Service. On February 19, 1836 he became a member of the House of Jański. In 1837, he began to study theology at Collège Stanislas. In the following year, preparing for the priesthood, he went to Rome together with Joseph Hube to pursue further studies. He enjoyed Jański's confidence, and in the last months of the latter's life was a confidant of his thoughts and decisions. He was ordained to the priesthood on January 9, 1842, and along with the first six confreres, professed religious vows on March 17 of that year. After that, while residing in Paris, he initially combatted the teaching of Towiański, but in the end accepted it as the true teaching. As a result, in May of 1849 he left the Congregation of the Resurrection. After that he served as a secular priest at the parish of St. Roch. He was respected for his personal integrity and noble-mindedness. Before he died he was reconciled with the Catholic Church.

⁴⁹ On the previous day, April 25, Jański prepared an examination of conscience "from February 1835". The text is found in the Appendix III.

⁵⁰ The Giedrojćes (Giedroyćes) - a princely family of Lithuanian origin. The representative of the line was Romuald Thaddeus Giedrojć (1750-1824), a Lieutenant General, commander of the Lithuanian army in 1812, was a general in Napoleon's armies, on friendly terms with Napoleon's first wife, Josephine Beauharnais. He was married to Caroline, nee Borzymowska (1766-1858), who after the death of her husband lived in her own home in Bellevue near Sévres.

gymnastics, but he doesn't go. To Mickiewicz; he is not in. Back home. The Life of St. Teresa,⁵¹ I fell asleep. Dinner, Gerycz.⁵² Immediately a fall: unnecessary jokes, surrender my mind to the company there with me. After dinner, home, a short period of reading, and then to bed. - Peter, tea, an unnecessary joke with Celiński (sugar in three places).

Monday [April] 27

The Giedrojćes had two sons and two daughters. The older son, Joseph Stephen Francis Xavier (1787-1855) was an aide-de-camp of the general staff of Napoleon I, and a general of the French armies. After Napoleon's abdication, in 1814, he was released from a Russian prison and emigrated to France. He returned to Poland and married Frances Szymańska. He renounced allegiance to Tsar Nicholas I, and during the November uprising he was taken to Russia. He remained in Siberia for a few years, along with those who were convicted to hard labor. Thanks to the efforts of his brother, Alexander Constantine Giedrojć (1805-1844), a chamberlain at the Tsar's court, and secretary of the Secretariat of State of the Kingdom of Poland, he was set free. Along with his wife and his son Thaddeus Napoleon (b.1821), in 1834, he emigrated to France and settled in Paris. In Jański's Diary, Stephen and Frances Giedrojć are often spoken of as the "generalship". Both of the Giedrojć daughters married. In 1812 the older daughter, Kunegunda Frances Rose (1793-1888), was appointed by Napoleon I as a Lady-in-Waiting to his first wife. She married a Napoleonic soldier, George Białopiotrowicz (1785-1871), a major and an emigrant, a member of the Literary Society in Paris. From 1831 she resided in Paris, and was involved in charitable work among the Polish exiles.

In 1826, Kunegunda's younger sister, Barbara Lucy (1798-1886) married General Joseph Rautenstrauch (1773- 1842), president of the board of directors of theaters in the Kingdom. She separated from him permanently in 1831. From October 1832 she resided in Paris for five years, active in social projects. She kept in contact with Mickiewicz, and especially with Cyprian Norwid. She travelled throughout Europe extensively. A novelist and diarist, she published *My memories of France* (1839) *The last trip to France* (1841), *Cities, mountains, and valleys* (1844), *In the Alps and beyond the Alps* (1847). She also wrote memoirs which she apparently intended to destroy. She was acquainted with - Jański, and undoubtedly had him in mind when, in her *My memories of France*, writing about various Trappist mortifications, she referred to "a person who provided me with these details, having spent a few weeks among the Trappists, and who assured me that no one would never be able to see more happy people; one had only to look upon their peaceful and contented faces, and one could not doubt, even for a moment, what seems to be a miracle." (p.20)

In his Diary, Jański mentions Prince Romuald Giedrojć, a member of the Finance Commission of the Polish Emigration. Later he became a Towianist, closely linked with Adam Mickiewicz. He died in Paris in 1850.

⁵¹ St. Teresa of Avila (1515-1582), reformer of the Carmelite Order, visionary, author of classical works of mystical theology, which have been translated into all of the European languages. In 1565, on the orders of her confessor, she wrote her Autobiography.

⁵² Edward Geritz (Gerytz) (1811-1860) - Artist, painter. He was a member of the Officer Cadet School in Warsaw. He participated in the 1831 uprising, then lived as an emigrant in Paris. From 1844, a Towianist. He was a soldier in the Legion of Adam Mickiewicz.

Breakfast etc. Łopaciński comes to see me after not having seen him for some time. I leave, already too late, to visit Caesar - I find him in church (an unnecessary lie concerning difficulties that prevented me from visiting him last Wednesday), and finally we meet - a wrong response to Podczaszyński. I go to the printery, unnecessarily, for thereby I am late in getting to the Giedroyces. After the lesson, to Mickiewicz. We talk. I stay too long. I take the *Non-Divine Comedy* and the "Revue du Nord"⁵³ with me. I take them home; it is already four o'clock (I lie to Celiński that I took the *Comedy* only for two days, and only for two persons). I read two acts to Mrs. Giedrojć. Dinner without the master and mistress; a lesson. Napoleon falls asleep. I leave. Mrs. Rautenstrauch.⁵⁴ Once again I read the *Non-Divine Comedy* without paying enough attention to what I am reading; and so I make it very unpleasant for Mrs. Rautenstrauch. I return home after eleven.

270 Tuesday, [April] 28

Peter came in the morning; we had already finished breakfast. I am scanning through Menzel⁵⁵ for my articles about German matters. At eleven, to Napoleon. We are drawing up a schedule; lesson until two o'clock. I am correcting the third sheet of *The Songs of Janusz*,⁵⁶ and it is already 4 o'clock. For a lesson, dinner; the General detains me and expounds his philosophy. At 7:30 to the printery, to Podczaszyński and Słowaczyński. We talked, among other things, about reform [changing one's life]. I am still a cowardly Catholic; I still am afraid to affront the errors and weaknesses of others. Home already long after 10 o'clock. Impure temptations. Rum, tea. I am reading "The New Po-

⁵³ "Revue du Nord" - this is an abbreviated title of a French monthly periodical, which began publication in 1835 in Paris: "Revue des États du Nord, et Principalment des Pays germaniques". It was established by J.B. E. Boulet, an educator and lawyer from Metz, and R.O. Spazier from Lipsk. There was a separate Polish section in this monthly periodical under the direction of Eugene Breza, who was then a student at German universities. Among other articles space was given to a survey of *Polish Literature in Paris*. The periodical acknowledged of the activity of the Polish Bookstore, with which Bogdan Jański was connected by reason of his work in publication. The March 1835 number of the periodical contained an article written by Adam Mickiewicz, *De la peinture religieuse modern et Allemagne*, and in the May issue the poet's *La Semaine de miel d'un conscrit*.

⁵⁴ Lucy, nee Giedrojć, Rautenstrauch - Cf. footnote 50.

⁵⁵ Karl Adolf Menzel (1784-1855) - a German historian, author of *Geschichte der Deutschen* in 8 volumes (1811-1823), *Neure Geschichte der Deutschen von reformation bis zur bundesakte* (from 1826).

⁵⁶ *Pieśni Janusza* (The Songs of Janusz) - a collection of 51 verses by Vincent Pol, published anonymously in Paris in 1835.

land"⁵⁷ which I brought with me from the Giedrojćes, and then "Revue du Nord". Talleyrand.⁵⁸ An impure dream.

Wednesday [April] 29

Peter arrives at 7:30 and wakes me up. Breakfast. Unnecessary laying around in bed. Wasted time on the "Revue du Nord". At eleven, for a lesson. Napoleon's self-will and fractiousness make me impatient. Mr. Bocquel.⁵⁹ I go home at 2 o'clock and write these notes, if only for the sake of memory. I will have to write my resolutions either today or tomorrow, and most sincerely set about making moral arrangements in the greatest detail.

My God, do not desert me! In you is all my trust!

271 At three o'clock I go to the bindery; not open. To the printery. Lesson at four. Dinner. For coffee. To the Ogińskis. Greeted very sincerely. I leave the *Non-Divine Comedy*. I am asked to bring the *Life* of St. Teresa, and a list of the winning numbers in the Hütteldorf lottery. I am invited for dinner on Sunday.

Thursday, [April] 30

I get up at six, and go out for a lesson. After I return, breakfast. Breza⁶⁰ comes for addresses; I give him a letter to Kunatt. I go out for the "Revue des Deux Mondes"⁶¹ and take it to Ogiński. To the printery and then to obtain vi-

⁵⁷ *I am reading "The New Poland"...* In August of 1835 Josephat Boleslaus Ostrowski revived the publication in Paris of "Young Poland", previously an organ of the insurgent left, which he had organized along with Maurice Mochnacki. Reviving the periodical, Ostrowski preserved its numbering from the time of the uprising. "The New Poland" was now a periodical expressing the views of the editor-emigrant, a libellous, defamatory periodical viciously attacking John Czyński's "Progress" and the democratic left. It was published from 1835, with an interruption in the years 1837-1839, when the publisher was expelled from France due to the intervention of the Russian Embassy. Ostrowski's assistant editor was Andrew Smolikowski, with the pseudonym "ibus" (Cf. 1832, footnote 114).

⁵⁸ Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord (1754-1838) - A French statesman. From 1788, a Roman Catholic Bishop. As a member of the Estates General, he contributed to the secularization of Church goods, for which he was excommunicated. He worked as a diplomat; up to 1834 he was the French ambassador in London. From November 1834 until his death he lived in Paris.

⁵⁹ Bocquel - possibly a tutor of Napoleon Giedrojć.

⁶⁰ Eugene Breza (1802-c.1860) - journalist, envoy to the insurgent Sejm. As an emigrant he cooperated in the publication of "Revue de Nord" (Cf. footnote 53). Under the influence of the contemporary theosophy, he was transformed internally, and kept at a distance from National affairs. After 1840 he returned to Great Poland.

⁶¹ "Revue des Deux Mondes" - a bi-weekly periodical established in 1831 in Paris. It dealt with politics, history, literature and the arts. Due to the efforts of its enterprising editor-in-chief, François Buloz, it became a rostrum for a circle of famous French writers.

gnettes of Laurent and Berry.⁶² I bring them home. Out for a lesson. I bring Napoleon to my place. He plays ball with Celiński. We choose the vignettes. After dinner, to Walter. Ropelewski and Konopka - an idle conversation until ten.

Friday, May 1

I get up at about eight. Peter comes. They are to go for their pensions at one. At about nine, I go out for breakfast, and stay out until 10:30. I go back home for a while. To Jełowicki; I step into a church - prayer. To the printery. I return by way of the Tuillery,⁶³ +thoughts about the past, arousing desires to reform my life+. I read the "Gazette [de France]". I meet Leroux and Reynaud. To Courte; I meet his teacher - about magnetism.⁶⁴ I go to Jełowicki. We choose the vignettes. He is to leave in two weeks. Back home, I recite a litany. Peter. I think about Ban, and prepare notes.⁶⁵ Before five, for dinner. I receive 40 francs a month. Later, with Napoleon for a walk, along the Champs-Élysées, for the fireworks. I take Napoleon back home at nine, then Princess Giedroń to her home. Home. Peter, tea with rum - and I fall asleep.

272 Saturday, May 2

I got up before eight. Prayer and litany. I write these notes from Wednesday. - Most merciful God, help me to improve my life!

After breakfast, I take notes from *Encyclopédie des Gens du Monde*⁶⁶ about Ban and Banat. I go to the library and read Schöll,⁶⁷ Malte-Brun, De-

⁶² ...for the vignettes of de Laurent and de Berry - undoubtedly graphic artists drafting vignettes, that is titular or end illustrations for a book.

⁶³ Tuillery - Cf. 1832, footnote 228.

⁶⁴ Magnetism - a physico-medical theory, the creation of a Viennese doctor, F. A. Mesmer (1734-1815), also called mesmerism. According to this theory, within the organism of a living being a mysterious force appears, which can influence the organism of another person and evoke in that person a hypnotic state. Magnetists used magnetic objects to heal patients (Cf. 1832, footnote 298). At the turn of the 18th century, magnetism as a medical theory evoked discussions which stimulated naturalistic-mystic tendencies. These reached back to ancient views of doctors - naturalists (Paracelsus) and mystics, and were supported by some illumianists of the 18th century.

⁶⁵ Jański was gathering encyclopedic information for articles such as Ban, Banat, etc. which were to be prepared by him.

Ban in Croatia signified a deputy, and in medieval Bosnia, a lord.

Banat - an ancient country in southwestern Europe, on the borders of Rumania and Jugoslavia.

⁶⁶ In the years 1831-1834, the Parisian publishers Treuttel and Würtz published 22 volumes in octavo of *Encyclopédie des Gens du Monde. Répertoire universel des sciences sur les personnages célèbres morts et vivants*.

⁶⁷ Maximilian-Samson-Friedrich Schöll (1766-1835) - a French diplomat and historian.

mian⁶⁸ for this article. A return home, and then go out for a lesson at four (catechism, geometry, arithmetic). After dinner to the printery. I give the third sheet to Lionette.⁶⁹ To Aicard; he is not in. Later I meet him with Reynaud and Leroux - I am not to work on Ban and Banat, but Bar⁷⁰ as soon as possible. To Peter; he is not in. To Podczaszyński to obtain some information about Bar; nothing. I return home, temptations - for bavaois [tea with milk] to the café. At home I read something from Fletcher about Bar. Distracted the whole day.

Sunday [May] 3

I get up at eight, breakfast, continue to look for information about Bar. I make a list of Wroński's⁷¹ works, and take an article about steam engines to Modliński.⁷² First, to St. Roch for Mass. To the printery. I read the third corrected copy of the second sheet and finally choose the vignettes for the third sheet. To Aicard - I am expected to deliver Bar on Wednesday. I take an article on Bavaria from an English encyclopedia. Home for the Life of St. Teresa for Mrs Ogińska.

273 I go to fetch Napoleon for gymnastics - I begin to read *Hagay-Kan*.⁷³ I seem to recognize the style - discover the author. I take Napoleon home. To the Ogińskis - very good. We go to see Caesar. He is not in; he is already healthy. For coffee and the newspapers. Home and in bed.

[Monday], May 4

⁶⁸ Andreas Johann Demian (1770-1845) - An Austrian statistician. He was the author of *Darstellung der österreichischen Monarchie nach den neuesten statischen Beziehungen* (Vienna 1803-1805): Vol.I: Specialstatistik von Böhmen und dem österreich. Schliesen; Vol.2: Ostgalizien u. Siebenbürgen.

⁶⁹ Lionnet - possibly a printer.

⁷⁰ Bar - a city in Podolia. In 1768 a confederation, called Barcan, was formed there, an armed federation of noblemen, united under the watchword: defense "of faith and freedom". - Jański's article entitled Bar (*Confédération*) appeared in the *Encyclopédie nouvelle* (1836, vol.2, p. 408).

⁷¹ Hoene-Wroński published a work in Paris written in French: *Nouveaux systèmes de machines à vapeur* (1834-1835). Cf. 1833, footnote 10.

⁷² This could be Joseph Ignatius Modliński (1811-1888) from Warsaw - an insurrectionist in 1831, he came to France in 1835. He studied medicine in Montpellier, and received his doctorate in 1838.

⁷³ Agaj-Han - a novel by Zygmunt Krasiński, finished in Geneva in 1832. It appeared in print in Wrocław in October 1833 under the title: *Agaj-Han, a historical novel, originally written by A.K. in Wrocław*, at Wilhelm Bogumił Korn, 1834.

Peter wakes me up after five. I delay without necessity and come for the lesson too late, after seven. Breakfast. For Mass at Chapelle Expiatoire.⁷⁴ Home, and mulling over problems and these notes. I go to the library. To go, or not to go, at twelve...? I am still uncertain.

Unfortunately I went; as a result, for forty days, that is to the next confession, June 13th, weakness of spirit, and wild fancies of the flesh.⁷⁵

[May] 6 or 7, that is, Wednesday or Thursday I receive a letter from Prze-
cławski; Górecki - and after him, at twelve, Jełowicki with plans from Mrs.
Komar.⁷⁶

On Friday, [May] 8, I want to speak with Mrs. Giedroyć about these plans, but somehow it passed.

On Saturday [May] 9, a letter from Mrs. Ogiński inviting me to come to see her.
Polish school, classes at Mrs. Łuszczewski.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Chapelle expiatoire on rue d'Anjou-Saint-Honoré. A penitential chapel - a mausoleum erected at the behest of Louis XVIII on the grounds of a former cemetery next to the church of St. Magdalene where the bodies of King Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, as well as thousands of other victims of the bloody terror of the Great Revolution were buried.

⁷⁵ To the "May" notes in his Diary, the author later added an opinion formulated in June.

⁷⁶ The Komars belonged to an old noble Russian family that had settled in Podolia. Thanks to Stanislaus Delfin Komar, a major in the Russian armies, his line achieved great dignity, significance and wealth. Stanislaus Komar married Honorata Orłowska (d.1854), and had with her 6 children who were brought up in a cosmopolitan atmosphere. The Komars purchased villas in Naples and Nice. After the death of her husband (1832), the wife lived with the children primarily in Paris. Her son Vladimir ("komarek") and her daughters Louise (Ludmila) and Natalie were tutored by Bogdan Jański.

Natalie Komar married an Italian, Count Medici-Spada, and Louise married a Frenchman, Prince Charles de Beauveau de Craon, An elder sister of the Komars was Delphine Potocka (1807-1877), who in 1825 married Mitchell Potocki (1799-1879), the son of a Szczęsny Targowician. After a few years they decided to separate, and their formal divorce took place c.1843. From among her children Delphine most favored Vladimir, (d.1860 as a bachelor). She led a social and artistic life, and was on friendly terms with the painter P. Delaroche, and Frederic Chopin, among others. She met Zygmunt Krasiński in Naples in 1838; from that time on, she was his muse and his companion. Other members of the Komar family were Alexander (d.1875), and Mitchell (1804-1880).

⁷⁷ Theophile, nee Skarżyńska, Łuszczewska (d.1851) - from 1829 the wife of the envoy Adam. She was a member of the Welfare Society of Polish Women (initially Polish Daughters) established by the wife of Prince Adam Czartoryski on March 12, 1834.

Monday, [May] 11, visit with Mrs. Komar. I next inquire of Mr.about various pensions from Montalembert.

Sunday, [May] 17 - for the program at Collège Juilly,⁷⁸ and to l'abbé. Poiloup.⁷⁹ To dinner at the Ogińskis - with the Platers and Montalembert. End of the school. Wednesday I write the article on Bar.

On Tuesday, [May] 19, I receive a letter from l'abbé Salinis.⁸⁰ Meanwhile there is no decision, delay - On my part, I say nothing.

The housekeeper gives me the bill. This week dinner with Napoleon at Montmartre.⁸¹

274 Sunday, May 24

In the morning, Mass at St. Roch. Meet with Decourdemanche;⁸² he gives me his address. The kind Konopka loans me 5#. ⁸³ In this same week, I also meet Transon.

278 For [Wednesday] May 27

⁷⁸ Collège de Juilly - a college (formerly the Académie de l'Oratoire) for the education of future priests, established in the village of Juilly in the district of Meaux, in the department Seine-et-Marne, northeast of Paris.

⁷⁹ Ferdinand-Marie Poiloup (Peoloup), (1792-1861), a Catholic priest, honorary Canon (1837), founder of the Collège Vaugirard in Paris.

⁸⁰ Antoine-Louis De Salinis (1798-1861) - After completing his studies at the Paris seminary of St. Sulpice, he was ordained a priest. He dedicated himself to religious work, cooperating closely with Fr. de Lamennais. He became rector of the college in Juilly. He was co-editor of "Université Catholique". In 1849 he was consecrated Bishop of Amiens, and later appointed Archbishop of Auch.

Jański does not reveal the name of the author of the letter that was mentioned, Charles de Montalembert, who had recommended him to Fr. de Salinis as "a great friend of Mickiewicz and Mr. Margerin, presently exerting a very successful, and very strong, influence upon his exiled compatriots in the name of religion. In a word, he is an true and excellent Catholic, whose posture has always been in complete agreement with the principles to which he only recently returned together with Mr. Margerin."

⁸¹ Montmartre - the highest hill near Paris, on which the villagers cultivated vineyards. Parisians used it as a favorite place for a walk. As early as the 11th century an abbey was erected there, which was destroyed by the Great Revolution.

⁸² Alphonse Decourdemanche (De Courdemanche) (1797-1871) - a French lawyer and journalist. Initially he was a co-editor of the periodical "Globe", and later published articles in the "Revue Encyclopédique". Among other articles, he wrote *Est-ce légalment que le gouvernement a fait suspendre l'exercice du culte saint-simonien? Questions à poser au jury*, Paris, 1832.

⁸³ # - an indication of the value of money in gold, usually a ducat.

Deliver the letter to [Mr] Vannierwenh[uysen].
 To Kołysko,⁸⁴
 to Fr. Skórzyński⁸⁵
 to Carnot
 to Konopka, to Korzychowski⁸⁶ and Kunatt
 to the printery
 to Decourdemanche.

Tomorrow [Thursday, May 28]

*Philosophie des traditions*⁸⁷ to Łopaciński.

[Friday, May] 29

To the printery. Article mies [?]. Tailor, etc.
 Sheet.

274 I go to see Decourdemanche. - He sends me the works of Coëssin;⁸⁸ on [May] 28, the Feast of the Ascension of the Lord, I read them during the gymnastics. I read *Philosophie des traditions* and take it to Łopaciński.

On Friday [May] 29, with Konopka to Mickiewicz. Chopin. I return the *Non-Divine Comedy* to Mickiewicz, and take *Hagay-Kan* with me. - On Saturday, a letter to Vannieuwenh[uysen].

Sunday, May 31⁸⁹

In the morning I go to Walter, to Clichy.⁹⁰ There are to be further classes at Mrs. Komar's house.

⁸⁴ At the time there were a few Kołyskos. Undoubtedly here the reference is to Adam Kołysko (Cf. 1832, footnote 189).

⁸⁵ Simon Skórzyński (b.1806), from Zamojszcz. In the November uprising, he was a captain in the Lithuanian-Volhynian legion, and its chaplain. As an emigrant in Paris, he served as a priest at the church of Saint-Louis d'Antin.

⁸⁶ This could be Anthony Kozuchowski, an insurgent of 1831, a second lieutenant in the artillery. From January 1834 he resided in the department of Oise.

⁸⁷ *Philosophie des traditions* - the title of a German work *Philosophie der Geschichte oder über die Tradition* written by F.J. Molitor, and translated into French in 1834 (Cf. 1832, footnote 287).

⁸⁸ François-Guillaume Coëssin (1782-1851), "a fascinating mystic" who contributed to the conversion of Transon, among others. (Cf. 1830, footnote 85).

⁸⁹ Jański erroneously wrote "June 1, Sunday" (1835), whereas Sunday fell on May 31. As a consequence he also erroneously listed the days June 4, 5, and 6, (whereas they should have been 3, 4, and 5). He correctly marks the following date: "[June] 7, Sunday, Pentecost".

[Wednesday, June] 3, Napoleon is sick with the measles.

Thursday, [June] 4

We resolve to go to confession together on the Feast of Pentecost. In the evening at the Konopkas.

On Friday, [June] 5, visit with Jóźwik and Cheruel.⁹¹ I did not learn anything about the *Encyclopédie catholique*.⁹² At the Ogińskis.

On Saturday, [June 6] a fall and a great degradation.

[June] 7, Pentecost Sunday.

Adam [Celiński] is sick, and so we do not go to confession. I go to St. Roch.

I think that it was on [June 8], Monday, that I visited Świrski,⁹³ and Włoch.

[Tuesday, June] 9

To the library. I read Schöll, about Bavaria.⁹⁴ J.B. Ostrowski. I go out to breakfast and over-eat. I return to the library for *Mr. Thaddeus* and take it with me to the printery and to Montgolfier; however one cannot take the paper without money. Ogiński, Giedrojć, Dąbaczewski.⁹⁵ I go to a funeral,⁹⁶ having eaten

⁹⁰ Clichy - a summer resort area, mainly for the residents of the capital.

⁹¹ Pierre-Adolphe-Ibert Chéruef (1809-1891) - a French historian, a former saintsimonist, a friend of Frederick Ozanam.

⁹² *Encyclopédie Catholique. Répertoire universel et raisonné des sciences, des lettres, des arts, et des métiers avec la biographie des hommes célèbres*. Only in 1838 did the editors of the *Encyclopédie*, directed by Fr. Glaise and Viscount Walsh, begin to print fascicles presenting articles in alphabetic order in areas designated by them. Jański cooperated with the editors of the *Encyclopédie*, and it was through him that Adam Mickiewicz included his article on St. Adalbert there. The edition of *Encyclopédie Catholique* was finally completed in 1849, having reached 18 volumes in quarto.

⁹³ Undoubtedly Joseph Świrski (?1783-1854) - an envoy to the insurgent Sejm, a Minister of Affairs in the National Government of 1831. From October 10, 1832, an emigrant in France. A follower of Czartoryski.

⁹⁴ Janski's article on Bavaria appeared in the *Encyclopédie nouvelle*, 1836, Vol.II, pp.502-506.

⁹⁵ Jacob Dąbaczewski (1779-1850) - participated in the Napoleonic campaign and was awarded the medal Legion of Honor "for being the first to break through the Spanish batteries on the Somossiera mountain pass." He participated in the November uprising with the rank of major. He was an emigrant in France.

before that at Mazurier. There were only 8 people at the funeral..., tombstone. I return with Skórzyński in a cab. To the Giedroyćes. Salad. Celiński, a proposition about confession in greater numbers.. - Ice cream!!

Wednesday, [June] 10

I receive 40 francs from Jełowicki for proof-reading *Janusz*. I take the type to the post office to send it to the Kraków "Quarterly".⁹⁷ I buy paper at Montgolfier for the cover. I borrow *The Day of a Christian* and Guidebook from Januszkiewicz. Podczaszyński, Ropelewski. I buy Dupin's *History of the Church*.⁹⁸ To the printery. Back home. To the Giedrojćes; it is already four. - After dinner I am to go to Clichy. There is a downpour. For beer. Karski and Broniewski⁹⁹ - in the "Reformateur" about the Cossacks.¹⁰⁰ I begin reading *Wyżygin*.¹⁰¹

+Jóźwik drops by.+ I daydreamed and dozed until twelve. And I went out, tempted by Siw...,¹⁰² and then I meet and run around like a scurvy beast - until one. - Sainte-Beuve, Wyleżał,¹⁰³ Saint-Cheron.¹⁰⁴ I go to the printery, for

⁹⁶ This was the funeral of Jacob Pałowski, who died on June 7, 1835, and was buried in the Montparnasse cemetery. This notice was published in the "Chronicle of the Polish Emigration", 1835, Vol.III, p.111.

⁹⁷ "The Scientific Quarterly" was published in Kraków in the years 1835-1836, under the editorship of Anthony Zygmunt Helcla and Joseph Kremer. - Letters - graphic marks (printer fonts).

⁹⁸ Louis Dupin (1657-1719) - A Polish writer and historian, author, e.g., of *L'Histoire de l'Eglise* (Paris, 1712).

⁹⁹ Undoubtedly Joseph Broniewski (1793-1853) - an 1831 insurgent, second lieutenant in the 9th infantry regiment. A member of the Polish Democratic Society.

¹⁰⁰ "Reformateur, Journal des nouveaux intérêts matériels et moraux, industriels et politiques littéraires et scientifiques" - a daily paper published in Paris from October 1834 to October 1835; it favored the cause of Poland.

¹⁰¹ A novel entitled *Peter Iwanowicz Wyżygin. A moral-historical romance of the 19th century in four volumes*, appeared in Warsaw in 1830 and 1835 (II edition) in the translation of Alexander Prokopowicz from the Russian language. The author of this then popular novel was Thaddeus Bułharyn (1789-1859), a poet, fiction writer, Polish-Russian journalist. As a Russian officer, he took part in the Napoleonic campaign, enlisted in the Polish legion and fought in Spain. He returned to Vilno and took up permanent residence in Petersburg. A member and correspondent of the Warsaw Society of the Friends of Learning (from 1828). Bulharyn's novel mentioned above was translated into various languages, e.g., into French (Paris, 1829 and 1832), German and Dutch.

¹⁰² Siw... - a pseudonym provided by the author of the Diary.

¹⁰³ Anthony Wyleżał (Wyleżoł) (b.1800) - earned a degree of Master of Philosophy at the University of Warsaw in 1827. He taught classes in mathematics in the Preparatory School for the Polytechnic Institute. He participated in the November uprising as a second lieutenant in the artillery. As an emigrant in Paris, he studied at the Central School

beer, and to kill time reading the newspapers until three. The Giedrojćes. *Wyżygina*. After dinner, to Clichy.

Friday, June 12

I return from visiting Walter at ten. Having reflected, I will not go. Make an effort... Tomorrow, confession. Redlections... Resolutions. - Louis Zwierkowski drops by.¹⁰⁵ We speak about our families, and about Valentine.¹⁰⁶ At two, to the printery, to Jełowicki, to the Giedrojćes; I am reading *Wyżygina*, and leave at 8:30, very tired. Until two o'clock.¹⁰⁷

276 [Saturday] June 13, the Feast of St. Anthony, and a day of the week dedicated to the Blessed Virgin - We go to confession.

We leave the house at 6:30, and arrive in Saint-Mandé at 8:30. The pastor is not in; he went to Vincennes.¹⁰⁸ We go to the park. There we do some spiritual reading. At ten we return to the rectory. Finally, fifteen minutes later we meet the pastor. Confession. O God! I thank you for granting me the grace of making this confession! What sweet, consoling and encouraging admonitions and advice I received! Most merciful God! Help me to benefit from them. Mass, Holy communion. - Breakfast with the priest. We go to Vincennes through the park. I plan to speak to Peter and Adam: about love through Christ, and always in Christ, as the basis of our brotherhood and our common life;¹⁰⁹ about obligations, as well as about mutual prayer, and mutual improvement. Prayers:

1. to ask God's pardon for our sins, and to obtain the graces needed to improve,

of Arts and Crafts thanks to the Society for Assistance to Education. In 1845 he was granted amnesty, but did not return to Poland.

¹⁰⁴ Alexandre de Saint-Chéron - a former saintsimonist, Bazard's nephew: a historian and translator; he worked as an editor of "L'Université Catholique".

¹⁰⁵ Louis Zwierkowski (1803-1860) - the son of Florian and Catherine, nee Jański, the sister of Peter, Bogdan Jański's father. The brother of Alexander and Ignatius Frederick (Cf. 1833, footnote 20). All of the brothers participated in the November uprising. Louis was a lieutenant in the 7th infantry regiment. In later years he was an emissary in the East among the Circassians.

¹⁰⁶ Here: Valentine Zwierkowski; Cf. 1833, footnote 19.

¹⁰⁷ *Until two* - i.e. until 2 o'clock in the morning, when Jański was preparing for confession. The record of his confession is found in the Appendix under IV.

¹⁰⁸ Vincennes - a locality southeast of Paris. The famous castle was once surrounded by a forest, of which only the Vincennes Grove (Bois de Vincennes) remained. The village of Saint-Mandé was located at the edge of the grove.

¹⁰⁹ *...love through Christ, and always in Christ, as a basic principle of our brotherhood, and our common life...* a principle of the Brotherhood of National Service which was being organized.

2. for our Country,
3. that Mary, Mother of God and Queen of Poland will accept us for service in the national cause,
4. and ask her to present all of this to God.

277 At that point, Peter and Adam indulge in a variety of light and worldly talk. I leave them in the Bois de Vincennes. I travel 45 minutes back to Paris, arriving there at 3 o'clock. To Pinard; the last sheet of *Janusz* is still not printed. To the Giedrojćes with apologies that I will not be there for dinner. Napoleon is feeling better. To Vincennes. I arrive there at 6:30. Dinner. A walk in the woods. Travel to Paris on foot. - After reflection, Adam apostatizes. I am at fault, for in response to his foolishness, I persuaded him about their consequences and, by a kind of impatience I prodded him to reveal his evil thoughts, in all their ugliness, and then finally left everything without any response. On my part, this was a lack of love, a lack of zeal. - Returning through the boulevards, seeing the prostitutes, even today, unfortunately, evil thoughts and desires. We returned home at eleven. Tea.

Sunday [June] 14

Peter wakened me at six; we accompany him to Mass at St. Roch. Breakfast at home. Adam adds to his apostasy (for him, all learning, philosophy, religion are sirens for a Pole; all he wants to do is fight for Poland). I finally ask him not to blaspheme. But I do not have enough love and zeal to enable my words to produce any effect upon him. I decide to separate from him as regards living quarters.

279 I go to visit Mrs. Hoffman¹¹⁰ to take Thiers¹¹¹ from Mrs. Rautenstrauch, etc. She intends to offer a Course of Encyclopedic Studies for women. She asks me for help, speaks about classes at Komar, etc.

¹¹⁰ Clementine, nee Tański, Hoffman (1798-1845), the wife of Charles Boromeo (Cf. 1832, footnote 337), the author of books for children and young people; teacher, translator, editor and publisher. Already in 1819 she published a pedagogical treatise in novel form, *Souvenir of a good mother*. In 1824-1828 she published the first Polish periodical for children "Entertainment for Children". She outlined a new educational model for girls, e.g., encouraging the cultivation of their native language. Writing for young people as they were growing up, she expressed her own attachment to national affairs, e.g. in books such as *Letters of Elizabeth Rzeczycka...* (1824 and 1827), *The Diary of Frances Krasieńska* (1825), *John Kochanowski in the Black Forest* (1842) After the collapse of the November uprising she resided in Dresden, where she worked together with Claudia Potocka in the Polish Committee. In August 1832, she and her husband were expelled by the Dresden authorities, and came to live in Paris. She continued to write and publish, e.g., *Stories with a moral* (1834), and *Memoirs of travels in foreign lands* (1834). She was also the author of books dealing with education. She was active in Paris in the Welfare Society

To Gorecki. I find our conversation very edifying - about first escaping from slavery to people, before engaging in any apostolate. About prayer, prayer, prayer above all. (Korylski¹¹² comes by, and reads some verses to Wroński.) Back home; cheese from Italy for breakfast.

To the Giedrojćes at 2:30, where I sit and sit unnecessarily because of visits by Horain,¹¹³ and Gerycz for five hours +(a failure to keep a watch on myself)+. I read *Wyzygin*. Napoleon's father is angry with him for picking and choosing while eating; he want to spank him etc. etc. I go for coffee, place Beauveau, newspapers, to Kaczanowski¹¹⁴ about work for Celiński in his factory; he is out. I return home about ten. Celiński reassures me. I should have written two days here, but somehow I was not in the mood, either to write letters, or resolutions concerning order in my life - meanwhile, laziness. Evil thoughts caused by the woman who lives nextdoor.

Monday,[June] 15

I got up a little late, that is, not immediately after awakening. Prayer. Dmochowski¹¹⁵ drops by; breakfast. Jóźwik invites me to visit him today. He is bent on involving me in his own speculations.

of Polish Women as secretary (from March 1834). She planned to establish a private school in Paris, and also in Poznań. She left her *Memoirs* (1849).

¹¹¹ Louis-Adolphe Thiers (1797-1877) - a French historian, lawyer, journalist and statesman. In the years 1823-1827, he published *Histoire de la Révolution française*, and then the *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire* (from 1845). In 1832 and 1836, as Minister of Interior Affairs, he served for a short time as head of state.

¹¹² Ludmiew Korylski, a pseudonym of Louis Kubiński (1780, or 1784-1857) from Samogitia. Kubiński was a teacher in Warsaw. He participated in the November uprising as an artillery-man. From 1832 he lived in Paris and supported himself by tutoring. He gave lessons to young Mary Mickiewicz. A poet.

¹¹³ Undoubtedly Vincent Horain (1799-1850), the son of Anthony and Caroline, nee Giedrojć. A major, quartermaster in the Polish army; a military engineer. He participated in the November uprising. He moved to Paris from the depot in Bourges in July 1833. From March 1835 he was a member of the Polytechnic Society established in Paris by General Joseph Bem.

¹¹⁴ Charles Kaczanowski (1801-1873) from Pińsk - an army engineer, he participated in the November uprising; in 1831 he was a captain in the artillery. As an emigrant he worked on the construction of a bridge in Paris, and in a foundry producing cannons. He became a priest in 1842, and entered the Congregation of the Resurrection. He worked as a missionary in Bulgaria.

¹¹⁵ Włodzimierz Dmochowski (1814-1882) - from Grodzieńsk. He studied at the University of Vilno. He participated in the November uprising, serving in the 13th uhlan regiment. Together with Marcellus Karski (Edward Duński) and Edmund Korabiewicz, (in

280 Why not send him somewhere since he has a desire to work? He left; I go to Peter; Dmochowski is there. In the conversation I am not in control of myself - a kind of wordy chatter, not strictly directed toward a goal, insinuates itself in my talk. - I return to my own room. I wish to write this diary. But I begin to meditate, to pray for divine assistance, for I admit that I do not have sufficient strength of myself to fulfill the simplest and easiest obligations - for example, writing letters to the brothers etc.

At about one o'clock I go to the Jełowickis; only the marshal¹¹⁶ is there. I eat breakfast. To the library where I read Schöll about Bavaria. Słowaczyński, Smolikowski,¹¹⁷ J.B. Ostrowski. On returning there is a conversation, but I do not have a proper sense of self at the time. I browse through second-hand bookstores, and then move on to Pinard; the final sheet and the cover are already printed. To Aicard; he is out; only Mrs. Roland¹¹⁸ is there. To the bindery.

To the Giedrojćes, already after five. I begin to speak about how it will be living with Napoleon etc. I leave at seven, and go to Jóźwik, for a meeting on magnetism; but the father [Giedrojć] does not want to accompany his son at this time. There [at Jóźwik], coffee; he walks back home with me, and reveals his plans and principles to me. It is already 9:30. I would like to read Coëssin in bed - my mind wanders - and I fall asleep.

281 Tuesday, June 16

I got up at seven. Wondering about my situation, about what I should do first of all (1. prayer, 2. pay my debts, 3. study of religion, writing for publication, an apostolate). I am writing these notes from the day of my confession, it is already the ninth day; I go to visit Jełowicki.

283 Margerin

November 1834) he was a member of the Central Section of the Polish Democratic Society. A doctor of medicine.

¹¹⁶ This refers to Edward Jełowicki, who was a marshal of the Podolian nobility. He was a blood brother of Alexander (Cf. 1834, footnote 40).

¹¹⁷ Alexander Smolikowski (1806-1856) - initially an officer in the Government Commission for Religious Beliefs and Education. He participated in the November uprising. He came to France in December 1831.

¹¹⁸ Pauline Rolland (1810-1852) - a writer and journalist; a follower of the theory of Pierre Leroux. She was an active socialist, and author of articles in the *Encyclopédie nouvelle*. After the coup d'état in 1851, during the repression of republicans by Napoleon III, she was deported to a penal colony in Algeria.

Wednesday, [June] 17, Niemojewski's¹¹⁹ funeral.

Sunday, [June] 21

[Thursday, June] 25, Benoiste.

Friday, [June] 26, Świętosławski's funeral.

Sunday, [June] 28

Monday, June 29, Gorecki.

282 Wednesday, July 1, 1835, Benoiste.

Concerning falsity and truth in our times. Presenting a written account of the matter by way of etc.

283 [Thursday], July 2, I received from the Giedrojćes.

[Saturday, July] 4, Podczaszyński's death.

Sunday, [July] 5

[Monday, July] 6, Podczaszyński's funeral, my remorse and thoughts.

[Tuesday, July] 7, Council at Ordyniec. Fr. Korycki.

Wednesday, [July] 8, Sobański¹²⁰ leaves; I go to see Mr. Pelassa.¹²¹

Sunday, [July] 12, Funeral service for Princess Czartoryski.¹²²

¹¹⁹ Bonaventure Niemojowski (Cf. 1831, footnote 49) died in Vanves near Paris on June 15. His funeral took place on June 17, at the Paris cemetery Père Lachaise, where he was buried temporarily. On July 15, Niemojowski's body was transferred "to a burial plot purchased by the family". In the manuscript "pogr." can mean "pogrobne", that is payment for the funeral.

¹²⁰ Undoubtedly Isidor Sobański (1796-1847) - an officer in the Polish army; he participated in the November uprising. As an emigrant, he was an agent of Adam Czartoryski. He was one of the founders of "Chronicles of the Polish Emigration".

¹²¹ Pelassa - unidentified.

¹²² The funeral services for Isabel (Elizabeth), nee Fleming, the wife of Adam Casimir Czartoryski, born in 1746, died in June 1835. She was the author of *A Pilgrim in Dobromil, or rural studies*. She made Puławy a lively literary center, and after the

Wednesday [July] 15, departure of Princess [Giedrojc?], and so I cannot visit Kajsiewicz.¹²³

partitions she established the first museum housing Polish souvenirs in the so-called "Sibyl's Temple". She was the mother of Prince Adam Czartoryski.

¹²³ Joseph Jerome Kajsiewicz (1812-1873) - came from Samogitia, from a lesser-nobility family. He studied with the Piarist Fathers, and then in a public school in Sejny. In 1829 he enrolled in the department of law and administration at the University of Warsaw. Already then he manifested an interest in literature, attending the lectures of Brodziński and Osiński. In the "Polish Decameron" (1830, Vol.2, nr.14-15), he published a story, *A Seduced Spouse*. On the first evening of the November uprising he took part in battles on the Długa ulica near the arsenal. He fought in the corps of General Dwernicki at Stoczek and Nowa Wieś, where he was seriously wounded. He was taken captive, but then rescued. He continued to fight until the collapse of the uprising. He became an emigrant in France, first in Strasbourg, in the faculty of law, and finally in the depot at Besançon. On March 20, 1832, he was chosen to be the secretary of the depot, and as their delegate he travelled to Lelewel's National Committee in Paris. At that time he voiced radical socio-political views. He worked at physical labor, and wrote poetry on the side. Taken together, he published *Sonnets* (Paris, 1833). He addressed one of his works *To the workers of Paris*. In July, 1833, he was expelled from Paris because of his ties with the republican Society of Human Rights. He lived in Nogent on the Marne, then in Angers. In 1835, with the consent of French authorities, he once again resided in Paris. He belonged to the closest circle of friends of Bogdan Jański. In February 1836 he resided in his House, and then at Collège Stanislas, with Semenenko preparing himself for the priesthood. In the following year, thanks to help from the Elder Brother Jański, he left for Rome together with Semenenko to pursue further theological studies. He was present at Jański's death. He was ordained in 1841. In the following year Semenenko and Kajsiewicz received ecclesiastical confirmation of their religious rule, and with the title of the Congregation of the Resurrection they began pastoral activity on a grand scale. Kajsiewicz left for Paris to combat Towianism. His preaching in the Church of St. Roch earned him a reputation as an outstanding orator. He travelled on missions to Belgium, England, Ireland and Germany. In the regions of Poznań and Kraków he was hunted by the Austrian authorities. He became more and more of an ultramontanist; moreover, he condemned participation of Poles in the "Springtide of Nations". In 1845 he became Superior General of the Congregation; however, in 1847 ceded this position to Fr. Hube. In 1854 he was once again elected General of the Congregation, and exercised this function until his death. In 1861 he made a missionary journey to Bulgaria. He opposed Polish revolutionary efforts, and wrote a famous open letter (January 22, 1863) *To Our Brother Priests Involved in Sinful Conspiracy, and to Brothers of the Nobility Not Exercising Wise Moderation*. The National Government condemned Kajsiewicz for this letter, accusing him of treason. He did not change his convictions, and continued to work with great energy at organizing a Polish College in Rome (in accord with the the mind of Bogdan Jański). As Superior General of the Congregation he visited Polish parishes in North and South America. He paid another visit to Galicia and Bulgaria. As he writer, he gave preference to sermons and letters. In the years 1870-1872, in Berlin, He published his writings in three volumes. This included his *Memoirs concerning the beginnings of*

Sunday, [July] 19

282 Friday, [July] 24, the Feast of St. Kunegunda. A new project. About truth, the future, Poland. Three volumes, together with an additional volume.

284 Sunday, July 26 - July holidays.¹²⁴

[Thursday, July] 30 - News from Semenenko about the death of my brother Anthony!... I go to visit Karski.

Sunday, August 2

Meeting.¹²⁵ Konopka. To Walter. To...

[Tuesday, August] 4, funeral ceremonies.¹²⁶ Konopka's departure.

Thursday, [August] 6, at Montalembert; I take with me material about the Czechs.

Sunday, [August] 9, to Saint-Sulpice (to Dugied; he had already left), to Luxembourg, the Botanical Gardens,¹²⁷ a walk after dinner.

Wednesday, [August] 12, I learn from Semenenko that Karski¹²⁸ was put in jail. I look for a room all day.

285 [Thursday], August 13, 1835

Urgent tasks: To Olbratowicz...¹²⁹

the Congregation of the Resurrection. In 1836 he had published a second novel, *Nunc Dimittis Domine*. He died suddenly near the Fontana Trevi in Rome.

¹²⁴ *The July holidays* - July 27-29, the anniversary of the July Revolution in France in 1830.

¹²⁵ It is difficult to determine accurately the "meeting" Jański mentions here. From elsewhere we know that on August 2 a "family meeting" of envoys living among the emigrants was to take place. This meeting was to take place under the auspices of Voivode Anthony John Ostrowski (Cf. 1832, footnote 256).

¹²⁶ Funeral rites, undoubtedly for his deceased brother Anthony.

¹²⁷ Luxembourg - The Luxembourg gardens and environs. The Botanical Gardens were established by Henry IV and his minister Sully. This was an educational institution and a favorite place of relaxation for Parisians.

¹²⁸ Marcellus Karski (a pseudonym of Edward Duński) - on the basis of a false denunciation as one of those suspected of a conspiracy against the King, he was arrested and imprisoned. (Cf. footnote 48).

¹²⁹ Valentine Olbratowicz (1806-1868) - After receiving a Master's degree in philosophy at the University of Warsaw in 1823 he moved on to study medicine there. During the

To the library, concerning Siberia.

Auguste Chevalier¹³⁰ concerning schools and the *Encyclopédie*.

Margerin, Lacordaire, Montalembert, and Cheruel concerning *Encyclopédie catholique*.

Translate for Dwernicki - also for Włoch, Jóźwik, Kunatt.

Think about a Requiem Mass for my brother Anthony - visit former students of the Polytechnic Institute.

Visit Dobrowolski¹³¹

Letters to Dugied - to Stephen - to Maliński.

to America - Przeclawski

to Królikowski - to Rettel

to Jabłoński

- (to Łempicki)

- to Koźmian.¹³²

Return [J.N.] to Janowski.

286 For Wednesday, August 19

talk about money - ask about trips to Sèvres.

to Zwierkowski - to Semenenko. Ask him about a day with Karski, etc.

to Dąbrowski.¹³³

to Wrotnowski - Weissenhof

to Margerin

to Chevalier

to Szwejger¹³⁴ rue de l'Ouest

to the printery - returning, to Walter's house

to Ogiński.

November uprising, as a fourth year student he became a doctor in the barracks of the engineers. After the collapse of the uprising he moved to France as a emigrant. He received his diploma as a doctor of medicine in Paris in July of 1835. He returned to Poland, and in the years 1850-1867 he was a doctor in the Hospital of the Child Jesus in Warsaw.

¹³⁰ Auguste Chevalier (b.1806?) - a mining engineer; in 1831 a professor of physics.

¹³¹ Undoubtedly Casimir (?Boleslaus) Dobrowolski, whom Jański had known already in 1831. Born in Volhynia, a doctor of medicine, and staff doctor. He committed suicide in 1843.

¹³² Undoubtedly John Koźmian - Cf. 1834, footnote 35.

¹³³ Dąbrowski - difficult to identify.

¹³⁴ Joseph Szwejger (1801-1878) - pharmacist and surgeon. At the time of the November uprising, a staff doctor of a battalion. An emigrant in France. From 1834 he studied medicine in Paris. In 1837 he received the degree of Doctor of Medicine at the University of Paris.

URGENT TASKS

Schnitzler¹³⁵ Cheruel Plater Vismara¹³⁶ Dwernicki Sinner¹³⁷ Montalembert Nisard Rivoli, 30
Siberia Margerin Biernacki¹³⁸
Charton Lacordaire

Thursday, Friday and Saturday, if possible, go to the library (Dupré de Saint-Maur).¹³⁹

287 [Thursday] August 20, I travel to Versailles.

[Friday, August] 21

go to Mr. Guerard¹⁴⁰

- take the second part of *Encyclopédie pittoresque* to the binder, so that later I can give it to Pecquer (Rue des Mathurins, 31)

- list the letters E, F, G, H, J¹⁴¹ for Auguste Chevalier

- to the library concerning Siberia

- Schnitzler

at six o'clock to Faliński¹⁴²

¹³⁵ Undoubtedly Johann Schnitzler (1802-1871) - a journalist and historian of modern times.

¹³⁶ Vismara - person unknown.

¹³⁷ Gabriel Rudolf Ludwig von Sinner - Cf. 1836, footnote 101.

¹³⁸ There were a few Biernackis among the emigrants: Aloysius (1778-1854) - a former minister of the treasury of the National Government (Cf. footnote 278); and Charles (1805-1878) - a second lieutenant in the 6th regiment of artillerymen during the November uprising. He received a doctorate in medicine as an emigrant.

¹³⁹ Jean-Pierre-Émile Dupré de Saint-Maur (1772-1854) - a translator from the Russian language; author of *Antologie russe, suivie de poésies originales, dédiée a S.M. l'empereur de toutes les Russies*. Paris, 1823. He published a book of information *Petersbourg, Moscou et les provinces...*, Paris, 1831.

¹⁴⁰ Guerard - person unknown.

¹⁴¹ This refers to a list beginning with the letters mentioned - of articles-topics for the encyclopedia.

¹⁴² It is uncertain which of two Faliński brothers Jański refers to here. Francis Faliński (1815-1887) - participated in the November uprising; a painter as an emigrant. His brother John Stanislaus (1812-1850) was a student at the University of Warsaw, dismissed because of his membership in the Patriotic Society. He participated in the November uprising, and was an emigrant in France. He received a doctorate in medicine at Montpellier, lived in Poitiers in 1835, and from 1837 in Paris. In July, 1834 he was a member of the Polish Democratic Society, but was removed from the list of its members in 1837.

For [Friday, August] 28

Obtain the money for books for Napoleon - a Greek grammar - *Gradus ad Parnassum*¹⁴³ - a Latin author - a poet - a Greek book.

A letter to Fr. Skórzyński - speak of Dąbrowski, that he is with me, ask about Waga.

To the library - look up Esterhazy,¹⁴⁴ Estonia, etc.

to Ogiński - to Januszkiewicz, take the second sheet for Mickiewicz, to Ordyniec, to Kunatt

obtain information from Wrotnowski about Warsaw

To Montalembert for "Université Catholique".¹⁴⁵

8586

995 For Saturday, August 29

To Wrotnowski - Januszkiewicz - Ordyniec - to Szymański.¹⁴⁶

To the library.

8627

290 Tuesday, [September] 8, Birth of the Blessed Mary

We leave at seven to meet Kajsiewicz. At nine we arrive at Saint-Mandé. Confession.¹⁴⁷ A sung Mass at ten. At breakfast Kajsiewicz reads *Et nunc dimittis*.¹⁴⁸ - I return by bus at three. For coffee, and for a lesson. They have already

¹⁴³ *Gradus ad Parnassum* - the title of a handbook-lexicon of poetic arts, whose author was a Jesuit, Paul Aler.

¹⁴⁴ Estérhazy de Galántha - one of the oldest lordly families in Hungary. This article, as well as the following one on Estonia, was prepared by Jański for *Encyclopédie catholique*, where the articles *Esterhazy* and *Esthonie* were published only after the death of the author. (Vol.IX, Paris, 1846, pp. 354-355, and 356).

¹⁴⁵ "L'Université Catholique" - a periodical established in Louvain (Belgium) in 1834, in which Charles de Montalembert published his articles. In 1836, in Paris, another periodical with the same name began to appear, edited by Fr. Gerbet, Bonnetty and others.

¹⁴⁶ Undoubtedly Anthony Marcellus Szymański (1813-1894) - In 1830 he began to study law at the University of Warsaw. In the November uprising, he was a second lieutenant in the 5th regiment of riflemen. He was an emigrant in France. He completed his legal studies and received his diploma "licence en droit" at Aix-en-Provence. In 1835, he came to Paris, where he continued his legal studies in the school of law, supporting himself by his work as a tutor and by writing articles for French encyclopedias. He settled permanently in Paris and obtained French citizenship.

¹⁴⁷ The text of the September 8, 1835 confession has been preserved. It is located in Appendix V.

¹⁴⁸ The poetic story *Nunc dimittis, Domine, a story from the Scotch annals dating from the end of the XVI century*, written by Jerome Kajsiewicz, was printed in volume III of the periodical "Melitele", and then appeared once again in print in Paris in 1836.

decided about a place to live. A question, how will I do it. Trouble. After dinner, Mrs. Rautenstrauch, in conversation about *Lelia*¹⁴⁹ etc. I already forget that this is the day for confession; I wait and wait, not knowing for what - until nine. At home, Kajsiewicz, Dalen,¹⁵⁰ Szymański; Celiński is wild, I am reserved, listless.

Wednesday [September] 9

Tea at home, preparation for a lesson; return at ten. Reflections: what should I do here with our plans for a common house. Meditation about the difficulty.

Plans to go to Solesmes.¹⁵¹ (A second breakfast, coffee). A lesson at four. I tell the Giedrojćes about Chine.¹⁵² After dinner, coffee - and a lot of coming and going. Thoughts about how to arrange time; disturbance due to carnal desires.

291 Thursday, [September] 10

I get up at eight and write a note to Chine. I go out for a lesson at nine and deliver the note. Konopka. Home at 11:30; excuse myself to Konopka. A letter to Kajsiewicz asking him to come. I deliver the calendar to Nakwaski,¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ *Lelia* - the title of a two volume novel written by the famous French author, Aurora Dudevant (1804-1876), who was known under her pseudonym George Sand. It was published in Paris in 1833. The author presented there the lot of a woman held captive by social conventions and customs. It was a declaration in favor of the emancipation of women.

¹⁵⁰ Stanislaus Dahlen (1810-1843) from Podlasie - He studied law at the University of Warsaw. He participated in the November uprising, achieving the rank of second lieutenant in the first regiment of riflemen. From 1832, an emigrant in France.

¹⁵¹ Solesmes, a village near Cambrai in the department of Sarthe, noted for the Benedictine Priory established there in the 11th century. The present Solesmes Abbey came into being through the initiative of Prosper Guéranger (Cf. 1835, footnote 312).

¹⁵² Wilhelm Hühne (1803-1863) - In 1819 he began to study drawing and painting in Warsaw in the department of Fine Arts. His work included portrait, religious and scenic paintings, under the direction of, e.g., Anthony Brodowski. He pursued further studies abroad. He participated in the Warsaw Exhibition of Fine Arts. He was also worked as a restorer of paintings. He remained in close contact with Joseph Maliński.

¹⁵³ Henry Mirosław Nakwaski (1800-1876) - the son of Francis and Anne, nee Krajewski, who was noted as the author of novels, and a patriot who directed a literary salon. He studied law and administration at the University of Warsaw, but because of his disagreement with the behavior of the students there, he left the university to pursue studies abroad. After his return to Poland, he worked in Płock in the Provincial - Commission. He was an envoy to the insurgent Sejm in 1831. He was a habitué of the salon of Cecilia Chłędowska. After the collapse of the uprising, he was an emigrant, first in Dresden, where he made the acquaintance of Adam Mickiewicz, and then, from October 1832 in Paris. From August 1833 he resided in Geneva. He published writings such as *Observations dealing with the most profitable use of time in the emigration together with a general plan for an association of emigrants* (Paris, 1833). In 1835 he

he is not in. I leave it there. To Jełowicki; he had already left. To Januszkiewicz (Ropelewski, Aksenfeld¹⁵⁴). To Bibliothèque Mazarine;¹⁵⁵ it is closed. Home after two; Kajsiewicz arrives. They agree on plans to go to Solesmes - conversation, and it is 4:30. For a lesson. Tiers; I am embarrassed by a compliment: he knows me from my good reputation. The Princess Giedrojć, Białopiotrowicz - after dinner for a cab; after eight for coffee, etc.

292 +Friday [September] 11

Urgent tasks

Letter to Jabłoński to Stephen

Letter to Maliński to Anthony
to Przeclawski

Work for Włoch - for Dwernicki

Bohême - for Héreau¹⁵⁶+

Friday, [September] 11

I return from a lesson about ten, and write a letter to Hühn. To Nakwaski - (Zwierkowski, Kossobudzki¹⁵⁷) - I feel ill at ease in their company, and I sit. To Pinard; I do not give the deposition to Agen; he reminds me of the debt. To the Sainte-Geneviève Library; it is closed.¹⁵⁸ I look at lodgings. I go to Kajsie-

appeared in Paris once more, and renewed his contacts with Mickiewicz. He oscillated between the aristocratic and democratic camps, and in the end came out in opposition of the politics of Adam Czartoryski. In the year 1835 in Paris he wrote *A few words about democracy*, a treatise *On conferring property on Polish peasants as a reward*, and *When my declaration...* against Prince Czartoryski. He moved toward re-establishing the Sejm in the emigration. In 1838 he returned to Switzerland, helping Mickiewicz during his stay in Lucerne. He was also engaged in economy and banking. He wrote a Diary for the years 1830-1850 (the manuscript is located in the Library at the University of Lwów).

¹⁵⁴ Aksenfeld - A. Krosnowski's *Almanac* notes only an Abraham Axenfeld, from Kijowo and living in Metz, and his son Joseph.

¹⁵⁵ Bibliothèque Mazarine was located at the rear of the French Institute, in the former palace of Jules Mazarine (1602-1661), a French statesman, Cardinal, and founder of the library (1643).

¹⁵⁶ E.J. Héreau - editor and publisher of *Dictionnaire de la Conversation et de la Lecture...* (Cf. footnote 186).

¹⁵⁷ Possibly Michael Alexander Kossobudzki, a participant in the November uprising, second lieutenant in the engineers. In 1833 he was an emigrant, living in the depot at Dijon, then move to Switzerland. In 1837 he graduated from the school of agronomy at Grignon.

¹⁵⁸ Bibliothèque de Sainte-Geneviève - a library established in 1624 by Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, the Abbot of the Saint Genevieve monastery. In the first half of the 19th

wicz, aimless (Mr. Nicolas),¹⁵⁹ as a result I am dull. For a sous I have a bun for breakfast. Home, lay down; Korycki and Brawacki, Szymański. Four o'clock. A lesson, and dinner. I receive 10 francs from the Giedrojćes. After dinner, coffee; I am well disposed for letters. In the meantime I run around and around, wild with impure desires. I meet the Falińskis and Henszel.¹⁶⁰ I buy syrup for the canisters, and having drunk, I fall asleep.

Saturday, [September 12]

It is already about ten when I go for the lesson. I return before eleven; a pipe, day-dreaming, getting down to these notes. Suddenly to Peter, to examine the spoiled paper in "The Pilgrim". Celiński arrives - an apostolic letter, my article about national universality.¹⁶¹ We chat; a kind of friendly relationship with Celiński. At three o'clock for oyster and wine. At four for a lesson. The blood is pounding in my head. After dinner we talk about revolution, secret societies among women. For coffee. Domejko. We go to visit Bernatowicz,¹⁶² Mickiewicz (about societies); I got drenched. Semenenko, concerning Charles [Kaczanowski].

Sunday [September 13]

At eight I was still in bed. John brought me a letter from the Giedrojćes asking me to go to Matuszyński¹⁶³ for Napoleon. At ten I went out for coffee (and gave poor Semenenko only a few sous for breakfast), and then on to Matuszyński. I feel very good, refreshed, clean in soul. For Mass to St. Roch at

century, this was the university library at the Panthéon square, bearing the name of the patroness of Paris.

¹⁵⁹ Nicolas - person unknown.

¹⁶⁰ Henszel - further information lacking (Cf. 1832, footnote 295).

¹⁶¹ Possibly Adam Celiński proposed to write an article-letter addressed to Poles living in France bearing the message of the Christian Gospel. We know that Celiński carried on an active apostolate among the Polish emigrants living in Agen and Lunel. It is also possible that Jański intended to write an article about "national universality" but did not realize his intention. In any case, so far there is no trace of such an article in his written or printed legacy.

¹⁶² Undoubtedly Anthony Bernatowicz (d.1868), a colleague of Adam Mickiewicz at the school in Nowogródek. He participated in the November uprising with the rank of captain. He was an adjutant to General Rybiński. He lived in Paris as an emigrant.

¹⁶³ John Matuszyński (1809-1842) - a class-mate and one of Frederick Chopin's closest friends. In the November uprising of 1831, he served as a doctor in the 5th battalion of mounted riflemen. He emigrated to Germany, and completed the course in medicine in Tubingen with the degree of doctor. He came to Paris in the summer of 1834, and lived with Chopin at rue Chaussée d'Antin nr.5. In 1837 he received a second doctorate. He taught at the École de Médecine.

twelve. To the Giedrojćes (Olizar,¹⁶⁴ Gierycz); I am immediately disconcerted by the company, and become an entirely different person, practically without a soul. I return home, tossing one empty thought after another over in my mind, move from one reading to another (about the Czechs), and finally fall asleep. At five, dinner, to the pharmacy; at seven for coffee, and eight back home. I spend two more hours on empty reveries, conjectures, until the time when God will surely grant me the grace to set down some kind of preparation in writing.¹⁶⁵

295 Monday, September 14, Exaltation of the Holy Cross

At seven I leave for Saint-Mandé. I arrive there in time for Mass at 8:30. Confession. Inspirations. Resolutions. At 10:15 I return to the church. Breakfast with the priest. Talk about governments. The priest is a legitimist¹⁶⁶ - Why didn't I speak more openly to him? At 12:15 I returned to Paris. I met Latour.¹⁶⁷ Why was I embarrassed in speaking with him? True, I am guilty, for, through neglect, I did not return the books I borrowed from him two years ago. For coffee. I spend too much time on the newspapers (on such a holy day). Home. Chine. Having urgent work, preparation for a Greek lesson, why didn't I speak openly to him about this? At 2:30 to the Giedrojćes. Napoleon is weaker. I read Greek history to him. I am too lenient in dealing with his willfulness. (Mrs. Białopiotrowicz). Dinner. After dinner, Mrs. Rautenstrauch - In conversation I am still not myself, and yet my conscience is already clear. I take a letter to the postoffice for Mrs. Giedrojć. I go home at seven. Today I noticed impatience in conversation with others, a habitual sin (with Chine and with Peter). I begin to

¹⁶⁴ Narcisus Olizar (1794-1862) - a member of the secret Volhynian Society of Scythe-bearers. He organized an uprising in Volhynia, was an envoy to the Sejm in 1831, and a senator-castellan of the Kingdom of Poland. He belonged to the Patriotic Society. After the collapse of the uprising, he was captured by the Russians, but managed to escape from jail. He lived in Paris as an emigrant, and worked together with General Joseph Bem in the Polytechnic Society (1835), which had as its purpose the education of emigrants and the provision of assistance in finding work. He was a zealous follower of Prince Adam Czartoryski. A co-founder and leader of the Secret Insurrectionist-Monarchical Union which was established in 1837. In 1839 he was a co-editor of the Monarchist periodical "The Third of May". A diarist and journalist. In Paris he conducted an open house, where Poles from Poland and the emigration met.

¹⁶⁵ Jański was preparing himself for the confession which he made - as he noted - on September 14, 1835, the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. The text of this confession is found in the Appendix to the Diary for 1835, under VI.

¹⁶⁶ Legitimist - a advocate of the restoration of the older line of Bourbons after 1830, recognizing the historical right of this dynasty as the basis for governing authority in France; a monarchist.¹⁶⁷ Louis-Antoine Tenant de Latour (1808-1881) - a French poet and translator.

¹⁶⁷

read St. Ignatius.¹⁶⁸ I fall asleep at about eight. Waking up, I recite the *Salve Regina*.

Tuesday, [September 15]

I rise at eight. Nakwaski at about ten; in conversation with him I am still not myself, occupied with what I was thinking about before, what I should now do first. Breakfast with Peter. To Adam. He decides to go to Agen next month, and first to confession.

At 11:30 to the Giedrojćes. I read Greek history to Napoleon, and offer his mother sincere and mild advice on how to deal with him.

296 I go for a walk along the Champs-Élysées, and reflect upon how, here and now, I am to accomplish my preparation for death. I decide first of all to set my papers in order; then, prepare a list and payment of debts; third, write letters and "Final Words" (about the most important truths: for an individual, for mankind, and especially for Poland), to friends of the Truth and Mankind, to compatriots and companions of my youth, to friends and companions concerning my present plans, etc.

At 4:30 I come home. For dinner. After dinner, a cigar with Giedrojć. I leave at 7:30 for coffee. Home. Once again reflections. Podolski.¹⁶⁹ I still had not gone to see Kunatt in order to proofread materials for him. I lied to Celiński that I had no tobacco. At about eleven, Kajsiewicz - I support his plan to travel to Ireland.¹⁷⁰ In conversation I am not sufficiently recollected, or mindful of God, and too thoughtlessly cheerful. He leaves at eleven. I should have gotten right down to work; meanwhile I continue to think and think, without any clear

¹⁶⁸ Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556) - author of the famous *Spiritual Exercises*, the fruit of 19 years of contemplative life, and founder of the Jesuits. Initially a Spanish officer. Living as a hermit, he experienced an interior conversion. He resided in Paris, and studied at the university there. In the course of his studies he became acquainted with Peter Favre, Francis Xavier, and five other companions. In the morning of August 15, 1534, all of them gathered in a chapel on the slope of Montmartre, and there, during Mass, they professed religious vows. This was the birth of a Community which, after obtaining the approval of the Apostolic See, quickly spread its activity over the whole of Western Europe, the Indies, and South America. The founder of the Order was canonized in 1622.

¹⁶⁹ Possibly Anthony Podolski, who participated in the November uprising as a second lieutenant in the 9th infantry regiment. He was an emigrant in France. In January of 1835 he came to Paris.

¹⁷⁰ Catholicism in Ireland at this time was experiencing a period of revival, a process which was led by "the uncrowned king of Ireland" Daniel O'Connell.

goal. And so, once again my habitual sin, wasting time, dreaming. Great God, grant me the grace to rid myself of this habit.

Wednesday [September] 16

It was already nine when I rose. I get myself ready, think about the need to avoid wasting even a moment of time, the need for prayer and effort, the need to remind myself of the presence of God constantly and to commit myself entirely to the fulfillment of God's will.

297 After meditation and prayer, after eleven, for a lesson, without breakfast, but I do not feel hungry. For Mass. Before one, to Kunatt, and I amuse myself until four o'clock talking about political economy and about Ireland. For a lesson; dinner; I am ashamed to ask for ten francs. Coffee on credit. To Mickiewicz; Montalembert, Witwicki. With Montalembert to the Ogińskis, keeping quiet, etc. I go back with him. My attitude is cold, and I speak to him critically of the Giedrojćes. After I returned home, I was still too occupied with impressions from the conversation that took place at Mickiewicz's place (with literary works dealing with the Slavs etc.), and I forget about my principal resolutions.

Thursday [September 17]

I am reading a manuscript, etc. Laurent stops by and I send him away coldly. At eleven I go out for a lesson. Then to Mickiewicz to tell him he should not tell anyone that he knows about Kunatt going to Ireland. He is not in. Home; work on the manuscript, Greek studies. Before four, for a lesson; dinner, I receive 10 francs; for coffee, I pay for yesterday's coffee; a newspaper for 10 sous. I read the "Sławianin"¹⁷¹ and about the Czechs until one. I feel triumphant, and forget about more urgent work, setting my papers in order, letters, etc.

Friday [September] 18

I rise at eight, and write an exercise for Napoleon. Notes for Celiński and Brawacki. At eleven for a lesson; at one for coffee and to Mickiewicz - he is not home. To Montalembert, discomfiture. I am received coldly, a bad attitude; but in my soul I still find joy and an admonition. After two, home; Thomas a Kempis. Needlessly, I succumb to fatigue and fall asleep. At four Szymański, [Charles] Królikowski¹⁷² - I am not myself; once again I am not content with

¹⁷¹ "Slavonian" - Cf. footnote 334.

¹⁷² Charles Królikowski (1806-1871) - the son of a wealthy nobleman, born near Łuków. In 1823 he began to study law in Warsaw, while at the same time he was working to support three younger brothers. He participated in the November uprising, and belonged to the Patriotic Society. After the collapse of the uprising, he lived in the depot at Avignon,

myself. I meet Mickiewicz. A lesson, dinner, for coffee; while returning, lustful glances along the way. Someone had come to see me, some young lady from a man named Talawy; as a result, suppositions, memories of my relationships with women. Letters from my wife.

298 Saturday, September 19

I left for a lesson at nine, clearly invited for coffee with an old woman (Mrs. Białopiotrowicz). I leave at eleven. To Mickiewicz; he is not in, but I leave the manuscript. Home; sadness in my heart. I read the *Imitation of Christ*, and all is well; but I feel weak. For breakfast at 12:30, 28 sous, coffee 8 sous. Return home at two, strong temptations. I go out looking for a way to commit sin. Borysiewicz.¹⁷³ After four to the Giedrojées (Dąmbczewski - why am I so cold toward him?), a lesson, dinner, for coffee at seven; once again temptations and I begin to look for opportunities to commit sin. At 7:45 back home. With Peter, I go to visit Dahlen; along the way lustful glances. Kajsiewicz, Ropelewski; spend a pleasant evening, but I lack a proper attitude, I lack heart. At home, consultation about "The "Pilgrim".¹⁷⁴

300 Monday, September 21

where he became addicted to politics. Expelled from the depot in 1837, he began to live in Paris, where he became a member of a masonic lodge. Next, expelled from Paris, he lived in Bordeaux, where he began to work as a printer. In 1835 or 1836 he began a correspondence with Jański, who exerted a moral and religious influence on him, and ultimately brought him to Paris. There Królikowski began working in the printery of Alexander Jełowicki and Eustachius Januszkiewicz. At the same time he conducted the Paris House of Jański, whenever the latter was either absent or sick. When Jełowicki withdrew from the publishing partnership, Januszkiewicz turned the printery over to Królikowski, who continued the publishing and book-selling activity. He became an acquaintance of Charles Sienkiewicz, and maintained contacts with Mickiewicz and Towiański. He participated in the work of the Historical-Literary section of the Literary Society. He organized help for families after the death of some of the emigrants, establishing in Paris first the Taxation Association, and then an Institution for Bread and Worship, of which he was the president.

¹⁷³ Undoubtedly Anthony Borysiewicz (1809-1854) from Volhynia - He studied in Warsaw in the University department of arts and sciences. He participated in the November uprising. As an emigrant in France he worked as a conductor of roads and bridges. In 1834, he enlisted in the Polish Democratic Society, and as a member, in 1840 he entered into the Union. In that same year his name was removed from the list of members of the Society by reason of "immoral conduct". He died in poverty in London.

¹⁷⁴ From the time when the "Polish Pilgrim" was discontinued at the beginning of 1834 because of financial difficulties, Jański kept returning to plans for publishing the "Pilgrim", this time as a daily paper for the Polish emigration. He even went about preparing articles with this in mind. However, nothing ever came of these plans.

Confession,¹⁷⁵ but I do not receive Communion. I feel too confused; but later I am sorry that I did not. Meditation, writing out resolutions.¹⁷⁶ I receive a letter from Włodzimierz Potocki,¹⁷⁷ asking me to visit Mrs. Komar.

8627

329 [Monday] September 21, 1835

My main plans for now

1. Complete preparation for death.
2. Common life, Brotherhood of National Service.
3. "The Pilgrim", etc. etc.

Lesser projects

1. Give an account to the Nation concerning Poland and France.
2. A quarterly.
3. A course dealing with history and literature etc. - meet with Cousin, etc., concerning Schnitzler in the "Journal des Débats".¹⁷⁸
4. Christian political economy - for the "Revue des Deux Mondes", "Univ[ersité] Cath[olique]" - belgique.¹⁷⁹

756

Things to do from September 21 to September 29

1. Put papers in order. Speak with Montalembert about a priest confessor, ask him for the de Coux's¹⁸⁰ lectures on economy in "Dominicale".¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁵ Cf. The Appendix to the Diary for 1835, VII: *Confession on October 21, the Feast of St. Matthew.*

¹⁷⁶ ... a list of resolutions. - These are: *My main plans for now, October 21, 1835; Lesser projects, as well as Things to do, from October 21 to October 29.* - These "resolutions" were placed immediately after the Diary notes for October 21.

¹⁷⁷ Vladimir Potocki (1810-1880) - the son of Vladimir and Tekla, nee Sanguszek; the heir of Daszów and Podwysoczek; participated in the 1831 uprising in Podolia, a Polish officer and emigrant. He lived for some time in Paris.

¹⁷⁸ "Journal des Débats" - published in Paris from 1815, a daily with a large circulation, favorable to the cause of Poland. Leonard Chodźko was a contributor. In addition to the daily, a "Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires" was also published (a weekly).

¹⁷⁹ "Université Catholique" - a Belgian publication. Cf. footnote 145.

2. Work for Vismar and Dwernicki.

3. copies of letters:

1. to Stephen
2. to Anthony to Dugied
3. to Leon to Caesar [Plater]
4. to Maliński to Królikowski¹⁸²
5. to Jabłoński (to Liebelt¹⁸³ etc. perhaps)
6. to Leonard and Kremer¹⁸⁴
7. to Hube to Ignatius Zwierkowski¹⁸⁵
8. to Łempicki to Joseph Zawadzki
9. to Koźmian to Jaroszyński
10. to Trepka to the Narzymskis

4. Return books to Latour, Jóźwik, Sinner, and take Schnitzler from Słowaczyński.

¹⁸⁰ Carl de Coux (1787-1864) - a famous expert of political economy, a leading precursor of social Catholicism. The author of a publication appearing in the years 1830-1836, initially in "L'Avenir". In November of 1834, at the invitation of the Catholic University in Louvain, he accepted the chair of political economy and began his *Cours d'économie sociale*. In his understanding, "political economy is a teaching about the rights that govern production, distribution and growth of the wealth of nations"; a part of this teaching is "social economy", whose basic purpose would be to reach "an understanding of the laws governing a social organism." In 1845 he resigned from giving lectures, and became the editor of the publication "Univers". He exerted an influence on Frederick Ozanam.

¹⁸¹ "La Dominicale. Journal des paroisses." A periodical appearing in Paris in the years 1833-1836, and then later with the title "Revue du XIX siècle", and "Chronique de Paris", 1836-1840.

¹⁸² This refers to Louis Królikowski, who was then living in Kraków. (Cf. 1830, footnote 4).

¹⁸³ Charles Liebelt - Cf. 1832, footnote 18.

¹⁸⁴ Joseph Kremer (1806-1875) - Completed the course in law at the Jagellonian University in 1828. He moved to Berlin for further studies, and there attended the lectures of Hegel. Next he went to Paris, where he attended the lectures of Cousin and Guizot, and also was present at gatherings of the saintsimonists. In 1830, he visited London. In the spring of that year, he obtained the degree of doctor of both laws at the Jagellonian University. He participated in the November uprising. He was on friendly terms with Vincent Pol. From 1835 in Kraków he worked with Anthony Zygmunt Helcle in editing the "Scientific Quarterly." In 1837 he was living in Kraków, taking over a private school for boys after Louis Królikowski. In 1847 he assumed the chair of philosophy at the Jagellonian University, becoming professor of esthetics, and the history of the arts, in the School of Fine Arts. He was co-founder of scientific societies, and an honorary member of scientific and artistic institutes. Toward the end of his life he was the Rector of the University. He was the author of many scientific, and popular-scientific works. Kremer could have become a personal acquaintance of Jański, in Berlin, Paris, or London. He had a brother, Charles Roman (1812-1860), a doctor of philosophy and an architect.

¹⁸⁵ Ignatius Frederick Zwierkowski - Cf. 1833, footnote 20.

Take "The Globe" to be bound.

5. Read necessary clarifications for the article in the *Dictionnaire de Conversation*¹⁸⁶ in the Sainte-Geneviève Library, and in the reading room.

6. Read concerning Bohême at least Malte-Brun and Bradtke;¹⁸⁷ look into Lelewel's work, ask about Thibaudeau. Make an excerpt from the article *De vérifier les dates* (About verifying dates), from Feller¹⁸⁸ about the Hussites,¹⁸⁹ Saints Cyril¹⁹⁰ and Methodius,¹⁹¹ Wenceslaus,¹⁹² Adalbert¹⁹³ etc., Borzywoj.¹⁹⁴ From *Biographie universelle*¹⁹⁵ about Przemysł,¹⁹⁶ Ottocar,¹⁹⁷ Charles IV.¹⁹⁸

Tuesday, [September] 22

I return books to Latour; some discussion. At Montalembert. AT Jełowicki.

[Wednesday, September] 23

I go to visit Mrs. Komar in a borrowed frock-coat, with feelings of a foolish marriage and ceremony.

Thursday, [September] 24

¹⁸⁶ *Dictionnaire de la Conversation et de la Lecture* (52 volumes) was published in the years 1832-1839 in Paris, E.J. Héreau editor.

¹⁸⁷ George Samuel Bandtkie (1768-1835) - historian, bibliographer, librarian, scholar of the history of Śląsk, teacher of Slavic languages, and numismatist. Author, e.g., of *History of the Kingdom of Poland...* (2 volumes), Wrocław, 1820; a third edition under the title of *History of the Polish Nation*, Wrocław, 1835.

¹⁸⁸ Joachim Feller (1673-1726) - a German historian, publisher of documents, author of *A World History, Various Monuments*.

¹⁸⁹ Hussites - Followers of the teaching of John Hus (1371-1415), a Czechoslovakian religious reformer.

¹⁹⁰ Cyrill (Cyril) (826 or 828-869), a saint, a monk, the brother of St. Methodius, and his missionary companion in the Slavic regions. Author of the so-called Cyrilic alphabet.

¹⁹¹ Methodius (815 or 820-885), Saint, monk, missionary companion of Cyril.

¹⁹² Waclaw I, reigned as King of the Czechs in the years 921-935; martyr, saint.

¹⁹³ Adalbert (Wojciech in Poland) (956-997) - Bishop of Prague, missionary, martyr; saint honored in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary.

¹⁹⁴ Borzywoj I, the first Christian prince of Czechoslovakia, reigned in the years 872-888.

¹⁹⁵ *Biographie universelle et portative des contemporains ou Dictionnaire historique des hommes vivants et des hommes morts depuis 1788 jusque nos jours...* Publié sous le direction de Vieth de Boisjoslin, Paris, 1830.

¹⁹⁶ Przemysł, from the dynasty of Przemysłids, a Czechoslovakian prince (c.700).

¹⁹⁷ Ottocar, or Przemyslaw Ottokar I, who ruled in Czechoslovakia in the years 1192-1193, and 1197-1230.

¹⁹⁸ Charles IV, Czechoslovakian king and emperor; he ruled in the years 1346-1378.

Kajsiewicz comes to visit us in the evening; on my part there is a lack of sincerity, a kind of silly pretense; as a result, our parting is not sufficiently affectionate. Peter and Jerome went to visit Fr. [Chaussotte], but he was not in.

Friday, September 25

Peter and Jerome leave.¹⁹⁹ I go to Mrs. Komar for a lesson, then to Napoleon. In the evening I go to see Karski, but he was not in.

[Saturday, September] 26

After lessons, I go to see Karski to inquire about the pilgrims' journey. I go to the Sainte-Geneviève Library - after a breakfast of sausage and coffee - and on rue Mazarine an extremely shameful fall.

301 Sunday, September 27

I sleep until twelve. Napoleon wakens me. I hurry out to the carriages. At one o'clock to Sévres. I have a head-ache, and am out of sorts at the princess; Kniaziewicz. Dinner. At seven, return to Paris. Celiński went to confession.

Monday [September] 28

At eight to Komar for a lesson; at ten to Napoleon. Celiński swam in the Seine. I ask Jełowicki to remind Mrs. Komar about the money. I go to say good-bye to Montalembert. I met Gorecki at Januszkiewicz's house and he promises to come to see me. Rostkowski confirms the news.

[Tuesday, September] 29, Saint Michael

Celiński obtains permission; he remains for the evening and tells me about his curriculum, which I then sign.²⁰⁰ At Mickiewicz to see Mary. The evening comings and goings are beginning once again.

[Wednesday, September] 30

I bring Celiński's papers from Kunatt.²⁰¹ Princess [Anne Caroline] Giedrojc and Mrs. Białopiotrowicz are coming for dinner. I am at Mickiewicz's

¹⁹⁹ Peter Semenenko and Jerome Kajsiewicz together began a journey on foot to Solesmes, in order to make a retreat there. Marcellus Karski-Duński accompanied them as far as Versailles.

²⁰⁰ *Curriculum vitae* of Adam Celiński, written by Jański, is preserved in the Jagellonian Library, call number 9290, k.10-12.

²⁰¹ Stanislaus Kunatt was a member of the editorial staff of "Chronicles of the Polish Emigration", where Adam Celiński worked for some time, borrowing money from the cashier. This led to Celiński's later financial problems, which Jański tried to remedy.

house for mushrooms; Domejko. I do not mention anything about the Society of the Lamb of God, about which I learned when I visited Januszkiewicz.²⁰² Januszkiewicz drops by. On my way home, a heavy rain.

For a lesson. The Giedrojćes are moving. Breakfast with Mrs. Rautenstrauch. Dinner at the place du Panthéon. It is already nine before I return home. Deliberating with Celiński about expenses.

Friday, [October] 2

I obtain 35 francs from Mickiewicz, his money. To Karski. I speak with him about Celiński's business. Credit is impossible; nevertheless, to the Financial Commission,²⁰³ to Montalembert. Lacordaire stops by, and so does Janvier;²⁰⁴ there is talk, but I am too silent. I go to see the Archbishop's secretary. A fall on rue de la Th[or]igny. To Collège Rollin²⁰⁵ for information. To the Giedrojćes, [Charles] Wodzyński, a lesson with Napoleon. Go home after eight. Adam [Celinski's] departure is postponed.

Saturday, [October] 3

A lesson. To Karski; I meet Zaleski. I tell him about the Society of the Lamb of God. I hand a petition to Broniewski; return the sheet to Kunatt (Kozuchowski, Bronikowski). To the Giedrojćes, etc.

302 Sunday, October 4

²⁰² In the emigrant publication "The North" (year 1, October 12, 1835, an anonymous author, John Czyński, in an article entitled *A Catholic-Papal Congregation*, accused the community in the process of formation (the "Society of the Lamb of God") of "recognizing the authority of the Pope, and ordering (its members) to pray for the salvation of Poland." It announced that Adam Mickiewicz was the head of the society, and that "Bogdan Zaleski, Kajsiewicz, and Jański had taken it upon themselves to give new life to Papism. Semenenko, who supposedly discovered Russian nationality in Poland, was converted and is one of the most zealous preachers of the new order." It also listed Edward Duński and Joseph Ordęga as members of the society. The anonymous libeller saw this as a tactic on the part of the aristocratic Polish emigration, which was trying to "prevent the progress of ideas, and, with the aid of bigotry and Jesuitism, is determined to regain what it was not able to preserve by its dying nobility."

²⁰³ On March 25, 1834, upon the motion of Alexander Jełowicki, a Commission of Funds for the Polish Emigration was established in Paris as part of the National Committee of the Polish Emigration. This Commission was supposed to collect a "fraternal tax", that is, gather "offerings from brothers who have little, for those who have nothing." Members of the Commission, among others, were Joseph Bohdan Zaleski, and Karski-Duński as secretary.

²⁰⁴ Elias Janvier (1798-1869) a ministerial official.

²⁰⁵ Collège Rollin - Charles Rollin (1667-1741) - a humanist and historian, a Rector of the University of Paris, author of books on pedagogy and a handbook for teachers. One of the Paris colleges was named in his honor.

I wake up late; breakfast with Adam at home. We go to Mickiewicz; he is not at home. To Phillipe du Roule,²⁰⁶ I go to St. Roch for Mass. Loman.²⁰⁷ I stop by to see Aicard, rue du Colombier, but he has moved. I look for Lacordaire, and Auguste Chevalier. To the Giedrojćes; we read *André*.²⁰⁸ Home at eight, tea. We pack his [Celiński's] papers and belongings.

[Monday] October 5

At nine, I go with Celiński to see Mickiewicz; he is not at home. At ten, (the first time beginning today) I go for a lesson, and then return home. Nakwaski drops by; I am to bring him the law journal on Wednesday. I and Celiński go to Mickiewicz; he is at home. He receives us well. At about three we leave. We meet Sobański. Later with Mickiewicz, discussion of future works. He shows me a letter from Peter.²⁰⁹ We meet Mrs. Rautenstrauch; they are going to the Wołoskis.²¹⁰ I have a lesson with Napoleon and a quick dinner.

²⁰⁶ The 18th century church of Saint-Philippe du Roule built in the style of primitive antiquity, was located on rue du Faubourg-Saint-Honoré.

²⁰⁷ Undoubtedly John Lohman (d.1848) - a former secretary of Louis Pac. He held the position of secretary of the Polish Women's Welfare Society in Paris.

²⁰⁸ *André* - the title of a novel by George Sand which appeared in a Paris bookstore in 1835.

²⁰⁹ A letter of Peter Semenenko from Solesmes, dated October 2, included a greeting ("personal regards") to Adam Mickiewicz (ACRR 1210).

²¹⁰ The Wołoskis (Wołoskis) - in the first half of the 19th century in Warsaw, a well-known family of Jewish origin. The Wołoskis were first followers of the "Messiah" Jacob Frank (1726-1891), and after his death they passed over in time to Catholicism, and polonized themselves. There were two Wołoski families, bearing various coats of arms. Francis Wołoski (1787-1844) lived in Paris, with the escutcheon "On the Helmets" - a Warsaw lawyer, a State Councillor, an envoy to the Sejm in 1825-1831. He was married to Tekla Wołoska (1786-1871), a close relative of Celine Mickiewicz. After the collapse of the uprising, he and his family emigrated to Paris in October 1832. He was active among the emigrants; one of the founders of the Literary Society.

The sons of Francis and Tekla Wołoski were: Louis (Cf. 1832, footnote 314), and Casimir (1813-1877), who participated in the November uprising. He emigrated in 1833, and completed legal studies in Paris. He worked in the Railway Administration. From 1837 he was a member of the Literary Society, and later a member of the Board of Directors of the Institute of Bread and Worship. He married a Frenchwoman, Henriette Martin (1813-1861).

At this same time Stanislaus Wołoski (1797-1847), of the Buffalo escutcheon, was living in Paris. He was a brother of Mary, nee Wołoski, Szymanowski, a pianist, and uncle of her daughter Celine Mickiewicz - a Warsaw doctor, he participated in the November uprising as the head surgeon of the staff of the Polish Army. In 1832 he became a member of Lelewel's Committee. The French Government decorated him with the Legion of Honor in recognition of his self-sacrificing assistance in the time of the cholera epidemic in Paris in 1832.

Before six, to Celiński. He wrote a letter to Kunatt. We go out for coffee, past *barrière d'Enfer*. I write a letter to Dąbrowski,²¹¹ giving him my future address and return 25 francs. Then we go outside. We bid one another a very fond farewell, but I lack sincerity. I return by the favorite;²¹² temptations return.

[Tuesday], October 6

At ten, to Komar for a lesson. She asks me about a pension; she does not have one. I meet Broniewski; he gives me 20 francs for Celiński. To the Giedrojćes. The General recalls the Collège. I learn that classes have already begun; therefore, I need to make arrangements for registration. A lesson. Dinner. On my way home, I would still like to stop at the Cabinet de Lecture. Meanwhile, temptations and a fall on rue Helder. - The landlady gives me a bill to be paid.

Wednesday, [October] 7

After breakfast and newspapers, to Mrs. Komar at ten; I still do not return the money. At about one, two, to the Giedrojćes. I tell them about the difficulties of moving; they offer help, but not very willingly. Dinner, coffee, home.

Thursday, [October] 8

For a lesson at ten. At one to the Giedrojćes to register Napoleon. We buy books at Delalain²¹³ etc. They give me 100 francs. I go back to move at about three. I receive 25 francs from Januszkiewicz, pay the landlady, and look for a mover and baskets. Dinner at the Englishman; for coffee to place de la Madelaine. To the Giedrojćes, tell them about the impossibility. Home. Friday, [October] 9

At the Komars at ten. Before twelve I am packing. I hire a mover for 5 francs, and move.²¹⁴ I get there just before five; letter from Mrs. Rautenstrauch. Dinner, coffee, a lesson - unpacking and arranging.

It may be worth mentioning that on July 22, 1834, after the wedding of Adam Mickiewicz and Celine Szymanowski, a wedding took place at the home of Francis Wołowski at which Bogdan Janski was present.

²¹¹ It is not known which of the Dąbrowskis Jański has in mind here. Probably this would be the Dąbrowski mentioned in the Diary five days later, under the date of October 10, and also October 13 and 16. (Cf. footnote 133).

²¹² Favorite - An omnibus of the Favorite company. In Paris there were several hundred buses belonging to various companies, such as: Batignollaises, Citadines, Gazelles, etc.

²¹³ Delalain - This could be a Paris bookseller.

²¹⁴ Jański moved, from the house on rue Suréne 14, to the home of the Giedrojćes on rue Souffolt 10.

Saturday, [October] 10

I escort Napoleon. For Mass. To the Komars. I receive 100 francs. I meet Mr. Sobański. I go to visit Karski, pay him 20 francs for Celiński. We have breakfast together, and talk about becoming associated. I babble about the Democratic Society etc.²¹⁵ I meet Dąbrowski; we go for coffee. After three to Mrs. Rautenstrauch. I give her the writing samples for Mrs. Białopiotrowicz and a letter. I take the *Encyclopédie des Gens du Monde* with me and go home. I return 60 francs to the General. Dinner. To Zdzienicki, and return 10 francs to him. I put my books in order.

303 Sunday, October 11

It is already eight when we get up. We buy books. Then I go to visit Dąbrowski, Gronostajski;²¹⁶ talk too much unnecessarily. Home at 11:30, breakfast. To church at twelve. After Mass a short walk, and then home after one; a Greek lesson until six. Dinner. I go out for coffee, and return about eight. Talk about Gerbet's book etc. etc. (I admit unnecessarily that for the last ten years I have been wanting to get up early, but cannot do so); further work on the Greek lesson until almost ten, and I stay up until twelve.

Monday, [October] 12

After eight to Dąbrowski. For Mass to abbaye. To Broniewski, give him a receipt. For a lesson - Włodzimierz is very polite - until twelve. Mrs. Komar proposes that I give lessons to her daughters.²¹⁷ To Januszkiewicz. Jełowicki returned. I go to see him. I am not myself, and don't know what to say. To the office of the *Encyclopédie*, where I meet Leroux; once again I am not myself etc. I return home at 1:30, work with Napoleon, and then fall asleep. At four I go to see Aicard, rue Férou Saint-Sulpice. I promise to have the article "Bohème" ready for next week. Back home, Gerycz. Dinner, Mrs. Rautenstrauch. I go to rue des Mathurins for coffee. On returning, tea, and chat. At ten upstairs. I read and write about the Czechs.

[Tuesday, October] 13

²¹⁵ At this time discussions were going on within the Polish Democratic Society dealing with its program and a profession of its faith ("manifesto"), which lasted for many months. It was only on December 4, 1836, that the Great Manifesto (as distinguished from the Small Manifesto of 1832; Cf. 1832, footnote 65) of the Polish Democratic Society was proclaimed.

²¹⁶ Gerard Bruno Gronostajski (1804-1846) - professor of ancient literature in a Vilno grammar school. He participated in the November uprising, and was an emigrant in France from 1832.

²¹⁷ Mrs. Komar's daughters: Natalie and Louise (Ludmila). Cf. footnote 76.

After eight to Dąbrowski, Kazimirski; I venture to ask for a loan. I have coffee a second time. To St. Roch; inspirations. To Mrs. Komar. I am well received; she asks me about Stawiarski. I accompany Włodziu to the boarding-school, and visit a house on rue Courcelles. To Karski for a loan, and concerning Borysiewicz's 3 francs. I catch sight of them in a coffee house. The feast of St. Edward, namesday; I remain without waiting to be asked. In the course of the celebration, until eight, I forget myself once more - my destiny, obligations, etc. My and Zand's²¹⁸ song. Back home; work with Napoleon until eleven.

Wednesday, [October] 14

To church at 8:30. Back home, a man comes from the police to ask about Celiński. I think about sending letters to friends here concerning the need to become associated. Inspirations. At 10:30 downstairs to take Napoleon to Collège [Rollin]. Breakfast at eleven. Work with Napoleon. At 1:30 to Komar for my salary; a lesson until three. To Mickiewicz; he is out. I meet Karski, and Bronikowski; I am mixed up. To Czajkowski²¹⁹ for Waga. An article in "Północ"²²⁰ [North] - I am confused. Gorecki is not in. To Ogiński to ask about prices. For dinner at five, and then for coffee; I continue to be lustful. At eight work with Napoleon and I myself waste time.

Thursday, October 15

I escort Napoleon to school and go to church; a devotion with exposition. The feast of St. Teresa; I have to offer greetings to Mrs. Ogiński. Breakfast, work with Napoleon, translating Greek until dinner. After dinner, to Kazimirski for Asiatic transactions²²¹ for Mickiewicz; he doesn't have them. To Domejko;

²¹⁸ Zand - an emigrant; member of the Polish Democratic Society, who recruited new members for the Society.

²¹⁹ There were many Czajkowskis living among the emigrants. The best-known of these was Michael Czajkowski (1804-1886). During Jański's stay in France he was a budding writer, active among the emigrants. At the beginning of 1835 he came to Paris, and made contact with Adam Mickiewicz, and Kunegunda Białopiotrowicz, among others. It is very probable that Jański has him in mind here. (Cf. 1838, footnote 262).

²²⁰ "The North" - a periodical edited by John Czyński and Simon Konarski, which appeared in Paris from January to October 1835. The mention of it here concerns the last, the sixteenth, number, of October 12. (Cf. footnote 202).

²²¹ Adalbert Kazimirski - an orientalist (Cf. 1832, footnote 249).

"Asiatic Transactions" - this concerns an English periodical, "Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland", published in 1823/24-1833/35 (I-III). The title was changed to "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland" 1834-1863 (I-XX), London.

he isn't in. On my way home, to Café de Varsovie. I read about the Czechs, and take brief notes.

Friday, [October] 16

After eight to Dąbrowski and Gronostajski; they are cold. For a lesson. To Mickiewicz. I tell him about celebrating St. Edward, and Czyński's²²² ideas. I take Bandtki and a book on Czech literature. To Karski. We go to Ordęga; on the way I try to collect myself, but there is always some pretence. I show him a letter from Peter, [the entry breaks off here].

304 a lack of sincerity and endurance of hunger. To Ordęga, Tymoski²²³ - the conversation is listless. We go to Celarier;²²⁴ there without aplomb. On returning once again there is a conversation with pretence, and not in a sincere Christian spirit. On the way back. I meet Kołysko; reserved. To Gorecki; he is not in. I buy Gerbet for Mrs. Giedrojc. I meet Kazimirski and Aicard (Bohème fifteen days from now). Dinner, and then immediately a lesson with Napoleon. I leave at 8:30, unable to stand it without coffee. I would like to drink on credit at Café de Varsovie, but I restrain myself and go home. I read a little of Bandtki and fall asleep.

Saturday [October] 17

I got up at six, but did nothing before breakfast. For Mass at 8:30. Back home, meditation, and I fall asleep. At eleven a lesson with Napoleon; breakfast. O go out at one. To Korycki; he is out. I meet Dobrowolski: just reproofs; unjust reproofs of deception, coldness, and insincerity. To Walter; he has returned already. To Karski; he is out. I leave *Janusz*²²⁵ for him. To

At the time Adam Mickiewicz was interested in the the issue of "The Slavic Nations, from the time of their egress from Asia" in his work on *The first centuries of Polish history*.

²²² The allusion here is to an article by John Czyński which was published in "The North". (Cf. footnote 202).

²²³ Undoubtedly Thomas Canterbury Tymowski (1790-1850) He participated in the Napoleonic wars in Spain. In the years 1817-1822, he was a high-ranking official of the Warsaw Education Commission. A freemason. During the November uprising he was an envoy to the Sejm, vice-president of the Patriotic Society, and a journalist in the insurgent press. As an emigrant in France, he was active in Lelewel's Committee. In 1835 he was an envoy to the emigrant Sejm. In February of 1836 he signed the Act of Confederation of the Polish Nation. He was Expelled from Paris by the French authorities, and settled in Bordeaux. He took an active part in the political life of the emigration. A poet.

²²⁴ Cf. 1834, footnote 42.

²²⁵ This refers to Vincent Pol's *Songs of Janusz*. (Cf. footnote 56).

Mickiewicz; I give him Olearius;²²⁶ he allows me to keep Bandtki (many people, Grzymała, Pietkiewicz²²⁷). For a lesson; too much indulgence, practically indifference, sluggishness. To Witwicki; discussion about my activities. To Ogiński; I meet the princess and beg her pardon that today I am not coming to pay a visit. Back home. After dinner, at 7:30, to Walter; I meet Bourgeois.²²⁸ Coffee at Walter's house; he talks about his interests. At 9:30 to Pietkiewicz, Wejssenhof - apparently he has a grudge against me, rightly so, because of my indifference. I return "Univers Catholique" to Bourgeois, and write these recollections. I think about letters.

Sunday, [October] 18

I get up only after eight; for breakfast at nine. I go to my room, where I write these remembrances until 10:30. To church.

305 After eleven, breakfast. After that I intended to write letters; however at twelve a Greek and Latin lesson with Napoleon until 3:30. Daydreaming. At four to Walter. I take *Symbolik*²²⁹ to him, and borrow 2 francs. Dinner, a chat, to Café de Varsovie. I return at eight, and go to my room at 8:30. Napoleon is copying the exercises, while I reflect lying down, and about eleven, after writing a few lines in these notes, and thinking about letters, I go to sleep.

306 Sunday, October 18

²²⁶ Olearius, that is Adam Olschläger (c.1603-1671) - a German traveler and cartographer. He participated in trade missions to Moscow and Persia. The descriptions of these travels appeared in 1647 : *Beschreibung der Newen Orientalischen Reise...* Schleswig. These were translated into French: *Relation du voyage de Moscovie, de Tartarie et de Perse*, Paris, 1656. This was supplemented with maps and copper-plate engravings presenting scenes of places visited by Olearius, and was published in two volumes: *Voyages très-curieux et très-renommés faits en Moscovie, en Tartarie et en Perse avec cartes géographiques...*, Amsterdam, 1727.

²²⁷ Undoubtedly, John Bogumil Valerian Pietkiewicz (1805-1843) - A teacher of the history of Roman law at the university in Vilno. An envoy to the Sejm of 1831. He lived in France as an emigrant. He was a member of the Society of Lithuania and the Russian Territories.

²²⁸ Probably J. Bourgeois - editor of the "Gazette de France"; a newspaper man; a legitimist; a Catholic thinker; a social worker, in his views similar to the theories of Buchez. A future associate of the "Association Catholique", a periodical of the Catholic working classes.

²²⁹ The principal work of Adam Möhler (1796-1838) - a Catholic theologian of the Tubingen school. *Symbolik* (1832) - a study comparing Catholic and Protestant doctrine in the area of ecclesiology. In it, the author tried to show that Christianity, before it accepted philosophy, was a teaching about salvation, and that a knowledge of Tradition leads to the acceptance of the unity of the Church and the primacy of Rome.

Next week: to Mrs. and Mrs. Ogiński, and for a song for Witwicki.

I must visit:

Kunatt, Benoist, Dobrowolski, Chine
Wejssenhof, Aicard, Korycki, Cheruel
Karski, Gorecki, Domejko

Write to: Dalen, Konopka, Brawacki, Laurent
Vannier, Gautier.

(N.B. On Wednesday, the 28th, wish Skórzyński a happy feastday)

Vismar, Drewnicki.

Take the colored paper to Kraiński.

305 Monday, [October] 19

I get up at seven, very lazy, needlessly remain at the [Giedrojć] home until 8:30. Went to Mass; comfort and hope. To Zdziennicki; he is not in. Świerczewski²³⁰ with complaints about Januszkiewicz. To Korycki, he is happy to see me, a conversation to no purpose. After ten, home; I work with Napoleon until 2:30. To Zdziennicki; he is not as friendly as when he is drunk. I sit there needlessly until 3:30. For a petit verre; I learn that, in Batignolle, fifteen of our people were arrested.²³¹ I had practically reached the house, when I returned to Januszkiewicz to learn further details. On the way, as in my room, my mind is always full of idle thoughts. I return before five, and go to my room upstairs; idle reflections, but also some mental prayer. Dinner. Mrs. Rautenstrauch; a discussion about illusions. Gerycz drops by, Krasiński.²³² At seven Zdziennicki arrives, takes pants to be repaired, while I go to Café Voltaire ("Revue des Deux Mondes", "France Littéraire"²³³). After ten I return home, and these reflections. I write letters to Solesmes, and to Mrs. Białopiotrowicz.

²³⁰ Possibly Charles, or Joseph Świerczewski (1809-1883), or Charles - both participated in the November uprising, and initially lived as emigrants in Bourges.

²³¹ The "Batignolle" section of the Polish Democratic Society met in Battignole, a village in the outskirts of Paris. On Sunday, October 18, 1835, the French police, sniffing a conspiracy, descended on the individuals meeting there and put them in jail. Those who had been imprisoned were released a month later.

²³² There were a few Krasińskis among the Polish emigrants. In 1835, Zygmunt Krasiński, the poet, was not yet in Paris. The reference here is possibly to Henry Krasiński (1804-1876), a distant relative of Zygmunt. Henry Krasiński was a writer, a poet, a participant in the November uprising, who lived as an emigrant first in France, and then from 1837 in England. He was the author of a few historical works.

²³³ "La France Littéraire" - a Paris periodical, which also published articles dedicated to Polish issues.

308 Tuesday, October 20

After coffee and Mass, I rewrite the letter to Solesmes. Breakfast at eleven. Work with Napoleon. At one to Zdziennicki. He is drunk, arguing with his wife; he promises the pants for tomorrow morning. I meet Wilczyński.²³⁴ He tells me about some kind of tutorship available through the Ogińskis. To Kaczanowski at two at Chaillot;²³⁵ Karski was arrested. I do not meet Dmóchowski. For at lesson to the Komar boy (I think about accepting a position with Mrs. Komar, if she were to travel to Rome). She gives me some kind of letter for rue Ville-l'Évêque. At Januszkiewicz's place, I write a postscript to Solesmes, and take it to the postoffice. Dinner. To Walter at about eight; coffee, Rostkowski, I tell him about Wodziński and Mrs. Piotrowski.²³⁶ I stop by to see Wejssenhof; his accusations and gibes about coldness (Pietkiewicz); mention of Adele and Celine. Back home at ten. I look for the anniversary of my wedding etc.

Wednesday, [October] 21

Mass. Lesson with Włodziu at 10:30. He gives me a letter for the porter, which I do not deliver. To Dmóchowski. I meet Ledóchowski²³⁷ and Trzciński²³⁸ on their way to offer greetings to Mrs. Krysiński - Ursula.²³⁹ Dmóchowski is not in. I hurry back for a second breakfast, and a lesson with Napoleon. My mind is full of thoughts about Rome, as well as lofty religious, and spiritual thoughts. I get home, and a fall: I gorge myself on cheese and drink wine like a pig. A lesson with Napoleon. A slipshod reading of Bandtki. Dinner. A letter from

²³⁴ Possibly John Wilczyński (1805-1869) - a lawyer. He participated in the November uprising. A member of the Patriotic Society. As an emigrant in France, he worked as a railway official. He lived in Paris.

²³⁵ Chaillot - a village in the outskirts of Paris - a summer resort near the Bois de Boulogne.

²³⁶ Piotrowska - unknown.

²³⁷ John Ledóchowski (1791-1864) - a former staff officer and aide-de-camp of General Joseph Poniatowski. He participated in the November uprising. He presented a motion in the Sejm to dethrone the Tsar, and to abolish compulsory labor. As an emigrant, he lived in Paris, and was involved in social-political work. Exiled from France, he worked in London. He organized and supported various cultural activities.

²³⁸ Francis Trzciński (1786-1861) - In 1824 he was an envoy to the Sejm of the Kingdom of Poland. He participated in the November uprising. After 1831 he was an emigrant in France. A member of the Polish Democratic Society.

²³⁹ Ursula Krysińska - the wife of Ildefonse Krysiński (1795-1870), a surgeon who participated in the November uprising. He was a relative of Celine Mickiewicz, and worked in Paris as a doctor.

Szymański. (Przeciszewski²⁴⁰ and Dołubowski.²⁴¹) I am out of tobacco. I go to Walter, meet women there; there is no coffee. I stop to get my pants from Zdziennicki. I return home, angry with myself for my lack of perseverance. Soon after I go to bed.

Thursday, [October 22]

I get up at six. After coffee, to Benoist. A friendly, effective conversation. I would like to borrow money, but am ashamed to do so. Thoughts about association, and with Frenchmen. I return after eleven, already half of breakfast. Napoleon goes out for an overcoat. I go to the library, where I read Malte-Brun and Koch. I wanted to borrow a book from Menestrier,²⁴² but he disappeared before three. I stop in to see Gorecki. He tells me that Mickiewicz has received a letter from Solesmes. On my way home I want to stop by to see Fanny to borrow money. Home after four. A lesson and dinner. Immediately after dinner, a lesson. Soon after that I go to bed.

309 Friday, [October] 23

The anniversary of my marriage to Alexandra. I get up at six. At 9:30, for a lesson. I stepped into Assomption for prayer. I meet Dmóchowski. We talk about Karski; a bad situation, they will remain in jail for a long time. At the lesson I lie that I gave the letter to the porter. To the library; I read Schöll, and take Pelzl's²⁴³ *Czech History*. I meet Wejssenhof. He tells me about his interests; he wants Catholic books. We go for vodka, and I am tempted to ask him for a loan. Home about four. I receive 20 francs from the General and go out to redeem by watch. I return after five. A letter from Smolikowski asking me to return his 3 francs. After dinner I go to Dąbrowski with tickets for Gymnase Musical;²⁴⁴ he is not in. I go to Konopka; he doesn't want the tickets. To Café Voltaire. I return at about eight. In the parlor conversation with the princess

²⁴⁰ Anthony Przeciszewski (1797-?) - an officer in the army of the Kingdom of Poland, an envoy to the Sejm, he participated in the November uprising. He was expelled from Paris by French authorities in 1832 for signing a proclamation to the Russians. Along with other envoys, he aimed at assembling the Sejm in the emigration. He lived in hiding in Paris, but ultimately was forced to settle in Bourges. He supported the politics of Prince Adam Czartoryski.

²⁴¹ Possibly Constantine Ferdinand Dołubowski (b.1803) - a participant in the November uprising in Lithuania who lived in the depot at Bourges.

²⁴² Carl Menestrier (1804-?) - a former saintsimonist; a journalist.

²⁴³ Martin F. Pelzel (1735-1801) - a Czech historian who wrote in the German language: *Geschichte von Böhmen* (Fourth edition, Prague, 1817).

²⁴⁴ Gymnase Musical - A musical theater operative in Paris, situated next to the Gymnase Dramatique on the Boulevard Bonne-Nouvelle.

about my marriage. Work with Napoleon, and excerpts from Bandtkie until almost twelve. Napoleon sits with me.

Saturday, [October] 24

I get up at six, and make further excerpts from Bandtkie and Winarzycki.²⁴⁵ With Napoleon, I purchase a German grammar. After coffee, to Dąbrowski; he is always cold and refined. He is supposed to go to Versailles today. Back home, Vannieuvenhuysen; parting was unpleasant; further, Winarzycki. I think about my mistakes not so long ago - about a lack of faith and zeal, and about my surrender to sensual needs. At ten I go to the Collège to see Mr. de Calonne,²⁴⁶ but I cannot wait for him. I return for a lesson until eleven. Breakfast. I buy *Cours des Thèmes*²⁴⁷ with Napoleon. A short lesson. At one o'clock to the library (I meet Oleszczyński). I scan through Schöll, and take Malte-Brun with me. I leave at two, and deliver the letter to Gauthi.²⁴⁸ To Mickiewicz in order to return Bandtkie and Winarzycki; he is not in. In the doorway I speak with Mrs. Mickiewicz.²⁴⁹ During a lesson, my disinterest, sluggishness, a kind of hypocrisy, faint-heartedness, excessive concern for appearances rather than on my own disposition. - O God! My only hope is in you!

310 To Pecqueur for the *Encyclopédie*. We talk about Coëssin, the *Encyclopédie catholique* etc. Malte-Brun from Menestiere; a calendar from Słowaczyński. To Gorecki (Orpiszewski has not yet arrived). When I return it is already 5:30. Dinner. Przeciszewski and Dołubowski. I go out about seven to Café Voltaire, for my watch, it is already redeemed. To Aicard. Maugin;²⁵⁰ I behave well, with reserve. Home; the guests are still there; tea. At 9:30 I go to my room. The stove is already lit. I sit up until one o'clock loitering, and skimming through books, and my articles in the *Encyclopédie*.

From this week my conscience is burdened by:

²⁴⁵ Charles Winarzycki - the Polish form of Karel Vinarický (1803-1869) - the Czech author of a work entitled *Concerning present-day Czech literature*, which appeared in Kraków in 1834.

²⁴⁶ Pierre-Fabius de Calonne (1794-?) - a professor in the Collège Royal de Henri IV in Paris. He translated and published works of Tacitus and Cornelius Nepos.

²⁴⁷ *Cours des thèmes et de versions grecques et latines*, Paris, 1815, Vol.13.

²⁴⁸ Gauthi - perhaps Gauthier (Gauti), a tailor. (Cf. 1834, footnote 7).

²⁴⁹ Celine Mickiewicz, nee Szymanowska, (1812-1855) - from July 1832 the wife of the poet Adam Mickiewicz.

²⁵⁰ François Maugin (1785-1854) - A French deputy, a member of the Central Franco-Polish Committee.

1. not keeping my word to the Ogińskis. I was supposed to visit them on Monday; and no response to Szymański's letter;
2. not keeping my word to Mickiewicz;
3. my lie to Włodziu;
4. wasting Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday by surrendering to the needs of the flesh, especially coffee and tobacco, and by a lack of confidence in God, due to a lack of faith in prayer.

311 Sunday, [October] 25

Reminding myself of time spent in the past week, reflecting on my mistakes, writing the above notes. At ten for Mass; inspirations, interior peace. Then to Mr. de Calonne; he is not in. A second breakfast. Work with Napoleon. He irritates me, disturbs my peace; however, I catch myself and try to gain control over myself. I consider that perhaps it is God's will that I am experiencing obstacles in my domestic situation, in order that I might learn to fulfill my obligations in spite of these. At five to Mr. de Callone; a polite reception by the professor, le duc de Montpensier.²⁵¹ Dinner with Przewozowski and Dołubowski; I allow myself to overeat somewhat; I feel the wine in my head and on my cheeks. At about seven, Mr. de Callone arrives. We speak about Napoleon. I adopt an improper position, as though I were receiving him at my place. He leaves, and I leave shortly after him. I still go for coffee to the place Saint-Michel, then for the key and upstairs to my room. Napoleon comes back after ten - and then almost immediately goes to bed. I skim through Malte-Brun, and write notes until one o'clock.

307 [Sunday], October 25

Next week:

Mickiewicz,

Mr. and Mrs. Ogiński

Dalen

the book for Wejssenhof

Dobrowolski, first to Pecqueur for Richer²⁵²

Chine - to Chodzkiewicz,²⁵³ to Łopaciński

Kunatt, Cheruel

²⁵¹ Antoine-Marie de Montpensier (1824-1890) - the fifth, and youngest, son of King Louis Philip.

²⁵² Adrian Richer (1720-1798) - a French historian.

²⁵³ Undoubtedly Ignatius Chodzkiewicz (1810-1861) from White Russia. He participated in the November uprising as a lieutenant. From 1832 an emigrant in Paris. Later he became a Towianist. A member of the Legion of 1848.

Gerbet to Benoist
 to Charles Wodziński
 Letters to Smolikowski
 buy calling cards
Dictionnaire de Conversation et de Lecture

Monday [October 26]

I am finishing excerpts from Malte-Brun. Breakfast at eleven. I return Malte-Brun to Menestrier; read Marcel de Serres,²⁵⁴ de Courtin's²⁵⁵ *Encyclopédie*. To Mickiewicz at three, but he is out. To Mrs. Ogiński at four. (I meet Princess [Caroline] Giedrojc, and needlessly do not stop to talk). Once again complete agreement; I propose [Joseph] Hube. She invites me for dinners on Saturdays. For Dinner to Katcombe; it is past time. On the rue des Capucines, I finish at six. To the Cabinet de Lecture. I ask for an English encyclopedia; none is available. At Galignani; there too none is available. To Palais-Royal; under 156 I read and make excerpts concerning the Czechs from "Revue Britannique".²⁵⁶ Thiers; once again I am inattentive in conversation. There is nothing in Michelet. Home at eleven. (While returning I think about a condition for our fraternal association, so that we might have something to do together.)

312 Tuesday, October 27

After eight to Dąbrowski. I tell Gronostajski about the proposition of the Ogińskis; he is to visit them today. Home; on a shirt marks of Napoleon's habit can be discovered. At ten to Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève. I read *Histoire universelle*, Paris,²⁵⁷ Bouquinerie de Charles, by Montgaillard.²⁵⁸ Breakfast at eleven. Talk with the princess about Napoleon's habit. He overhears, and this leads to an argument; at first he denies, but later admits his fault) - a lecture. The General expresses some discontent with our conversation. He challenges

²⁵⁴ Marcel de Serres (1782-1862) - A french geologist and traveller.

²⁵⁵ Encyclopédie de Courtin - Eustachius M.P.M. Antoine Courtin, publisher of the Encyclopédie moderne, ou Dictionnaire abrégé des sciences, des lettres et des arts, avec l'indication des ouvrages où les divers sujets sont développés et approfondis, par...et une Société des Gens de Lettres, Paris, 1825-1832, 24 volumes.

²⁵⁶ "Revue Britannique, ou choix d'articles traduits des meilleurs écrits périodiques de la Grande-Bretagne" ... and then "Revue Britannique. Recueil international" which was published in the years 1833-1835.

²⁵⁷ *Histoire universelle depuis de commencement du monde jusqu'a présent*. Composé en anglois... nouvellement traduite en français par une Société des Gens de Lettres. Published in Paris in the years 1779-1791 in 126 volumes.

²⁵⁸ Bouquinerie de Charles - a second-hand bookshop... a further entry: Montgaillard, undoubtedly Jean-Gabriel Maurice Rocques de Montgaillard (1761-1841) journalist.

his wife, and engages in a tug of war. Work with Napoleon. I go out after one. At two I am at Mickiewicz's house; he is not in. I do not know what to do with my time. I go for a petit verre, rue Pépinière; I doze. For a lesson; I cannot maintain Włodziu's attention. One my way back, I stop once again to see Mickiewicz. He is not there, but at a dinner in the city. I go home, dinner. After eight, to Walter, Ropelewski - I am lacking in all zeal or purpose in my conversation, as though I had no faith. I add a postscript to Zenon [Świętosławski]. I return for a lesson with Napoleon.

Wednesday [October] 28, Saint Simon

Lesson with Włodziu. To the library. Menestrier gives me Lichtenstern.²⁵⁹ I read further from Schöll. Francisque Michel²⁶⁰ gives me his address, and promises assistance, etc. I am introduced to Danielo;²⁶¹ he is extremely affable, tells me about his works, and speaks about Bonetty,²⁶² Rain; I am chilled. To Walter, where I meet his aimée [mistress]; vodka, empty conversation. Rostkowski stops by. I borrow 4 francs from Walter (in order to pay Mrs. Rautenstrauch for the tickets). Dinner. In the evening, after coffee at home, I scan through Lichtenstern, making excerpts concerning Czech regions. A letter from Szymański, asking me to write to Hube with a proposal.

Thursday, [October] 29, Saint Narcissus

I seem to think that I first attended Mass, and then wrote here notes from the first two days of this week (holy thoughts, about renouncing all pride and worldly interests).

313 It was only today that I went to see Mr. de Callone in order to inquire about cahier de correspondance [a correspondence register], but he was not in. Back home, a lesson with Napoleon. Breakfast with meat. At two, to the Sainte-

²⁵⁹ Joseph Liechtenstern (Lichtenstern) (1765-1828) - geographer, cartographer, statistician. Author of the work: *Umriss einer geographischstatischen Schilderung des Königreiches Böhmen*, Breslau - Leipzig, 1822.

²⁶⁰ François Michel (1808-1887) - French historian and archeologist.

²⁶¹ Jean-Paul Danielo (1808-1857) - one-time secretary of Chateaubriand; a journalist.

²⁶² Augustin Bonnetty (1798-1879) - French journalist, philosopher, and historian. He studied theology in a seminary, but remained a lay person. He propagated Christian philosophy and defended religion. He entered into contact with Fr. Lamennais, and in Paris in 1830, established the Annual "Annales de la philosophie chrétienne". which he edited until 1836. In the years 1836-1840 he worked in the editorial office of the "L'Université Catholique", and wrote articles in the spirit of fideism and moderate traditionalism. He was opposed to scholastic philosophy because of its "rationalism."

Geneviève Library, where I read about Wallenstein²⁶³ and Zychy²⁶⁴ etc. in *Biographie universelle*, and Bohême in d'Alembert's²⁶⁵ *Encyclopédie*. Napoleon does not want to study the lessons that were neglected; I force him to do so, etc.

After dinner, to Café de Varsovie, and to look for the "Revue du Nord" in Palais-Royal, at Galignani, and at Neuve-Saint-Augustin; I cannot find it anywhere. I meet Krasiński, who invites me to accompany him to Olizar.²⁶⁶ I inquire about the "Revue du Nord" at the passage du Commerce, on rue Monsieur le Prince - then go home at nine.

Friday, [October] 30

At ten for a lesson with Włodziu, and then go to see Mickiewicz. He lets me read a letter from Peter.²⁶⁷ Gorecki stops by, and I needlessly show him the letter, even though it contained things about which he was not to be told. I went with him to see Witwicki, telling him to visit Mickiewicz; then to church²⁶⁸ (I meet Dmochowski). I am overwhelmed with holy thoughts, inspirations, wishes to hide good works and dedicate my whole life to the glory of God, and the good of my neighbor. Unnecessarily I press forward with an offer of my capriole for Mrs. Plater.²⁶⁹ On my way back, I meet Gorecki once again. Nothing moves from my heart to my lips; cold silence. To the library. A meeting with Konopka and with vodka. To Langiaconi, for permission to visit Sainte-Pélagie;²⁷⁰ He is not available. Then to Lacordaire to seek his advice concerning a confessor for Napoleon in Sainte-Geneviève,²⁷¹ Cheruel is sick; I am

²⁶³ Albrecht Von Wallenstein (1583-1634) - from 1626 the commander-in-chief of the emperor's armies during the thirty-years war.

²⁶⁴ John Žižka (c.1360-1424) - a Czech national hero, leader of the Taborites.

²⁶⁵ Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (1717-1783) - a French philosopher, mathematician and physicist, a member of the French Academy; one of the founders and co-editors of *The Great French Encyclopedia*.

²⁶⁶ Narcissus Olizar - Cf. footnote 164. - Henry Krasiński - Cf. footnote 232.

²⁶⁷ This deals with a letter of Peter Semenenko sent from Solesmes on October 26, 1835. The letter is preserved in the Roman archives (ACRR 1209).

²⁶⁸ The "Polish Emigration Weekly" (part VII, p.8) published in Paris in 1835, informed that: "On the 30th of this month, at 12 noon, in the church of Saint Louis d'Antin, a funeral service was held in memory of the deceased General Voivode Pac. Poles living in Paris attended this service." ...

²⁶⁹ Maria Anna, nee Brzostowska, Plater. After the death of her first husband Idzi Joseph Hylzen in 1801, she entered a second marriage with Louis Plater. She belonged to the Polish Women's Welfare Society in Paris. She died in Poznań in 1843.

²⁷⁰ Langiaconi - a French official who issued permits to visit the Sainte-Pélagie jail.

²⁷¹ Sainte-Geneviève - the church of St. Genevieve, the patroness of Paris. King Louis XV vowed that if healed of a serious illness he would build a church in honor of St. Genevieve. The work of building lasted 33 years, and was completed in 1789. At the time

especially confused, and reserved in conversation. Upon returning, I find a letter from Bohdan [Zaleski], instructing me to be in Chaillot tomorrow at ten.

Saturday, [October] 31

From early morning at home various occupations and reflections; as a result, I was late in going to meet Zaleski. I met them at breakfast in a café. A conference about writing some kind of declaration from those who are in jail at Sainte-Pélagie. We remained with Dmuchowski until about one o'clock. Then, while waiting for a steam engine for Versailles, we spend about an hour with Bohdan. He speaks to me about Brodziński,²⁷² Ostrowski,²⁷³ Grabowski,²⁷⁴ etc. I am disconcerted once again, for contrary to resolutions, I wanted to display my talents in conversation. I asked him for a loan (to repay "New Poland"). He refuses my request, and I feel greatly humiliated. I go to see Ogiński about Hube and the tutorship. Then, for a short stop at the library, and for a lesson. After than, having shaved, I go to the Ogińskis for dinner; in conversation I am so-so. At eight I leave, and go upstairs to Szymański. He wants to talk with me about religion, but there is a lack of zeal in me. I want to borrow money from him, but he has none. I take the bus home. To Café de Varsovie; I meet Domeyko, and, unnecessarily, I show him the letter from Solesmes.

314 Sunday, November 1

Napoleon begins his work after six, and I get up. After breakfast to Mr. de Callone for information about the register of correspondence. He gives me his poems about Poland.²⁷⁵ To Stawiarski; he wants me to provide him with a suitcase so that he can move. To Hine; he is not in. I meet Smolikowski. He treats me in a very friendly manner, invites me to visit him, etc. (I no longer pawn my watch). I leave de Callone's *Myzyla* at home. To church. I meet

of the Great Revolution, the church was changed into a temple of Fame. After that it was called the Panthéon, and became the burial place of famous people (Volter, Rousseau...). Napoleon I restored its primary function as a church and from 1806 it once again became a place for ecclesiastical rites. This situation continued until 1885.

²⁷² As he was returning from treatments for illness, Casimir Brodziński (b.1791) died in Dresden on October 10, 1835. He was a poet, historian and literary theorist, a journalist and translator. From 1823 he was a professor at the University of Warsaw. A member of the Warsaw Society of the Friends of Learning. He was noted for his liberal and Slavophil views. He supported the November uprising.

²⁷³ Undoubtedly Josaphat Boleslaus Ostrowski (Cf. 1832 footnote 114; 1835, footnote 57). Together with Maurice Mochnecki, he criticized Brodziński's contemporary tendencies.

²⁷⁴ Michael Grabowski (1804-1863) - a literary critic, novelist and journalist. He was regarded as an authority in the field of Polish literature.

²⁷⁵ In French academic bibliographies there is no mention of de Calonne's poetry dedicated to Poland.

Korycki; we talk about moral philosophy, his sermons, etc. I meet Princess Giedrojc, and then return for breakfast. Korzeniowski²⁷⁶ stays until two. In conversation with him I do not show sufficient life or zeal. I missed Mass. After two o'clock I did not feel well, and so slept until dinner without writing the letter to Hube. Conversation with John before dinner about religion and about his confession. I go out at eight for coffee (after talking about fears with the Princess). Domejko at Café de Varsovie. Unnecessarily, I give him Peter's letter to read, etc. Łopaciński (I am reserved). Przeclawski had a house visit. Domejko accompanies me a part of the way. He praises Chelchowski etc. Home, to be, and I soon fall asleep.

[Monday], November 2

After Napoleon leaves, I finish a letter to Hube in which, through lack of attention, I present the proposal to him with too great a certainty.²⁷⁷ At eleven to church for Mass, for it is All Souls Day. Meat at breakfast. With Napoleon, I purchase a correspondence register. A lesson. I rewrite the letter to Hube, and take it to the post office at three. I pawn my watch. To Kunatt for de Lamennais; he hasn't got it. I meet Leroux, Maugin. To Januszkiewicz. I meet Morawski and Biernacki.²⁷⁸ Once again I am perturbed, feel uncertain, and do not sit down to write a letter to Aicard; I write it and deliver it. I stop in at the office of the *Encyclopédie*; a letter to Korzeniowski. Home. After dinner to Café Procope (on the way I meet Korycki, who is distant). I meet Chodkiewicz and Zakrzewski,²⁷⁹ and later Frydrych.²⁸⁰ Once again I am short on self-assurance, lack moral zeal and a sure direction in conversation. To Cabinet de Lecture where I read articles about the Czechs in the *Biographie universelle*. Konopka - I walk home with him needlessly and stop in, already after eleven.

²⁷⁶ Undoubtedly Humphrey Anthony Joseph Korzeniowski - Cf. 1832, footnote 58.

²⁷⁷ In the Roman archives of the Congregation of the Resurrection (ACRR 8514) a letter of Bogdan Jański to Joseph Hube has been preserved which contains the proposition: "A very favorable teaching position has become available here: all the conveniences of home, and more or less 2,000 francs a year. This is at a French home, in the family of Mr. Benoiste, once a peer of France. Because of their confidence in our moral and religious character, they definitely wish to hire some learned Pole to tutor their 14 year old boy. They want such a tutor to be able to teach Latin, Greek, and German, and especially to be able to give a proper religious direction to the whole of education. [...] This entire matter is being handled through the agency of the Ogińskis, with whom I have a good relationship and to whom I have recommended you."

²⁷⁸ Undoubtedly Aloysius Biernacki (1778-1854) - envoy to the Sejm of 1831, a farmer, stock breeder, and former minister of the National Government (1831). Along with General Dwernicki, and envoy Nakwaski, he established the Society of National Education.

²⁷⁹ Perhaps Alexander Zakrzewski, captain, engineer, who lived in Paris from 1833.

²⁸⁰ Bartholomew Frydrych - Cf. 1832, footnote 336.

Tuesday, [November] 3

After breakfast I still go for a petit verre to Café Voltaire. I meet Frydrych. I leave at nine to visit Januszkiewicz. They played cards until four in the morning - I am wasting time.

315 Eustachius gives me an overcoat. At 9:30 I go to Mrs. Komar. I meet Szymański; am well received. He wishes to talk too much unnecessarily; he is mixed up. I deliver a letter to Mrs. Rautenstrauch. I meet Skorzyński. I stop in to see Czaykowski; I am looking for Korzeniowski. To the library, where I continue to read Schöll about the Czechs, Wallenstein, and Potocki. I make excerpts about the Slavs. Miss Roland; my article must be ready by next Wednesday. +Day-dreaming about lessons with the Komar girls.+ To Włodziu for a lesson. He has a glandular sickness; we waste time talking. To Januszkiewicz. I apologize for being late, and take Wiszniewski's *Monuments of history and literature*.²⁸¹ Home, and dinner. I excuse myself from tomorrow, and waste time unnecessarily. After dinner, work with Napoleon until nine. I go out to Café du Panthéon. I have a letter from Celiński, and am happy for him. I read the *Monuments* practically the whole evening. It is late when I go to see Pelzl.

Wednesday, [November] 4

Napoleon makes me angry, and I rebuke him. After breakfast to Chin; he is out. To Friedriech,²⁸² I seek to appear big, without necessity; I wish to make an impression on him, so that he would talk about me in Poland in the light of that impression. At 9:30 to Włodziu; he is in bed. At ten to Mickiewicz. A very open and friend conversation about his Polish history,²⁸³ the Slavs, Avars²⁸⁴ etc. I go to see Mrs. Rautenstrauch and pay her for the three tickets. She tells me

²⁸¹ Michael Wiszniewski (1794-1865) - literary historian, professor at the Krzemieniecki Lyceum, and later at the Jagellonian University. In 1835, in Kraków, he published the first volume of *Monuments of Polish history and literature*, with his own foreword: *Concerning the history of the ages of the Piasts and Polish chronicles before Długosz*, which preceded the dissertations of Thaddeus Czacki. He published three more volumes, one after the other, until 1837.

²⁸² Friedriech - the Bartholomew Frydrych mentioned above in footnote 280.

²⁸³ In the years 1835-1838 Adam Mickiewicz wrote the first volumes of the history of Poland, which appeared only in 1868 with the title: *The first ages of Polish history*.

²⁸⁴ The Avars - a Mongol people who came from Asia and settled near the Danube in the 6th century. They established a state, and conquered a part of the territory occupied by Slavs. Conquered by Charles the Great in the 9th century, they were dispersed among the Slavic tribes.

about Fr. Deguery²⁸⁵ etc. I do not behave properly. To Princess [Caroline] Giedrojc. I offer her greetings, and am received very well also by Mrs. Białopiotrowicz. But, as always, here too I am not sufficiently careful in my responses. I was treated with ham and vodka. To Dmochowski at one; he is not in. I leave a ticket for Kaczanowski. I return Wiszniewski to Januskiewicz. He tells me of the news Jełowicki received about Anthony. I feel sad! Eternal rest grant unto him, O Lord! And have mercy on me. Grant me forgiveness through the sufferings of Christ the Lord!

Home at two. I send Napoleon away. I stay with the Princess and help her to iron, etc. He returns at three. We go to the Jardin du Roi;²⁸⁶ he tells me about Dumiński.²⁸⁷ We look for him; conversation. I do not recognize who he is. I speak blindly, without any definite purpose. I should have asked him about his philosophy, of which he spoke to me. He is a non-Catholic. I do not speak from the heart, or with zeal. I do not speak briefly and emphatically, but rather without any definite and clear intention about my concern. He asks me about Ostrowski. I talk, we talk, without reaching any conclusion, etc.

316 We go to Januskiewicz. With regard to the letter, Jełowicki asks to be excused for the time-being. We meet Kunatt. He does not want to go back for De Lamennais. We go to Wodziński. I meet Danielo, and go with him to Bonnetty. He showers me with compliments, which confuse me. He gives me a copy of "Annales de la Philosophie Chrétienne" in which there is an article about saintsimonism. To Charles Wodziński. I congratulate him. In a cabriolet with Korzeniowski, and an agreement about when we should go to visit Mickiewicz. At five, to Walter. Dinner. I fall into an empty, happy mood, so that I practically cease to be myself. I speak practically not a single word that touches Philip's heart. Konopka stops by. The situation is the same (the younger brother of Kremer²⁸⁸ came to Paris with the Florkiewicz²⁸⁹). At eight to Wejssenhof. I meet his concubine; I am too tolerant. To the Cabinet de Lecture in the Cour de Commerce. I waste time unnecessarily reading newspapers instead of the *Biographie universelle*. (Korzeniowski's letters come to mind.

²⁸⁵ Gaspard Deguerry (1797-1871) - with the restoration of military chaplains, he was initially a priest with "socialistic tendencies".

²⁸⁶ Jardin du Roi - The Tuilleries Gardens; Cf. 1832, footnote 228.

²⁸⁷ Undoubtedly Narcissus Dumiński (b.1808) - a second lieutenant in the artillery during the November uprising, who lived first in Avignon and then in Creuse. In 1841, he was placed in an institution for the mentally ill.

²⁸⁸ Charles Roman Kremer - the brother of Joseph (Cf. above, footnote 184).

²⁸⁹ Undoubtedly the Florkiewicz brothers, Julius and Stanislaus, from Kraków.

What am I to do with them? I would like to burn them.) I leave at 9:30 in a state of confusion, exhausted. I read through an article on saintsimonism, make a fire in the stove, and nap. John comes by with an invitation for tea. I ask him to lie that I am not here. Then Napoleon comes in. He goes to sleep, and I begin writing these notes. I write them until three o'clock in the morning.

Thursday, [November 5]

After eight, and after Mass, I went to see Benoist in order to return Gerbet to him, and also to ask him for a recommendation to his tailor. He agreed to the latter without any difficulty. I tell him what I am doing, and about my lessons, perhaps in too great detail. In my mind I am once again unsure of myself, confused, repeating myself to a point where he did not understand me at all when I proposed procuring a teaching position for him. At eleven, a too sumptuous breakfast from what remained of yesterday's feast. I drink too much wine. It shows on my face and goes to my head. Work with Napoleon, and then I go to see the pastor of Saint-Étienne;²⁹⁰ he is busy, and so I cannot speak with him. I go to see Korycki. My conversation with him is brisk, friendly, effective - he will teach catechism to Napoleon, but I promise him the *Catéchisme de Montpellier*.²⁹¹ Upon returning, I inform the Princess about this. Work with Napoleon. Thoughts about the article concerning the Czechs (I do not take advantage of the urge to write). I find a letter from Dumiński. After dinner, a rendez-vous with Benoist, and to the Cabinet de Lecture on rue Vaugirard. We

²⁹⁰ Saint-Étienne - the 17th century church of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont, near the Place Pantheon.

²⁹¹ Charles-Joachim Colbert de Croisey (1667-1738) the Bishop of the diocese of Montpellier in the years 1696-1738. He ordered the *Catéchisme du Dioecèse de Montpellier* to be prepared and published. Due to the accusation of unorthodoxy (Jansenism), the Montpellier catechism was placed on the Church Index in 1721. The next Bishop of the Montpellier diocese, Georges-Lazare Berger de Charancy (1689-1748) ordered the catechism to be reworked, and brought into conformity with the demands of the binding teaching of the Catholic Church. In 1817 the *Catéchisme du Dioecèse de Montpellier, avec un abrégé pour les petits enfants, augmenté d'une Instruction sur les principales Fêtes de l'année* was published. Imprimé par ordre de Monseigneur Marie-Nicolas Fournier, Évêque de Montpellier.

The question of the orthodoxy of the Montpellier catechism was of great concern to Jański. A hand-written note, entitled *Jansenism* (ACRR 8627, p.931) from June 1839, testifies to this: "The Father Abbot of La Grande-Trappe insists that the *Montpellier Catechism* was corrupted by Charancy, and urges one to hold to Colbert. (...) Contrary to père Jean, Father Abbot, a died in the wool Thomist, claims that the fact that the Catechism was placed on the Index proves nothing, for even the Imitation is on the Index for some single verse. In this way the Pope retains his right to make a pronouncement of himself, and temporarily refuses to grant his approval."

go to the tailor; he takes my measurements. I stop by at Café Voltaire. Home and work with Napoleon. I sit there until one o'clock.

Friday, [November 6]

After breakfast, Chine drops by to say goodbye. He tells me that Maliński thought it was I and not Anthony who died. A deliberate lie to the Princess concerning the pastor of Saint-Étienne and Napoleon's confession. I write a letter to Dumiński, with an apology that I cannot wait until ten and asking for an address. To Włodziu for a lesson; by the time I get there it is already 10:45. He is well again, but distracted during the lesson. After the lesson I speak to Mr. Reynaud,²⁹² telling him that Włodziu did not do his work and about his impertinence. I leave immediately neglecting their rebukes, disturbed, mixed up, feeling humiliated. I go to see Kopczyński²⁹³ in order to meet with Korzeniowski; he is not there. To Mrs. Białopiotrowicz. I am well received; too many compliments. I speak about Kajsiewicz. I return to Mr. Reynaud and demand that he punish Włodziu. At one to the library. I ask for Lenfant's,²⁹⁴ work. They don't have it. I read Szyller's *Thirty year War*²⁹⁵ and Koch's²⁹⁶ *Genealogical tables*. I was supposed to visit Cheruel after three; I do not go. Instead, I look for a room for Peter and Jerome on the rue Saint-Jaques, des Cordiers (Olszewski²⁹⁷ at Stawiarski's), Saint-Hyacinthe, etc. I receive a letter from Hube. After dinner I lay down on the bed, and from about 8:30 I fall asleep.

Saturday, [November] 7

²⁹² Reynaud - this could be Napoleon's tutor.

²⁹³ Peter Kopczyński (1793-after 1859) - a flint-worker and chemist. From 1832, together with Michael Skibicki and Joseph Zienkowicz, he was Julius Słowacki's closest friend in Paris. A member of the Lithuanian and Russian Territories Society. Author of a diary from the years 1831-1834 in which he mentions Bogdan Jański (Mss in the Polish Library in Paris).

²⁹⁴ Jacques Lenfant (1661-1728) - pastor, preacher of French reformed protestantism, preacher at the court of the king; a historian. Among other works, he wrote *Histoire des Husites et du concile de Bâle* (1729, 2 volumes).

²⁹⁵ Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805) - a German poet and dramatist, aesthetician and historian, next to Goethe the most eminent representative of German classics. He wrote a historical treatise *Die Geschichte der Dreissigjährigen Kriegen* (1790-1792), which appeared in a Polish translation in 1837. He tied Schiller's *Wallenstein* trilogy to the theme of the thirty-years war.

²⁹⁶ Christian-Guillaume Koch (1737-1805) - Historian, lawyer and journalist. Author of *Tables généalogiques des maisons souveraines du Nord et l'Ouest de l'Europe* (1802).

²⁹⁷ Olszewski - unknown.

Mass, at which I was very confused and inattentive. I am looking for a room on rue Saint-Jacques in the Hôtel d'Espagne. I am writing a letter to Maliński (there is far too much self-abasement in him, promise of friendship). Dumiński finally comes (with some person named Matuszyński);²⁹⁸ I am still not sufficiently engaging. Meat at breakfast. I rewrite the letter to Maliński.²⁹⁹ I leave a letter for either Kajsiewicz or Semenenko. At about two I deliver a letter to Chine. I meet Brawacki (John Barciński³⁰⁰ is coming). I carry with me Veith³⁰¹ for Walter, thinking of returning it to him on my way back. To Kunatt; I do not stop in for lack of time. *Columbus' Travels*³⁰² for Włodziu, Koch, etc. I stop in to see Ogiński. I tell him about my letter to Hube and look over a missal for Kłagiewicz, the Bishop of Vilno.³⁰³ A lesson. They give me a strange look.

318 Włodziu apologizes to me; he tells me it was only a joke. I do not assume a proper tone. At four to Mickiewicz. He tells me about finding Lechs in Spisz³⁰⁴

²⁹⁸ Undoubtedly Alexander Charles Matuszyński (1813-after 1870) - participated in the November uprising as a second lieutenant in the mounted artillery of the 4th regiment. In December 1836, he began to study at the Paris School of Fine Arts. He complete the course and was awarded the title of architect. He worked in Paris, restoring churches.

²⁹⁹ The Roman Archives of the Congregation of the Resurrection (ACRR 8585, p.955) preserve the draft of a letter which Jański wrote to Joseph Maliński, who was living in London at the time.

³⁰⁰ John Barciński (1815-1884), the brother of Anthony (Cf. 1830, footnote 9) - participated in the November uprising as a second lieutenant in the Lithuanian Legion. He lived in France as an emigrant - in 1832 at the depot at Bourges, and from 1835 in Paris. He attended the agricultural school in Grignon near Versailles in the years 1837-1840. He married a Frenchwoman, Maria Eugenia Maurel. In 1857, thanks to the amnesty, he returned to Warsaw.

³⁰¹ Perhaps Lorenz Weith (1725-1796) - a German theologian who defended Christianity in the period of the enlightenment.

³⁰² *The Voyages of Columbus* - The original diary, as well as copies, of the voyages of Christopher Columbus disappeared. Only a shortened version of the diary in a corrected version was preserved, and was published in 1825. Along with this, the American writer Washington Irving (1783-1895), a historian, wrote and published a *History of the life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* in 1828. It was undoubtedly this publication that gave rise to the popular literature for young people dealing with voyages.

³⁰³ Andrew Benedict Kłagiewicz (1761-1841) - an Auxiliary Bishop, an administrator of the Diocese of Vilno. He was sentenced to exile in Jarosław for one year for his defense of members of the diocese defeated by the Cossacks in 1831. After he returned from exile, he assumed a conciliatory posture toward the Russian authorities.

³⁰⁴ Spisz - a historical country in the western Carpathians, mainly in Slovak territory, but also partly in Poland. In Book I of his *The first centuries of Polish History*, Adam Mickiewicz wrote: "In the high Carpathians, in the neighborhood of Krępak (the later Spisz county), the Lechs, as legend tells us, found a nest of eagles, their national caucasian birds." In this deduction, the poet based himself on contemporary Polish historiography.

county, and about Kajsiewicz's arrival. To the Ogiński family. I tell him about Bohdan Zaleski and the proposed declaration - he criticizes it; Miss de Martin.³⁰⁵ I am especially silent, dull - why should I expose myself to such a difficult situation? I would like to leave at nine, but detained by Miss de Martin, I give way needlessly, and so waste time. I return with her, once again dull and silent. I go home at eleven. Peter is waiting for me at Café du Panthéon; for my part the greeting is not sincere enough. They have changed their minds about "The Pilgrim", and plan to become monks. We look for a place for him to sleep. Finally he goes to Stawiarski. I go home, and having accomplished practically nothing, I fall asleep.

Sunday, November 8

The General comes to wake me at six, and Peter comes in later. We go to breakfast. I put Peter to work. Kajsiewicz stops by. His greeting to me is especially cold. I take them to Hôtel d'Espagne, and rent a room. O go off to work with Napoleon. At eleven we go to church. The Mass comforts me after the confusion I experienced on Friday. I offer God my distress, and thank him for humiliation. Meat at breakfast. The Princess is writing a letter to Petersburg. I ask her to give my greetings to Romuald Hube.³⁰⁶ I go upstairs to finish lessons with Napoleon. I take out these notes, wish to write them, but am lost in reverie. Peter stops by with Korycki. Invited to dinner, Korycki tells us about his embarrassment with regard to the Bishop of Dordogne.³⁰⁷ I advise him to visit him, beg his pardon, and to make amends - he agrees. Peter reads to me about Maria Teresa.³⁰⁸ I work hard and become impatient with Napoleon. I make some genealogical notes concerning the Czechs. My thoughts about my article arrange themselves in better order - I plan to write a short article. At three Peter goes to visit Słowaczyński; I behave somewhat coldly toward him(!). After that

³⁰⁵ Miss de Martin - perhaps Henriette Martin, the future wife of Casimir Wołowski (Cf. footnote 210).

³⁰⁶ Romuald Hube (1803-1890), the son of Michael, the brother of Joseph - From 1825 he was a professor of the history of penal and canonical law at the University of Warsaw. He was one of the founders, and editor, of the legal publication "Themis Polska" (Warsaw). In May of 1830, he left Poland for six months of study in Paris. There he met Bogdan Jański. He returned to Poland in the spring of 1831. Summoned to Petersburg in 1833, he performed responsible functions in the Russian courts of law. From 1834, he was married to Theophile Rościszewska, with whom Jański would become acquainted during her stay in Paris in connection with conflict in the Hube families.

³⁰⁷ Dordogne - a departmental city in the southwestern part of France; an episcopal see.

³⁰⁸ Maria Teresa (1717-1780) - Ruler of Austria, from 1741 Queen of Hungary, and from 1743 of Czechoslovakia, from 1745 Empress of Austria. When he was preparing the encyclopedia article on Bohemia Bogdan Jański must have had in mind the role of Maria Teresa in regaining the monarchical rights to Moravia and Czechoslovakia.

I think about my obligations, about my behavior toward Peter and Jerome, and about my article. Times passes in that way until dinner. I forget that I was supposed to visit Cheruel, Kunatt and Walter. Dinner. Serż³⁰⁹ has not yet arrived, but Lutkiewicz³¹⁰ is there, and Mrs. Rautenstrauch. Once again I am especially not myself, silent and confused. While we are at dinner, Stawiarski³¹¹ drops in; I send him away. After dinner the conversation deals with crosses, suffering, happiness, loving, etc. Peter calls. I get up, say good-bye to the company, and leave with obvious impatience. This must have been evident and offensive. Upstairs I make a fire. Stawiarski comes in. I am cold, confused, not myself - his father died. Peter tells me about his conversations with the Prior [Gueranger],³¹² and the history of their decision to become Benedictines. At eleven we go to their room; we move some odds and ends, and make tea. I act badly, for while I intending to speak to him about money, I do not do so immediately, but put it off for who knows when. This creates within me, as always, all kinds of after-thoughts and anxiety. Kajsiewicz drops in; tea. The conversation is somewhat stiff. He shows me a letter from Rettel - a kind-hearted person. It seems that he still loves and respects me. I have to write to him. On account of money, it almost came to an argument between myself and Peter and Jerome. I tell them about Bohdan, and about the conference dealing with writing a declaration from those in jail; I spitefully take a dig at Bohdan. O God! Help; me to root out on my heart all envy, spite, detraction! I leave together with Jerome. I take him to rue Vaugirard. I feel that he is not happy with the fact that Peter spoke to me about their plans concerning Solesmes. I take 20 sous from him. O God! When will I cease to be a burden to others in my as yet excessive needs? I stop in for coffee and two petit verry. I return at about twelve. Napoleon is not yet asleep. I light a second candle in the first room. I

³⁰⁹ Serż (Serge) - a boy of the same age as Napoleon who was living with the Giedrojées. Apparently a member of an aristocratic Prussian family, who was subject to the supervision of Frederick Wilhelm Charles (1763-1851), a Prince of Prussia and a diplomat.

³¹⁰ Undoubtedly Ignatius Lutkiewicz (1812-1839) - a captain in the Lithuanian uprising in 1831. He lived in the Oise depot near Paris, and from November 12, 1835 in Sarron.

³¹¹ Very probably Bohdan Ignatius Stawiarski (1816-1896) - a lieutenant of the first Krakus regiment in the November uprising. He was an emigrant in France. In the years 1834-1836 he attended the École Polytechnique in Paris.

³¹² Prosper Guéranger (Géranger) (1806-1875) - a Benedictine priest, and a student of Lamennais. In 1832 he bought back the former Saint-Pierre priory in Solesmes (Cf. footnote 151), and established a monastic community of which he was the Prior. On the strength of a brief issued by Pope Gregory XVI on September 1, 1837, Guéranger became the Abbot of the Solesmes monastery. He restored the Benedictine Community in France, was an architect of liturgical renewal, and an animator of liturgical spirituality. He was the founder of the center of the history of liturgy in the Solesmes monastery.

wish to work. I am filled with inspirations concerning improvement and order in my life; but after lying down on the couch, I surrender to laziness and sleep.

319

320 Monday, November 9

Awakened by the General at six, I delay getting up until seven. I am late for a review of Napoleon's lesson and sending him off. I feel that the General and his wife must not be happy with this. The Princess does not come to breakfast with me; I ascribe this to anger for my departure yesterday. The General had recommended that I write to Matuszyński, and so I write a letter to him and to Jóźwik. I want to get down to writing these notes. Semenenko stops by. I put him to work on Czech history. At ten I go to deliver the letters to the post office, and go to Sainte-Geneviève to read Lenfant. I go back upstairs at eleven. There is a letter from Gronostajski. It is already after breakfast. Napoleon had a fight with one of his colleagues; undoubtedly this is a new cause for discontent on the part of the General and his wife. I am not invited to breakfast even though I send Napoleon downstairs for a ruler and a pencil, and he surely told them that I had returned. Peter continues to work on Czech history; I decide to endure my hunger. At about eleven I send him out to find out if Słowaczyński brought him the weekly.³¹³ Someone comes from the tailor Heis, I do not know for exactly what purpose, to find out whether I had recommended anyone to come to him. Słowaczyński comes by; he wants to pick up the almanac, etc. We talk about the Slavs. I think about my work on that subject, about Sznitzler³¹⁴ etc. Unexpectedly Edvard Séguin³¹⁵ stops by; he proposes collaboration with "Droit".³¹⁶ I am confused when I receive him. Korzeniowski drops in while I am listening to Napoleon's lesson. I send him to Kajsiewicz, to take him to Mickiewicz. We go out together. First I go to Korycki, where I meet Kiersznicki.³¹⁷ Korycki had dinner with the pastor; he will not go to see the Bishop of Dordogne.³¹⁸ To Januskiewicz for Chotomski's³¹⁹ address (Jełowicki, Ropelewski). To Kunatt in order to obtain

³¹³ This refers to the "Polish Emigration Weekly", a periodical edited by Andrew Słowaczyński.

³¹⁴ Sznitzler - Johann Schnitzler; Cf. footnote 135.

³¹⁵ Edvard Séguin - editor of "Le Droit".

³¹⁶ "Le Droit, Journal des tribunaux" - a legal periodical published in Paris in the years 1835-1838.

³¹⁷ Undoubtedly Richard Kiersznicki - a lieutenant in the November uprising.

³¹⁸ Bishop of Dordogne - Cf. footnote 307.

³¹⁹ Undoubtedly Ferdinand Chotomski (1797-1880) - superintendent of schools in Kraków, an ornithologist. He participated in the November uprising, and was an emigrant in Paris.

De Lamennais. My conversation is lively enough, but not too certain, clear and to the point. To Ogiński for *The Clairvoyant from Prevorst*³²⁰ for the Princess; he is not in. I look at Dembiński's binding for the Turkish ambassador. I stop in to see Wejssenhof; he is not in. To Lacordaire to obtain the sermons for Korycki. He gives me a footnote of authors, receives me as usual with great reserve; as usual I speak with some stiffness and confusion.

321 Cheruel is not in. Home for dinner. It seems to me that the Princess greets me coolly. Once again Lutkiewicz. The General wishes to look at my books of Lammenais and Weith; I grow impatient with this. He notices this, and it seems to me that he is angry as a result. After dinner, the Princess reads me letters from de Milde³²¹ and Mrs. Chłędowski.³²² I leave, go upstairs for a pipe, and then to Walter with Weith - in passing I deliver the letter with tickets to Szemiatow - with the hope for coffee, but none is available. At 8:30 I go to see Peter and find Sidorowicz³²³ there. I stay there for about a quarter of an hour. On leaving, I experience an unnecessary desire to express compliments and affirmations to Sidorowicz; but this comes out unnaturally and coldly. Back home. Napoleon is asleep. He doesn't want to work. This angers me and I slap him. I myself would like to do something, but instead I lie down, even though the article on the Czechs is urgent and I have so many letters to write. I doze, I wake, and finally do nothing. Once again, I waste a whole evening. O God! Grant me your mercy, your grace! (In my mind, this idleness, this laziness,

He studied medicine from 1837, and received his doctorate in 1842. A member of the Historical-Literary Society. He occupied himself with painting. He returned to Poland.

³²⁰ *The clairvoyant from Prevorst* - the title of a book written by Andreas Justin Kerner (1786-1862) - a German doctor and poet, a friend of Poland, author of song *Lied eines wandernden Polen*. His two-volume work *Seherin von Prevorst*, published in Stuttgart in 1829, was dedicated to the "clairvoyant" Frederika of Wannerów Hauffe (1801-1829). Vincent Topór Matuszewski translated it into Polish (Warsaw, 1832).

³²¹ de Milde - further information lacking.

³²² Cecilia, nee Narbutt, Chłędowska - at the time of the November uprising she directed a literary salon in her house in Warsaw, where the Patriotic Society was established, and which was maliciously referred to as "Mrs. Chłędowska's club". She was the wife of Adam Chłędowski (1790-1855) a newspaper man, bibliographer, journalist and publisher in Lwów and Warsaw. He was an assistant state official. After the November uprising he was an emigrant and founder of a French-German bookstore in Paris.

³²³ Victor Sidorowicz (b.1813) - a student of medicine at the University of Vilno. He participated in the November uprising as ensign in the artillery. In 1833 he attended the medical school in Besançon. For some time he lived in the House of Jański. In 1836 he enrolled in the School of Medicine in Paris. In 1840 once again he resumed his medical studies, and worked in a hospital. He did not receive his diploma. In 1852 he applied for applied for a visa to the United States.

stemmed in great part from the fact that I did not drink coffee after dinner. What weakness! What slavery to the flesh!)

Tuesday, November 10

The General did not wake us, and so we slept in. We got up at about seven, when John stopped by. After coffee - for which the Princess came; however, it seems to me that she continues to be cool toward me - I go home and write these notes until ten o'clock. Kajsiewicz arrives at ten, manifesting a very friendly attitude, of which I do not know how to take advantage, for somehow I lack life, peace, certainty, and zeal within my soul. He waits until eleven, for Peter is supposed to come to him at that time. I go to breakfast with Napoleon; he has received reprimands and admonitions from me and his mother, as well as threats from his father. Somehow it seems to me that the Princess behaves better towards me. She puts together a copy-book. We go upstairs where I finish writing these notes at about one.

322

323 Thursday, [November] 19³²⁴

I do not go out in the morning, but continue to write about the Czechs. After breakfast, a letter from Lachevardier.³²⁵ I promise to be ready tomorrow. Work with Napoleon. At about three, coffee at Place Saint-Michel. I go to Saint-Sulpice seeking the *Catéchisme de Charancy*;³²⁶ it is unavailable. I meet the Princess and put her on a bus while I go home. After dinner and coffee - I feel too dull to work, and instead of prayer - unfortunately! - I surrender to temptation: a very terrible, deliberate fall. I return after eleven and write a little more of the article.

324 Friday, November 20

After tea, for a lesson. I seek to return Frähn³²⁷ to Mickiewicz, but he isn't in. I take perfumes to Mrs. Rautenstrauch - a conversation about

³²⁴ There is a break in the Diary from Wednesday, November 11 to Wednesday, November 18. On November 12, Jański began to write his resolutions, which are contained in their entirety in the Appendix to the Diary for the year 1835 under IX.

³²⁵ Lachevardicre - a Paris publisher.

³²⁶ *Catéchisme de Charancy* - Cf. footnote 291.

³²⁷ Christian Martin Joachim Frähn (1782-1851) a German orientalist and numismatist, professor of oriental languages in Kazan, director of the Asiatic Museum in Petersburg, and author of many scientific books, such as *Notice d'une certaine d'ouvrages arabes etc., qui manquent en grande partie aux bibliothèques d'Europe*, (1834).

newspapers. I take Gołębiowski's³²⁸ *Polish History* to Mrs. Białopiotrowicz. I go home before one o'clock. After breakfast, to work. (Napoleon does not know modern history). A boy sent by Lachevardier does not find me at home. I continue writing the article about the Czechs. After dinner and coffee I write some more.

Saturday, [November] 21

Early in the morning to Benoist; he is still in bed. I read my article to him until... [the sentence breaks off here].

Sunday, [November] 22

In the morning I continue writing the article. I give Peter 5 francs which I received from the Princess for Dąbczewski. At eleven, for Mass. Breakfast. Ziomecki³²⁹ comes by with a letter from Hube. I take him to Peter; Gorecki is there. We rent a room for Ziomecki. I return home to continue writing, but my mind turns to thoughts about Miemcewicz's³³⁰ nameday and the greetings offered to him by the Polish children, as well as about plans for historical works. I write until five, and finish. Dinner. The Princess' mother [Caroline Giedroń] is present; we talk about Polish families. After dinner, for coffee to place Saint-Michel, and to Benoist; he is not in. Back home, and then to Peter; he tells me about Dąbczewski. Back home. I feel an inflammation of the throat, the beginning of a cold.

Monday, [November] 23

³²⁸ Luke Gołębiowski (1773-1849) historian, librarian, translator and diarist. From 1823 he worked in Warsaw in the Society for Elementary Books. From 1827 he was a professor in the Pedagogical Institute as well as librarian at the public library in Warsaw. He continued the work of Adam Naruszewicz. He wrote works such as: *Information from Polish history, adapted for use in girls' schools and boarding schools* (1827). A second edition, amplified, appeared in Warsaw in 1830.

³²⁹ Joseph Ziomecki (1810-1874) - a graduate of the Krzemieniecki Lyceum. He participated in the November uprising as a lieutenant in the 13th uhlan regiment. An emigrant in France, he attended the Polytechnic Institute in 1836. In Toulouse he completed the course in exact sciences. In 1843 he received the degree of licentiate in mathematics. He was a teacher at the lyceum in Saint-Geron. He left France for Galicia. He was extradited to the Russian authorities as a subject of the Tsar and was sentenced to life imprisonment. After the death of Nicholas I, he took advantage of the amnesty and worked as a home tutor. He married, and settled in Żytomierz.

³³⁰ Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz wrote in his unpublished memoirs that he celebrated his nameday on the anniversary of his birth, that is, on February 16.

I arise quite late with a cold. After breakfast, to Benoist; I read the rest of my article on the Czechs to him. We talk about Bonald,³³¹ Leibnitz, principe de certitudo. I am obtuse in the conversation, but scientific and philosophical intentions emerge in me, intentions of jotting down my observations. I return home at eleven. Breakfast. A letter from Reynaud; I promise to return everything today. I rewrite until dinner at six, and after dinner. Peter helps me. I take the material to Reynaud at 9:30. (Kajsiewcz speaks of the legend of St. Florian,³³² from Kazimirski). Back home, where the Princess makes me a omel-pomel [an omelette with apples]. I want to read the *Opuscules* of Madame Guyon,³³³ but I fall asleep.

Tuesday, [November] 24

It was already nine when I arose. After tea, to Mass - the anniversary of my first confession. Breakfast. Konopka. I take the "Sławianin" for Mickiewicz³³⁴ and at one o'clock I go out for a lesson. To Korycki; he reminds

³³¹ Louis-Gabriel-Ambrose de Boland (1754-1840) - a philosopher, politician, journalist, Royalist, minister of state, peer, and member of the French Academy. After he returned from the emigration which was a result of the revolution in France, he cooperated with Chateaubriand, among others, in the publication of "Journal des Débats". In 1830 he withdrew from politics. He was an opponent of liberalism. In his opinion, the Church, the monarchy, and the family, were safeguards for the Christian system of government. He presented his views in the following works: *Théorie du pouvoir politique et religieux dans la société civile* (1796), and *Démonstration philosophique du principe constitutif de la société* (1827). He was an advocate of traditionalism. He was an admirer of Leibniz, considering him to be "perhaps the greatest genius to appear among men."

³³² St. Florian - a Roman soldier who suffered a martyr's death for the faith in the reign of Diocletian, c.304.

³³³ Jeanne-Marie Bouvier de la Motte Guyon (1648-1717) - a French mystic, propagator of the quietistic ideal of piety. In her writings she recommended a completely passive and disinterested interior position, completely disinterested love of God, deprived of all activity and interest in one's own salvation. The views of Madame Guyon were shared by Archbishop Fénelon. However, these views were questioned and condemned by an investigating committee headed by Bishop Bossuet. The decree was confirmed by the Roman Church. Madame Guyon and Fénelon submitted humbly. She was imprisoned, and for a long time lived in complete isolation. Her writings were printed in Amsterdam (1713-1822) and Cologne (*Opuscules spirituelles*, an autobiography, 1720).

³³⁴ "The Slav. A weekly publication dealing with the crafts, agriculture, commerce, housekeeping, and the practical needs of life in general." The publisher of this periodical was Adam Maximilian Kitajewski, professor of chemistry at the University of Warsaw. It appeared in Warsaw from January 1829 until January 1830. Among the articles printed in this publication were 16 segments translated from a German work by George Gottlieb Pusch, a miner and geologist, a professor at the Government School of Mines in Warsaw: *A geognostic description of Poland*. Pusch's study in the original version was later included in that author's work: *Geognostische Beschreibung von Polen so wie der übrigen*

me about [Lacordaire's] *Conferences*. I return books to Menestrier. I arrive early, and cannot restrain Włodziu's insubordination. At three to Mickiewicz; he is not in. I meet Miss Białopiotrowicz, and accompany her to the Palais-Royal. I meet "The New Poland",³³⁵ Słowaczyński and Janowski. In conversation with Miss Białopiotrowicz I forget myself, and do not speak from the heart. Returning, I am lost in thought about the reform of my life. I meet [Charles] Królikowski, Januskiewicz (Jełowicki from Nancy³³⁶). Dinner. Work with Napoleon, and I succumb to laziness. I forget about my good intentions. Not having done anything, I fall asleep - omel-pomel.

Wednesday, [November] 25

I arise quite late. I go downstairs for breakfast and forget that I have to hurry for a lesson. It is already nine when I leave. By the time I get there, it is too late. During the lesson I still cannot manage with the boy; I give him too much leeway. On leaving I run into Iwanowski,³³⁷ and make the mistake of leaving him with Włodziu. The teacher arrives, and undoubtedly was angry; this disturbs me greatly. I go to see Skorzyński, ill at ease (Trepki is not in Paris). To the library. I ask for Poiret,³³⁸ but he is not available. I don't know what to read. I converse with Wysłouch,³³⁹ my affectation is unnecessary. He tells me that he will visit me. I read Aimé Martin.³⁴⁰ to the Cabinet de Lecture at 25 sous. I glance through all the periodicals. There is nothing for women and children, but

Nordkarpathen Länder, Vols. I-II, Stuttgart, 1833-1836. Mickiewicz required Pusch's study for his work on the *History of Poland*. Cf. footnote 304.

³³⁵ I meet the "New Poland"... that is, its editor, Josephat Bolesław Ostrowski; Cf. footnote 57.

³³⁶ Alexander Jełowicki was living in Nancy in 1835. He wrote of this in *My memoirs* (Chapter XVI).

³³⁷ Perhaps Stanislaus Iwanowski - a student prior to the uprising; in Paris from 1834. He worked as a conductor, and then as a teacher of languages.

³³⁸ Pierre Poiret (1646-1719) - a French mystic and theosophist and author of works published in Amsterdam: *Cogitationes rationales* (against Spinoza), *L'Économie divine* (1687), *La Theologie du coeur*.

³³⁹ Perhaps Julian (Julius?) Wysłouch (1810-1863) - a student at the University of Vilno; he participated in the November uprising. An emigrant in France. In 1838 he enrolled in the school of law at Strasbourg. In 1834 he attended lectures in administration and commerce in Paris. A member of the Polish Democratic Society. In 1835 he left for Galacia as a emissary. Finally he settled in Vienna as an Austrian official and diplomat.

³⁴⁰ Aimé-Louis Martin (1782-1847) - a French writer, conservator of the Library of St. Genevieve in Paris. He was the secretary of the writer J.H. Bernardin de Saint-Pierre (1737-1814), author of *Paul et Virgine*, *Les Harmonies de la nature*, and publisher of his collected works. He was the author of a famous work on the methods of educating children which was honored by the French Academy: *De l'éducation des mères de famille ou De la civilisation du genre humaine par les femmes* (Paris, 1834, 2 volumes).

I find the "Revue de l'Économie Politique".³⁴¹ At about three I go to see Ogiński. I am received quite coldly. To Januszkiewicz; I deliver the address to Skorzyński. I meet Skorzyński and he accompanies me. Back home, beefsteak, and a chat with the Princess. Napoleon at 4:30, then upstairs. Work with him. Dinner at six. After dinner, work with Napoleon; I read a little about Bolesław.³⁴²

325 N.B. A letter from Reynaud. He praises my *Bohême*.³⁴³ At nine to Peter; tea, conversation, in which there is not much spirit, until 10:30, and then home. I punish Napoleon - and go to sleep. A wasted day.

Thursday, November 26

Both I and Napoleon overslept; he barely made it in time for class. For breakfast at about ten. To Peter for a handkerchief. To Korycki; he is out. Home. My mind and heart are extremely heavy. I lie down. I am despondent, remembering that two years ago it was almost exactly the same - full of the best plans, and yet constant idleness, a terrible fall, and misery. Prayer, after which I feel better and resolve to write down immediately the reminders of the past few days, as well as arrangements for the future. At eleven, for breakfast. The General is in a bad mood etc. At eleven, back upstairs. Reflections about myself and my improvement. It is almost two o'clock! (and Bolesław is on my neck).

[prior to December 13]

For the past two weeks I have completely neglected this written control of my life. After the inspirations and resolutions of November 12³⁴⁴

- First, I collapsed completely in mind and heart under pressure of the urgent work on the Czechs;

³⁴¹ "Revue Étrangère de Législation et d'Économie Politique", a periodical published in Paris from November 1834 to 1843. Joseph Hube cooperated with the editors of this publication in the years 1834-1837.

³⁴² Bolesław I Chrobry (967-1025) - the first king of Poland - Jański prepared his biogram for *Encyclopédie nouvelle* (Paris, 1836, Vol.II, pp.758-759).

³⁴³ On the topic of Jański's article *Bohême*, the editor of the periodical "Květy" expressed his opinion. *Narodnj zabawnjk pro Čechy, Moravany a Slováky. Piskem a wedenjm Jana H. Pospíšila* (Praha, 1834-1848). "Young Poland" did not neglect to mention this (nr.16, June 10, 1838, p.186): "The publication "Czech Flowers" praises Bogdan Jański's article which is included in the French Encyclopedia [i.e., *Encyclopédie nouvelle* 1836, Vol.II, pp. 739-742], which deals with ancient and modern literature, as well as Czech history. It states that this article that was written is better and more faithful than those which have appeared in foreign *publications up to now*."

³⁴⁴ Cf. above, footnote 324.

- second, intimate conversations with the Princess aroused in me a kind of stupid vanity; further
- third, newspaper articles, while promising so much, also served to upset me;
- fourth, a new overcoat, and money in my pocket, somehow again turned me away from the interior life, in spirit;
- fifth, a letter from Maliński, letters to companions, from Przećławski, filled me with bitterness for some time;
- sixth, a terrible sin, on Thursday;
- seventh, thoughts about the successes of lessons given to the Komar young ladies.

In a word, I have spent the last two weeks badly, neglecting prayer, and the holy inspirations which God continued to send me. Mercy, O God! Graces! May I be resolved not to live for myself, but for Your glory and for the good of my neighbor. But I will not manage to do this without Your merciful assistance. Mother of Christ, most holy Virgin, intercede for me, a sinner! Watch over me, holy Angel, to whose protection I owe so much! All you Saints, help me by your protection and intercession! I have spent so much of my life on no good. Once and for all, may I renounce the world and all of its pride, its pleasures and vanities, and surrender myself, soul and body, to God.³⁴⁵

326 Sunday, [December] 13, Saint Lucy

I skimmed through Korzeniowski's work on literature.³⁴⁶ I will return it to Wrotnowski this evening. I next take up Bentkowski.³⁴⁷ Mrs. Rautenstrauch arrives; I wish her a happy feastday.

³⁴⁵ This text was not dated by the author. From the context it appears that Jański wrote it before December 13, 1835.

³⁴⁶ Joseph Korzeniowski (1797-1863) - novelist, dramatist, and teacher; professor of speech and poetry at the Krzemieniecki Lyceum, and member of the Society of the Friends of Learning in Warsaw; author of *A course in poetry for pedagogical purposes*.

³⁴⁷ Felix Bentkowski (1781-1852) - literary historian, linguist and archivist. In the years 1817-1832, professor of universal history at the University of Warsaw. A member of the Warsaw Society of the Friends of Learning. In 1814, he published a two-volume *A history of Polish literature set forth in a list of printed works* in which he offered a bibliographical summary of contemporary knowledge concerning scientific literature and writing. He categorized the materials gathered - in accord with the classification of classical poetry - in types and classes. When this work appeared, "all of the Bentkowskis offered corrections and additions." - Fr. Alfred Bentkowski, a future Resurrectionist.

Monday, [December 14]

In the morning I go to visit Mrs. Komar. I am well received in spite of my unreliability. I show her Gerbet. I go to see Mickiewicz. He relates his historical views concerning Poland, Bolesław Chrobry, etc. This lifts my spirits. I got to see Letellier concerning the *Encyclopédie catholique*;³⁴⁸ he is not in. Back home. I skim through Bentkowski dealing with theological literature.³⁴⁹ In the evening, to Dalen. A waste of time.

Tuesday, [December 15]

Wednesday, December 16

I meet Miss Rautenstrauch at the home of Mrs. Komar. After a lesson with Miss Komar, I am experience great confusion which lasts a whole day. I do not even venture to begin reading the letter from Agen.³⁵⁰

327 Thursday, December 17

Reflection. I wish to put these notes together. I cannot. I attempt to read Gerbet, preparing for tomorrow's lesson. For Mass. From eleven o'clock with Napoleon. At three o'clock I go with him to Mrs. Rautenstrauch. On returning, I begin to read a letter from Celiński. To Witwicki for the *Lives of the Saints*.³⁵¹ To Pecqueur; he is not in. After dinner Mrs. Białopiotrowicz stops by; I leave in a hurry. A session with Jerome on explaining the dogme générateur³⁵² etc. I borrow Skarga from Wrotnowski.

Friday, [December] 18

³⁴⁸ Charles Letellier (1768-1848) - a professor, and collaborator on the *Encyclopédie catholique*.

³⁴⁹ Bentkowski, in *A History of Polish literature...* distinguished the "category": "Theology" (vol.II, part three, Chapter seven, p.475-566): 1. Church history; 2. Exegesis, or interpretation of Sacred Scripture; 3. dogmatic and polemic theology; 4. Ascetical and pastoral writings, sermons, prayers, and lives of the saints which are to serve as a model to imitate."

³⁵⁰ A letter to Bogdan Jański from Adam Celiński who was living in Agen, written on December 11, 1835. The information is provided by F. German, *Adam Celiński...* pp.126-130.

³⁵¹ *Lives of the Saints* - a hagiographical work by Peter Skarga (1536-1612), theologian, preacher, and Catholic polemicist. His *Lives of the Saints* enjoyed great popularity and numerous publications: the first appeared in Vilno in 1579; a second revised edition in Kraków in 1585; further editions appeared in the 18th and 19th centuries.

³⁵² Jański refers here to Gerbet's work: *Considérations sue le dogme générateur et de la piété catholique* (Cf. 1831, footnote 59).

I return home after the lessons. Waste time chatting with the Princess. I read a letter from Agen. To Korycki where I meet a priest who is a physiognomist.³⁵³

Saturday, December 19

Attend Mass. In the evening I announce big news to Peter and Jerome. I receive payment for my article on Bohemia from the *Encyclopédie*. I buy a dictionary for Włodziu. Barrois³⁵⁴ takes my address. A lesson (an embarrassment with cookies for Włodziu). I borrow a book from Pecqueur on Swedenborg. To Maliński; a rendezvous for tomorrow. Karski comes to visit us in the evening. I read them the letter from Agen, and lie to them about a response.

Sunday, [December] 20

I go out to redeem my watch and return - temptations, chasing about. Mass and breakfast. Demi-tasse. Walter pays a visit; I am reserved. The day passes, but nothing is accomplished. Maliński drops by in the evening. The conversation with him lifts my spirits; but after he leaves, in Estaminet Belge - temptations, running around.

Monday, [December] 21

To Letellier at nine; he is not in. To Maliński. I give him 50 francs. Demi-tasse. I redeem my watch, purchase socks, give Peter money to redeem his coat, and return 50 sous to Ziomecki. - Temptations; a fall on rue de la T[hor]igny. I remember Konopka. Szymański talks of plans to publish a newspaper, and concerning Nieszokoć.³⁵⁵ In the evening for coffee. Peter tells me about

³⁵³ Physiognomist - an advocate of physiognomy, a theory which describes a person's character and intellectual and emotional qualities on the basis of his exterior appearance especially his face. In the first half of the 19th century, due to the influence of the Zurich pastor J.K. Lavater (1741-1801), physiognomy gained renown as a "philosophy" dealing with the dependence of a person's external appearance upon his spiritual qualities.

³⁵⁴ *Barrois takes my address...* We know of a Paris bookseller Jacques Barrois (1704-1795), whose firm was undoubtedly taken over by Théophile Barrois, also a Paris bookseller.

³⁵⁵ Vincent Nieszokoć (1792-1865?) - Participated in the November uprising as a captain in the artillery; a military theorist. He lived as an emigrant in France. With the permission of French authorities, he moved to Paris in 1835. That year, in December, he enrolled in the Young Poland organization. He declared himself in favor of a union of all shades of democrats among the emigrants, and prepared a corresponding plan to realize this. However, the Confederation of Polish People had already begun to realize a similar plan at this time. Nieszokoć agreed to join the Confederation in April of 1836. He cooperated with Michael Czajkowski in the publication of "The Polish Nation", the organ of the confederation.

Raulin.³⁵⁶ At Peter's place - with Jerome; Karski is there. A discussion about democracy. After I return, I lie down, and without having done anything, I fall asleep.

328 Tuesday, December 22

Korycki drops by at eight. He tells me about Przeclawski, about the money he took from the Italians for the murder of Philip,³⁵⁷ about his laziness, sensuality, his bragging, etc.

I think about the necessity of withdrawing from the world for some time and doing penance, prayer for getting rid of my bad habits.

N.B. Since November 26 how many holy inspirations have I neglected. Moreover, I also completely neglected these notes controlling my life.

749 For [Friday], January 1, 1836

To Letellier

To Mr. Benoiste

To Saint-Roch

To the Ogińskis

To Walter and Wejssenhof

To Café de la Providence, to Nieszokoć and Szymański

³⁵⁶ Arthur Raulin, born in Tykocin, an insurgent in 1831, and an emigrant. He lived in Belgium, where Lelewel expressed the following opinion about him: "a man eager for a duel, a genuine idler, a youngster who has joined those who "gad about, waste time, gamble, and who has broken off relations with many, with the result the youngster listens to no one." "Raulin lives in great poverty. He has no funds. His wages in a printery are small, for in return for employment, the Belgians have graciously required that he work for more than a month without wages. In a word, his situation is terrible." (From a letter to Valerian Pietkiewicz, Brussels, July 13, 1834). He left for England and then came to Paris. Wounded in a duel and recuperating in a hospital, Semenenko cared for him. Jański took him under his wing, and in 1837 entrusted him to Adam Celiński. After the latter died - according to Duński - in 1838 Raulin became involved in love affairs, fell into debt, and left Montpellier. Krosnowski in his *Almanac*, notes that Raulin was still living in Paris in 1846.

³⁵⁷ Louis Philip I (1773-1850) - King of France in the years 1830-1848, a descendent of the Orleans line of Bourbons. At the time of the Great French Revolution he was a member of the Jacobin club, and fought in the revolutionary army. Involved in a plot, he emigrated, but returned to France after the restoration of the Bourbons. After Charles X was deposed by the July revolution (1830), he was acclaimed king of France. Representatives of financial interests exerted a decisive influence on his rule. A liberal initially, he gradually became a conservative. He was opposed by the legitimists, democrats, and Bonapartists. In 1848, overthrown by the February revolution, he abdicated and emigrated to England.

To Januszkiewicz and Heiss

Buy New Year's gifts for mother, Napoleon - tickets.

For [Saturday], January 2

To Gorecki

To Justin³⁵⁸

To Mr. Benoiste

To Lacordaire

For [Sunday, January] 3

To Mr. de Callone

To Carnot

³⁵⁸ Justin - further information is lacking. In his Diary for the year 1836 Jański mentions Justin Maurice.

APPENDIX

I.

8627

240 [Sunday], January 4

[CONFESSION, continued]¹

Since I am to continue my confession in the next seven years, I will once more gather together here my sins and offenses of the past five years.

During the first three years, there was a growth of complete godlessness, atheism, revolutionism:

1. a rejection of the sacred mysteries and faith in God,
2. a rejection of faith in a soul and obligations
3. a rejection of faith in all independence of the mind.

A corresponding growth of personal demoralization and revolutionism.
+shoving Henry [Jaroszyński] into an abyss.+

In the next two years, growth in pride, in a sense of some kind of special mission, in egotistical secretiveness. +Ascribing my own insane ideas to Christ.+ +However, in spite of this pride, and such feelings of my own power, almost any set-back shook me completely.+

Thoughts about women,
about possessions,
about my future - resulting in contempt and insincerity in relations with friends +(other common revolutionists prompted by hatred of tyrants, I for the good of mankind - a new reason for pride, contempt and secretiveness).+
+Strange ideas about the strength of my will and my influence on others.+

The next seven years were already punishment, just suffering for such great profanities.

The first year.² A woman shattered all of my greatness.³ I was drawn to her by a good intention, a desire to save her from the abyss. Weakness, vanity,

¹ Cf. 1834, footnote 68.

² Initially Jański intended to recall his past, beginning with the "first year" (1828) up to the seventh year (1834), but he abandoned this plan.

contempt (I suffered the loss of reason and will) for society were in the end the sole motives for keeping my word to her and of doing good for one whom not only did I not love, but whom I could not stand. I lost my peace completely.

241 Humbled pride, a humbled intellect, inability to correct a mistake, tormented me constantly. Nevertheless, instead of serving as a lesson, and leading me to a better way, they confirmed me in evil. I accepted my affliction as fatal, submitted to it - the slave of a mistaken idea - not seeking any assistance +(without thinking about fulfilling the obligations I had accepted in Poland, counting on my great abilities)+ - until later in rapture, in slavery to the flesh. And I was overcome alternately by bestiality and despair +(it was no longer enough to have one concubine)+; (Hortense, Fanny - America, suicide).

My great opinion of myself did not cease. However, not having found anything here in studies or in people, after so much suffering and so many errors, I want to be sensible, cautious, positive. At that point, a whim to learn about saintsimonism. I accept the radicalism, the organism - I am opposed to revelation, papism. I become involved. My conduct in the course of three days causes my fervor to decrease. +(Once again, despair, America, bestiality.)+ Soon after that, I return. I struggle with pantheism, with a desire to live religiously - however, pride is there always. Because of a sense of my temporary weakness and its soundness, I fully accept the *principle of authority*, which then disabled me completely. Discouragement, an incapacity for accomplishing the slightest work, writing letters.

This incapacity has lasted up to the present time. Our November uprising approaches. It makes an impression on me. - I am completely involved in the apostolate of our faith.

In 1831 I arrived in Paris. I feel the falseness of my situation and of our religious principles; but there is still the principle of authority, and the hope that I, that time, will one day correct the evil, and hold me back from the ultimate. Unbelievable suffering. +(A desire to find solace, to strengthen my spirit by way of carnal pleasures).+ I cannot open my heart to anyone. Finally I lose complete control over the will. After the collapse of saintsimonism, I am alone, without any certainty, without any sure hope.

³ "By a woman" - this could be Alexandra Zawadzka, with whom Jański struck up a closer acquaintance in 1827, and whom he married in October of the following year.

242 After leaving saintsimonism, over the last three years, I ought to accuse myself especially of neglecting divine inspirations.

At the beginning, my whole mind was occupied with metaphysical questions in terms set down by saintsimonism: Spirit and Matter. I cease to be a pantheist. A previous reading of d'Eckstein⁴ enabled me to become somewhat acquainted with Catholicism. Gerbet, *Mélanges de l'Avenir, Essai sur l'indifférence, Du Dogme générateur, Considérations sur la France*, +Rohrbacher.+⁵

But my opinions kept changing from day to day and hour to hour. And with each change, there were other projects, other undertakings, another life. +Constantly drawn back to former co-religionists, exposed to all of their influence on me. A carnal life continued to dominate.+ This life wore me out considerably.

I was too bound up with the three human orders, of Gerbet, Buchez, and neo-Christianity.

A patriotic reaction. Condensation of philosophical questions.

By his example, Mickiewicz seems to confirm me in his opinions. But how far these still were from convictions, how far from putting them into practice. As a result, confusion, insincerity. However, I began to pray and go to church; meanwhile, I retained my neo-Christian opinions, undecided with regard to women.

The desire for confession is not realized. I take advantage of the occasion and I become mired in bad relationships with women. I moderate, lessen, my

⁴ Ferdinand d'Eckstein (1790-1861) - from a Jewish family living in Denmark; a baron, scholar, an expert in Sanskrit, a politician, journalist and specialist in the philosophy of history. In 1807, while in Rome, he became a Catholic. He was subject to the influence of the views of J. de Maistre and L.G.A. de Bonald. Like them, he was a traditionalist, and an ultramontanist. After the restoration of the Bourbons in France he held high government positions. He founded the religious-political review, "Catholique" (1826-1829). He held that a fundamental knowledge of Catholicism can match the beliefs of contemporary intellectuals, and that in a doctrinal and religious sense, Catholicism offers a person the best moral principles, and in relation to the fate of mankind, the most convincing metaphysical interpretation. He was opposed to making the clergy subject to the State. He maintained close contact with the leading representatives of the L'Avenir movement.

⁵ Gerbet - Cf. 1831, footnote 59. - *Mélanges de l'Avenir* - Cf. 1832, footnote 17. - *Essai sur l'indifférence en matière de religion* - Lamennais, Cf. 1832, footnote 96. - *Du dogme générateur* - Cf. 1831, footnote 59, and 1832, footnote 117. - *Considérations sur la France* - Cf. 1831, footnote 10. - Rohrbacher - Cf. 1832 footnote 78.

Catholicism - love, de facto, a necessary principle of the Church. I stop praying - hardened. My situation becomes increasingly false. I yield to a sexual relationship with Adele.

243 I consider my Catholicism to be a compromise. I recognize that the Church requires revolutionary emancipation. I return to republicanism, mysticism - in my desires; for in actions, in thoughts, there is already complete nothingness.

In February [1834] a yearning for God. A good desire, but a lack of good will. Throughout that whole year, I experienced a terrible, prolonged, weakness of both body and spirit. Illness in July and August [1834] but on the Feast of St. Michael [September 29], prayer. I have a desire to make a profession of faith; recognition that before I can reach unanimity in my thoughts, I must straighten out my conscience, unite with God, and confess my sins, for I recognized that I no longer had any objections to the holy Catholic faith - I had responded triumphantly to all of these objections, to myself, and often to others. - Dugied - November 24, [1834].

Still a sin of the flesh; but no longer from the conviction that is proper, but only through sophisms, the goodness of God, weakness, and the needs of my physical nature. Sometimes there was still pride, vanity, worrying about trifles; but also a sincere will to finish once and for all with evil.

II.

337 [Saturday], January 10

[PRAYER, SELF-ACCUSATION]

Merciful God, support me with your grace. Complete within me this work of salvation, of reconciliation with you. Today I am to complete my confession. O Lord, grant that it may be perfect, fruitful for the future. In you, O God, is all my hope!

I forgot to accuse myself of harming others by my debts. Restitution.

Accusing myself of causing ruin to the souls of my neighbors. Henry.

Accuse myself of laziness, jealousy, detraction, of excessive concern for temporal goods (debts).

III.

266 [Saturday], April 25

[CONFESSION] FROM FEBRUARY 2, 1835

My faith was no longer shaken by any violent and strong temptation; condemnations are the more deserving; my lack of spiritual zeal, the lack of order in my life, +all the worse, since I ought to be an example to others.+

First of all, I began to neglect the fulfillment of seemingly slight obligations: my morning and evening prayers, Sunday Mass, and that supposedly due to an accumulation of work and occupations.

Following upon this neglect, my heart was filled with pride and other earthly sentiments, a surrender to lust in body and spirit.

As a result, worry about my problems, and impatience with my straitened circumstances, or after experiencing some humiliation.

As a result, a desire to appear to be better than I am, taking delight in compliments I received, and at the same time a weaker dedication to God and religion. +Completely putting off a good life, waiting for some proper circumstances.+

As a result, surrender to the flesh; slavery to carnal habits, my pipe, coffee after dinner, etc.. the sin of impurity. As if to demonstrate my personal meanness, on the day when I had approached the table of the Lord, a meeting and fraternization with a prostitute I had known previously. 4 times.

267 Vanity, wantonness, disorder in thoughts, words and actions. Disorder in my life. As a result, frequent unnecessary banter with others, excessive reprehensible tolerance, or rather indulgence, a tendency to detraction, frequent lies, not to hurt anyone, but to get me out of trouble.

In this last respect I am especially deserving of great reprimands. By not keeping my word, I became a scandal to many, to all of my acquaintances.

I owe it solely to the infinite goodness of God that I did not become a scandal in other matters as well. In spite of Celiński's misfortunes, I kept playing around. Previously I even forgot to confess this.

I also need to confess the [lack of] keeping the fast. I observed it poorly. I did not mortify my body even though at first I did not eat meat. But frequently I also ate meat, even on Fridays. Today I find myself in such a situation that I do not observe the fast on Fridays and Saturdays.

268 Through neglect in fulfilling my duties, it follows that I did not keep the promises made at my last confession, with regard to my wife, my brothers, and

my friends - even though I constantly think of this, I continue to put it off; and up to now I am constantly in debt.

In order to fulfill the commandment that requires confession during the Easter season, I come to confession even though I am not well prepared, with a sincere sorrow for all of my sins, and with a strong resolution of complete amendment.

If I remember something tomorrow, should I go to confession again?

IV.

275 [Saturday, June 13]

[CONFESSION] JUNE 13, FEAST OF ST. ANTHONY

I should further accuse myself of living from February 2 as I did in the past, even though I yearned often for complete improvement, and now I desire it with all my soul. Dominated by various circumstances up to this point, I even forgot about my most urgent obligations.

First of all then, lack of regularity in my life, a lack of careful watching over myself, a lack of zeal, submitting to laziness, pride, occupying myself with excessive compliments, undertaking great tasks, and not fulfilling minor ones, not occupying myself with what required my attention; a bad use of time, treating people badly, failing to keep my word, and failing to answer letters.

Lust of the flesh. Failure to observe the Lenten fast, intemperance, extravagance, all the more blameworthy because I have pressing debts. Impurity. I even allowed myself to be seduced once more by S.

Neglect in fulfilling the simplest Christian obligations - (here a scruple) prayer, Mass.

V.

**288 CONFESSION ON THE BLESSED MOTHER'S BIRTHDAY,
SEPTEMBER 8, 1835**

from the 13th of June, through 86 days (12 weeks and 2 days) I did not receive Holy Communion. I accuse myself of this, first of all, as an act of laziness, for there was no serious obstacle. At first I had the intention to confess on the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, but I was hindered by urgent work, which

I had not completed in time beforehand - a bad use and management of time - a sin, and a second reason for many other sins.

Therefore, I still have to accuse myself of almost all of my former sins: +a lack of order in my life, surrender to pride, laziness, lust of the flesh,+ even though I was not abandoned by the grace of God; I was visited with holy inspirations, but I neglected them. Therefore, I approach confession with great shame, but also with a sincere purpose of amendment.

And so: I neglected religious obligations: Mass on Sunday a few times; prayer in the morning and evening often; with regard to Fridays and Saturdays, due to my situation, eating meat; I did not strive to mortify the flesh, and be at least as abstemious as on other days.

With regard to obligations relative to people: by a poor arrangement of time, first of all I did not fulfill the obligations contracted in my first confession - writing letters, etc.; further, laziness, irregularity, and a lack of arrangement of other matters, lukewarmness, vanity, etc. Often I was not on time, did not keep my word, and as a result undoubtedly I became the cause of complaints and discontent - in the muddled situation involving relations with people, there was also pride, jealousy, concern for temporal and personal considerations; this often led, as it were by habit, to small lies, and as a result, to neglect, excessive tolerance, lukewarmness, failure to take advantage of opportunities to do good, a kind of spiritual slavery in associating with others. Especially, my relations with the Giedrojć family - father and son, with the Komars, with Celiński, with the lately deceased Podczaszyński (previous neglect of his interests with the Ogińskis, and on the eve of his death, neglecting to remind him of religion). Dobrowolski, Korycki, the young men attracted to religion - Benoiste.

289 A lack of temperance, surrender to lust, temptations - impurity four or five times. And how many times lustful thoughts, consenting to them, even going out in search - once more I allowed myself to be seduced by S. ..., which could have become a great scandal, except for the unmerited goodness of God. - Imprudence, and as a result, extravagance in spending.

Sincere sorrow for these sins. A resolution to go to confession on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.

VI.

293 **CONFESSION , SEPTEMBER 14, 1835**
FEAST OF THE EXALTATION OF THE HOLY CROSS

Once again, I spent the six days since my last confession in the worst possible way, as a non-Christian, even though I constantly had in mind receiving Holy Communion on the Feast of the Holy Cross.

Hence, I was supposed to examine myself daily; I was supposed to write down an arrangement of work for every day, preparing myself for death. Meanwhile, I did none of this.

A kind of weakness, infirmity, and lukewarmness overwhelmed me constantly, and that how soon after confession! I did not make serious efforts to rid myself of this weakness. As a result, I allowed myself to be beguiled by worries, by temporal and personal projects. I wasted time, and worse, submitted to thoughts full of pride and impurity.

Therefore, I should first accuse myself of lukewarmness, in spite of frequent holy inspirations. Lukewarmness with regard to Celiński, which resulted in a loss of countenance in social relationships, a loss of spiritual strength and faith.

Second, pride always - I attribute everything to myself in relations with the brothers; too frequently I am concerned about myself. This results in insincerity and leads to discontent with people because I am not sufficiently respected.

Third, laziness, in spite of the fact that I am so far behind in my work, work that was promised, which should have been finished long ago, and in spite of the fact that I troubled by indigence. Wasting, bad use of time.

294 Fourth, lies, or rather excessive attachment to material goods, worrying about them, considering them to be necessary conditions for moral and religious improvement. In relations with the Giedrojćes I noticed that I have been reducing everything to my material interests. Slavery in eating, drinking, my pipe.

Fifth, impurity - free, frequent, succumbing to it practically every day in thoughts; once I was even completely decided upon an act.

Sixth, small lies, the reason for which is to be found in a disorderly life, a fear of being humiliated in the eyes of others.

VII.

CONFESSION OF SEPTEMBER 21, FEAST OF ST. MATTHEW

Through a lack of sufficient watchfulness, through habitual pride and vanity, a continuing failure to detach myself from temporal goods, and the habit of day-dreaming, I have continued to fall into disgusting perversity - I had even decided to commit a sin of impurity; further, wasting time, worrying about hardships, not depending entirely on God's grace; indifference and a lack of sincerity in relations with others; little lies.

1. vanity and pride are easily aroused, as well as excessive self-confidence

2. excessive concern, and a failure to commit myself to the will of God

3. habitual day-dreaming, and slavery to impure thoughts

4. slavery to the flesh, to its needs and pleasures.

Excessive self-confidence, even thoughtless delight, in the fact that I sense some spiritual improvement. Surrendering to fatigue, bodily comforts, and worries.

1. Almost any circumstance leads to pride and excessive self-confidence

2. Almost any circumstance leads to worry, despair, disorder.

There was even a kind of despair, a desire to return to the material life, attachment to its pleasures.

Doubts against the faith; but, thank God, quickly rejected; everything good comes from God, in every case of distress seek consolation in God.

1. Lack of control over the mind, which results in day-dreaming, lust, wasting time.

2. lack of control over the flesh; impatience with people.

I need to keep watch constantly, avoid the occasions of sin, dedicate myself to a continuing struggle, and use every moment profitably.

VIII

329

OCTOBER 19

1. Complete preparation for death.

2. Work to clarify and strengthen my convictions in various important areas, theology, mysticism, cabala - in order to maintain good order in my life.
3. Practice in the social aspects of the Christian life - among Poles - among Frenchmen.
4. Gathering the fruits of mt work up to now:
 - a) concerning philosophy and politics. Render an account - a quarterly about Polish Christian politics - a small work for young people studying politics, law and administration.
 - b) about Poland and the Slavs - "The Pilgrim" - French periodicals - history - politics
 - c) about politics and current history (manuals), a miscellany of history, literature and bibliography, statistics)
 - d) political economy: i) philosophy and politics in general and in particular - political economy; contemporary politics and philosophical-political literature, histories of politics and commerce; ii) Poland - the Slavs.

IX.

849 [Thursday], November 12

RESOLUTIONS

Yesterday at three, while I was visiting Kajsiewicz, I happened to open a spiritual work written by Mrs. Guyon. A few of her words about prayer stirred me to pious reflection and inspirations, for which I thank You, O merciful God. Under their influence I resolved to write the following resolutions, which had been on my mind already for some time:

1. Not to neglect prayer in the morning and evening, mental prayer, and to pray constantly, constantly.
2. To set about, and that without delay, to extricate myself from a variety of tangled affairs, and to give myself entirely to God, opening my heart to him and waiting with faith for his grace, expecting everything as a result of that grace.

3. a) To pray for the grace to be ready at all times for death, and to make the necessary preparations for it;

b) To pray for the grace to rid myself of all pride and carnal desires; to ask God for perseverance in the resolution to use all my strength to promote the glory of God and the good of my neighbor +(inspirations on this point during Mass for the repose of the soul of Pac)+,⁶ without any worldly or human consideration, even striving to see to it that whatever good I might plan to do, or which God will permit me to accomplish, might remain completely hidden and unrecognized by people. +bb) Pray for the grace to liberate myself completely from all earthly ties, and to give myself completely, without limitation, to the service of God and my neighbor.+

c) To pray for the grace, in relations with people, to maintain control over my speech, so that I might not speak either more or less than is needed for the glory of God and the good of my neighbor, and to control my use of earthly pleasures. For many, even most of my failures begin with meetings with people and in the bad use of money. (Love for solitude and temperance.) +cc) To pray for the grace to benefit from pious inspirations.+

d) To pray for perseverance in work (in teaching and in relations with people) and to stop wasting time.

e) To pray for: 1) the dead; 2) benefactors; 3) enemies, people who are jealous or wish me evil.

850

x) wasting hour after hour, and thus years and a lifetime,

y) wasting inspirations and good intentions, thus weakening the soul, and a constantly greater decline in mind and soul.

a) a failure to keep my word,

b) weighing others down with my needs,

c) a desire to appear as someone superior.+

My activities are, first of all, very important for the purpose of providing for daily bread; secondly, for the good of my soul; third, for the glory of God and the good of my neighbor. The purpose of these activities is:

a) to provide daily bread

⁶ Cf. above, footnote 268.

- b) spiritual, scholarly
- c) social.

For the good of my soul I need to work hard at responding to such questions as:

First: If people who are very important to me today; if the movement toward Catholicism was not so universal today; if I were alone someplace in a non-Catholic environment - would I be a Catholic in spite of this, and why?

Second: (a thought that came to me after my conversation with Stawiar-ski on the day of Pac's funeral). Do I, and do young people today, become Catholics solely due to a weakening of their intellectual faculties, a lack of courage, a kind of rational despair?

Third: If I am a Catholic, why doesn't my faith embrace my entire life? What is lacking for it to be complete? What are my convictions? What convictions are still lacking?

Here, question of mystical theology (Behme, Saint-Martin, Swedenborg); of the cabala (magnetism, gnosticism, heresies, other religions); of the philo-sophy of history, the principles of philosophy and politics.

Here, a designation of purpose, and my way of life. The obligations of a Christian - in general and in particular, my obligations in contemporary social relationships. Prayers and reflections.

851 My scholarly work:

- a. esoteric, secret
- b. exoteric, esternal (for Poland and in France)

After scholarly works, I need to occupy myself with reflection on my spiritual needs.

For Poland concerning philosophy and politics, political economy, apologetic writings to democracy, etc., about the Slavs.

(German and English reading matter). here, in liene with the thought that came to me yesterday, the 11th, when visiting Witwicki, works in the Polish language - Skarga. - Works dealing with theological literature in Poland. One of the very first works, dealing with recent times in Poland (Ferrand, Ogiński,

Légions, Biographie, genealogical tables).⁷ Geography of Poland (Bentkowski, journals, Memoirs, Ossoliński, Ostrowski).⁸

For the sake of knowledge, and in order to earn a living in France: concerning Christian political economy, the Slavs, Poland, etc.

1. Choose definite and very urgent scholarly works:
 - a) dealing with the Polish, Slavic, and German languages,
 - b) dealing with some definite works for Poles, and in France.
2. Arrange my social works (among the Poles, and among the French):
 - a) friends who think alike,
 - b) in the emigration,
 - c) in the Polish Nation.

Among fellow Poles - after my earliest confession (in December)

- 1) think about encouraging them to gather for common prayer and spiritual exercises in a practical Christian life. Lives of Polish Saints
- 2) think about establishing, in Christ's name, some kind of society, brotherhood, for the defense of the faith and nationality.
 - a) by striving for religious and moral improvement
 - b) by maintaining constant, and as far as possible extensive, relationships with others,
 - c) by scholarly works, and the publication of some particular writings,
 - d) by measures related to farming etc.

⁷ Ferrand - Cf. 1834, footnote 54.

Ogiński - undoubtedly Michael Ogiński (1765-1833) - diplomat, great Lithuanian treasurer, participated in the 1834 uprising, and was active in the emigration; a composer and diarist. His *Mémoires sur la Pologne et les Polonais, depuis 1788 jusqu'a la fin de 1815* was prepared for print by his secretary, Leonard Chodźko.

Légions - undoubtedly *Histoire des légions polonaises en Italie...* of Leonard Chodźko; Cf. 1832, footnote 28.

Biographie - Cf. above, footnote 195.

Tables généalogiques (Genealogical Tables)... of Koch; Cf. above, footnote 296.

⁸ Undoubtedly Theodore Ostrowski (1750-1802) - Piarist, author of legal works, journalist. In 1784 he published two volumes of *Civil or particular law of the Polish nation, gathered from the Polish and Lithuanian constitutions, and clarified by resolutions from the Perpetual Council*.

(Paying closer attention to other Slavic nations, especially the Czechs and Serbs.)

The thought crossed my mind today whether the entire goal (of efforts) among the emigrants and in Poland might not be designated in this way?

Make it our goal that the emigration and the Nation might become a model of the Christian life in all of our thoughts, words and actions - consequently, an improvement in literature and customs. Prayer for holiness. - Colonization, hospitals (an Order of Knights, and a commercial society) a Polish school, an academy.

How set about work on this here and now, in the emigration, among friends, and among the Polish people? - Coming together for prayer; a confraternity; periodicals, "The Pilgrim".

Begin with self!

X.

852 [Friday], December 4, 1835

NATIONAL SERVICE

Is there any urgent and persistent need to organize religious, political, and scholarly societies among our people? Are bad associations surpassed here by good ones that should be a result of such a society? - Indicate the benefits as well as the evils that need to be avoided.

Initially, will this be a Brotherhood of National Service, or an Order (religious and military)?

Conversion into [a Brotherhood] of Service for National Unity.

Indicate various conversions of societies that can follow upon a variety of situations relative to our national cause in the future. +The moment for a military organization of the emigration by some foreign government. The moment to enter Poland (war, and after the war).+

Designate the duration and the term.

Designate the most that can be done today.

What should the organizing principle of this society be? - Its religious, moral, scholarly, commercial and military character. Authority, hierarchy - Duties.

Funds for housekeeping, envoys, and publications. Taxes.
Ireland - France - America - Switzerland.
Czechoslovakia - Hungary - Serbia - Scotland and Wales.

After organization, a manifesto: 1. to the nation, 2. to the emigration, 3. to secret and public associations, 4. to the courts of usurpers, 5. to the Holy Father, 6. to foreign nations.

Even after a return to Poland, the existence of the brotherhood is necessary, up to a time of complete religious rebirth of the people, amendment of national customs and morals, availability of education and welfare for all the people, establishment of a strong and well-educated nation to be a part of the community of Christian nations, in opposition to the selfish aristocracy, the egotistic and false democracy, the false philosophy and godless industrialism.

To the highest Council belongs the right to dissolve the brotherhood (designating the conditions and forms, the Pope?).

XI.

857

Tasks, purpose, spirit

BROTHERHOOD OF NATIONAL SERVICE

The life of the Brotherhood is not to be limited to one form, i.e. monastic, but by means various forms (strictly united with one another) to form an association intent on introducing Christian principles into politics, education, literature, arts and sciences, commerce, customs, and the whole of public and private life. (How can all of these various forms be brought together to create a unity? By what sort of organization?)

(in every case, establish general activity on a national basis - make room for yourself in the midst of various opinions - remain bound to national traditions, etc.)

Our association should be an inextinguishable hearth of Christian faith, hope and love, as well as national spirit, a kind of fortress against every sort of obstacles and adversaries, in which Faith and Country are preserved and

disseminated - a hearth, center, about which all noble efforts in Poland might gather - at the same time, we need to have complete submission to the will of God, and be ready to abandon the work if God should call us elsewhere, or call us to serve him in some other way.

1. It is necessary to supply the means, and facilities for people with dedication
2. use all social groups and associations in order to achieve the general goal.

XII.

808 [Tuesday], December 8, Immaculate Conception

THE CONGREGATION OF SAINT PETER

A Congregation, or: Order, Knighthood, etc., always in combination, and the highest level of National Service.

A Commandery: The Cross of Saint Peter (Key-Boat).

Cet. T.⁹ so that all Temporal Matters and laws might be confirmed by the Holy Father. - Collections from Polish churches for the universal Church, among the armed forces etc., and gifts.

- Honor the holy apostles and national patrons.
- A combination of openness and secrecy.
- Division into languages, countries, or rather National Services, hence, Brotherhoods of National Service.
- Men and women.
- Degrees.
- Begin first, perhaps, only among Poles (perhaps derived from, and linked with, that Saint Peter); begin with some kind of articles directed

⁹ Cet. T. - This notation is hard to explain. It may be *cetus* (Latin for community). The letter T. may be the Greek letter *tau*, a symbol for the cross.

against the protestants in French, against the schism, and perhaps some works in Algiers.

- (Perhaps, dividing into various languages, it might be possible to expand into Brotherhoods of National Service, except that we must begin.) In stead of languages, National Services.

XIII.

740 [Thursday], December 10, 1835, at 1:00 A.M.

MY OBLIGATIONS AND VOCATION A GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF MY TEMPORAL WORKS

1. This world is transient. We live for Kingdom of Heaven. Salvation comes through Christ.

2. Today sees the beginning of some new, universal improvement, a new spread of Christianity.

3. The Slavic people bring to this fraternal work, their fresh and powerful energies.

However:

a) The Evil Spirit wishes to use them for his purposes, by way of the [Tsar] Nicholas;

b) there are racial, and habitual, faults in their practical life;

c) a rebellious, revolutionary spirit of unbridled freedom, and false philosophy can cause their downfall.

Therefore, an obligation: To direct them to the unity of faith of the universal Church and prepare them to observe the Christian Covenant in its new development. All energies must be directed to this goal. The means to achieve this: Poland, in union with the activity of Christians everywhere.

Therefore, a need for an apostolate to renew religious sentiments in all their purity, sincerity, and strength - putting the Gospel precepts and counsels into practice and making them customary, in all their strictness and fullness - enlightening intellects in conformity with these goals.

(Personal improvement, study - an order.)

Always, and above all, first remember that this requires complete self-renunciation, pouring soul and body into the fulfillment of this holy purpose - without any view to personal glory (indeed, with a desire to hide your work and merit), without any desire for temporal pleasure and happiness (indeed, with

readiness for the greatest deprivations, sufferings, scorn and persecution), without any concern for an earthly future (indeed, with peaceful trust in God).

It is not talent, prudence and shrewdness, or material resources that are meant to be the instrument of this work, but rather a strong and living faith that permeates our whole life, along with a sincere, divine love, free of all earthliness, and a heavenly hope. The most dangerous sin: to neglect holy inspirations, to delay, to waste time, the prolonging of which for fulfilling our obligations is so uncertain. A good work, begun with sincere and strong determination, with sincere and strong confidence in God is not begun without success.

And so, begin - in word and in life - not wasting a single moment. Begin now, in the name of God. Begin, to the extent that this is possible, at least in what pertains to the greatest and furthest goal.

First of all, conferences; then common prayer, meetings; and finally the brotherhood.

XIV.

[Monday], December 21, 1835

858

MY RELATIONS WITH THE EMIGRATION¹⁰

Peter Mr. Anthony Ordęga Kunat Fr. Dłuski

Jerome Domejko Korycki Janowski Dobrowolski Maliński Adam[I]
Chelkowski Bukaty

Karski Caesar Ziomecki Lutowski

Witwicki Dalen

Orpiszewski Szymański

¹⁰ Working toward the organization of an initially lay brotherhood (The Brotherhood of National Service - Cf. Appendix X and XI) Jański wanted to consider which of the Polish emigrants living in Paris as well as other French cities could - without excluding Frenchmen - contribute to the creation of a religious, moral, and national community. For that purpose he drew up a list of Polish emigrants, dividing them into specific groups according to the degree of advancement in the realization of the idea of a brotherhood: *My relationships in the emigration*. The list of emigrants was presented in the Note at the end of the Diary for the year 1835.

Karwoski
Królikowski [I]

Agen - Adam [II] and Leon, Klosowicz
Strasbourg - the Zaleskis
Caen - Hube
Lyon - Chevalier
Toulouse - Koźmian, Korzeniowski
Tours - Fr. Trepka
Orléans - Fr. Dąbrowski etc.
Angers - Rettel

Jabłoński
Łempicki
Fiałkowski
(Ignatius Zwierkowski)
Grzybowski
Joseph Zawadzki
Niedźwiecki
Niewiarowicz
Niwiński

Strasbourg Pomaski Nieszokoć

Toulouse Jakubowski Królikowski [II]

Orleans Louis Plater, Różycki, Grzymała
Angers Zamoyski Dwernicki Bronikowski
(Błotnicki) Lelewel J.B.O.

Hofman Wojowoda Morawski
Karsznicki

Saint-Cheron

Michel
Jules
Carnot

NOTE

List of emigrants from December 21, 1835 (footnote 368)

The names in this list are set down in alphabetic order and provided with biographical information. (In the case of names already identified, reference is made to the pertinent footnotes).

Adam [I], Cf. Mickiewicz, Adam

Adam [II], Cf. Celiński, Adam

Anthony, Cf. Górecki, Anthony

Blotnicki, Hipolitus, Cf. 1835, footnote 47

Bronikowski, Xavier, Cf. 1832, footnote 5

Bukaty - Anthony (1805-1876) a school colleague of Jerome Kajsiewicz and Leonard Niedźwiecki; studied mathematics and philosophy. Participated in the 1830-1831 uprising. An emigrant in Paris, he finished the School of Roads and Bridges (1836-1839). A member of the Historical-Literary Society (1839); Translator of the works of Hoene-Wroński.

Carnot, Lazare-Hippolite, Cf. 1831, footnote 46

Celiński, Adam, Cf. 1834, footnote 41

Caesar, Cf. Plater, Caesar

Chelchowski, Valerian, Cf. 1835, footnote 30

Chevalier, Eugene from Volhynia. A Pole; participated in the November uprising as a lieutenant; from 1834, an emigrant, living in Lyon. Jański was his quest, from December 1839 to January 1840.

Chodzkiewicz, Ignatius, Cf. 1835, footnote 253. Or, Chodzkiewicz, Edward, a Volhynian, participated in the November uprising, lived as an emigrant in France; a conductor (i.e., a supervisor of works on roads and bridges).

Dalen (Dahlen), Stanislaus, Cf. 1835, footnote 150

Dąbrowski, Fr. John Paul, Cf. 1834, footnote 35

Dłuski, Casper, from Grodno, chaplain of the 13th Uhlan Regiment, an emigrant; a member of the House of Jański for a short time.

Dobrowolski, Casimir Boleslaus (?) Cf. 1835, footnote 131

Domejko (Domeyko), Ignatius, Cf. 1834, footnote 38

Dwernicki, Joseph, Cf. 1833, footnote 37

Fiałkowski (Fijałkowski) - a few Fijałkowskis were emigrants in France. Perhaps Alexander Fijałkowski (1812-1885) - a soldier. A lieutenant in the November uprising. As an emigrant in Paris, he studied in the School of the General Staff. From 1834 he worked in the administration of roads and bridges. From 1838 he was a cartographer in the French War Ministry.

Gorecki, Anthony, Cf. 1834, footnote 37

Grzybowski - A few Grzybowskis were emigrant in France

Grzymała, Francis, Cf. 1832, footnote 305

Hofman, Alexander (?), Cf. 1832, footnote 337

Hube, Joseph, Cf. 1832, footnote 31

- Jabłoński, Adam, Cf. 1832, footnote 106
- Jakubowski, Henry, Cf. 1832, footnote 136
- Janowski, John Nepomucene, Cf. 1832, footnote 35
- J.B.O, Cf. Ostrowski, Josephat Boleslaus
- Jules, Cf. Jules Lechevalier
- Kajsiewicz, Jerome, Cf. 1835, footnote 123
- Karski, Marcelus, Cf. 1835, footnotes 48 and 128
- Karsznicki - undoubtedly Charles Karsznicki (1806-1870), participated in the November uprising; from 1835 to 1838 he studied in The Central School of Arts and Crafts; an engineer.
- Karwowski, John Joachim (1798-1870) - lawyer, participated in the 1830-1831 uprising, envoy to the Sejm. An emigrant in Paris; a political leftist.
- Kiersznicki (Kiersznicki), Richard, participated in the 1830-1831 uprising, an envoy to the Sejm. An emigrant in Paris; a political leftist.
- Klimaszewski, Hippolitus, Cf. 1834, footnote 39
- Kłosowicz, Joseph (1811-1836) - participated in the 1830-1831 uprising, a second lieutenant of the 16th infantry regiment; an emigrant.
- Konopka, Julian and Roman, Cf. 1834, footnote 14
- Korycki, Francis, Cf. 1834, footnote 13
- Korzeniowski, Humphrey Anthony Joseph, Cf. 1832, footnote 58
- Koźmian, John, Cf. 1834, Footnote 35, 1835, note 132
- Kremer, Charles Roman (?), Cf. 1835, footnote 184
- Królikowski [I] Charles, Cf. 1835, footnote 172
- Królikowski [II] Louis, Cf. 1830, footnote 34
- Kunat (Kunatt), Stanislaus, Cf. 1832, footnote 70
- Lechevalier, Jules, Cf. 1832, footnote 21
- Lelewel, Joachim, Cf. 1831, footnote 36
- Leon, Cf. Leon Przeclawski
- Lutowski, Adalbert (1808-c.1879), participated in the 1830-1831 uprising; emigrant in France, a mechanical engineer
- Łempicki, Adalbert Napoleon, Cf. 1832, footnote 66
- Łopaciński, Louis (?), Cf. 1834, footnote 61
- Maliński, Joseph, Cf. 1832, footnote 24
- Michel, perhaps Michel Chevalier, Cf. 1832, note 100
- Mickiewicz, Adam
- Morawski, Theodore, Cf. 1832, footnote 134
- Niedźwiecki (Niedźwiedzki), Victor Leonard (1811-1892) a school colleague of Anthony Bukaty and Jerome Kajsiewicz; participated in the 1830-1831 uprising. An emigrant, first in London (from 1832), and then in Paris (from 1839). London correspondent for "The Chronicle of the Polish Emigration). An agent of Alexander Jełowicki and Eustachius Januszkiewicz's book-store in Paris. Later, Ladislaus Zamoyski's secretary.
- Nieszokoc, Vincent, Cf. 1835, footnote 355
- Niewiarowicz, Louis - a pseudonym of John Tysiewicz (1815-1891) - an emigrant from Vilno; artist, illustrator of Mickiewicz's works. He displayed his paintings in the Paris Salon (1839).

- Niwiński, Nicholas (1807-1890) - secondary school pupil from Krzemieniec. He began his studies in the preparatory school for the Polytechnical School in Warsaw. He participated in the 1830-1831 uprising. As an emigrant in France, he worked from 1833 as a conductor of roads and bridges.
- Orański, Xavier, Cf. 1832, footnote 343
- Ordęga, Joseph, Cf. 1834, footnote 8
- Ordyniec, John Casimir Romuald, Cf. 1832, footnote 64
- Orpiszewski, Louis, Cf. 1835, footnote 14
- Ostrowski, Anthony John, called "Voivode", Cf. 1832, footnote 256
- Ostrowski, Josaphat Boleslaus, Cf. 1832, footnote 114
- Peter, Cf. Peter Semenenko
- Piwowarski, Adam (1809-1881) - participated in the 1830-1831 uprising. As an emigrant in Paris, he studied at the Polytechnic School, as well as at the School for Roads and Bridges, and earned the title of engineer of boat service. In 1839 he returned to Kraków, and accepted a position in the Jagiellonian Library.
- Plater, Caesar Augustine, Cf. 1832, footnote 2
- Plater, Louis August, Cf. 1832, footnote 86
- Pomaski, Marcellus, participated in the 1830-1831 uprising as a second lieutenant. From 1831, an emigrant in Avignon, Bergerac; a mason, follower of Lelewel, a member of the political left among the emigrants.
- Przeclawski, Leon, Cf. 1835, footnote 19
- Rettel (Retel), Leonard, Cf. 1832, footnote 63
- Różycki, Charles (1789-1870) - participated in the 1830-1831 uprising, a lieutenant in the Volhynian cavalry, a political activist in the emigration, diarist and journalist who lived in Paris (1835); later, a towianist.
- Saint-Chéron, Alexander De, Cf. 1835, footnote 104
- Semenenko, Peter, Cf. 1834, footnote 45
- Słowaczyński, Jędrzej (Andrew), Cf. 1834, footnote 51
- Szymański, Anthony Marcellus, Cf. 1835, footnote 146
- Trepka, Ignatius (1800-1867), came from Kraków; chaplain of the 9th infantry regiment. He emigrated to France, and remained there from January of 1832. In Paris he published *Religious and Political Reflections ... of a pilgrim from the shores of the Vistula* (1840)
- Walter, Philip, Cf. 1831, footnote 54
- Wejsenhof, Lucian, Cf. 1834, footnote 9
- Witwicki, Stephen, Cf. 1834, footnote 10
- Wojewoda, Cf. Ostrowski, Anthony John
- Wroński, Adam (1805-1873, participated in the 1830-1831 uprising. As an emigrant in Paris, he attended the School of the General Staff
- Wrotnowski, Felix, Cf. 1834, footnote 12
- Zaleski, Bohdan and Joseph, Cf. 1832, footnote 342
- Zamojski, Ladislaus (1803-1868) - Count, General, politician. Participated in the November uprising. As an emigrant, he was active mainly in England as one of the supervisors of foreign politics directed by Prince Adam Czartoryski.
- Zawadzki, Joseph, Cf. 1832, footnote 94
- Ziomecki (Ziemecki), Joseph, Cf. 1835, footnote 329
- Zwierkowski, Ignatius Frederick, Cf. 1833, footnote 20

DIARY

Year 1836

8627

338 [Saturday], January 9, 1836

I arose at seven. Prayer. I listen to Napoleon's lessons. At eight I leave for Saint-Mandé. I arrive there after nine. CONFESSION,¹ the kindness and goodness of Father [Chaussotte]. Mass, Holy Communion, great internal joy. Breakfast, and I stay there until one. A lack of warmth on my part in bidding farewell to the pastor. In Paris, near the Madeleine² after two-thirty, and so too late to for Vlad[imir]'s lesson. For coffee (Wodziński). To Mr. Benoiste;³ I finally find him at home. He is a very kind person, but in my conversation with him I do not feel constant formality toward me at the present time. To Mickiewicz. He is not at home, but Mary (Mickiewicz's wife) is healthy once more. To Plater. I report on Hube and Mr. Benoiste's business, but somehow I am ill at ease during the conversation. To Mrs. Bazard. Here too I feel the same confusion, shyness, and emptiness. At dinner, little conversation. To St. Geneviève for visitation. To Cheruel; he is out, but Lacordaire is there. Once again I am not myself. Needlessly I wish to converse with him. +(a lack of zeal)+; also, I do not have much to talk about. To Nieszokoć;⁴ he is out. Only [Charles] Królikowski is there. With him I have lengthy conversation about Polish national politics, Catholicism, and a future periodical. I leave at eleven, and go for coffee. After some reflection I go to sleep.

8529

¹ A draft copy of a Polish and French text entitled *Confession, January 9, 1836, invoking St. Genevieve* was supplemented by the confession of January 10, 1836 (ACRR 8627, pp.333-336). Jański had previously written still another sketch *Preparation for confession tomorrow*, January 9, 1836, which is presented under Position II in the Appendix, as well as *My confessions and Holy Communions*, listed under Position III.

² Madelaine - The Parisians usually referred in this way to the church of St. Mary Magdalene which was situated in the Place of the same name.

³ Benoiste - a former peer of France; Cf. 1835, footnote 277.

⁴ Vincent Nieszokoć - Cf. 1835, footnote 355.

249 For the 10th of January⁵

To Kajsiewicz.

A letter to Mrs. Komar with an apology.

Go to see Cheruel with reference to Juilly.

If possible, visit Chopin [convalescing].

To Mickiewicz, concerning the *Encyclopédie catholique*, about Juilly, about Nieszokoć, Bandtke's first volume.

To Szulc,⁶ rue Pierre-Sarrazin, to Montalembert with reference to Juilly.

To Walter and Weysenhof.

To *Kafera*,⁷ to Nieszokoć, Szymański, Królikowski, etc.

Urgent letters - a list of urgent works, memoirs.

To Fr. Clavel.⁸

To Maliński, to set up a rendez-vous.

A letter to Karski, concerning Niewęłowski.⁹

To Oleszczyński for the first volume of Bandtke.

250 For Monday, [January] 11

To Szulc.

To Reynaud.

⁵ In the Diary for the Year 1836, Jański's daily notes have been situated. He prepared these notes "for January 10", and also for the 11th and 16th of that month, on a separate sheet of paper, without indicating the year. The daily notes, possessing the character of "orders for the day, and week", "assignments," have been included in the Diary as an integral part, beginning from 1833 to 1839, distinguishing them typographically by the use of smaller type.

⁶ Perhaps Ignatius Szulc (b.1810) - he participated in the November uprising as a battalion doctor. He resided in France as an emigrant. In December 1835, in Montpellier, he received his degree as a doctor of medicine. He practiced in Paris. He was a member of the Polish Democratic Society.

⁷ *Kafera* (*cafeteria*), or coffee house, which Jański notes under the date: "Sunday, [January 10] - To the Café de la Providence; neither Szymański nor Nieszokoć are there any longer."

⁸ Undoubtedly Jean-Louis A. Clavel de Saint-Geniez, a Catholic priest and social worker. Initially a follower of Fourier. later a follower of Buchez.

⁹ Henry Gracch Peter Niewęłowski (1807-1881) - an 1831 insurrectionist; an emigrant in France. An advocate of reform in the Polish Democratic Society, as well as of uniting the entire emigration. Editor of the publication "The Pole", an organ of the Union party. A mathematician.

To Wejsenhof and Walter
 To Maliński
 In the evening, to Oleszczyński.

[Friday], January 16

A letter to the post-office.

To Januskiewicz for *Mr. Thaddeus*, to Królikowski, Lamene.

To the watch-maker and Maliński.

For a lesson.

To Mickiewicz concerning the brotherhood, about Dwernicki's confederation.¹⁰

Tobacco for Philip Walter.

8627

338 Sunday, [January 10]

When I get up it is already after eight. Semenenko drops in. Kajsiewicz met with Montalembert, and once again he has decided in favor of Solesmes. For tea at 9:30, then I write the schedule of work for today; I drop a letter to Karski concerning Niewęglowski in the letter box. To church. There is a large crowd. My mind is full of thoughts about what I should do with regard to Peter and Jerome, that I need to speed up the plans for a common life, even beginning next month. Back home after twelve, breakfast; upstairs after one. I write a letter with apologies to Mrs. Komar and to Cheruel, and then day-dream until three. Cheruel was not at home, neither was Wejsenhof. To the Café de la Providence. Neither Szymański nor Nieszokoć are still there

339 I take the bus to deliver the letter to Mrs. Komar. It is already five o'clock. I return by way of bus. It takes almost an hour. For dinner at 6:30; I stay until eight. To visit Peter. Somehow I am not myself. I am tired, lacking in zeal; I wasted two and a half hours. Back home I spend a hour teaching Napoleon, and without doing anything else I go to bed. What an empty day! Merciful God, grant me your grace to improve my life.

Monday [January 11]

I rise at seven. I listen to Napoleon's lesson. I dress. Napoleon returns from school because he went there too late. For breakfast; it is already about

¹⁰ The Confederation of the Polish Nation was established in Paris on February 25, 1836. It was directed by General Dwernicki. Its goal was a struggle for the independence of Poland. The establishment of the Confederation was prepared in January 1836 on the basis of an anonymous plan for the act of establishment.

nine. I take my pants to the tailor. I go for the newspapers, and spend more than an hour there needlessly. I return to my room at about eleven, and still there is no order for the day. Impure thoughts. At eleven, to Mr. de Calonne, and unnecessary gadding about looking for a room at an inn. Thoughts about the brotherhood. A letter to Maliński. I check the list of articles for the *Encyclopédie pittoresque*, and it is already four o'clock. More waste of time - another sin of impurity in thought. To Reynaud. He wants an article on Bosnia and Bulgaria as soon as possible. Maugin.¹¹ I mail the letter to Maliński. For dinner. Catechism. Napoleon's father punishes him. At eight I go to see about a lesson. I work with him on Greek translation. I take notes about Bosnia from the encyclopedia (I read about the Bourbons etc.). Thoughts about the brotherhood. Idle talk until three.

Tuesday, [January 12]

Napoleon gets up at six. Peter comes to see me in the morning, decided on Solesmes by the reasoning of Kajsiewicz and Montalembert. I make a date with Karski for tomorrow. For tea at twelve; for the newspapers, and it is already time for breakfast. After that musing and a few notes about the brotherhood. At one, for a lesson. To Wejssenhof for Lamene. To Vladimir - he is interested, of course, in matters dealing with Poland. I go to visit Mickiewicz. We talk about Solesmes; he too is against it. Concerning the *Encyclopédie catholique*; I am supposed to write the articles. Unnecessarily I voice my opinions about the emigration legion and about Nieszokoć's plans. I take Bandtke. To Wrotnowski for Chodyniecki¹² and Voigt.¹³ Dinner. Maliński for a little while. I prepare for a lesson. I read Gerbet and Chodyniecki in bed until almost 2 o'clock.

Wednesday, [January] 13

At eight to Vladimir; I am too tolerant with him. For coffee. To the young ladies [Komars]. A lie about the writing of Lacordaire confuses and disturbs me. To Karski. Mickiewicz and Witwicki stop by. I copy material from Bandtke about the Slavic people. Peter is terribly cold. I return Voigt and Bandtke to

¹¹ Maugin - Cf. 1835, footnote 250.

¹² Ignatius Chodynicki (1786-1847) - a Carmelite historian. He compiled a *Dictionary of learned Poles, including short sketches of their lives, and especially information about their writings, as well as a critical analysis of the most important works of some of them, arranged in alphabetical order*. Lwów, 1833-34, 3 Vols.

¹³ Johannes Voigt (1786-1863) - a German historian, a professor at the University in Królewiec; an expert in the medieval history of Europe, as well as the history of Prussia: *Geschichte Preussens von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Untergang des Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens 1525*. Volume I, Königsberg, 1827.

Mickiewicz. To Januszkiewicz for *The Pilgrim*.¹⁴ To Domejko for descriptive geometry for Maliński. Dinner. I listen to Napoleon's lesson. He does not know it; a new worry and foregoing punishment. I lay down, and fall asleep. After I wake up I read Maleszewski,¹⁵ which I brought with me from Dmochowski.

340

Thursday, January 14

I rise before eight, and am dressed before 8:30. Tea, the newspapers. Before ten I go to see Peter. We talk about Solesmes. I see that all of my arguments do not touch his heart. Why? Because by my coldness, clumsiness, and delaying in putting good ideas into effect I see that I have lost his confidence, his love, and his compliance. Just punishment, O my God! Ultimately, unsure of myself, and not feeling God in my heart as a result of my careless life, I spoke to him without certainty, without that strong and firm faith that wins souls. I gave him a variety of reasons in great disarray, with an obvious manifestation of the disarray and lack of zeal within my own soul. (Kranas,¹⁶ I speak with him about political economy.)

At twelve for breakfast, and it is already nearly one o'clock. After that I read "The Pilgrim" to the princess (I obtain 10 francs), and by that time it is nearly two. Empty daydreams upstairs, and it is almost three. I go out with Napoleon, trying to catch up with the princess and accompany her to the bus, but we are too late. To Kunatt; he is not in. On the way back I meet Jules [Lechevalier]. He talks to me at length about Egypt and the saintsimonists. By that time it is already four o'clock. To Peter. I send Napoleon home. Kajsiewicz drops by. A new conversation about their Benedictine plans; he is more ready to accept my reasons. They were supposed to go to Saint-Mandé but they do not go since it is late. I give them 30 sous. Things seem to stand a little better; Peter

¹⁴ This refers to a popular history for the people of Isabel Czartoryski entitled *A pilgrim in Dobromil, that is Rustic Instructions* (an anonymous first edition in Warsaw in 1818). *A Pilgrim in Dobromil* was published usually together with the *Rustic Tales* of Mary Anne Wirtemberski, nee Czartoryski.

¹⁵ Maleszewski - Cf. 1832, footnote 263.

¹⁶ Francis Theodore Krahnas (1811-1876) - In 1827 he began to study law and administration at the University of Warsaw. He participated in the November uprising. A member of the Patriotic Society. As an emigrant in France he was active in the democratic camp (in Poitiers). He was noted for his anti-religious views. In 1835 he withdrew from the Polish Democratic Society. He became acquainted with Bogdan Jański, and for some time lived in his house. A member of the Union, he later served as its emissary in Wrocław (1848).

seems agreeable. However, it is very urgent that I complete the plans, and begin to live a common life. Tomorrow I will speak with Adam [Mickiewicz] and Caesar [Plater] about this. O God! Do not abandon me!

I return home at five, and briefly glance through the newspapers, lost in thoughts about Peter, Jerome, and all of us. Supper at six. Maliński, Fr. Korycki. I accompany Maliński to rue Hautefeuille, then go alone for coffee to Café Molière ("Européen").¹⁷ After that I go to Kunatt for Balbi;¹⁸ he is not in. On my way back temptations, and a terrible fall, on such a Day! Home at nine, I dose until eleven. After that, prayer, and in prayer I find consolation. I am lost in thought, and then write these notes. After that I prepare for a lesson with the young ladies from a translation of Gerbet and about philosophy.

Friday, [January] 15

I rise at seven. After eight for a lesson; the boy is too insubordinate (here too I fulfill my obligations carelessly). For coffee, and then to the Misses Komar. Once again an unnecessary fear; the lesson is so-so. To Karski; the poor fellow is still weak. Why do I fail to know myself? Why don't I have a long talk with Chodźko and Korabiewicz?¹⁹ Because I do not have enough zeal. At two I go to visit Princess Giedrojć. I stop by to see Dziewoński²⁰ but he is not in. Passing along the allée des Bauer, once again temptations in my mind. At the princess, as usual, I have little self-assurance. To Mickiewicz. I am well received. He accepts my plans for the establishment of a brotherhood, and promises full assistance. However, I do not yield to rejoicing on this account, nor am I in complete control of my thoughts. He intends to visit Caesar. I leave after four, stopping by to see Walter, and making a date for dinner tomorrow. I find a letter from Adam [Celiński]. I need to respond today. Dinner. I am very tired as the result of walking so far, and the damp weather. Peter stops by, already settled; both of them agree to my suggestions. I tell him that the brotherhood will be established soon. I doze. Kajsiewicz stops by; he too is

¹⁷ "L'Européen" - Cf. 1831, footnote 33. This periodical was re-organized and appeared on an irregular basis from October 1835 to December 1838, with Buchez as its editor.

¹⁸ Balbi - Cf. 1832, footnote 359.

¹⁹ Edmund Korabiewicz (1803-1875) - a doctor; he participated in the November uprising. He undertook further studies in medicine in Strasbourg and in Paris. After receiving his diploma, he practiced primarily in Paris.

²⁰ Florian Zachary Dziewoński (1808-1872) - a doctor from Vilno. He participated in the November uprising as a surgeon. He lived in Paris until March 1836, supporting himself by giving lessons in Latin and mathematics. After that, in Nancy, he worked as a printer and proof-reader. After his diploma was recognized by the Department of Medicine in Montpellier (1852), he worked as a military doctor in the French army.

already settled. He gives me a letter from Bishop Gutkowski²¹ to read. I give thanks to the merciful God for his assistance in the matter between us. At eleven I get down to writing these notes and a letter to Adam. Confession tomorrow. I write the letter to Adam, and collect my thoughts for confession.

Saturday, [January 16]

I get up quite late. Since I want to finish writing the letter to Adam, I put off confession. At eleven Nieszokoć stops by to ask about Celiński. He tells me about the emigrant confederation. Breakfast. I finally finish writing, and seal the letter to Adam. To Januszkiewicz to obtain *Mr. Thaddeus* for Maliński. I promise to meet Królikowski tomorrow at Café de la Providence.

342 At Roiffe - the watch is not ready yet. Maliński is not in. The boy is very insubordinate during the lesson - Oj! Apparently I am fulfilling my responsibility there poorly. After the lesson, to see Adam [Mickiewicz]; he is not in, but I meet him later. He received a promise of funds from Caesar and Montalembert. But I can see that he spoke without reservation: his intentions are purely monastic. Unnecessarily I respond with a desire for great prudence and restraint. To Walter (I read the papers along with him), dinner. [Julian] Konopka. I forget myself completely, not uttering a single more serious word, for a pious purpose. As he is leaving, he expresses a desire to speak frankly with me. At eleven to Dolubowski; Domejko, Piwowarski and Dalen are there. There too I lose every trace of moral character. Home after eleven with a heavy cold; sleep.

Sunday, [January] 17

I get up quite late. At 8:30 for tea. To Jerome; I tell him about the funds. To church; I pray sincerely. Back home, and a little time with the newspapers; then breakfast, and upstairs to write these notes and a schedule of works. But only after a pipe. Before one to Café de la Providence. I make an appointment to meet [Charles] Królikowski on Tuesday. At three, after going out with Szymański, to Karski. I tell him about establishing the brotherhood, and about the funds. He is in complete agreement. At 4:30 I return with Peter. Peter is content, at peace. I am full of thoughts about plans for organizing the migrants, about our brotherhood etc. For dinner. Mrs. Rautenstrauch, with the General [Giedrojć] for coffee. I return at eight. [Henry] Krasiński - idle talk until ten.

²¹ John Marcellus Gutkowski (1776-1863) - Head chaplain of the armies of the Kingdom of Poland, from 1826 the Bishop of Podlesie. He opposed the November uprising. In a pastoral letter to the faithful published in 1832, among other things, he accused the insurrectionists of godlessness, among other things. In 1840 he was exiled to Russia by authority of the Tsar.

Upstairs with Napoleon; he does not want to study. I doze. I go to bed at twelve with the thought of going to confession tomorrow.

Monday, [January 18]

343

I get up at 7:30. Napoleon irritates me, and I get angry, so no confession. Tea at 8:30. I talk about Napoleon and about punishing him. At 9:30 for the newspapers. At ten o'clock I go upstairs, and after musing, these notes. For breakfast at eleven. Napoleon is punished by his father. Nieszokoć drops by; I introduce him to the General and his wife. Then I go upstairs with Szymański, give him some books, e.g. "DK Praw"²² to translate for Vismara. I go downstairs to the parlor, and then back up with Nieszokoć. We talk about organizing the emigrants. Without any need I begin to expound on my ideas when he would like to air his. He leaves at two. Then Peter drops in. He tells me about his search for a room; he found nothing. I shave, and go out to see d'Eichthal.²³ I meet with Heine; in conversation with him I lose all self-assurance. D'eichthal receives me coldly. In spite of that I should have stimulated the conversation, show him some expression of my gratitude. I leave behind a card for Maliński and go out. Dinner at six. Peter returns the coat. He did not find a room. Królikowski, and talk about ways of organizing the emigration, as well as about plans to make some preparation for cooperation with activities in Agen,²⁴ for getting together, and meeting for this purpose. At nine I accompany him on his way, and then go for coffee. Home at eleven.

Tuesday, [January 19]

I sleep until ten, and as a result a sensual sin. Peter drops in. He is impatient about moving to an inn, and this leads to a misunderstanding. For tea, wishing to receive the 20 sous the Princess owes me (NB. I need the money only for coffee, etc.). I sit there until after eleven. I go out in search of a table d'hôte [meal at a restaurant for a fixed price] in the direction of the Jardin des Plantes. I look at rooms on rue d'Orleans and rue des Portes. Not having found a table d'hôte, I returned about twelve. Breakfast. Then I go out to visit Mr. de Calonne; he is not in. I go out again to look for a table d'hôte, and make

²² DK Praw - "Journal of the Laws of the Kingdom of Poland" published in Warsaw in the years 1816-1871, and noted by Jański as a "Journal of Laws" already under the date of October 5, 1835.

²³ D'Eichthal - Cf. 1831, footnote 5.

²⁴ In Agen, the principal city of the Department Lot-et-Garonne, in 1833 a depot assembling more than 100 Polish emigrants, primarily officers was established. From the end of 1835 Adam Celiński, the secretary of the General Polish Committee in Agen was active there. He propagated the idea of religious, moral, and national rebirth. He planned to publish a Polish newspaper there, but this was not realized for lack of funds.

arrangements on rue d'Enfer. I return at about two. Idle thoughts. I begin writing a letter to Michael [Jaroszewski], and so miss my lesson with Vladimir. I sleep until four and then return to my letter, but with no success, and the day is wasted. Dinner at rue d'Enfer. At seven to Maliński. Peter returns the coat; at about eight we go out for coffee to rue des Mathurins. We talk about common living quarters; he accepts the idea. I am encouraged and happy. Back home at eleven, I prepare for my lesson with the young ladies, and for the translation of Gerbet. Napoleon studies his lesson until 2:30.

244

Wednesday, [January] 20

I rise at 7:30. After dressing, for a lesson. But first to rue Serpente for *Rozyna*²⁵ for the Princess. At first Vladimir is good, but in the end is too unmanageable (I am wrong in not rebuking him seriously). Coffee on rue Pépinière. To the young ladies - I begin to speak to them about the history of literature. I talk at length with Miss Natalie about mysticism. She gives me "Le Glaneur Chrétien".²⁶ She is supposed to read the *Mémoires* of Prince Hohenlohe.²⁷ At twelve I go to see Mickiewicz. We talk about Ledóchowski's²⁸ confederation and about plans for union. He presents: authority in the emigration solely by way of sanction from the Sejm; in Poland, by sanction from Rome. At two I go to Mrs. Rautenstrauch with a letter from the Princess. I am more lively in conversation (for I had prayed before that morning and evening). To Letellier; he was not in. For the newspapers to passage Choiseul. At 3:30, once more to *Encyclopédie catholique*; no one is there, and so I go home. I stop by to see Mr. Anthony [Gorecki]. He is always the same: humble, pious (in healing people Christ looked them in the eye). Dinner, upstairs, I doze. At eight for coffee on credit, and to Nieszokoć. A meeting concerning uniting the emigration. Present at the meeting were Kranas, Trzeciński, Wierzbicki,²⁹ and

²⁵ *Rozyna, a good daughter, or the Market of St. Margaret in Jeziorów* - the first story in the cycle *Rustic Tales* of Mary Anne Wirtemberski (1768-1854). Cf. above, footnote 14.

²⁶ "Le Glaneur Chrétien" - a Catholic periodical appearing in Lille in the years 1836-1839.

²⁷ Alexandre prince de Hohenlohe-Waldenburg-Schillingsfuerst (1794-1849) - a prince, a Catholic priest, later a bishop. who was famous as a wonder-worker. His *Mémoires et expériences dans la vie sacerdotale et dans le commerce avec le monde recueillis dans les années 1815-1834* appeared in a French translation, Paris, 1836.

²⁸ John Ledóchowski (Cf. 1835, footnote 237) received permission from the Confederation of the Polish Nation and its president Joseph Dwernicki to act in its name.

²⁹ Undoubtedly Vincent Nieczuja Wierzbicki (1814-1864) - participated in the November uprising as a colonel. An emigrant in France. He participated in the Frankfurt expedition.

Królikowski. They offer me plans for a confederation.³⁰ An appointment is made for a meeting on Saturday in the rooms of Peter and Jerome.

345

347 Wednesday, February 17, Ash Wednesday

I arise at seven (go to Saint-Jacques, with Edward [Duński]. At seven to Saint-Mandé. Confession, in which God grants me the grace of contrition; nevertheless, I am troubled by scruples, due to insufficient diligent preparation. A sung Mass. HOLY COMMUNION. Breakfast. At about eleven I return to Paris. To Mrs. Hofman for *The Lives of the Saints*; she is not in. Back Home about two. Mennésier does not agree to credit; as a result we will have to limit the amount of furniture. We received 50 [francs] from Orpiszewski, Kajsiewicz brought another 12, and Joseph 10 - thus there were 67 francs in the cashbox. Counsel, reflections. The first common meal. I read the letters of St. John, and them a few chapters from the *Imitation*. We go with Maliński to the upholsterer for the first pillow, but it is already about eight and he is asleep. To Caesar. I meet Mrs. de Felletz.³¹ I tell her how things stand with us, but in the conversation I am not zealous enough. I leave at about ten (I was supposed to visit the princess) for coffee and the newspapers, rue l'École-de-Médecine. I return to Saint-Jacques at about eleven. Jerome is already asleep.

Thursday, [February 18]

We arise quite late, at about ten. I leave instructions for Jerome to have Peter pawn my coat and, with the money he receives, to buy a mattress and two blankets, as well as pay for the moving. I go for coffee to place Saint-Michel. To the Princess, but first a conversation with Bukaty.³² I report on the conversation to the Princess, and am irritated by her fear that Bukaty might leave again. Once more I allow myself to be moved by vanity. I make a promise, etc. We part on good terms. By bus to Mickiewicz. Conversation about our need to

In 1836 his name was removed from the list of members of the Polish Democratic Society as a result of his willful political activity.

³⁰ Vincent Nieszokoć (Cf. 1835, footnote 355) - in the company of companions he prepared a plan for a confederation among the emigrants of democrats of various political and social orientations. It is possible that, in connection with this, Jański wrote a proposal with no date: *Concerning principles, goals and statutes for a Catholic Patriotic Confederation etc.* The text of this proposal can be found in the Appendix to the Diary for the Year 1836, under IV.

³¹ ... Mrs. de Féletz - this could be the wife of a noted French journalist Charles-Marie-Dorimon de Féletz (1767-1850).

³² Anthony Bukaty - Cf. 1835, footnote 368.

be careful, not hurrying to work for others, about Dłuski. I show him Adam [Celiński]'s letter - unnecessarily the whole letter. I leave unhappy with myself. To Mrs. Hofman. She gives me the *Lives of the Saints*; I tell her about my leaving the Giedrojćes. Once again there is something false in the reasons cited for this departure. I go home at about four. I stop by at Mennéssier, and give him 20 francs for 2 beds, 3 pillowcases and a straw mattress which he delivered today. Dinner. At Saint-Jacques +Jerome+ reads the Life of St. Melanie.³³ Accounts; 43 francs remain in the cashbox. We go out to Saint-Jacques with Peter. First the both of us go for a demi-tasse, I to Voltaire, he to Molière. To the Konopkas; they are not in. To Nieszokoć. I stay there until ten - and then to bed, after prayer with Peter.

348 Friday, [February 19]

When Peter and I arise it is already about eight. I go to see Bukaty. I talk with him about Napoleon and about the study of the Greek language. I take my sugar-bowl and my cup, take these to Peter, and leave him 10 francs for the cost of moving. I go to visit Ziomecki, but he is not in; I leave my card. For coffee to place Saint-Michel. To Konopka; not in. To Januszkiewicz; I take *The Polish Altar*.³⁴ To the latter, he irons out my hat; it is already about one o'clock. To Walter; he is not in. I waste a few hours needlessly. To Caesar. I tell him about our intention to invite brothers. He begins to act strangely, to write letters; he wants to hold a council, etc. My self-love is offended; we did not part on very

³³ *Life of St. Melanie* - St. Melanie the Younger, widow (383-439) - a Roman, foundress of a cloister, noted for her piety. Fr. Peter Skarga wrote her life in *The Lives of the Saints* which was frequent spiritual reading for members of the House of Jański in its beginnings. It should be mentioned that Skarga, after the life of the saint, almost as a rule added a *spiritual lesson* including religious reflections and encouragement to a pious life according to the example of the saint. - (The name of the lector, Jerome, was crossed out in the original.)

³⁴ *The Polish Altar* - The author was a lay person, Stephen Witwicki (Cf. 1834, footnote 10) - a prayer book which was a very important help toward developing the spiritual life of the first members of the House of Jański. It contained, e.g. "Counsels for a spiritual life" (among these: "Preparation for death", "Behavior toward others", "Penance and mortification", "Avoiding the world"), devotions ("morning prayer, Mass, vespers, evening prayers"), the author's "Christian thoughts for every day of the month", prayers to the Saints, patrons of Poland (e.g. "A prayer to St. Stanislaus, Patron of Poland", "A prayer to St. Adalbert, Patron of Poland" etc.), *The Life of St. Stanislaus, Bishop of Kraków* taken from Fr. Peter Skarga's *Lives of the Saints*; also prayers for various occasions, as well as many psalms and songs with *Bogarodzica* [Mother of God] first on the list. *The Polish Altar* enjoyed unusual success both among the emigrants and in Poland. It appeared in Paris in 1836 in two forms: a complete and a shorter version (*The smaller Polish Altar*).

good terms. I buy an umbrella, paper, etc., szuhwaks³⁵ etc. Back home at about four. Karski has already moved in, and brought our things from Saint-Jacques. Jerome had already been there in the morning, and invited Ziomecki for breakfast; he is to come back in the evening. He comes at about dinner time, hence my timidity. After dinner, before Maliński leaves, we go upstairs to talk. I explain our plans; he just about agrees. He tells me about Starzyński.³⁶ Prayer. We sleep together.

Saturday, [February 20]

We get up at seven. Ziomecki leaves immediately. Breakfast, accounts. Of the 43 francs we had yesterday, only 8 remain, but we received 10 more from Edward and Maliński. Jerome goes to l'abbé Blanc,³⁷ asking him to hear our confessions - he agrees to two or three tomorrow morning. Jerome goes out to visit Mickiewicz and Januskiewicz. I go to visit Caesar at about one, stop off for coffee and newspapers, and do not get to Caesar until after one. I meet him as he is on his way out. I decline his request to meet tomorrow. I sinned in my conversation with him, allowing myself to be prompted by vanity and self-love. I accompany him to the vicinity of Saint-Sulpice. I pay Mennésier the remaining 22 francs. After that I look for fireplace accessories but do not find any. Back home at about four. Maliński has already moved in. With the agent I collect the bags and trunks in order to return them to the Giedrojćes, and the portress. I stay there too long. On my way back I buy tongs, a candlestick, a coal scoop, etc., charcoal. [Caesar] Plater has been waiting from five o'clock. I did not keep my word. Dinner. We put off a council meeting until tomorrow. We make arrangements for confession. I want to prepare myself. I reflect, and fall asleep at about ten.

348 The first Sunday of Lent [February 21], 1836

We get up at seven. At eight Jerome and Edward go to Collège Stanislas³⁸ for confession, Peter and Joseph go to the Hôpital Necker,³⁹ and I go to Saint-

³⁵ Szuhwaks - from the German "Schuhwaks", the name of a black shoe polish.

³⁶ Starzyński - Among the emigrants in France there were many persons with this name. It is difficult to establish whom Maliński had in mind. Jański in later notes mentions a Żerosław Starzyński (Cf. below, footnote 173). Perhaps he is the one referred to here.

³⁷ L'abbé Blanc - a priest who taught Church history at Collège Stanislas.

³⁸ Collège Stanislas - In 1804, Fr. Claude-Marie-Rosalie Liautard (1774-1842) established a college in Paris, which, in 1822, on the basis of a privilege granted by King Louis XVIII, received the name "Collège Stanislas" in honor of the Polish King Stanislaus Leszczyński. The College included two schools: a secondary school, preparing students for university studies, and a seminary preparing young men for the priesthood.

Sulpice. We meet for Mass at the chapel of The Most Holy Virgin in Saint-Sulpice. OUR FIRST COMMON HOLY COMMUNION. God grants me zeal; I ask him for help, to rid me of all pride and vanity in accepting the post of Elder Brother which the brothers offer me.

We return to our house at ten. Breakfast. From twelve until two, a house council. (An act of thanksgiving and of complete surrender to the will of God. A vow of perpetual fraternal union. Duties in the brotherhood, spiritual and domestic, outside the brotherhood - missionary.) The merciful God grants me spiritual zeal and tender emotion. I thank him without end. The whole of my life should be dedicated to penance and to prayer. Szymański interrupts us; I send him away.

Tański⁴⁰ comes at two. I send Jerome to purchase books for Mrs. Giedrojc. He offers me work publishing his book, along with a percent of the profits. Because the book contains tendencies and thoughts contrary to religion, I do not agree completely and leave the topic for further discussion. He offers me hopes of traveling to London to sell the books. I am to make the acquaintance of Mr. Koch and Mr. Villermont.⁴¹ I go back home at 3:30. An unnecessary snack. Reflections on the house council. Dinner at five. I read the life of St. Wilhelm, Prince of Aquitaine.⁴² I rest in my room, and reflect. A conversation with Maliński. At eight, further direction of the house council. (Collecting the morning resolutions. Conditions for our Community: authority, private property. Ways to achieve our goals: prayer, work, arrangement of our goals).

³⁹ Hôpital Necker - a hospital established in Paris in 1779 by Suzanne Necker (1739-1794), wife of a French minister and financier Jacques. It possessed a chapel which was cared for by the Sisters of Charity.

⁴⁰ Joseph Victor Tański (1806-1888) - a military man; he participated in the November uprising. In 1832, as an emigrant in France, he studied in the Paris School of the General Staff. He collaborated with the editors of the *Encyclopédie de Gens du Monde*, publishing biographies of persons in Eastern Europe. He wrote *Tableau statistique, politique et moral du système militaire de la Russie* (Paris, 1833). In Paris in 1836 he joined the Spanish Legion. Thanks to his friendship with Alexander Walewski, he returned to France and worked as a French journalist.

⁴¹ Jean-Baptiste-Frédéric Koch (1782-1861) - a colonel and a teacher in the School of the General Staff in Paris.

Villermont - further details are lacking.

⁴² In Fr. Peter Skarga's *Lives of the Saints*, Prince Wilhelm of Aquitaine, conqueror of the Arabs in southern France and Spain. He died as a monk in the cloister he founded in 812.

350 I am somewhat mixed up in my talk; as a result of proceeding to decide the matter of authority without first hearing the brothers.

At 9:30, common evening prayer, according to *The Polish Altar*, and then to my room Peter sleeps with me. He continues to pray for a long time. I tell him about my anxiety and confusion at our house meeting. Indeed, he praises my openness. But it seems to me that it will be good to ask him to talk with the brothers about the obedience they promise me, and the rights they accord to me. I want to write notes from the past days, and arrangements for the week, or letters; however sleep overtakes me. I go to bed at ten.

362

2 2 Tasks for the first week of Lent, February 21-28

Monday, [February 22]

My day to serve.

Visit Konopka, Korycki, Princess Giedrojć, and Ziomecki.

Letter to Szymański.

Remind myself about serving Mass.

Tuesday, [February 23]

To Mrs. Komar.

To the library for Bosnia and Bulgaria.

Wednesday, [February 24]

Szymański is to come to see me at about three.

Thursday, [February 25] (need to choose this as a day of service)

To Korycki

To Dobrowolski

In the evening, catechism with Napoleon. Preparation for a lesson with Miss Ludmila [Komar]

Ask Mrs. Giedrojć for curtains, oil, napkins, pillow-cases.

Gerbet to Chełchowski. Take the "Université Catholique" to Julia Konopka.

Inquire about butter at place du Panthéon.

Friday, [February 26]

Before dinner to Benoiste.

In the evening, about Bosnia and Bulgaria.

Saturday, [February 27]

At 8 A.M. to Tański, then to the library.

Ask the Carmelite Sisters⁴³ about a confessor. At least a calling card to Guéranger.

Prepare for death. Cast off as soon as possible everything that weighs on my conscience. Unfulfilled obligations, letters.

This week write letters: to Hube, Agen, Rettel, Warsaw, and the Zaleskis.

Running about for paid employment.

Arranging lectures for next week.

Preparation for an instruction on Sunday {my counsels; the promises of the brothers.

Speak with Edward [Duński] about Kraków and Królikowski.

350 Monday, [February 22]

I get up at 6:15. We leave for Mass at 6:45. The sacristan invites me to serve Mass. I promise I will do so tomorrow. Back home at 7:30 - I am the person on duty. I prepare tea for breakfast, and offer cheese. Chełchowski drops by. We did not receive him very well. I wash the dishes, sweep the floors, and it is already ten. I write an account of expenses; there are only 3 francs in the cash box. I send Maliński on an errand (instructing him to bring a passport, and a crucifix), and send Kajsiewicz to Mickiewicz for the 600 francs which have already arrived,⁴⁴ encouraging him to show patience, humility, love, and seriousness in meeting people. At eleven I go to my room to write these notes and the order for the week, and stay there until two.

351 At about two, Fr. Guéranger stops by. I like him very much, but it seems to me that he is too superficial, light-hearted, and elegant. Peter accompanies him on his return. After than Ziomecki comes along. I get along with him very well.

⁴³ ... at the Carmelite Sisters... - the church of St. Joseph of Carmel (Saint-Joseph des Carmes) at rue Vaugirard 78, was entrusted to the Carmelite Sisters. It was one of Bogdan Jański's favorite places for prayer.

⁴⁴ At the beginning of February, 1836, in a letter to Adam Czartoryski, Adam Mickiewicz included a request for a loan, which he did receive: "A few of my friends, young and capable people, have decided to rent a house where they can live together and occupy themselves with useful work. They lack the funds required to pay beforehand the rent for six months. They are looking for a loan, which they will definitely repay in monthly installments. Dear Prince, if you will accede to my request, please notify Paris to release 600 francs to me on the basis on my promissory note, and I myself will watch over the creditors." (*Works*, vol.XV, *Letters*, part two, pp.138-139).

Then Konopka; I should have been more gracious to him. I shave and dress with the intention of going to see Princess Giedrojc. But it is already 3:30. Karski returns from his walk. I go out for victuals, choucroute [sauerkraut], to the rue Saints-Pères, etc. etc. I return at 4:30. We cook the food; supper is not ready for five o'clock. The milk turns sour. It is already after six by the time dinner is ready. A bad - a very bad - example. Neglect of accepted obligations and of the approved house order. By the time dinner is over it is close to eight o'clock. Kajsiewicz goes to visit Adam [Mickiewicz]. I wash the dishes, and tidy the kitchen until nine. Then I go upstairs with Joseph [Maliński] for a pipe. Jerome comes back at about nine. Thanks to the infinitely merciful God, he received the money. Downstairs we discuss how we are to use it. They want to redeem the things that I had pawned. I would like to use the money to pay off some of our debts. At about eleven, night prayers. Then to my room. I still have a talk with Peter. He tells me that Guéranger wants to receive me also to Solesmes. I see that he himself is wavering in his present resolutions. I reveal to him the idea about an apostolate in relation to the schism.⁴⁵ We commend our future into God's hands, and conclude our conversation on the best possible terms. We pray together. We sleep together.

352 Tuesday, [February] 23

Maliński wakes me up at 5:30, but since he did not bring a candle I fall asleep again. Jerome comes after six. We agree on 6:30. Morning prayer. For Mass at the Carmelites; I serve, and stay there until eight. Back home I shine my shoes. We finish our morning prayers. Breakfast until nine. I am lector in place of Joseph. The conversion of St. Theophile.⁴⁶ Then I eat breakfast. We continue to discuss how we should use our 600 francs. After that I wash up, dress, and it is already after eleven. Then to my room and these notes. I go to the proprietress in order to register, and to pay 300 francs. I discover that Broussais,⁴⁷ a Swedenborgian lives next door to us. I consult with the brothers about how to arrange the parlor. I leave the house at about one. It is too late to

⁴⁵ Schism - here in the understanding of a contemporary Catholic: The Eastern Church after the break in the 9th century between the Greek and Roman Churches; most frequently at that time the word schism referred to the Russian Orthodox Church.

⁴⁶ On February 23rd the Catholic Church celebrated the liturgical feast of St. Theophilus. On that day in the House of Jański the text from Fr. Peter Skarga's *Lives of the Saints* was read: *The renunciation and penance of Theophilus Adański, ecclesiastical steward, or malefactor.*

⁴⁷ Undoubtedly Joseph-Victor-François Broussais - Cf. 1832, footnote 241. Swedenborgian - a follower of the teaching of Emmanuel Swedenborg (Cf. 1832, footnote 141).

visit Mrs. Komar, and so I go to Konopka; but unfortunately I stop in for coffee (empty curiosity, a waste of time and money - as well as great spiritual weakness, and slavery to the flesh). I stay there until about two. Konopka is out. I leave 10 francs for him. I go for furniture. I purchase three tables, and three cushions. It turns out that I made a mistake; I was cheated on the tables. I go elsewhere for quilts. I buy five woollen ones on rue Duphot. At three I go to visit Mrs. Giedrojc. I am given an exceptional welcome. However, once again my self-love makes itself felt - a lack of humility, courage, zeal. She asks me about our house. I gather information about various household details etc. I leave at five, and hurry home for dinner. Adam [Mickiewicz] was there. He stayed for a half hour, and was pleased with everything. Jerome is the cook. Maliński is the lector - he reads *The Life of Saint Hedwig*.⁴⁸ There is great disorder at dinner. We finish at seven. I and Maliński go to my room and smoke a pipe until eight. I write a letter to Raciborski.⁴⁹ I go to visit Caesar, where I am very well received. He shows me a receipt with 600 francs [for rent]. He draws me into a conversation about my relationships. I remain humble, but a certain desire to praise myself breaks through. (N.B. on the way to visit Caesar once again I stopped in for a demi-tasse - I am still a slave of the flesh.) I leave at about nine. They have already said evening prayers. Upstairs to my room. Peter comes in. We continue yesterday's conversation. I see that once more he is drawn to Solesmes; something weighs on his heart, constant wavering, an unstable will - seemingly no will at all. Prayers, reading from the Bible, in order to discover an inscription for the house. To bed at about eleven.

353 Wednesday, [February] 24

We rise before six. Prayers at 6:15. At 6:45 to church. We are already late for Mass. Peter serves. Jerome remains. I and Joseph go home. We stop by at a bakery. Breakfast at 7:30. WE finish at eight. I send Peter to buy crucifixes, *The Clairvoyant*.⁵⁰ I send Jerome to see Orpiszewski, etc. At 8:30 I leave for a lesson with Vladimir. He greets me with hollow joy but I am not put out. The lesson goes quite well. (N.B. I met Iwanowski. Among other things we spoke about his former business; it was a matter of 2,000 francs.) After the lesson to see Witkowski; he is out. It is eleven o'clock. To Gautier (I meet Dąbczewski. I do not show him enough love and patience; I was rude in dismissing him). Gautier tells me that March is the term of my first promissory note is March. On leaving I meet Séguin. I accept a cigar from him unnecessarily. I was wrong

⁴⁸ *The Life of St. Hedwig, Polish Princess*, written by Fr. Peter Skarga in his *Lives of the Saints*.

⁴⁹ Undoubtedly Adam Raciborski, Cf. 1832, footnote 187.

⁵⁰ Cf. 1835, footnote 320.

in trying to hide from him the fact that I myself had inflicted corporal punishment on Napoleon. Unfortunate also was the fact that I wasted a half hour walking along the Palais-Royal with him. By that time it is twelve o'clock. I step into the Reading Room in the passage Véro-Dodat, unnecessarily wasting a half hour there - idle curiosity; I should at least put it off for later. To the shoemaker; he measured me for size. I walk on toward Saint-Sulpice, looking for cloth for the mirrors. It is already after one o'clock. I stop in to see Mennéssier. I ask about tables. He does not have the kind I need. I take one, besides the two. I look around in vain for a kettle. Glances and temptations from women. A honey-cake unnecessarily. First I purchase chenets etc., then candlesticks, tongs, purses. I buy a pulpit, wallpaper, etc. I leave everything at Mennéssier; he is to deliver it. +My reflections as I chase about are prompted by the inscription: Mother of God, Queen of Poland, pray for us!+ It is about three. Szymański stopped by, but he has already left. Peter incurred unnecessary expenses; I was wrong in scolding him for this too severely. I draw up an account of expenses; 150 francs have already been spent. Sidorowicz stops by. Again I gobble up bread unnecessarily. They deliver the tables, and we set them up. Ordyniec drops by. Why don't I have anything good to say to him? Why am I so cold toward him? Then wasting time until dinner. Dinner at 5:30. Peter is the cook, Jerome the lector. Maliński is sad. At dinner he wants to start a conversation. I eat too much - almost a sin. After seven, to my room. Languor, a pipe. I decide not to go to see Montalembert. At eight o'clock I go out for purses, brooms, etc., with an after-thought for coffee. (O God, forgive my weakness, and grant me the grave to improve.) It is already nine o'clock. To the Konopkas; I meet Julius. I lead the conversation to religion, and the merciful God helps me; I make an impression on him. I leave at ten. I begin to feel proud of my success with Julius, and while walking I fall hurting my knee. I thank God for humbling me in this way. I purchase a package of candles. I get home at 10:30. Jerome has already returned. I light a fire in my room, but it doesn't want to burn. Meditation. Notes: how to arrange the day tomorrow. Then these notes. It is already past one. Prayers and sleep.

Thursday, [February] 25

We rise at 5:30. Morning prayers. Holy Mass. Breakfast. Accounts. Dividing our tasks and household chores for the day; how to behave toward those who will come to visit us today. I wash up in preparation for my visit to Mrs. Komar. I leave at twelve. Since I had only a short sleep I feel drowsy. I go for a demi-tasse to la Croix-Rouge. To the bus. There I meet Cheruel. I talk with

him about Lacordaire, Margerin, etc. In passing I meet Decourdemanche.⁵¹ I promise to visit him. I arrive at Mrs. Komar at one, and receive a very warm welcome. An argument with Sobański. I hold my own with sufficient dignity and presence of mind, but with not enough zeal, faith, love and trust in God. I leave at two.

357 To Mickiewicz; We talk about Dłuski. I am well received, but once again there is not enough zeal, humility, faith and fervent love. At three to Laurent;⁵² I return the 3 francs I owe him. To Witwicki; he is not in. I leave my card. To the shoemaker, asking him not to pound nails in the shoes. After that I buy a coffee grinder; too expensive at 5 francs. To the tinsmith at Saint-Sulpice, asking him to hold off with the kettle. I ask him to bring a larger frying pan tomorrow about four. Back home. Mr. Anthony [Gorecki] is there and will stay with us for dinner. He is very humble, and one can see that he is satisfied. Jerome is the lector, Karski is the cook in my place. After dinner I go out for Catechism with Napoleon. I accompany Mr. Anthony, and propose that he live with us. He accepts. He asks me to come to his place. For my part, once again a lack of zeal. I put off this visit to much later, next Wednesday. I step into the Café Voltaire. It is already after eight when I arrive for catechism. I speak reasonably; but there is not enough sincerity, not enough zeal. God, Holy Spirit, ignite the fire of your love and holy faith within me, and encompass me with that flame! At eleven they serve tea. Once again I drink too much, with a kind of greed. I return home at about 11:30 and continue my musing in front of the fireplace. (Peter come to be with me), I nap until midnight.

Friday, [February] 26 - At two in the morning I hear a someone talking in Peter's room. Maliński comes to me. Karski became ill. He was spitting blood. Someone must go for a doctor. Peter goes for Dziewoński. I was supposed to go for Dobrowolski, but I remember that we have Brousse in our house, and so I do not go. I urge Maliński to go to bed. I sit by Karski alone and fall asleep. At about five o'clock Peter comes back with Korabiewicz and Postempski.⁵³

⁵¹ Alphonse Decourdemanche - Cf. 1835, footnote 82.

⁵² Paul Matthieu-Laurent, called Laurent de l'Ardèche - Cf. 1832, footnote 21.

⁵³ Ignatius Roman Potempski (Postępski) (1808-1878) - a painter and activist in the emigration. He came from Podolia. Initially he studied law at the University of Vilno, then transferred to the School of Fine Arts. He participated in the November uprising. As an emigrant in France he enrolled in the Polish Democratic Society. He enjoyed the reputation of a noble-minded person: "a man of strong sentiments, vivid imagination, prone to ecstasy, he distinguished himself always by his scrupulous integrity, kind heart, and great tenderness that is proper to the sons of our Ukrainia" (these may have been the words of Joseph Bohdan Zaleski, with whom Potempski was on friendly terms). For six

Council. I am covered with shame because it was while taking my place in the kitchen that Edward became ill. Maliński got up. I lie down on his bed and sleep until about seven.

357 Somehow I am overcome by sleep, very weak, cold, and without zeal. As a result I forget morning prayers, even though we could have gone to another room to say them. Therefore, I did not even think about going to Mass; only Jerome and Maliński go. At breakfast I am ashamed to pronounce the blessing. O God, through your Son, Jesus Christ, and the intercession of his Most Holy Mother, forgive my weakness and my sins. Help me to be completely reborn in Christ. A quite friendly and fairly serious conversation with Korabiewicz during and after breakfast, but left to chance, and carried on not for Christ, nor motivated by love of God and neighbor. After that a pipe with Chtop⁵⁴ and Postempski. Cleaning and washing up. They deliver the crucifix and the wood. I complete the accounts, summing up the expenses - already there are only 81 francs in the cashbox. Orpiszewski stops by and then Ziomecki. I have a long and sincere conversation with the latter. I tell him about the goals of our brotherhood, and that we intend to introduce categories of members. He agrees with everything. He is to return on Sunday. I leave with Orpiszewski at two. In my conversation there is a complete lack of zeal and uplift of spirit. I apologize to the portress for disturbing her during the night. I stop in at Voltaire for coffee in order to chase away sleep - and it is already three o'clock. From the "Université Catholique" I do not go to visit Julius [Konopka], but go to see Korycki. Miesiączek⁵⁵ is there too. Korycki receives me well. He asks me to give his greetings to Clavel,⁵⁶ to whom I am to send the "Bulletin de l'Institut

years from 1836 he studied painting in the Paris studio of Léon Cogniet. In 1842 he moved to Rome, where he set up a stable residence. In the artistic style practiced in the spirit of the romantic school, he depicted national, martyrological and religious themes. He was a respected conservator and portraitist.

⁵⁴ Chtop - this is the original spelling. According to Krosnowski: Jules Chrob; according to B. Konarksi, Julian Chrul (Chról). Born in 1811, he came from the region of Vilno. In the 1831 uprising he was a second lieutenant. An emigrant in France. In 1838 he was in Montpellier to take examinations in pharmacy.

⁵⁵ Basil Miesiączek (1788?-1850) - A Dominican, Doctor of Roman Law and Canon Law, a theologian. He was the chaplain of the banks of the Vistula Legion.

⁵⁶ Clavel - Cf. above, footnote 8.

Historique."⁵⁷ I invite Korycki to visit us. To the bookseller for *Raison du christianisme*,⁵⁸ but he is not there. For butter. The butter-maker has already left.

358 To the Princess. An excuse for not coming as I had promised at twelve. I am received as I was yesterday, and very courteously by the General. I ask about the curtains, talk about Bukaty, about Napoleon, etc. At five o'clock, without accomplishing anything today, not having bought anything, I go home for dinner. Maliński is the cook, and Peter the lector. After dinner and a pipe, Maliński and I go to deliver the "Université Catholique" to Julius; he is out. I leave it. Then we go to Nieszokoć to give him Gurowski's pamphlet from Princess Giedrojc. Political conversation, gossip. I feel sleepy. I speak without spirit, without love. I leave for coffee before nine, and then for the evening paper. Back home. Peter and Maliński are already asleep. I say prayers in my room together with Jerome. There is no fire. I go to bed, without a pillow, without a second blanket. Finally I undress and fall asleep. I should have spent the evening at home. It would have been better to leave those visits for tomorrow.

Saturday, [February] 27

We rise at six. Shoes, washing up, and there is no time for morning prayers. Holy Mass; not enough fervor, then morning prayers. Jerome is the cook, I am the lector - the lives of St. Fausta and St. Kunegunda.⁵⁹ I help out a little in the kitchen. I think about how to use the day, and about various affairs. After nine I go to my room and consult with Peter about my instructions to him and about sheets for Karski; then I write these notes from yesterday and the day before yesterday. It is already 10:45. Most gracious God, give me the help I need to make the best use of this day! I go out with Peter on business.

⁵⁷ "Bulletin de l'Institut Historique" - Undoubtedly a periodical of the Historical Institute which was established in Paris in 1833. An active member of the institute was, e.g., Ph.-J.-B. Buchez (Cf. 1831, footnote 33).

⁵⁸ The Paris bookseller Sapien had in stock an apologetic work *La Raison du Christianisme* - this twelve-volume work came into existence under the direction of Fr. de Genoude, and was published in Paris up to 1838. This was a collection of testimonials to the truth of Christian dogmas, written by the most eminent minds of France, England, and Germany. They were declarations, confessions, of eminent people who, in spite of their education in centers alien to the faith, acknowledged the greatness and truth of the teaching of the Church. This work supplied useful material for polemics.

⁵⁹ Fr. Peter Skarga, in his *Lives of the Saints*, included the *Life and martyrdom of St. Fausta, virgin...* who lived "c. 300 A.D.", along with a *spiritual lesson*. In this same work there was a *Life of St. Kunegunda, empress*, the wife of Henry II, widow and nun, who died in 1033.

359

363 The second day of Lent

Monday, [February 29]

At eight to visit Guéranger. To Saint-Chéron. To Mrs. Komar, to Benoiste. On my way back, to the library for material concerning Bulgaria and Bosnia.

Tuesday, [March 1]

Tański. A lesson. Saint-Chéron. Books for Korycki. A letter to Szymański. After one, the pastor of Saint-Mandé. "L'Univers Religieux",⁶⁰ "L'Européen". Purchase things for Ziomecki.

Wednesday, [March 2]

Holy Communion. House meeting. At three, to Gorecki, but first to Korycki. On my way back, to Caesar [Plater]. Prayer for Mr. Anthony.

Thursday, [March 3]

Prayer for Mr. Anthony during Mass. To the library. Preparation for a Saturday instruction. Letters to Leonard [Rettel], Adam Celiński, to Warsaw, and to the Zaleskis.

Friday, [March 4]

Mass for the intention of Mickiewicz. An instruction at three.

Saturday, [March 5]

To Montalembert in order to obtain a book for Walter. A lesson with Vladimir and the young ladies, and then to Sobański. Take Skarga from the young ladies and deliver it to Wrotnowski. To Mickiewicz. To Walter. A letter to Janowski. Mr. Anthony comes to dinner.

360 Wednesday, [March] 2, Saint Theodore

We rise quite late and go to church. We are a little late. Ziomecki goes to his priest for confession, and then returns. We receive Holy communion offering it for the intention of his moving in with us. Back home. Morning

⁶⁰ "L'Univers. Journal Religieux", a Catholic daily edited in Paris by Fr. Jacques-Paul Migne in the years 1839-1860. In this publication Jański published his article entitled *Pologne*, which was reprinted in "L'Européen" (year 4, 1836, nr.10, p.322, and nr 11, pp.351-352).

prayers. I am the lector, Ziomecki is the cook, but Peter prepares breakfast. Ziomecki goes to school. We were supposed to have a house meeting, but Maliński wants to go out.

361 Friday, [March] 4

We rise at 5:30. Prayers. Holy Mass for the intention of Mickiewicz. I experience fervor and do not feel fatigued after a short sleep. Breakfast. At eight to Montalembert. I am a little late, and that is bad. We read the life of St. Hedwig. At ten we go to Wrotnowski for Bielski⁶¹ and other books about Queen Hedwig. I say good-bye to Guéranger, and go to visit Caesar. There I read "Temps" on the life of St. Casimir⁶² the patron of the day. I leave at 10:30. taking the *Life* with me. To Walter, to the laboratory. We enter easily into a conversation about religion. He admits that he is a Catholic, but is only concerned with observing Christian morality etc.; about his concubine. I speak to him frankly about the need to break with her etc. We part, as always, on good terms. I am back home before one. There I meet Dołubowski and the elder Dalen.⁶³ The bookseller has delivered the books for Ziomecki. I go out once more to visit Benoiste; he is not in. I smoke a pipe and get down to writing these notes. Two o'clock.

364

Third week of Lent

Monday, [March 7]

Ask Montalembert about the Liturgy in German, the *Explication de la Messe*, the history of the Greek and Russian churches, the Bollandists.⁶⁴ Does he have a French copy of *Voyage à la recherche d'une Religion?*⁶⁵ In the *Life of St. Elizabeth*, erase "peuple Sarmates"⁶⁶ in reference to Pope Innocent III.

⁶¹ Martin Bielski (c.1495-1575) - poet, translator, chronicler, author of *Chronicles of the whole world* (Kraków, 1551), published later under the title *Polish Chronicle* (a cooperative work of Martin and his son Joachim, Kraków, 1597), reprinted by Francis Bohomolec in *A Collection of Polish historiographers*, Warsaw, 1764, vol.I. Subsequent edition, Warsaw, 1829, in *A collection of Polish Writers*.

⁶² Fr. Peter Skarga, in his *Lives of the Saints*, for the 4th of March included a *Life of St. Casimir, Polish Prince* (1458-1484).

⁶³ Casimir Dahlen (1802-1872) from Augustów, "older" than Stanislaus (Cf. 1835, footnote 150). Participated in the 1832 uprising as a Colonel in the 11th regiment.

⁶⁴ Bollandists - Belgian Jesuits, who from the beginning of the 17th century published lives of the saints (*Acta sanctorum*) based on the best critical sources.

⁶⁵ *Is there no French version of Voyage [d'un Irlandais] à la recherche d'une Religion?* - A work of the English poet Thomas Moore (1779-1852). Fr. Philippe-Victor Didon (1805-1839), professor of philosophy and Church historian, translated it into French. It appeared in Paris in 1833, and the following year in Lyon. In a letter to Bohdan and Joseph Zaleski

Speak to Caesar about Rettel; borrow *Les souffrances de Jesus Christ*.⁶⁷ To the Giedrojćes, and to Korycki for the "Université Catholique". Write to Leonard. +Letters. Bulgaria. Prepare lessons.+ To Saint-Chéron before dinner.

Tuesday, [March 8]

In the morning to Montalembert. From Caesar - to Bentkowski. A lesson. To Mickiewicz concerning K.F.E,⁶⁸ concerning Rettel, concerning Solesmes and Peter +about a book concerning the schism from Sienkiewicz+⁶⁹ about Photius⁷⁰ and Karamzyn. Borrow the *Messe*. Is Korycki in the country?

(May, 1838) Adam Mickiewicz, having in mind the Society of St. Stanislaus, Bishop and Patron of Poland, which was established by Stephen Witwicki in 1838, for the purpose of publishing religious books in the Polish language, wrote: "An excellent choice would be, e.g., *The Journey of an Irishman for the purpose of discovering religion* by Moore".

⁶⁶ In The Life of St. Elizabeth, where it speaks of Innocent III, erase: peoples Sarmates. - Charles de Montalembert (Cf. 1834, footnote 34) wrote a History of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, duchess of Thuringia (1207-1231) in two volumes (Paris, 1836). The author based himself on extensive source material, indicating, e.g. the family relationship between Elizabeth and her aunt, Hedwig, duchess of Silesia. Moreover, he did not fail to mention the Polish Queen Hedwig, the scion of the royal Hungarian line, to whom he dedicated a separate chapter: Hedwig, Queen of Poland, Duchess of Lithuania (Vol.II, Appendix III, pp.325-344). For the life of Queen Hedwig, he drew his material from works by Polish authors: John Długosz (A History of Poland, 12 volumes (Frankfurt, 1711), Matthew Strykowski (A Chronicle, published at Königsberg in 1852, republished by Bohomolec in 1766), Martin Bielski (A Chronicle). Montalembert prefaced his biography with an Introduction, in which he supplied a date: "May 1, 1836, of the translation of St. Elizabeth. From the notes in Jański's Diary it is clear that he was working with Montalembert at the time, providing him with suitable works by Polish authors, and "other books about Queen Hedwig."

Innocent III (c.1160-1216) - Pope from 1198.

Peoples Sarmates - In current 19th century Polish journalism, the Sarmatians were looked upon as ancestors of the Poles.

On the basis of the original History of Elizabeth of Hungary, for the use of young people in Poland, Clementine, nee Tański, Hoffman wrote The Life of Saint Elizabeth, Hungarian Princess, and Duchess of Turingia in the series A New Small Library Dedicated to Children and Young Ladies, Wrocław, 1838. Jański remained in contact with Clementine at this time, when Montalembert was finishing his work.

⁶⁷ *The Sufferings of Jesus Christ* - an ascetical-mystical work of the Portuguese writer Alvares de Andrada (1529-1582), known also by his religious name, Thomas of Jesus (Frère Thomas de Jésus).

⁶⁸ This refers to the Commission for Emigration Funds (Cf. 1835, footnote 203). In July, 1836, the Central Committee of the Democratic Society stopped making contributions from its section to the treasury of the Committee.

⁶⁹ Charles Sienkiewicz (1793-1860) - librarian, historian, publisher, poet, translator. A graduate of the Krzemieniecki Liceum. Protected by Adam Czartoryski, he lived abroad, preparing himself to become a librarian. Having entered into relations with the Czartoryskis, he organized a library for them in Puławy. After the collapse of the November

Gautier. To Mrs. Hofman to return Strykowski,⁷¹ borrow Skarga, get Ballanche. Confession. Return for two o'clock. Ask the priest about *Semaine Sainte* [Holy Week]. To Dłuski.

Wednesday, [March 9]

To Montalembert, to return the second volume of Baader⁷² - and the Piast genealogical tables. Ask about Collège Stanislas. Offer greetings to Princess Frances [Giedrojc]. To Korycki. For a lesson to Gorecki; to Dłuski. [Charles] Królikowski is to stop by in the evening.

Thursday, [March 10]

uprising, he was an emigrant in Paris and in England, serving as secretary to Prince Adam from 1838. He was a member of the editorial committee of "Chronicle of the Polish Emigration", and in the years 1836-1837 was the editor of the publication. He collected and published historical sources. He was Secretary of the Historical Division of the Literary Society (later the Historical-Literary Society), organizer of the Polish Library in Paris, which opened on March 24, 1839, and its director until 1853.

⁷⁰ Photius (c.820-c.891) - a philologist, who wrote e.g. *Myriobiblion* (also called *Bibliotheca*), a review of several hundred books which he had read. Patriarch of Constantinople. In the course of centuries, in the Catholic Church in the West he was considered a heretic and the author of the Eastern schism, and in the Orthodox Church as "father and teacher of the Church", "a thrice blessed spokesman of God".

⁷¹ Matthew Strykowski (1547-after 1582) - Historian, writer of verses, author of ... *Polish, Lithuanian, Samogitian, and all the Polish Provinces Chronicle* (pub. Królewiec, 1582), re-issued by Francis Bohomolec in *A Collection of Polish Historiographers*, Warsaw, 1766, vol. 2: *A Chronicle of Matthew Strykowski*.

⁷² Franz Xaver Benedikt Von Baader (1765-1841) - Catholic philosopher, theologian, thinker - He was a doctor and then a mining engineer; but he was interested primarily in the economy of Adam Smith, the psychology of David Hume, and Immanuel Kant's philosophy of knowledge and enlightenment. From the study of Hegel's thought, he moved to the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas and the scholastics. He became one of the leading Catholic thinkers in Germany, and was a teacher of dogmatic and speculative theology at the University of Munich. He became a friend of the German journalist and historian Johannes Joseph von Görres.

He was an animating agent of a union of Orthodox, Protestants and Catholics. He felt that Christianity could be renewed once a renewal of the Orthodox Church which respects the principle of conciliation is realized. He was an opponent of Papal primacy, and favored a synodal structure in the Catholic Church in place of the hierarchical structure up to then. He emphasized the need for constant reform in the Church, favorable to union with Protestantism. He pointed to the deep connexion between the Jews and the People of God. He was convinced of the saving activity of Christ beyond the limits of the visible Church. In Baader's theosophy, one can note the influence of Master Eckhart, Louis-Claude Saint-Martin, and especially Jacob Böhm. Some of Baader's most important works are: *Fermenta Cognitionis* (Berlin, 1822, Vols I-IV); *Vorlesungen über spekulative Dogmatik* (Stuttgart, 1828, Vol.I; Münster 1830-1831, II-IV; München, 1838, V).

Szymański will come to see me in the evening.

Friday, [March 11]

Ask Montalembert about the Collège Stanislas and speak with him about Mrs. Hofman. In the evening to visit Bukaty.

Saturday, [March 12]

After twelve, with Korycki to visit Mickiewicz - wait at place Beauveau. Borrow Baader and Gawarecki⁷³ from Mickiewicz. Bernatowicz. To Bukaty.

365

Fourth week of Lent

Sunday, [March 13]

A lesson. (Tell Peter to borrow the *Imitation* from Raulin). Sobański, Saint-Chéron, Decourdemanche, Bonnetty. Łopaciński will come either Monday or Wednesday.

Monday, [March 14]

After ten to Aicard, to return the *Histoire de l'Allemagne*.⁷⁴ A letter to Ropelewski about the Konopkas. To Reynaud with a list of articles (perhaps go the library to draw up the list). Pawnshop. Preparation for a lesson with the young ladies. Definitely in the library about religious orders. Bergier and Convent in the *Dictionnaire de Conversation*. Make a list of expenses. Return Lelewel to Szwajcyr.

Tuesday, [March 15]

To Mickiewicz: about Korycki; return the "Revue du Nord"; about *Erotica*,⁷⁵ about Gawarecki, definitely about letters to Kraków, about Bernatowicz.

⁷³ Vincent Hippolitus Gawarecki (1788-1852) - historian, member of the Płock Academic Society. He published, e.g., *Historical Writings* (Warsaw, 1824), *The Płock Historical Diary* (Warsaw, 1828, 1830, 1831, 3 volumes). In the first volume of the *Diary* the author included a historical study: *Privileges, grants, and liberties granted to the cities of the Płock Provinces by the Polish kings, Mazovian princes, and Płock bishops*, which might have interested Mickiewicz who was working on a *History of Poland*.

⁷⁴ *Histoire de l'Allemagne* - the title of a French translation of the German work of Carl Adolf Menzel (Cf. 1835, footnote 55).

⁷⁵ *Erotica Biblion* - the title of a work written by Gabriel-Honoré Riquetti de Mirabeau (1749-1791), a political activist and writer, as well as an eloquent speaker. He played a significant role in the beginnings of the French revolution. - In a letter to a friend, he told

To Gorecki with apologies. To Walter; to Saint-Chéron. At 6:30 an appointment with Barczewski⁷⁶ at the Estaminet [a tavern] Belge (he lives at rue Matignon, 6). Write to Szymański with reference to Korycki.

Wednesday, [March 16]

To the Konopkas for breakfast. Return [Lelewel?] to Sz wajcyr.⁷⁷ Library: Bergier, Brandenbourg, Bruhl, Brunsvick,⁷⁸ Boulgarie. A lesson. Saint-Chéron or Decourdemanche. In the evening to Napoleon. Take Baader to Bukaty.

Thursday, [March 17]

To Montalembert - Collège Stanislas. Mrs. Hofman. Baader, or something like it. To confession with Napoleon.

Friday, [March 18]

Holy Communion in Notre-Dame.

Saturday, [March 19]

To the Pinards. To Dobrowolski. To Walter.

366

Fifth week of Lent

Monday, [March 21]

In the morning to Konopka. A letter to Królikowski, to the Zaleskis. For books. Then to the pawnshop. The Gardener. Preparation of lessons. A letter to

her about the contents of this work: "It will delight you; these are amusing topics, treated with no less grotesque gravity, but also very proper. Would you believe that in the Bible, and in antiquity, you could carry on studies dealing with onanism, sodomy, etc., and finally pertaining to the most scandalous subjects among those discussed by the casuists, and to arrange that all of this could be read by most prudish people?" (cited by Antoine Vallentin, *Mirabeau*, Polish edition, Vol.I, p.201). On the title page of the first edition of *Erotica Biblion* we find information about the place and year of publication: A Rome, de l'Imprimerie du Vatican [!] - MDCCLXXXIII. Fifty years later, in 1833. *Erotica Biblion* appeared in a new version in Paris.

⁷⁶ Perhaps Peter Barczewski (b. c.1801) - He studied in the Faculty of Theology at the University of Warsaw, and then in the Faculty of philology at the University of Berlin. He returned to Warsaw, and took part in the November uprising. He lived as an emigrant in France.

⁷⁷ Sz wajcyr - undoubtedly Michael Sz waycyer (Szweycer); Cf. 1832, footnote 143.

⁷⁸ Bergier - Cf. 1831, footnote 31.

A list of articles which Jański prepared for the *Encyclopédie catholique* followed:

Brandebourg - a port city near Potsdam, the former center of Brandenburg;

Brühl: Aloysius Frederik Von Brühl (1739-1793) a starost of Warsaw, and his father, Heinrich von Brühl (1700-1763), a Saxon politician.

Brunsvick (Brunszwik) - a town of Lower Saxony.

Szymański about money. To the Pinards. Caesar. Books for the Zaleskis. To the General [Giedrojć] and his wife.

Inquire about Collège Stanislas. To Korycki, about the Society of Women,⁷⁹ about Sulejewski.⁸⁰ To Aicard. With regard to lessons. To Raulin (the *Imitation*).

Letters. Enter the expenses. Sobański, Bonnetty, Guéranger. To the Ogińskis in the evening. Confessor. *Bréviaire Romain*.

Tuesday, [March 22]

Lesson. To Princess Giedrojć. Father Chausotte and confession (speak with him about a confessor at Saint-Sulpice, about *Semaine Sainte*).

To Walter. Take some book to him. Invite him for the 26th.⁸¹ To Świrski. To Heiss about trousers.

Wednesday, [March 23]

To Montalembert (about the Collège Stanislas, Mrs. Hofman, Pacques,⁸² *Semaine Sainte*). Books for Walter, about Catherine Emerich.⁸³ Bossuet.⁸⁴ *Bréviaire Romain*.

Return Lelewel to Sz wajcyr. Library - a list of articles. To Mr. Anthony. Szymański for dinner.

Thursday, [March 24]

My day to serve. To Reynaud - with a list of articles. To Father Blanc. To Dobrowolski.

⁷⁹ Society of Women, that is, the Welfare Society of Polish Women; Cf. 1835, footnote 77.

⁸⁰ Perhaps Jacob Sulejewski, a second lieutenant in the (Krosnowski) grenadiers.

⁸¹ ...invite for the 26th [of March] - on the occasion of Bogdan Jański's birthday.

⁸² *Pacques* - thus in the original. It may refer to *Paques* (that is, Easter) as the title of a Church (liturgical?) manual, analogous to *Semaine Sainte* (*Holy Week*). Jański makes the note *Pacques* and *Semaine Sainte* in the days 23 and 25 of March, a few days before the Feast of Easter (April 3).

⁸³ Anna Catherine Emmerich (1774-1824) - a German Augustinian nun, stigmatic and visionary. Her reflections and visions dealing with the life and passion of Christ as well as his Mother were recorded by Clemens Brentano (1778-1842), a German poet. He also prepared the reflections of the visionary in a suitable form and published them with the title: *Das bittere Leiden unsers Herrn Jesu Christi. Nach den Betrachtungen der gottseligen Anna Katharina E. Augustinerin des Klosters Agnetenberg zu Dülmen* (Sulzbach, 1833).

⁸⁴ Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627-1704) - theologian, preacher, Bishop of Meaux. He was the author of the famous *Discours sur l'Histoire universelle*.

Friday, [March 25]

I am fasting [observing a strict fast]. Library (Bergier, Religious Orders, Swedenborg, Pacques). To Saint-Chéron.

Saturday, [March 26]

Lesson. Mickiewicz for dinner.

367

First week after Easter

Sunday, [April 3, Easter]

Monday, [April 4]

Tuesday, [April 5]

A lesson in the morning. First, invited Wejssenhof for dinner and Easter luncheon. After the lesson to the Ogińskis (with Szymański, in reference to a debt). Then to Mickiewicz, to Witwicki, to Reynaud, to Aicard.

Wednesday, [April 6]

At Decourdemanche.

Thursday, [April 7]

Friday, [April 8]

Saturday, [April 9]

Sent a letter to Hube.

368

Second week after Easter

Sunday, [April 10]

House meeting. Sławęcki.⁸⁵ Bukaty in the evening.

Monday, [April 11]

The program for the week. A letter to Sławęcki. Bell. To Dugied. In the morning to Caesar. To Margerin. Boleski⁸⁶ between nine and ten. To Mrs. Białopiotrowicz and to Mrs. Rautenstrauch. To the library and to Walter. Brandenburg. Preparation for a lesson. To Domejko. to Verbruge⁸⁷ To Heis. In the evening Barczewski.

Tuesday, [April 12]

To Mickiewicz at eight. A lesson. Saint-Chéron. To Januszkiewicz on April 17. To Walter. In the evening to Ostrowski, to Nieszokoć.

Wednesday [April 13]

Take the volume of Augustine⁸⁸ to Walewski.⁸⁹ To Saint-Mandé or to [Father] Le Blanc. Rostkowski drops by in the morning. To the Giedrojćes. A lesson at two. Then a visit to Sławęcki, and at Józwik's residence for dinner. In the evening, with Michałowski.⁹⁰

Thursday, [April 14]

Ropelewski is to come at about twelve.

Friday, [April 15]

⁸⁵ Undoubtedly Vincent Sławęcki (1811-after 1879) - in 1827, he began his studies in the faculty of architecture and surveying at the University of Warsaw. He participated in the November uprising. He was an emigrant in France. He finished the Central School of Arts and Crafts (1834-1837) with the degree of engineer.

⁸⁶ Perhaps Xavier Bolewski (1811-1863) - participated in the November uprising; an emigrant in France. He studied at the School of the General Staff and the Central School of Arts and Crafts. An Engineer.

⁸⁷ Verbruge - further information is lacking.

⁸⁸ St. Augustine (354-430) - philosopher and theologian, a Father and Doctor of the Church.

⁸⁹ Undoubtedly Anthony Walewski (1806-1875) from Galicia. A lawyer. He participated in the November uprising, and emigrated to France, where he continued his legal studies.

⁹⁰ Undoubtedly Julian (Julius?) Michałowski (1807-1878) - a captain in the 25th infantry regiment. An emigrant in France, from the end of 1835 in Paris. He worked as a conductor of highways and bridges. - Under the date June 13, 1836, Jański wrote that greetings were offered to Michałowski, which would suggest that the name of the person celebrating might have been Anthony. However, if Julian Michałowski was not born on the 18th, but rather on the 13th of June (a possible error in the diary date), these might have been birthday greetings.

Confession. To Dobrowolski. Mr. Anthony at dinner. Visit the priest: 1. A confessor in Paris. Fr. Desgenettes,⁹¹ the Jesuits, Lacroix,⁹² Saint-Sulpice, the Carmelites. 2. Collège Stanislas. 3. Walter.

Saturday, [April 16]

A lesson. A visit with Mrs. Białopiotrowicz for coffee.

369

Third week after Easter

Monday, [April 18]

In the morning to l'Abbé Leblanc. To the library, and stop in to see Ropelewski. Send Jerome to Boré;⁹³ to Cheruel. Deliver a letter to Reynaud. To Saint-Chéron, to Chełkowski, to Konopka, to Brousse, to Piwowarski, to Decourdemanche. Stop by to visit Dugied. Work on an article before dinner. In the evening to the Ogińskis. To Mrs. Białopiotrowicz, to Pecqueur, to Szaniecki,⁹⁴ to Korycki.

Tuesday, [April 19]

(to Boré). A lesson with Valdimir. First stop in to see Weizenhof.⁹⁵ Home at twelve. Fr. Chaussotte, Fr. Augé.⁹⁶ An article; in the evening to Bukaty, or Walter, or Nieszokoć.

Wednesday, [April 20]

Letters... to Jabłoński, to Janoski, to Bohdan. An article. A lesson at two.

⁹¹ Charlea-Eléonora Dufriche-Desgenettes (1778-1860) - from 1832 pastor of the Church Notre-Dame-des-Victoires in Paris. In 1837 he founded the Brotherhood of the Most Holy and Immaculate Heart of Mary - a society for the conversion of sinners, which increased in numbers throughout the whole of the Catholic world. He was the superior of a Minor Seminary.

⁹² Lacroix - a priest; Montalembert's confessor.

⁹³ According to the Memoirs of Jerome Kajsiewicz, undoubtedly Eugène Boré, from Angers, a former student at Collège Stanislas. A priest and founder of the Vincentian Community. A philosopher, and future lay missionary in the East. A member of the Armenian Academy and Conseil de la Société asiatiques in Paris. Co-editor of "Université Catholique".

⁹⁴ John Olrych Szaniecki (1783-1840) - a lawyer, envoy to the Sejm in 1830. An emigrant in France; president of the Commission for Emigrant Funds. In 1836 he began to publish a conservative Periodical "Poland" dedicated to the independence of Poland.

⁹⁵ Wiezenhof - thus in the original. This refers to Lucian Wejssenhof. Cf. 1834, footnote 9.

⁹⁶ Antoine-Jean-Baptiste Augé (1758-1844) - a Catholic priest; in the years 1824-1838 director of the Collège Stanislas.

Thursday, [April 21]

My turn to serve. To Caesar. Try to see to it that Peter would no longer go to confession to Desgenettes on Saturday.

Friday, [April 22]

At Mrs. Komar; for a lesson; at Decourdemanche.

Saturday, [April 23]

To Caesar: concerning: Boleski, Zaleski, Maliński and work for him, our financial concerns, Hube, a letter from Agen, the seminary (burses, Girod⁹⁷).

371 [Before April 24]

For the fourth Sunday after Easter

Remember about the Gospel. Read it beforehand.

For the fifth Sunday after Easter

Prepare to explain the Gospel.

Preparation before Holy Communion and the prayers after Holy communion.

Explanation and transcription.

370

Fourth week after Easter

A reminder about Maliński

Monday, [April 25]

Zaleski and Boleski's request. Accounts. Boarding school. Fr. Girod. Money matters. Letters. At twelve to visit Plater. To Fr. Buquet.⁹⁸ A room for Hube. Bulgares. To visit Mr. de Calonne. Letters. In the evening to the Giedrojćes.

Tuesday, [April 26]

⁹⁷ Undoubtedly Gabriel Giraud (1788-1859) - a priest, chaplain of the Salpetriere hospital.

⁹⁸ Louis-Charles Buquet (1796-1872) - priest, professor and educator at Collège Stanislas, its director in the years 1838-1841, and after that a Bishop.

To Fr. Dłuski. A lesson - return the "Univers Religieux". To Mrs. Komar. In the evening to Nieszokoć etc. Visit the Princess, and take books from Napoleon. Visits. Bronikowski (Nieszokoć, Królikowski), Piwowarski, Chełkowski, Korycki, Łopaciński. To Wrotnowski, Cheruel, Brusse.

Wednesday, [April 27]

To Mrs. Białopiotrowicz. First to Domejko about 60 francs. To Hube and to Dłuski. To Letelier. A letter to Mickiewicz concerning *Encyclopédie catholique*. "Univers ..." Saint-Chéron {Mickiewicz. Association Saint-Vincent.⁹⁹ To Justin Maurice. Kremer. To Mr. de Calonne. Konopka, Boré, Szaniecki, Ropelewski.

Thursday, [April 28]

My day to serve. Bukaty stops by in the morning (he wants me to prepare *Erotica* and Möhler¹⁰⁰ for him). Rollinów. Piwowarski is supposed to visit. At twelve to Fr. Desgenettes. To Caesar (concerning Mr. Anthony). Walter. Wiezenhof. To Kranas, and to Orpiszewski with reference to Sławęcki. To Michałowski (talk to him about Wodziński's Möhler).

Friday, [April 29]

Mr. Anthony for dinner, (Szymański, Królikowski, Chełkowski, Ropelewski, Walter, Kranas, Hube, Dmóchowski, Zaleski). Bukaty. Prepare tasks for Dmóchowski. To Michałowski. A response for *Encyclopédie catholique*.

Saturday, [April 30]

372

Fifth week after Easter

Sunday, May 1

Caesar Plater. Justin Maurice. Wisłouch.

Monday, [May 2]

⁹⁹ Association Saint-Vincent (de Paul) - the Society of St. Vincent de Paul was established in May of 1833 in Paris by Frederick Ozanam, (1812-1853), a lawyer in Lyon (from 1840, professor of foreign literature at the Sorbonne), and six young students. The society grew by way of so-called conferences, beginning its activity by visiting the poor in their homes, and offering them assistance.

¹⁰⁰ Johann Adam Möhler - Cf. 1835, footnote 229.

Return Schnitzler, and Swedenborg, to Sinner¹⁰¹ - Decourdemanche. Mrs. Komar. Caesar. Saint-Sulpice. The Giedrojćes. Lebert. Wrotnowski. At about five, at Caesar's residence: Adamowicz,¹⁰² Rettel, Adolf, Aweyde.¹⁰³ Justin Maurice. To Kazimirski. To Michałowski.

Tuesday, [May 3]

To Wejsenhof. A lesson. Rautenstrauch - on the matter of Boleski. Caesar. To Konopka. To Kremer.

Wednesday, [May 4]

Write a letter to [Stanislaus] Ropelewski with greetings. Buy books at the Marché [market place] du Temple, Baader for Wisłouch. Caesar (Justin Maurice, Joseph Hube). Marché du Temple. Fr. Desgenettes, Michałowski.

Thursday, [May 5]

My day of service. Domejko. Walter.

Friday, [May 6]

Michałowski, Wisłouch. Fr. Desgenettes. After a lesson, Walter. Kazimirski. Mr. Anthony for dinner. After dinner to Królikowski.

Saturday, [May 7]

Bukaty drops by in the morning. To Fr. Blanc.

373

First week after St. Stanislaus

(Accounts - Letters - Transcription.)

Sunday, May 8

Prayers, Holy Communion, house meeting. Go to the baker to pay the bill. To Hube, to Konopka, to Kunatt, to the Giedrojćes (about the stipulations). Justin Maurice. To Łopaciński. To Caesar (Fr. Dłuski), in the church. To *Encyclopédie catholique*. Fr. Blanc, Reynaud, Kremer, Aicard, Chełkowski,

¹⁰¹ Gabriel Rudolf Ludwig von Sinner (1801-1860) - a German hellenist, who lived in Paris from 1828. He published articles in *Encyclopédie dea Gens du Monde*. Publisher of writings of the Fathers of the Church (Gregory of Nazianzen, John Chrysostom).

¹⁰² Francis John Adamowicz (1804-1843) from the region of Vilno. In the November uprising he was a non-commissioned officer in the 16th infantry regiment. As an emigrant in France, he resided in Bourges.

¹⁰³ Ernest Aweyde (Awejde) (1811-1839) from the region of Augustów. In the November uprising he served in the 3rd uhlán regiment. An emigrant in France. He participated in Zaliwski's expedition.

Korycki, Piwowarski. Wrotnowski, Elz,¹⁰⁴ Karamzin, Leszczyński.¹⁰⁵ Boarding school and cassocks; a second house; about Fr. Korycki; funds; school). Saniecki. Weisenhof.

Monday, [May] 9

To Wisłouch. Take measurements and go to Marché du Temple. To the Séguins. Have Edward rewrite. To Caesar. Cheruel. Boré. "Univers Religieux". Saint-Chéron { Mickiewicz. Association Saint-Vincent de Paul.

Tuesday, [May 10]

With Plater at the police station and in the ministry. In the evening at Plater's house with Adolph. Carnot. D'Eichthal. Benoist. Bourgeois.

Wednesday, [May 11]

Plater. Walter. Kranas, the Rollins. Nieszokoć. In the morning to Szulc (remind Michael about Gorecki's business).

Thursday. Feast [May 12, the Ascension]

To Caesar, in reference to the affairs of Awejda and Malinowski¹⁰⁶ - our people - to the prefecture. To Aicard. To Séguin. Justin Maurice. To Starzyński. To the Giedrojćes. Michałowski. Chelchowski. Brasvein.¹⁰⁷ Domejko.

Friday, [May 13]

Peter to the Reading Room, concerning the status of the Church under Nicholas. Return to Decourdemanche. Have Edward rewrite. To Letelier.

Saturday, [May 14]

To Philip Walter. To Fr. Desgenettes. Bargemont-Villeneuve¹⁰⁸ to Modliński. Mr. Anthony at dinner.

¹⁰⁴ *Elz.* - I do not know the meaning of this note.

¹⁰⁵ Perhaps Stanislaus Leszczyński (1677-1766) - King of Poland, philosopher and moralist, political writer, considered to be the author of the treatise: *A free voice guaranteeing freedom.*

¹⁰⁶ Among the emigrants in France there were many Malinowskis - this may be Jacob Malinowski (1808-1897) from Warsaw. In 1827, he finished the preparatory school for the Politechnic Institute. After the November uprising, in which he participated, he lived in France. In 1836 he enrolled in the School of Fine Arts in Paris.

¹⁰⁷ Brasvein - further information is lacking.

¹⁰⁸ Alban Villeneuve-Bargemont (1784-1850) - a French economist. Prefect of the Nord department in the reign of Charles X. Moved by the poverty of the workers in the textile industry in the Lille district, he wrote *Traité d'économie politique chrétienne* (1834) in which he indicated the moral decline caused by commercial civilization, and demanded justice and mercy. In conservative circles he was considered to be the founder of social

392

[Tuesday], May 31

The most urgent needs

1. Bind all of the converted to a common work by unity of ideas and religious practices. { thoughts, actions.
2. Consider, arrange, and undertake social works that are directed toward our goals. { possessions.
3. In order to establish and maintain this social union (by common faith, ideas, and works), and to undertake and continue a definite direction of works, think about funds, arrange housekeeping.

[without a date].

393

We need to buy*Paroissien Romain* [a Roman parishioner prayer book]*Eucologe* [prayer book]*Bréviaire Romaine*Two or three copies of the *Imitation*

A cross

furniture: a table for me, a wardrobe

[Without a date. About May 1 or June 1, 1836]

754

Szotarski's poems.

Michałowski's visit in Domont.

With Caesar ligne de conduite [line of conduct] (funds from the ministry, imprudence.

For Peter, the prayers that are lacking. That he might be in Paris for the Feast of St. Peter. If he can, that he would go with me to Collège Stanislas.

catholicism. He collaborated with the periodical "L'Université Catholique", established in 1836, in which, along with de Coux, he conducted a course in economy.

About Uruski¹⁰⁹ (Januszkiewicz).

What should I say, should I write back to *Encyclopédie catholique*.

(Permits are already in the ministry. (Bad news from Agen).

755

For Adam [Mickiewicz], June 1

Our financial interests - 60 francs. Debts.

Travel for Jerome and Peter.

Business with Caesar, the police, the ministry etc.

Spirituals matters - Angers, Strasbourg, Hube and Marszewski.¹¹⁰

Adolph Zaleski, Maliński, Służalski.¹¹¹ Conditions here.

(The Polytechnic School - Central des Arts et Métiers, etc.).¹¹² Sumiński¹¹³ etc.

Academic conferences. - Correspondence. - Need for organization etc. - Scholarly works.

Encyclopédie catholique

"Our Lady of Loretto" for Peter

¹⁰⁹ Severin Uruski (1814-1890) - the son of Cajetan and Julia Wanda, nee Potocki (Cf. 1839, footnote 95) - a land-owner in Galicia, a count and future heraldist. He declared himself to be a Catholic. His tutor had been Eloi Jourdain (Cf. 1837, footnote 20). The secret founder of the periodical "Young Poland, Historical and Literary information". "Young Poland" began to be published at the beginning of 1838 (until 1840), with Eustachius Januszkiewicz as editor-in-chief. It appeared every 10 days, with a cover representing the cross and the papal tiara on both sides.

¹¹⁰ Joseph Marszewski (1800-1853) - During the November uprising he was a captain in the Augustów cavalry. He was an emigrant in France, and a well-wisher of the House of Jański.

¹¹¹ Henry Służalski (d. 1859) - After the collapse of the November uprising, in which he participated, he resided in Galicia. In May of 1836, he left for France where he worked on the railroad. Later he became a Towianist, and a companion of Adam Mickiewicz in his expedition in the East. He was present at the death of the Poet.

¹¹² The well-known Politechnic School (École Polytechnique), established in Paris in 1794 along the rue de la Montagne-Sainte-Geneviève.

École Central des Arts et Métiers (Central School of Arts and Crafts) in Paris, rue de Thorigny, which was also attended by Poles.

¹¹³ Raymond Sumiński (1807-1848) - Graduate of the Faculty of Law at the University of Warsaw. In the November uprising he served as an auditor in the 16th uhlan regiment. From 1832 he was an emigrant in France. From 1837 he studied law at the University of Poitiers. In 1839 he received his diploma as a graduate of a continental university. He was a member of the Polish Democratic Society, and from 1837 of the Union. A poet.

374 Thursday, June 2, Corpus Christi

A letter to Agen. A letter to Vladimir. A letter to Warsaw. Take care of Adam's interests. A letter to England. Go to tell Walter that I don't know whether I will be there this evening. A talk with Edward. If possible, Fr. Augé.

Friday, [June 3]

Encyclopédie catholique.

Fr. Augé.

Pecqueur.

394

Second week after Holy Trinity,

Octave of Corpus Christi

Sunday, [June 5]

Caesar. Mikorski¹¹⁴ in the afternoon. (Bukaty). A letter to Szulc. To Chelchowski. To church. To Caesar. To Saint-Chéron. Letters to Warsaw, to London, to Jabłoński, to Łempicki etc. Next Sunday, the Archbishop.¹¹⁵ Accounts.

Monday, June 6

Adam [Mickiewicz] visits early in the morning, and to Collège Stanislas. Dmochowski is to be here. A list of books for Caesar. About the persecution of the Polish Church. To Letelier. To Walter. With Egersdorf¹¹⁶ to Pinard. To Miss Rolland. To Pecqueur. *Spiritual Exercises*. A letter to Mrs. Komar. To Broussai. Send Peter go for Migne,¹¹⁷ to Wisłouch for Baader, and then to the library. Have Jerome look through the "Lithuanian Courier".¹¹⁸ Scholarly preparation.

¹¹⁴ Francis Xavier Mikorski - participated in the November uprising as a standard-bearer. He was an emigrant first in England, and then in France. He settled in Paris at the end of 1835. A member of the Polish Democratic Society. Initially a member of the House of Jański.

¹¹⁵ The Archbishop of Paris, Hyacinthe-Louis de Quèlen (1793-1848), visited the Collège Stanislas on June 12, 1836, to confer the Sacrament of Confirmation.

¹¹⁶ Napoleon Egersdorf - In the November uprising he was lieutenant in the 4th uhlan regiment. He was an emigrant in France (Avignon).

¹¹⁷ Jacques-Paul Migne (1800-1875) - a priest from Orleans. In 1836 he established a printing house near Paris where he began to publish especially theological works: *Patrologiae cursus completus* (both a Latin and a Greek series), and *Encyclopédie catholique*. He was the editor of "L'Univers, Journal Religieux".

¹¹⁸ The "Lithuanian Courier" - published by the University of Vilno, three times a week in Vilno-Grodno. From the beginning of 1834, it became an official bi-lingual informational gazette, which appeared in Vilno only twice a week.

To Decourdemanche. Relationships. To Jean Reynaud. To Versailles, for *The Lives*. To Transon.

Tuesday, [June 7]

In the morning for a lesson. To Caesar. To Miss Rolland. To Kunatt for "The Chronicle". In the afternoon to Fr. Augé. To the Pinards. To the Giedrojćes.

Wednesday, [June 8]

Take the history of philosophy to Łopaciński. To Królikowski. Peter to Wisłouch. To Brusse. Konopka. Accounts with Edward. To the Ogińskis. Translating letters for "Univers Religieux".

Thursday, [June 9]. Octave of Corpus Christi

Holy Communion. To Michałowski. To the Giedrojćes. to Łopaciński. To purchase Plater's books. To Fr. Augé.

Friday, [June 10]

A lesson. Accounts. To Brusse. To Miss Rolland.

Saturday, [June 11]

A discussion in common about our obligations, improvement, etc. In the evening, prayers before Holy Communion.

395

Third week after the Holy Trinity
the fourth week after Pentecost

Ask whether anyone knows Truszczyński.¹¹⁹ Letters to Lunel, to England, to America, to Caen, Angers, Dijon, etc. A letter at Januszkiewicz's residence. Send Jerome to Mrs. Rautenstrauch for *Dictionnaire de Conversation* for Mickiewicz, and give it to Domejko, who is undoubtedly leaving.

Monday, [June 13], Saint Anthony

To Bukaty. to Hube. To Letelier. To Caesar. To Szymański. A letter to Korabiewicz. A discussion with Peter and Jerome about tomorrow, and their work. To Fr. Buquet. To Adam. Money for Michałowski. Letters. My notes about arrangements in our community. Accounts. (Peter to Montalembert, to

¹¹⁹ Perhaps Vladimir Truszczyński, a second lieutenant in the 11th rifleman regiment. An emigrant, he lived in Paris.

Wisłouch, rewrite Mickiewicz's article.) Jerome, about the persecution of the Church in Poland. At Caesar, about the seminary, money, London, a meeting tomorrow before dinner, Adamowicz.

Tuesday, [June 14]

Holy Communion. To Januszkiewicz. To Letelier and for a lesson. To Oleszczyński. The money to Michałowski. To Fr. Buquet. (Finish that article for "Univers Religieux".) To Bukaty at six. To Walter or Królikowski.

Wednesday, [June 15]

For a lesson. (For Napoleon, inquire about the price of *L'Univers*¹²⁰ and Dumon d'Urville.¹²¹) In the evening, to Ropelewski and Kazimirski.

Thursday, [June 16]

Holy Communion. To Fr. Augé. To Carnot. To Walter. To Klot.¹²² To Letelier at four.

Friday, [June 17]

Holy Communion. To Mrs. Komar. Let Peter arrange to have a coat made for himself Purchase books for Stawiarski. If possible, gather for a house meeting and prepare an instruction for Sunday. A letter to England, to Konopka, to John Mill. To Saint-Chéron.

Saturday, [June 18]

Dmochowski's business. Januszkiewicz. Back home. Purchase books for Caesar, and go to see him. To confession.

[Saturday], May 28, the Vigil of the Holy Trinity. I made my confession to Fr. Augé with a sincere purpose of amendment, but immediately: 1) having gone with Ziomecki to visit Plater - and not well received by him for my failure to present the note to the prefect - I began to pour out complaints and criticism on this account before Ziomecki; 2) at Miss Rolland's house I did not take advantage of the opportunity, and did not say anything about Christ or the holy faith, because I was too focused on myself, the effect of my words, and her

¹²⁰ A book for young people entitled *L'Univers, ou Histoire de Description de tous les Peuples, de leurs Religion, moeurs, coutumes, etc.* published in Paris in 1835.

¹²¹ Jules-Sébastien-César Dumont D'Urville (1790-1842 - a French sailor. Author, among others, of *Voyage de la corvette l'Astrolabe* (1830-1835), *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde*(1834).

¹²² Perhaps John Klot. Cf. below, footnote 145.

opinion of me etc.; 3) after I came back home, there was also a lack of zeal in my conversation with Julius Konopka - only a little bit at the end; 4) after dinner I received news of an unfavorable decision on the part of the ministry with regard to Rettel and [Joseph] Hube, and together with this sadness and the criticism of Caesar, I manifest ill-humor in conversation with Hube. 5) Michałowski stops by - there is levity, as well as a lack of fervor and seriousness on my part. We go to visit Walter; the same thing there: too many little jokes about the satirical party. 6) at evening prayers I do not add an intention for Stawiarski who is praying with us because I was too careful about expressing myself, and didn't want to express myself badly. O God! Have mercy!

On Sunday , [May] 29, we received Holy Communion as a group. Once again the merciful God showered abundant graces upon me, and filled me with most holy resolutions. After breakfast, the *Mois de Marie*¹²³ and *Holy God*, we recite two parts of the holy rosary held over from last week. This lasts until noon. Then discussion of our duties. Ziomecki complains about the length of the prayers; Peter and Jerome complain about the poor way in which I say them. I submit to their advice and admonitions. We settle the prayers for the next week. - Dinner at two; Stawiarski and Raulin and present. I feel worn out by the long discussion, prayers, etc., from five until 12:30, and surrender to fatigue. In spite of the fact that letters to Agen and Warsaw, as well as a letter to Mrs. Komar, and the accounts are so urgent, I doze off until six. After that Napoleon stops by with Serż; I receive them without enthusiasm. I feel languid; I made a mistake by surrendering to my initial fatigue. - Dmochowski, a conversation with him about absolute rule and the principle of certitude. At eight a snack, and evening prayers. Once again I go to sleep, without praying in my room as I should.

[Tuesday], May 31

To Domejko. I find out that Adam [Mickiewicz] is in Paris. I go to visit, but he is not in. On my way back I stop in to see Walter.

¹²³ *Mois de Marie* - the title of various religious publications in the French language issued especially for the month of May, and dedicated to Mary, the Mother of God, the patroness of France. While thinking of the interior life of members of his House, Jański may have used a booklet entitled *Mois de Marie, grec-latin, ou Marie honorée dans les classes (The Month of Mary, a greek-latin text, or Mary honored by students)*, prepared by Fr. Congnet, the superior of the seminary. Suitable fragments from the writings of the Fathers of the Church on the topic of "Virgin" were selected for every day of the month. These fragments were accompanied by various maxims, hymns, or prayers. The booklet *Mois de Marie* was published in Paris in 1836.

On Wednesday, the first of June, early in the morning i go to visit Adam [Mickiewicz]. I receive the valuables etc., and take care of these on my way back. I visit Januszkiewicz (he reads me Uruski's letter). I visit Mrs. Giedrojć, together with Bukaty... In the evening I learn of the misfortunes in Agen. I write a letter.¹²⁴

Thursday, June 2 - Adam [Mickiewicz] has dinner with us - and stays until eight. I send the letter to Agen.

Friday, [June 13] - my day for service. At the Giedrojćes, and with Bukaty for coffee. With Walter in the evening. He definitely wishes to receive his apprenticeship by the Feast of St. John the Baptist.

Saturday, [June 4]

In the morning I write letters to London. After dinner I visit Fr. Augé, until six o'clock. A letter to Gautier. I go to visit Caesar. There I meet Adam [Mickiewicz] and Fr. Gerbet.

[Saturday], June 4

Confession at four in the afternoon. Thank God for the grace of contrition and good resolutions. In the evening when Peter spoke to me about Mikorski and asked me what to do - impatience. I wanted to respond: And what? (nothing). Later at Plater, in the presence of Fr. Gerbet, focusing on myself and, as a result, not knowing what to say.

[Sunday], June 5

After Holy Communion together with Caesar, once again, though unworthy, I experience great graces. O God! Grant me the strength to persevere in my resolutions to improve, to rid myself of all self-love, from all carnal lust, from laziness and a desire for rest. Grant me the grace to introduce order into my life, to put an end to so many troublesome and long-lasting concerns relative to debts, my wife, correspondence, and unifying my resolutions and initiatives for the future.

In the morning at nine o'clock, after dismissing

¹²⁴ Undoubtedly this refers to a disturbance caused by Leon Przeclawski and Callistus Suzin scuffling with one another. As a result, the prefecture in Agen expelled Przeclawski from the city, and indirectly Adam Celiński, whom they transferred to Lunel. Jański's letter to Celiński at the beginning of June, 1836, was preserved in the Jagellonian Library (9236, III; 9235, III, k.10).

Caesar, to Saint-Chéron for information regarding l'abbé Migne; he was not in. Back home, I consult Peter concerning Fr. Migne and Mikorski. I apologize for my impatience. I consult with Mr. Anthony [Gorecki] about his periodical and the national cause.

The Angelus at twelve. Then, privately, my prayers after Holy Communion. I fight off temptations stemming from a spirit of lying and pride. Notes from last week, and for next week, and these.

After dinner, at two o'clock (at dinner impatience because the meat was not fully cooked) Hube came to visit. At first I receive him with an open heart. He rattles on, completely absorbed in narrow worldliness - I, the greatest of sinners and most unworthy, regard him with a kind of contempt, instead of approaching him with love and hope in God; and I begin to speak to him boldly about higher things, ultimately initiating a conversation with him about religion, something until now I had basely neglected to do. Am I capable of judging and deciding about his conversion? Perhaps he is more prepared than I think. Perhaps he will become a saint before I do. Merciful God! Grant me your grace and your help for the future! I ought never stifle religious sentiments, or force them to be silent, if God animates me with such by way of any sort of human considerations.

379 Mikorski stops by. My soul is already unsettled by previous falls. And so initially I receive him coldly, without any fervor. I go out with him, rent a room for him, offer him some advice. Then I deliver a letter to Szulc, asking him to visit Mickiewicz tomorrow morning. After that I go to visit Caesar in a state of confusion and uncertainty. I drop into Saint Thomas Aquinas.¹²⁵ Why didn't I kneel down, and spend the time in fervent prayer? Unnecessarily, I also accepted an invitation to dinner at Caesar's house. What value is there from the usual light conversation, among people who have so little in common, etc.? True, I did so because Gerbet was to be there.

During dinner, and in the after dinner conversation, intolerable silence on my part, and apparently due to ill-tempered and ill-disposed self-love, a kind of contempt for conversation of such little importance. Why didn't I, with humility, simplicity and zeal strive to make it more significant? Once again a great sin, when I was praised for never giving vent to anger. I miserably affirmed this

¹²⁵ The church of St. Thomas Aquinas, in the square bearing his name, was erected at the turn of the 17th century.

praise, and offered an apology for love as if applying it to myself, as though I were not full of internal poisons, jealousy, and rancor. O God! Through the merits and passion of Your Son, our Savior, our Christ, forgive my sins! Support me with the graces necessary to achieve a complete spiritual renewal!

On my way home I was once again beguiled by idle thoughts of self-love. At 9:30, prayer with Jerome. Then, instead of private prayer, unnecessary reading of Saint-Martin's *du Principe, des Choses*.

Monday, [June] 6

I arise without any fervent recourse to God's protection, without reminding myself of the merciful intercession of the Most Holy Virgin. Distractions at morning prayer; distractions and languor at Mass. O God! enliven me with your love! Support me with the graces needed to achieve a complete rebirth.

After eight I go out to visit Mikorski; he is not in. To Bukaty; he is not in (I thought that today was the feast of St. Anthony, and I wanted very much to lead him to confession). While returning through the Luxembourg I meet Kranas. We discuss political economy. I criticize Say.¹²⁶ It is difficult for I think too much about how to show off my great learning. To Saint-Chéron to obtain information about l'abbé Migne. We talk about the status of France, about religious renewal, etc. I return home and get down to further writing of these notes. Just then Michałowski, Szulc and Zawadzki stop by. They find me in bad humor. In fact I was unnecessarily annoyed by the fact that Zawadzki came. Michałowski tells me about yesterday's consultations at [Josaphat Boleslaus] Ostrowski's place, and about his intense hatred for us and Mickiewicz, about clerical celibacy - I am lacking in zeal and grace. At twelve Mickiewicz stops by. We go to Collège Stanislas. With Fr. Buquet an awkward conversation, and on my part an awkward silence. In the meeting with Fr. Augé there is also confusion. On the way back I stop to visit Caesar. We consult about the books he wishes to purchase and send to Poland - it is already 1:30 (unwisely I stay there too long). To Mont de P[ieté],¹²⁷ where I receive 280 francs. Back home,

¹²⁶ Jean Baptiste Say (1767-1832) - a French economist and industrialist. From 1830 he was a professor at Collège de France. He formulated a market law: production itself creates outlets for itself; as a result, general crises of over-production are impossible (this is the so-called Say's Law). He was the author of scholarly works (e.g. *Traité d'économie politique...* 2 volumes, 1803; *Catéchisme d'économie politique*, 1815).

¹²⁷ Mont de Piété - an institution established in Paris in 1777 which was subject to the Ministry of External Affairs, and which provided loans on security to various welfare societies. Lombard.

dinner has already begun. After dinner, coffee and a pipe. Michałowski and Szulc drop by, happy to encounter Mickiewicz. We go out together. Unnecessarily I waste time accompanying Adam all the way to Pont-Saint-Michel. I go to see Eustachius [Januszkiewicz]. I am well received (he is ready to provide money for books for us); he loans me 15 francs. Ropelewski is there as well. My conversation with him is too light. I go to see Caesar; he is not in. I wait. He comes, but he is on his way out. At about six I go to visit Walter. Unnecessarily I sit too long with Fanny. After that to the Cabinet de Lecture, which we leave together with Philip. Why do I not get down to business with him immediately? Why does my conversation with him move so slowly? A walk through the Tuileries. After eight I return home. Unnecessarily on the way home I buy myself a round cracknel and a sausage. Prayers. Ordęga, Malinoski and Postempski stop by. Unnecessarily I mingle in their company. I should have gone apart to pray and reflect by myself. After they leave, once again unnecessary musing instead of prayer. I go to bed at eleven.

Tuesday, [June] 7

I arise before five, all sweated up and feeling dull. I am distracted at prayer. At Mass I feel dull and sleepy. I was supposed to receive Holy Communion, but I do not venture to do so for lack of spirit. After my return, and after breakfast, arranging the schedule for the day and writing these notes, I go to visit Kunatt and Januszkiewicz, for a lesson, and then on to visit Caesar.

It is already 11:30 P.M. I had gone first to see Kunatt, and received from him the "Chronicle [of the Polish Emigration]". I went on to Januszkiewicz. There is still no money. From him I take the "Friend of the People",¹²⁸ and go

¹²⁸ "Friend of the People", or "A Weekly Magazine containing necessary and useful information" - published in Leszno in the years 1834-1849; a popular scientific journal of Great Poland organicists, one of the first illustrated magazines in Poland.

Jański, who borrowed the "Friend of the People" from Eustachius Januszkiewicz several times, undoubtedly was interested in articles found there on historical topics, such as *Queen Hedwig, Hungarian* (A Slavonian in Hungary), an article on *communal poetry*, an autobiography of George Samuel Bandtke, etc. This was a theme which at that time fascinated Montalembert, who was preparing a study dealing with Queen Hedwig, and Mickiewicz, who was writing *The History of Poland*. For both of them Jański was the provider of pertinent literature and information. While he was doing this, as Jański surveyed the individual numbers of the "Friend of the People", he could not fail to notice there an article by Anthony Woykowski, musician and journalist, dedicated to Chopin (*Chopin*, 1835-1835, nr. 28 /January 9/, nr. 29 /January 16/, and nr. 30 /January 23/). 20 years old at the time, Woykowski defined the standing of Chopin as a composer as follows: "founder of the romantic school in music", and also "the Shakespeare, Byron, and Mickiewicz of the piano." He emphasized that "in recent times Poland has given the

on to visit Komar. On the way I did not curb my curiosity or an unnecessary reading of the newspapers. During the lesson I maintained my peace of soul, but was not zealous enough to assure my learning something good. Then to Letelier. I was very well received. He gives me new articles under the letter A and promises more. I still have time to hand in the article on St. Adalbert.¹²⁹ I go to visit Adam [Mickiewicz] in order to tell him this. When I do not find him at home, I write a letter. On my way home, I meet him and tell him about my business, and unnecessarily waste time accompanying him on his way.

381 I arrive at [Caesar] Plater's house at 12:30. We begin to make a list of books that he wants to buy for some woman.¹³⁰ I tell him about my plans: He will share them, and he will give me money. I promise to give him a share even without the money. Happy first, and then oppressed, I remain until six in constant interruptions and dawdling. Nevertheless, in spite of the heaviness of my mind, I remain in control, peaceful and hopeful. I thank you for this, most merciful God! - But he does not give me any money. He wants an account from past months, and only then does he give me 30 francs for the books decided upon. Later I return the "Friend of the People" to Januszkiewicz as I promised; and a sin: I stop in for coffee. After that, I purchase the *Catéchisme de Montpellier*, and the *Bible de Royaumont*,¹³¹ and return home after seven. N.B. Along the way I am, beset by strong impure desires. Infinite thanks to God that I did not allow myself to be led astray by them. Peter receives my greeting strangely: "And what? A kind of arrogance and restiveness takes hold of him in spite of efforts and an external semblance of humility. We exchange information about what has happened during the day. I pay for letters and the laundress from the money I received from Plater, and make a record of expenses. Again, a strange word of Edward [Duński]. It becomes evident that there is a dwindling

musical world a genius who has no equal, who undoubtedly will have no equal for a long time: Chopin is that genius. Both in his playing, in which he practically works miracles, and in truly original, beautiful and difficult compositions he has merited the title of unrivalled master."

¹²⁹ At the request of the editors of *Encyclopédie catholique*, Adam Mickiewicz prepared an article about St. Adalbert. The text of the article, rewritten by Semenenko from the original, was shortened somewhat by the editors, and published in Vol. I of the *Encyclopédie catholique* in 1838 with the signature "B.Karski" (the pseudonym of Edward Duński adopted by Mickiewicz).

¹³⁰ "Some woman" - Stephanie Małachowska, the future wife of Caesar Plater (Cf. 1835, footnote 2).

¹³¹ Cf. 1835, footnote 291. *Bible de Royaumont* - Nicolas Fontaine, pseudonym: Royaumont (1625-1709) - prior; he wrote *La Bible de la jeunesse, ou histoire de l'Ancien et au Nouveau Testament, avec des explications édifiantes...* Nouvelle ed., Paris, 1810.

of a sense of hierarchical order as a result of a neglect of our conversations and spiritual exercises. O God! Protect the unity of our community! Grant me the grace, and the strength, for my own improvement, and my work for the spiritual good of the brothers!

After dinner, and then supper at 7:30, I go to visit Mrs. Giedrojć. There I fail, losing control of myself, seduced by the lure of conversation, and remain there too long, until ten. Unnecessarily I allow myself to be drawn into and entangled by complimentary expressions. A sin, for in speaking of our relations with the government, I cast suspicion on some of our fellow Poles, as though their hatred promoted hatred on the part of the police, even though I was not at all sure of this. A sin, that I wished to praise myself on account of our good standing with the government. Back home, I find a letter from Toulouse, from Adam Celiński. Prayer, a pipe, and these notes - and it is already 12:15.

Wednesday, [June] 8

Awakened before five, I do not rise, sleep through prayers, and do not get dressed in time for Mass. What a bad example! O God, save me from similar failures! I take Ziomecki's place for daily service and preparing breakfast. After breakfast and conversation with the brothers about the day's work, I go to my room. I feel weak, exhausted, and instead of seeking new strength in prayer, and even though I have so much work to do (accounts), I fall asleep. When I wake up it is already ten. Mikorski stops by. I offer him advice about using his pension, and tell him to come to see me at three. I go out with him at about eleven after writing a letter to Szymański, and go for coffee (again that unfortunate weakness). Then I purchase Fr. Gerbet's¹³² *Conferences* for Caesar and take it to him. He gives me an additional 10 francs for his books. Then to Słowaczyński concerning Agen. On the way I meet Miss de Feletz and without returning her compliment, I simply acknowledge it by a nod, accepting it for myself even though undeserved. Słowaczyński is not in; I leave a letter. On my way back along Port-Royal I meet Sidorowicz, and God blesses me in conversation with him. Dinner. Korabiewicz comes to see me about a matter concerning his brother.¹³³ I put off a final response until tomorrow. After dinner, I take our water to Walter for analysis, and go to Pinard with Egersdorf. He receives me fairly well, and, thanks to the most merciful God, I do not experience any confusion in this meeting. I am delayed by rain for almost an hour, and then I go to see Słowaczyński. I decide not to publish the letter.

¹³² Cf. 1831, footnote 59.

¹³³ Edmund Korabiewicz (Cf. above, footnote 19) had a brother named Joseph (1800-1837). He participated in the November uprising as an officer in the 12th uhlan regiment.

Returning with him I begin a spiritual conversation with him; but woe is me! I do not conduct it with fervor. Perhaps this is a punishment for the time when he asked me to find work for him in some of the illustrated magazines, I did not offer him any hope, saving all connections for ourselves, for the brothers. Then I waste about a half an hour in second-hand bookstores. I was supposed to go to the Giedrojćes, but do not go. I go to see Caesar to consult with him in the matter of Korabiewicz and to tell him about Mikorski. I feel melancholy and somewhat languid, but thank God my soul is at peace. At eight I go to see Walter. He is sick. Our water is indeed harmful for drinking. On my way back, once again weakness for coffee - I get home at 9:30. A conversation with Kajsiewicz. His expedition with Mikorski to his former landlady went well. Prayers, these notes, and to bed. Tomorrow, God willing, I will receive the Blessed Sacrament.

Thursday, [June] 9

Holy Communion. Inspirations concerning ways to improve my life, undertaking works, and relations with foreigners, perhaps some social union for the purpose of achieving a universal Christian reunion. But I do not even make notes of these thoughts (which is bad), I do not work at developing the confirming them. House meeting, consultation about brother Korabiewicz. We decide to accept him. First I go to see Michałowski, and have a spiritual conversation with him, in which God grants me his grace and his assistance. Why do I not reach a conclusion, at last common prayer? Then I go to the Giedrojćes for money; they are not in. I return, and feeling somewhat weak, I lay down unnecessarily and nap until one o'clock. Once again I go to the Giedrojćes, and again the only one there is Mrs. Janowicz.¹³⁴ In conversation with her I forget myself. do not say what I ought to say, or speak as I should, but just to get it over. Back home. Dinner is somewhat late. After that Mikorski comes to see me, and then Rostkowski. In greeting him I am not myself; I am overcome by a feeling of sadness, contempt, coldness. O God, guard me, and do not lead me into such temptation! Then once again for coffee, and at four o'clock to the Giedrojćes concerning confirmation, money, and Napoleon's living with us. Once again I fail in conversation, allowing myself to be led astray by feelings of self-love, and a desire to please. I received my 20 francs. I leave at six, and go to purchase the books for Caesar at Blais and Periss.¹³⁵ I take the books to Caesar, but he is not in. I go home. Prayers. Sleep.

¹³⁴ Undoubtedly the wife of Aloysius Janowicz (b.1792) from Nowogródek; a colonel, the commander of the depot for Polish emigrants in Bourges. They had lost both of their children: a son in 1834, and a daughter on January 6, 1836.

¹³⁵ Parisian booksellers.

Friday, [June 10]

After prayers, Mass and breakfast I finally get down to accounts for the past months. I review them by myself until ten. Then I summon Edward [Duński] and we put together the accounts for February; this takes us until dinner. Then we begin with March. After that I go out for coffee and to visit Fr. Augé. I meet Wisłouch, and so I only have coffee and return. My conversation with him went well; I feel that I experienced the grace of God, and so was able to enlighten him with regard to many important matters. But why, once again, was there no conclusion concerning prayer and the sacraments? After that, I accompany him as far as the Odeon,¹³⁶ continuing our spiritual conversation. Then, to Caesar. He receives me very graciously. Tomorrow he will go to Montmorency. He intends to come to us on Sunday, and to receive Holy Communion together with us. Once again he gives me 20 francs for his books. I go back home, and continue work on the accounts together with Edward. Supper. The watchmaker comes to repair the watch. After that prayers, and once again, until ten, accounts up to the end of March. Even after that I continue to add up the sums, arrange the whole, and go to bed at about eleven.

Saturday, [June] 11

385 After prayers, Mass, and breakfast, Edward and I begin our work on April and write until eight. To Januszkiewicz for "The People's Companion", and then to Vladimir; he is out. And so back again; I buy socks. I return "The People's Companion" to Januszkiewicz, and ask him for *Dictionnaire de Conversation* together with Alexander¹³⁷ for Adam [Mickiewicz]. He definitely promises to give us some money. A bath until 12:30. I wait until the storm passes, and then go home. More work on the accounts with Edward. Dinner. Michałowski stops by. My conversation with him is not zealous enough. I give him *Ecce Homo*.¹³⁸ To Collège Stanislas; Fr. Buquet is not there. To Żylikowski¹³⁹ by bus - first for coffee (Olszewski) - take measurements for a dress coat; it will be ready on Tuesday. At 5:30 to Collège Stanislas. Confession. O God! Grant that I may be zealously persevering in my resolutions to improve! - Back home at about

¹³⁶ Théâtre de l'Odéon, located in the square of the same name, close to the Luxembourg Gardens, famous for its presentation of a large repertoire of dramas.

¹³⁷ The reference here is to the Russian Tsar Alexander I, whose encyclopedic biography was to be written by Adam Mickiewicz.

¹³⁸ *Ecce homo* - the title of a work by Saint-Martin; Cf. 1834, footnote 1.

¹³⁹ Justin Stanislaus Żylikowski (1798-1876) - during the November uprising a lieutenant in the Poznań cavalry. As an emigrant in Paris, he worked as a tailor. The proper form of his name, Żeligowski, was used later by Jański (July 29).

seven. Supper and these notes. Now, after eight, to see Fr. Buquet; he was at supper. I meet Fr. Augé. He comes with Fr. Buquet. I gather information about confirmation tomorrow.

Sunday, [June] 12

After Holy Communion, cleaning my room. A house meeting; we all feel the need. Edward presents a proposal concerning the need to leave a half hour free for meditation, and to arrange a schedule of time; Peter concerning the need for common prayer. We finish the meeting at nine, for Edward has to go out to buy food etc. I and Peter continue longer discussions concerning ways to avoid discouragement among us, ways to perfect our spiritual union, as well as the spiritual relationship between the two of us, etc. Thanks be to God, we part better for the discussion, and with a more fervent love for one another.

386 At about eleven I go to visit Princess Giedrojć, asking her to send Napoleon to witness the ceremony of confirmation, and also profit from the good example of piety of the students of Collège Stanislas. However, Serge is to come, and I do not wish to take the two of them. +In the conversation with the Princess, weakness, and definite discouragement.+ I speak with her with a blameworthy levity about my embarrassment resulting from her invitation for meatballs. Then I go to see Caesar. He has returned from Montmorency, but is suffering from a cold, and is weak. As a result he could not join us at Holy Communion this morning; he intends to come tomorrow. He cannot attend the confirmation. I return home. Dinner, a rest, and we go to Collège Stanislas (Orpizewski also will not be there; Jerome was visiting him). Edward tells me that he informed Dmochoski about Jerome and Peter's entrance into the seminary; I do not accept this news properly - I am disturbed. At the ceremony I experience little fervor, submit to sleepiness; also a very bad example, for we do not have books for the celebration of vespers. We return after six. I do not go to the Giedrojćes. Peter tells me that he will enter Collège Stanislas; but when I ask him whether he will remain with us, he does not answer, and is strangely embarrassed, as though he had his own hidden intentions concerning the future. Then Jerome talks to me about his project "Slavonia Christiana". After that I rest, and dream. Is this surrender to laziness necessary? Napoleon and Serge stop by. I greet them coldly, sleepily. They leave. Edward and I get down to the accounts, and we make good progress. Later I work at them myself. At eleven a package with an article from Mickiewicz arrives.

Monday, [June 13] Saint Anthony

Once again Caesar does not come for Mass. After Mass, breakfast, and writing these notes, I send Peter to Montalembert for the fifth and sixth volume

of Raumer.¹⁴⁰ He is also supposed to rewrite Mickiewicz's manuscript. To Bukaty. First I stop in to the Giedrojćes; a conversation with the General, with very good results as to my personal relations with him. I give *Irydion*¹⁴¹ to the Princess. I give greetings to Bukaty. He carries on again with his political phantasies. I do not lose heart, and even pray for him. Finally I leave him with quite severe words. To [Joseph] Hube. I invite him for dinner. I leave Möhler for him. Our good relationship is re-established. To Michałowski with apologies for not bringing him money; I leave him Robinet about Lamennais.¹⁴² While I was there I forgot myself, I weakened. There was not enough pressure to edify him. Now when I speak with him, I no longer pray in spirit. As a result, later the spirit is dissipated. To Konopka; he has already left by coach with all his things. To Januszkiewicz. He gives me 5 francs. I learn of the death of Claudia Potocka.¹⁴³ To Ternes at 10:45. The Giedrojćes are not there, but I do find Anthony; however this is not his nameday. I have a pleasant half-hour conversation with him; however, not enough fervor on my part, no prayer in the spirit. I return home. it is already 12:30. I was supposed to visit Letelier, but I decide not to go. Instead I go directly to Caesar. He is busy. I wait. Fr. Gerbet stops by. We leave together for Collège Stanislas. Woe is me! I lose the spirit of

¹⁴⁰ Friedrich Ludwig Georg Von Raumer (1781-1873) - a German historian, author e.g. of *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen und ihrer Zeit*, 6 volumes, Leipzig, 1823-1825.

¹⁴¹ *Irydion* - a historical-philosophical drama by the poet Zygmunt Krasiński. It was written in the years 1834-1836, and was published anonymously in Paris in 1836. It is worth noting that the poet may have drawn his inspiration for the symbolical history of a person torn between Predestination and Providence from reading the works of the beloved writer Pierre-Simon Ballanche, works known to, and read by, Bogdan Jański (Cf. 1831, footnote 13).

¹⁴² Edmond Robinet (1811-1864) - a French historian. Author of *Études et notice biographique sur l'abbé F. de la Mennais*, Paris, 1836.

¹⁴³ Claudia (Claudine) Potocka, nee Działyński (1801-1836) - a good samaritan during the November uprising and welfare worker among the emigrants. In the uprising she organized auxiliary samaritan service, transferring the wounded to hospitals from the field of battle. In the emigration she expanded her welfare work, especially in Dresden, Geneva and Paris. She cared for the seriously wounded Stephen Garczyński, whom she moved from Dresden to Geneva and, together with Adam Mickiewicz, continued to care for the dying poet. She supported the emissaries and partisans (Joseph Zaliwski, and Simon Konarski), and helped Mickiewicz in publishing Garczyński's poems. In his Paris lectures, Mickiewicz mentioned the Polish-patriot: "Everyone knows the name of another woman who is honored in all of Poland, Claudine Potocka, who made the rounds of hospitals, and with her glance gave courage to soldiers in the midst of the most painful operations. Later among the emigrants she dedicated herself to providing help for fellow-Poles living in poverty" (Works, Vol.X, p.362). To honor her memory, the poet commissioned metal rings with the inscription: Claudine, pray for us" and handed them to fellow-Poles arriving from Poland.

Christ. I lack humility, simplicity, prayer! Once again there is too much self-concern, concern for the effect of my words, which results in confusion and uneasiness. I catch hold of myself and promise to visit Fr. Gerbet. Then to the Collège. I meet Gerbet and Plater with Fr. Augé. At Fr. Augé's words that he is very pleased to become acquainted with Plater through me, I do not know what to respond; confusion. To Fr. Blanc. I am silent; constant confusion. I lead Gerbet and Caesar to our house. They find us somewhat in disarray. My brother show no signs of deference to me as Elder Brother of a spiritual community, or of a collective spirit. My fault! We leave with Fr. Gerbet. I would like to praise the brothers and express the great hopes I have for them. My speech is confused. Dinner. I read. They begin to whisper at table, are not paying attention to my reading. I grow impatient. O God! Have mercy on me! Inspire me with your own Holy Spirit, a spirit of humility, patience and fervor! During the meal Januskiewicz and Ropelewski stop by to offer greetings to Anthony [Gorecki], and then to Michałowski. I feel very tired, and submit to fatigue. After dinner coffee and a pipe. I lie down on the bed. Only Michałowski is with me, always with special regard for me. And I am once again cold, sleepy; I do not embrace him with the love of Christ. I send Jerome and Alexander to Mrs. Rautenstrauch to get the *Encyclopédie* for Adam [Mickiewicz].¹⁴⁴ At last everyone leaves. I say goodbye to [Joseph] Hube, once again too coldly. After that I doze waiting for Peter to finish re-writing the article. I go out at seven to visit Caesar, to apologize for my confusion and silence during the visits we made together, and make an appointment for tomorrow. I return home at nine in time for prayers. We pray for the repose of the soul of Claudia, and for Adam.

388 Tuesday, [June] 14

I receive Holy Communion together with Caesar and Peter. After morning prayers, Mass, breakfast and meditation on the use of time - I tell Peter and Jerome to make a list of their debts before twelve; Jerome is to go to see Dalen - to Domejko to inquire about Klot from Switzerland,¹⁴⁵ for whom on instructions from Caesar I am to obtain assistance through Mrs. Rautenstrauch.

¹⁴⁴ The first volume of the *Universal Encyclopedia, a collection of the most necessary information for all classes* was published in Warsaw and Vilno in January of 1836 by the booksellers Augustine Emmanuel and Theophilus Glücsberg. In this 700 page volume there is an article: *Alexander I, Tsar of all Russia, King of Poland*, a biography written by the Russian author M. Grecz, and presented in a Polish translation (pp.406-422).

Adam Mickiewicz, whom the editors of *Encyclopédie catholique* had commissioned to write an article on St. Adalbert, this time received a commission to prepare an article on the Russian Tsar, Alexander I.

¹⁴⁵ John Klot (Klott) (1808-1877) from Lithuania; participated in the November uprising and the expedition to Frankfurt. He settled in Switzerland as a watch-maker.

To Januszkiewicz for "The Friend of the People", and also to send the *Encyclopédie* to Adam. The occasion to do so was just available. I chase after it to Wilczyński, and leave the book there. For a lesson. It is obvious that Mrs. Komar is angry at me, and rightly so. Vladimir is always distracted. Instead of trying to use force in instilling moral lessons and teaching him, I try to divert him, amuse him, so as to keep his attention. The result is that I become dispirited; when I leave I feel this very strongly. After that I read a newspaper in the Cabinet de Lecture. I go to the *Encyclopédie catholique*. I do not find Letelier there, only some priest. They find the article too long, and want Adam [Mickiewicz] to sign it, etc. I leave the article there, and promise to write to Adam, asking him what I should do. I visit Januszkiewicz, and again receive 5 francs. A boy sent is sent to me by Chopin. I instruct him to obtain the book from Wilczyński for Adam etc. Back home. Shortly after that Adam drops by. He is happy, and he greets me with great affection. He came to Paris to settle a matter with his banker. He asks about the article. I answer his question. He will stay for dinner. I send out for wine. Then, through inadvertence, without waiting until he finishes dinner, I tell him that we prayed for him that he might have the strength to bear a sad bit of news. - "What kind of news?" I answer tearfully: "The death of Mrs. Potocka." Deeply moved, he leaves immediately. We are sad. Dinner, prepared for me by Egersdorf. Peter forgot to go for his lesson at Collège Stanislas this morning. I send him immediately to inquire whether he might not take an hour in the evening. I send Edward to Mikorski for a lesson, and to inquire why he has not visited here for two days. I was supposed to see Fr. Buquet to discuss the matter of the seminary, but I surrender to laziness, rest, and then go for coffee at about four. It wakes me up. My head is full of hopeful projects. I return home after six. Rostkowski is there. They tell me that he came for a shirt and a few sous on which to live. I also do not go to visit Caesar. Mr. Anthony [Gorecki] went to see Szemiot,¹⁴⁶ where he met many Lithuanians, He tells me that we are making a great impression on them. Prayers, and I eat the supper that was left for me. Everybody goes to sleep, but I am lost in reverie on the grass in the garden, and in my room, until twelve. Why didn't I use the time to put the accounts in order, or write my diary, or notes concerning our community?

389

Wednesday, [June] 15

¹⁴⁶ Francis Szemiot (Szemiouth) - Cf. 1832, footnote 73.

390 After prayers, Mass and breakfast, accounts from the days of this month that have already passed with Edward until 8:30. After that for money for dinner; but first to Fr. Buquet. It is a free day at the Collège, thanks to the Archbishop. I find Fr. Buquet in the garden. He greets me sincerely. Our men will find bed and sheets ready in the Collège. He offers me further information concerning their enrollment in the seminary. I was supposed to go to Caesar for the money - I think about it, and go to Walter instead. He can only give me 3 francs, which I promise to return tomorrow. I am always vain, overbearing, in relations with people. I make a mistake, a great mistake, in talking to him about Rostowski, that he came to see me again for a shirt and a few sous. O God! Forgive this great sin against the love of my brother. I return at ten. Edward has already gone to Zaliska¹⁴⁷ etc. I cannot send the package to England today. I am supposed to check the accounts and draw some conclusions from them. But then Dmochowski stops by. My conversation with him is solemn and long. It clarifies for him many of the difficulties in his conversion - and he had nothing to say in reply. However, especially at the end, I was lacking in pure, disinterested, forgetful-of-self Christian zeal - and he does not allow himself to be convinced to go to confession. O God! Grant me the grace, strength, and assistance I need to help him along the way of salvation! Not for me, for my glory, my joy; not for us, but for Your glory, O God, and for his own spiritual benefit! - Dinner. Kazimirski stops by, distressed at having lost Ropelewski. Wislouch also dropped in for a little while, for 5 francs, etc. After dinner I lay down in Edward's room. I tell him about my conversation with Vladimir [Dmochowski]. He advises me that what I need is even greater insistence, practically force. He tells me about himself - about how good it was that Peter came to summon him to confession last year. Once again I was wrong, very wrong, wanting to make him understand that it was I who sent Peter to him. I doze off, even though finishing the accounts is so urgent. I sleep until 5:30. Then I take a ducat (11 francs, 12 sous) from Edward to purchase the Life of St. Teresa for Caesar, and I leave. First I go to the bookstores on rue Pot-de-Fer, but they do not have the book. Then I change the ducat on rue Dauphine, and go for coffee. I go to visit Caesar, and again drink coffee. I am at peace within myself. I even speak to Montalembert. I promise German and Polish lessons. I leave at nine. To Kazimirski. I speak at length with him about his work - a very sincere and friendly conversation. I did not see any possibility of leading it onto a spiritual plane. We talked about [Josaphat Boleslaus] Ostrowski. He feels the latter's animosity, but he has no hope. Ropelewski also stops by, but we see one

¹⁴⁷ The wife of Francis Joseph Zaliwski (1791-1855) who, after his unsuccessful insurgent expedition, the first attempt after the November uprising to provoke a national uprising, was sentenced by the Austrians to 20 year in prison in Kufsten.

another only for a moment since it is already eleven. Back home, unnecessarily, when there is such an urgent need to write my diary, and putting the accounts in order, I settle down with the booksellers' catalogues, and spend an hour looking through them - then to sleep. Before falling asleep I surrender to impure thoughts and desires, etc.

Thursday, [June] 16

After prayers, Mass and breakfast, I get down to writing these notes, with interruptions, first by one, and then by another brother. I finish them and, thank God, bring them all the way up to twelve o'clock which strikes for the Angelus!

404

Fifth week after Pentecost

Sunday, [June 19]

Holy Communion etc. To Mrs. Komar. To the Giedrojćes. Letters. Conversations with Peter and Jerome. My notes. Meet with L[etellier]. A letter to Father Guéranger.

Monday, [June 20]

Accounts. To Fr. Augé. To Hube. To Plater. After dinner to the tailor. I am to go with Peter and Jerome to Saint-Mandé. Peter and Jerome will make the rounds of our more illustrious countrymen with apologies.¹⁴⁸ To Fr. Blanc. To the *Encyclopédie catholique*. To Królikowski, Nieszokoć, and Dmochowski.

Tuesday, [June 21]

For a lesson. To Mrs. Komar. To Mrs. Białopiotrowicz.

Wednesday, [June 22]

To Mrs. Komar. To Letellier. To Mrs. Rautenstrauch Write down plans for small articles to show Adam before entrance. To the Giedrojćes.

Thursday, [June 23]

To Montmorency.

Friday, [June 24]

¹⁴⁸ At Jański's request, even before entering Collège Stanislas, Peter Semenenko and Jerome Kajsiewicz went about visiting fellow Poles to apologize for any scandal they may have given.

At Nieszokoć. To Valdimir for a lesson. At Princess Giedrojć until 12:30. To Caesar, and with him to the ministry. Dinner. With Caesar until 8:30. To the Giedrojćes; they are not in. Common preparation for confession.

Saturday, [June 25]

To Valdimir. To *Encyclopédie catholique*. To Hube. To Caesar.

405

Sixth week after Pentecost

Sunday, June 25

Meet with Wisłouch. With Korabiewicz. Holy Communion. Meet with Ordęga. To Fr. Augé, his nameday. To Mrs. Komar. To Nieszokoć. I promised to be with Mr. Anthony [Gorecki] at Mrs. Białopiotrowicz for coffee.

Monday, [June 27]

Reach an understanding about the most urgent debts with Peter and Jerome, and about to whom they will go. To Kranas. To Michałowski. To Caesar. At eight to Mrs. Komar (talk with her about Krasicki, payment from whom, and what will happen if Gorecki is sick, etc.). I send Edward for shirts and socks; Peter for shoes. On my way back from Mrs. Komar I stop to see Caesar (London, Stawiarski, Meaux), and Januszkiewicz. (Conversation with Peter and Jerome, and Scriptures for them.) To Caesar (handkerchiefs, Mikorski, Montalembert). After dinner to Fr. Buquet with reference to the time for entrance, and concerning Mikorski. With Mr. Anthony to the Giedrojćes.

Tuesday, [June 28]

To Montalembert. To Fr. Desgenettes (I have a letter for Fr. Guéranger). All are permitted to receive Holy Communion, and then a house meeting.

Wednesday, [June 29] St. Peter

Holy Communion.

Thursday, [June 30]

A house meeting. A letter to Celiński, and a letter to Mickiewicz.

Friday, [July 1]

To Mrs. Białopiotrowicz. The penitential psalms. A house meeting.

Saturday, [July 2]

406

First week after the Feast of St. Peter

Sunday, July 3

Łopaciński. Work at the newspaper reading room for Mr. Plater. Notes. Letters. Buchez. L[ettelier] Decourdemanche. Saint-Chéron.

Monday, [July 4]

Montalembert (an article for the "Gazette de France", 50 francs). To Czyński. From Rol[and?]. For the newspapers. To Carnot. To Collège Stanislas. Home. Broussais. Letellier. Wężyk.¹⁴⁹ Słowaczyński. Grabowski. Shoemaker. Czyński. Bookseller, rue Dauphine. The tobacco vendor. Carriages. Confais.¹⁵⁰ Boré. Saint-Chéron.

405

Tuesday, [July 5]

Fr. Buquet. Kranas. Hube. Michałowski. Królikowski. Walter. Łopaciński. At eleven to Plater (dinner, Holy Communion). +For Krasicki to the bookbinder.+

406 Wednesday, [July 6]

To Adam. Letters (Mikorski, Zaleski, Lunel, Angers). Słowaczyński. Szewc. Walter. Wrotnowski. The woman at the tobacco shop. Boré. Saint-Chéron. Confais.

Thursday, [July 7]

Walter. Słowaczyński. The woman at the tobacco shop. Confais. Wrotnowski. Saint-Chéron. Letters.

Friday, [July 8]

Fr. Desgenettes. Fr. Gerbet. The German teacher. Maliński's affair. Pamphlets for Królikowski. The rest of the books to Carnot.

¹⁴⁹ Perhaps Francis Wężyk (1806-d. after 1867) - from 1827, a student of law and administration at the University of Warsaw. A second lieutenant in the Honor Guard in the November uprising. An emigrant in France. He finished the School of Mines in Saint-Étienne (1835-1837).

¹⁵⁰ *confais* - it was impossible to establish the meaning of this word.

Saturday, [July 9]

To Fr. Buquet (confession, German lesson). To Carnot. To Hube. To Miss Rolland.

407

Second week after St. Peter

Sunday, [July 10]

Weisenhof for dinner at one. Errands for Caesar: 1) A letter about the Uniates; 2) The status of the persecutions; 3) Newspapers. Buy a Latin dictionary for Witwicki.

Monday, [July 11]

Lesson with Vladimir. A Hebrew grammar for Peter and Jerome.

Tuesday, [July 12]

Dinner with Avril.¹⁵¹

Wednesday, [July 13]

Rettel and Hube are arriving.

Thursday, [July 14]

To Jełowicki. To the post office. To Caesar (Holy Communion. The trial of the accused).¹⁵² To Miss Roland. To Mr. Hersent.¹⁵³ To Fr. Augé. Newspapers.

Friday, [July 15]

To Michałowski. To Miss Roland. To Mr. Hersent. To Fr. Augé. To Jełowicki. To Błotnicki, why until 5?

Saturday, [July 16]

To Mrs. Rautenstrauch. Ask Rogiński¹⁵⁴ which volume etc.?

¹⁵¹ Perhaps Felix Avril, a former member of Subscription Committee, which was established upon the initiative of activists connected with the publication *L'Avenir*; a journalist.

¹⁵² Jański mentioned the Process in his Diary for July 14, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, a fortress-prison, and the destruction of this symbol of injustice, by the people of Paris (July 14, 1789). - However, what Jański had in mind when he used the word "process" is unknown.

¹⁵³ Further details are lacking. It seems that this is a reference to someone in the field of journalism.

408

Third week after St. Peter

Sunday, July 17

Holy Communion (Stawiarski, Caesar). From Orléans. Szotarski, Ropelewski, Rostkowski. Send Grodz.¹⁵⁵ to Sumiński for Królikowski.

Monday, [July 18]

Szotarski. Caesar. From Orléans. Giedrojć. Hube. Meet with Wróblewski¹⁵⁶ and Rogiński here.

Tuesday, [July 19]

Shirts for Peter and Jerome. Giedrojć. Caesar (Montalembert). To Fr. Buquet. In the evening Szotarski and Mickiewicz.

[Wednesday], July 20

With Mr. Anthony [Gorecki] to the bureau. Recommend Fr. Raulin to Rhodéz¹⁵⁷ at the Carmelites, in the chapel of the Most Holy Virgin, on the left side, from three to six, on Saturday. Libraries.

396 [Thursday], July 21, 1836

Urgent tasks

Letters: to Poland, to England*, to America, to Kraków, to Lunel, to Fr. Gerbet, to Łempicki in Aix (ask about Grzybowski, Kozarzewski), to Jabłoński in Dijon, to the Zaleskis (Joseph and Bohdan), to Lunel, to Niwiński, to Koźmian,

¹⁵⁴ Undoubtedly Ferdinand Jacob Rogiński (1810?-1870) from Płock. After the November uprising, in which he took part, he lived as an emigrant in Paris. He attended the Polytechnic School. Later he was an inspector of the Paris catacombs. He suffered from a persecution complex.

¹⁵⁵ Grodz - further information is lacking.

¹⁵⁶ Perhaps Erasmus Wróblewski (1810-1882) - He was a teacher in Pułtusk, and a student of law at the University of Warsaw. In the November uprising, he was a second lieutenant in the first uhlan regiment. An emigrant in France. A member of the Polish Democratic Society.

¹⁵⁷ Ferreol Rodet (1807-1875) - a missionary of the Congregation of Mercy; a vicar at Saint-Leu-du-Gros-Caillou. - Jański was not sure about the proper form of the name of this priest; as a result, we find variant forms in the Diary: Rhodes, Rhodet, Roder.

a note to Korzeniowski, to Mikorski - writing to Egersdorf, ask him if he would like to go to Lunel.

+To Fr. Dąbrowski (with thanks for Mikorski and about "The Soldier")+¹⁵⁸

Writing to Maliński, separately to Tur, ask about politics, about Raulin.

408 Friday, [July 22]

Saturday, [July 23]

To Arsenne.¹⁵⁹ To Saint-Chéron.

409

Fourth week after St. Peter

Sunday, July 24

My own financial interests and those of the house. Concluding business with Caesar and notes. My notes and letters. School. Montalembert. To Mickiewicz.

Monday, [July 25]

To d'Eichthal. To Reynaud. Ropelewski at dinner.

Tuesday, [July 26]

To Giedrojc. To Delahaye.¹⁶⁰ To Reynaud. To d'Eichthal. To Caesar (Służalski, departure for Montmorency).

Wednesday, [July 27]

To Markoni.¹⁶¹ At twelve - Rettel and Hube, to Montalembert.

¹⁵⁸ Fr. John Paul Dąbrowski (Cf. 1834, footnote 35), a classmate of Bogdan Jański. At Jański's request he offered assistance to Xavier Mikorski (Cf. above, footnote 114) who had fallen into romantic problems.

The name "Soldier" is a reference to Besançon pamphlets, also called "A Periodical of Mutual Enlightenment". The publisher was Joseph Meyzner (Cf. 1832, footnote 76). The periodical was published in Besançon in 1833. Ten issues appeared under the names of worthy soldiers.

¹⁵⁹ This may be Louis Arsenne (1790-1855), a Paris engraver.

¹⁶⁰ Delahaye - a Paris engraver.

¹⁶¹ Perhaps Henry Marconi (1792-1863) - An Italian architect. From 1826 he worked in Warsaw. He took part in the November uprising. A pedagogue and teacher at the University of Warsaw.

Thursday, [July 28]

Friday, [July 29]

For books. To Caesar: 1) Fr. Combalot,¹⁶² 2) about the Uniates, 3) dimissorium, 4) money, 5) Mr. Anthony, 6) Montmorency, 7) Raulin, 8) "Le Polonais", 9) Kalinoski's¹⁶³ books, 10) Szotarski, 11) Marszewski, 12) *La Volupté*,¹⁶⁴ 13) Żeligowski.¹⁶⁵

Saturday, July 30

By way of Piotrowski, obtain the fourth and fifth volume of "L'Université Catholique" from Wodzyński. To Markoni. Szotarski. Bukaty. Rogiński. Fr. Desgenettes. Caesar Plater. Delahaye. Bukaty.

410

Fifth week after St. Peter

Sunday, [July 31]¹⁶⁶

Correspondence. Obtain Gerbet from Ropelewski for Michański.¹⁶⁷ To Fr. Desgenettes. To Olszewski.

Monday, [August 1]

To Nieszokoć, Bukaty, Michalski, Fr. Desgenettes, Caesar. *Introduction*¹⁶⁸ for Hube. Support Szotarski's interests with Caesar. Bukaty between three and four. To Januszkiewicz.

Tuesday, [August 2]

Holy Communion. Ostrowski. Ropelewski. Szotarski for dinner.

¹⁶² Théodore Combalot (1798-1873) - Initially a student of Lamennais. A priest an apostolic missionary. He published *Lettres de M. l'abbé Combalot a M.F. de La Mennais et réponse a son livre contre Rome, intitulé "Affaires de Rome"*, Paris, 1836-1837).

¹⁶³ Kalinoski (Kalinowski?) - further information is lacking.

¹⁶⁴ *La Volupté* (Greed) - Saint-Beuve's autobiographical tale dedicated to the history of the love of the author and Adele Hugo, the wife of Victor (Cf. 1832, footnote 118).

¹⁶⁵ Justin Stanislaus Żeligoski (Żeligowski) - Cf. above, footnote 139).

¹⁶⁶ Jański prepared the text *For Sunday, July 31*, which is included in the appendix under V.

¹⁶⁷ Michalski - further details are lacking.

¹⁶⁸ *Philotea, ou Introduction a la vie dévote* - a classic ascetical manual meant primarily for lay people, written by St. Francis de Sales (1567-1622), preacher, ascetical writer, creator of a Christian spirituality, founder of the Visitation nuns, Bishop of Geneva. In *Philotea* he placed emphasis on love and the bond with Jesus Christ. The book has been issued many times, and has been translated into various foreign languages.

Wednesday, [August 3]

To Szotarski and Bukaty. At eleven, Sidorowicz with the Frenchman. Purchase a Latin dictionary for Witwicki. To Gautier. To Fr. Desgenettes. An article about the Uniates.

Thursday, [August 4]

With Bukaty to Szymański.

Friday, [August 5]

To Reynaud.

Saturday, [August 6]

411

Sixth week after St. Peter

Sunday, August 7

Mickiewicz. Letters. Saint-Chéron. Benoiste. Decourdemanche.

Monday, [August 8]

To Bukaty. to d'Orfeil.¹⁶⁹ At three, Sidorowicz and the Frenchman. At five, to Łopaciński. To Ropelewski.

Tuesday, [August 9]

Wednesday, [August 10]

At Gasparin and Guisquet.¹⁷⁰ In the evening, at the Ogińskis.

Thursday, [August 11]

Caesar and Montalembert leave at eleven.

Friday, [August 12]

Saturday, [August 13]

400 Sunday, August 7

¹⁶⁹ Orfeil (d'Orfeuille) - perhaps Orfil, Dean of the Medical Faculty in Paris.

¹⁷⁰ Adrien-Etienne-Pierre de Gasparin (1783-1862) - a French politician and agronomist; Director of the Department of Justice and Minister of Internal Affairs.
Henri Guisquet (1792-1866) - industrialist and prefect of police in Paris.

For a great while already I have been in a state of great spiritual weakness. I have a sense of the most effective means to overcome the weakness, but I do not have the strength to use them. Praise to you, O God, and thank you for humbling me! Have mercy. Have pity. Come to my assistance! In you is my only hope! Among the means available to me, the main one is the daily examination of conscience, and maintaining control over myself.

On Sunday, at 6:30, for Mass. Montalembert, Mickiewicz and Caesar are there. Holy Communion. God gives me inner consolations, and complete forgetfulness about my material difficulties.

I ask Fr. Buquet to allow Peter and Jerome to come to us immediately. I show Montalembert about the house; unfortunately some of the rooms are not very clean.

After breakfast, the Gospel and *Holy God*, I speak with Caesar about his plans to go to Rome. A conversation or rather a discussion with Mr. Anthony [Gorecki]. I become impatient. Adam [Mickiewicz] stops by, and I reprimand him without mercy. After Adam leaves, without needing to do so, I criticize and find fault with this reprimand. There is peace with Mr. Anthony, (but he reminds me that instead of the *Lives* I promised to read the *Bible* to him - I should not have obliged myself to do so.)

After Caesar leaves at twelve, I feel greatly fatigued. I accompany him. I was supposed to go to church, instead I go to Luxembourg for the newspapers. Dinner at one, with Mr. Francis [Grzymała] and Szotarski as guests. I am the lector. After reading, I succumb to gluttony in eating; as a result I feel dull and sleepy. I send Szotarski on his way. A lack of zeal. Why don't I appeal and continue to appeal? Mr. Francis bores me with his concerns and his request. Unnecessarily I promise to translate it for him. A lack of will, of attention, a poor use of time. At five Sidorowicz comes along with the Frenchman. I force myself to receive them. I preach to them dully, without living faith and love. They leave at seven. Supper. I go out for coffee and the newspapers, then go to visit Caesar and Mickiewicz. I talk with Adam from 9:30 until eleven. Unnecessarily I speak to him about myself - about my feelings and about conversions that have taken place through me, as though I had something to do with this, and as though it would be worth while for anyone to be interested in me. When he mentions that perhaps someone will take my place, I am offended - vanity, self-love, unnecessary words. O God! In all things may your holy will be done! Inspire me, and fill me with sentiments of complete humility. I have so

many reasons to be humble! After I return home, I spend about a half hour in unnecessary musing.

401 Monday, [August 8]

At Mass, a sincere and complete surrender to the will of God. On returning I say something to Edward. He does not respond. This bothers me. After breakfast I doze unnecessarily - and then write these notes.

413

The week of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin
the sixth week after St. Peter

Sunday, August 14

To Saint-Chéron for *Vision d'Hebal*.¹⁷¹ Letters. Mr. Anthony. Visits. Fr. Lacroix and Combalot. Buchez - Dahlen. Fr. Desgenettes. Mrs. Rautenstrauch. Mrs. Białopiotrowicz. A letter to the Zaleskis, to Mikorski, to Caesar. Prince Giedr. - rooms for them. Bukaty - Olszewski - Delahaye.

Monday, [August 15]

To Reynaud - Letelier - Saint-Chéron - Bourgeois. Seguin. Notes. A common discussion.¹⁷² Łopaciński.

Tuesday, [August 16]

Letters to Warsaw, to Celiński, to Królikowski. Ziomecki to Żerosław.¹⁷³ To Mrs. Białopiotrowicz. D'Orfeuille.

Wednesday, [August 17]

¹⁷¹ *Vision d'Hebal* - the title of Ballanche's work; (Cf. 1831, footnote 13).

¹⁷² Jański had prepared reflections for a *common discussion* for his brothers: *For Monday, August 15, The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin*. The text of these reflection is located in the Appendix, VI.

In the Diary for the year 1836, there is no indication that Jański continued these reflection for his brothers, reflections and plans connected with the establishment and strengthening of the community. However they have been preserved in a collection of handwritten notes of the author. Some of these have been placed in the Appendix to the year 1836: On September 13, 1836 we have *Some lessons for the brothers. The beginnings of our scholarly works*, under VII, *Our situation in the emigration*, under VIII, and *For Sunday, October 9* under IX.

¹⁷³ Żerosław Starzyński, an insurgent in 1831, second lieutenant, resided in the depot in Bourges. He lived in Paris, Belleville, rue de Calais.

To Collège Stanislas for an exhibition.

Thursday, [August 18]

To Mrs. Komar. On the way back, stop at Avenue de Neuilly No. 20 to see if Krasicki is there.

Friday, [August] 19 St. Louis Bishop (greetings to Łopaciński, Orpiszewski).

Saturday, [August 20]

8528

247

[Wednesday], November 9

Urgent tasks

Tomorrow obtain Janowski's¹⁷⁴ catechism. For money, redeem from pawn. Domejko. To Wrotnowski - think about a course for the Catholic Women.

To Kazimirski - return the history of the Mongols and about Korr.¹⁷⁵ Letters to Hube, Gronostajski, Celiński, Stephen, Jabłoński and Dugied, to Lempicki. Zawadzki, etc. to America, to Louis Królikowski, to Trepka.

Tomorrow I must also return the catechism to Janowski. (Vismara, Dwernicki).

¹⁷⁴ John Nepomucene Janowski (Cf. 1832, footnote 35) - He translated two publications of the republican journalist Albert Laponneraye into French: *The Rights of a person and citizen* (published in "The Polish Pilgrim", 1833), and *A short political Catechism*. The two translations, accompanied by the translator's clarifications appeared in Angers in 1834 as a work by Janowski entitled: *The rights of a person and citizen, and a political catechism* - The *Political catechism* was a kind of ideological guide of a considerable portion of contemporary Polish democrats in the emigration.

¹⁷⁵ ...return the history of the Mongols and about Korr - Mouradje d'Ohsson, author of *Histoire des Mongols depuis Tchingiz-Khan jusqu'a Timerlanc*, 2 volumes, Paris, 1824. The next edition: Haag 1834-1835, 4 volumes. Here the reference is to information concerning the migration of peoples which Mickiewicz needed for his work on *A History of Poland*.

Korr - further information is lacking.

Tomorrow, purchase visiting cards and a pencil.

Saint-Chéron, Bonetty, Auguste Chevalier, Buchez, Dobrowolski, Bourgeois and Transon, Korr, Decourdemanche, Bukaty, Cheruel, Margerin, Carnot, Coessin, Lutowski, Tański, Piwowarski.

Tomorrow to tailor for waistcoat - to Konopka.

Tomorrow subscription for periodicals.

Tomorrow to the printer for proofs, and to Rostkowski. Buy socks and a jacket. Settle accounts with the porter for letters. To Caesar. To the Ogińskis. Obtain Skarga from Wejsenhof, and *The Life* from Witwicki. To Carnot.

248 Friday, [November] 11

To Pecqueur for Swedenborg.

8627

750

[Sunday- December 18

Urgent tasks

Letters: Celiński, Hube, Jabłoński - Warsaw. Łempicki, Rettel, Koźmian, Niwiński, (Dumiński, Korzeniowski), Dugied, [Louis] Królikowski, (Trepka).

Visits: Benoiste, Saint-Chéron, Margerin, Transon, Bourgeois, Pecqueur, Buchez, d'Eichthal, Decourdemanche, Carnot, Jules, Michel, Auguste Chevalier.

Return the English monograph to Dwernicki. Marszewski.

APPENDIX

I.

[?January, 1836]

PATRIOTIC MISCELLANEA¹

8627

861

Not too long ago (December, 1835) I was struck by the thought of publishing in old Polish form and style, a collection of information that is most necessary to prepare for a national rebirth in the spirit of moral and social reform with a title such as: "*Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła*" [Poland is not yet lost], or "*Boże, zbaw Polskę*" [O God, save Poland]", or "*Bóg i Ojczyzna*" [God and Country], Vol. 1, 2, etc.

This collection would include:

- a) statistical information, allowing one to recognize reciprocally, the Polish character of various parts of Poland;
 - b) Historical information concerning our most recent times, and our relations with various powers;
 - c) Genealogical information;
 - d) Instructions concerning politics in general, social organization, and various institutions to be established;
 - e) Instructions for patriots working in Poland, as well as in various foreign nations.
- etc. etc. etc.

II.

[Friday, January 8]

331 PREPARATION FOR CONFESSION TOMORROW, JANUARY 9, 1836

¹ *Patriotic Miscellanea* - Jański's text, undated and not situated in the Diary for the year 1836, has been situated in the Appendix under I, out of consideration for the content and the presumed time of writing.

Three months have passed since the Feast of Saint Matthew, September 21, when I last went to confession.

What a great and humbling neglect on my part, committed at the very time when God had inspired me with a desire to receive Holy Communion every week - and throughout this whole time I was frequently visited with these holy inspirations.

Ah me! My whole life will not suffice to do penance for my grievous sins, and my neglect in fulfilling most holy obligations. Today I desire, with my whole heart, to live a life of Christian perfection - but why do I fall every now and then? Why did I set aside so little time for this preparation, for an examination of conscience which I definitely ought to make?

As conditions for fulfilling my most holy obligation, the achievement of the greatest good, I continued to set down some kind of temporal conditions, some kind of settling with the world. This has been the occasion for neglect.

From September 21 to January 9 there are 110 days, that is, 15 weeks and five days - almost three and a half months. Fasts, impatience, failure to fulfill the obligations accepted a year ago. Anthony's death. A lack of thrift. What can I think about my debts?

I need to pray for extermination of all the habits of the old man, for complete rebirth, for living faith, pure love, unfaltering hope; for enlightenment of the mind, strengthening of the will, control of the flesh and all lust; for the grace of Christian behavior in relations with others (the Prince, Napoleon, Komar, etc.); forgiving all ill-feelings, and thanking God for all afflictions, humiliations, etc.

332 Pray for the indication of a confessor in Paris. Pray for the intercession of Saint Genevieve. Once again, and always, the same sins. The merciful God sends inspirations which lead me onto the way of truth, but how frequent and how great the digressions!

External troubles and internal coldness stem undoubtedly from irregularity in fulfilling daily religious obligations. Awaken a sorrow for sins, and a very frequent desire to improve - with the thought of preparing for death.

Pray for the grace of penance and complete improvement; of being accepted into God's service and the graces needed for this, and for a future

brotherhood if this is the will of God. Offer God all of your cares and worries - thank him for all humiliations. Pray for the intercession of the Most Blessed Virgin Queen, of Saint Genevieve, and patrons of the Kingdom of Poland. Pray for the dead etc., for those in the process of conversion, for the brothers, for Adam [Mickiewicz]'s daughter.

III.

249 [Saturday]. January 9, 1836

MY CONFESSIONS AND HOLY COMMUNIONS

November 15, 1834: I go for the first time to Saint-Mandé with Dugied.

November 24: my first general confession.

December 6: second confession; December 29, second confession from the first five years of apostasy.

January 5, 1835: from the last seven years of unbelief.

January 10, Saturday: confession and absolution.

January 11: First Holy Communion on the first Sunday after Three Kings (together with Adam [Celiński]).

February 2, Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin: my second confession with absolution and Holy Communion (with Semenenko and Leon [Przeclawski]).

April 26, on the first Sunday after Easter: confession for Easter (not very well prepared, of 83 days, 12 weeks).

June 13, the Feast of St. Anthony, in the week after Pentecost (with Peter and Adam).

September 8, Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (12 weeks and 2 days after the previous confession 86 days), on the anniversary of the capture of Warsaw, (with Peter and Adam).

September 14, Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross September 21, Feast of St. Matthew: confession without Holy Communion.

Thus I received Holy Communion only six times in 1835.

IV.

[The year 1836]

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847

ABOUT THE PRINCIPLES, GOALS AND STATUTES
OF THE PATRIOTIC CONFEDERATION OF CATHOLICS ETC.

The Patriotic Confederation of Catholics of the Kingdom of Poland, Lithuania and the Ukrainian Territories. The reasons for its organization. Its basis and motto: God, freedom, Fatherland. The immediate purpose is to maintain and strengthen (with Polish swords) the holy faith of our fathers, the sole basis for patriotism and freedom, and the sole guarantee of our future independence, both among the Polish exiles and in our native country, as well as for complete deliverance of our fatherland and the establishment of universal freedom therein.

The return and establishment of peace among our fellow countrymen, and that by way of adhering to these religious, patriotic and liberal aims, and to efforts to achieve universal peace, together with a constant renewal among our countrymen of memories of our past, continual familiarizing them with present-day progress in science, commerce and the fine arts, and applying these memories and knowledge, these counsels of experience and reason, to the situation in which our Fatherland will find itself as a result of this new rebirth, and also to the way to which we should hold in recovering her independence, a way to which we should adhere even today.

Establishing relationships with peoples related to us, depending first of all on sharing our views with them, understanding their social status, and acquainting our compatriots with it.

The intermediate purpose of this union is an effort to establish a General Confederation of Polish Exiles based on religious and civic principle of the Uniates. The ultimate purpose to the prepare the ground for a Universal Confederation of Slavs for the defense of their faith, freedom and Fatherland.

The means which this patriotic union will undertake to achieve these goals at the present time depend:

1. on publishing appropriate articles and circular letters;
2. on correspondence and missions;
3. on scholarly works pertaining to our faith and our national cause;
4. on the external organization of Uniates, and establishing among them appropriate religious and civic enactments.

The forces by which the patriotic union exerts its rule: unlimited sacrifice on the part of the members for the faith, freedom, and Fatherland.

As to the internal organization of this patriotic confederation (obtain information about the establishment of our previous confederations - Bar etc. during the life of George Lubomirski² etc.).

General Council, general administration, religious and civic institutions (educational, military, and economic).

Degrees of membership, perhaps with a kind of probation and novitiate? Perhaps a general distinction between confederates of a nation and confederates of a governing body?

A declaration, a profession of faith. (Study the organization of the Templars, Teutonic Knights, Knights of Malta, and in general the orders of knighthood.)

V.

8627

398

FOR SUNDAY, JULY 31

- a) Give an account to the new brothers.
- b) Consult together about our obligations and the means to fulfill them.

+So far mainly: a more or less regular life. Personal propaganda. Settling financial matters, and relations with the government.+

+The principal and more important events in our past: The first meeting. The first invitations for St. Joseph. Holy Week. Easter Sunday festive luncheon.

² The Barz Confederation - In the years 1768-1772, an armed union of the nobility established in 1768 in Barz in Podolia, with the watchword: "defense of faith and freedom".

George Sebastian Lubomirski (1616-1667) - the great royal marshal and royal field commander-in-chief. The leader of the confederated party which in 1665 took an armed stand against John Casimir, seeking structural reforms, and an election "vivent regem". Lubomirski's withdrawal frustrated the reform of the nation.

A second meeting. Prayers to the Holy Spirit. Pentecost. Mr. Anthony. Saint Peter.+

Reasons for, and ways to establish a house.

What is our purpose? What goal have we set for ourselves? What means have we used to achieve that goal?

Our situation today (internal organization, relations with people, household concerns).

What does Christ, the Church, our Country, the Emigration want from us?

Awaken a sense of sorrow that through my fault things have gone so badly up to now. Thank God that he did not give us more graces, for by reason of our imperfection we would have ascribed glory to ourselves on their account. Do not lose heart. Patience, confidence.

A new epoch is beginning for us. The interim time, the time of irregularity is ending. On the other hand, up to now we have experienced tolerance and goodwill. Now animosity is awakening; therefore we shall have watch ourselves more carefully, and rouse ourselves to greater zeal in fulfilling our obligations. There is a need for solidarity in our response. Hard, solid work is needed to achieve interior improvement. Gradually we need to arrange all of our work outside the house. Here especially patience and confidence is required, a question of my authority.

We need strict observance with regard to minute details of exterior order.

+ Work more diligently to improve the interior life: 1) common spiritual exercises as the principal means to achieve unity; 2) arrangement and use of time with the knowledge of the Elder Brother; 3) keep watch on ourselves in small matters.

Opening our hearts to one another, apologies; service. Placing ourselves under the protection of the Blessed Virgin.

399 Specific counsels:

1) with regard to house and housekeeping order: a time to be alone and together; cleanliness, order rather than hindrance.

2) with regard to our behavior toward one another: mutual support instead of failure - edification instead of differences - unity, love...

The spiritual good of one's brother:

1) Use every relationship for the glory of God, and the spiritual good of one's neighbor.

2) Do not give bad example, a false image of our work, by our life. +Our character+

3) With regard to behavior toward outsiders: Specifically with regard to discussion, with love, prayer; as far as possible apart.

Call one another brother - one who wishes to listen, or who wishes to allow himself to be moved VI.

402

FOR MONDAY, AUGUST 15
THE ASSUMPTION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN

Dearest brothers!

Today is a solemn day for all of us. Today two of us³ have donned the clerical cassock etc. ...

Today we welcome three brothers⁴ as members of our spiritual community...

For the first time we welcome two others to our Christian community in the hope of a common life with them forever in Christ our Lord...

+From the time when came together in this house, we have frequently gathered for a common spiritual discussion of our obligations etc. after Communion - We even considered this to be an obligatory custom, though observed only inconsistently up to now - we all experienced great benefits from this practice and often great joys.+

Today I, after settling... see a possibility of occupying myself on a more steady and more orderly basis in our community life, and the development and perfection of our interior, spiritual, life...

³ Peter Semenenko and Jerome Kajsiewicz.

⁴ Edward Duński, Joseph Maliński, Joseph Ziomecki.

+The first six months of preparation, the first trial, the difficult beginnings, is almost over... A new epoch opens up before us - a new, higher, and more perfect degree of our common life.+

In all of us there is a desire, even an impatience for perfection...

In all of us there is a readiness to enter upon a strict order and sacrifice...

In all of us there is unity, love, trust...

In all of us there is hope... and you, justified and cleansed from sin...

My dearest brothers, let us turn to God with complete fervor, with all of our spirit, mind, and heart, with all of the strength and vigor of our life...

Let us offer him thanks... Let us awaken within ourselves sentiments of humility, and complete surrender to the will of God. May Christ, who today... embrace us completely... Let us open our hearts to receive his holy inspirations.

May false shame, a base habit of caution, faint heartedness, the result of an evil daily life...

Here we are concerned with eternity... let us shake off all earthly and personal weakness... Let us live in such a way as not to have to be ashamed in eternal life...

This is the purpose of our discussion, of our counsel:

First, I must enlighten our new brothers, and remind the older ones, concerning the thought which first brought us together. I need to indicate what we have done so far, and what our purpose is. Then I need to analyze our present situation, and offer my advice.

Second, the second purpose is to open our hearts to one another, cast off all ill-feeling, uncover any evil that one might see, express ideas about what might lead to common improvement, and the attainment of our goals.

Third, make resolutions.

403 There is no rule... By a very special grace of God: 1) unity in our endeavors, 2) facilitation of ways to unite. +We were united by mutual love, trust, and mutual hopes, etc.+

On the first day, Ash Wednesday, a meeting, and at that meeting, as a group, we acknowledged that our purpose is: 1) our own self-improvement; 2)

missionary work - with a view to our Country, with a view to the present-day dispositions and tendencies; 3) a readiness for every sort of sacrifice, convinced that our community is the beginning of something stable.

From this flow obligations of establishing something more stable, spiritual - housekeeping. The means to achieve this goal: 1) the grace of God, sacraments, prayer; 2) work. Making arrangements for 1) authority; 2) possessions.

At the meetings that followed, we reminded ourselves of this, repeated it, and to this time we have not found anything that needs to be changed. The time that has passed had the character of temporariness and weakness, especially on my part; and with regard to the future, does not cease to be such, until we achieve a stable organization.

The main work: house order, personal propaganda, relations with the government, financial difficulties, establishing a position with regard to the opinions of outsiders - there is no rule... no outstanding obligations to people outside the community.

A more comprehensive statement of the idea of stability: work concerned with self-improvement (that is, perfection - degrees; thoughts concerning the - purpose (work for the good of others (how to defend religion - unity of ideas); in this there is already certainty, and in readiness etc., no limit...

As to authority - I was called because I had the most means etc. (not elected, not limited). I admit that I am unworthy. I should pray for someone more worthy; but as long as I have the authority, there is a need for strength, unity, trust. This matter cannot be determined right now, but only after a more solid and complete organization.

With regard to possessions... there is a desire on the part of many for complete community ownership. Degrees. Categories.

How was it? How is it now? Temporariness, weakness (especially my own). However, everyone had obligations at all times to pay attention to these goals. In both internal and external relationships, everyone or us was obliged to manifest this character (to convince others of our obligation to solidarity); all the more reason now that animosity toward us is aroused.

415

Our present situation: temporariness; my weakness, distractions, even a lack of character; a lack of order in small matters.

What is the remedy for this?

First: In the future arrangement for instructional conferences - efforts to achieve spiritual unity - will be very helpful to us.

Second: Everyone must watch himself, remember his character (especially today) in internal and external relationships.

Third: Experience has convinced us of the need for

a) daily spiritual exercises - reflect on individual faults and work to get rid of them: facetiousness, idle talk, lack of consideration for others;

b) arrangements in small matters;

c) consultation with the Elder Brother with regard to the use of time and my authority.

842

VII. [Tuesday], September 13, 1836

MY INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE BROTHERS THE BEGINNING OF OUR RESEARCH WORK

My instructions are to serve as a preparation for our research work. In a general outline, they will include a general, encyclopedic theory of knowledge, that is, universal knowledge, social studies, Christian philosophy, and Polish politics.

In these instructions I am concerned with: a) knowledge; b) wisdom; c) perfection.

1) To establish unity, order, and truth in our thinking - of each individual and all of us together (individual and social theory);

2) Following upon that, establishment of unity, order and perfection in actions, and in our whole life (the art of individual and social life).

And so above all I undertake these instructions:

a) for salvation;

b) and so making use of our life, as good Christians and good Poles should, and for this reason reflecting on our social situation;

c) to indicate how we, united in a separate society, should live, and to establish the purpose, the principles, and the future, for our community: What we are to think, desire, the goals to which we are to tend, what we are to do.

Preliminary remarks. Present those that are necessary, and explain how they are necessary to achieve the established purpose. With the rest, wait for further, special, and more developed instructions.

Ask to be heard (lay bare and designate my position); ask them to listen with a love for the truth, with patience (for there is unity, mutual dependence, consistency).

843 Hence this course must be arranged in connection

1) with the future and immediate arrangement of our scholarly works and studies,

2) with the arrangement of our works as continuing publications of more extensive works.

3) with the establishment of a National University of the Kingdom of Poland.

With this in mind, and with such purposes, offer only the first part of this instruction, leaving the rest for further development.

VIII. [Sunday], September 25, 1836

8627

416

OUR RELATIONS WITH THE EMIGRATION⁵

In the house

⁵ From *My relations with the emigration* (Cf. 1835, footnote 368) Jański passed to *Our relations with the emigration*. Here, relative to the actual situation, he listed Polish emigrants according to their degree of engagement in realizing the idea of a brotherhood, and the place where they lived (the external brothers). From this list of names, set down in alphabetical order, comments in the form of biographical notes were provided only for names mentioned for the first time; other names, already mentioned previously, were referred to pertinent footnotes. The list of emigrants in alphabetical order is given in the Note at the end of the Diary for the Year 1836.

Edward Marszewski Stawiarski Maliński
 Hube Kozłowski Starzyński
 Sidorowicz Mikulski Ziomecki Siennicki

Peter Mickiewicz Dalen Chełkowski
 Jerome Witwicki Orpiszewski
 Leonard Domejko Budrewicz Mr. Anthony
 Caesar Joseph Zaleski Bohdan Zaleski Celiński
 Turowski Egersdorf Chevalier Przeclawski
 Koźmian Walter Królikowski Korabiewicz
 Wrotnowski Różycki Piwowarski Sumiński
 Postempski Wejssenhof Nieszokoć Bukaty
 Dmochowski Służalski Zan Zach
 Łopaciński Klukowski Januskiewicz Wodziński Swatowski Omieciński
 Sulmirski

417

Walter Bukaty Szotarski Rogiński
 Łopaciński Korabiewicz Glik Michałowski
 Wróblewski Wisłouch Szulc Klukowski

IX.

8589

1056

FOR SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 9

Dear brothers,

We entered this house to live a common life, with the great purpose that each of us might become a most perfect Christian, and prepare himself actively for work in defense etc., and for the good etc.

It is our clear and holy obligation not to allow that purpose to die; indeed, to nourish it constantly, and put it into practice steadfastly. Among us there are various categories. To what extent each of us has responded to this purpose, to what extent he has fulfilled this obligation - this should be the subject of our conscientious and diligent discussion. There were obstacles, but the purpose and obligation continues to exist, in fact ever more strongly... Indeed, schism and irreligion are so active, so indefatigable. Our Country and the Church need workers. Our consciences and our situation cry out to us. In spite of these

difficulties, we are still standing - and one of us etc., and so courage, perseverance! Let us not lose heart! Let us grow in strength, in love, in the spirit of Christ.

Let us grow in the spirit. Let us not hurry to determine the form. Perhaps, up to now, we have been in too great a hurry. The result has been a great evil, and one of the principal reasons for losing heart, and failing to keep our resolutions. Let us limit ourselves - after more than six months of experience, we can agree to such a designation of our social obligations and domestic duties.

As for the relationship between myself and you. I need community unity, strong authority; but it is also necessary that everyone freely give himself to the work of perfection. Do not consider me the example... I am the servant of our community, with an obligation to work with all my strength to maintain and develop it. We are still not at the point where we can stand and live by our own strength - and so we do not have individuality only intentionally. As a result this is my obligation, to which all formal obligation must cede. From now on [a conclusion is lacking].

1057 I need your trust, love, and forbearance. We must all bear one another with love. We should not grow disheartened by the weakness of someone else, but take upon ourselves the obligation of supporting our community with all our strength.

Therefore, let us work - I repeat - with courage, perseverance, and hope. Perhaps God may grant... But let us remember that all of our efforts are empty without the help of God. Therefore, let us pray fervently, and constantly. In this respect, it is important to unite our prayers with the prayers of the Church, enlivening them in accord with the seasons, etc. The Church Year. This is today's Gospel.

Perhaps I should write down the arrangements of our daily order and our principal obligations (take the Constitutions from Peter).

NOTE

A list of the emigrants from September 25, 1836 (Cf. footnote 180)

ANTHONY, Mr., Cf. Gorecki, Anthony

BUDREWICZ - undoubtedly Ignatius (1806-1845) from Lithuania - Graduate of the University of Vilno, the faculty of philosophy. In the November uprising he was an officer cadet in the artillery. While an emigrant in France, he graduated from the School of Highways and Bridges (1833-1836). He worked as an associate conductor in building a canal in Mieux.

BUKATY, Anthony, Cf. 1835, footnote 368.

CELIŃSKI, Adam, Cf. 1834, footnote 41.

CAESAR, Cf. Plater, Caesar.

CHELKOWSKI, Valerian, Cf. 1835, footnote 30.

CHEVALIER, Eugène, Cf. 1835, footnote 368.

DALEN (Dahlen), Stanislaus, Cf. 1835, footnote 150.

DMOCHOWSKI, Vladimir, Cf. 1835, footnote 115.

DOMEJKO, Ignatius, Cf. 1834, footnote 38.

DUŃSKI, Edward, pseud. Marcellus Karski Cf. 1835, footnotes 48 and 128.

EDWARD, Cf. Duński, Edward.

EGERSDORF, Napoleon, Cf. 1836, footnote 116.

GILK, undoubtedly Erazmus Gielk (d.1837), from the region of Kraków, served in the artillery during the November uprising.

GORECKI, Anthony, Cf. 1834, footnote 37.

HIERONIM [JEROME], Cf. Kajsiewicz, Jerome.

HUBE, Joseph, Cf. 1832, footnote 32.

JANUSZKIEWICZ, Eustachius, Cf. 1835, footnote 6.

KAJSIEWICZ, Jerome, Cf. 1835, footnote 123.

KLUKOWSKI, Ignatius (1806-1862) - Finished the course in the School of Fine Arts at the University of Vilno. During the November uprising he served as lieutenant of the Poznań cavalry. He emigrated from Galicia to France and resided at Tours, Montpellier, and Toulouse, and from 1836 in Paris. He supported himself by coloring pictures and painting patterns on scarfs. In his later years he participated in the formation of the Mickiewicz Legion.

KORABIEWICZ, Edmund, Cf. above, footnote 19.

KOZŁOWSKI, Joseph George, from Lithuania. He studied mathematics at the University of Vilno. In the Lithuanian uprising of 1831 he was a sergeant. As an emigrant

he resided in France, from 1836 in Paris. He lived for some time in the House of Jański. Later he was the director of a boarding-school and a teacher. In 1848 he resided in Galicia, then left for Turkey.

KOŹMIAN, John, Cf. 1834, footnote 35; 1835, footnote 132.

KRÓLIKOWSKI, Charles, Cf. 1835, footnote 172.

LEONARD, Cf. Rettel, Leonard.

ŁOPACIŃSKI, Louis, Cf. 1834, footnote 61.

MALIŃSKI, Joseph, Cf. 1832, footnote 24.

MARSZEWSKI, Joseph, Cf. 1836, footnote 110.

MICHAŁOWSKI, Cf. 1836, footnote 90.

MICKIEWICZ, Adam.

MIKULSKI, Francis (born c.1815) - a cousin of Edward Duński (Cf. 1835, footnote 48). At the end of the November uprising he held the rank of lieutenant in the artillery. He was an emigrant in France (Clamecy). A republican-democrat. He got into trouble (debts, love affair with a married woman) and wound up in jail. Jański took him under his wing, bringing him to Paris, to his House, in late spring of 1838. For some time he worked in the Collège Juilly. In 1840 he entered the seminary in Versailles, and was ordained a priest in 1845. He was a chaplain in Assisi, and became a Franciscan with the name of Bonaventure.

NIESZOKOĆ, Vincent, Cf. 1835, footnote 355.

OMIECIŃSKI, John Nepomucene (c.1800-c.1844) - a member of the Krzemieniecki lyceum. In his manor-house during the November uprising, the Volhynian legion was organized. Omieciński and his close friend Michael Czajkowski (Cf. 1835, footnote 219) were members of this legion. After the collapse of the uprising both emigrated to France in the spring of 1832. Omieciński enrolled in the faculty of Science in Caen. At first he was a member of the Polish Democratic Society, a member of the section in Montpellier. He moved to Versailles in 1837, and then to Paris, where he entered the House of Jański and served as treasurer. In January of 1839, on instructions from Jański, he was living in Versailles (where a branch of Jański's House was supposed to be established), but three months later he withdrew, not feeling called to the priesthood, and not seeing in the House a program for the national struggle. In that same year, after his name was deleted from the list of members of the Democratic Society, Czajkowski persuaded him to join the Insurrectionist-Monarchical Society. He published a pamphlet *A few words about the debate "A Dynasty in Poland"* (Paris, 1839), in which he supported the idea of its author Janusz Woronicz (Cf. 1838, footnote 270), and declared himself to be a supporter of a monarchy. He was a member of the Historical-Literary Society. For a short time he served as the editor-in-chief of the periodical "The Third of May". He was scheduled to be an agent of the Hotel Lambert in Rome, but was prevented by illness. Orpiszewski, who took over the editorship of the periodical mentioned above after Omieciński, tells us that he died alone and in poverty: "With his health completely destroyed and in poverty, he suffered greatly both physically and morally, unwilling to accept any assistance even from his relatives, and he who was once a famous cavalier, dancer and dandy in the Ukraine, walked about Paris with puffed up legs and ragged clothes, avoiding acquaintances, and unwilling to receive them as visitors." (Cf. *Memoirs*, "Annual of the Historical-Literary Society in Paris", 1867).

ORPISZEWSKI, Louis, Cf. 1835, footnote 14.

PETER, Cf. Semenenko, Peter.

PIWOWARSKI, Adam, Cf. 1835, footnote 368.

PLATER, Caesar, Cf. 1835, footnote 2.

POSTEMPSKI, (Postępski) Ignatius Roman, Cf. 1836, footnote 53.

PRZECLAWSKI, Leon, Cf. 1835, footnote 19.

RETTEL, Leonard, Cf. 1832, footnote 63.

ROGIŃSKI, Ferdinand Jacob, Cf. 1836, footnote 154.

RÓŻYCKI, Charles, Cf. 1835, footnote 368.

SEMENENKO, Peter, Cf. 1834, footnote 45.

SIDOROWICZ, Victor, Cf. 1835, footnote 323.

SIENNICKI, Francis, second lieutenant in the artillery; he lived in Paris.

SŁUŻALSKI, Henry, Cf. 1836, footnote 111.

STARZYŃSKI, Żerosław, Cf. 1836, footnote 36.

STAWIARSKI, Ignatius Bohdan, Cf. 1835, footnote 311.

SULMIRSKI, (Sulimierski), either Faustin or Vincent.

SUMIŃSKI, Raymond, Cf. 1836, footnote 113.

SWATOWSKI, perhaps Theodore - from Podlesie, a second lieutenant in the 2nd regiment of riflemen.

SZOTARSKI, Julian, Cf. 1833, footnote 18.

SZULC, Ignatius, Cf. 1836, footnote 6.

TUROWSKI, Leopold (b.1811) from a middle-class family. He studied law at the University of Vilno. In the November uprising he was a second lieutenant in the 7th infantry regiment. An emigrant in France, he enrolled in the faculty of law in Toulouse. His friendship in the time of his studies with Adam Celiński and John Koźmian influenced his conversion. In 1838, under the influence of Jański, he intended to become a priest. He studied theology at the Collège Stanislas in Paris. In 1839 he left for Rome for further studies, but in the following year returned to France, and entered the seminary in Versailles. He did not become a priest. He was supposed to be follower of Towiański. In later years, in 1848, he joined the Polish Legion. After receiving permission to return to Poland, he worked there as a topographer.

WALTER, Philip, Cf. 1831, footnote 54.

WEJSENHOF, Lucian, Cf. 1834, footnote 9.

WITWICKI, Stephen, Cf. 1834, footnote 10.

WODZIŃSKI, Charles Edward, Cf. 1834, footnote 37.

WROTNOWSKI, Felix, Cf. 1834, footnote 12.

WRÓBLEWSKI, Erasmus, Cf. above, footnote 156.

WYSŁOUCH, Julian, Cf. 1835, footnote 339.

ZACH, François (Francis) (1807-1892) from Bern in Moravia, an Austrian subject. In the November uprising he served as a lieutenant in the Polish army from the District of Sandomierz. An emigrant in France from 1832. He worked in the Royal Library in Fontainebleau, and at the same time studied military science. An agent of the Czartoryski camp in the Balkans. Later a leader of the Slovaks, and a general in the Serbian army.

ZALESKI, Joseph, Cf. 1832, footnote 342.

ZALESKI, Joseph Bohdan, Cf. 1832, footnote 342.

ZAN, Stephen, Cf. 1833, footnote 15.

ZIOMECKI, Joseph, Cf. 1835, footnote 329.

DIARY

Year 1837¹

8627

418

Sixth Sunday after Pentecost

Sunday, [June] 18

Letter to Celiński, Raulin, Jabłoński, Łempicki, Michałowski; to Poland, [Louis] Królikowski, Różycki. Mrs. Thayer.²

Monday, [June 19]

¹ In Bogdan Jański's manuscript relatively few entries and notes have been preserved from the Diary of the Year 1837, almost three fourths of which remains without any entries at all. On the basis of the statements of Jański himself, as well as of people remaining in contact with him, we can presume that at the time he was especially absorbed in the matter of the brotherhood, House, that he was organizing. He was exerting his efforts to provide not only for its material needs, but also for its spiritual, religious and moral unity. Although he was not in the best of health, he was working to provide funds - as a tutor-teacher, as well as the author of reviews and articles for French periodicals and encyclopedias. He went in search of funds, begging at various welfare institutions, Polish and French. In debt himself, he took upon himself debts of the new recruits for his House, and even incurred further debts on their account. All this while he was engaged in an apostolate in word and act, bearing all the judgments, grievances, and sulking of his fellow Poles. In a letter (July 15, 1837) to a very undisciplined Raulin, he wrote: "If you knew the difficulties and problems of my situation, you would have mercy on me." Events that touched Jański directly, e.g. the departure of Jerome Kajsiewicz and Peter Semenenko, who, after almost a year's stay in Collège Stanislas left for Rome on September 6, 1837, to pursue further studies, as well as his retreat in Saint-Acheul, together with Mickiewicz and Caesar Plater, were not recorded in his Diary. All that was preserved were loose pages, with notes written during his stay at Saint-Acheul. These were not dated, with the exception of one with the title: *A question of life* - on the left side of the title, a cross drawn in ink, and at the right side the words: "stigm. St. Francis, September 17." The latter referred to "Stigmata of St. Francis of Assisi", which occurred on a Sunday in September of 1837. The contents of *A question of life* relates on the one hand to earlier August discussions between Jański and Zamoyski at the home of Mickiewicz (Cf. footnote 11); on the other hand it pervades Jański's reflections, which develop in various forms at the time of his retreat in Solesmes (December, 1837).

² Hortense Thayer, the daughter of General Henri-Gratien Count Bertrand (1773-1844), faithful companion of Napoleon I, wife of the politician Amadée, later a senator of the II Empire, a close friend of Charles de Montalembert and Caesar Plater. After the death of her children, she dedicated her life to philanthropic activity.

Grosley.³ Bourgeois. (Letter to Stawiarski) Caesar. Ransom for Adam [Mickiewicz]. Mr. Thureau-Dangin.⁴ Tax. Mrs. Niboyet.⁵

Tuesday, [June 20]

At Plater's residence (a matter concerning Meaux).

Wednesday, [June 21]

To Mrs. Komar.

419 Friday, [June] 23

To Cl. [Clavel?]. To Januszkiewicz (Zaleskis' 36 francs). Colony. America. Niwiński. Mrs. Hofman's address. To Bourgogne's printery.⁶ To Mrs. Komar. To Pawłowicz.⁷ Paper for the lists.

The Hofman's address: Saint-Germain, rue de Noailles 9.

8591

1095

The tenth week after Pentecost

Sunday, July 16

Monday, [July 17]

Funeral of [Charles Edward] Wodziński.⁸

Visit Burgaud des Marets.

Tuesday, [July 18]

³ Pierre-Jean Grosley (1718-1785) - a French historian and member of the French Academy; the author, e.g. of: *Mémoires historiques et critiques pour l'histoire de Troyes...*, Paris, 1811-1812.

⁴ Thureau-Dangin - further information lacking.

⁵ Eugène Niboyer - For a time he was a follower of the saintsimononists. After breaking with them, she did not cease to maintain contacts with them. When Jules Lechevalier moved to the school of Fourier, she took interested in the doctrine of the latter. Niboyer's husband was one of the first members of the Fourierist group in Lyon. She edited the periodical: "La Voix des Femmes". In 1848 she established the Club for the Emancipation of Women.

⁶ A print shop in Paris managed by Bourgogne and Martinet.

⁷ Adolph Pawłowicz (b. 1810) from Samogitia, who, undoubtedly thanks to Jański, received assistance from the Welfare Society of Polish Women. From 1839 he attended the school of mines in Paris.

⁸ Charles Edward Wodziński, cf. 1832, footnote 37.

To Bourgeois. To Caesar: Kozłowski, Jabłoński, Mikulski - Mr. Thureau-Dangin. Sidorowicz. Letter to Montalembert. Faliński.

Eleventh and twelfth week after Pentecost

1096 Friday, August 4

Fr. Froment.⁹ Letters to Bordeaux. Owen.¹⁰ Szymański. Prince Giedroją and his wife. Bukaty.

Saturday, [August 5]

To Mickiewicz (meeting with Zamojski).¹¹ To [Caesar] Plater: matters dealing with the Society of Women - Stebnicki,¹² Mikulski. Permission for Mar-

⁹ Armand-Carl-Bernard Froment - in 1801 he entered the Sulpician seminary in Paris. A priest; co-founder in 1804 of Collège Stanislas; professor of theology, and one of the directors of the school.

¹⁰ Robert Owen (Cf. 1830, footnote 22). In the first ten days of August he was in Paris, giving lectures and organizing meetings, to which Jański received a ticket. (ACRR 8606, p.716).

¹¹ A meeting of significance for Jański and his House. It would be useful to offer a few facts preceding this meeting.

In his trip to Italy after his marriage, Charles de Montalembert met Ladislaus Zamoyski (Cf. 1835, footnote 368) in Florence. The latter asked him if, while in Rome, he would obtain from Pope Gregory XVI entry to the Vatican for Poles. On February 17, 1837, at a private audience, Montalembert presented to the Pope, in relation to his Brief *Cum primum* addressed to the bishops of Poland, the dramatic political, national and religious situation of the Poles, in Poland as well as in the emigration. A few days later Montalembert wrote to Zamoyski: "You are expected. Come." However, Zamoyski could come to Rome only at the beginning of June of that year. In the course of his two-week stay in Rome, he met with Gregory XVI a few times, as well as with Cardinal Ludovico Lambruschini, the Secretary of State for external affairs, who was favorably disposed toward him. On June 20, 1837, Zamoyski wrote to his brother August: "My all too short stay in Rome did not allow me to be convinced the extent to which the further activities of the Roman See will correspond to such feelings. I was solemnly assured of one thing: hereafter, Polish young men coming to Rome to dedicate themselves to the clerical state, or to study for that purpose, will find acceptance in the Roman seminaries, without regard for the complaints of foreign envoys, who up to this time have always opposed their acceptance, and also without regard for the difficulties which these priests encountered on their return to Poland. Even supposing the impossibility of their return to Poland, their presence in Rome will, of itself, constitute a great defense for the Catholic faith in Poland, be a means to direct the Polish clergy, and offer them a prior understanding of both their needs or the dangers facing them" (*General Zamoyski, op.cit.*, Vol.III, p.441).

After his return from Rome, Zamoyski arrived in Paris on July 20. In the last ten days of that month he arranged for a meeting with Jański, at the home of Adam Mickiewicz. Jański must have known about the efforts of the General, an agent of Prince Adam Czartoryski, since even before the announced meeting, wishing to get a better

szewski, Mikulski, Kozłowski (list of the Society for Educational Assistance). Letter to Królikowski. At 2:30 to Collège Stanislas. Conference about Rome, and about correspondence. Organization. What does Edward [Duński] want, and when meet with Zamojski?

1091 Monday, September 18

Arrival in Paris.¹³ Prince Giedrojąć. Walter. The Jesuit Fathers. Plater etc. Take the letters to be re-written from Mr. Caesar. Babiański,¹⁴ Michelet¹⁵ Propaganda.

understanding of their ideological and political stance, he had studied their declaration: "On August 2, 1837 I read four patriotic letters of Prince Czartoryski and Ladislaus Zamoyski to Poles in Poland" (ACRR 8606, p.654). Very probably, on August 5, at the Saturday meeting of Zamoyski with Jański at the home of Mickiewicz, the decision to send young Poles preparing for the priesthood at Collège Stanislas to Rome: Jerome Kajsiewicz and Peter Semenenko. That same day, at the above-mentioned Collège, Jański participated in a "conference about Rome." Two months later, in a letter of September 9, Jański wrote to Zamoyski, who was no longer in Paris: "Dear Count, after receiving the funds you sent, on Wednesday morning [September 6] our two young priests [Kajsiewicz and Semenenko] were on their way, immediately, leaving me with the obligation of sending their most sincere thanks for the gracious and ready assistance to their most gracious Prince and to you, dear Count." (copy of Jański's letter preserved in the Archives of L. Zamoyski, in the Museum of Adam Mickiewicz in Paris, Nr. 779/II 5). From this letter we learn of the participation of Mickiewicz, Jański, and Caesar Plater in establishing the "amount of money" to cover the cost of the journey for those leaving for Rome, and "payment of some more urgent debts which they had left behind from former times."

¹² Perhaps Florian Ferdinand Stebnicki (Stębnicki), (b. 1813) - In the November uprising a second lieutenant in the Banks of the Vistula Legion. In the years 1832-1834, he attended the Central School of Arts and Crafts.

¹³ On September 10, 1837, Jański set out as a pilgrim through Amiens to the former Benedictine Abbey, Saint-Acheul, a famous center for the cult of the Sorrowful Mother. There, in the novitiate of the Jesuit Fathers, together with Adam Mickiewicz and Caesar Plater, he made a retreat, in preparation for the Feast of the Sorrowful Mother (in the Catholic church there at the time, on the third Sunday of September). In a letter sent on October 4, 1837, Mickiewicz wrote to Ignatius Domeyko: "Together with Caesar and Jański, I spent a week in Amiens and Saint-Acheul, where after a retreat Stephen and John Grodowski became members of the Catholic Church. At this time this novena is the "order of the day" in the emigration. - We might add that the conversion of the Grodowskis took place before the 10th of September.

During his stay at Saint-Acheul, on September 17, Jański wrote the *A Question of life* which is located in the Appendix under I.

¹⁴ Vincent Babiański, participated in the campaign of 1812-1814. In the November uprising he was a second lieutenant in the 12th regiment. In 1836 he became a member of the Federation. He became ill, and underwent treatment in Caen.

¹⁵ Jules Michelet - Cf. 1833, footnote 7.

Tuesday, [September 19]

Uruski, Cheruel, Saint-Chéron, Plater. Walter, Prince Giedrojc and his wife. (Michelet, Gerbet).

Wednesday [September 20]

(Jeśman)¹⁶ Cheruel in the morning. Korabiewicz. Słowaczyński, Greuve.¹⁷ Nabielak.¹⁸ Faliński. At 7 P.M. home to meet with K[orycki]. Babiański. Picture of the Sorrowful Mother from Plater.

Thursday, [September 21]

Uruski between eight and nine. Starzyzny - Loyer¹⁹

Friday, [September 22]

Uruski and Jourdain²⁰ in the morning.

¹⁶ Undoubtedly Alexander Jeśman (1785-1863) - a lawyer who participated in the November uprising. An emigrant in Paris, from 1838 he was a member of the Polish Historical-Literary Society and director of the historical section.

¹⁷ Charles Greuvé (b. 1809) - from 1829 he was a student of medicine at the University of Warsaw. After the collapse of the November uprising, in which he participated, he lived as an emigrant in France. He studied medicine in Montpellier, and in 1834 was awarded the degree of doctor. He practiced in Amiens, and then in Paris from 1837-1840. He signed the Polish Democratic Society's Manifesto of 1836.

¹⁸ Louis Nabielak (1804-1883) - He took part in the capture of the Warsaw Belvedere in 1830. A writer. From 1833 he lived in Paris. He belonged to the Polish Democratic Society. In January 1835 he organized the Battignole section, which demanded union with the Confederation of the Polish Nation. In 1836 he was a member of the Emigration Finance Commission. In December of that year he signed the Manifesto of that Society; however, shortly after that he attacked the "materialistic principles" it contained, and withdrew from the Society. Later he became a Towianist; under his influence Julius Słowacki joined the Circle.

¹⁹ *Loyer* (fr.) - rent.

²⁰ *In the morning Uruski and Jourdain* - in the autograph a sentence is crossed out. Severin Uruski - Cf. 1836, footnote 109.

Eloi (Elias) Jourdain (1806-1861), a literary pseudonym: Charles Sainte-Foi. - a private teacher in France, and then in Poland (Kraków, Warsaw, Poznań). He was the tutor of George Lubomirski, and then of Severin Uruski, with whom he remained as his secretary. After his return to Poland, he wrote about Polish matters in French periodicals, primarily in "Univers". He translated into French the work of J.J. Görres *La mystique divine, naturelle et diabolique* (Paris, 1854-1855), wrote *Notice Biographique et littéraire sur l'abbé Rohrbacher*, and published works on the topics of Christian ethics, the role of women, the Catholic Church in France. According to Słowacki, he "a person who was not stupid" and "possessing extraordinary talents". In the translation of Stanislaus Ropelewski (Cf. 1834, footnote 26) he published *Jourdain's word of comfort. Religious-political*

8627

421

Work before departure for La Trappe

Wednesday, October 18

Letters to Jabłoński, Sidorowicz, Montpellier, John [Omieciński], Chełkowski. Mrs. Niboyet - Jullien.²¹ Kranas - Prince Czartoryski. At four Mr. Refendery.²²

Thursday, [October 19]

Fr. Desgenettes. To Mr. Refendery. From Edward, Peter and Jerome's letters. To Ladislaus Z[amojski]. At four to Chodzkiewicz. Joseph H[ube] about Switzerland. To Henshel for *Hungar. Script.*²³

Friday, [October 20]

Jóźwik.

Saturday, [October 21]

Bukaty, Greuvé, Dr. Faliński and his brother, Korabiewicz, Séguin, Courtet, Pecqueur, Kaczanowski.

Monday, [October 23]

At three, Ladislaus Zamojski. Jóźwik. *The Clairvoyant*. Letter to A[dam] J[abłoński] - to Mrs. Niboyet.

422 Thursday, [October 26]

The Ogińskis - Białopiotrowicz. Baskets for Mrs. Berthole.²⁴ To Debécourt,²⁵ concerning Fr. Gerbet for Kranas.

Saturday, [October 28]

meditations on the martyrdom and future resurrection of Poland. He took part in the publication of the periodical "Young Poland".

²¹ Marc-Antoine Julien - Cf. 1831, footnote 8.

²² Michael Hube, Cf. 1833, footnote 26.

²³ *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricanum veteres ac genuini, partim primum ex tenebris eruti, partim ante hac quidem editi cum nunc vero ex msc. codicibus et rarissimis editionibus...cum ampliis...*(Vindabonae) 1746. - Jański tried to obtain this work for Adam Mickiewicz who was writing a *History of Poland*.

²⁴ Mrs. Berthole (Bertholle) the owner of a house with rooms for rent on rue Notre-Dame des Champs 31 bis. Jański would rent the house from October 23, 1838 to meet the needs of his House.

²⁵ Debécourt - a Paris bookseller and publisher on rue des Saints-Pères, 69.

To Cheruel for a letter. Chest of drawers. To Wrotnowski for a coat. To the post-office for space and with money . To. Fr. Desgenettes for a letter. To Mrs. Białopiotrowicz, to Czartoryski, to the Ogińskis. Haircut. Purchase collars, paper, a small bottle of coffee essence. To Benoiste for a German dictionary.

423 Sunday, [October 29]

Letter to John [Omieciński] and Ortego,²⁶ about money for Mt. Anthony Pl[ater].²⁷ To Benoiste for a dictionary. To Giedrojć. To Cheruel. To Januszkiewicz for a coat. Purchase collars, a comb. Back home, letters to Adam Jabłoński. To Mrs. Niboyet. To [Louis] Królikowski. Purchase paper, and go for letters.

424 Books to take: père Lacroix,²⁸ Thauler, or volume de *la philosophie Chrétienne*.²⁹ *Chemin de la Perfection*.³⁰ "Université Catholique" [the Paris edition]

Aurore naissante.³¹ Görres. A German dictionary and a German grammar.

425

Work to be done in La Trappe

Letters: to Tywrowo, to Henry Jaroszyński; to Prince Giedrojć, and Serż; to Michałowski [in] Saint-Étienne; to Łempicki, Grzybowski; to the Zaleskis.

Korabiewicz, rue du Dragon. Kazimirski, rue Taranne. Słowaczyński. Bukaty, rue Hamelot 45. Maliński, 20, Great Russel Street, Covent Garden, London.

A complete list of each and every debt. I must definitely reflect and decide about Polish and emigrant politics.³²

²⁶ Letter to...Ortego - the person is unknown.

²⁷ Anthony Plater (1777-1857) - a cousin of Caesar and Ladislaus Plater; captain in the infantry.

²⁸ ...père Lacroix - further information lacking.

²⁹ Jean Tauler (1300?-1361) - a Dominican preacher, an ascetical and mystical theologian. *Philosophie Chrétienne* - the title of a work by Bautain (Cf. 1832, footnote 244).

³⁰ The title of a work by St. Teresa of Avila, (Cf. 1835, footnote 51).

³¹ The title of a work by Saint-Martin; (Cf. 1834, footnote 1).

³² Jański frequently reflected on the problems of Poland and the emigration, and reminded himself that such reflection was urgent and necessary. He considered that the Polish economic and emigrant situation required a solution. During his December stay at Solesmes, he framed these reflection and considerations in a definite shape, in the form of outlines and notes. Cf. Appendix, in which a hypothetical chronological order has been given to the notes mentioned above under position XIII - *The National Question*; XIV - *Our Politics*; XVII - *A Pilgrim*.

426

Before leaving La Trappe

Ask Father infirmarian about the name of a Pole who could studied with him, and is now living in Paris. Search the neighborhoods to see whether a house may be available there somewhere. Ask about the address of Mr. Rollignot[?], a student of medicine. Purchase a night-cap in Mortagne. Purchase paper and a comb, either in Mortagne or in Alençon - sealing-wax for letters and shirt buttons. A diocesan book of devotions.

In Solesmes

Become acquainted with the works of Bossuet, Fénelon, Bourdaloue,³³ etc., and other French writers.

Become acquainted with other theologies by way of: Bouvier, *Evangiles du Messe, Theologie de Poitéry*, Bailly,³⁴ etc.

Read about the Third Orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic.³⁵ Take a text of one of the Fathers, with a translation. Perhaps a work about virginity. Read German.

(Search for a solution to Polish, economic, and emigration issues). Suitable letters and conferences to the Brothers.

427

After returning

³³ Louis Bourdaloue (1632-1704) - A Jesuit writer and preacher at the king's court. After his death his *Sermons* were published. They were translated in part into Polish, and published in Kalisz in the second half of the 18th century.

³⁴ Jean-Baptiste Bouvier (1783-1854) - priest, professor, rector, and Bishop of le Mans; the author of a theological handbook written in the spirit of gallicanism: *Institutiones theolgicae ad usum seminariorum. de Poitéry* - undoubtedly Pierre Poiret, author of *La Theologie du coeur*. Cf. 1835, footnote 338.

Louis Bailly (1730-1808), author of a theological handbook for French seminaries, published even before the Great Revolution: *Theologia dogmatica et moralis*. This handbook was called into question as unorthodox.

³⁵ Francis of Assisi and Dominic - saints, founder of great communities; each of them founded a third order for lay people, who were called tertiaries.

Write to Lewicki,³⁶ inviting him to come, and apologizing to him for the last parting with him, and try to discover whether there is any way he could come to live with us.

429 [Saturday], November 4, 1837

In the name of the Father, and the Son,
and Holy Spirit. Amen.

I will collect my memoirs of the time I spent on this my holy pilgrimage, for the purpose of controlling a more stringent use of time in the future.

I left Paris on Sunday, October 29, at 5:30 P.M. (yet before leaving gluttony).

Sunday, November 5, 9 A.M.

With all my heart I thank you, O merciful God, for the penitential thoughts and resolutions with which you inspired me this night. O God, boundless and all-powerful in your goodness, complete what you have so mercifully begun! I place all my trust in You!

[Monday] evening, November 6

After leaving Paris, along the way, still evil thoughts and desires (I was traveling with two women). I thought about abandoning all my great plans, and becoming a professor of philosophy in some college, after translating some German work.

On Monday, the 30th I arrived in Mortagne at noon. I hired a man with a horse (for 5 francs) to take me to La Trappe.³⁷ Along the way we encountered

³⁶ Undoubtedly John Nepomucene Lewicki (1802-1871) - he studied in the faculty of science and fine arts in Kraków, and then in Warsaw; after that engraving in Vienna. He participated in the 1831 uprising. From 1832 he was an emigrant in France. He lived in Paris and worked as an engraver.

³⁷ La Grande Trappe - a monastery in the Department of Orne, of which Mortagne was the principal city, to the northwest of Chartres. An ancient Cistercian monastery reformed toward the end of the 17th century by Armand de Rancé (1626-1700). The latter was the secretary of Queen Mary de Medici, and godchild of Cardinal Richelieu. He inherited the Cistercian abbey La Trappe, and after the death of his mistress, Marie de Montbazou (1612-1657), the former worldling entered the monastery and became a monk. He reformed the life of the Cistercians, gave it a strict observance, which caused them to be called "trappists". His severity aroused fright. He completely rejected occupying oneself

bad weather, mud. I arrived at 4 P.M. The elders of the monastery were reciting the Office.³⁸ I waited in a tavern until five. Entry into the monastery, and my meeting with one of the brothers made a very good impression on me. Even better, up to a kind of confusion and contrition, my reception in the monastery itself: throwing myself at the feet of two priests, who read the 24th chapter of the first book of the *Imitation*.³⁹ I was invited to the guest-house, but did not accept an invitation to supper since I had eaten in the tavern. Compline at six. At seven to my room, fatigued, and with an empty and heavy head.

430 On Tuesday I began to pray; however it was somehow difficult to turn my heart where it was no longer accustomed to turn. I hardly know where I am, what I want, what I should do, how I should live in the future. In all of this, no decision.

N.B. The Prior [Bernard Dugué] in away. I have not yet met with him.

November 1, All Saints. The solemn celebration made a very salvific impression on me. I met with Fr. Prior. I mention that I wish to make a general confession. I don't know yet whether I will make it here. I like the Prior very much.

November 2, All Souls, and 3. God has definitely turned an eye of mercy on me. Contrite. I begin to decide to submit completely. I receive the grace of penitent prayer, enlightened with regard to the vileness of impurity. I decide to make a confession today. I ask the other retreatants about a confessor.

Saturday, November 4. The Prior asks to see me. He receives me very cordially. I tell him in general about my spiritual condition, and ask about confession. He puts it off until after Sunday. I begin a few lines of this diary.

with study in his congregation, prescribing only prayer, liturgy and physical work. The author of ascetical works in which he gave expression to the need for spiritual heroism and severe discipline in religious life. He died, "lying on the ground, on straw and ashes." The renewal of the La Grande Trappe Abbey happened at the time when Jansenism was spreading, which did not fail to exert an influence on the spirituality of the Abbey.

³⁸ *The elders of the abbey were reciting the Office* - that is, the prayers of the Breviary. The Office is a collection of prayers recited at different times of the day; as a result, Jański notes the names of the daily canonical hours as: terce (the third hour), sext (the sixth hour), nones (the ninth hour), compline (conclusion) - the last evening prayers after Vespers. Oraison - prayer.

³⁹ Title of the 24th chapter of the first book of *The Imitation of Christ*: Concerning judgment and punishment for sins.

Yesterday, Sunday, the 5th, after writing a few more lines, I prepared myself for confession, and wrote various resolutions for after confession.

Today I finished my preparation, my motives, on paper, and worked on my resolutions,⁴⁰ but unfortunately I was carried away by distractions a few times.

My confession in La Grande Trappe

Preparation, Monday, November 6

At last I submit unconditionally to the Holy Universal Church, and approach the tribunal of penance, renouncing all of my base theories, all of my sins and sinful inclinations. Through the mercy of God, I am strengthened in this resolution by the following ideas:

1) An aversion to placing on others burdens which I cannot bear, and teaching what I myself do not fulfill.

⁴⁰ ... I wrote down various resolutions after confession... Today I finished the preparation, motives in writing, and worked on resolutions... - Texts of the confessions Jański made at La Trappe have not been preserved.

Resolutions begun by Jański at La Grande Trappe, and the later resolutions made at Solesmes are different. The first referred to the strictly religious and personal sphere, and could have arisen in La Grande Trappe where Jański stayed "in order to make a retreat and a general confession" in connection which, as he himself mentioned, "I am not permitted to engage in any business here" (in a letter to Charles Królikowski dated October 9, 1837). Jański sometimes changed these resolutions, or composed them anew, and they in large part pertained to activities which he was to undertake after confession.

These basically religious resolutions, pertaining to moral reform, differ from the resolutions pertaining to secular matters, work, establishment of the House, and social contacts. The resolutions noted in Solesmes, when Jański did not have to conform to the strict requirements of a retreat, were to be realized after his return to Paris, and that at different times. Next to these resolutions, Jański made notes for himself concerning matters pertaining to politics, the emigration, nationality, etc., and so matters which had revolved in his mind and disturbed him for a long time, and which required his evaluation.

Generally Jański did not offer any chronological reference for his reflections and considerations, and so it is not easy to establish their sequence (from November 5 to December 21, 1837). It should be added that Jański worked on each topic at least twice. Keeping in mind the accepted principle, that in the Appendix one generally includes texts which the author quotes or which he notes in the Diary - from among the texts preserved in variant forms, and called Resolutions, we have chosen those that are especially representative (and also, in like manner, texts and notes pertaining to certain aspects of the political life of the emigration). Cf. Appendix, positions: II, III, VI, VII, IX, X, XIX-XXIV, XXVII.

2) Otherwise I would not have certainty in anything, and would abolish all faith. One person would reserve this freedom for himself, a second person another freedom, and Christ, the Church, would be torn apart, overthrown. The Church judges what are the essential matters of universal law, and the Church makes decisions in their regard. The faithful should submit to these decisions without hesitation. (Where there are children and more mature persons, there are degrees in understanding and in freedom - the mature, having greater freedom, should mercifully make less use of that freedom. This is the main principle of the Church and Christianity.)

3) Later, in my mind and in my heart I felt: The right to forgive sins, purification, which belongs solely to the Universal Church, to the successors of the Apostles and priests (this is something in which I never ceased believing). And I was filled with the desire to submit unconditionally (later striving for clarification with regard to laws and doubts), in order to receive so great a benefit.

4) Finally, after prayer, the most merciful God allowed me to feel the full iniquity of my life, and even, through the intercession of the Most Blessed Virgin, all of the loathsomeness, egoism, and revolt against God in impurity; and with this feeling came a very great desire to be reconciled with him in the sacrament of penance.

5) Faith, as well as the reminder of the necessity of sanction in the future life for good and evil, the reality of the spiritual world and a person's relations with it, the efficacy and absolute need for prayer, also urged me to make this act of complete submission. O great God! Why, after I failed to cast these evils out of my soul, did I not experience its consequences? Why, wretch that I am, did I dare to disregard so many inspirations, so many invitations? Into what an abyss was I hastening!

432 I intend to make a confession from the time of my return to the Church three years ago. The sins which I have to confess are so great, that I am afraid, I do not have the strength, to occupy my mind with remembering the details, before I have first accused myself of them in general. After that, following the questions of the confessor, I will make a particular examen.

To remember: profanation - impurity - gluttony - pride - debts - lying - idleness - against charity in relations with the brothers, in correspondence - neglect of inspirations.

Tuesday, November 7

Thanks be to God! I have already begun my confession to Father Prior, and I have already accused myself of what weighed most heavily on my

conscience. Merciful God! You granted me contrition. Continue to give it to me, and even increase it! Through your infinite mercy, through the Passion of Christ the Lord, grant that this confession of mine might serve to achieve my complete rebirth.

I began my confession today at about ten, I think, and finished at 11:30. After that I went to church to thank God for giving me the strength and grace finally to begin this definitive act in my life. Later I felt so weak that I did not go for Sext before dinner, or for Nones after dinner, and even took a nap in order to rest and to ward off a kind of fever. Today I am supposed to write urgent letters to Paris. Tomorrow I am to begin the retreat in complete silence.

Wednesday, November 8

However, I did not even begin the letters yesterday - only one to Cheruel. I met with Fr. Prior after Compline, and told him about my wife, unnecessarily too harshly and indelicately, to the point where I moved him to disgust, even though this was good for my humility.

433 Yesterday after dinner, after reading the marvelous chapter on Love in the *Imitation* (Chapter four of Book three),⁴¹ I dozed and dreamed a little. In the evening I began a letter to Cheruel - and my mind wandered. O merciful God, this is not good! Keep me from such idle thoughts! I went to bed at ten.

Today, after Mass, which finishes at about nine, another hour of wasting time. However, I only have permission for this one day to write letters. Before dinner I wrote a letter to [Louis] Królikowski. After dinner, dissatisfied with what I had written, I begin another letter. Taking advantage of permission from Fr. Prior, I do not go for Vespers, and continue to write.

After supper, before Compline, I complete the letter to Cheruel. Dear God! Once again I offended you by lack of zeal in this work. I sat with these letters all day, and did not write a single one.

After Compline, Fr. Prior does not meet with me, but through the Brother porter, he gives the *Règlement de la Retraite* [Retreat Rules], and a book written by Bourdaloue. The retreat is to begin this evening.

⁴¹ The title of chapter four: *Concerning the wonderful effect of the love of God* (in other editions of the *Imitation*, chapter five).

I will be obedient and begin the retreat today. I will only complete the letter to Cheruel. I read the preparation from the *Retreat* by Fr. Bourdaloue.

Thursday, [November] 9

I arose, according to the Rule, at five. I go to the church for prayer. After that I make an examination of conscience, and continue to follow the Rule. After Mass I go to Fr. Prior for confession. I tell him that out of obedience I began the retreat, but I still have not finished the letters. He gives me the morning to do so. I am to begin the retreat after dinner.

434 As a result, I sit down to write letters with all my heart. Before supper I only finished letters to Kraków, to Plater, and to Cheruel (I do not go for Vespers or Compline).⁴² In the evening I write to Bordeaux [to Charles Kaczanowski], to Celiński and Terlecki,⁴³ to Edward [Duński], and to Ziemecki - the last letters with great haste and disarray, for already my candle is at an end. Besides this, I also repeat the preparation for the retreat. I go to sleep before twelve.

Friday, [November] 10

I rise at five. For prayer. Unfortunately, I was occupied and troubled by having written the letters badly: to Plater the tone was too jolly, too worldly. To Kraków, a lie in placing the reason for my present troubles on past debts, whereas it springs from my present sins. To Celiński, a kind of pretended sentimentality. To Paris, a scandalous flightiness and disarray. I attend Mass in the

⁴² In the Roman Archives of the Resurrectionist Fathers draft copies have been preserved of draft copies of letters Jański wrote from La Trappe to Louis Królikowski who was living in Kraków (ACRR 8637, p.990), to Caesar Plater and to P.A. Cheruel. Also, from this time there is a draft copy of a letter to Charles Królikowski who was living in Bordeaux (ACRR 8639, p. 1001).

⁴³ Hippolitus Zygmunt Terlecki (1808-1889) - in 1837 he was living in Montpellier studying medicine. On February 2, 1838 he received a French diploma of Doctor of Medicine. He came from Volhynia, and completed his medical studies in Kraków. At the time of the November uprising he was a regimental doctor. After the collapse of the uprising he made his way back to Kraków where he finished his medical studies and married Anna Schugtowa, a poetess who used the literary pseudonym of Anna of Kraków. They had a son, Mściślaw (1835-1853). When his wife died, he left for France. After receiving his medical diploma, he entered the House of Jański, and in 1840 began the study of theology in Rome. He was already an ordained priest when he entered the Congregation of the Resurrection. In 1846 he transferred to the Greek Catholic Rite, and in 1858 became a Basilian. After 1872, he transferred to the Orthodox Church and lived in Russia.

chapel of St. Benedict, also a bit distracted - at 6:45. After returning from church I must still read at least the last letters, and seal all of them. Worried and disturbed by all this, I go to Fr. Prior for an examination of conscience. I admit my fault. I begin my confession. I would like to follow a time order, and have not made an examination of conscience. Fr. Prior is dissatisfied, and gives me a book with an Examination of conscience, which I am to use to prepare myself. At the same time, he gives me to understand that I should think about not staying here too long. He treats me a little severely. After all this it seemed to me that I expressed enthusiasm about him too soon in my letter to Cheruel, and that satisfaction with a confessor depends more, and primarily, on the penitent's good state of contrition. However, today I see that, with respect to the examination of conscience and irritation with the tardy correspondence he had reason. Therefore I continue the spiritual exercises according to the Rule. O God! Forgive me for going to bed later than the time prescribed in the Rule: at nine, after making an examination of conscience according to the book.

435 Saturday, [November] 11

I got up at five, and went to church. Mass at six. I am to see Fr. Prior at the time of the High Mass.⁴⁴ He does not accept me, for he has not celebrated Mass as yet. He tells me that he will come to me. I attend the High Mass. Returning to my room, in my free time I write an examination of conscience. I perform the exercises. At 10:30, when I was supposed to begin to pray in my room (for they were cleaning the church) Fr. Prior comes to see me. I begin my second confession from sins against God and the faith. Thank you, endless thanks to you, most merciful God, for the sorrow you granted to me. Do not spare it! Grant it also in the future! O most merciful Father, Jesus infinite goodness, and through your intercession Mary, refuge of sinner, grant that this confession will unite me with you perfectly, O God, and unite me with you forever! Fr. Prior was amazed, frightened by my confession. He called my conversion miraculous, and offered me holy counsels and instructions. I received his blessing, my eyes filled with tears; and that is the way he left me. I fell to the ground in the form of a cross. O God! Accept my sorrow! Hear my prayers!

Yet before dinner I recited the litany to Jesus, according to the Rule. After dinner, Pere François⁴⁵ taught me how to recite the rosary, as with great

⁴⁴ "High Mass", also called the conventual Mass, celebrated in the presence of all the members of a convent.

⁴⁵ Jański kept a list of the Trappists at La Grande Trappe, to which he added various remarks pertaining to their life (ACRR 8627, pp. 733-734). After the name Fr. Francis he

gentleness and unction he praised devotion to the Most Holy Virgin. At one o'clock I recited the rosary. Then prayer until three o'clock. Bad that beyond the hour. I must definitely improve in my scrupulosity with regard to time during the retreat. During prayer my mind is often far away, thinking of specific projects. At dinner, a wonderful reading about impurity. After dinner, before the rosary, I felt weak, and wished to lie down to rest after all of the emotions. Thanks be to God, I conquered the temptation.

436 After prayer, the examination of conscience in my room. Why so many distractions, far from the point? Why did I not write immediately. Now I am unprepared, and I do not know whether I will be able to finish today for lack of a candle.

After that the Gospel of St. John and adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, in which I experienced great delight, thanks to you, O Christ! At the time of Vespers I finish my reflection on mental prayer, and make a resolution to practice it every day for an hour.

After supper once again a pipe - it seems that I grant myself too many dispensations - and being this diary. After Compline and the Salve Regina, I finish writing this diary. First of all I must prepare for prayer tomorrow morning.

N.B. All day long I kept thinking this was still Friday.

Sunday, November 12

Holy Mass was celebrated as late as at 12:30. This changed the order of my exercises somewhat. However, perhaps I should have gone to Fr. Prior for confession. I did not go, because I wished to prepare myself on paper. However, this met with difficulty. However I did fulfill all the exercises properly. The topic for mental prayer was marvelous: coldness, abuse of grace and wasting time.

After dinner I succumbed to temptation, and fell asleep at 12:45. I awoke at 1:30, and so the rosary was a half hour late. Only in the evening did I begin to write the examination of conscience.

wrote: "Père François de'Assise, a former hotel keeper, now procurator of the monastery. Before the present [Father] steward, he was the steward."

Monday, November 13

Early in the morning, the Fathers went off somewhere far in the field to work. There is no High Mass, or Holy Office, or Fr. Prior; and so once again, no confession. Thank God, I take advantage of the longer free time and finally finish, just before supper, the entire examination of conscience, as well as the preparation for confession in writing.⁴⁶ O God! Grant all the graces I need to make the best possible confession, and after that a most perfect amendment. (The Fathers returned from the field only at four o'clock, and only now, poor men, did they go for their first meal.)

437 Today after dinner I felt somewhat fatigued (yesterday I smoked too many pipes - three or four). O God, give me the strength to overcome my bad habits and to fulfill my obligations zealously, especially those that are so important and so great: very great acts of hope!

Tuesday, November 14

Once again the Fathers were away working the whole day far off, repairing a church for some small parish. And so once again I had no opportunity for confession; all I did was review the preparation. This is the fifth day of my retreat. Great God! Forgive my distractions today, especially in my prayers this morning and after dinner. I was led astray by empty thought and imaginings, especially due to many different plans for the future, and an onslaught of impure memories and daydreams. However, I thank God for the many good thoughts especially those dealing with regard to works providing an income,⁴⁷ which I ought to consider the most important after my return to Paris - until a new order. This distraction may be a divine punishment for allowing myself to be tempted and going to breakfast, which I had not done in the preceding days. Tomorrow, God grant, I will do better. In You is all my hope! Grant me contrition! Grant me the grace to fulfill as well as possible what you allowed me to begin so well.

⁴⁶ In Jański's original notes the following has come down to us: "*The main thing: Order of the examination of conscience; Examination of conscience* (ACRR 8627, pp. 920-921; 918-919; 916-917). These examinations of conscience, closely related to one another, constituted something on the order of instructions, based undoubtedly on the reading of the *Examen de conscience* he mentions, which was recommended by his confessor. They were meant to help the penitent to make a proper preparation for confession. - The written confession of November 13 has not been preserved.

⁴⁷ Jański wrote *Reasons for paid work*, which are listed in the Appendix under position III. - This motif "begin wage-earning work" will appear in later notes by the author.

Wednesday, [November] 15 (that is, yesterday)

In the morning once again distractions in prayer. On a separate sheet I am writing my resolutions, thanking God for the great humiliation⁴⁸ that I experienced today. Also, it is with gratitude and humility that I must accept the dryness I experience in prayer, striving, nonetheless, to fulfill them very exactly and very zealously.

438 At one o'clock, my third confession to Fr. Prior (on the topic of hope), without due recollection, to which he, the poor man, also contributed somewhat by becoming impatient, scolding me for a lack of time and the length of my preparation for confession.

After Compline, first a very pleasant conversation with Fr. Prior, and then mt fourth confession (of sins against God in the area of love, against my neighbor in thought and word). A little more contrition, but still dry. O God, have mercy!

Today, Thursday, [November] 16, still a heaviness when rising, which dragged out for a few minutes - a sin. At morning prayer, great distraction (about plans for a foundation in La Trappe); after dinner it was better. But also, I was not zealous enough throughout the day, especially according to the Rule. However, I must see that I observe the law very strictly. Perhaps the good God will shortly put an end to these dry periods, grant consolation, interior consolation. (Once again today the Fathers were off working on the church somewhere in the neighborhood.) I thank God for the thought and the sacrifice of burning the rest of the tobacco so that it would not tempt me - in honor of today's reflections on the Lord's Passion.

On Friday, [November] 17 I made my fifth confession (of sins against my neighbor in what I have done, and what I have failed to do, pride, miserliness, envy). This was the last day of my retreat. To humble me, still a kind of dryness, relaxation in strictness and zeal. O most merciful God, my sole recourse, forgive me for not making sufficient efforts to free myself from this state.

⁴⁸ A "separate page" has been preserved with the resolution to "thank God for such a great humiliation". This text, like the preceding one dealing with *Daily prayer*, are presented in the Appendix under positions IV and V.

In the evening, after Compline, Fr. Prior gave me the letters sent to me by Edward from Paris (letters from Ziomecki, Plater, Jabłoński, Mr. Robert),⁴⁹ together with a note for 40 francs. I meant to read only the letter from Edward, and leave the rest until after Communion. However, since Fr. Prior did not forbid me, after coming to my room I read them all, and was immediately bothered by various trifles, and how I might respond - and so for the first time since I began the retreat I did not fall asleep in the pure presence of God, but rather disturbed by worldly trifles. This was the last day of my retreat.

Saturday, November 18

To the best of my ability I should have continued all of the retreat exercises. At ten o'clock, my sixth confession to Fr. Prior (impurity, gluttony, anger, wasting time). He delayed absolution. He promised Holy Communion for Tuesday (tomorrow), since it is the Feast of the Blessed Virgin's betrothal to the Lord. I promised to continue the retreat exercises, as far as possible. I finished the confession at 11:30.

439 After dinner and rosary, my mind already turns to letters to Paris, and I begin one to Edward, perhaps it was after Vespers, then one to Fr. Guéranger asking him whether I can now come to Solesmes. Troubled by all of this, resentful toward Edward that he sent the order to Rome, having sought advice only from Adam [Mickiewicz] and Stephen [Witwicki], without even informing me what it was all about; disturbed also with Leonard [Rettel]. As a result, writing to Fr. Guéranger, I do so with a kind of resentment. Moreover, after dinner (under the pretext of needing a rest after the fatigue of the retreat and the confessions) I fell asleep for almost an hour. In a word, somehow this whole day did not go well. Why? Because I had grown lax in keeping the strict order of the day; because before getting down to the correspondence I did not consult God, but rather began writing the letters while disturbed. O God! Have mercy, forgive, give me the strength to improve!

Sunday, [November] 19, Saint Elizabeth

Once again not so good. In the morning, in spite of fear of profaning the Sunday, I change the letter to Fr. Guéranger, rewrite it, reread it, address it, seal both letters, and take them to the porter even before the High Mass at 9:30.

⁴⁹ Mr. Robert - Jański later notes this name again: "The business of Mr. Robert-Doué". It is not certain whom Jański had in mind: Was it Cyprian Robert, from the circle of Montalembert's acquaintances, or Charles Robert, a protestant, who offered assistance to people working in difficult circumstances.

Doué - a city in the French Department of Maine-et-Loire.

440 I borrowed a breviary from Fr. Prior in order to recite the Office of St. Elizabeth. My reason: my plan to write to Montalembert, using the pretext of a mention of his Paris correspondence in the letter that I received from Caesar, while enclosing nameday greetings for the latter's daughter, and sending her a bouquet of prayers said for her intention. The thought about the prayers was a good one, but why seek praise on that account? Also to obtain her mother's favor. At Holy Mass the merciful God granted me the grace of fervor, and I prayed with fervor of spirit. I said a rosary to the Blessed Virgin for Elizabeth, and added her intentions to all of mine. After dinner I wanted to write to Montalembert, but since my heart was heavy in writing it, I sought to write it with pretenses, for effect, and it was hard work. I wrote for an hour before and after Vespers, and did not finish. God forgive me, at Vespers and Compline my mind was occupied with this letter and my pretenses. At Compline an accident. I tried to dig something out of a decayed tooth, and struck a nerve. What pain! I returned to my room. The pain continued, and even increased. I gave up my plans for a letter. I acknowledged that this could be a punishment from God. The pain may have been sent to keep me from bragging, foolishness, vanity. In bed the pain continues. I say a Hail Mary to the Blessed Virgin, and fall asleep.

Monday, [November] 20

In the morning I practically feel no pain. Unnecessarily, under the guise of a better way to get rid of the pain, and not catching cold, I stayed in bed until seven. Prayers. Holy Mass. Finally I take stock of myself. I see how I lax I have grown, especially in the last two days. I do so humbly and with a prayer to God. I burn the letter to Montalembert. I am sorry that I have prayed so badly, allowing myself to be occupied by foolish worries and thoughts, without weeping for my sins, and failing to ask God's mercy. After a few acts of sincere contrition it seemed to me, fool that I am, that God had forgiven everything, even before sacramental absolution. And so, practically at peace, once more I began to think only of plans for the future. The result: laxity, spiritual decline. Most merciful God! By virtue of the Passion and merits of Christ the Lord, through the intercession of the Mother of God, forgive me, pardon me, grant repentance; grant me the grace of sorrow - sorrow for my whole life - and humility, grief in body and in spirit! May I be filled with boundless love for You!

441 After ten o'clock, Fr. Prior comes to see me. He brings me my laundry. I go to him for my seventh confession (some concerns from former times, faults committed her during the retreat, etc.). But my heart is hard. I promise to become more fervent, but I do not have a sincere, deep and penetrating sorrow.

Fr. Prior seemed to foresee this, and does not grant absolution. He orders me to make the Stations of the Cross today.

As a result, after reciting the rosary, writing a few lines, after Nones, I make the Stations at 2:30, and there, in spite of my unworthiness, the Lord was kind enough to grant me a few holy ecstasies. I stay there until four. I regret my recent distractions and participate in Vespers. After returning from Vespers, I finish these notes, in order not to look back any longer, but to be wholly absorbed in God, dedicated to God for the entire future, for all eternity.

Today, after Compline, I am to receive absolution. O God of infinite mercy! By the blood and merits of Christ the Lord! Through the intercession of the Most Holy Virgin and all my holy Patrons and Guardians! By reason of the prayers of my brothers in spirit and in truth, and the prayers for me of all holy souls - Forgive me! Have mercy on me! Grant me sorrow, contrition and forgiveness! O God! Grant that I may prove worthy, and, as worthily as possible receive, this absolution from my crimes and sacramental sacrileges, so that this absolution might be received before Your judgment seat and forever! Grant that it may bring me salvation and eternal glory with You! Have mercy on me, O Lord!

I gather into one all of my acts of contrition, and unite with the sorrow, penitential sentiments, and prayers of all the holy penitents. O God! Have mercy on me, even though I am unworthy!

442 And so, thanks be to God, everything ended well the day before yesterday, Monday, after Compline and a long wait for Fr. Prior, who was hearing the confession of someone else, Fr. Anthony.

God allowed me to experience temptations and anxieties, which even went so far as to urge me to refrain from receiving Holy Communion, as one who is unworthy; but God granted me the grace to conquer these.

On Tuesday, [November] 21, the Feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin, I awoke, thank God, at three o'clock, and waited unsleeping for a later hour and light in order to prepare for, and hurry to, the Table of the Lord. I received communion at the Community Mass at six o'clock. The most merciful Lord took away all of my anxieties, and showered me with interior consolations, allowing me to celebrate the morning devotions in a most holy manner. In the afternoon things went badly. I did not arrange my time, did not follow the rule

strictly, and did not keep a watch on myself, continuing in the sensation of great rejoicing in the Lord. However, thanks be to God, very great peace and joy. I ate dinner together with the fathers at 2:30 - a memorable dinner - a festive meal for the prodigal son, in the midst of so many witnesses of his return. After dinner, at Vespers, I was overcome by sleep and, forgive me God, I did not fight it sufficiently. I slept through a few psalms. I went to bed early.

443 Wednesday, [November] 22

On the pretext of previous spiritual exertions, I lay in bed unnecessarily until almost after seven. During the day I wrote only the letters which I had still to write while I was here. I believe I wrote some of my resolutions. Otherwise, I wasted time in conversation with the good pastor from Belléque, and in idle musing, that filled my mind while I was reading. I should have arranged my time more precisely. I should have asked for permission to receive Communion also today as I had intended, and for which I felt a great desire.

8530

251

[Wednesday, November 22]

Letters to write

In La Trappe and Mortagne (yet) - letters to Princess Giedrojc⁵⁰ and Serż; to Walter, Maliński, a second letter to Kraków; to [Henry] Jaroszyński in Podolia, to [Michael] Jaroszewski, to Adolph Zaleski, to Benoiste, and to Prince Ogiński and his wife.

[Victor] Mercier⁵¹ quai Malaquai, 9, at the corner of the street des Petits Augustins.

8627

443

Thursday, [November] 23

⁵⁰ In the Roman Archives of the Congregation of the Resurrection a draft copy of Jański's letter to Frances Giedrojc has been preserved, written from La Grande Trappe (November 25, 1837). We offer lengthy fragments of this letter, supplementing the author's observations noted during his stay at La Trappe, in the notes at the end of the Diary for this year.

⁵¹ Victor Mercier - Cf. 1833, footnote 16.

I rise at 5:30. During the High Mass Fr. Prior invites me to participate in his Mass and to receive Holy Communion, but I have already eaten my breakfast. After the High Mass I feel dissatisfied about wasting a few hours yesterday. After a penitential prayer, I write my resolutions, and the inspirations which the Lord has recently showered upon me,⁵² until dinner. After dinner, conversation almost until Nones, that is two o'clock. Rosary. Nones. I wrote out a preparation for confession which I was to make after Compline. At four o'clock, Vespers. Supper. Compline. When I was about to go to Fr. Prior, he came to me. I tell him about a large part of the affairs I need to settle before leaving, among other things about the farm. But since he was in a hurry, he wanted to use the time for conversation, and I was pushing my concerns. After his visit I was left with an unpleasant sense of dissatisfaction. O God, forgive the weakness of my nature! Tomorrow I am to confess and receive Holy Communion. I am to leave before Sunday.

458

In Solesmes

Write down a time schedule

Put in order the resolutions I made during the retreat, and arrange my prayers.

Write all of the letters still pending, and that before all else, before reading, before visiting the brothers in the depot.

Make a list of debts.

Begin salaried work. Read Görres, with excerpts, with the help of a German.

Perhaps I may find something pertaining to the history of the schism, the history of foreign churches. Develop plans for salaried work.

Skim through religious periodicals ("Ami de la Religion").⁵³

Make an effort to obtain religious bibliographical information.

Arrange for hours of works dealing with Sacred Scripture: a) especially becoming acquainted with works and commentaries; b) the Fathers of the Church; c) Theological works; d) the history of religious communities.

- Concerning religious institutions in France today.

⁵² ... *I am writing down the resolutions and inspirations which the Lord granted me recently...* - These are *Thoughts, inspirations, resolutions* (here the first paragraph pertaining to an entirely different text is omitted), which have the character of separate notes, snatches written more than once and not necessarily at the same time, although undoubtedly in the same place. These are presented in the Appendix: *Thoughts, inspirations, resolutions* (position VII), *Prayers and reflections* (VIII), *Prayers, reflections, and resolutions* (IX), as well as *Resolutions, prayers, and reflections* (X).

⁵³ "Ami de la Religion" - a Catholic periodical published in Paris from 1830 (to 1859), edited by Michael Picot. In the beginning in its columns it attacked the followers of Fr. Lammenais, and did not shun dishonest methods.

- Evening hours, at the very latest, for reading St. John Delacroix.⁵⁴

For November 23, the Feast of St. Andrew, send a letter to Słowaczyński, urging him, on the occasion of his nameday, to make resolutions dealing with a religious life and confession.

Ask about Mr. Jourdain, and about Fr. Morel.⁵⁵ The business of Mr. Robert, Doué.

Definitely meet with Niebulowicz,⁵⁶ and through him with other people worth meeting.

Give some thought to various most pressing issues: our interior arrangements, spiritual exercises with brothers in the provinces (consult with Fr. Ger. [Guéranger] on this matter), the homes, the depots, etc.; about relations with individual brothers, and how to improve them; how to create unity (Ziomecki, through foundations of Christian families, perhaps to a school in the country?)

459

Would it be possible to begin an article about Poland for "Univers Religieux"?

For the Feast of St. Lucy [December 13], write to Mrs. Rautenstrauch with nameday greetings.

Answer Królikowski, Jabłoński.

Send the petition to Marszewski as soon as possible.

In Bayeux

⁵⁴ Jean de la Croix - John of the Cross (1542-1591) - a Spanish Carmelite, mystic, poet; reformer of the male branch of the Carmelites. Among the most valued mystical works of St. John of the Cross are: *The Dark Night*, *A Spiritual Canticle*, *The Ascent of Mount Carmel*, and *The Living Flame*.

⁵⁵ Fr. Morel lived in Angers. He belonged to the group of enlightened French priests favoring renewal of the Catholic Church. At one time Jański, at the suggestion and intervention of Montalembert, wrote to him asking him to care for Kajsiewicz and Rettel, who were forced to leave Paris by order of the French police.

⁵⁶ Thomas Nielubowicz, from Grodzieńsk - in the November uprising he was a standard-bearer for the 13th uhlán regiment. He lived at the depot in Châteauroux, and later in Paris, where he died in 1854.

Meet with sister Teresa, and ask brother Lawrence for prayer for him, inform him that he is a brother.

454

Saturday, November 25

The brothers wake me up in the morning. I pack as quickly as possible. I return (matelzaczek?) to Frère Jean. I wanted to see Fr. Prior, to see whether I could go with Brother Jean, but it seems that this is impossible. Therefore, having sent my things ahead, I try to find a horse. With difficulty (for both were already taken), I find one at Brother Remy, the Trappist horse doctor. After the High Mass I wait with Communion for Fr. Prior's Mass, but he is on the way to Bayeux, very busy, and is late. I receive Communion from Fr. Abbot [Joseph-Marie Harselin] in the chapel of St. Benedict, but, God forgive me, I am bothered by the thought [the text breaks off here].⁵⁷

⁵⁷ There is a break in the notes from 26-30 of November. In a letter from Solesmes to Duński, dated December 7, 1837, Jański wrote: "On the following day [Saturday, November 25] I left La Trappe, but arrived here only a few days ago, for along the way I stopped to visit with various groups of Poles, first in Mortagne, then in Lemans [Le Mans], about which I will tell you more after my return. In Le Mans a section of the Democratic Society insisted that I attend their celebrations on the 29th [the anniversary of the November uprising] both material and spiritual (unfortunately the latter, the spiritual, only mine and on my own).

N.B. In this section there are two brothers, Ignatius and Macarius Fontanna, who you will undoubtedly remember from former times in Pułtusk. The entire people are as it were unbaptized, without devotion, without faith. However they have good hearts, a sign that once Christ lived in them and, God grant, that He is preparing a place for Himself in their hearts. There is hope.

I am writing only a brief letter, for I will be coming back to you soon (perhaps next week, and certainly the following week), solely to inform you that I am here, in case you had some important business for me, or if some letters arrived from Poland, especially from Kraków; and also for one more reason [...] And so, dear Edward, you will have to dig up a few pennies, for after all the payments and expenses of a new journey of a little more than thirty days, I have nothing left in my pocket. And since here I am so close to Angers, and there are a number of ex-recruits of Jerome and Leonard here, I would like to visit them and spend a day with them. All in all, I ask you to ask you to find 25 francs where and however you can, and send them to me; even 30 francs if you can manage it. [...] Brother Nielubowicz, to whom I have a letter from Kozłowski, will undoubtedly be my guide among the brothers in Angers" (ACRR 8549, pp. 294-299).

Undoubtedly at this time Jański kept a record of expenses in Mortagne; and after contacting the emigrants in this city and in Le Mans, he drew up a list of acquaintances, former colleagues, living in Toulouse and Montpellier for purposes of a religious apostolate and future correspondence.

428

In Mortagne I spent

Chaussons [shoes] 1, 18

nightcap 1, 6

comb and buttons 1.

paper 13

4. 17To the Women's Society

Help for John Rohr in Tourouvre, wife and 3 children. A friend of Bojanowski.⁵⁸ About the first of November he submitted his request to Borzęcki.⁵⁹ Bojanowski, á Mortagne, rue du Belléque, Café de la Paix near Grande Place.

The trip from La Trappe, 4 francs.

sealing wax 10

laundry 1, 16

red sealing wax 10

felt shoes⁶⁰ 2.

3 days living here 0, 10

maid 10

753

Toulouse⁶¹

Nieszokoć

the closest: Korzeniowski

⁵⁸ John Rohr (1805-1895) from the Podlesie region; in the November uprising he was a lieutenant in the 21st infantry regiment. As an emigrant in France, he lived in Alençon. Anthony Bojanowski (b. about 1808), from the Lublin region; in the November uprising he was a second lieutenant in the 10th uhlan regiment. As an emigrant he lived in Mortagne.

⁵⁹ Perhaps Joseph Borzęcki (1791-1875) - From 1809 he served in the army. After the collapse of the November uprising, in which he participated, he lived as an emigrant in Bourges, and later in Paris. He was an active member of the Polish Democratic Society.

⁶⁰ "berlaczki" - fur winter boots, in freezing weather put on over regular footwear.

⁶¹ Jański's list of the emigrants living in Toulouse and Montpellier in 1837, who are listed in alphabetical order in the notes at the end of the Diary for 1837.

dear friends: Grabowski, artillery captain

Walisewski, artillery lieutenant

well disposed: Tomaszewicz, Bielicki.

The enthusiastic and honorable democrat Ancypa, wished to play the role of Walenrod in our regard

Stempowski, artillery lieutenant, my schoolmate.

Szyndler, head of the democracy.

Lewkowicz, ardent protestant, has one soldier as his supporter.

The Wysockis and Milaszewski, friends of Terlecki.

Montpellier

Późniak went to confession. Kamocki, Korarzewski.

Our friends: Dąbski, Ośniałowski, King, Ciechowski, Albin Januszkiewicz, Nieszkowski, Charzewski in Langon.

[Beginning of December, 1837, Solesmes]

[Notes]

758 A future letter to Paris

To Fr. Dłuski. Ask him for a Mass in thanksgiving, and ask him not to decide before I get there.⁶² Apologize for failure to return.

To Edward [Duński] with regard to [Francis] Faliński, and the doctor [John Stanislaus Faliński], and his brother; with regard to Witwicki, and Kaczanoski; with regard to the one in Orleans, Marche aux Veron, 16, in order to have Mickiewicz or Siennicki [vouch for?] Bandurski.

Concerning Adolph [Zaleski], that the police were at his place on the day of my departure. Assure and apologize to Zdziennicki (this is Ziomecki). Ask Maliński about Raulin.

⁶² Fr. Casper Dłuski - Cf. 1835, footnote 368. In a letter sent from Solesmes (dated December 7, 1837) and addressed to Edward Duński, Jański asked him: "Give my very sincere greetings to our dear Fr. Dłuski, and kiss him respectfully. Tell him that I apologize to him from the depths of my heart for such a long delay in my return, for he also looks forward impatiently to my return. But as a reward I will bring him much good news, much useful information, and I urgently ask him not to make any decision concerning his future until I return.

Sidorowicz. Does he go to Mrs. Białopiotrowicz.
To Siennicki.

To Szotarska (but first get something from Joseph Zawadzki).⁶³

Where is Niewiarowicz?

Nicolas, frère du père Louis-Gonzague de Belle Fontaine

To Sulimirski, to Switzerland.

Bąkowski, professor of draftsmanship at the Minor Seminary in Paris. I think he is from the same region as Kajsiewicz - news about him.

After I arrive in Paris:⁶⁴ to the Zaleskis, Różycki, Rettel, Nieszokoć, Koźmian, Turowski, Niwiński, Fijałkowski, Korzeniowski, Zacha, Biergiell, the Zwierkowskis (visit the one in the vicinity of Paris), Grzybowski, Kozarzewski, Marylski, Kisielewski; to Chevalier (in Lyon) and to Supiński (Ornowski is there also); to Valerian Pietkiewicz, Łopaciński (by way of Chełchowski), Kwiatkowski (about Anthony's portrait). - Ask for Januszkiewicz's address, to Daniłowski - and where is Nowodworski?) ask Kranas about Kaczyński); to the Lasockis, to the Zielińskis.

Fr. Trepka
Dumiński.

8606

674

To Montalembert

1. About protection in case of a new persecution.⁶⁵
2. Could something be established at some faculty of theology in Belgium.
3. Ask about the work: *Annales du Moyen Age*, by Frantin.⁶⁶

⁶³ Julianna Szotarska, nee Zawadzki, the widow of Humphrey Zawadzki (b. 1810). They were sister and brother-in-law of Alexandra Jański, nee Zawadzki. As brother-in-law, Jański kept in contact with Joseph Zawadzki, who was living in Avignon (Cf. 1832, footnote 94), and with Julianna Szotarska.

⁶⁴ This is followed by the list of Polish emigrants drawn up by Jański, which we present in alphabetical order in the Notes at the end of the Diary for the Year 1837.

⁶⁵ An allusion to the repression of Prussians in the face of opposition on the part of the Catholic clergy and the Archbishop of Cologne in the matter of a newly enacted marriage law. - Jański undoubtedly has in mind here also the repressions inflicted on the Polish clergy and the Uniates by Tsar Nicholas I.

4. "Univers Religieux" and "Université Catholique" - could these be obtained for Rome?

8627

444

Solesmes, Wednesday, December 6⁶⁷

It is twelve days since I wrote anything in this diary. This is how I keep such solemn resolutions! O what a miserable person I am, worthless and incapable of even such a small thing! O merciful and all-powerful God, I place all my trust in You!

This is already the sixth day that I am at Solesmes. I already received Holy Communion, nevertheless I continue to waste time for lack of organization; very urgent matters are not yet begun.

On Friday the 24th [of November], after confession I received absolution for a second time, and quieted my scruples relative to the inadequacy of my contrition etc. I served for Fr. Prior at his Mass and received from him the Lord's Body and Blood. After prayer in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, as I was leaving (or after returning Fr. Prior's books) I met Fr. Abbot. He appealed to me by reason of his simplicity and humility, as well as his fervent democratic love of neighbor and his abomination for present-day kings. Brother Laurent showed me the grotto of St. Bernard.⁶⁸ The poor man was very upset at the sight of the greenery, "electrice?", as he himself put it. An errand to Sister Thérèse in Bayeux. After that I toured the neighborhood, the ponds, the hills and fields, while thinking about plans for a foundation in various points which I selected, and in which I placed my brothers to whom I have names of Polish Saints - near

⁶⁶ Jean-Marie-Félicité Frantin (1778-1863) - writer, scholar, author of e.g. *Annales du Moyen Age*, in which he concentrated on the epoch following the downfall of the Roman Empire up to the death of Charles the Great.

⁶⁷ On December 6, after verifying a lacuna in the Diary: "It is now twelve days that I have not written anything in this Diary" - Jański set out to fill in the blanks. The notes that followed were written that day, the substance of which was related to the previous days in which nothing was written, i.e., to November 30, as well as the days from the first to the sixth of December. Jański found himself in an analogous situation on December 21: "Once again, from the sixth, it is now 15 days that I have not written anything."

⁶⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) - a Cistercian, philosopher, theologian, mystic, preacher, founder of monasteries, reformer of monastic life. He was canonized in 1174, and declared a Doctor of the Church in 1830.

the ponds I met the Abbot, the Prior, and the Sub-Prior [Hilarion] on horses. Projects for fish in the ponds, rules, houses, garb, religious services, etc. for the settlement. Having returned at the time of Vespers, I could not use fatigue as an excuse of fatigue, but had to participate rather than sit in the hôtellerie waiting for supper. During supper, Fr. François gave me a letter from dear Edward, and in it three letters from Rome. All good news. I thank God for everything and prepare to leave definitely tomorrow (especially since it is obvious that I stayed here far longer than customary - Fr. Prior is not stopping me). Unfortunately, during the day I was not sufficiently mindful of the great blessings and graces that I received from God during this retreat.

447 In Solesmes. I arrive on Thursday [November] 30, in time for Vespers (in the evening "Univers Religieux").

Friday, [December] 1

I arose barely in time for Mass. After Mass, *Origines de l'Eglise Romaine*, and then a little of the Gospels and a little of the *Imitation*.

Saturday, [December 2]

After Mass I went to the library, I looked around and took Saint John of the Cross which I began to read after dinner. I am also reading a little of Görres, and preparing for confession.

Sunday, [December 3]

I awake early in the morning. Confession after seven.⁶⁹ Holy Communion. Prayers and High Mass. Then I take books about the saints from the library and read about Advent.

Monday, [December 4]

I arose in the morning; my prayer went very well. After Mass I began to read Fr. Grenada about prayer.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ *Confession after seven o'clock*. - Cf. the Appendix, positions XI and XIII. These are two written versions of the confession: before and after.

⁷⁰ Louis de Grenada (1505-1588) - a Spanish Dominican, preacher, confessor, ascetical writer. His first work, *Libro de la oración y meditación* (A Book of prayer and meditation) is characterized by a lofty humanistic and religious culture (here note, e.g., the influence of Erasmus of Rotterdam) translated into French, and published in Paris in 1702.

Tuesday, [December 5]

I arose in the morning; my prayer went very well. In bed I read Grenada, "Mémorial Catholique".⁷¹

Wednesday, [December 6]

I begin to write this Diary. Only after Vespers do I get down to a letter to Edward, but I cannot finish it. In bed I read Grenada, "Mémorial Catholique".

Thursday, [December 7]

I was not awakened, and I arose late. After Mass [Fr.] Brandes came to see me, and I read Görres. I sent the letter to Edward.

Friday, [December] 8, The Feast of the Immaculate Conception. Once again I get up late. Confession⁷² and Holy Communion from the hands of Fr. Abbot [Guéranger]. [Letters of St. Paul to] the Corinthians, [the Apostle] Peter just before High Mass, which is much longer than usual. After that I glance through the calendar, and read a little of the holy Gospel. After dinner a walk with a Spanish priest. I have an urge to sleep. Fr. Grenada. For the rosary and penitential prayers.

448

Tomorrow. Saturday, [December 9] I must write letters:

1. to Marszewski, and send it.
2. to Maliński (and wait for money from Edward).
3. to Burgaud, and send it.
4. to Mrs. Białopiotrowicz (with Edward's money) 5. to Prince Ogiński and his wife.
6. to Benoiste, to Walter.
7. to Montpellier (with Edward's money)
8. to Adolph Zaleski.
9. to Januszkiewicz, about a calendar and Calebdabs (with Edward's money).
10. to Jaroszyński.

Prepare [letters] to a. Kranas, b. Rome, c. ...

⁷¹ "Mémorial Catholique" - a Paris scientific monthly begun in 1823 by Fr. Gérbet and Fr. de Salinis, under the unofficial direction of Fr. Lammenais. It was published in the years 1824-1830. Up to the end of the Restoration it was the organ of the [Menizian?] school which attacked Gallicanism, defended the freedom of the Church, and declared itself in favor of its reconciliation with contemporary society.

⁷² *Confession* - Cf. Appendix, position XVI: *Fourth confession in Solesmes*.

Saturday, [December] 9 - I did not begin the proposed letters; I was busy with something else.

Sunday, [December] 10

I read Fr. Grenada; in the evening St. John of the Cross. I am waiting for letters from Paris.

Wednesday, [December 13]

A letter from Edward disturbs me. They are going to Solesmes.

Thursday, [December 14]

I delay a response.

Friday, [December 15]

Practically the whole day writing a response.

Saturday, [December 16]

Troubled by Edward's letter, that he may be a little vain, that he is so systematic.

Sunday, [December] 17. Confession⁷³ and Holy Communion. Showered with graces; but in the evening once again I engaged in unnecessary musing.

Monday, [December 18]

I get up early, and more zealous. Practically the whole day spent on resolutions. I spend too much time unnecessarily on newspapers and "Memorial Catholique". My scruples with regard to wasting time and not writing in the Diary are quieted.

Tuesday, [December 19]

I get up late on the pretext of pollution. Practically the whole day, very holy resolutions, among others - the single state.

Wednesday, [December 20]

⁷³ *Confession* - Cf. Appendix, position XVIII: *Fifth confession in Solesmes*.

I get up, and go for morning prayer. Everything goes well: fervent prayer, provision for studies. After dinner, unnecessarily, I spend too much time on "Mémorial Catholique". Saint Denis.⁷⁴

Solesmes. [Thursday], December 21, Saint Thomas.

Once again, from the 6th, 15 days in which I did not write anything. O God! Grant that this would be the last instance of this neglect, and that in Paris, on the very next day after arrive, I may sit down in the evening and make up for this delay. Most Holy Virgin, St. Thomas, the late Adam, my very dear friend, of whose death I learned today, and whom I greeted today in prayer in that better, very best, Homeland, by your prayer obtain this grace for me from the Lord of Mercy, together with the fulfillment of other resolutions.

I only made some very brief notes from the time spent since my departure from La Trappe.

The letter which I received from Edward today after Holy Communion, compels me to leave for Paris immediately, today. O God! Into what difficulties have I fallen! O God! Grant me the grace to bear them and to find peace! In You I place all my hope! Mother of God, our Queen, all you Saints, my mother, dearest Adam, intercede for me with the Lord! By the passion and merits of Our Lord Christ, have mercy! O God! Have mercy on me, a sinner! Amen.

445

Paris, Feast of the Divine Nativity, at 10 P.M. [Sunday December 24] - I am in Paris three days already and, O God, how much neglect, how many offenses against You!

462

Tomorrow, Monday, [December 25], Christmas

⁷⁴ St. Dionysius the Areopagite was supposed to be a disciple converted by St. Paul the Apostle, and author of writings such as: *De divinis nominibus* (Concerning the names of God), *De mystica theologia* (Concerning mystical theology), *De caelestia hierarchia* (Concerning the heavenly hierarchy), *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* (Concerning ecclesiastical hierarchy). In the 9th century the author of these writings began to be identified with the martyr Dionisius of Paris (3rd century). The writings of Dionisius the Areopagite exerted a great influence on the theology and philosophy of the scholastic masters. - In present-day teaching the author of these writings is referred to as Pseudo-Dionisius the Areopagite.

After our dinner, to the Ogińskis, to Nabelak, Orpiszewski, Fr. Korycki, Chełkowski, to Mickiewicz.

1. to Napoleon

2. To General Giedrojc.

In the evening to Benoiste (to Mickiewicz).

Letter to Mercier, to Walter, to Frisch,⁷⁵ that Tuesday from noon until 9:30, for one hour.

Tuesday, [December 26

In the morning, to Mercier. To the Gied[rojc]. To Jełowicki. A lesson at ten. After twelve to Frisch (Quai Martin 41 or 47). The laundress.

Ask Hube about Kunatt, about relinquishing the pension. Edward: about "Université Catholique", Bandurski, Faliński, Klukowski, Kaczanowski, Sumiński's letter. To Malinowski, whether he did not write. Where is Adolph [Zaleski]? To Montpellier for information about [Celiński's] death, and whether he wrote. At Kunatt, ask about Mrs. Guyot.⁷⁶

Thursday [December 28], breakfast with Jełowicki.

460

Wednesday, December 27

For Mass, and a half hour of prayer.

To Edward (ask about Orpiszewski), Napoleon, Fr. Augé; to Orpiszewski; to Fr. Korycki (about the hat); to Witwicki.

To Ladislaus Plater and Montalembert.

Ladislaus Plater, Kraiński, Fr. Augé p to Fr. Cheruel.

Orpiszewski, Fr. Skórzyński, Fr. Desgenettes.

Chełkowski, Mikułowski⁷⁷ -to Courtet (61, rue Lemercier, aux Batignolles).

Kunatt, Gerycz, Uruski - at home look for the receipts.

Home in the evening, and only to Benoiste.

Diary. Letters. A letter to Kozłowski.

⁷⁵ Frisch - perhaps Joseph Friszt, a soldier from the region of Kraków.

⁷⁶ Arnold-Henry Guyot (1807-1884) - geographer and physicist. After the completion of his theological and scientific studies, he lived in Paris from 1835, and from 1839 taught as a professor in Neuchâtel.

⁷⁷ Possibly Roman Mikułowski, captain, aide-de-camp in the 2nd corps of the cavalry in the November uprising. He was an emigrant, first in Germany, later in France and England. He was a friend of Ignatius Domejko.

Thursday, [December 28]

Right after Mass and prayer, to Jełowicki (ask about Uruski's address; ask about the debt at the bookstore; letter to the bookstore; a calendar and Polish calendars); letters. To the bookstore, [ask] Wilczyński about Aurillac.⁷⁸

Friday, [December 29]

To Fr. Badiche⁷⁹ (dispensation, about books).
Dinner with Prince Ogiński and his wife.

Saturday, [December 30]

Preparation for confession. Diary
Letters to Turowski and Kranas. Confession.
Orpiszewski, Uruski, Reynaud, Kunatt.
Plater at one.

Sunday, [December] 31

To Wrotnowski, ask about funds for Terlecki's thesis.⁸⁰ To Fr. Cheruel.
Letters to Zawadzki, Królikowski, Maliński, and Plater; to Montpellier (perhaps a note to Reynaud).
Ask Edward about Kaczanowski's furniture.

455

Saturday, December 30

Today I am to go to confession for the first time to Fr. Badiche; and finally, after a week-long distraction with problems and business matters, and after such a great neglect, I must definitely write my Diary.

And finally, I reminded myself and, on a separate piece of paper, wrote about the entire time spent here in Paris.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Louis Wilczyński (1802-1887) - participated in the 1831 uprising; a second lieutenant in the 6th regiment of mounted riflemen. An emigrant in France. He lived in the Polish emigrant depot in Aurillac.

⁷⁹ Magloire-Lcandre Badiche (1798-1867) - a Catholic priest, curate at the Cathedral Notre-Dame-de-Paris; confessor for the House of Jański.

⁸⁰ Jański turned to Felix Wrotnowski, a member of the Society for Assistance to Education, requesting financial assistance to pay for Terlecki's doctoral thesis.

⁸¹ "a separate page" is the page (150) with Jański's notes pertaining to events that occurred between the 23rd and the 30th of December, prepared as a memorial. On this basis Jański wrote notes in the Diary only for December 23, 24, and 25, in place of the "separate" notes which have been omitted in this edition. On the other hand, the notes for December 26-20 which Jański did not manage to rework for the Diary have been retained.

On Saturday, (December) 23, thank God, about noon I arrived, in the best of dispositions, in constant prayer, lifting my spirit to God, and very profound humility. The kind conductor vouched for me, and I left my things in the stage-coach office, not having paid for my trip. First I went to see Jóźwik, and even before that to the church des Petits⁸² in order to pay a first visit to the most merciful God, thanking him for such a fine trip, and asking Him to protect me here. Jóźwik was as hard as a rock. He would not even listen to my request once he learned what it was all about (and finally remembered that I had not repaid a previous loan). Thanks be to God, I bore up peacefully under his refusal and humiliation. From him I went to Fr. Desgenettes. He was not in. I made a mistake, for when I saw him in church I failed to greet him, and did not tell him about my situation. Next I took a cab to see Orpiszewski; he was not in. To Chełkowski; he was not in. To Korycki, he too was not in. Finally I go to Mickiewicz, who greeted me warmly, and I greeted him in return. He too had no money. O how I must have scandalized him! I apologized. We were both embarrassed. And so, to the Collège, to Hube; he sends me to Edward. Gracious Edward gives me almost all he has. After that I return to by cab to the office, redeem my luggage, and go home at about four. Ziomecki is the first one I meet. There is no trace of anger, and we greet one another in a friendly manner. Thanks to the Most High God! I also met Fr. Dłuski and Kozłowski. After greetings, and making myself comfortable, I read some of the letters which Edward gave me, among these one from Mrs. Białopiotrowicz, and immediately I prepare to visit her. But first to dinner on rue Rivoli (for at home it is already after dinner, and through forgetfulness they did not tell me that nothing was left). Unnecessarily, immediately after dinner I light up a cigar on the street - a broken resolution. Bedraggled and soaked, I arrive at Mrs. Białopiotrowicz's home. Mrs. Rautenstrauch is there. They make fun of me. Thank God, their questions do not upset me. I leave with Mrs. Białopiotrowicz, and I accompany here on some secret business along the rue Vivienne. I agree to give lessons; about the main business, nothing as yet. I go home (tea). Why did I not definitely write this diary immediately? In order to restore the weakened brotherhood, conversation as sincere as possible until about 2 A.M. with Ziomecki and then with Sidorowicz, whose attitude when I meet him is very bad and frivolous.

456

⁸² The church bearing the name Notre-Dame-des-Victoires ou Petits-Pères, located in the square des Petits-Pères (named after the Augustinians), dating from the first half of the 19th century. - At that time Fr. Dufriche-Desgenettes was the pastor of the church.

Sunday, [December] 24

I get up late, not at six according to my resolution. At about eight, after prayers at Mass at Saint-Sulpice with Ziomecki and Kozłowski. Sidorowicz went to confession first, and will receive Communion later. A strange turn of events, in changing confessors, by accident he came across my future confessor, Fr. Badiche. In church I meet Domejko and Lachowicz.⁸³ Coffee at home. Siennicki drops in and then Edward. Later Lachowicz and Budrewicz ask me about my trip. Thanks be to God, I speak to them with fervor. At about one, or two, I go out to visit Mrs. Białopiotrowicz, apparently to reach an agreement about lessons, but in reality about a loan. I hint at this: No response! She doesn't even wish to listen. She is very scandalized. O God, forgive me, for this scandal, and the reason for it, is my own misery, my fault. After that, I stop into Saint-Roch for Vespers, somewhat disturbed or rather dejected. After that I look for Mercier in the reading rooms, in Palais-Royal. I do not find him; but I meet Brawacki and Skrobecki from Orleans, a former university colleague of mine.⁸⁴ He reminds me about Bandurski. I go to see Korycki (for I do not have any money in my pocket for dinner); he is out. To Saint-Sulpice to meditate. There I experience inner consolation. After that, to Orpiszewski; he is out. To Chelchowski; he too is out. Once again to Korycki, he is out. To Chelchowski, at the reading room in passage du Commerce; he is not there. And so home. God forgive me, a lie to Fr. Dłuski that I ate dinner. He gives me some cabbage and tea. I write a letter to Rettel by way of Sidorowicz. At midnight we go to the midnight Mass, but it is a little too late, and the doors at the Carmelites are closed. After returning, I cannot fall asleep. Why didn't I get up to pray?

Monday, [December 25, the Feast of the Nativity.

After 6:15, we go to Collège Stanislas for Mass with Ziomecki and Sidorowicz (Kozłowski with Fr. Dłuski), and receive Holy Communion from the hands of Fr. Buquet. Coffee, at which Siennicki loans me 2 francs. Edward and Hube drop by for a while. Finally Leonard [Rettel] comes along. He greets

⁸³ Lachowicz - thus in the autograph. This refers to Ladislaus Laskowicz (1811-1891), from Lithuania, a friend of Domejko who engaged in extensive correspondence with the latter when he was in Chile. After taking part in the Lithuanian campaign during the November uprising as a member of the Corps of General Chłapowski, Laskowicz arrived in France, where he lived in various army depots. From 1836 he lived in Paris. He studied at the School of Commerce and Industry, from which he graduated in 1839. He was a member of the lay brethren supporting the House of Jański. Later he was for many years the president of the Institute of Bread and Worship.

⁸⁴ Adalbert Skrobecki (1806-1842) - studied law at the University of Warsaw, and participated in the November uprising. As an emigrant in France he worked as a conductor of highways and bridges. He lived in Orlean. A mason.

me with great affection. In conversation he is ready to join us, to receive the sacraments; but very definitely he is intent on breaking with the tradition of the House. However, thank God, there is hope of repairing relations with him. Mr. Anthony Plater drops in; I tell him to come back the day after tomorrow. Rettel cannot remain for dinner. All the members of the house eat dinner at one, a treat by Fr. Dluski, to my great delight. After dinner I waste time unnecessarily, and remain too long, so that it is already too late to go to the Ogińskis. And so to Giedroją. No one is home. To Mickiewicz. I find him at dinner. I wish him a happy nameday, yesterday, from all of us. Then a conversation about La Trappe, about the Benedictines, and I become loquacious, a real chatterbox, perhaps scandalizing him thereby. Domejko drops in. He is going to Chile. In our conversation we talked a lot about our governing figures, [Aloysius] Biernacki, Barzynowski,⁸⁵ etc. My little jokes and innuendos are spiteful. O God, forgive me!

457

450

Tuesday, (December 26)

Mass at the Carmelites with Kozłowski and Sidorowicz. To General Giedroją and his family, to Romuald [Szymański?], at Bieliński's, to Domejko, tea. To the Jełowickis, to Frisch, to Mrs. Białopiotrowicz - we delay the lessons one week (beat soup; too late). I leave at about one. To Prince Cz[artoryski]; we meet along the way. To the Ogińskis. I receive a few francs from Piwowarski. To the Englishman on rue Rivoli. Mercier. Café Colbert. Home for prayer.

Wednesday, [December 27]

Mass at the Carmelites with Kozłowski; a half hour of prayer. To Edward at 10:30. A letter to Montpellier first at twelve. Going out, I am not satisfied with the tone. To Witwicki for 9 francs. Mickiewicz and Korabiewicz are at Witwicki's. A letter to Rettel. To Plater, Montalembert; they are out. Dinner with Ziomecki. Benoiste. Ziomecki's proposal.

Thursday, [December 28]

⁸⁵ Aloysius Biernacki - Cf. 1835, footnotes 138, 278.

Stanislaus Barzykowski (1792-1872) - an envoy to the Sejm and a member of the National Government. The author of *Memoirs concerning the November uprising, 1830-1831*.

To Jełowicki before eight. A very good conversation (about Straszewicz),⁸⁶ Karwoski⁸⁷ - until twelve, more or less. To Witwicki. I go to see Plater - Montalembert (100 francs of course); to Januskiewicz (a purchase for 38 sous). To Witwicki. I tell him all my troubles. He does not offer any assistance. He advises we to accept work from Ziomecki immediately. He tells me about his project for a Catholic Library.⁸⁸ To Catcomb (later I do not smoke a cigar, and that is good). To Zdziennicki. I buy cigarettes etc. Back home. Rettel is to drop by at eight. I give him 1 franc. The conversation on his part is light; on my part cold. I feel dull, and so go to bed.

Friday, [December 29]

Prayers at home before eight. Mass alone at the Carmelites. Cheruel. Coffee. Baudét.⁸⁹ Fr. Buquet and Fr. Augé at 12:15. Back home (stove, weak). A letter to Kozłowski, to Saint-Chéron. To Słowaczyński. It is already four o'clock. To the Ogińskis for dinner (an unnecessary promise); dinner is at six. I leave at eight. Prayers. I fall asleep at ten without undressing. (Unnecessarily I tell Sidorowicz about Fr. Badiche.)

Saturday, [December 30]

Today prayers until nine. Edward. I am preparing an article for the *Encyclopédie nouvelle*. Psalms. These notes. Preparation for confession.⁹⁰ A letter to Turowski.

446

Sunday, December 31 (To the hatter)

I get up late. To Notre-Dame about ten. Holy Communion at twelve. Prayer. Unnecessarily for coffee. It is already almost two o'clock. Back home.

⁸⁶ Joseph Straszewicz (1801-1838) from Lithuania. He studied at the University of Vilno. He participated in the November uprising with the rank of major, and was a member of the Provisional Government in Lithuania. As an emigrant in Paris, he was co-editor (1833-1834) of the periodical *Souvenir de la Pologne ...* and in the years 1832-1836 of the monthly *Le Polonais*. He was a member of the Literary Society in Paris. He published the works of J. Lelewel.

⁸⁷ Karwoski - perhaps John Joachim Karwowski, Cf. 1835 footnote 368.

⁸⁸ ...plans for a Catholic Library. - Zaleski's plans did not succeed. Instead, on the initiative of Charles Sienkiewicz, the Polish Public Library was established on November 24, 1838, and assigned to Polish ownership. It was opened on March 24, 1839, at rue Duphot 10.

⁸⁹ Louis Baudé (1804-1862) - priest, classical philologist, professor of Latin at Collège Stanislas. He translated early Christian literature (St. Augustine, Tertullian and others) into French. Author of school books (Latin, ancient history).

⁹⁰ *Preparation for confession* - Cf. Appendix, position XXIX.

Dinner with Ziomecki. In the evening to Walter. The conversation is too light; not enough zeal (marshal [Ostrowski]). Back home at about ten.

[end of December 1837]

463

Minimum for debts. Immediately.

+ Room 37 - 10

Zdzienicki 50

Heiss 25

Coal merchant 50

+ Laundress 50

Shopkeeper 30

Desplanches 60

Milkman

+ Walter 25

+ Edward 45

420

Michałowski 15

Januskiewicz 20

The Ogińskis Uruski Montalembert

Nabielak Krański Fr. Des Genettes

Orpizewski Kunatt Fr. Augé

Chelchowski Fr. Skórzyński

Fr. Korycki Mikułowski

Mercier Gerycz Ladislaus Plater

Minima minima

Room 37 - 10

Edward 20

Leonard's trip

Walter 25

Laundress 40

Zdzienicki 40

Heiss 25

Coal merchant 30

Baker 50

Desplanches

Milkman 40

Store keeper 30

337 - 10

Milkman 20

Mrs. Bertholle...

APPENDIX

8592

1163

+

QUESTION OF LIFE

Stigmata of St. Francis, September 17, Sunday
[Saint-Acheul]

1. Either a crusade against Moscow, giving witness to the truth by martyrdom. Telling the truth among enemies - a project from the beginning of our coming together.

2. Or a complete renunciation of the use of all earthly means - putting the sword back in the scabbard. Apostolate and martyrdom, (a community of new missionaries).

But, here is Moscow: an interior enemy of Christianity, who needs to be suppressed by Christians as disrupting Christian unity, and overthrowing rightful Christian authority, etc. etc., and so making use of the sword of justice. However, her war is a war against Catholics; and if we do not fight against her, we would have to fight with her and for her. The struggle with her is one of self-defense, and defense of the Church, which is threatened by the animosity of her rebellious sons. (Can the Church be defended by the sword?) Begin the task, and carry on war, beginning with a revolt against the schism.

In order to decide this whole question, as soon as possible, break with the world and worldly concerns - prepare for death.

1164

Or, 3. Both a crusade and an apostolate, but separately, some without the others, and not responsible for the others. This is what came to mind. But to me it seems: evil. O God! Enlighten me!

In any case: Today it is necessary to bear witness to the Truth by complete renunciation of self, by most perfect dedication - and so penance! Mortification. Leaving the world behind.

II, [c. November 6, 1837. La Grande Trappe]

8627

871

RESOLUTIONS

Remember the special obligation to correct those faults by which I have given the greatest scandal.

1. Unreliability (among the Poles, and the French)
2. Lying
3. [word erased]
4. Levity, facetiousness.
5. Dissipation = spiritual distraction, occupying my mind with many things, restlessness.
6. Unnecessary curiosity.

Serve God in a way worthy of God.

If I do not, and will not, make a very particular and very strict designation of my obligations and occupations every week, and every day; if I fail to be earnest about fulfilling this designated arrangement (confirmed by my confessor) with the greatest accuracy and perseverance, careful to observe even the minutest details of this order - I will be lost, once again becoming careless, lax, proud, carnal, idle, disorderly, and sinful.

Save me, O Lord! Through the Passion and the merits of the most merciful Jesus, grant me the graces I need! Grant, O Lord, that I may very carefully observe and fulfill these resolutions, with which you inspire me.

What right can I have to counsel others, to govern them, if I cannot counsel or govern myself!

Always, whenever thoughts or feelings of pride come along, remind yourself of your sin, and that the most degrading.

872

Why, up to now, have I failed to realize so many holy resolutions? There may be other reasons; however, among the principal reasons is this one, that my mind was constantly distracted, occupied with a multitude of matters (and because material difficulties were forever weighing me down fiercely - and continue to do so even now). This results in interior anxiety and spiritual

distraction, weakness and disability on the part of the will. Thus, my primary obligation after confession is: as far as possible, to limit my occupations, goals, projects, and works, and take them one after another, keeping a written general, weekly, and daily order for that purpose. In daily prayer, ask God most fervently to help me observe this limitation very strictly. This is a condition "sine qua non" for the success of all other reforms, and fulfillment of other resolutions.

Second: Definitely strive to earn money for present needs, as well as for the partial payment of debts, and avoid contracting any and all further debts. Thus, first think about ways to earn money; prepare these even before returning to Paris, and choose among them, keeping a constant watch on some. The uncertain, and the further removed - these can occupy me only apart from the definite means, and as secondary to those.

Apparently it would be best: after prayers, to set aside at least a half hour for mental prayer, and there etc. cut off all unnecessary works.

III.

[c. Monday, November 6]

881 **RESOLUTIONS HERE IN LA TRAPPE**

Ask God, and make a serious effort, to make this retreat, and confession, in such a way that I will be ready for death and to stand before God.

And so, cast out of my heart all sorrow and bitterness, and conquer all evil inclinations - master all bad habits - conquer and stifle evil thoughts, quiet all anxieties (and fall in love with the Lord and with the Most Blessed Virgin).

To this end, first ask the merciful God to free me from empty reveries and base languor of the flesh.

(Perhaps I should make a will)

Beg God to take my life after this confession if it is not to be for his glory, and only preserve it if it is to be dedicated to Him, and Him alone.

Remind myself of my resolutions on my birthday on the occasion of beginning a fourth decade.¹ Consider this retreat as meant to put an end to my disorderly life up to now, and to begin a new, completely orderly, life.

¹ Bogdan Jański, born March 26, 1807, in 1838 would be beginning his fourth decade.

(Consult the confessor with regard to the emigrant pension which I might be able to arrange through Prince Czartoryski.)

882

It would be unfortunate if I were to begin this retreat with mind distracted, and heart unmortified.

The purpose of my retreat: to amend my life, and finally get to know myself and God's plans for me, the essence of my inclinations.

After confession:

1. Ask Fr. Prior about confessors.
2. how often I should confess, and receive Holy Communion.
3. whether we could celebrate Vespers at home.

UPON LEAVING

Ask Bałowski for the name of that Brother.

Ask Fr. Prior for permission to send penitents to him; can they be sent in the near future; can one hope that Fr. Prior himself would be their director - especially about Sidorowicz, whether he might not spend more time with Fr. infirmarian.²

- About Rettel.
- Also mention Fr. Dłuski.
- Look around for a house in the country. Mention this, and about establishing such a house, and about a Polish La Trappe.
- Travel to [word illegible] for an institution in the country.
- Speak with Fr. Prior about the national issue (not worth mentioning a pension for me), about my wife (a divorce).
- Ask to see the library, for a picture of the monastery, and whether small statues of the Blessed Virgin can be obtained in Paris.
- Consult with him about common prayer.
- Show him the letter from Mr. Robert, and ask where Doué might be.

900

² Sidorowicz, with his health failing, would require the presence of a doctor during a retreat at La Trappe. Jański had in mind the Trappist, Fr. Robert, with whom he was on favorable terms.

IV.

[c. November 14]

MOTIVES FOR SALARIED WORK

Reflect: it is a primary obligation of a Christian to live by means of his own work. The example of Saint Paul. The words of St. James.³

Consequently, independence (and so squelch so many rumors), and in relations with people, certitude and openness.

Consequently, peace (prevention of problems that exhaust the spirit).

Consequently, a possibility of ever more effective spiritual work upon myself and others.

Consider that through money problems, with no or insufficient money-making work - resulting in dependence on others - I was forced to make connections (usually in spite of myself), to keep quiet, to pacify, and without knowing to change mind and life in matters that I hold most dear, in good things faithful to truth and justice.

Consider that this real poverty, a real need for money, robbed me of all credit in the end - in my undertakings, work, spiritual words, and even of certainty and confidence in my own thoughts. In order to regain that credit, it is necessary for some time in the future to let it be known that I am no longer in this situation of constant need. that I can manage by myself and even help others.

Further, in order that our common work might go well, and not be exposed to constant difficulties of this kind, it will be necessary for all to strive for a similar independence, and even a capacity to offer assistance to others.

V.

898

DAILY PRAYER

An act of humility.

Sorrow for sins (the most recent fall, Anthony, my wife, my mother. Constant sensuality, pride).

Recourse to compassion.

³ This refers to St. James the Apostle, who in his letter called attention to the need for good deeds, and to the wickedness of sins of the tongue, etc.

Purpose of amendment: I promised You my life, to lead a completely new life, truly Christian, pious and charitable, inspired by holy thoughts and desires of renewal and salvation in Christ the Lord - a life that is very strictly regulated, indefatigably diligent, and most severely restrained.

O God, grant me the grace!

Grant that I might avoid habitual faults etc. etc. and practice the virtues that I need most etc.. fill my mind with thoughts, that etc., that etc. etc.

Help me in these efforts, etc. etc., in fulfilling today's arrangements... May I live deeply in love with you, in your presence and grace, for You. Amen.

VI.

Tuesday, [November 14]

473

RESOLUTIONS TO THANK GOD

In daily prayer, weeping for the sins of my past life, especially the most recent fall, together with sorrow for offending the God of perfection - thanking God for such a great humiliation, which ought to cure me of all pride forever.

Up to now, it seemed to me that if I possess the truth, that I have faith, hope and love, this was the result of my own goodness, my efforts. It seemed to me that since I had always desired to tend toward, and had actively pursued the Truth and God, I had achieved that goal.

However, now I have strayed from that way, that tendency, and have contradicted almost my entire life. I wanted to live for myself, and (almost exclusively) to secure some material position for myself.

If I am returning to the way of truth, it is due to the infinite mercy of God, and not to of my merit. Indeed, I had a constant intention of coming here; but was there not in this a similarity to eternal apostasy? What constancy was there in this intention when almost any difficulty would prompt me to delay, and so could easily have frustrated that intention? I owe everything to God. In Him is all my hope!

928

VII. THOUGHTS, INSPIRATIONS, RESOLUTIONS

Beg God daily, make an effort daily to love the things of heaven, the hopes for eternity, with my whole heart - and detach my heart ever more perfectly and completely from all earthly things, finding no delight in temporal things. Only then will I be capable of mortification throughout my life.

REMEMBRANCE OF DEATH - IN A DAILY MEMORIAL

If I knew that I would die within a week or so, I thank God that now I would not feel sorry for myself - quite the contrary. But that I would immediately begin to prepare myself, settle all business affairs, finishing some writings. and destroying others, in order to avoid giving harmful scandal to others after my death. I should begin immediately to take care of that final putting all things in order, and that necessarily as soon as possible. - O God! May I do so immediately after I arrive.

IN MY DAILY MEMORIAL AND IN DAILY PRAYERS

An act of eager acceptance of all my troubles and difficulties as due to my fault, acknowledging that I merited even greater ones, for the complete collapse of my undertakings and my own personal abasement - and offering these to God for my sins, etc.

929

Principal resolutions, and the result of the retreat: A real change of life, in daily and occupations and actions, even those of each moment - changing them into truly Christian ones. Conversion.

Be on guard, especially against myself and my inclination to laxity, surrendering to former habits.

VIII.

875

PRAYERS AND MEDITATIONS

Even if I were to remain throughout my life without any interior consolation, O Lord, keep me faithful in your service, and this will be my greatest happiness as well as Your greatest mercy.

I manifest such great devotion to the lords of this earth. Why do I not do this for God?...

At every unnecessary expense, reflect that this is a theft from creditors.

Whenever tempted by the world, or to seek pleasure - remind yourself of the divine judgment, of hell.

Beg God to free me from all pleasure in self, all pretentiousness.

Avoid frequent looking in a mirror. This is a more important piece of advice than it may seem to be.

Every time I put on better clothes, awaken within myself a sense of humility; keep in mind how the apostles and so many saints walked, and ask God to free me from those sad and dangerous needs and weaknesses, and to allow me to follow in the footsteps of Christ without the slightest deviation.

Ask God daily to grant me the strength to accustom myself to an ever more severe life, to ever fewer needs and comforts.

876 O God! Cut off all desire to seek praise for my good intentions, thoughts and works.

A multiplicity of occupations, interests, and difficulties interferes with a life in the presence of God. This is one reason to limit them severely.

IX.

877

PRAYERS, MEDITATIONS, AND RESOLUTIONS

Remind yourself of how many people you have led into, brought to, a strictly religious life, a life of dedication, [word illegible]. What a shame, what a disgrace, if I myself should become lax, if I were not to live an ever stricter life, failing to give a good example to people, and so lose merit before God.

Before prayer, rid your mind of every worldly object. Immediately cast out all troubles, all preoccupations, all love for, or attraction to, creatures, and immerse yourself in God, surrender to his grace. Pray to God daily for this gift.

If there is any business, work, conversation or letter that interferes, tires, or disturbs me - even beforehand hold it, and yourself, in suspicion, place yourself in the presence of God, and ask God to restore inner peace, and to enlighten you as to how you are to proceed in these circumstances.

Do not spend a single day without arranging the work for that day beforehand. Aware of your inclination to laxity, beg God daily for the grace of perseverance in fulfilling all of your resolutions, and the arrangement of time - and hold to these very strictly.

Avoid the more frequent reasons for falling into the sin of pride, and laziness - and for complete disorder, dissipation of the spirit - the habit of idle musing. Every day ask God to free you from this habit - and constantly be on your guard. Be constant in concentration, awakening the spirit, raising yourself up to God (this is the only way).

Try to raise each of the brothers to the highest possible perfection, while considering yourself to be the least, a footstool.

878

Ask God to change the whole tone of my life, my whole tact in relations with others. Abandon once and for all levity, joviality, thoughtlessness; all uncertainty, falsity, wavering; all lack of precision, waste of time, loitering - in your life be serious and open, sure of yourself, emphatic, decisive, active, scrupulous, always possessing presence of mind. Live in the presence of God.

In my daily prayer, pray:

1. as a member of the universal Church - for complete submission to the Church, etc.
2. as a Christian - for complete self-denial, and for a life in Christ,
3. as a person, a creature - for unity, harmony with the Creator, and for His glory.

Beg God that you might always be mindful of your final and highest goal, in all of your activities, even the slightest.

- Ask God to enlighten me completely as to what is sinful, and grant me a very clear aversion to all sin, to all evil.

- and to uncover everything in me, a sinner, whatever is an obstacle to union with Him, and to grant me the strength to correct this.

Classify your undertakings into: 1. personal, spiritual; 2. a source of income; 3. social (for now): a) common prayer, b) common instructions, c) apologetic work, which cannot be written except in the state of grace, after Communion).

Write down meditations, observations, and holy thoughts which are opposed to various sins, especially my principal sins and habits, and which promote good works.

Ask God to permit me to fall in love with severity of life and poverty, so that, if this is in conformity with his will, after earning enough money to pay off my debts, I might follow completely in the footsteps of the Lord and his apostles, and live as a beggar, a poor man; that He might also move me to wish to go unrecognized by people.

- The goal of my life: to be saved, i.e., to be holy in the sight of God (watch myself, that I may not [word illegible] in Church), and now to be absolved of sin, regain God's grace and peace of soul.

879

RESOLUTIONS, PRAYERS AND REFLECTIONS

Against pride: consider that God can frustrate all of my best and most necessary (to my mind) intentions; that He can frustrate all of my good desires, and all of my talents, by removing his grace; that He can raise up, show Himself to a Christian, to whom He will give such graces, and who will do things so great, of which I do not even dream.

Constant sentiments: despise and fear myself.

- Daily ask God for the grace to be prepared for death, and to be prepared for death every day.

- Our whole life, the entire life of a Christian should be a preparation for eternal life, and so for death.

- Ask God to detach my heart from all earthly goods, all temporal joy, and to immerse it in Himself. Avoid the slightest danger, clear up all doubts and scruples, and do things that are very much opposed to natural inclinations - so as to possess internal peace and grace.

Recite the rosary every day (at least on Saturday as the day dedicated to the Blessed Virgin).

880 God comforts and visits only those who are sad in spirit, sad as long as they are not with Him. Therefore do not seek any sensible consolation in creatures or in any temporal thing. Expect this only from God. Do not take joy in any comforts, foods, pleasures, amusements, clothes - in any looking-glasses or worldly events. But constantly groan and yearn for God... (How many times have I sinned in this respect!) In this sense: God will be the goal of all thoughts and activities, if we never seek our own satisfaction and consolation in them, but rather fulfill them solely to satisfy God, and to await consolation solely from God Himself.

XI.

[Saturday] December 2

445

THIRD CONFESSION

I made my second confession on the Friday after the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin, November 24.

1) I was not imbued with gratitude to God and the greatness of the grace I received after this retreat.

2) I decided on a small lie, that is, to date a few letters written in Mortagne as if they were written at La Trappe, to edify, and to have a reason for speaking after such a long silence, but in part out of conceit. - However, I received Holy Communion on Saturday.

3) I received Communion - instead of steeping my whole soul in the holiness of the Blessed Sacrament, to which I was approaching (even before Mass, asking Fr. Prior for my passport).

4) During Mass, right before receiving Holy Communion, praying for God's grace in various situations and needs, I began to think about various affairs, so that right before Communion I could not rid my mind of these thoughts.

On arriving at Mortagne:

5) Noting the selfishness, the greed of the tavern-keeper (perhaps unjustly), I became disturbed by this, irritated with him, perhaps very unjustly.

6) I offered a reason for work on Sunday, not because of absolute need, but only for convenience - to wash my collars! However, there is hope that the laundress might do this work on Saturday, and they would dry on Sunday.

7) Along the way, temptations to look at women, against which I did not defend myself with enough determination. The sight of women awakens evil sensations, curiosity, attraction, which I did not resist sufficiently.

446

8) In the tavern, unnecessary drinking, a whole bottle of wine. Why a demitasse for the night? Then there is concupiscence which I do not resist sufficiently by way of thoughts about mortification.

9) and once again musing, even before prayer, about a letter to Mrs. Giedrojc.

10) Because I did not (at once) keep my resolutions concerning a pipe, wine, and mortification, at the first temptation I failed, and that immediately (when even thriftiness required that I refrain), I am not worthy to receive Holy Communion today (Sunday).

11) In the church at Mortagne, evil, lustful, glances at women.

12) In spite of confession, I was not present at Vespers, on account of letters.

13) I did not make the meditation prescribed as a penance, only very briefly.

14) On Sunday I did not perform the act of adoration of the Blessed Sacrament.

XII.

[Saturday], December 2

451

CONFESSION IN SOLESMES

1. Did not fulfill the penance as to prayers.

2. Uneasiness at Holy Communion eight days ago due to false dates on letters - and extraneous thoughts.

3. A lack of thanksgiving to God.

4. In Mortagne, and from the time of departure, complete negligence in fulfilling resolutions that were made. Idle thoughts about some practices of piety and mortification.

5. Therefore I do not dare to receive Holy Communion. Bad behavior in church.

6. Failure to observe the Sunday, I myself and by way of the laundress.

7. Glancing at women, 5 times, curiosity, attraction, contrary to the order of the confessor, listening to dirty talk.

8. Scandal by way of excessive indulgence of bad conversations. Failure to take advantage of the opportunity to witness to the truth.

9. Laziness in morning rising etc., a great waste of time, and so many urgent tasks.

XIII.

765

THE NATIONAL ISSUE

Is it possible to desire and work toward an uprising - fight for the freedom of our Country? This issue involves the issue of a war (with regard to the most recent epoch in the Church's application of the Christian principle)

It is necessary, because Russia is clearly a society and government opposed to God.

It is necessary to oppose her rule, take up arms against the brigand and thief.

This whole issue will have to be discussed among ourselves openly, publicly, but in a more restricted group, e.g., the five of us: Peter, Jerome, Hube, Edward and myself.

Rettel and Sidorowicz are excluded. We would be advised to excuse, and so not include, Mickiewicz.

Kozłowski would have to be disposed intellectually first. Perhaps it may be better to wait for the arrival of the new members: [Charles] Kaczanowski and Terlecki.

Therefore, perhaps we need to get to know all of our [emigrants] better - travel through the province?

766

Remember that at this time (it seems, in principle) all discussion, battles concerning minor issues of political form etc. have ceased, and now the moment approaches for a final judgment of both camps: not of despotism and freedom - but rather the battle between religion and irreligion, piety and impiety. The battle between good and evil is reaching bottom, the area of religion.

People usually interpret the term "Fatherland" in terms of national traditions, pagan glory in conquests, earthly splendor, temporal power - arousing national pride and a brute love of country and race. Christians should rather seek traditions binding country and race in a universal Christian unity, in a future Kingdom of God - traditions of piety, sanctity, religious apostolate - in saints, in the propagation of a country and race that belong to the Church of Christ - in founding various religious institutions; in the formation of religious customs, arts, and monuments.

O most kind God! Am I to desert you in order to move over into the service of Your enemies?

XIV.

769

OUR POLITICS

If such a politics is not formulated in time, and if we fail to agree on it, others, even enemies of Catholicism, will come forth and recruit people, grabbing the means which could have been ours, and we ourselves will begin to become entangled in the roads opened by them, led by them, (for it is impossible to live with Poles and not undertake some kind of patriotic activities, either in mind or in deed). - Moreover, the later we do this, the more difficult will it be to establish unity among ourselves. Each one will become stronger, more inflexible in his own opinions. We may even be in danger by reason of a political division among us. What a scandal that would be! What harm it would bring to a most holy cause, to religion!

Therefore, as soon as possible we need to reflect, to ask God for enlightenment, to shape our thoughts, to prepare more comprehensive books and periodicals, maybe first resurrect "The Pilgrim".

(Perhaps at the same time some French materials - supporting our principles and views; here once again Montalembert, Jourdain, Transon.)

The press is such a power today. We will not enjoy any significance among the multitude of people until we begin to publish.

770

First principle: orthodoxy without any restriction

Second [principle]: real patriotism (what is good and what is possible).

Third [principle]; prudence - openness, as far as necessary, and secrecy as far as necessary. A politics not of words, shouting, idle talk, but of work.

Fourth [principle]: mutual trust, obedience, unity

Fifth [principle]: therefore agreement as to ideas doctrine - and people.

We were criticized, that in "The Pilgrim" it was impossible to know whether we were aristocrats or democrats. We wrote against the one and the other. In fact we do condemn the one and the other. Today we announce publicly that we are with the one and the other to the extent that they are with Poland. We are not against them: To the democrats we say that we do not give preference to Czar[toryski]; to the aristocrats we say: we do not give preference to "The New Poland", Ostrowski and Centralization. We will simply take a stand against irreligious, anti-Catholic principles. Moreover, the difference of opinion does not frighten us; quite the contrary, it prompts us to draw closer to people, and to lead all people to national political unity, erected on a Catholic basis. Among the aristocrats, as well as among the democrats, there are good and bad people, and all of them are not well enlightened. Moreover, among us these parties do not have any roots, grounds (patriotism, but not so easily

distinguished) - parties so lightly, insufficiently, formed and maintained, that they cannot even be called parties, etc. etc.

Indicate what is the necessary condition for unity and patriotism, a basic principle of national politics - and what is permissible. (The third [principle], what was agreed upon among us, what is best.)

XV.

789

THE NATIONAL CAUSE

A few days before the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, after fervent prayer, and while thinking about renouncing everything for the sake of God, even about a return to Poland of a good number of us in order to serve God there, with a clear abandonment of all earthly and national intentions, here in Solesmes I suddenly received (I believe from God) a strong and clear clarification, a loud call as it were, telling me that today such a return, and such a renunciation or abandonment of the national cause would be most imprudent and even sinful. It would completely discredit our holy faith among our people (at present so exacerbated by patriotism, and to such a great extent bankrupt of the spirit of God by reason of dissolute and licentious living). This could provide patriots with a reason for schism, and lead to a violent reaction against religion. How much damage to the Church would result therefrom! When, on the contrary, taking prudent advantage of the indignation prompted by the persecution of Catholicism by our enemies, it might be possible to draw the whole nation under the sweet yoke of Christ.

How much prudence, perseverance, and labor is required in order to establish such a return to Catholicism, and make it a part of the social organism! O God! come to our rescue with your inexhaustible mercy, and your all powerful grace.

If the Gospel [recommends] self-denial, putting aside all personal interest, it does not in the least authorize, it does not allow, freedom for robbery, compulsion, plunder!

The main issue: How, in the present situation of such great anarchy among the emigrants and in Poland, establish unity, order, and general organization?

XVI.

451 Friday, December 8

FOURTH CONFESSION IN SOLESMES

First. Uneasiness as to whether I was sufficiently humble when confessing.

a) The confessor thought that the failure to complete the penance due to obstacles in the course of the journey was allowable; and so I did not explain myself well, and that solely due to neglect.

b) Here I said that I had fulfilled it better; but here also so carelessly and badly, that it was surely worthless.

c) I forgot that a part of the penance was to make resolutions for the present day, and so all of them are worthless.

Second. a) I forgot to confess the impure thoughts into which I kept falling and which continue to trouble me - and b) the false compliment that I offered to Fr. Guéranger, that I would be ready to stay here.

Third. I lied by saying that I read Görres' first book.

Fourth. I did not arrange my time, and occupied myself with matters that were less necessary.

Fifth. Laziness in morning rising, on Monday and Tuesday.

Sixth. Day-dreaming.

Seventh. Distraction in prayer, almost voluntary.

Eighth. Thoughts full of ambition and self-love in projects for good works.

XVII.

809

THE PILGRIM

This, or any other political publication of ours. From the standpoint of politics, it must be moderate and keeping in mind the status of intellects, so that it could be popular in Poland and among the emigrants.

Therefore, first announce only initial truths and proceed gradually.

Therefore, for our own people other forms of communication besides letters, and autographed circulars, are needed. Thus, while undertaking such a periodical, we must also embark upon other complementary works and publications, and not regard this as our sole contribution; on the contrary, announce even beforehand that through these publications we offer and present what we regard as necessary, useful and possible.

In order to undertake this publication, besides preparing articles dealing with national politics, we must decide upon a political plan and its practical development (plus funds for a definite period, plus articles prepared beforehand.

810

It is necessary: first, to organize ourselves strictly, clearly (and agree in general on a definite politics);

Arrange, propagate, and establish relations with the emigration. And, when possible, to establish such relations with Poland.

Definitely have some institution of our own in England and in Belgium in case we are expelled [from this country], (thus we need to prepare ourselves for every kind of persecution) and make sure that we have Polish print there.

Be ready to undertake other publications and other works. (University, Reviews, etc.)

It seems that it would be better first to prepare minds, gather readers by some familiar, humble, sincere and somewhat longer publications. (Today, December 11, the thought came to me) - by *Letters of a converted notorious sinner*, the preparation of which would have to begin immediately. And once they began to appear little by little, we would make the necessary preparations to publish a periodical. (Establishing ourselves, arranging for correspondence and relations with Poland, funds, an institution in Belgium or England; and first of all, necessarily in La Trappe.)

Consider: that this is the most effective means to propagate general truths - if one is making a judgment about novelties that occupy universal attention, whether political events or publications.

Consider: that only by way of gradual persuasion, by explaining our reasons to all those who do not share our principles, these principles are sown and develop. In view of this, declare yourself very openly and clearly in favor of the Pope. Vignette of the Pope and of the Blessed Virgin, Queen of Poland.

From the errors and sins mentioned in the previous two sections absolution was received.

XVIII.

449 [Sunday], December 17

MY FIFTH CONFESSION IN SOLESMES

My last confession was made on the 8th, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. In general, throughout those eight days, a great lukewarmness and lack of fervor in my prayers and occupations. I did not occupy myself with what I should have, but rather with that to which I felt attracted, pious reading. There was practically no arrangement of time. I did not write urgent letters. Laziness in rising. Once, for this reason, penitential prayer was left until evening.

XIX.

889

RESOLUTIONS

Decide questions (after prayer): perfection, mysticism, breaking with all earthly things, and living only for God, and at the same time, occupying myself with some works, studies, and temporal aspirations - and so time and eternity, the interior and the exterior life. - Is mystical, ascetical, life only for monks? Is Christian perfection not meant for all Christians? Principles of the faith, evangelical counsels.

The national issue, the issue of war. doing good or struggling with evil - strength.

The economic issue: how reconcile the obligation for continual growth in dedication to God and eternity, mortification - with improvement of the existence of individual people in various nations, in social life, which is developing, (even on the basis of Christian principles).

The question of our own establishment - a definite goal - obligations - authority - endurance.

The question of a newspaper, (combined with the question of our interior organization, contributions etc., the organization of correspondence).

- It is necessary, and that as soon as possible, to establish among ourselves some form of welfare institution - as a standard and nucleus for amalgamation and growth. But to achieve this we need not only to be able to earn enough to meet our own needs, but also to contribute toward the maintenance of such an institution (contributions, a council to deal with finances and accounts - Miłośki etc.).

- Ultimately we also need to think about a university (Catholic, national, Polish). How good it would be if we could initiate this soon! Perhaps Adam Mickiewicz could offer his *History of Poland* as a course; however, I (and others) would have to prepare something on the scholarly level as soon as possible.

- Ultimately, if we do not decide finally on our national politics; if we do not trace a direction, a road; if we do not choose the means, the time; if we do

not set down conditions and begin to work - we will not have our own national Catholic politics. Because of our situation, by becoming entangled in our of our ideas, projects and relations - concerning the national issue - we will continue to be entangled - in foreign politics (foreign to our faith and even our principles, in spite of our knowledge, and often contrary to it).

890

Therefore it is necessary to read and reflect upon the Holy Father's Bull concerning our cause;⁴ and if necessary, try to arrange a consultation with some more expert doctors, in order to provide for complete peace of conscience (the publication of such a consultation would be a great help). The request on our part, along with an explanation of the question could be signed by Caesar, Mickiewicz, myself - in the name of our friends - and addressed to Gerbet, Lacordaire, Fr. Guéranger, Fr. Des Genettes, perhaps de Genoude⁵ etc. etc., some Trappist Abbot, a Jesuit, etc.

In daily prayer ask God to give me the grace to begin an entirely new life, truly Christian, pious, humble, charitable - poor, temperate, hard-working.

Ask God daily for the gift of celibacy (better to ask for more than for less).

XX.

883 RESOLUTIONS AFTER ARRIVING IN PARIS

After greeting the brothers, and establishing with them, as far as possible immediately, a Christian tone and relationship, careful of and observing my resolutions and obligations, choose that which is in most urgent need of doing - perhaps settling some debts or other business. Avoid making visits immediately; instead, set aside time for putting yourself in order interiorly.

⁴ An allusion to the Brief of Gregory XVI *Cum primum* of June 9, 1832. In his letter to the Polish bishops, the Pope condemned the November uprising and the revolt against lawful authority. - Jański used the popular expression "Bull" for the pronouncement of the Pope which had the character of a letter, that is a *brief*.

⁵ Antoine-Eugène de Genoude (1792-1848) - was in the service of Louis XVIII. A newspaper man, the owner and editor of "Gazette de France". He was an advocate of legitimism. He became a Catholic priest. He translated the Bible. The author of religious works, he published among others, *La Raison du Christianisme* (Cf. above, footnote 58), *Les Pères de l'Eglise des trois premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne*. He collaborated with the "L'Université Catholique".

Do not neglect, God help me, daily prayer, the rosary, examination of conscience, and written rules.

Try to arrange for conferences as soon as possible and establish written rules (which are to be observed strictly).

Attend Mass daily, moved by zeal.

Arrange for a chapel.

Definitely renounce all seniority (hopefully for life).

At present consider yourself the senior among the others (of necessity), as the greatest sinner (especially by way of pride and sensuality), exposed to a test of humility and temperance.

Among the brothers in Rome (the national question, as well as ultimate arrangements to establish ourselves and unite in Christ the Lord).

The establishment, in the country, of a House of Spiritual Education, Penance, a Refuge.

Common practices with the brothers in the provinces (and with the brothers in Paris).

Seek permission from the Archbishop, or where it is proper (through Fr. Augé, or Fr. Des Genettes) to read works that are censored, and even give these to others to read at times.

884

- In order to break with and more easily free myself from the influence of non-Christian, unorthodox, company and relationships, try to make the acquaintance of pious and very orthodox people (Laura Brady, Le Prévost).⁶ - Obtain information about Thon, or otherwise (from Charton).⁷ Author of the pamphlet *Retour au Christianisme d'un Saint-Simonien*.

At Saint-Chéron in the evenings.

⁶ Laura Brady - an unknown person; she may have been involved in philanthropic work. Jean-Léon de Leprévost (1803-1874) - An official in the French Ministry of Religion. From 1835 he was the vice-chairman of the Paris Conference of the Society of St. Vincent De Paul. He established the Congregation of the Brothers of St. Vincent de Paul.

⁷ *Find out about Thon or else (from Charton)* - I was unable to establish the meaning of this note.

With holy women (in order to avoid the worldly). Inquire about Peter's Eugenia. Seek information also about "Européen" and its editors. Markiz, with whom Zan is living (as long as Zan does not depart).

- It is also necessary to renew relations with Chopin - through him and at his house - perhaps a relationship can be established on the basis of which something good can be accomplished.

After arriving, visit Fr. Augé, Fr. Des Genettes, Fr. Chaussothe, Fr. Desquibes.⁸

Should some course (perhaps in political economy) be initiated especially for the Central School, some conferences for our young people? For time is of the essence. Each of them is in the process of making an ultimate decision, settling down. The longer we wait, the more difficult it will be.

Would it be possible. through Mrs. Thayer or other women to establish workshops for seamstresses, homes of the Good Shepherd etc. for girls returning to God from a sinful life, where they could live socially and religiously. Common prayers, etc.; going out is prohibited etc. - under the direction of a priest and some kind of guardian council.

Study of Sacred Scripture, especially the New Testament, daily, at least for an hour. Memorize all the words of Jesus.

Study of the Fathers of the Church.

Theology, Councils, Mysticism. Works of the Saints

- With regard to the study of Sacred Scripture: It will be necessary to make translations according to the Vulgate and French etc. with commentary - and in due time write to P. H. [Peter Semenenko and Jerome Kajsiewicz] urging them gradually to prepare such a translation of the entire Bible.

- Find Gerbet's explanation of the Eucharist, and prepare it for publication.

- On arrival in Paris, think about leaving after a few months, and in the remaining months wander about town as little as possible (in order not to meet with and forget about bad acquaintances).

XXI.

885

⁸ Pierre-Eloi-Marie Desquibes (1797-1861) - Chaplain of the Benedictine Sisters, counsellor of the Société des Missionnaires, and finally chaplain in the Necker hospital.

RESOLUTIONS (AFTER ARRIVAL IN PARIS)

In the arrangement of time, make room daily for work as a source of income.

- after that, pertaining to our establishment as a community and correspondence.

- after that, work for my own education.

It seems that before writing anything, even apologetic works, beginning those letters or etc. etc. (unless it is for purposes of earning money), or something else to teach others, I need to dedicate all my energy to study: first, digest what I have already learned; second, seek healthy nourishment. N.B. I need to think about what it is most urgent that I study. Third, only then think about writing for others.

I am not sure whether some small course for our own people is necessary (and whether this should be regarded as lesson for my people, or as a simple conversation).

Apparently it is God's will that I spend all of my time earning money. I need to accept this with Christ's humility. (Therefore, for the time-being set aside any missionary work, writing, and even, as far as possible, scholarly work.) And, along with work to earn money, dedicate myself most zealously to spiritual perfection, remaining constantly in the presence of God, in prayer, humility, and mortification, in order to fulfill all of my obligations not carelessly and indifferently, but rather fervently and diligently.

Also, as far as possible, limit all social work. Try to transfer some of these functions to others.

"As long as I will want to mean something, I will be nothing. When, in the spirit of humility, I become nothing, I will be capable of everything in the hand of God."

886

Order in the house. Downstairs, in the dining room (Fr. Dłuski's) sofa instead of a bed.

In a corner on a table, newspapers. N.B. gather and arrange the Polish newspapers.

In the chapel or refectory, set in a frame, the order for the week, together with Feasts, services in various churches.

(Buy sabots for yourself.)

N.B. Such almost exclusive occupation in work as a source of income will free me from debts, assure interior peace, order in the house, restore some sense of my abilities, even a certain respect among people, and will shut the mouths of those spreading rumors about us - and make us independent.

Order in the house. Immediately after returning, try to make arrangements for the kitchen.

After paying the baker, order coarse bread. Not wine, but beer; for myself, as far as possible mainly water.

Arrange Sunday dinners, etc., for the external brethren.

- Make a list of addresses in Paris (so that it would not be necessary to walk about, but rather settle business by mail) and addresses of the Departments.

When a good idea crosses my mind, some project, even the most holy, before I decide on its implementation, be filled with a fear that there might be some personal interest involved, or pride - and then remind myself of my sins that call for so much humility, which remove every reason for self-love, and humble myself in the presence of God, asking whether this is His will to accept this project, and if so, ask Him most fervently to guard me internally from every feeling of pride and self-interest.

XXII.

887 **RESOLUTIONS AFTER ARRIVING IN PARIS**

Try to arrange for the establishment of a Council to control the intake and use of funds.

But this will be possible only after making internal arrangements, and establishing a definite governing authority.

From 1838 on maintain a public book of income and expense (and from the two previous years make a list of offerings and loans to the house).

By God! It is necessary to take advantage of this time of armistice in our national cause, of the ease with which saving truths can be instilled in our

people which is offered by the situation of the emigrants, and so on all sides, in all branches, to implant the Catholic truth in the public opinion of the nation.

In our external arrangements, in the emigration, it may also be possible to establish common prayer, and arrange for periodic, one-time, collections; but then it will be necessary to organize our book-keeping.

Prepare a correspondence register, in which all of the incoming, and outgoing, letters will be listed. An archive of correspondence (which will not include personal letters).

- A list of addresses throughout the provinces, that is, a list of correspondents.

After I arrive, first repairs internally with the brothers, and also restoring order in my affairs: in my papers, books, and most urgent business. Second, mending external relations: Klukowski, Faliński, Ropelewski, Bukaty, Eborowicz, Walter, Piwowarski, etc. etc. - and in correspondence.

888

After I return, it will be necessary to meet with Ladislaus Plater, and discuss matters with him sincerely, and so first of all, pray to God sincerely for enlightenment on how to attack him, and how strong he is.

Put aside a few hours for the library at Collège Stanislas, to review some works, especially religious periodicals; there may be some works, dealing especially dealing with foreign churches, which I can use for my studies. Glance through the Library of the Fathers of the Church, perhaps that prepared by Guillon.⁹ Take some of these with the text alongside.

- Shortly after returning, visit Madame Niboyet to see whether something can be done at Mr. de Jullien.

- Also, shortly after, meet with Mikułowski. At the house. introduce the Angelus at noon.

Enroll in the Fraternity of the Blessed Virgin at Fr. Des Genettes (as a converted sinner), perhaps with Sidorowicz.

- and to the Scapular Fraternity at the Carmelites (perhaps with Ziomecki and Kozłowski),

⁹ Marie-Nicolas-Silvestre Guillon (1760-1847) - an expert judge of preaching. He organized and published *Bibliothèque des pères de l'Église greque et latine, ou cours d'eloquence sacrée*, 36 volumes, Paris (1828-1829, Brussels (1828-1834).

- and to the Fraternity inquire) of which I am a member by way of Saint-Chéron.

After returning to Paris, try not to go our for a few days in a row.

- Make an effort to keep fewer and fewer papers, burn more and more - so to prepare better for death. (Establish certain principles, and order, for yourself with regard to the burning of papers.)

- Anyway, put all of your papers, and books, in order, and make a list of them.

- Begin to keep strict accounts of money (keep a very orderly list of debts).

Make an effort to purchase a kneeler (and perhaps a chair to go with it). Overbeck's paintings (Jesus among the children, etc.).¹⁰ - Inscriptions from the Bible on the walls.

Make a very serious effort not to fall back into relaxation, anxiety, lukewarmness, failures, but maintain fervor. It is necessary to build a kind of fortress against all occasions to fail. Above all, try to maintain a proper spirit by way of religious practices and spiritual reading.

Do not desire any position of authority in the emigration. As far as possible on a large scale, undertake service to all and in all: enlightening, assisting, leading the them to the right way - and think about establishing various institutions for this purpose, and about plans for establishing among the French a Committee or Agency for assistance to Poles.

- Not only not wish, but with all your strength, avoid - and try to elevate others to, positions of authority. (Plans for rehabilitation, by means of religious abasement. Former great individuals. A plenary indulgence.)

XXIII.

891 RESOLUTIONS AFTER ARRIVING IN PARIS

¹⁰ Johann Friedrich Overbeck (1789-1869) - a German painter and engraver. He was converted from protestantism to Catholicism. On the model of medieval religious brotherhoods, he established the Lukasbund society in Vienna. From 1810 he was in Rome, where, together with a group of German artists called the "Nazarenes", he opposed formalism in the arts, and presented a program for the renewal of religious and national art. They modelled themselves, e.g., on medieval art, and undertook efforts at collective work.

To avoid difficulties arising from visits, designate visiting hours, e.g. a half hour in the morning from 7:30, and an hour before dinner from 4 o'clock or 3:30.

Nevertheless, for all longer visits it will be necessary to set aside one evening a week, but first: 1) strengthen the spirit of the brothers and organize ourselves, so that there would be someone to receive visitors, and so to avoid scandalizing them. (Before such an evening, perhaps it would be well to hold a conference with the brothers, and to offer some advice, cautions, regulations.) - 2. First of all, arrange Sunday devotions for the extern brothers, dinners and evenings (before which, especially on occasions, such spiritual preparations and regulations.)

XXIV.

903

FURTHER RESOLUTIONS

For the Feast of the Seven Dolors, in October, go to Saint-Acheul on foot, in fulfillment of a vow, confess to Fr. Kułak,¹¹ and receive Holy Communion, asking our Queen, our Mother of Mercy to have mercy on us, and at the same time, to thank her for the great graces in regard to Grotkowski's brother, asking him for forgiveness for all the scandals given at that time.

If funds were available from Kraków, perhaps it might be good to travel to England, or through France, as far as Montpellier.

And would it be possible, and even advisable, to travel to Dresden now, as long as Caesar [Plater] is there. It seems that this might be the source of great benefit. From there I could go to Prague, to Kraków, to Galicia (perhaps to Oboźno).¹²

And, after crossing the Rhine, definitely visit Körner, taking with me letters from Rybiński, and maybe Niewiarowicz. But, N. B., above all obtain permission from my confessor.

¹¹ George Kułak (1797-1870) - He became a Jesuit and a priest in France in 1831. He lived as a missionary in Portugal, Italy and France. He directed retreats. He had the reputation of a holy priest.

¹² Oboźno (in Galicia) - *The geographic dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland* does not include this name.

And traveling abroad, definitely letters to Bautain, as well as Catholic acquaintances along the way, in Strasbourg, Frankfurt, etc. etc.

(Perhaps with time, if... - I might seek to obtain an appointment as a professor in some Belgian Catholic university. Apparently, however, no longer for myself, but for one of my brothers. I, obviously, must think in terms of an apostle's staff - God grant! Perhaps for me sooner some position as a professor of philosophy in a Catholic Collège or institution in Paris.

While I am in Dresden, I must definitely communicate with my family; perhaps my wife would come, or I might invite one of my cousins.

904

For January 12, write a letter with greetings to Arcadius Gościcki in Trembek, post Zakroczym (gouvernement de Płock).

For March 9, The Feast of St. Francis, greetings to Szydłów,¹³ along with a life (of St. Francis worked out before-hand).

If I receive no response from Jaroszyński, write to him about six months later.

It would definitely be necessary to go to England and become acquainted with religious communities there, especially the Trappists (and others, such as the Benedictines), and the principal Catholics - O'Connell,¹⁴ the Bishops of Ireland - to find out where one might rent some old convent with a church and land, where it would be possible to establish a religious military colony, which, at the same time, would be a military and agricultural school (in which there would be military discipline, military instructions, mathematics etc. A military library). - Then invite some more expert strategists to offer part-time instructions - Chrzanowski, Brzozowski, Nieszokoć, Różycki (who would live in a separate guest-house during their stay there, etc.).

¹³ Szydłów, or Szydłowo - it is impossible to determine which place Jański had in mind (in the Bydgoszcz, Piotrków, or Sieradz regions).

¹⁴ Daniel O'Connell (1775-1847) - an Irish lawyer, eminent speaker and activist. In 1823 he established the Catholic Society. He was an envoy to the House of

And also definitely to Belgium - would it be possible to take advantage of their sympathy for us, and maybe obtain burses for the university - or at least some donations.

And, would it be possible in time to establish a Polish College¹⁰⁵ in Rome, like the English and German Colleges?

And, before trips to Germany, Belgium or England, should I arrange for suitable preparatory historical, statistical, religious studies?

XXV.

889

REASONS FOR LIMITING MY ACTIVITIES AND CONCENTRATING ON THE BEST PROJECTS

Keep in mind that God is all powerful, infinitely wise and good. If in fact there would be a need to do this or that which I would consider the most necessary, for His glory, for the benefit of religion, He would find and send suitable workers.

If I am unsuited, if this occupation, this work, would prove to be beyond my strength and spiritual capacity; if it would only deprive me of peace, piety, and lead to a fall, then obviously I ought not undertake it. I would have to recognize that God does not ask this of me. What He very clearly asks of me is my own salvation.

And so - first, and above all - strive daily for salvation, piety, growth in virtue; be prepared for death. Second, work to earn all that is needed for my own life, to pay my debts and provide for others, and use the rest for what is possible.

XXVI.

[Thursday, December 21]

449

HOLY COMMUNION, 21. THE FEAST OF ST. THOMAS

From [December] 17th

Failure to observe the Rule, omission of urgent works, practically of obligation, and occupying myself guided by natural inclinations.

Idle thoughts - even on Sunday, a part of Monday, as well as a part of Wednesday. On Tuesday I got up late, using the excuse of pollution. Insufficient aversion in rejecting sinful memories. In church a lack of respect, and occupying myself with vain, worldly, thoughts.

Great God! I have been here more than three weeks already and I still have not written any of my letters.

XXVII.

[Thursday, December 21]

762

**FINAL RESOLUTIONS
ON THE DAY OF MY DEPARTURE FROM SOLESMES
DECEMBER 21, THE FEAST OF ST. THOMAS**

All of my resolutions, so specific and so far-sighted, by the grace of God so holy, will be of no use unless I gather all the strength of my soul to apply my whole will to them. and to fulfill them as zealously as possible, continuing to pray to the Father of all good and perfection, the Most merciful God, in the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ and through the merits of his holy Passion, as well as through the intercession of the Most Blessed Virgin, Mother of God, Saint Peter, the holy Apostles and patron saints of Poland - and perhaps they will obtain the graces I need to this purpose.

If only one ray of Divine Grace touches me, and I receive it worthily, all of these details will become insignificant, and I will begin to live a new life in Christ the Lord.

O God, be merciful to me a sinner! Amen.

XXVIII,

449

Sunday, December 24, Monday, December 25.

**BEFORE HOLY COMMUNION ON SUNDAY, THE 24TH,
AND ON CHRISTMAS DAY, THE 25TH**

Awakening sorrow [for]:

- 1) glancing at women a few times out of curiosity,
- 2) acquiescing to non-Christian talk of others,
- 3) a few lies prompted by vanity: that I ate dinner on Sunday, when I did not, and that I arrived on Saturday only a short time before I came home, while I was already present a few hours before that.
- 4) omission of Vespers and sung Mass.

XXIX.

449

IN THE WEEK FROM CHRISTMAS TO NEW YEAR'S DAY

1) Neglect in fulfilling my penance, yesterday not fulfilling it at all four times until meditation in the evening;

2) on visits seeking loans under other pretexts, aiming at loans, scandal;

3) a false excuse for not repaying 150 francs to Plater;

4) a feeling of jealousy by reason of the project of a Polish Library.
Counsel in this regard.

5) Failure to keep resolutions, especially with regard to the Diary, external piety, mortification;

6) laziness in rising, in business matters, wasting time, a sin in view of my obligation of special activity and regularity;

7) while visiting Mickiewicz, malicious talk about our big-wigs;

8) Omission of Vespers and sung Mass.

NOTES

1. Fragments of a Bogdan Jański's letter to Frances Giedrojć written from La Trappe (Cf. footnote 50):

Undoubtedly you know nothing about the Trappists except the name. These are regular monks of St. Benedict reformed by St. Bernard, and so Cisterians, but who returned to the original, and perhaps an even more severe way of life at the time of Louis XIV through the efforts of Blessed de Rancé. Like the ancient eremites they eat only vegetables, never meat, or eggs, or fish, or butter. For two thirds of the year, they eat only once a day - during Lent only at 4 o'clock. Every day they rise after midnight. They recite the entire breviary with the greatest solemnity, and daily sing a High Mass with all their hearts and all their lungs. Daily they spend at least six hours in hard work on the farm which provides their food - all of them: the Abbot and the Prior dig, build with stones, and cart manure like all the others. There is no time for recreation or rest - only alternately devotions, manual labor, study, and spiritual reflection. The silence in the monastery and at work is complete; they all communicate by way of signs. Only the superiors are allowed to give orders and receive explanations verbally in special places assigned for this purpose. A since the Superior is chosen by God, every monk speaks to him, and receives orders from him on his knees. Speech is allowed only to accuse oneself or one of the brothers of sins publicly at the chapter, before whom then the one making the accusation, that is the one scandalized by some irregularity, prostrates himself and states his grievances and admonition.

Whatever is left over from the sustenance and the needs of the monastery, is given to the poor. And this is their whole life.

But what joy, peace, and spiritual health on all their faces. I am deeply convinced that among them are to be found the most happy people on the earth today - they themselves acknowledge this. Moreover, they themselves asked the Pope [Gregory XVI], who a few years ago wanted to lessen these austerities, for permission to retain them. With what joy, and with what love, each of them speaks of eternal, heavenly things - and looks forward to death.

N.B. They do not have separate cells. They sleep together in a dormitory. They take one who is dying out of bed, and place him on the floor; on a handful of straw and ashes they die in the Lord.

Perhaps this is not paradise, but certainly it is a bath, a dressing-table, a sumptuous wedding, in preparation for entry into heaven.

A strange thing: Why is it that only such strict orders do not relax. How miserable our nature is. How dangerous is a loose life! We have only to rely on ourselves a little, indulge ourselves a little, and everything in the soul is threatened with ruin. destruction, rebellion against God, and eternal separation from God. [...]

There are nine such male Trappist monasteries in France. The poor women not long ago adopted this rule and this way of life - and already there are more of their monasteries than of the men - fifteen. For, sin entered through Eve, but salvation through Mary. May Mary be both Mother, and Patroness, for all of them! Does our world today not need the prayer and penance of holy souls? And do not the merits of the saints save all of us sinners?

Apropos of sinners, I return to speak about myself. On entering my beloved La Trappe, the first thing I saw, and gazed upon with all my soul, was the Blessed Virgin over the door, and beneath her the inscription: *Refugium peccatorum [Refuge of sinners]*. I said to myself: *Very good... This suits me. I will feel very good here.*

In each guest the brother porter greets Christ the Lord, receiving him on his knees, and asking him for a blessing, then leading him immediately into the dwelling place... of the Divine Savior Himself hidden in the Blessed Sacrament. After a short prayer in church and entrance into the reception room, two silent monks in white habits, like statues, come to greet the visitor. They fall prostrate before the visitor and recite a few prayers; rising, they read a few holy thoughts to him about the short duration of this life, and about a future eternity, either bad or good. This is how I was greeted.

I had some special letters to Fr. Prior. From his first words I liked him very much. And so I told him immediately that *my sickness is very complicated, long-standing, and very poorly treated* - and I asked him for *radical treatment*. Then he wrote prescriptions for me; and I for my part, turned to the Lord of infinite mercy with my petitions. Surrender! Surrender to grace without any conditions.

Throughout the whole time of the retreat Fr. Prior sequestered me, making all of my time and my whole will subject to his Rule: he forbade me to speak to anyone but himself. He assigned prayers, meditations, a method of examination of conscience, time of confession, and finally, cleansed in the sacrament of penance and renewed in Christ the Lord, he prepared me a few

days ago to approach the Table of the Lord on the Feast of the Blessed Virgin's Presentation to God. Alleluja! - On that day, which will remain festive throughout my life, I also had the privilege to eat dinner in the monastery refectory. Almost a hundred hooded monks: each with a little pot of soup mixed with vegetables, a small pot of pearl barley, a few potatoes in their skins, and a few apples. This is their ordinary dinner. Before and after, long prayers. On the walls, emblems of death, words of Sacred Scripture encouraging mortification. During the meal, when the Prior knocks, everyone puts down his spoon, and stops eating for a few minutes, in order to curb any carnal concupiscence. At this dinner it seemed to me that, like the prodigal son in the Gospel, having wasted the gifts and graces granted me not so long ago, and having returned to my Father's house, I was seated at a festive table amid guests invited by God the Father, witnesses of my spiritual return. And so I groaned and sighed in spirit, asking the Lord for the graces needed to fulfill my good resolutions in the future." (ACRR 8568, pp. 1200-1203).

2. A list drawn up by B. Jański of Polish emigrants living in Toulouse and Montpellier in 1837 (Cf. footnote 61):

- ANCYPA, Ildefons - In the November uprising a non-commissioned officer in the Poznań cavalry; an emigrant in Toulouse, and later in Paris.
- BIELICKI, (Bielecki) Joseph (1811-1855?) - second lieutenant; from 1838, he studied law in Toulouse. He received his diploma in 1840.
- CHARZEWSKI, Peter Paul (1813-1866) - arrived in France in 1835, under the assumed name Gregory Baczyński. From 1839 he studied medicine in Montpellier. He received his diploma in 1845.
- CIECHOWSKI - further information lacking.
- DĄBSKI, RUDOLPH (1811-1887) - participated in the November uprising. In 1834 he began the study of law in Toulouse.
- GRABOWIECKI, Hyacinth - a captain in the artillery during the November uprising. Emigrant in France (Toulouse) and in Switzerland.
- JANUSZKIEWICZ, Albin Casimir (1806-1876) - studied at the University of Vilno. Participated in the November uprising. An emigrant in France (Montpellier).
- KAMOCKI, Marian Appolinaris (1804-1884), from the region of Kalisz, a nephew Charles Skórkowski, Bishop of Kraków (Cf. 1838, footnote 219). In the years 1823-1826 he studied law and administration at the University of Warsaw. In 1829 he married, and settled on the family estate. After the collapse of the November uprising, in which he participated as an officer, he moved to Galicia with the army of General Ramorino. He lost his wife, who died in 1831, and his property was confiscated. In 1836 he landed in France, working first as a laborer in a sugar-factory in Bordeaux. In 1837 he moved to Paris and lived in the House

of Jański, who tried to enlist him for his mission. However, Kamocki became involved in the work of the Society of Welfare Women. In 1838, along with Alexander Jełowicki, a former university colleague, he entered Collège Stanislas, and in the following year began theological studies in the Seminary in Versailles. In 1842 [line missing], and after two years, he professed vows as a religious. He worked with the Welfare Society as an almoner. He was living in the area of Poznań, where he organized new houses for his Congregation. In 1863 he was living in Paris, working as a chaplain and protector for the Sisters of Charity in that city, and also for the Sisters of the Visitation in Versailles. He was an author and translator of religious works.

KING - further information lacking.

KORZENIOWSKI, Humphrey Anthony Joseph - Cf. 1832, footnote 58 - Korzeniowski was in contact with Adam Celiński, returned to the practice of his religion, and joined the House of Jański as an external brother. On July 5, 1837, John Koźmian wrote to Kajsiewicz from Toulouse: "Wishing to unite our Polish people dispersed while working to earn a piece of bread in some kind of common center to think about Poland, and to work for national issues. Together with Humphrey and Miłaszewski, both very upright Poles, I tried to establish a kind of center. Two weeks ago we gathered about 40 of our people who were not members of the Democratic Society and began to encourage them to unite with us.

KOZARZEWSKI, Casimir (1804-1839) - studied law at the University of Warsaw, and received the degree of master of law in 1827. He was a member of the Patriotic Society. After the collapse of the 1831 uprising, in which he participated as a lieutenant in the third infantry regiment of riflemen, he lived in France as an emigrant, in Bordeaux and Montpellier. Thanks to Jański he obtained work as a teacher in Collège de Juilly.

LEWKOWICZ, Leon, (d. 1842) - lived in Toulouse.

MIŁASZEWSKI, Michael (b. 1806?) from Grodzieńsk. In the November uprising he was a lieutenant in the artillery. In 1834 he was living in Montpellier, and had enrolled in the school of medicine.

NIESZKOWSKI - further information lacking.

NIESZOKOĆ, Vincent - Cf. 1835, footnote 355 - Nieszokoć was forced by French authorities to leave Paris, and he lived in Toulouse.

OŚNIAŁOWSKI, Louis (1803-1838) - In 1825 he received the degree of master of law at the University of Warsaw. In the years 1829-1830 he worked as an assessor in the Civil Tribunal of the Podlesie Province. He participated in the November uprising with the rank of captain of the Podlesie sharpshooters. As an emigrant, he lived in France, and worked as a copyist.

PÓŻNIAK, Napoleon - A captain in the Volhynian legion during the November uprising. As a result of Janski's intervention, he obtained work in the Collège de Juilly.

STEMPOWSKI, Joseph - an artillery lieutenant in the November uprising. From 1834 he was an emigrant in Toulouse.

- SZYNDLER, Anthony - "head of the democracy"; he lived in Toulouse.
- TOMASZEWICZ, Ladislaus (1813-1885) from Samogitia. He participated in the November uprising as a volunteer in the 4th regiment of infantry riflemen. An emigrant in France from 1832.
- WASILEWSKI, Joseph - a lieutenant in the artillery - he lived in Toulouse.
- WYSOCKI, Ignatius (b.1808), a brother of Joseph. - from 1829 he studied mathematics at the University of Warsaw. In the November uprising he was a lieutenant in the Lithuanian-Ukrainian legion. An emigrant in France, he worked as a conductor of highways and bridges.
- WYSOCKI, Joseph (1809-1873) - He taught in the Krzymieniecki Lyceum. He was an elder colleague of Adam Celiński. He studied law at the University of Warsaw, and was an auditor in the faculty of philosophy. He also attended the school of artillery. In the 1831 uprising he was a lieutenant in the artillery. An emigrant in France. In the years 1737-1839 he worked in a foundry in Toulouse. In 1834 he was living in Metz, where he attended the school of artillery and engineering. Later he was the commander of the Polish Legion in Hungary (1848), and a brigadier general. He was a military organizer, and active in the Polish Democratic Society.

3. A list of Polish emigrants living mainly in Paris in 1837, who B. Jański intended to contact (Cf. footnote 64).

- BAKOWSKI, Theophilus, from the region of Kalisz. He participated in the November uprising as a lieutenant in the 9th regiment. An emigrant in France. In 1835 he studied painting under Antoine-Jean Gros; returned to Poland in 1851, turning out religious paintings.
- BIERGIEL, Alexander (1805-1891) - participated in the November uprising. As an emigrant in France he was a student in the agricultural school in Grignon (1840-1842). He lived in Paris. From 1843 a follower of Towiański; after the split, he was a member of Mickiewicz's Circle.
- CHEŁKOWSKI, Valerian - Cf. 1835, footnote 30.
- CHEVALIER, Eugène - Cf. 1835, footnote 368.
- DANIŁOWSKI - perhaps Joseph Daniłowski, Cf. 1830, footnote 36.
- DUMIŃSKI, Narcissus - Cf. 1835, footnote 287.
- FIJAŁKOWSKI - further information lacking; Cf. 1835, footnote 368.
- GRZYBOWSKI - further information lacking; Cf. 1835 footnote 368.
- JANUSZKIEWICZ, Albin Casimir; Cf. 1837, footnote 61.
- KACZYŃSKI, Casper, a soldier; or KACZYŃSKI, Thaddeus, second lieutenant in the November uprising.
- KAJSIEWICZ, Jerome Joseph - Cf. 1835, footnote 123.
- KAMOCKI, Marian Apolinaris - Cf. 1837, footnote 61.
- KISIELEWSKI - further information lacking.
- KORZENIOWSKI, Humphrey Anthony Joseph - Cf. 1832, footnote 58.
- KOŹMIAN, John - Cf. 1834, footnote 354.

- KRANAS (Krahnas), Francis Theodore - Cf. 1836, footnote 16.
- KWIATKOWSKI, Theophilus - Cf. 1828, Private Diary, footnote 2.
- LASOCKI, August (1805-1878), the brother of Louis. He studied law and administration at the University of Warsaw.
- LASOCKI, Louis (1806-1863) - In 1829 he finished the course of law at the University of Warsaw. During the November uprising he was a lieutenant in the 13th uhlán regiment. As an emigrant in France, he worked at building railroads. Both brothers returned to Poland. Louis died in the January uprising.
- ŁOPACIŃSKI, Louis - Cf. 1834, footnote 61.
- MARYSLKI, Julius (1811-1888), a lieutenant of the Augustów cavalry, adjutant to General Dwernicki. As an emigrant in France, he lived in Versailles. He worked as a bookseller and directed his own printing house.
- NIESZOKOĆ, Vincent - Cf. 1835, footnote 355.
- NIWIŃSKI, Nicholas - Cf. 1835, footnote 368.
- NOWODWORSKI, Stanislaus (b. 1800) from Pułtusk. He studied law at the University of Warsaw. He participated in the November uprising, with the rank of lieutenant. An emigrant in France from 1832. He was a member of The Society of the 3rd of May. In 1857, he obtained permission to return to Poland from the Russian authorities.
- ORNOWSKI, Joseph (1805-1867) - a colleague of Jański. He participated in the November uprising. He worked in Poland.
- PIETKIEWICZ, John Bogumił Valerian - Cf. 1835, footnote 227.
- RETTEL, Leonard - Cf. 1832, footnote 63.
- RÓŻYCKI, Charles - Cf. 1835, footnote 368.
- SUPIŃSKI, Joseph Clement (1804-1893) - from 1824 he studied administration at the University of Warsaw, attending Frederick Skarbek's classes in political economy. In 1827 he received the degree of master of law and administration. In the November uprising he was a second lieutenant in the artillery, and for some time the secretary of General Joseph Chłopicki. He was an emigrant in France, in Avignon, and later in Lyon. From 1836, he lived in Paris, where he worked in the textile industry. In 1841 he became director of a textile factory. In 1834 he moved to Lwów. He gained a name as an economist, sociologist and philosopher. He was a supporter of organized labor.
- TREPKA, Ignatius - Cf. 1835, footnote 368.
- TUROWSKI, Leopold - Cf. 1836, footnote 180.
- ZACH, Francis (François) - Cf. 1836, footnote 180.
- ZALESKI, Bohdan Joseph - Cf. 1832, footnote 342.
- ZALESKI, Joseph - Cf. 1832, footnote 342.
- ZIELIŃSKI - There were many Zieliński's among the emigrants. This may be John Zieliński, Cf. 1833, footnote 25.
- ZWIERKOWSKI - "*The Zwierkowskis (visit the one who lives just outside Paris)*" - Valentine Joseph Vincent Zwierkowski lived in Versailles, in the outskirts of Paris, (Cf. 1833, footnote 19), and certainly his cousin Ignatius Frederick Zwierkowski (Cf. 1833, footnote 20).

DIARY

Year 1838¹

8627

464 Monday, [January 1], New Year's Day

Holy Communion at the Carmelites. The Giedrojćes. Fr. Augé. Back home, breakfast together. The Gospel. A decision to hold daily conferences. Consultations with Ziomecki, Sidorowicz, and Kozłowski until three, and then to Fr. Buquet (concerning Ziomecki); he was not in. To Montalembert; I leave a card. Back home. Dinner together. Reading and the rest of the time together.

Tuesday, [January 2]

Once again we got up late. After breakfast to Fr. Buquet. Confession, and concerning Ziomecki. Coffee in the city. To Mrs. Białopiotrowicz, already almost eleven. To Jełowicki; he is not there. To Leonard (severe with Nabelak). Leonard accepts plans to go to the Trappists. I reserve a place for him. Back home, I write a letter to the Prior [Dubué]; I give him 2 francs for dinner. Alone with Ziomecki. Later to Mickiewicz, to Uruski, to Słowaczyński.

¹ In the Diary for 1838 about 100 entries have been preserved (entries are lacking in the months of February, March, April and May, as well as in the last quarter of the year), and almost 200 daily notes (these are lacking in the months of February, March, April, and in the first half of May and June). These notable gaps in the Diary are related to Jański's increased apostolic activity. Candidates from the Polish emigration dispersed throughout Paris and the provinces of France began to apply for a place in the House. This resulted in an urgent need to find a place for them to live, and also in efforts to obtain permits from the civil authorities for the new arrivals to remain in Paris. Because of the high rent, (on September 15, 1837) Jański was forced to leave the house on rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs 11 which he had rented in February of 1836, and move to Boulevard Mont Parnasse 25. Jański also organized another house on rue Vavin 13 (from July 17, 1838), and a further place on rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs 31 bis (October 23). He located the aspirants to the priesthood on rue Vavin, and so close to the Collège Stanislas, where nine other candidates were already studying - novices were located in the remaining houses. Jański also obtained work and lodging for his charges in the Collège de Juilly near Paris. Later he established a center for religious formation in Versailles. About 40 individuals passed through the House of Jański.

From October 26, 1838 a house for clerics studying for the priesthood in the Eternal City was established at Piazza Morgana 24. The candidates were Peter Semenenko, Jerome Kajsiwicz, and later Joseph Hube and Edward Duński.

1838 was the top period of Jański's apostolate among the Polish emigrants.

Wednesday, [January 3]

In the morning after prayers, with Sidorowicz to St. Genevieve. After Holy Communion to [Julian] Szotarski for the address of his aunt² (Greuvé). To Januszkiewicz for the sheep.³ Back home; Rettel is not in (he was not at Mass; slept until twelve). [Victor] Mercier. Rettel arrives. Letters. A letter to the Prior. Baudé. Dinner together. I send him away at 5:30. For coffee , and then home. Reading. I go to bed early.

Thursday, [January 4]

Again when we get up it is already about eight. Prayers. To Jełowicki (concerning Starzyński). For a lesson at 10:30, until one. To Jełowicki; he is not in. To Fr. Desgenettes at three. For dinner to John Bull, as much as 32 sous. To Januszkiewicz concerning the Zaleskis. Ropelewski. Back home. After reading, tea. I write a letter to Rettel, but do not finish it. Only then do I go to bed. Penance.

Friday, [January 5]

We get up at eight. Żerosław [Starzyński] finds us in bed; he is scandalized. I clumsily tell him about my business. Without prayers. To Jełowicki at 9:30, and remain there a long time, until twelve (He promises 20 francs for Rettel). Concerning Solesmes, and the retreat. Then, without stopping anywhere else, I go home. Edward [Duński], Żerosław. I lie in bed. To Pére Pourcelet⁴ at two. It is too late for Fr. Boulanger,⁵ and so I go home. A little chat with Ziomecki. Daniel.⁶ Dinner at four; Gałęzoski⁷ about a recommendation to the factory. After lighting a fire in the stove, I begin to work. Sidorowicz. Before six, reading; Borysewicz is present. The to Perè Boulanger and salute. To Witwicki. For the newspapers, and home at nine.

² Julianna Szotarska, nee Zawadzka, was the aunt of Julian Szotarski; Cf. 1837, footnote 63.

³ Lambs - undoubtedly the reference here is to a lamb skin, a coat made of this skin.

⁴ Alexandre Pourcelet (1797-1872) - a Jesuit, prefect of the library of the Paris seminary next to the Church of St. Francis Xavier; author of *Le Guide du bibliothécaire...*

⁵ Clemens Boulanger (1790-1868) - a Jesuit, from July 2, 1838, rector of the Paris seminary at the church of St. Francis Xavier for foreign missions, rue du Bac 120.

⁶ Alexander Danielski (+1854) - in the November uprising a non-commissioned officer in the engineer battalion in the Corps of General John Skrzynecki. As an emigrant he lived in Paris. In 1837 he was out of work, and was living in extreme poverty.

⁷ Martin Gałęzowski (1812-1870), from the region of Kraków. A soldier of the Kraków regiment in the November uprising. As an emigrant in France he worked as a mechanic for the railroad.

Tomorrow, Saturday, [January] 6

461 Definitely to Domejko (debt...), pick up the Lives of the Saints. After breakfast, the Gospels. To Nabelak, or Mr. Hofman.

1. A letter to Januszkiewicz.
2. To Witwicki.
3. To Ladislaus Plater (29 francs - Caesar).
4. To Jełowicki (Terlecki).
5. To Prince Czartoryski.
6. To Fr. Badiche. To Reynaud, Mr. Refendary, Mrs. Bertholle, Wrotnowski.

Sunday, [January 7]

1. To La Trappe. Delamarre - Martin.⁸ Mail.
2. Jełowicki. Mr. Cagnard.⁹
3. Michel Chevalier.
4. Piotrowski, Prince Czartoryski.
5. Wrotnowski.
6. Mr. Cagnard.

Monday, January 8

In the morning, to Jełowicki.

In the evening, to Fr. Badiche, to Chodkiewicz.

On Tuesday, or on Wednesday [January 9, or 10] to Witwicki.

Mr. Zdziennicki

My trousers, 32 [francs]

Mr. Ziomecki

..... 6

465 Saturday, January 6

⁸ Delamarre - Martin - a banking house in Paris.

Théodore Casimir Delamarre (1795-1870) - banker, deputy to the French Parliament, journalist.

Didier Martin - a banker.

⁹ Cagnard - undoubtedly Cogniard - the name of two brothers, Hippolyte (1807-1882) and Theodore (1806-1872), authors of vaudeville scenarios, and directors of the Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin and the Théâtre des Variétés. Jański tried to interest one of them in Stephen Witwicki's stage play.

We get up quite late. Omieciński. To Witwicki (a letter from Scribe;¹⁰ he plans to go to Arago,¹¹ but does not have the money). To Ladislaus Plater, who is just leaving; he receives me very graciously, but is not able to give me any money. To Jełowicki; I get 40 francs, but it is already too late to get to the post-office. Home for dinner (with meat). Dzierzbicki was there, Gałęzoski (I write a letter he is to deliver to Ordyniec). Reading. To Fr. Badiche; at first he is not there.¹² Newspapers, an article about saintsimonism. I stay until after ten; and then to bed.

Sunday, [January 7]

To the Collège for Mass. We return at eight. Breakfast with Omieciński. The Gospel. *Holy God*. Edward. A spiritual conversation. I teach Omieciński, and irritate Ziomecki. I go out for the mail, and to Delamarre - Martin; I cannot pay back the money. I finish the letter to Rettel after two; I am not myself. To Jełowicki (Omieciński is there; he is also coming to see me). I give him the address, rue du Regard. On [rue de l'] Quest I meet Ordyniec and Konopka. Back home. Dzierzbicki does not come. Ziomecki is angry. After dinner I read Budrys.¹³ I read Lacordaire. Teasing Ziomecki, I fall; I am sad. Why did I answer him?

Monday, [January 8]

Prayers only just before eight. A letter from Turowski. Mass at the Carmelites with Ziomecki who is nice to me. Holy Communion, and I remain until 10:30 (great delights). Breakfast at the Café du Luxembourg. Orpiszewski (well). I meet Uruski. Ladislaus Plater (he is out). Delamarre - Martin. It is three o'clock before I finish a letter to Fr. Prior. (Inspirations and plans for meals and living quarters for the brothers with the French from Roux, etc.). To Czartoryski (he is out). Dinner at Catcomb. Orański (he reaches a conclusion). Grotkowski (he is out). Mr. Cagniard. Back home. Fr. Korycki. I am cold; perhaps I irritate him.

Tuesday, [January 9]

¹⁰ Eugène Scribe (1791-1861) - a popular French dramatist, author primarily of comedies of morals, vaudeville, and dramatic productions noted for their clever intrigue. The author of operatic librettos. Later he became a member of the French Academy.

¹¹ Etienne Arago (1802-1892) - French author of musicals and vaudeville productions. Director of Théâtre du Vaudeville in Paris.

¹² For this day Jański prepared his *Confession of January 6* (in the original Polish-French text). Cf. Appendix to the Year 1838, position I.

¹³ Budrys - a literary figure (in A. Mickiewicz's work, *The Three Lithuanians*). A travesty on the name of Ignatius Budrewicz; Cf. 1836, footnote 180.

We got up earlier. Prayers at seven. By myself for Mass at the Carmelites; Holy Communion. To Collège Stanislas, to Hube (for 10 francs for Father). To Edward (a letter from Mikulski). To Baudé (Michelet, money from the Giedrojćes). To Fr. Buquet (hope for Ziomecki). Back home, a letter from Rettel; Starzyński was here. Coffee at Place Beauvais. A lesson until one. To Jełowicki. Zarzycki.¹⁴ Arrack. My conversation was Christian. Why was the conclusion too light? To Nabelak with Jełowicki (he is not in). To Mr. Cagnard (he is not in). Back home after three (the laundress was here already). Needless waste of time. Dinner at four (Starzyński, promises a loan). At six, reading St. Basil.¹⁵ Sidorowicz remains behind. A useless waste of time and lying down in bed. Before prayers, a list of work for tomorrow. After prayers, these notes.

470 Wednesday, [January 10] to St. Genevieve.

At eight, to Edward. To Giedrojć.

To Grotkowski, Owczarski¹⁶ Ladislaus Plater.

To Czartoryski.

To Nabelak, Jełowicki - Wrotnowski.

Mr. de Boisseux,¹⁷ "La France", Carnot (20 Rosettes).

C. Georges,¹⁸ Saint-Denis, Saint-Germain 182.

In the evening to Chodzkiewicz, Saxie du Temple, 34.

Thursday, [January 11]

Before a lesson, to Witwicki.

Courtet 61, Lemercier,¹⁹ Mikułowski - Jeśman.

Send books to Kranas. To Mr. Refendery, and to Mrs. Bertholle. Piotrowski.

In the evening to Fr. Badiche, Desplanches [tailor].

¹⁴ Zarzycki - further information lacking.

¹⁵ Basil the Great (329-379) - theologian and ascetical writer, organizer of cenobitism in the East, Father and Doctor of the Church; a saint. For him the ideal of monastic life was a religious community in which one could struggle more effectively with passions, especially with egoism. According to him, a monk should first dedicate himself to God, and then occupy himself with welfare work.

¹⁶ Perhaps Anthony Owczarski, a lieutenant in the 10th uhlan regiment.

¹⁷ Boisseux de - further information lacking.

¹⁸ C. Georges - further information lacking.

¹⁹ Perhaps Anatole Lemercier - a French deputy, member of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in Paris, an active Catholic welfare worker.

Notable at the time, Népomucène Lemercier (1777-1840) - a prolific French writer in all literary categories. It is difficult to determine whom Jański had in mind.

Friday, [January 12] Reynaud, Avenue de Saxe, 3.
Kunatt.

Saturday, [January 13]
(Cheruel, for a note concerning medical books)
In the evening, [Francis] Faliński.

465 Wednesday, [January 19]

We get up at seven. After prayer to Edward for eight o'clock. He reads me a letter to Wilczyński and Mikulski. After nine, to St. Genevieve and Holy Communion. Coffee at Place du Panthéon (Auguste Chevalier). To Grotkowski and Plater (not in). To Wrotnowski, and I write a letter to Mikulski until 3:30, and deliver it to the Chambre des Députés. I return the sword to Jełowicki, and go with him to the bookstore. I buy the *Histoire naturelle*²⁰ on rue Saint-Dominique. Home for dinner, and then to Café de la Providence. To Giedrojć, who is leaving for a ball. Back home. Ziomecki's luggage.

Thursday, [January 11]

We arise at five with Ziomecki. For Mass at six. Acquaintance with the priest. To Fr. Buquet. He asks me to trim his beard. Back home after eight for coffee. Starzyński gives me 150 francs. At about ten I get down to a letter to Rettel. At about one, unnecessarily three glasses of vodka. I go out to the post-office at four. But I do not go there; instead I go to Witwicki (Korabiewicz). Home after five. After reading, beer and reclining; then early to bed.

471 Friday, January 12

We get up late, after eight. Prayer for Ziomecki. For Mass alone to Saint-Sulpice. At eleven to Café de Varsovie for coffee. To Witwicki (unnecessary topping for coffee); at 11:30 to Nabelak for the third volume of Michelet, and concerning Rettel. To Jełowicki, and there I write a letter to Rettel (unnecessary talking about my debts) until five. To the post-office and for dinner (too expensive), and coffee with petit verre. Home for reading in the evening. To Collège Stanislas, to see whether they have any business to settle, and to find out about Ziomecki. Unnecessarily, to Giedrojć. Prayers; then wasting time, and these notes.

Saturday, [January 13]

²⁰ *Histoire naturelle* - undoubtedly a text-book in the area of natural history.

Once again Holy Communion (likewise at the Carmelites). For a lesson, and I come back with *Histoire naturelle*. I go out at about one. To Witwicki and Mr. Arago; since they were not in I returned, I put off the visit until Tuesday. While at Witwicki's place I write a letter to Rettel, and deliver it to the Chamber of Deputies. To Fr. Badiche; he is not in. Back home, dinner with Fr. Dłuski (cabbage, tea), and to confession.²¹ I talk with Fr. Badiche's brothers. Back home after ten, and prayers.

Sunday, [January 14]

To Collège Stanislas for Mass (it is very cold). Breakfast at home with Sidorowicz. [Anthony] Szymański until eleven. The Gospel in the kitchen. Then to Karski and Baude (concerning money; I already received it). I put stamps on Ziomecki's letter, and then to Ladislaus Plater at about one. To Catcomb for dinner. To Saint-Roch for Vespers, to the Reading Room, to Mercier (my conversation with him is facetious once again, and then home. A letter from Rettel. Reading from St. Paul. A letter from Montpellier. I am wrong in not answering the letter immediately (reading from the *Imitation*, to P. Bourgoing).²²

Monday, [January 15]

We get up late, at about eight. Holy Communion at the Carmelites. Coffee at home. Anthony Plater - 10 francs. Writing letters to Montpellier. Vodka. (letters from Rome.²³ Thanks to God for them.) I leave the house at about four, having written only a little, for dinner, rue de Beauvais, all of 48 sous, and coffee. To Karski, to show him the letters; to Siennicki. After that I sit until 1:30, having written very little more. (Kozłowski became ill in the evening.)

472 Tuesday, [January] 16

When we wake up it is almost nine. Karski drops in. He is scandalized by this. For a lesson; coffee at Place Beauvau (an I did not attend Mass). A lesson from eleven until 1:30. I spend some time looking at second-hand books on the Pont-Neuf, and then to Witwicki. I go to see Mr. Arago. I meet Castellan Plater. Mr. Arago is not in. To Witwicki, and we go to dinner together. Mercier - why the same facetiousness once again? Back home, reading the life of St.

²¹ Cf. Appendix, position II: *Confession of January 13*.

²² Possibly François-Joseph Bourgoing de Villefore, (1652-1737), translator and publisher of the works of Augustine of Hippo, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Teresa of Avila. A member of the Royal Academy.

²³ The good news of Kajsiwicz and Semenenko from Rome in a letter of December 29, 1837, addressed to Jański and to Frédéric Levavasseur.

Anthony.²⁴ Then to Jełowicki. To Kazimirski. God blesses me in the conversation, however, he disturbed me by his accusations. Back home, and prayer.

Wednesday, [January 17]

We get up at eight. After prayers, to Witwicki at nine, and to Mr. Arago at ten. He does not receive me, and sends me to Vaudeville²⁵ for one o'clock. To Saint-Roch, Holy Communion. Breakfast on rue de Beauvais. Before one to Witwicki. Once again Mr. Arago put me off, until four. And so to Fr. Desgenettes; he is not in. I write a letter to Rettel in the Reading Room, and take it to the post-office before four. To Vaudeville; Mr. Arago is no longer there. To Witwicki, out of breath. We quarrel (O God! Forgive my impatience and my self-love). I scandalize Korabiewicz. I take Bautain to Kazimirski and go to see Jełowicki. For dinner at rue de [la] Boucherie, and then home to read. To Mickiewicz. The young Wołowskis. Unnecessarily I stay until 8:30. For prayers; after that I write a schedule of work for tomorrow and trim my beard. *Sainte esclavage de Marie* [The Holy Bondage of Mary].²⁶

469 Thursday, January 18, the See of St. Peter.

Holy Communion. - Owczarski, Grotkowski. A lesson. Prince Czartoryski. Witwicki (I excuse myself from walks, admitting that I had unnecessarily taken this upon myself. Letters concerning a library in the future). Fr. Beaudouin.²⁷

Fr. Desgenettes. Perisse and *Pratique de l'oraison*, Lives of the Saints,²⁸ the meditations of Rohrbacher for reading.²⁹ New catalogues, if there are shipments from Rome.

²⁴ Undoubtedly from the *Lives of the Saints* by Peter Skarga. On the following day, January 17, the Catholic Church included "an obligatory remembrance" in the Mass for Anthony the Abbot (c.251-356).

²⁵ Théâtre du Vaudeville near the Exchange. The director of the theater was Étienne Arago, mentioned above.

²⁶ A formula related to the Marian cult propagated by the Frenchman, Louis Maria Grignon de Monfort (1673-1716), the author of the *Treatise on true devotion to the Most Blessed Mother*, which propagated dedication to Mary in total, holy abandonment. He was beatified in 1888, and canonized in 1967.

²⁷ Fr. Beaudouin - collaborator in the *Encyclopédie catholique*.

²⁸ *Pratique de l'oraison*, actually *Méthode pratique de l'oraison mentale*, Paris, 1833. The author of this work was the Jesuit Jean Crasset (1618-1692).

Lives of the Saints - a hagiographical work in four volumes by Fr. Jean François Godescard (1728-1800): *Abrégé de la vie des Saints*, Paris, 1802. In 1835, in Toulouse, a work by the same author appeared: *Abrégé de vies des pères, des martyrs, et des autres principaux saints...* extracted by the author himself from his larger work.

Back home, To Walter before five. Fr. Beaudoin "*Encyclopédie catholique*". To Fr. Badiche at 7:30.

Friday, [January 19]

To Karski after Mass. Fr. Augé, Baudé, Fr. Bouquet, Fr. Bautain. To Domejko after nine. A letter to Versailles. To Mr. Cagnard.

To Jełowicki. To Chodźko (put my name on the list for Kościuszko)³⁰ and to Lewicki.

To Mr. Refendary. In the evening to Mickiewicz. Witwicki, Desplanches, Kunatt, Courtet, C. Georges, books for Kranas. Tickets, Carnot, Charton.

Saturday, [January 20] Cheruel. After twelve to Mrs. Rautenstrauch. Summon Daniel, and dinner on Sunday for Fr. Dłuski.

After a change of lodgings in the House: to Mr. Boisseux, to Carnot, Jourdain, Uruski.

Books concerning the fine arts for Rost[kowski]. Arrangement of time for Sidorowicz.

472 Thursday, [January] 18, Jełowicki.

Friday, [January] 19

Fr. Dłuski is supposed to leave, but the pastor has not yet given him a letter of recommendation.

Saturday, [January] 20

A letter fro Caesar with good news. For the first time, confession without proper preparation in writing.

474 Sunday, January 21

Jełowicki. To Walter at four. Wielogłowski.³¹

²⁹ This refers to *Religion méditée, à l'usage des personnes qui cherchent Dieu dans la simplicité de leur coeur...* Vol. I-II, Paris, 1836. Cf. 1832, footnote 78.

³⁰ Leonard Chodźko published a *Biographie du général Kościuszko* (1837) through the publishing house of Alexander Jełowicki. The one listed next: Lewicki (John Nepomucene) - engraver and lithographer Cf. 1837, footnote 36).

³¹ Valerian Wielogłowski (1805-1865) from Galicia. He studied in the Kraków academy of Professor Joseph Sołtykowicz. He managed an estate on inherited land. In 1825 he married Constance Wessłówna (1808-1863). During the November uprising he was chief of staff for General Samuel Różycki, and attained the rank of major. After the collapse of

Monday, [January 22]

Another letter from Rome. Fr. Dłuski cannot find a stagecoach. I give Fr. Dłuski 96 francs, having received 70 francs from Witwicki, after a letter from Jełowicki. Together with Jełowicki, we view the Jesuit museum;³² He goes to see Fr. James.³³

Tuesday, [January] 23

Fr. Dłuski is leaving. We receive Communion together in Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois.³⁴

Wednesday, [January 24]

A letter from Rettel; he is waiting for me in Versailles. To Jełowicki; to Mrs. Rautenstrauch with Skarzyński's draft; she is not in. Gerycz. (General Giedrojc.) I purchase cabinets and bring them. I move downstairs, make order.

Thursday, [January 25]

I writer to Omieciński. Tomorrow I am to travel to Versailles.

Friday, [January 26]

the uprising he returned to Galicia and - after his hereditary lands were confiscated - he worked as a tenant. He was a member of the secret conspiracy of the Association of Polish People. Threatened with arrest, he left for France in 1836. In 1838 he was living in Versailles, and from that time he was in close contact with Bogdan Jański. In 1840 he graduated from the School of Mines in Paris. To the end of his life he remained an "external brother" of the House of Jański and future Resurrectionists. He worked as a journalist (*The Polish Emigration in relation to God and Country*, Wrocław, 1838; *Poland in relation to God*, Paris, 1846). In 1849 he returned to Kraków, and dedicated himself to religious, social, agricultural, cultural and educational work. He established, among others, a bookstore and publishing house for Catholic books in Kraków. He was an envoy to the national Sejm in Lwów (1861-1862).

He had a daughter, Marynia (1825-1887). In "The Friend of the People" (1849, Nr.10) he published the article *Bogdan Jański*. He corresponded with Philip Walter.

³² In the Seminary connected with the church of St. Francis Xavier in Paris on rue de Bac 120 there was a museum which included a collection of instruments of torture which were used against the missionaries in pagan countries.

³³ Aime-François James (1803-1887) - a Jesuit, Biblical scholar, historian, critic of Jansenism. He was the author, e.g., of *Dictionnaire de l'Écriture Saint, ou repertoire et Concordance*, Paris, 1837.

³⁴ Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois - a church in the Louvre Square regarded as "the parish of the French monarchs", which was built in the 12th century, and reconstructed many times up to the 16th century.

Holy Communion. Rettel arrives; unfortunately he finds us in bed. I spend a good deal of time with him. Thanks be to God, there is a great change in him. He is to come to dinner; in the meantime he is staying with Karski. In the evening I go to Mickiewicz. I tell him about the 3,000 francs. He is very deeply moved by this news.³⁵ I receive 200 francs from Jełowicki; nothing from Plichta. A visit with Mrs. Rautenstrauch.

Saturday, [January 27]

Dinner on the other side of the toll-gate. With Rettel to Café du Luxembourg for coffee. To Fr. Badiche - we leave there after nine. (I am aware of becoming more lax).

475 Sunday, January 28

We attended Mass at Collège Stanislas, and then at the Carmelites. I meet Fr. Combalot; we talk about Serż. Unnecessarily, without being asked, I talk too much. A gathering of all the brothers, and the Holy Gospel, the *God our Refuge*, and the *Holy God*. With Ziomecki until twelve. To Saint-Sulpice, to Fr. Carbon³⁶ (he is not in) and prayer. To Witwicki (he is not in). For Vespers to Collège Stanislas. Three of us go to dinner at Viot. For Coffee with Rettel, rue Mouffetard. To Lewicki\ (he is not in). To Séguin (he is not in). Borysewicz in the evening.

Monday, [January 29], St. Francis de Sales

I receive Holy Communion at the Visitation Sisters.³⁷ I go for coffee and a breakfast with meat, and then to Nabelak for Rettel's things, and to Jełowicki. I return with the things by carriage. To Séguin (he is not in); an appointment for the evening. To Fr. Carbon (I meet him as he is leaving). To Jełowicki (he is

³⁵ In response to a letter from Caesar Plater received on Saturday, January 20, Jański informed him that "the fund of 3,000 about which you wrote me, dear Caesar, was given by her [Jański did not know the name of the donor] to rescue me from my bad debts. Dear Caesar, you well know what love unites me with all of the confreres and all of our undertakings, and that I am as it were incarnated in them: what I do for them I do as it were for myself, and whatever I have is theirs" (ACRR 8637a, pp.994-997).

³⁶ Marie-Étienne-Laurent Carbon (1785-1863) - a Sulpician, professor of theology and philosophy; from 1826, director of the St. Sulpice Major Seminary in Paris.

³⁷ *I receive Communion at the Visitation Sisters* - in the chapel Notre-Dame-des-Anges in the monastery of the Visitation Sainte-Marie, on rue de Vaugirard, 102 bis. Communion on the occasion of the Church feast honoring Bishop Francis de Sales, co-founder (along with Jane de Chantal) of the religious congregation bearing the name of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

reading a letter to the Literary Society).³⁸ Back home. Karski and Ziomecki irritate me. For dinner to Viot. For coffee to rue des Mathurins, and to Séguin (he promises to have the letters ready tomorrow morning). Back home (prayer late, in the evening).

Tuesday [January 30]

We get up late. Prayer at the Carmelites. To Witwicki at about ten; I receive 100 francs. To Séguin; I wait until after one o'clock (he gives me the letters). I take the stage-coach, and look through second-hand books. For dinner to Anthony [Gorecki]. Café du Luxembourg. To Edward. Back home. I am sick.

Wednesday [January 31]

Domejko arrives (why didn't i go?). We get up late. I am weak. I take the money to Ziomecki (Karski is at a lesson). Breakfast with meat at Saint-Eustache; then home, and only tea in the evening. I rest (a lie about eating). I sleep in my room.

Thursday, [February 1]

Edward. The baker, masons. A letter to Edward. Breakfast at rue du Vieux-Colombier. I buy wood, peat, and sit at home. Dinner at about seven at Saint-Eustache, and for coffee to passage Colbert. A conversation with Mercier. Back home at about ten. Thoughts about improvement. (A letter from Zamojski).³⁹

476 Friday, February 2, Feast of the Presentation

We go to Saint-Sulpice for Mass, and receive Holy Communion. In béarnaise⁴⁰ and for breakfast near Saint-Eustache. By bus to Mrs. Rautenstrauch. I meet her on rue [du] Colisée, and accompany her. She promises to take a letter to [my brother] Stephen. Back home [by bus] parisienne from rue de l'Arbre-sec, and then lost in thought until six. Dinner at rue du Vieux-Colombier, coffee at place de la Croix-Rouge, and then to Walter

³⁸ Alexander Jełowicki was the secretary of the Society from May 3, 1835. I do not know what the content of the document was.

³⁹ In a letter to Jański, Ladislaus Zamojski assured him about the possibility of receiving passports for Joseph Hube and Edward Duński, who were ready to leave for Rome to pursue theological studies (L. Zamojski's letter in ACRR 8572, pp.789-790; the Czatoryski Library in Kraków, sygn. IV-5373, p.40).

⁴⁰ béarnaise - literally: an inhabitant of the former province in southern France, at the foot of the Pyrenees. Here it is the name of a Paris bus.

at about eight. He gives me 50 francs. On my return, Leonard confesses to me about the use of time, and about Pach.⁴¹

Saturday, [February 3]

We get up at eight. Coffee at home. Edward; will need to go to Clamecy;⁴² Adolph [Zaleski] arrived. I wash and shave. I finish prayers. Reflections, and these notes, vodka. It is nearly three o'clock.

[c. February 4]

466 After my return from the retreat
[La Trappe and Solesmes, 1837]

First week (December 24-31)

Chasing around for money. Repairing relationships with the brothers. On Wednesday, 9 francs from Witwicki. On Thursday, 100 from Plater. (Saturday, a letter to Turowski.)⁴³

Second week (December 31-January 7). A decision reached on daily conferences, and they are begun.

Rettel leaves for La Trappe on the third.

Starzyński receives money; this offers hope for support. Business with Jełowicki (hence to the Jesuit Fathers). 20 francs from Uruski, 40 from Jełowicki. A letter from Kraków.

Third week (January 7-14)

Daily Holy Communion. Letters from Rettel and Mikulski. On the 11th, Mikulski gives 150 francs. On the 12th, Ziomecki enters the Collège.

Fourth week (January 14-21). A letter from Montpellier and to Montpellier. On the 15th, letters from Rome. Jełowicki is on retreat (therefore after 37). Fr. Dłuski receives a reply. On the 20th, a letter from Caesar.

⁴¹ Perhaps Anthony Palch who lived in Paris. In the November uprising he was a lieutenant in the Augustow cavalry.

⁴² Edward Duński asked Jański for help for his cousin Francis Mikulski, who as a result of debts, was in jail in Clamecy, near Nevers, in the Department of Nièvre. Jański's trip to Clamecy and his stay there resulted in a longer interruption in entries in the Diary. Jański did not note in the Diary the *Confession of February 3*, the text of which was included in the Appendix, under position III.

⁴³ I was unable to find the letter mentioned by Jański in the Roman Archives.

Fifth week (January 21-29). Fr. Dłuski leaves on the 23rd. 100 francs from Jełowicki (end of the retreat). On the 26th Rettel returns. A change of residence; I move my things. 200 francs from Jełowicki. Eustachius Starzyński⁴⁴ returns 40 francs (owed to Jełowicki).

Sixth week (January 29 to February 4). 100 francs from Witwicki. Preparations for a trip to Nevers. My weakness on the 31st and first. 50 francs from Walter.

473

January, 1838

Gift from Górecki, via Stephen Witwicki... 9 francs 28th, from Caesar Plater
 100 francs
 11th, loan from Starzyński..... 150 francs
 Loan from Jełowicki..... 340 francs
 Loan from Witwicki..... 100 francs
 Loan from Walter..... 100 francs

8591

1092

Sunday, May 13⁴⁵

After devotions and a conference
 at Montalembert and [Ladislaus] Plater,
 at Fr. Buquet,
 at Fr. Abbot [Gueranger].
 [John] Koźmian.

In the evening, Mercier, Chełkowski.

⁴⁴ Undoubtedly Eustachius Starzyński; according to the Krosnowski *Almanac*, he was born in Łowicz. In the November uprising he was a lieutenant of the legion from along the Wisła. He lived in Paris.

⁴⁵ A break in the Diary for the Year 1838 connected with Jański's trip to Clamecy, which lasted from February 5 to May 12. During his obligatory stay Jański engaged in apostolic work: "I am still in Nevers... here I am no longer completely idle. As far as I can, I till the ground, and sow the seed, whether on sand or on loam - Perhaps some of it will take?" (From a rough copy of a letter to Caesar Plater, written in March 1838; ACRR 8637a, p.229). At this time Jański went to confession. The text is preserved in the *Confession of [Saturday] February 24* which is located in the Appendix under position IV. Jański and Mikulski arrived in Paris on April 28, 1838.

Monday, [May 14]

To the Abbot; to Plater.

At one, in Koźmian's house.

To Fr. Buquet (dimissorials, Mass, Russian lesson)

To Baudé (Napoleon, Latin lesson).

To Szotarski. Debt.

Tuesday, [May 15]

To Fr. Buquet, to Edward [the Zaleskis' letter], the debts of Peter and Jerome.

To Baudet. To Szotarski. Baudé's debt - concerning the sheets. The laundress. Anthony Plater. Change money; 25 francs to the housekeeper. Hube, the father, gardener. The dairy-woman. The cabinet-maker (kneelers for prayer). Books for the arrangement of time. To Ramet⁴⁶ to select a cupboard. The woman to sew cassocks.

Wednesday, [May 16]

Cupboards, chairs, bookcases. A dictionary for Clamecy.

1093 Thursday, [May 17]

The watch-maker. Witwicki, Grelou,⁴⁷ Jełowicki. Mr. Mecou.⁴⁸ Rettel and Edward concerning Möller. The watch-maker. Books for the arrangement of time. Ramet. With Edward, about Clamecy.

A letter to the Zaleskis. Koźmian at two. - Suspenders. The dairy woman; the shopkeeper.

Letters: to Uruski, to Maliński, to Fr. Dłuski, to Fr. Buquet; Mickiewicz (Szotarski); in the evening Szymański.

Friday, [May 18]

Letter to Rome. To Fr. Froment. To Delamarre - Martin. Broussais.

Saturday, [May 19]

To Ropelewski. From Fr. Buquet, letters to London for Koźmian

8592

1191

⁴⁶ Ramet - a Paris businessman who operated a shop selling furniture.

⁴⁷ Grelou - further information lacking.

⁴⁸ Mr. Mécou - landlord of the house; cf. 1832, footnote 211.

The [sixth] week after Easter

Sunday, [May] 20

I was in Gentilly⁴⁹ (500 francs)

Monday, [May 21]

At Grelou (he was not in). Koźmian for dinner. The milkmaid.

Tuesday, [May 22]

At Jełowicki, At home, Edward, Ziomecki.

Wednesday, [May] 23

Letter to the Zaleskis. To Fr. Buquet; to Fr. Froment on business for Edward. To Plater for *Saint Teresa*⁵⁰ and "Université Catholique". To Fr. Badiche. To Edward about Clamecy. Books for Kranas (*Saint Teresa*), letters arriving for him. Suspenders. Letters, to Turowski and Królikowski; to Ropelewski, to Rome. To Siomecki about a letter to Marszewski.

Thursday, [May 24]

A letter to Maliński by way of Koźmian. Letter to Uruski. To Fr. Dłuski. To Walter. Broussais. Prince Adam Czartoryski. Prince Ogiński.

Friday, [May 25]

To Delamarre - Martin. Buy books for Wątrobka⁵¹ (*De la Confession auriculaire*) [About aural confession]

Saturday, [May 26]

At Walter for dinner.

Sunday, [May 27] Ignatius [Szulc] for dinner.⁵²

⁴⁹ Gentilly - a suburb to the south of Paris.

⁵⁰ This may refer to a biography of St. Teresa of Avila written by F.Z. Colombet: *Vie de sainte Thérèse*, Lyon, 1836; Paris, 1838.

⁵¹ Reces Wątrobka - a lawyer; he participated in the November uprising; a mason. As an emigrant in France he lived in Versailles.

⁵² Julian Szotarski died on Sunday, May 27. In a rough draft of a letter to Charles Królikowski, written on Tuesday, May 29, Jański wrote: "You should know that Julian Szotarski died the day before yesterday... He was a doctor of medicine, and a man of letters. He died of consumption. In the last days of his illness I was completely occupied, and I also had to take care of his funeral. I am just now returning from the cemetery... He

8627

480

Wednesday, [May] 30

We got up at 6:30.

Confession

Lustful glances.

Listening to unclean conversations without indignation.

At Giedr[ojćes]. Wasting time with Hube and Ziomecki.

Laziness, lying down.

Lying, that I sent a letter to Z[aleskis?].

496

Thursday, May 31

Purchase *Lettres sur le protest.* de Cobbet.⁵³

Chairs.

Plater. Montalembert.

Letters: to the Zaleskis, Królikowski, Meaux.

To Bońkoski.⁵⁴

died happy and peacefully on Sunday, after confessing and receiving the holy sacraments." (ACRR 8589, pp.1038-1040).

⁵³ William Cobbett (1762-1835) - an English socio-political activist, a writer and a journalist. He fought for reforms in the law of elections, and took a stand against expropriation of poor farmers. e was the author of *A History of the Protestant reformation in England and Ireland (Histoire de la réforme protestante en Angleterre et in Irlande dans une série de lettres adressées au peuple anglais*, Paris, 1826). *Lettres sur l'histoire de la Réforme en Angleterre et en Irlande* of the same author was published in Paris in 1827.

⁵⁴ Jerome Napoleon Bońkowski (1807-1866) - a professor in the Krzemieniecki Lyceum. He participated in the November uprising as a captain in the Lithuanian Legion. He was an emigrant in Switzerland, where he obtained a doctorate in law. He lived in Paris, working as a sworn translator in the tribunals. He translated some of the works of Joachim Lelewel, and was an associate translator of Adam Mickiewicz's Paris lectures into German. He was the author of occasional pamphlets. He published articles in "La Revue Slave", "The Third of May", and "Young Poland". He was the tutor of Mickiewicz's children. A Towianist.

Friday, [June 1]

To Gruevé. To Plater. To Jełowicki. Grabowski. A room for Omieciński.

Saturday, [June 2]

At twelve to Montalembert with a prepared petition to the Minister.

Tuesday, [June 5] after Pentecost.

Letters to Omieciński, Królikowski, Benoist, Meaux, de Leprévost,⁵⁵ Szymański, Plater (Chodźko), take the "Université Catholique".

To the Zaleskis, to Szokalski,⁵⁶ Walter. Szulc. Desplanches.

Wednesday, [June 6]

Jełowicki. Couvent des Oiseaux.⁵⁷ Letter to Prince Giedrojc, Prince Czartoryski, Prince Ogiński. Rudnicki. Rettel to Bentkowski.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Jean-Léon de Leprévost - Cf. 1837, footnote 96.

⁵⁶ Victor Felix Szokalski (1811-1891) - from 1828 he studied medicine at the University of Warsaw. He participated in the November uprising as an army doctor. He was an emigrant in Germany, and obtained the degree of doctor in the universities there. He was living in Paris in 1837, and after passing an examination in 1839, he became an assistant professor of ophthalmology in a Paris school of medicine and a benefactor. After years of medical, social, and patriotic activity, in 1853 he returned to Warsaw, where he worked as the doctor in charge of the Ophthalmic Institute, and as a professor of the Major School.

He was a member of many foreign academic societies. He was the author of *Memoirs*, in which he included remembrances of Jański. Szokalski met with "an incredibly interesting person, who fell into oblivion, practically without a trace, in the obscurity of time. Jański was an engineer, and before the uprising he was sent to Paris, at the cost of the government, for the purpose of further education to become a professor at the Polytechnic Institute in Warsaw. After the outbreak of the uprising, upon orders from the National Government, he remained in the capital of France, and was used for various diplomatic missions."

Szokalski often visited the House of Jański at rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs: "I visited there quite frequently, for I was attracted by Jański's company. He was a man of a few words, a careful diplomat; but when you entered into conversation with him on other subjects, it was clear that he was a deep thinker (fragments from the *Memoirs*, "Archives of the history and philosophy of medicine", 1925, vol.3, pp.136-137).

⁵⁷ Couvent des Oiseaux - the chapel of the convent Notre-Dame-des-Oiseaux in Paris on rue de Sévres.

⁵⁸ Hamilcar Bentkowski (1813-1894) - studied architecture and surveying at the University of Warsaw. He participated in the November uprising. After its collapse, he lived in Galicia. He took part in Zaliwski's expedition. After he was expelled from Paris in 1836, he lived in Marseilles. He studied medicine in Montpellier, and received the doctorate (1846).

Friday, [June 8]

At twelve to Saint-Paul with all the others.⁵⁹

Görres to Montalembert.

501

Friday, [June 15]⁶⁰

This is the fifteenth day since I last wrote anything in this Diary. And, throughout this whole time I did not cleanse myself in the Sacrament of Penance. Thus, I received Holy Communion without perfect peace in my soul. And all this not through ill-will, but rather through habitual neglect, bad arrangement of time, and yielding to matters urgent at the moment.

497

I offer You most humble thanks, O God, for giving me once more the will, and the strength, to begin anew this daily detailed control of my life . O Lord, Father of Mercy, my one eternal Hope and Love, grant me the graces I need to observe this practice most strictly, and to fulfill it with the greatest spiritual benefit to myself, for Your glory and my eternal salvation.

Wednesday, June 20, in the Octave of Corpus Christi.

Last Saturday, the sixteenth, I went to confession after a few days of illness related to the lungs. I was not prepared as well as I should have been, confused especially due to the intention I nurtured for a whole week to lie to my brothers about my neglect in writing to them, and an unwillingness to be humbled on that account. (And also by reason of the fact that I did not receive Holy Communion for a whole week, even though it was the octave of Corpus Christi).

After confession, new and very fervent resolutions to reform my life. However, I am disturbed at not feeling perfect sorrow. On my way home, an immodest glance. I did not return in time for prayers, even though I could have left the confessor in time.

⁵⁹ Undoubtedly to the church of St. Paul and St. Louis on rue Saint Antoine for the solemn requiem service in memory of the deceased Julian Szotarski. (Cf. above, footnote 52).

⁶⁰ After June 8, there is a break in the Diary until the 19th of that month. In that time, among other things, Jański was preparing for his confreres a plan for occupations and behavior in the House, announced for the "Sunday of the Holy Trinity, June 10", which is located in the Appendix as position V.

On Sunday, [June 17], morning prayer begun too late. Before Holy Communion I met Korylski, and lied to him that "Young Poland"⁶¹ had already accepted his

⁶¹ "Young Poland, Historical and literary news." The first number appeared on January 8, 1838. It appeared in Paris three times a month until 1840.

In a letter to Bohdan and Joseph Zaleski dated June 19, 1838, Jański wrote concerning "Young Poland": "Finally, about "Young Poland". You were greatly mistaken. Neither Adam [Mickiewicz], nor Stephen [Witwicki], not any of us has written even a single letter published there. Then who writes for it? You would never guess. It is a strange and mysterious enterprise. The editors are both visible and invisible. I will reveal a secret for you, but also under the seal of confession. Uruski, a Galician Count, provided the money. Januszkiewicz is the entrepreneur, Ropelewski is the animator, and the editor-in-chief is a Frenchman, a certain Mr. Jourdain.

But this is a very great secret (for revealing it would cause Uruski a great deal of trouble, and would prevent the Frenchman from returning to Galicia with him). From this you can infer that we experience a great deal of trouble with this unexpected ally. The talent in some articles is obvious, since you read either Adam or Stephen into them. But the Frenchman has stepped forward with the pretense of being an instructor of Poles, naturally without understanding our position, issues, and political parties.

The whole clique steps forward with the intention of not needing us, and the desire to make themselves the organ of the Catholic(?) party in Poland and in the emigration. The Frenchman cannot control what is printed, or know what should be written. Januszkiewicz is looking for profits. Ropelewski is a dandy - solely with Catholic opinions - not practicing, vain, wavering, a most uncertain person. Great harm could result. But perhaps it will be able to correct all of this by replacing it with something other and more certain.

N.B. I am acquainted with Uruski and Jourdain, but they did everything in my absence, and without even seeing Adam.

With regard to Rome, our Country, and our situation here, it has greatly complicated our situation, disturbing our neutrality in political questions, which it would seem we should guard very carefully for some time yet. Above all, the foundation - establish a foundation in minds and hearts: faith, love, and a common hope, through Christ the Lord, and in unity with the universal holy Church. But let us pray, be on guard, and persevere in the spirit of dedication, and all the evil will result in good for us" (the Jagellonian Library, Mss, sygn. 9201 - III).

It is possible that, earlier than Jański, A. Mickiewicz may have informed the same people by letter (May?, 1838): "Do you not read "Young Poland"? I know as much as you about the source of this Poland. I hear that Ropelewski writes the articles, and that sometimes he is assisted by some Frenchman, who provides articles to be translated. I hear that secretly Januszkiewicz announces that I am the editor. But leave them alone. It is written in the Gospel that anyone who teaches in the name of Christ cannot be his enemy for long. Therefore, we rejoice that Ropelewski and Januszkiewicz have already declared themselves defenders of Catholicism, even though you may doubt their orthodoxy. To tell the truth, it seems to me that they themselves are not sure what they believe or what they want. Perhaps in writing they will find out. They wanted Jański to join them, but he refused."

In that same letter Mickiewicz mentioned the House of Jański: "Now let us speak about Jański, and about his House. I am aware that you sent him help, and that you asked us about the situation of those in need. In the House for a long time there has been a deficit

article, whereas this is as yet uncertain. After returning home, I did not observe the order; breakfast was mixed up, and silence before the conference was broken. John was left in church. Then Anthony Plater dropped in and I swat with him too long. After that Szokalski, and I sit with him too long, talking about politics., so that he did not leave until after eleven. Everyone goes their way and there is no Gospel and conference. Joseph Hube. Ziomecki has information about Marszewski. The Minister's letter arrived from Montalembert with permission for [Charles] Królikowski and Marszewski. And so letters to them. I delay needlessly, put off the letter to Marszewski until after breakfast, and I go to the Hermitage.⁶² After my return I write. When I take the letters to the post-office it is already after two. so they will not leave until tomorrow. Ropelewski. Through him I promise Walter that I will be there tomorrow at six. I return home. By the time I go out to mail the letter to Valerian [Wielogłowski] it is too late. I return home at three, unnecessarily; I should have stayed for Vespers. After returning, I begin to write to the Zaleskis, but I doze - laziness. A letter from Kranas. He will arrive tomorrow. In the evening, after recreation, to Mr. Refendary (why not to Mickiewicz, who was here yesterday) and to the Reading Room. Impure glances at two women. I am late for the lecture, and it does not take place.

498

Monday, (June 18). After Holy Communion, on my way home, I notice that people are looking at me, and I become confused. Disposition of time with the brothers. They disperse. I go to Montalembert at about eleven, say goodbye, and thank him. Breakfast at Vieux-Colombier (too much wine), and then to the Reading Room. I wait for the storm to subside, and get home too late, already after one. I have to prepare a room for Kranas. I work, putting things in order, until more or less four o'clock, and then, tired, I lie down.

and financial chaos. And it is impossible that it should be otherwise. The deficit results from the situation, I might say, of the entire emigration. The House accepted various individuals, paying and non-paying. It is almost always poor, and frequently in debt. All of the debts have fallen upon the corporation - and it is necessary to carry the load, even for those who left. There is hope that soon, with the Caesar's help, the debts will be paid. Meanwhile, even in the poor state in which it finds itself at present, the House provides a great benefit by the very fact that it exists, that it offers an example, that it serves as salt in the eye of the emigration, that they talk about it, and so have to talk about religion. Even the wisest word soon falls into oblivion; a book that is read is forgotten; but a living institution exerts a constant and most effective influence. Therefore you do well to support this House as far as you can" *Works*, VI. XV, *Letters*, - part two, p.188).

⁶² Hermitage - possibly the name of a restaurant.

Kranas arrives after five. For dinner. Why, on greeting him, did I not kneel down to pray with him? I lack unction, for I am not in the presence of God.

After dinner, Zdziennicki. I talk with him too long. I left too late to see Walter, and then was late for prayers. At Walter, the marshal [Ostrowski] and Karsznicki. Once more I lack a sense of the presence of God (levity and facetiousness). On my way home, I stopped for a beer without any need, and got home that much later.

498

Tuesday, [June 19]. Holy Communion. Recreation not animated by the presence of God. Consultation with the brothers, especially with Kranas. Endless thanks to God for associating him with our family. I have great hopes for him. God grant that I myself might not prove to be an obstacle to fulfilling these hopes and to his growth in Christ the Lord. Conversation with him lasted until eleven. Then, finally, I would like to get down to the letter to the Zaleskis, but it doesn't go. I delay, self-love forever resists; before two o'clock I have barely finished a half. (in the meantime Szczepański⁶³ came with a request). And, dear God, praise and thanks to you, I did write the letter, but with pretenses. Edward dropped in. I sent him away, lying needlessly that I was writing to Plater. After taking the letter to the post-office, I went to Walter for dinner. Unnecessarily I stop in for a pastry.

At Walter I forget myself completely: over-eating, levity, a note of comraderie, without God in my heart. I return with him at seven, and take the opportunity to press him about confession. I am repulsed. O God! Why did I not take advantage of his good dispositions not too long ago? How greatly have I been at fault through my neglect, laziness, and lukewarmness toward You, O Lord! O Lord! Grant that I may be able to atone for all this!

I return home at 8:30. Reading, prayers, and then to Mickiewicz (who came to visit me again, and did not find me at home). At his place I am disturbed. He is somehow indisposed toward my brothers, and I am without God in my heart. (Why didn't I defend Rettel in my conversation with him?) ON my way back, I stop in to see Benoiste. He is always a very fine young man. Why am I not a better Christian with him? O God! Grant me the grace to improve!

⁶³ It is impossible to determine whom Jański had in mind.

On the way to Walter, lustful memories of times past, regrets, thinking that I did not enjoy delights and the world as much as I could have.

8591

1094 [Tuesday, June 19]

Tomorrow, Wednesday, June 20

Inquire about Damiron,⁶⁴ about *The Life of St. Francis de Sales*. To Adam [Mickiewicz] after ten. To rue des Petits-Augustines. To Ropelewski (concerning Portsmouth).⁶⁵ To Adam, to return. To Damiron, at rue Vivienne and about *The Life of Saint Francis*, and mail that letter before four o'clock. Letter to Chodźko. To Kraków. Write what has accumulated, make order in the little table.

Puntner,⁶⁶ Wątróbka, (Uruski. A letter to Fr. Gerbet. To Fr. Kerelly.⁶⁷

Thursday, [June 21], (sand, blotting-paper), books for Weyss.⁶⁸ Stop in to see Szulc and tell him about that place...) near Nantes.

⁶⁴ Damiron - The owner of a hotel in Sévres where Bohdan and Joseph Zaleski stayed.

⁶⁵ *To Ropelewski (with regard to Portsmouth)* - Jański had asked Ropelewski, the editor of "Young Poland", for a French translation of the *Portsmouth Manifesto*, which he will mention in the Diary on July 3, 1838.

Portsmouth - a port in the south of England. Polish exiles, soldiers drawn primarily from the people, once prisoners in Grudziądz for refusing to accept the amnesty of the Tsar. In October of that year they organized the Grudziądz Group of the Polish People, and in their first manifesto, presented a revolutionary-democratic program ("a comparison of social conditions" abolition of private property, etc.). The inspiration for this program was drawn equally from the Gospel and from the teaching of Christian socialists, especially French socialists (Buchezy, Coux).

On April 2, 1838, a part of the group, together with Krępowicki, Dziewicki and others established the mystical-revolutionary Society of Advocates of Social Responsibilities, which on April 27 published a proclamation in an extreme evangelical and moralizing spirit: *Advocates of Social responsibilities for the Polish Emigration*. "Young Poland published this manifesto (Nr 17) on June 20, 1838. It seems that Jański was concerned with the April *Portsmouth Manifesto*.

⁶⁶ Edward Leopold Puntner (1793-1840) - a soldier in the army of Napoleon. He accompanied Napoleon in his exile on the island of Elba. In March of 1815 he returned to France with him, and took part in the military campaign up to the battle at Waterloo. In 1835 he became a Knight of the Order of the Legion of Honor (nr 50146). By decree of the emperor he received a donation of 200 francs. He participated in the November uprising with the rank of captain. As an emigrant he lived in Nevers. He participated in the Savoy expedition. He was a member of the Polish Democratic Society.

⁶⁷ Kerelly (Kerella?) - a priest, tutor and professor in the Collège Stanislas.

To Fr. Korycki, for Comballot. To Walter for ten o'clock (about the books he is taking to Kraków - letters between us; with him to church (to Salpêtrière).⁶⁹

Books for Królikowski. Letter to Chodźko. Letter to the Zaleskis. To Damiron. To Collège Stanislas, to Fr. Kerelly.

In the evening to Mickiewicz. To Des Planches. Buy a standing crucifix. Szymański, Słowaczyński! Books for Weyss. [vide pocher, notes, or calendrier u Vapchens, papier fongaut. Put *Encyclopédie* and "Revue Encyclopédique" away in the cupboard.

Perhaps to H.⁷⁰ First, through [Julian] Mieczkowski,⁷¹ make an appeal to Chodźko.⁷²

Friday, [June 22]

To Prince Czartoryski, if...

Next Sunday, [June 24]

The Gospel for Corpus Christi, and for this Sunday - conference - and definitely combine all of the small observations in resolutions - before the arrival of new members.

⁶⁸ August Weyss (Weiss) - a student at the University of Vilno, a second lieutenant in the November uprising. An emigrant in France (Clamecy). From 1837 he lived in Paris.

⁶⁹ Salpêtrière - a hospital-hospice (Hospice de la Salpêtrière) established by Louis XIII southeast of the Botanical Gardens, with a church in the center assigned to the poor. Many Polish emigrants, participants in the November uprising, died in this hospital.

⁷⁰ Very probably Jean-Christophe-Armand Husson (1809-1874) - a former saintsimonist (Cf. 1830, footnote 5; 1832, footnote 262). Journalist, author of articles published in "Courrier Français", "Constitutionnel", "Messager des chambres", "Revue Encyclopédique", "Magazine pittoresque", "Droit". A clerk in the prefecture through whose hands matters pertaining to the refugees passed. He performed responsible functions in the state administration. He was occupied in economy. In 1838 he published *Géographie industrielle et commerciale de la France*. He was the director of the Welfare Society. He became a member of the French Academy. Jański was in frequent contact with him in 1838.

⁷¹ Julian Marcelus Mieczkowski (1817-after 1880) from the region of Poznań. He reached France illegally. From 1834 he was engaged in physical labor in the Polish Bookstore and Printery. He was a member of the Polish Emigrant Union, and was the editor of its organ "The Pole". He directed the administration and finances of this periodical, at least from May to the end of July, 1837, if not longer. In later years his occupation was that of bookseller.

⁷² Michael Borejko Chodźko (1808-1879) - participated in the November uprising as a captain of the 12th uhlán regiment. A poet, a close friend of Adam Mickiewicz. Co-editor of "The Pole" in 1838-1839.

8627

498

Wednesday, today, [June] 20

Holy Communion. A frivolous recreation, without God. After Communion, an impatient word to Sidorowicz. Conversation with Rettel too light. Various notes, arrangement of time, projects, and this Diary, and it is already after eleven.

500 Then I went to see Mickiewicz (his thoughts concerning poetry are holy, masterpieces of our poetry, 2 songs from the *Canticles*, his dream in Dresden and the Epoch of new poetry, a verse in "Melitel").⁷³ Breakfast, rue d'Enfer, and moved by sensuality, berries; spent too much time on coffee and newspapers (a bad use of time). To the pawnshop. To the Reading Room, and a letter to the Zaleskis, unfortunately! - it seems once more with pretenses. At four to the printer, with Januszkiewicz, the printers, and Borysewicz, levity in conversation, without God in my heart. To Mickiewicz. Lustful glances. At

⁷³ ... I went to Mickiewicz (his thoughts about poetry are holy, masterpieces of our poetry, 2 songs from canticles, his dream in Dresden and the Epoch of new poetry, a verse from "Melitel").

As early as 1835, in a letter (October 31) Mickiewicz wrote to Jerome Kajsiewicz: "Perhaps the true poetry of our age is still unborn; we can only see symptoms of its coming. [...] It seems to me that when the times return when one had to be a saint to be a poet, that there will be a need for inspiration and knowledge beforehand about things of which the mind does not know how to speak in order to awaken in people a respect for art... often, it seems to me, I see the promised land of poetry like Moses from a mountain-top, but feel that I am unworthy to reach it!" (Works, vol. XV, Letters, part two, pp.133-134).

A Dream in Dresden - an allusion to a poem of Adam Mickiewicz: I dreamed of winter. The poet later added the note: "I had a dream in Dresden in 1832, on March 23, which for me was obscure and not understood. On rising I wrote it down in verse. Now, 1840, I rewrite it in order to remember," Jański could recognize the poet's verse I dreamed of winter.

An epoch of new poetry - A. Mickiewicz had in mind here the literary program of Severin Goszczyński, who presented it anonymously in the extensive study *The new epoch of Polish poetry* which was published in "A Universal Album of the Arts and Sciences" (1835, in Vols. I and II). In this work Goszczyński expressed his opinions on the topic of poetry in general, and national poetry, original Polish and Slavonic poetry, as well on the topic of English, German, French and oriental manifestations there.

The verse "Meliteli" was a creation of A. Mickiewicz: To M. Ł. On the day of receiving Holy Communion. It was printed in Vol.3 of the literary almanac "Melitele" edited by Anthony Edward Ordyniec, published in Leipzig, 1837.

On the other hand, we do not know what "masterpieces of our poetry, 2 songs from canticles" Mickiewicz had in mind.

dinner (Mikulski sprawled out in my place; why didn't I rebuke him?). Recreation, Ziomecki, Hube, Edward (another lie to Edward concerning the letter to the Zaleskis). With Sidorowicz for pictures, and to the latter. To Januszkiewicz, and to Ropelewski - a conversation with the latter without fervor; he was abusive, and the talk about Jourdain was critical. At Walter, I allowed myself to share his opinions, very sinfully, and out of breath I arrive late for reading, my own fault. After prayers various notes. (Plans for a trip to Meaux.) A letter to the Zaleskis until two.

Thursday, [June] 21

after *Kiedy ranne* (When the morning) Sidorowicz remains with me and he puts on airs. This disturbs and provokes me before Holy Communion. Before Mass he tells me impatiently something about Omieciński. I do not admonish him or console him. After breakfast and drawing up a time schedule for the brothers, to Walter. On the way, lustful glances (after Holy Communion). I stop by to see Szulc, and speak to him quite warmly, but not in an engaging manner, and not with faith and love. Now he resists. How unfortunate I am! Why didn't I take advantage of his good dispositions immediately, at the time of [Julian] Szotarski's death? At Walter, why did I not get to know Psarski?⁷⁴ Why, while with Walter, especially when leaving, was I not serious enough, and the whole conversation was without God? And there especially I had reasons (to be serious). To Fr. Korycki. Along the way I looked around for a woman. Breakfast, newspapers. I finish the letter to the Zaleskis in the Reading Room, where again I experience concupiscence. After my return, to Januszkiewicz. Why was I confused in conversation with Mirosławski⁷⁵ and as a result of

⁷⁴ Undoubtedly Victor Psarski (1813-before 1854) - a second lieutenant in the 12th infantry regiment during the November uprising. In the years 1835-1838 he attended the Central School of Arts and Crafts in Paris. He was a metallurgical engineer.

⁷⁵ Louis Mierosławski (1814-1878) - participated in the November uprising, and was an emigrant in France. He was a Carbonaro, and a member of Young Poland. With the consent of French authorities, he lived in Paris from 1836. He mingled with members of the literary circle of the Polish emigration (Mickiewicz, Zaleski, Słowacki, Goszczyński). In 1835, in Paris, he published a short poem "Bitwa Grochowska", and the poems: *Szuja*, *Pugaczow*, *Żelazna Maryna* (1836); a few years later, in French, a two-volume novel *La tâche de Cad'n* (Paris, 1841). As a military historian he published a three volume work *Histoire de la révolution Pologne*, Paris, (1836-1838) - an outline of the history of the November uprising (with particular attention to the problems of strategy). He continued Maurice Mochnacki's work on the uprising. In 1838 he became a member of the Literary Society in Paris. He worked as a lithographer, and then as editor in Leonard Chodzko's *La Pologne pittoresque*. From 1840 he renewed his activity as a political activist in support of a democracy of the nobility. He was an officer in the armies of insurrection and revolutionary movements.

Mieczkowski's glances? I go to look for a standing crucifix, and once again glances and empty thoughts. To Desplanch. Back home tired, but determined not to show my fatigue. Meanwhile, once again I allowed myself to be drawn into, and entangled by, the impoverished spirit of some of the brothers, crawling along the ground. After dinner, recreation; once again without life. I scandalize Sidorowicz by my pipe. After recreation, I had to see Fr. Augé (apparently the money for Chodkiewicz arrived)⁷⁶ - and giving scandal to the brothers, I needlessly lay down on the bed and dream. I lay there until evening prayers. Laziness, scandal, neglect in fulfilling my obligations. O God! Save me by Your all-powerful and infinite mercy! - After prayers, conversation with Sidorowicz about his French friend who is becoming a convert. Then various notes, and this entry.

501

502

On Friday, [June] 22, after settling everything at home (which, unnecessarily, I wanted to do before-hand), I went to see Fr. Augé, and I just missed him. He left for Vaugirard, to visit Fr. Poiloup. I went home for breakfast, and then went back to the Collège. Fr. Buquet, Baudé. (Undecided whether to go to Vaugirard or not, or to go to Meaux.) Baudé comes to see me. We talk. There is a lack of effort on my part. Suddenly I decide to go to Meaux. Then Różycki and Zwierkowski stop by. I am a little confused in speaking with them. However I leave them, and travel (by carriage). I stop at Walter's house, and return the *Encyclopédie du XIX siècle*. I show him the money for him and hurry to catch the stage-coach. I was still able to find a place. I think about the letter from the Zaleskis brought by Różycki. I could have received it, and Edward would not know of it and would not worry. But I thank God that He used this to humble me. - I arrived in Meaux.⁷⁷ Why do I immediately light my pipe, even though he (Terlecki) does not smoke?

Marion Żychowski, the author of a monograph *Louis Mierosławski 1814-1878* (Warsaw, 1963) included the following interesting information: "Apparently Mierosławski was also drawn by Jełowicki and Jański to enter the way of penance for the sins of his youth." That author, having access to Russian archives, added that [Ladislaus] Sabbatyn (b.1811), an insurrectionist in 1831, gathered information for the Russian legation in Paris concerning life in the Polish emigration: "He also described members of the Catholic party: A. Mickiewicz, B. Jański" (CGIAM,III-0 eksp. nr 81, cz.3, k.150).

⁷⁶ Ignatius Chodkiewicz, from White Russia (Cf. 1835, footnote 253).

⁷⁷ At this time, Fr. Philippe-Olympe Gerbet and doctor Hippolyte Terlecki were living in Meaux.

Saturday, [June] 23

I get up late. I go to Mass with Hippolitus; my prayer is fervent. The walk is pleasant. I visit with the pastor, with Gerbet (I am a little weak by reason of hunger, and noticing that he is already reluctant to continue the conversation, why didn't I leave?). At about two or three, I take the stage-coach back home. I read the book I purchased yesterday, Fleur's *Communautés religieuses*.⁷⁸ I am drawn to the sins he mentions there. The conclusions drawn from reading: One cannot blindly accept monastic observances as they are; rather one must reach back to tradition, and create something new, suited to present-day needs and in accord with the eternal model of perfection.

After returning to Paris, I stop immediately to see Walter, and by my impatience once gain I scandalize F[anny] L[ebert]. To Desplanch, and ask him to make an overcoat for me. At home I find Turowski and Kamocki. I sleep with John [Omieciński].

Sunday, [June] 24

After the Gospel I speak only about the principal members of our community, our projects, and announce a conference for the Feast of St. Peter. Then a conversation with Kamocki and Turowski; they leave to go for Mass. I draw up a schedule for the next week. I purchase *Saint-Jean de Dieu*,⁷⁹ and then it seems I go to Felber. After that I go home, and continue to talk with different people. After dinner Montandon⁸⁰ drops in. Wróblewski too etc. Rogiński etc. Borysewicz, etc. The schedule of assignments for the next week is written.

[Sunday, June 24]

The fourth week after Pentecost

⁷⁸ Claude Fleury (1640-1723) - a lawyer and Church historian, humanist, educator. He was an advocate in the French Parliament; in 1669 became a priest. A member of the French Academy. The author of *Histoire ecclésiastique*, (20 volumes), *Catéchisme historique contenant en abrégé l'histoire sainte et doctrine chrétienne* (2 volumes), *Des congregations religieuses* (Paris, 1826).

⁷⁹ Saint John of God - a religious brother (1495-1550). He founded the Congregation of the Brothers of Mercy, also called "the good brothers," bonifrati. His unusual life was the topic of biography on the part of various authors. He was beatified in 1690.

⁸⁰ Montandon de la Tour (Latour) - a former sintsimonist; author of the poem *A Monsieur Jański*, which, in the translation of Zygmunt Kubiak, was published in the monthly bulletin of the Polish Province Resurrectionists "Wiadomości 3'90...", Warsaw, 1990,p.95.

Wróblewski - perhaps Erasmus Wróblewski, Cf. 1836, footnote 156.

492

Prepare for the Feast of St. Peter. If possible, prepare the daily schedule, complete domestic arrangements. First, on Wednesday, if possible, a full conference, at which present this arrangement. For the Feast of St. Peter, Rome.

Monday, June 25

To Michael Chodźko. To Ladislaus Plater (when Montalembert). To rue Saint-Antoine with the bill of exchange.

To Transon. To the library to see Feller⁸¹ and the new edition of St. Francis. To H.⁸² Z.W.⁸³ - a list of our members, the Minister's letter;⁸⁴

concerning Mikulski with reference to payment and his baccalaureate;

concerning Kamocki, for permission to stay in Paris for 15 days, and whether he is to live with us;

concerning Omieciński: he is sick, asking for permission to stay and for payment.

Set things in order in the desk. Put away the *Encyclopédie* and the "Revue Encyclopédique". Look for the ticket for the overcoat.

- Order the standing crucifix.
- *Saint Jean de Dieu*.
- in the afternoon with Kamocki to Rudnicki.
- to Perisse - for Delamarne⁸⁵
- and 2 *Méthode pratique de l'oraison*, or *Introduction a la vie devote*,
- Decide concerning confession for Turowski, Kamocki.

⁸¹ François-Xavier Feller (1735-1802) - a Jesuit writer and journalist. Author, e.g., of an apologetic work: *Catéchisme philosophique* (Liège, 1784), *Biographie universelle ou dictionnaire historique des hommes, qui se sont fait un nom par leur génie, leurs talents, leurs vertus, leur erreurs, ou leurs crimes* (Liège, 1781-1784); a *Supplément* was added to the last work. This work was continued by M.R.A. Henrion (Cf. 1835, footnote 25) with the title *Dictionnaire historique, ou Biographie universelles des hommes...* and appeared in the years 1832-1835; a 9th edition in 1837, 4 volumes.

⁸² To H. - Cf. above, footnote 70.

⁸³ Z.W. - undoubtedly Ladislaus Zamojski.

⁸⁴ A list of those living in the House of Jański.

A list of the Minister - a list of the Minister for internal affairs, Michel Chevalier, expressing approval for the stay in Paris of Charles Królikowski and Joseph Marszewski.

⁸⁵ Periss - A Paris bookseller.

Louis-Philibert Machet de la Marne (b. c.1800) - a religious writer and apologist. Author, e.g., of *La religion constatée universellement au l'aide des sciences et de l'erudition modernes*, Vols I-II, Paris, 1837.

Letters!! to Fr. Dłuski, Maliński.

493

Rome. To Fr. Kerelly. Szymański, Słowaczyński, Szulc, Kukaty, Newelski.⁸⁶ For Rettel, work in the library. (German lessons)

- Without fail, as soon as possible, make arrangements for a library (before Uruski's arrival), and a refectory.

- In the order of the day: Accepting visitors on Sunday evening, and Friday from one o'clock. Reading at noon.

Daily, remind everyone that they are not permitted to visit with others outside of recreation.

Give Leonard and Victor a good example - knock.

Come back from church together.

List of assignments for John
Monday

494

Victor [Sidorowicz]

Shoe polish. Binding the words of Zachary.⁸⁷

Books for Weiss. The Cologne poster.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Casimir Newelski (1810-1841) - studied law at the University of Warsaw. Participated in the November uprising as officer cadet in the 15th infantry regiment. From 1832 he was an emigrant in France. In 1838 - a consumptive, he was a patient in the Necker hospital in Paris.

⁸⁷ *Framing of the words of Zacharias* - Zacharias, a Jewish priest, the husband of Elizabeth, the father of John the Baptist, who spoke the following words after his birth: "Blessed be the Lord the God of Israel! He has looked upon his people and saved them. He has raised up for us a Savior..." (Lk 1:68-79).

⁸⁸ *The Cologne nailing* - may be the text of a document pertaining to the Cologne incident which was provoked by the initiative of the Archbishop of Cologne, Klemens August von Droste-Vischering, forbidding students of theology to attend the lectures of professors who were advocates of hermesianism, attempting to offer proofs for dogma on the basis of reason, and forbidding priests to bless mixed marriages if the couple did not promise to raise their children as Catholics. It also may refer to the Allocution of Gregory XVI of

Pawn my coat. His Frenchman. Books. Benedictines.
 (Concerning Budrewicz and his condession.) Don't worry, and don't make jokes.

Kranas

Announce the list of addresses.
 Draft (how much money should i give him?)
 Concerning Charzewski. For Fr. Salinis etc.
 Möller.

Mikulski

Szlegel, Comballot, (extracts).
 Puntner. Arrange "Univers" with Turowski.
 Explanation about letters. Did Clamecy write? (payment and baccalaureate).
 Puntner, that he should write less.

For Turowski

Seminary. Rodriguez⁸⁹ and "Annales de la Propagation".⁹⁰ ("Univers Religieux"), "Université Catholique"
 Guderlej⁹¹
 Pledges.

For Kamocki

"Université Catholique".
 Rodrigues. To Rudnicki.⁹² About a room later. How is Dembiński?⁹³
Choix de Mystique.⁹⁴ Warn him about talk.

December 10, 1837, which dealt with the Prussian government's repression of Catholic priests, and the arrest of the Archbishop of Cologne.

⁸⁹ Alphonse Rodriguez (1533-1617) - a religious brother in the Society of Jesus. He was married, but was widowed at the age of 34. His children died. An ascetic and mystic. He was beatified in 1825.

⁹⁰ "Annales de la Propagation de la Foi" - Annals published by the Jesuits, which included a list of Bishops and missionaries devoting their lives to work in the missions. They appeared in Lyon and Paris from 1822 to 1903.

⁹¹ Perhaps Charles Guderlej, a lieutenant in the 6th cavalry regiment.

⁹² Rudnicki - further information lacking.

⁹³ This may pertain to General Henry Dembiński who was living in Paris; Cf. 1832, footnote 254.

⁹⁴ *Choix de Mystique* - undoubtedly this refers to *Choix d'ouvrages mystiques*, a work including texts chosen from Latin writers and Christian philosophers such as Augustine of Hippo, Boetius, Bernard of Clairvaux, Jean Gerson (Gerson, Cf. 1832, footnote 308),

Leonard [Rettel]

Latin of necessity (Baudé). Pious reading.

Need to observe the Rule.

Why did he say yesterday, that for a salute?

Knocking. Good example. Like Spaniards with regard to religion. Will he remain long in Paris?

Jaś [Omieciński], to make a list of the projects. Klukowski. Orlicki.⁹⁵ Bed linen, water, cheese at twelve.

495

Tuesday, [June] 26

Holy water.

To Fr. Augé, concerning Chodzkiewicz. Plater. Saint-Cloud.⁹⁶ Turowski and Kamocki to the police station.

- To Prince Czartoryski - Prince Ogiński - Prince Giedrojc. Perisse. Januszkiewicz. Letter to the Zaleskis. Confession in Latin.

- To Fr. Desgenettes (Montandon, Fr. Dziewulski⁹⁷)

- To Ropelewski concerning Portsmouth.

Puntner.

Baudé. Commentary to Drach's⁹⁸ Bible, perhaps at Orpiszewski.

New Testament.

History of the Church.

Jean Bona, Jean Tauler, Louis de Blois. The selection was made by the famous historian and literary expert Jean Alexandre C. Buchon (1791-1846), co-editor of "Revue Encyclopédique". This work appeared in the series Panthéon Littéraire, Paris, 1835-1836, Bailly et Cie publishers.

⁹⁵ Louis Orlicki (+1840) - initially he served in the Russian army. In the November uprising he held the rank of captain in the mounted artillery. Editor and publisher of "Young Poland".

⁹⁶ Saint-Cloud - a town west of Paris (3 km) which was a former royal place of residence.

⁹⁷ John Dziewulski (c.1793-1853) - a priest.

⁹⁸ Paul-David Drach (1791-1865) - a Rabbi, member of the Paris Conservatory. Influenced by his studies and reflections on the Old Testament, he became a convert to Catholicism. In 1825 he published a letter to his brothers dealing with the motives for his conversion (*Une lettre d'un rabbin converti aux Israelites*). A doctor of philosophy and literature, a Talmudist and biblical scholar. A writer and author of scholarly works. He published, e.g., *Catholicum Lexicon hebraicum et Chaldaicum in Veteris Testamenti libros...* A librarian for the Congregation of the Faith in Rome.

Victor

Pawn ticket for the overcoat.
 Books for Weiss.
 Rue Boucherat, 11. An old student[?].

496

Sidorowicz

Holy water. (Pawning the overcoat). *Saint Jean de Dieu*.

Leonard

Should he go to Saint-Cloud?
 For Kranas a separate room.

Wednesday, [June] 27

To Fr. Augé.
 Letter to the Zaleskis, to Fr. Trepka.
 To Plater. To Fr. Desgenettes (a place for Montandon, Fr. Korycki).
 (Puntner, Weiss)

Thursday, [June 28]

To Fr. Froment concerning Turowski and Kamocki.
 - Request for Kamocki.

Friday, [June 29]

Plater. To Charzewski and Królikowski.
 Letters to Meaux, to the Zaleskis.
 Chodkiewicz.

Saturday, [June 30]

Letter to Maliński, to Fr. Dłuski.
 Letter to Prince Giedrojć.
 Plater. - the police.
 Request for Kamocki.
 To Adam [Mickiewicz] before dinner.
 Shoes to shoemaker. Ropelewski with translator.
 With Hube concerning Latin lessons. Basket.

In the following days until the Feast of St. Peter I am very busy, from early in the morning with the brothers at home, almost until noon, and then,

unfortunately, always for a snack - and various business matters, and on Thursday I was weak.

503

Monday [June 25]

I left home late - and at Saint-Eustache. Then with the money-order to rue Saint-Antoine, and to Transon (he was not in). To the police about Kamocki, Mikulski, Omieciński. A very unpleasant visit. I visit the second-hand bookstore, and purchase St. John Climacus.⁹⁹ Montandon is in my room, and at dinner; He writes some kind of verses to me. In the evening we go to Rudnicki with Narion [Kamocki]; there I am confused, good for nothing.

Tuesday, [June] 26

To Fr. Augé concerning Chodkiewicz; he sends me to a banker. Breakfast at Grille du Luxembourg,¹⁰⁰ and to the library in order to find out about Saint-François de Sales for the Zaleskis; I send Mikulski to Saint-Cloud to Damiron. Then to Fr. Desgenettes, concerning Masses for Fr. Dziejwski and confession for Montandon. He receives me, as always, very kindly. Then to Thurneyssen¹⁰¹ and home; but first to Perisse for Delamarn's work, and *Méthode d'oraison*. In the evening, Lewicki (Montandon, Mierzwiński¹⁰² - about dinner tickets from the [Welfare] Society - Fr. Korycki.

Wednesday, [June] 27

I leave the house late. After breakfast, to Fr. Desgenettes. I receives Korycki. (Turowski and Kamocki go to the police station - yesterday still.) To Plater; to Ropelewski, he is not in; and then to the printer. I leave at 3:30, at the very time when Ladislaus.¹⁰³ the son of Adam [Mickiewicz] is born - Almighty God, pour out upon him Your most abundant graces so that he might be an

⁹⁹ John Climacus (prior to 579-c.649) - a monk of the monastery on Sinai. He received the nickname from the title of his work *Klimax tu paradeison* (The Ladder of Heaven) - a popular ascetical handbook. The book contained meditations on faults threatening monks, and on their distinctive virtues. The handbook also included an appendix *Instructions for pastors* (that is, the superior of the monastery). The *Oeuvres de Saint Jean Climaque* was published in 1836 in Lyon.

¹⁰⁰ Grille du Luxembourg - the gate or wall of the Luxembourg Garden.

¹⁰¹ George Thurneyssen - a Paris banker.

¹⁰² Casimir Mierzwiński - from Vilno; in the November uprising he was a non-commissioned officer in the 16th cavalry regiment. An emigrant who lived in Auxerre.

¹⁰³ Ladislaus Mickiewicz (1838-1826) - the oldest son of the poet, future biographer and publisher of his works and materials; a journalist, translator, and literary historian.

excellent Christian to assist the Church, for Poland, his own salvation, and Your eternal glory! I browse through second-hand bookstores, and go home. After dinner to Adam, and I learn the good news.

504

Thursday, [June] 28

To Fr. Fremont and Fr. Rhode concerning confession for Kranas, Kamocki, and Turowski. I feel weak, and so I lay down. I neglect to prepare for tomorrow's conference. In the evening, to Walter, and to Fr. Badiche for permission to receive Holy Communion tomorrow.

Friday, [June] 29, Saints Peter and Paul.

In place of the conference, I read our written Resolutions.¹⁰⁴ Then letters to Meaux (along with sending the letter from Fr. Blanc to Fr. Gerbet), and to the

¹⁰⁴ *In place of a conference I read our written Resolutions.* Thus far I have not been able to come across "our resolutions" in Jański's manuscripts preserved in the Roman Archives of the Congregation of the Resurrection. On the other hand, a text containing resolutions commonly accepted by the Elder Brother Bogdan Jański and his confreres has been preserved. This text, written by an unidentified person, was not signed by its authors. I have in mind an unknown to me from my personal inspection *Rule for domestic behavior*, which over and beyond an introduction included resolutions listed in nine points. Fr. Paul Smolikowski included these in the first volume of his *History of the Congregation of the Resurrection* (Kraków, 1892, pp.128-129). He added a note that this *Rule* "is, it seems, from 1836". The authors of the "written resolutions" along with Jański, who seems to be their principal author - this is clearly evident from the language and style - "having received Holy Communion on the Feast of St. Vincent de Paul, have agreed upon the following rule for domestic behavior." In the contemporary Church calendar, the Feast of St. Vincent de Paul occurred on July 19. It seems hardly possible that the redaction of "our resolutions" took place in 1836, a half year after the brotherhood came into being, and which, along with the first experiences and trials, began to form its identity slowly. We might add that in Jański's Diary for July 1836 and 1837, there are no entries or daily notations on this topic. It is worth noting that in the texts left to us by Jański in the second half of 1836, presented in the Appendix to this year: *For Sunday, July 31* (position V), *for August 15* (position VI), and *My instructions for the brothers* (position VII) contain elements and formulations, resolutions or their proposal, which appear in more mature form in the *Rule*. In the absence of any immediate evidence, these are premises leading to a hypothetical conclusion that the *Rule for domestic behavior* was not completed earlier than July of 1837, and not later than about the first of September. While preparing himself for a conference for *Monday, September 3* (Cf. Appendix, position XII) Jański noted: "Second, read the rules". Therefore, it is not inconceivable that Jański read the mentioned "our written resolutions" on June 29, 1838, the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul.

Zaleskis. At dinner time, Ziomecki drops by with the news that Fr. Buquet has money for Chodkiewicz. After dinner for coffee, to Chodkiewicz, and then unnecessarily to Fr. Korycki (for I could have transacted the business by letter).

Saturday, [June 30]

I wait for Chodkiewicz, who comes at 10:30, receives the money, and lends me 200. And so, thanks be to God, I am not worried about Jełowicki and Walter. A police agent come for Kamocki and Bukoski.¹⁰⁵ I go to the police station and receive a solid promise. To Mickiewicz. In the evening, Kuryś,¹⁰⁶ Zieliński and Wróblewski (I have hopes for them).

506

Sunday, July 1

Conference, at which I speak of some additions, such as reading at noon, and a evening reminders. Then to Saint-Sulpice, and to Saint-Eustache for breakfast. And Transon (my conversation with him is so-so, but I am confused). Walter, I do not wish to stay for dinner. Back home. At recreation the young people are too frisky, and I allow it. Thank God, I managed to admonish them, at least at night prayer.

487

Fifth week of Pentecost
and the first after St. Peter

German lessons by Rettel. Latin lessons by [Joseph] Hube or Baudé. Reach a decision about Uruski, Jourdain, and the question of the agency.¹⁰⁷ Set

I have included the text of *The Rule* according to Fr. Smolikowski in the Appendix to the Year 1838, under position VI.

¹⁰⁵ Bukoski (Bukowski) - further information lacking.

¹⁰⁶ Kuryś - no further information.

Zieliński - perhaps John Zieliński; Cf. 1833, footnote 25.

¹⁰⁷ *Decide something concerning Uruski, Jourdain, and the question of the agency.* According to Adam Mickiewicz, the editors mentioned, and their associates who were publishing "Young Poland", "have established, or are establishing some Catholic Agency, and have been writing to various depots summoning them to some kind of union; but the Catholics there responded that they do not know what this is all about, and who are its directors. Apparently they have been telling people that I and Witwicki write their newspaper. (...) Hearsay also is that this agency is thinking about writing to Poland in the

papers and books in order. Put away the *Encyclopédie* and "Revue Encyclopédique". Definitely to Prince Czartoryski, Prince Ogiński, and Prince Giedrojc. Szymański, Słowaczyński, Orpiszewski, Zan.

To Noé¹⁰⁸ concerning Hebrew lessons. (Rettel, Kranas, Sidorowicz, Turowski, Mikulski.) Try to obtain positions as tutors from Fr. Buquet and others, perhaps from Fr. Poiloup. Fr. Levayer.¹⁰⁹ Ordyniec. Oleszczyński. Orański.

To stitch together copies of "Univers Religieux" and "Université", as well as Polish pamphlets.

488 Monday, [July 2]

Tomorrow to Jełowicki and Walter. Shopping for Hippolyte's son.¹¹⁰ Locket. Addresses. Petitions for Kamocki. *Religion constatée*.¹¹¹

Plater. Books at Saint-Sulpice. Benoist. Sidorowicz for curtains, a straw mattress. A letter to Starzyński and Fr. Korycki concerning Fr. Dziewulski. Book for Hippolyte.

Tuesday, [July 3]

Plater, Kamocki. Mr. Anthony. Zdziennicki.

To Ropelewski for a French translation.

Sidorowicz to Krosnowski with letters.¹¹²

To Ziomecki concerning Żerosław.

To Hube concerning a Latin lesson.

Letters. Petition for Mikulski.

Wednesday, [July 4]

name of Catholics; I do not know what there is to communicate to Poland; and because I do not know, it will be necessary to warn people that we have no part to play in these movements" (in a letter to Bohdan and Joseph Zaleski, Paris, end of July, 1838, in *Works*, Vol.XV, *Letters*, Part two, p.199).

¹⁰⁸ Noe - a teacher of the Hebrew language.

¹⁰⁹ Levayer (Levoyer) - a priest from the Seminary of Saint Sulpice in Paris.

¹¹⁰ Mścisław Terlecki; Cf. 1837, footnote 43.

¹¹¹ *Religion constatée* - Cf. above, footnote 85.

¹¹² Adolph Krosnowski (1794-1875) - an army man, captain in the 7th infantry regiment, participated in the November uprising. An emigrant in Paris. In 1837 he published volume I of *L'Almanach historique ou souvenir de l'Emigration Polonaise*, and in 1838, *Premier supplément*, an addition to volume I appeared. Further volumes appeared in 1841 (also *Deuxième supplément au l'Almanach de l'Emigration polonaise au 1 Janvier 1841*), 1846 and 1847. In the *Almanach* the author presented, as far as possible, personal data, and the addresses of Polish emigrants.

(10 francs for Ordyniec). Hube. Benoist. Giedrojć. After twelve, Plater, Desplanches. F[anny] L[ebert], and a letter to Walter. Puntner's business between two and four. W. - Tessari¹¹³ rue Cloitre-Notre Dame.

Book for Zdziennicki's daughter, and trousers for Danielski. To the Chancellerie.¹¹⁴ At Zdziennicki concerning Danielski.

Thursday, [July] 5

Benoist. Hube. Giedrojć.

Fr. Badiche. F[anny] L[ebert] and to Walter.

Tessari. Letters. Petition for Mikulski.

Friday, [July 6]

To Ropelewski and definitely take back. Let Mikulski offer his opinion. Kamocki to Plater.

To confession¹¹⁵ (and Transon). To Desplanche.

To F[anny] L[ebert] and a letter to Walter.

To Hube concerning changes.

Fr. Froment for Kamocki. To Prince Giedrojć. Dinner tickets for Mierzwiński Gorski.¹¹⁶

489

Saturday, [July 7]

To Plater concerning letters from Caesar, and letters. Concerning visits to Faubourg Saint-Honoré

Karsznicki. To Różycki.

Gaszyński?.¹¹⁷ Niezabitowski.¹¹⁸

¹¹³ W. - a pseudonym which is difficult to interpret.

Tessari - perhaps J.P. Tessier, a medical doctor, friend of Lacordaire, editor.

¹¹⁴ Chancellerie - Cf. below, footnote 119.

¹¹⁵ [*Confession*] of July 6, in the original Polish-French text, Cf. Appendix to Year 1838, position VII.

¹¹⁶ Theophilus Górski (1809-1872) - a second lieutenant in the 3rd uhlan regiment during the November uprising. An emigrant in Nevers. In the years 1838-1841 he studied mining in Saint-Étienne. He was a conductor of roads and bridges in Algeria. A member of the Polish Democratic Society, and the Union.

¹¹⁷ Constantine Gaszyński (1809-1866) - a poet, prose writer, and translator, living in Aix (Provence), who participated in the November uprising.

¹¹⁸ Alexander Niezabitowski (1808-1885) - a student of medicine at the University of Warsaw. In the November uprising he was a surgeon's assistant. He was an emigrant in Montpellier, where he studied medicine. He received his doctorate in 1834. He was a disciple of Jański in the apostolate.

In the daily memorial

Motives for not wasting time.

How quickly and strongly evil progresses.

Motive for humility.

Annales de la Propagation.

506

Monday. [July 2] Visitation of the Blessed Virgin

I received Holy Communion, and before dinner went to place Saint-Sulpice for Fr. Grenada. A reading at twelve about hell. Starzyński's letter. After breakfast to Plater; he is not in. To Januszkiewicz to send to Kraków for a booklet for Hippolyte [Terlecki], and then for a medal and cross. (Kamocki gave me 40 francs). Addresses for F[anny] L[ebert], in the evening to Walter - there Valerian [Wielogłowski] and Jaś [Omieciński]. I return the money, and to Jełowicki. It is too late when I return.

507

Tuesday, [July] 3

To Walter, for a stage-coach at six. O God! Help me now to be able to sever their sinful relationship! Valerian was with us at breakfast (Noé - Danielski). I go to the police station with Turowski and Kranas. After ten to Plater, and talk with him until one about Kamocki's, Zdziennicki's, and Mr. Anthony's affairs. Then to the Grande Chancellerie, in the interest of Puntner;¹¹⁹ I have to go back tomorrow (I meet Bukowski) - and breakfast on rue de Lille (I meet a friend, Raymond Xavier).¹²⁰ To Ropelewski; he is out, but he is supposed to bring me the French translation of *Portsmutski's Manifesto* today. To Chodźko; a conversation without God in my heart. On my way back I stop at the second-hand bookshops at Saint-Sulpice (I meet Ziomecki). I purchase Cardinal Bona's *Voyes abrégées*¹²¹ etc., very good and of use to me, and

¹¹⁹ Grande Chancellerie de la Légion d'Honneur - an agency created by Napoleon in 1802 which granted diplomas which accorded to distinguished individuals the highest military distinction - The Order of the Legion of Honor. - Puntner (Cf. above, footnote 66) was a Knight of the Order of the Legion of Honor, and on the basis of this title, he had the right to receive an appropriate stipend.

¹²⁰ Louis-Anne-Xavier Raymond (1812-1886) - a former saintsimonist and editor of "The Globe"; a journalist and traveler.

¹²¹ Giovanni Bona (1608-1674) - Abbot, consulter to Roman Congregations, a Cardinal from 1669. An eminent liturgical historian, ascetical and mystical writer. He died in the

*Meditations from the Benedictine Rule.*¹²² Tyszka¹²³ is at our house before dinner. Mikulski goes to rent a place for him. In the evening Ordyniec. Kostecki¹²⁴ asks Turowski to come to dinner tomorrow. I go to visit Mickiewicz; the Wołoskis are there. On my way home I meet Orpiszewski and Korycki (I give them 30 francs for Fr. Dziewulski).

Wednesday, [July 14]

Tyszka is with us for breakfast, and then goes to Versailles with Mikulski (I give them 3 francs) - and at home I read Cardinal Bona, getting ready to write my diary and arranging a time schedule. (Leonard Ordyniec, I give him 10 francs.) A letter to Edward telling him that the day after tomorrow Mikulski will come to see them. With Kamocki to Plater. He takes this business on himself. At Januszkiewicz we write a petition to the prefect of police; Słowaczyński is there. It is already after two. Then to the Grande Chancellerie (on Puntner's business). I stop unnecessarily for a piece of cake, and then, still unnecessarily, I look at used books, and spend about 23 sous (Abelly¹²⁵ and Spanish

opinion of sanctity. Bona, basing himself on the teaching of the Fathers of the Church, St. Thomas Aquinas, and contemporary ascetical writers, presented Christian perfection as the union of a soul with God by way of love, which frees it from natural attachments. He emphasized, e.g., the eminent significance of prayerful aspirations, thanks to which a person turns to God with a feeling of love. Among Bona's ascetical works the following were popular: the tract *Manuductio ad Coelum* (in the French translation *Chemin du ciel*), *Principia et documenta vitae christianae* (*Principes de la vie chrétienne*), the tract *Cursus vitae spiritualis* presenting the spiritual life of a Christian based on the three classical ways. Selections from the two first works appeared in a volume entitled *Choix d'ouvrages mystique* familiar to Jański from the series Panthéon Littéraire (Cf. above, footnote 84. - *Voyes*, i.e., *Voyages*).

¹²² *Meditations* written by P. Le Nain: *Méditations sur Regle de S. Benoit*, Paris, 1717.

Benedict of Nursia (c.480-c.547) - patriarch of western monasticism, founder of the Benedictines, Abbot and author of *The Rule*, a saint. A pioneer of European culture.

¹²³ Undoubtedly Victor Tyszka (1805?-1854) - from 1825 he studied law at the University of Warsaw. A second lieutenant in the 17th infantry regiment during the November uprising. An emigrant in France. He enrolled in the School of Law in Dijon. An activist in the emigration. From 1836 he lived in Belgium. He was co-editor of "The New Poland" published in Paris.

¹²⁴ Stanislaus Kostecki (b.1812) - studied law at the University of Vilno. A second lieutenant in the 2nd infantry regiment of riflemen. An emigrant in France. He studied law in Toulouse, where he received the licentiate in 1835. A university colleague of Leopold Turowski. He settled in Belgium, where he practiced law.

¹²⁵ Louis Abelly (1603-1691) - a student and co-worker of St. Vincent de Paul; a Bishop, writer and polemicist - an adversary of Jansenism. He propagated the cult of Mary. The author of a highly regarded manual of moral theology, *Medulla theologica* (Paris, 1650), ascetical works, and a biography, *La vie du... Vincent de Paul* (Paris, 1661). He died in the opinion of sanctity.

meditations) To Curmer¹²⁶ for *Livre de première Communion*, and purchase Kromer¹²⁷ from the second-hand bookstore. After dinner another scandal - a nap. Słowaczyński. I go out with him. To Zdziennicki . I give the book to Sophie, money for trousers for Danielski. And another very unnecessary expense - Café Voltaire. I am late for prayers.

484

July 1838

1, Sunday

Tuesday, July 3.

Turowski gives me his pension 36 francs, 12 sous.

A few books, Cardinal Bona, and *Dévotion au Sacré Coeur*¹²⁸

1,5

The laundress, on credit..... 5.

Alms N. 5.

Alms D. 5.

Kranas gives his pension 18 francs, 10 sous

Wednesday, [July] 4

Shoemaker, shoes for Mikulski..... 14.

First Communion prayerbook for Sophie Zdziennicki
..... 10.Abelly, Aubernon,¹²⁹ Spanish book 1,3

Mikulski for trip to Versailles..... 3.

Zdziennicki for trousers for Daniel..... 7.

Loan to Leonard Ordyniec..... 15.

Jaś for housekeeping 5 francs..... 10.

507

¹²⁶ Henri Curmer (1801-1870) - a Paris bookseller and publisher.

¹²⁷ Martin Kromer (1512-1589) - Chronicler, diplomat, Varmian Bishop. Author of a history of Poland up to 1506: *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum libri XXX* (Bazylea, 1555, first edition, a complete edition in Cologne in 1589; a Polish translation appeared in Kraków in 1611).

¹²⁸ Jean-Felix-Henri de Fumel - Bishop, author of *Le Culte d l'amour divin, ou la Dévotion au Sacré Coeur de Jesus*, Strasbourg, 1767; a later edition: Montpellier, 1827.

¹²⁹ Joseph-Victor Aubernon (1783-1851) - French politician; the author of historical works, e.g. *Considerations historiques et politiques sur la Russie, l'Autriche, la Prusse et l'Angleterre, et sur les rapports de ces puissances avec la France*, Paris, 1827.

Thursday, [July] 5

Once again in the morning trouble with Rettel; he wants to argue about Châtillon.¹³⁰ God help us! On leaving I meet Orański, and take him to my room. I talk with him about Strauss'¹³¹ book - complete apathy on my part, confusion. Then for breakfast at Luxembourg, and to Café Voltaire. After one to General Giedrojc. He receives with exceptional coldness, even a few bitter words (Chevalier); apparently on account of Mrs. Białopiotrowicz. Why hadn't I been to see her for such a long time? To [Joseph] Hube (about Rome, Latin lessons, his father). To Baudé (arguments with Napoleon). Back home at 3:30. I wanted to prepare for confession - but dizziness; to bed. I do not eat dinner; tea with lemon. Mikulski and Siennicki serve me.

508

Friday, [July] 6

After Mass for a bath, and to Desplanches, and to Ropelewski (why didn't I urge him at least to prayer?). I should have completed my preparation for confession at his house. I return home, and continue my preparation. But then it is near noon, reading and breakfast, and so I do not go to confession in the morning. After breakfast a conversation with Kamocki. Thank God, he is already completely decided. And I continue writing these notes until after three.

After finishing these notes, unnecessarily I go to see Słowaczyński with *Mélange de "L'Avenir"* concerning celibacy.¹³² There was only a little time before dinner; I should have remained close to home and not waste time running around and tiring myself. I returned Korycki's manifestos (I could have returned the one and the other through someone else). After that, before dinner, I laid down. After dinner laying down until about seven, to the point where I didn't want to get up, even though there was a need to go to see Hube, Baudé, Mickiewicz, and Giedrojc - and this will

¹³⁰ Gaspard de Coligny (1519-1572) - leader of French Huguenots, an admiral, also known from the place of his birth as "The Cardinal of Châtillon"; killed by Catholics on the night of St. Bartholomew (August 24).

¹³¹ David Friedrich Strauss (1808-1874) - professor of theology, a Hegelian, author of *Das eben Jesu, kritisch bearbeitet*, Vols I-II (Tübingen, 1835), According to him, Gospel history is a myth born of the idea that the Jewish nation once had a Messiah. He interpreted the genesis of Christianity in the spirit of Hegelism, pantheism and atheism.

¹³² This refers to *Célibat ecclésiastique* of R.F. Rohrbacher, an article in two parts, published in *Mélanges catholiques; extraits de "L'Avenir"* (Vol,II, pp.331-332). Cf. 1832, footnote 78.

unnecessarily take up time tomorrow during the day. And so a waste of time, scandal. God help me! Mercy! Grace!

After dinner Rettel was angry because he felt he needed a table and I did not give him one. I should not have let this pass unpunished, but should have brought him to reason. Sidorowicz wants to oppress me with talk. Simply I should not have allowed it. Also I responded to Jaś in the morning with some impatience.

509

Sixth week after Pentecost

A decision concerning a residence

Monday, July 9

Arranging a schedule with the brothers (*Dogme gé nérateur* for Tyszka, and *Saint François de Sales*).

Baudé at ten. Plater.

F[anny] L[ebert] - and Mickiewicz. Transon.

Fr. Poiloup. Juilly. Wyessenhof.

Reference for Mikulski. Arranging things in the desk. Daily reminder.¹³³

Diary.

Tuesday, [July 10]

To Prince Czartoryski (dinners for Mierzwiński and Danielski - from Błotnicki). Chodzkiewicz, Mr. Anthony.

F.L. - Mickiewicz. Crucifix, cupboards (2 small tables), 6 chairs, a mattress, vide-pocher.

Wednesday, [July 11]

To Baudé - Hube. At ten to Fr. Buquet.

To the Giedr[ojćes]. To Mickiewicz.

Cupboards, small tables.

Thursday, [July 12]

After Mass to Jakubowski, rue Saint-Jacques , 273.

Books for Boleski. to Mickiewicz.

513

¹³³ Cf. Appendix to the Year 1838, position VIII: *a daily reminder*. The text is not dated; the location is hypothetical.

Seventh week after Pentecost

Sunday, [July] 15

With Uruski etc.

Giedrojć, Chodkiewicz, Mr. Chłędowski.

Monday, [July 16]

At Mr. Lefaire,¹³⁴ at F.L., at Fr. B[adiche] until three. At home.

Marszewski (Collège, Gaume¹³⁵). Fr. Godin.¹³⁶

Collège, Mickiewicz, Buquet, Baudé.

Tuesday, [July] 17

With Marszewski, Mikulski, Sidorowicz, Kranas, Rettel.

To Ropelewski and Januszkiewicz.

Letters.

Ask Kamocki whether [Charles] Królikowski knows Dupuch?¹³⁷

[After renting a house on rue Vavin 13 on July 17, on a separate sheet Jański drew up a list of people who he intended to locate in the House. (deletion by the author)]

8594

¹³⁴ Lefaire - director of Archives Auxiliaires, deputy in the Préfecture de la Seine (Paris), in charge of matters dealing with taxation.

¹³⁵ Jean-Joseph Gaume (1802-1879), theologian, writer, professor of dogmatic theology, from 1828 Rector of the seminary in Nevers, promoter of the cause of St. Francis Xavier for workers; director of the Conference of St. Vincent de Paul. Author, e.g. of *Catéchisme de persévérance ou exposé... de la religion depuis l'origine du monde jusqu'à nos jours* (Vols I-VII, Paris, 1838).

¹³⁶ Fr. Godin - perhaps André Gaudin, a priest. He died in 1844 at the age of 35.

¹³⁷ Antoine-Adolphe Dupuch (1809-1856) - alumnus of the Paris seminary of Saint-Sulpice, auxiliary Bishop of Bordeaux (where Charles Królikowski lived). When the French government agreed to establish a residential See in Algiers to care for the pastoral needs of Frenchmen living in Algiers, Fr. Dupuch became the first Bishop of the diocese of Algiers in 1838.

It is worth mentioning that Polish emigrants lived in Algiers. Mickiewicz had them in mind in a letter to the Zaleskis informing them: "Do you know that there are a score of Poles living in Algiers and Oran?... One who visits his Christian brothers will always be performing a Christian act" (*Works*, edition cited, Vol.XV, *Letters*, part two, p.189). Jański wrote to the Zaleskis (June 19, 1838) "This is his *idée fixe* for the past few years. In fact, in this project there may be a fertile seed... Above all, it is necessary to get a better idea of *le terrain* there." In December of 1838 in Rome, Bishop Dupuch, whom Semenenko had visited a few times, "asked for a Polish priest for his mission" (Semenenko, in a letter to Jański on January 1, 1839, ACRR 1234).

1212

[Tuesday], July 17, 1838

on rue Vavin: Kranas, (Turowski), Kamocki, Biergiel, (Słowaczyński), Kalinowski,¹³⁸ Siennicki, Lewicki, Turecki,¹³⁹ Włoch, Zan, Kaczanowski, (Maliński), (Rettel), (Fr. Dłuski), Koźmian

Boulevard Mont-Parnasse: Terlecki, Marszewski, Jaś, Mikulski, myself, Klukowski, Kobiela,¹⁴⁰ Sidorowicz

1213

Ziomecki, Sidorowicz. Siennicki, Hube, Marszewski, Mikulski, Faliński

Zan, Szymański, Ro[pelewski], Eb[orowicz], Kozłowski, Maliński.

8627

513

Wednesday, [July 18]

To Prince Czartoryski.

Joseph Żaboklicki¹⁴¹ from Toulouse to the School of Commerce, through Plater.

Thursday, [July 19]

Sidorowicz to Saint-Louis,¹⁴² with a letter etc.

To Fr. Badiche for dinner.

Niemojowski, rue de Varennes, 7.

[Jański wrote in pencil, on a separate sheet, assignments prepared for Thursday, the substance of which seems to be located under the date July 19.]

8591

1149

¹³⁸ Possibly Kalinowski (d.1857?) from Warsaw. In 1838 he was an extern brother in the House of Jański. A few years later he became a Towianist.

¹³⁹ Rudolph Turecki, in 1838 an extern brother in the House of Jański.

¹⁴⁰ Kobiela - further information lacking.

¹⁴¹ Joseph Żaboklicki, from Toulouse; a sergeant.

¹⁴² Saint-Louis hospital, founded by Henry IV in 1604 in Belleville, a suburb of Paris.

Thursday

To Ladislaus Plater for money. Sidorowicz to Saint-Louis; concerning Skarga's recommendation.

Letters: (Mabulle¹⁴³ - Terlecki); the Zaleskis - Boles¹⁴⁴; Rome; Nevers.

Books for Boleski. Collège - Orpiszewski - Mickiewicz. Fr. Rodez.

8627

514

Eighth week after Pentecost

Seventh Sunday, [July 22], St. Mary Magdalene

At Plater; at Orpiszewski and Kowalewski, and at home. From Orlicki.

Monday, [July 23]

At Chelkowski... and F.L.

To the Collège, to General Giedrojć, to Plater, to Mickiewicz.

To Fr. Buquet concerning Kamocki.

Bautain for Słowaczyński. Królikowski.

Letters. Boleski. Breza.

Tuesday, [July 24]

To Leopold about the late Celiński.

Marszewski to confession to Fr. Badiche.

Visits to: Prince Ogiński, Prince Czartoryski, and Prince Giedrojć.

Wednesday, [July 25], in the morning to F.L.

Ropelewski, Jourdain, Mr. Chłędowski

Thursday, [July 26]

At 6:40, at L[adislaus] Z[amojski]. Słowaczyński.

Friday. [July 27]

Letters to Machwitz,¹⁴⁵ to Królikowski, to Jabłoński, etc.

¹⁴³ Mabulle - perhaps Mapolle, a former saintsimonist of the III degree.

¹⁴⁴ Boleslaus Wielogłowski (1813-1883) from Kraków; son of the president of the Kraków senate. E. Januszkiewicz convinced him to be a member of the editorial staff of "The New Poland". He married Caroline Białopiotrowicz.

¹⁴⁵ Constantine Machwic, a lieutenant in the 12th regiment of grenadiers who lived in Nevers. Jański also mentions him in one of his letters to Caesar Plater.

To Mr. Jourdain, to Ropelewski, to Giedrojć and Baudé, to Hube and Fr. Buquet. (Fr. Augé).

A short letter to Orpiszewski. Szymański.

To Kazimirski. (Manzoni¹⁴⁶ from Adam) Słowaczyński.

Saturday, [July 28], at 1:30, F.L.'s departure. Bukaty

8591

1151

Monday, [July] 9

A letter from the Zaleskis.

8593

1192a

July 10, 1838, St. Felicity.¹⁴⁷ [Tuesday]

8591

1151

Thursday, [July 12]

At Mickiewicz. Talk about myself.

Friday, [July 13]

¹⁴⁶ Alessandro Manzoni (1785-1873) - an Italian writer and composer of religious hymns, tragedies and historical novels, from the history of Lombardy in the 17th century: *The Betrothed* (first version 1835-1837). He was also the author, e.g., of observations about Catholic morality, *Osservazioni sulla morale cattolica*, (first version, 1819), and an apologetic work written after his conversion to Catholicism (1810). In this book, Manzoni refuted Sismondi's objections against Catholic doctrine - in the area of practical morality. On that occasion he attempted to reconcile reasons for faith with the reasoning of contemporary thinking, offering psychological reflections on topics of pride, modesty, slander, and earthly obstacles on the way to eternity. He declared himself in favor of a "religion that teaches contempt for those things which people use in order to make other people their servants"; for a religion that "aims at supporting everyone in independence and freedom of spirit, which all people need in order to fulfill their obligations." The work mentioned above appeared in French translation in 1834 with the title *Defense de la morale catholique*. Jański recommended it to his confreres (ACRR 8627, p.591), and possibly to Adam Mickiewicz.

¹⁴⁷ Felicytata - a martyr for the faith (d.202 or 203) whose feast was observed on July 10, according to the current Church calendar.

Very likely, improper conversations at Plater.

Saturday, [July] 14
cupboards etc.

Sunday, [July 15]
Quarterly payment to the landlord.
Uruski at dinner.

8627
505

Fr. Badiche

1. Ask about recitation of Vespers on Sunday.
2. Warn him not to talk about congregations. Monks.
3. Ask whether saintsmonist books can be sent to the Propaganda.

8591
1151

Monday, [July] 16
At Fr. Badiche, 20 francs. I am forbidden.
Tuesday, [July] 17

Wednesday, [July 18]
Tyszka is leaving. Fr. Korycki.

Thursday, [July] 19
For dinner at Fr. Badiche.

1152

Friday, [July] 20
I feel weak.

Saturday, [July 21]

Sunday, [July 22]

5 francs from Plater (Transon, Fuster¹⁴⁸). Orpiszewski; Machwitz in the evening.

Monday, [July] 23

25 Francs to Chełchowski. In the morning after Mass to F[anny] L[ebert].

Tuesday, [July 24]

Orpiszewski. Saint-Eustache. Bukaty; there until four. On my way back through Luxembourg, Fr. Moignot.¹⁴⁹

Wednesday, [July 25]

Breakfast on rue Lille. To Prince Czartoryski, and to Prince Giedroją. Through the Invalides¹⁵⁰ home. Newelski in the evening.

[Thursday, July] 26. Saint Anne

At ten to Z[an], [passage de la] Pompe é Feu. Mass in the chapel of l'Hospice du Roi.¹⁵¹ At L[adislaus] Z[amojski]. Błotnicki. Newelski. Prince Ogiński. Gen[eral Giedroją]. At Mickiewicz.

Friday, [July] 27

Letter to Nevers. To Mickiewicz for Cobb[ette]. Orpiszewski (Saint-Eustache). Januskiewicz and a letter to Królikowski. Starzyński. Słowaczyński. Tański. Desplanches. Beer in the evening.¹⁵²

8627

515

Saturday, [July 28]

¹⁴⁸ Fuster (Fuster) - Cf. 1832, footnote 272.

¹⁴⁹ François-Napoleon-Marie Moigno (1804-1884), a Jesuit; later, in 1842, a secular priest by Papal dispensation. Professor of mathematics, physics and chemistry in the Jesuit seminary in Paris. A journalist, author of many scientific works; a philanthropist, co-founder of the Society of St. Francis Xavier. He directed worker groups in the parish of Saint-Sulpice. A connoisseur of the arts.

¹⁵⁰ The Invalides Palace - erected in the second half of the 17th century by Louis XIV, initially planned as a hospital for veteran soldiers - invalids.

¹⁵¹ L'Hospice du Roi - the hospital-hospice of St. Louis IX, king of France. Cf. above, footnote 69. - Holy Mass was offered on the anniversary of the July revolution.

¹⁵² That same day Jański wrote *Immediate intentions*; Cf. Appendix, position IX.

After breakfast, place du Châtelet to Fr. Badiche. After three o'clock, with him to Saint-Sulpice. After dinner to Mickiewicz with Bouquet,¹⁵³ he is not in. For coffee.

Sunday, [July 29]

Mass at Notre Dame. To F[anny] L[ebert] - she is not in. For coffee. Klukowski, Zborowski,¹⁵⁴ Tysza. Montandon. Orlicki.

8533

255

[Sunday]. July 29, 1838

Urgent letters

To Rome, to Maliński, to Fr. Dłuski, to the Zaleskis (about Klukowski), to Chevalier, to Caesar, to Lempicki, to Koźmian. to Montpellier, to Jabłoński, to Biergiel, Fr. Poiloup, Juilly, to Walter, to Królikowski in Kraków, to Bishop Skórkowski, to Jełowicki, to Turowski.

256

Studio of painters, weavers, etc., pictures.

Singing and music, for contributions for the invalid hospital and a school.

8627

Monday, [July 30]

In the morning with Kranas. Baudé - and with Kranas. Café Voltaire, until 2:45. On foot to F.L. (she was not alone). In the evening, Zan. Mierzwiński. To Mickiewicz; a letter from the Zaleskis.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Jański's joking reference to the name of Fr. Buquet.

¹⁵⁴ Zborowski - further information lacking.

¹⁵⁵ *To Mickiewicz - a letter from the Zaleskis.* - this refers to Bohdan Zaleski's letter to Adam Mickiewicz sent from Endoume on June 29, 1838. I cite a fragment of the letter that refers to Jański: "Bishop Jański, the laziest of people, has oppressed me terribly for almost two whole months. He did not write a single word about the money which I did indeed send to him upon his request. To be sure, in my poetic mind I put together, God

Tuesday, [July 31]

My day to serve. a quarrel with Sidorowicz about coffee. Ziomecki; I accompany him on his way home. (A second motive for holiness.) Back home, and by bus to groseille [currants] - to F.L. At 4 P.M. with Kamocki - and supposedly to Mickiewicz - with Szulc for coffee. At prayer I am sleepy.

485

For [Wednesday]. August 1, 1838

Chełkowski..... 25 francs
Fr. Korycki 15.
Fr. Badiche 20.
(Today 30 francs and - 25 francs)

527

Friday, August 3

To Mr. Łuszczewski
To L[adislaus] Z[amojski].
Letter to Walter.

516

Wednesday, [August 1]

At nine o'clock Hube (at tea). At ten, Baudé. At eleven, with Baudé to Collège, Fr. Buquet. Giedrojc, Adam (he is out). At 1:30 home. Tyszka, Ziomecki, Hube. Letter from Boleski ("Univers", Bona). Edward and Mikulski are coming; and so for the newspapers, and for coffee. Before prayer, back home (for Rettel before Edward, for Sidorowicz).

517

Tenth week after Pentecost

knows, the most horrible story, and what is worse, in such a disturbed state I could not even take pen in hand. A most intolerable procrastinator! But do not scold him, Adam, for he promised to improve, and moreover admitted that he is afraid of you. For the future, however, permit me to send funds for the Catholic house in your care. I am concerned primarily about receipts, and, being there, you can more easily press Jański to perform this difficult task. This time give him 200 francs for religious books, so that our newly-converted brothers in the depots would have something to read." (The correspondence of Joseph Bohdan Zaleski, op. cit., Vol. I, p.123).

Monday, August 6

Szymański. Boleski. Books for Mrs. Sołtyk.¹⁵⁶

Versailles - Fr. Moignot.

Biergiell - Kamocki - Marszewski - Mikulski.

Petitions. Breza.¹⁵⁷

Letters to Rome, Maliński, to Fr. Dłuski, to Jabłoński, to Caesar, to Kraków, to Królikowski and Walter.

Tuesday, [August 7]

Fr. Desgenettes.

To Prince Ogiński and his wife concerning Terlecki

At six to Kalinkoski.

Wednesday, [August 8]

To Breza, to Jabłoński,

to Versailles to Fr. Dłuski.

At six to Kalinkoski.

Thursday, [August 9]

To Potemski and Mr. Refendary. Buckwheat porridge. Kamocki's petition. To Fr. Buquet concerning Fr. Poiloup. To Hôtel du Bon Lafontaine.¹⁵⁸

Bukaty - Kazimirski - Orański - Orlicki - Wróblewski and Zielinski.

Friday, [August 10]

Letter to Szymański.

With Sidorowicz to Fr. Moignot - and concerning tutoring (or to Fr. Boulanger, and to someone).

To the Ogińskis. Books for Mrs. Sołtyk.

Fr. Poiloup, Juilly.

Versailles, (the Voivode's papers).

Saturday, [August 11]

To Słowaczyński with *Triomphe de l'Evangile*¹⁵⁹ and the *Imitation*.

¹⁵⁶ Helen Sołtykowa, nee Moszczeńska, the wife of General Roman Sołtyk; Cf. 1831, footnote 52.

¹⁵⁷ Eugene Breza - Cf. 1835, footnote 60.

¹⁵⁸ Hôtel du Bon Lafontaine - a hotel on rue du Grenelle-Saint-Germain 16, the guests of which were usually members of the French clergy, and Church dignitaries.

Saint Hippolitus¹⁶⁰ - at ten. "Sphinx"¹⁶¹ for Ziomecki. To Fr. Buquet for Marian [Kamocki], and to Fr. Poiloup and Baudé. The priest in Saint-Roch.

Books for Mrs. Sołtyk.

Confession. London. Jabłoński.

Duński's escutcheon.¹⁶² Hôtel du Bon Lafontaine.

Kalinkoski for Sunday. Desplanches.

Letter to Gilbert.¹⁶³

Eleventh week after Pentecost

Boleski. Recreation.

(Money for Zdziennicki, for Ziomecki. Homilies - organization - and first our own.)

To Fr. Blanc. Kondratowicz.

After the 15th to Fr. Mantaument.¹⁶⁴ Mirosławski.

Dworzaczek,¹⁶⁵ Kazimirski, Bukaty.

¹⁵⁹ *Triomphe de l'Evangile* - published in 3 volumes, a French translation of a Spanish work *El Evangelio en triunfo o la Historia de un filósofo Desegnado (The triumph of the Gospel, or the history of a disillusioned philosopher)*. The work was written by Pablo de Olavide y Jáuregui (1725-1804), a Peruvian encyclopedist. He came from Lima, but was a permanent resident in Paris and Madrid.

¹⁶⁰ Hippolyte (prior to 170 -d.235) - priest, bishop, martyr, Christian exegetical and homiletical writer, the author of works written in Greek entitled *Philosophumena*, or the *Refutation of all heresies, Chronicles*. The Catholic Church observed the feast of St. Hippolyte on August 13. Jański was trying to find the work of St. Hippolyte for his namesake, Hippolyte Terlecki.

¹⁶¹ Joseph Maria Hoene-Wronski (Cf. 1833, footnote 10) in the years 1818-1819 he edited the periodical "Le Sphinx ou la Nomothétique séhélienne", in which he published his articles. At the same time he published separately *Introduction a un ouvrage intitulé Sphinx ou la Nomothétique séhélienne*, Paris, 1818. Jański borrowed this work from Bukaty for Ziomecki, a follower of Hoene-Wronski (Cf. 1835, footnote 329), a future teacher of mathematics in the Lyceum in Saint-Geron and a licentiate in mathematical studies.

¹⁶² Edward Duński was a member of a family of burghers. Ladislaus Zamojski, in trying to obtain a passport for him, wanted to make use of the heraldic name in order to obtain from the French authorities permission for a trip abroad.

¹⁶³ Gilbert - perhaps Gibert - a priest, successor to Fr. Moigno as director of the Society of St. Francis Xavier in the parish of Saint-Sulpice.

¹⁶⁴ Fr. Mantaument - further information lacking.

¹⁶⁵ Edward Dworzaczek (b.1810) - the younger brother of Doctor Ferdinand Dworzaczek. In 1829 he enrolled in the school of law at the University of Warsaw. In the November uprising he was an officer cadet of the 20, and later the 14th infantry regiment. An emigrant in Paris. Since he received a stipend from the Society for Assistance to

Sunday, [August 12]

Bought *Saint Hippolitus*. Best wishes.

Jaś to Meaux.

To Ladislaus Plater. Wątróbka. To Szymański.

Baudé. Transon. Benoist.

Letter to Valerian. (London, Rome).

Monday, [August 13]

To Perisse (paper and pen. Escutcheon). Montandon.

Letter to L[adislaus] Zam[ojski].

To Fr. Buquet concerning a letter to Fr. Poiloup.

(To Desplanches), to Fr. Moignot.

Letter to Ladislaus Plater, (To Kalinkoski).

Bautain to Benoist.

To Wrotnoski.

Tuesday, [August 14]

(Crosses - *Imitation*. Mr. Lallemand.¹⁶⁶)

Wednesday, [August 15]

Włoch and Klukowski for dinner.

519

Thursday, [August 16]

Wielogłowski, Kozarzewski, Koźmian.

Giedroń - Słowaczyński's business.

Wrotnoski. Desplanches. Kazimirski.

Fr. Poiloup at one - and then to Napoleon.

For dinner at the Ogińskis.

Hôtel du Bon Lafontaine.

Education, he could attend the School of Administration and Commerce. In 1836 he graduated from the Central School of Arts and Crafts, and received his diploma as a chemical engineer. From 1837 he worked at building a railroad. In 1840 he moved to Italy, where he worked in Rimini as chief engineer mining copper.

¹⁶⁶ François-Claude Lallemand (1790-1854) - a doctor of medicine, professor at the surgical clinic of the Royal Academy of Medicine in Paris, on the Faculty in Montpellier, head of the Saint-Eloi hospital in that city; a member of learned societies both in France and abroad.

Ask Szymański¹⁶⁷ about the Szkoła Buraków, concerning Breg. [?]

Friday, [August 17]

Sidorowicz to Szulc. Zdziennicki, Budrewicz.

Fr. Buquet. Fr. de Scorbiac.¹⁶⁸ Wrotnoski. Fr. Moignot. Books.

Saturday, [August 18]

Sidorowicz to Fr. Korycki and to Zdziennicki.

To the library and to the armorial for Duński.

The Letters of St. Paul for Kazimirski.

To Fr. Moignot. Podbereski.¹⁶⁹

For the cupboards. Books to Napoleon.

Letters to Kozarzewski, to Terlecki, and to Fr. Baudé concerning Fr.

Mantaument

- to Fr. de Scorbiac - Biergiell - Mickiewicz.

Mr. Anthony - Plater.

520

Sunday, [August] 19

To Ladislaus Plater about Wątróbka, about Mr. Anthony, concerning Fr. Korycki. To Fr. Moignot.

(To Tuskowski)¹⁷⁰ - to Bukaty.

Letter to Fr. de Scorbiac - and to L[adislaus] Z[amojski]. At home to Plater, only to Mickiewicz.

Letters.

Ask today in Port-Royal, and books for Włoch.

At two for Vespers with Mrs. Bazard.

Fr. Mantaument - would know of a place.

Monday, [August 20]¹⁷¹ *Saint Bernard*

¹⁶⁷ Undoubtedly Casimir Szymański, born in Pułtusk in 1810; participated in the November uprising with the rank of second lieutenant in the 6th infantry regiment. An emigrant in France. In 1833-1835 he studied in the agricultural school in Grignon. After that he was supposed to leave for Śląsk to work in the production of sugar.

¹⁶⁸ Bruno de Scorbiac (1796-1846) - one of the priest directors and rector of Collège Juilly; a writer, the author of *Précis de l'Histoire de la philosophie*, 1834.

¹⁶⁹ Fortunat Podbereski (1783-1872) - a former soldier of the Principality of Warsaw; a captain in the 26th infantry regiment who lived in Nevers and Clamecy.

¹⁷⁰ Tuskowski - further information lacking.

¹⁷¹ The text *With Turowski before leaving La Trappe*, situated in the Appendix, position X, and dated by the author has been preserved. The location of the text is hypothetical.

In the morning to the Ogińskis.
 (Sidorowicz for St. John of the Cross)
 (to Husson concerning Budrewicz)
 "Sphinx" from Ziomecki. Chodkiewicz.

Tuesday, [August 21]

To Chelkowski for Demaitre.
 Distributions of awards at Collège Stanislas.
 To Tomaszewicz, Biergiel, Guderle.
 "Sphinx" to Bukaty. A priest for Włoch, Kerelly.

Wednesday, [August 22]

Letters from Rome.
 Letter to Terlecki, to Chelkowski for *Principe*.
 Sidorowicz: *Chemin de la Perfection*, medal.
 To Bukaty, to Ladislaus Plater, to Kazimirski, to Fr. Bernard [Dugue]
 Sidorowicz's subsidy.
 A priest for Włoch.
 Henschel pour un Frisch (41, Caumartir).
 To Chodkiewicz and Starzyński.

Thursday, [August 23]

[Lamennais' *Essai sur l'indifférence en matière de religion*]
 Through Sidorowicz, buy Bautain for Valerian.
 To Orpizewski. To Kazimirski. Fr. Rodé.
 (To Mickiewicz concerning the Zaleskis.)
 In the evening to Wróblewski.

521

Friday, [August 24]

Szyrma's address.
 With thanks to Fr. Levayer. To Fr. Kerelly.
Dworzaczek, rue Truffaut, 6 bis.
 Mademoiselles Bontempt¹⁷² at rue des Dames.

Sunday, [August] 26

To Bukaty, Korabiewicz.

¹⁷² *D[emoisel]les Bontemps*, the Bontemps young ladies.

To Ladislaus Plater. Buchez.

Letters to L[adislaus] Z[amojski], to Rome, to Ad[am] Jab[łoński], to Fr. Dłuski, to Tuskowski.

Letter to Frisch. To Saint-Chéron for Bacon.¹⁷³

523 [A note by Jański has been preserved dated:]

Sunday, August 26

On their departure for Rome (E. Duński, J. Hube)

1. Apologies on my part.
2. Announcement of recreation.

521

Monday, [August 27]¹⁷⁴

Klukowski, Fr. Badiche, Transon.

(to Henszel)

Fr. Rodez on rue Vavin

To Fr. Kerelly

To Żelechowski¹⁷⁵ and Ordyniec about a place

Fr. Bernard [Dugué]

Caesar.

Tuesday, [August 28]

Bukaty - Fr. Blanc - Père Berruyer¹⁷⁶ - Buchez.

Letters.

To Bukaty and Augen.

To Buchez, after reading and writing -

522

¹⁷³ Undoubtedly Francis Bacon (1561-1626) - an English philosopher, statesman, the author of legal, philosophical and historical works. Precursor of the idea of enlightenment. Bacon's views were attacked by Joseph de Maistre in a posthumous work: *Examen de la philosophie de Bacon* (Paris, 1836). Perhaps it is this work to which Jański refers.

¹⁷⁴ Manuscript notes for a confession of August 27 have been preserved. Cf. Appendix, position XI.

¹⁷⁵ Żelechowski - further information lacking.

¹⁷⁶ Isaac-Joseph Berruyer (1681-1758) - a Jesuit theologian and historian, author of *Histoire du peuple de Dieu...* Vols. I-XXIII, Paris, 1742-1758.

Wednesday, [August 29]

Fr. Blanc. Koźmian. Juilly. Fr. Poiloup.
(letters) rue Vavin - Fr. Kerelly.

Friday, [August 31]

Cupboard

To Starzyński.

Letters to La Trappe, London, Rome.

Włoch - (Fr. Kerelly)

Biergiell, Fr. Dłuski, Napoleon.

Saturday, [September 1]

Bukaty, Kazimirski.

524

Purchase

1. A stool and a footstool

2. a cupboard

3. *Heures de Saint-Benoit*.¹⁷⁷

père Berruyer

Louis Dupont¹,¹⁷⁸

Saint-Chrysostome,¹⁷⁹ Saint-Ambroise.¹⁸⁰

Catechisms. Gospels.

*Vie des solitaires*¹⁸¹ etc.

¹⁷⁷ *Heures de Saint Benoit - The Rule of St. Benedict* (Cf. above, footnote 122) regulated the daily hours of the Divine Office and recommended: "Therefore, in these hours, let us give praise to our Creator by reason of His just decrees" (Pss 119 (118), 62, 164), and especially at the time of matins, prime, terce, sext, nones, vespers and compline; and in the night let us rise to praise Him."

¹⁷⁸ Louis Dupont - a Jesuit, ascetical writer: *Guide spirituelle*, Vols I-II, Paris, 1689; *Meditations sur les mystères de la foi*, Vols I-III, Paris, 1802.

¹⁷⁹ Saint Chrysostome - St. John Chrysostom, "Golden-tongued" (c.349-407) - Bishop of Constantinople; one of the four doctors of the Eastern Church. An eloquent preacher. His literary legacy includes tracts, sermons and letters.

¹⁸⁰ Saint Ambroise, Saint Ambrose (c.340-397) - Bishop of Milan; one of the four doctors of the Western Church In his writings he dealt with dogmatic, moral-ascetical and exegetical questions. His talks, letters and hymns have been preserved.

¹⁸¹ *Vie des solitaires* - the original title of a work by François Joseph Bourgoing (Cf. above, footnote 22): *Vies des SS. Pères des déserts et des Saintes solitaires d'Orient et d'Occident*, Vols I-IV, Paris, 1706-1708.

525

To Fr. Blanc

1. Opinion about *Cursus Theologie*,¹⁸²
2. about Rohrbacher, and is it available,
 - (about l'abbe Thorel),¹⁸³
 - works about the origin of the insurrection, of the war; some sort of polemic.
 - are there any decisions of the Church, works dealing with dispensations for married people?

For [Saturday], September 1

Starzyński, Zdziennicki, the laundress, Fr. Korycki

516

Masters of Studies: Guderley, Kozarzewski, Charzewski, Późniak, Tomaszewicz.

School of Agronomy: X[avier] Potocki,¹⁸⁴ Constantine [Henszel?], Kuba,¹⁸⁵ Przyborowski,¹⁸⁶ (Tyszka).

School of Commerce: Żaboklicki¹⁸⁷

¹⁸² *Cursus Theologie* - the title of a book for which I have no further information.

¹⁸³ Jean-Baptiste Thorel - priest, religious writer, author of the *Sur l'etude des autorités et l'autorité unique de M. l'abbé J. Fr. [!] de la Mennais*, Paris, 1829.

¹⁸⁴ Xavier Potocki (d.1842) - participated in the November uprising as a second lieutenant in the 7th uhlan regiment. An emigrant first in Besançon, and then in Nevers. A member of the Polish Army Council. He worked as a postmaster.

¹⁸⁵ Kuba - undoubtedly Jacob Szymański - a second lieutenant in the 6th infantry regiment of riflemen in the November uprising. An emigrant in Toulouse (1834). in 1838 He lived in the House of Jański on rue Vavin.

¹⁸⁶ Ignatius Przyborowski (b.1814 in Płock) - in the November uprising a non-commissioned officer in the 8th infantry regiment. An emigrant in Bordeaux. He was a member of the Polish Democratic Society.

¹⁸⁷ Perhaps Andrew Żaboklicki (1811-1882) from Kalisz. A non-commissioned officer in the November uprising. From 1832 an emigrant in France. He worked as a book-keeper at a paper factory.

528

Sunday, August 29

Specific resolutions at Communion time about not wasting time, and finishing encumbered works. In the meantime, I sit down for meals and newspapers, and at Mrs. Mickiewicz. And there, glances, lustful thoughts, lustful glances (still).

Languor and laziness in conversation with Szulc and Włoch. Scandalous sprawling. With Mikulski in the morning, not enough gravity and sternness in response to his facetious speech and captainship. (I did not recite the Angelus at noon).

Monday, [August 20], Saint Bernard

To the Ogiński's for breakfast, and then to Poiloup - I avoided meat for breakfast. Back home and Rettel - I scandalize him by eating in his presence. I return the money to Ziomecki. Ranut¹⁸⁸ (I am angry). Valerian stops by along with Romuald [Szymański]; just when I was about to leave, and that disturbs and confuses me. Weakening that is practically deliberate. +Meeting with Edward is unpleasant.+

I am late for a meeting with Mickiewicz (scrupulosity in keeping my word). At General Giedroją. Back home. Szymański.

529

Tuesday, [August 21]. Saint Joan Chantal.

After Holy Communion I scold Sidorowicz. After breakfast to Collège for letters, back home, and then alone to the Ogińskis. Why don't I raise my mind to God more often, constantly? I return at eleven, and needlessly breakfast with meat and coffee. Distribution of awards, why without God in my heart? Kidding Baudé about "Pekin". Again an unpleasant meeting with Edward.

Home at about three, and a letter to Kozarzewski. I go to the post-office and meet Frisch (why didn't I support him? What was wrong?).

Mikulski receive the money. Why am I timid in speaking to him? Dinner. A letter to La Trappe. While I was accompanying Szulc and Turowski,¹⁸⁹ why

¹⁸⁸ Ranut - further information lacking.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. above, footnote 171.

was there no constant prayer? +Glances at women that could scandalize others.+

For tea, and then home. Why didn't I fall on my knees immediately, and first pray in thanksgiving for Szulc? Once again I forgot the Angelus at noon.

530

Thursday, [August 23]. Saint Philip Benitti¹⁹⁰

Holy Communion at the Carmelites. With Jaś about the Zaleskis (by what means did he try to degrade and accuse them?). Mr. Anthony Plater (apparently I intentionally made some concessions to him in our conversation about religion). Słowaczyński (why didn't I scold him more strongly and openly?). A letter to Terlecki, a postscript to Kozarzewski. A conversation with Kamocki (why without any unction, but rather with a kind of human consideration and way of thinking?). Kranas reads his missionary letter to me (I pay slight attention and pray).

Friday, [August 24]

Sidorowicz does not obey me, he goes his own way. This embitters me. Once again: I could not maintain my fast, and so to Felber for breakfast. After that I was cross all day.

In the evening I scandalized Węgliński¹⁹¹ by my light light-headed words. An unnecessary greeting full of vanity (that I knew that... [unfinished]).

531

Monday, August 27. Saint Caesar¹⁹²

I went to confession¹⁹³ (I forgot to confess one lie concerning L[adislaus] Z[amojski]'s letter, and that day already:

¹⁹⁰ St. Philip Benitti (1223-1285) - Superior General of the Servites. A preacher. He propagated the cult of the Sorrowful Mother; he established the fraternity of the Seven Sorrows of the B.V.M.

¹⁹¹ Adam Węgliński (1813-1881) - from 1829 he studied law and administration at the University of Warsaw. In the November uprising he was a second lieutenant in the 4th uhlan regiment; an emigrant in France. In 1838 he was a student of law in Paris.

¹⁹² St. Caesar (503-542) of Arles in Gaul; a Bishop and promoter of monastic life.

¹⁹³ *I went to confession...* - Cf. above, footnote 174.

1. I did not guard my glances; the glances were practically lustful, and my thoughts scattered.

2. In my meeting with the Zaleskis, what ingratitude, what lack of affection! I may have scandalized them by my nonchalance. - At Fr. Rodez, I am flattered by praise. I experience a desire to please by way of affairs that flatter me. Why didn't I go to see Włoch? (a lack of discretion).

Tuesday, [August 28]. St. Augustine

Once again to Holy Communion with the Zaleskis; a lack of unction and life (for lack of humility and some kind of foolish pretenses). After they leave with Edward, I feel a sense of fear, which stems from pride, that they might have something against me, etc. I am confused in conversation with Terlecki, Kamocki, Kranas and Sidorowicz. I am embarrassed by own offended self-love, irritation, anger, impatience, etc. I need to maintain dignity in my behavior in conversations.

At 10:30 I leave the house, and - for shame! - spend an hour (almost) browsing in second-hand bookstores near Saint-Sulpice and - for shame! - spend a few francs without necessity.

I enter pigsties for food and drink, and loiter there too long.

To Bukaty. Why did I stay there so long and talk when it was already three o'clock and the conversation could not have had any purpose. etc.

532

Then to Palais-Royal, to look for the address of the "L'Européen", and I decide that I cannot spend 30 francs. But I cannot leave without reading articles. Why didn't I think this out beforehand? When something comes to mind, or I want something, immediately I have to eat it or go there. I surrender too easily to whims, to desires of the heart or the flesh, etc.

And on my way back I continue to browse in second hand bookstores - Grotius¹⁹⁴ and others - 4 francs. God have mercy on me!

The whole day is wasted. It is four o'clock already, and I have so much very urgent work.

¹⁹⁴ Grocius - Huig de Groot (Hugo Grotius) (1583-1645) a Dutch lawyer, diplomat and philosopher. The author of a tract translated into Polish *Concerning the truth of the Christian Faith* (1766), and *Three books concerning the law of war and peace* (1625). He presented a complete system of international law as a separate branch of law. He divided international law into the law of peace and the law of war. He considered that the only lawful wars were those for the purpose of defense, or the realization of a just law, while safe-guarding humanitarian principles.

I go for pictures (St. Augustine for Włoch), and there again I spend a few francs. O child! Spendthrift!

I go to visit Fr. Blanc; he is not in.

Back home. Valerian, Edward. A letter from Adolph [Zaleski]. Needless delay, etc.

After dinner. Reproaches to Mikulski for his expenses, very tactlessly. Due to impatience, abruptness and nonchalance, I spoke with a great deal of harshness which could estrange him from me (that he was free to leave).

And still another waste of time, for coffee. On returning, why did I not get down to work for the remaining quarter or half an hour? A waste of time, in spite of obligatory tasks.

533

Wednesday, [August 29]. Beheading of St. John

At Communion time, many inspirations and resolutions. To Orpiszewski. After breakfast, Edward. I speak with him about the Zaleskis, Adolph, Wątróbka, and Mikulski. I am too sluggish, and drag the conversation out until after eleven. Smolikowski. Reading.

After reading, even though I have so much work, I go out unnecessarily for breakfast, with Smolikowski until one(!) and for breakfast and coffee until two (!) To Słowaczyński (once again I lack charity and faith; I am weak and timid).

After dinner for coffee and festivities, fireworks - a needless waste of time.

Thursday, [August 30]

At prayers, a sin - in thought. Conversation with Victor [Sidorowicz] until after two [and, thanks be to God, agreement. But I dragged out the conversation too long, so that in the end I felt weak.

And so for a demi-tasse. After that I meet A.D. [Anasthasius Dunin] and I set to work. To Kazimirski; he is not in. To Januszkiewicz (I write a letter to Ladislaus Plater), and back home. After dinner Słowaczyński. Then Frisch, Mierzwiński. Rettel is in a silliest mood (why don't I refute him?).

534

Friday, [August 31]

Today, once again, I do not dare receive Holy Communion. I am ill-disposed toward Edward, Kamocki, and Mikulski, without God in my heart. I am supposed to write letters, but I succumb to sleep. - I go to visit Starzyński. I

needlessly took it upon myself to expedite money for Turowski, in the process of which I wasted about two hours. In the letter to Turowski I still wish to show my skills, and in doing so I might have missed the mark.

Orpiszewski came to dinner.

562

Saturday, September 1

letters (writing paper) to Mr. Refendary, pensions; about Fr. Kułak, (Chelchowski's letter)

to Adolph Zaleski - to Błotnicki

Sidorowicz, frame the pictures and go with him for a cupboard.

to Collège Stanislas (Drach, Fr. Augé concerning Fr. Poiloup. Napoleon.

- Article for Charton - Letters to Prince Giedr. - Koźmian.

Before the return of those in La Trappe, talk with Mikulski, Marszewski, Kamocki.

put a bed in Sidorowicz's room.

Letters to Królikowski and to Dax. Saint-Leu.¹⁹⁵ (4 plates, 2 glasses, knives, spoons, 1 candlestick.

The Zaleskis.

Sunday, the thirteenth [September 2]

Mr. Refendary, 25 francs.

Ladislaus Plater between eleven and twelve.

After dinner, Ropelewski (and so also Edward and Hube); breakfast at one

Mickiewicz. Talk with Kamocki about the conference.¹⁹⁶ Kazimirski, Korabiewicz, Dahlen, Zan.

Monday, [September 3]

Cupboard. Starzyński.

(Watch). After breakfast to Drach and Napoleon.

Reference to Mikulski.

Fr. Buquet, Baudé, letters to Fr. Kułak.

Tuesday, [September 4]

¹⁹⁵ Saint Leu-Saint Gilles - a Church in Paris from the beginning of the 14th century on rue Saint-Denis.

¹⁹⁶ The conference was set for *Monday, September 3, 1838*; Cf. Appendix, position XII.

After Mass, to Drach and to Edward, did I offer service. Salve Regina. (to Switzerland and Orpiszewski)

To Bukaty concerning Sulimowski.

Letter to Wątróbka, to Fr. Levayer thanking him.

Fr. Kułak at two (Edward, Hube, Kranas, Victor)

Tomorrow Hippolite goes to Husson.

Fr. Maret,¹⁹⁷ Fr. Poiloup, Juilly.

To Mr. Referendary.

When Notre-Dame des 7 douleurs,

and tell Fr. Kułak¹⁹⁸

Wednesday, [September 5]

(to Starzyński with 100 or 50)

to the library with Fr. Kułak

to Fr. Badiche concerning Fr. de Géramb¹⁹⁹

Boleski,

a letter to Niezabitowski about Jakowicki²⁰⁰

To Nevers, to Clamecy²⁰¹

¹⁹⁷ Henri-Louis-Charles Maret (1805-1884) - an alumnus of the Saint-Sulpice seminary in Paris; a priest from 1832, vicar at the church of Saint-Philippe-du-Roule; professor of theology, and teacher in higher schools of learning; later co-founder and editor of "Ere Nouvelle" and author of a publication on the topic of Catholicism and democracy; a bishop noted for his democratic convictions; a friend of Gallicanism. He became an Archbishop.

¹⁹⁸ Jański refers here to a plan which he had formulated earlier in his *Further decision* (Cf. Appendix to the Year 1837, position XXIV); "For the Feast of the Sorrowful Mother in September to fulfill a vow by going on foot to Saint-Acheul and confess to Fr. Kułak"... In 1838 the liturgical feast of the Sorrowful Mother fell on Saturday, September 15. It seems that Jański could not realize his intention at that time.

Fr. Kułak - Cf. 1837, footnote 101.

¹⁹⁹ Ferdinand Géramb (1772-1848) - a Hungarian Baron. In 1805 he engaged in battle with Napoleon, and from 1812 was imprisoned by the latter. In 1816 - after the collapse of the emperor, he became a Trappist monk. He travelled to the Holy Land as a pilgrim. After his return, he became Procurator General of the Community. He was the author of books that enjoyed popularity at the time: *Pèlerinage à Jerusalem, et au Mont Sinai* (Paris, 1836) and *Voyage de la Trappe à Rome* (1838).

²⁰⁰ Edward Jakowicki (d.1875) - from the Witebsk province. In the November uprising he was a non-commissioned officer in the 2nd infantry regiment. From 1834 he was an emigrant in the department of Oise.

²⁰¹ Jański has in mind Theophile Górski (Cf. above, footnote 116) who was living in Nevers, a creditor of Francis Mikulski (Cf. 1836, footnote 171) and a married woman from Clamecy with whom Mikulski had a romance. The rough draft of a letter that Jański wrote to her has been preserved. In it Jański urges her to break off any contact with him, and to return to a lawful life.

Thursday, [September 6]

Prince Giedr. Newelski. Letter to Amiens.

To see Fr. Kułak at 1:30 about Fr. Moignot's book.

With Baudé concerning the Babilé Institute.²⁰²

Saturday, [September 8]

Fr. Rodez at 11:30 for Kalinkoski.

Would Sidorowicz and ... enter the brotherhood?

Fr. Desgenettes. Reference for Kuklinoski.

At Fr. Levayer. To "The Debates" about Michele²⁰³

Book to Bukaty.

to Forttoul²⁰⁴ and Charton.

to Błotnicki, to Prince Giedr.

Wednesday, [September 12]

Szymański at dinner.

To [Charles] Królikowski about the printery.

Thursday, [September 13]

I at Prince Giedr.

to Słowaczyński

to the police

to Fr. Levayer.

Friday, [September 14]

To Montalembert; to Jelski about Górski²⁰⁵

²⁰² Undoubtedly the Institut Babilée - a foundation (?); Babilée - a Paris druggist, philanthropist and founder who cooperated closely with the Society of the Ozanam Conference, as well as with the Society of St. Francis Xavier.

²⁰³ This refers to the "Journal des Debats" (Cf. 1835, footnote 178) and to Michele Chevalier (Cf. 1832, footnote 100).

²⁰⁴ Hippolyte-Nicolas Forttoul (1811-1856) - writer, politician, and future minister of education.

²⁰⁵ Louis Jelski (1785-1843) - participated in the campaign of 1812, which he described in *Memoirs* (Paris, 1845). He was an economic activist and president of the Bank of Poland, and a close collaborator with the Minister of the Treasury, Xavier Drucki-Lubiecki. At the time of the November uprising he was engaged in a diplomatic mission in Austria - and after fleeing from there - in England seeking a loan for Poland. He was an emigrant, with a permanent residence in Paris. He was an advocate of the politics of Adam Czartoryski. He was co-founder of the Polish Literary Society in Paris, and its first secretary. In 1834 he founded the Financial-industrial Society, which went bankrupt in

to Valerian about Sulimirski
Boleski - Fr. Reniouf²⁰⁶
 to Szyrma between one and four.
 with Turowski to Fr. Buquet
 Tuszkowski, Zan, on rue Vavin, ask him to wait.

577

On Saturday, September 1

I remind myself that I committed faults against mortification. Letter to Ladislaus Zamojski.²⁰⁷ ...
 I sit at home.

On Sunday, [September 2]

A conference; after the conference the brothers are dissatisfied. I am impatient with Mikulski. Plater; he is not in. Mr. Refendary after breakfast.

Monday, [September 3]

In the morning, an addition to the conference, and again about the penal code. A letter to Plater. At Fr. Kułak at about three.

Tuesday, [September 4]

At Drach. I take Napoleon from the Collège. With Kazimirski for breakfast and coffee. Fr. Kułak comes to our house. Terlecki is leaving. Ordega, Valerian, and Chwalibóg for dinner.

Wednesday, [September 5]

I visit the library with Fr. Kułak. At Fr. Buquet in the interest of Ordega. Ordega stops by after dinner. I leave with him and go alone for coffee.

Thursday, [September 6]

1841. In 1839 he offered his library to the Polish library in Paris. Author, e.g., of *Histoire de la revolution de Pologne* (Paris, 1835).

Theophilus Górski - Cf. above, footnote 201.

²⁰⁶ Fr. Reniouf - One of Jański's confessors. Other forms of the name found in the Diary are Regniouf, and Regnouf.

²⁰⁷ Jański's letter, sent by way of Hippolytus Błotnicki to Ladislaus Zamojski, who was staying in London, in the matter of passports for Joseph Hube and Edward Duński, has been preserved in a draft copy (ACRR 8594, p.1244), and in the original (Czartoryski Library, EW 1525).

At home until twelve. Edward is going to Bellevue. For coffee, and again for coffee at Januskiewicz, and in the evening for tea. Słowaczyński and Bukaty are not in. At three, with Fr. Kułak.

Friday, [September 7]

I do not go out. Why do I take a nap, waste time? Letters to Dax, Saint-Girons. I go to see Jabłoński.²⁰⁸

572

Yesterday, Saturday, September 8, Nativity of B.V.M.²⁰⁹

Before Holy Communion, not prepared well enough. After Holy Communion, distractions because of thoughts about various arrangements (clothes). I did not keep my resolution made at Communion time, above all to arrange the papers in the small table. And later, a failure to raise my spirit to God, especially in conversation with Mikulski, in meeting with Edward etc., in letters from the provinces. I did not thank God for good news. Until eleven.

Then to Mickiewicz. He reproves the House and me, and this disturbs me. Everything applied to me very justly, and this irritated me. I wanted to explain, but I was not prepared to do so. And so, once again a failure. Until one o'clock. Why only ill about Mikulski?

Then unnecessarily for coffee. Back home, and I feel weak, sleepy. I do not fight this, and succumb, in spite of the fact that I have such urgent things to do: Rome, London, Aix - to Jabłoński.

And after dinner, languor and weakness. In conversation with Orpizewski, why so sharply about Mikulski?

And the whole day in decline. May this result in humility and awakening to new fervor. God grant this!

²⁰⁸ Adam Stephen Jabłoński - Cf. 1832, footnote 106. A draft copy of Jański's letter to Jabłoński has been preserved (ACRR 8651, pp. 1039-1048). A fragment of the letter: "Undoubtedly you know that, after much searching and straying, I have returned wholeheartedly to the Catholic Church. In Christ the Lord I recognize that Eternal Truth, in accord with which whatever has being exists, and which enlightens every person born in this world. However people loved the darkness more. I Humbly submit to the teaching of the Church as coming from that supernatural intervention of God in human affairs: from revelation, from the Incarnation of Christ, God and Man. I submit to all the institutions of the Church, in which the spirit of Christ is always present ... today I am full convinced that all that is good for man and humanity, all progress, perfection, wisdom, and salvation comes only through Christ, and is to be found in the Universal Community founded by Him."

²⁰⁹ From this time we have Jański's notes: *Vigil of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary*. 1838 - Cf. Appendix, position XIII; there *Confession*, position XIV.

574

Sunday, [September] 9

After Holy Communion, God enlightened me with a sense of more profound humility that normally, based on my life up to now.

And up to now I always thought that I had contributed greatly to the conversion of my brothers, to gathering them about me, and to leading them to a more perfect life. I? I so weak and despicable, so steeped in evil, in attachment to the world?

O God! Do not abandon me! Complete the work of my conversion. Help me to recognize all my nothingness, and to honor your greatness worthily.

O God, I thank you for humbling me yesterday at Mickiewicz's house.

After Mass, an argument with Mikulski about suddenly assigning him domestic service today - I lose my composure.

After the Holy Gospel, I go out for breakfast at ten (I read an article about the Benedictines in "Univers Religieux"), to Plater at eleven - he still does not want to give me the money. This irritates me once again. And it is after one o'clock. To Słowaczyński (he is not in. To Ropelewski; the conversation is too long, without a clear purpose, too worldly - whereas I could have, I should have talk about necessary matters.

For Vespers at 2:30; I read Denys le Chartreux.²¹⁰ At four to Mrs. Mickiewicz, and confused glances at her and the maid. Then to dinner - Mikulski still gets in the way. After dinner I am dull and languid.

560

Tuesday, [September 11]. Saints Hyacinth and Protus²¹¹

To Szulc about confession
about order in his room
about the hospital and medicine
about getting warm.

Turowski, to move a bed to Mikulski's room, and with him about Mikulski

²¹⁰ Denys Le Chartreux, Denis the Cartusian (1402 or 1403-1471), called the "Doctor exstaticus". Theologian and mystic, compiler of views of classic scholastics (e.g. Thomas Aquinas). Preacher, author of ascetical-philosophical works, commentator on the works of Dionysius the Areopagite. In *De donis Spiritus Sancti*, *De contemplatione*, and other works, he presented contemplation as a specific category of knowledge, conditioned by the practice of virtues, especially by love and asceticism.

²¹¹ St. Hyacinth and Protus (d.260) - brothers, Roman martyrs.

Edward, concerning the Zaleskis, and Ordega.
 Sidorowicz, the accounts to Zdziennicki (perhaps better to Marszewski).
 Marszewski, concerning blankets and quilts.

To Fr. Rodé, concerning tutors; to Słowaczyński (take the *Almanach*²¹²), Szulc, and Fr. Buquet.

- to Baudé: 1. concerning Babilie's pension;
- 2. about Italian lessons;
- 3. about institutions for Napoleon.

(perhaps to Frs. Augé and Buquet.)

- letters to Mickiewicz; Boleski
- with Sidorowicz for cupboards at eleven.
- to Kazimirski
- to Fr. Levayer
- Leather pillows. Carpenter (stools).
- 2 quilts. Perhaps some blankets?

561

Wednesday, [September 12]. St. Raphael.

To Bukaty with *Dogme générateur*

Marszewski to Zdziennicki

Pamphlets, rue d'Enfer, 9.

Uszyński, Słowicki } Avignon²¹³

[Thursday, September 13]

569

The 13th, Exaltation of the Holy Cross

²¹² This refers to Krosnowski's *Almanach*, published in 1838; Cf. above, footnote 112.

²¹³ Julian Uszyński (b.1802) - from 1823 he studied law at the University of Warsaw. In 1829 he was an advocate at the Civil Tribunal of the province of Warsaw. In the November uprising he was a second lieutenant in the first regiment of the Augustów cavalry. An emigrant in France, from 1838 to 1846 he resided in Marseilles. A member of the Union.

Joseph Słowicki (1803-1847) the son of a peasant, a Greek priest. He completed his legal studies at the University of Warsaw. In the November uprising he was a second lieutenant in the 5th uhlán regiment. An emigrant in France. He was a member of the Polish Democratic Society. In 1837-1841 he cooperated with the "Polish Democrat", and was co-editor of the quarterly "TPD Message".

Marian [Kamocki] gives me his 100 [francs], and Marylski's 150. From these, 40 [francs] to Zdziennicki.

Account of the 250 francs from Jaś

570

to Marszewski for the laundress, Daniel,
and upkeep 50 francs
to the baker for the past month etc. ± 60
2 woolen quilts 22
1 - cotton 7
bed, mattress, 2 pillows 23.10

± 170

owed to General Giedrojć 10
religious books 5

185

cupboard and small tables deposit.....5 francs

190

books for ± 5 francs
to Hippolyte for his journey
to Rettel for upkeep.

Saturday, [September 15]

Petition to the Prefecture.
Kranas about Ordega's children²¹⁴
a list of addresses to Kraków
Hube with Marszewski about Ziomecki
I with Marszewski, about his [bonds] with us.

565

Monday [September] 17

to Giedrojć, to Kozłowski
For dinner at Prince Giedrojć
To Fr. Buquet for a letter to Mr. Foisset²¹⁵

²¹⁴ Joseph Ordega (Cf. 1834, footnote 8). He had four children, and at this time he was experiencing serious financial difficulties.

²¹⁵ Joseph-Théophile Foisset (1800-1873) - A French writer with sympathy for liberal Catholics such as Ch. de Montalembert. The author of biographical articles published in

For Valerian, purchase *Panthéon Littéraire*²¹⁶ 6 francs.
Boleski's affairs

Tuesday, [September] 18

Mr. Romuald [Giedrojc?]
 to Mr. Foisset, rue Vavin
 Fr. Badiche after three
 the Prince for Chełchowski's *Panthéon Littéraire*
 Police - Fr. Levayer
 (Szyrma), Kulikowski, Tomaszewicz.

Thursday, [September 20]

Fr. Buquet (affidavit) (Mr. Foisset)
 Fr. Desgenettes
 books, letters
 Saint-Chéron
 Recommendation to Sidorowicz for Weyss.
 I for Górski.

555

Tomorrow, Friday

Send to Nevers

1. pamphlets, rue d'enfer; Italian conversations
 and dictionary

- visit Orpiszewski
 - take down the trunk and books from Edward's room
 - letters
 - to Sidorowicz, re a small cupboard and carpenter
 Dr. Dobrowolski, and Anthony Górecki
 Fr. Korycki, Słowaczyński, Bukaty.

565

Friday, [September 21]

visit Orpiszewski

"Biographie Universelle", collaborator of "Université Catholique", publisher of Ozanam's collected works, future author of the monograph *Le comte Montalembert, Mes souvenirs sur Lacordaire i Vie de R.P. Lacordaire* (Paris, 1870).

²¹⁶ *Panthéon Littéraire. Illustrations Religieuses du siècle de Louis XIV.* Cf. above, footnote 94. The publication was under the auspices of the Société de Panthéon Littéraire; the editor was Aimé-Louis Martin (1835, footnote 340).

566

Most urgent tasks

Fr. Poillou - Maret - Juilly.

- (An establishment in the provinces) -
- Preparations for Adolph -
- Preparations for Rettel and Mikulski etc.
- Information about "The Debates",
when Michel will come.

567

Montalembert's Belgian Project²¹⁷

579

On Wednesday, September 19 I went to confession.

The day after, Thursday, I received Communion.

From that day:

- 1) Again, irritation with Mikulski, secret conduct, consultation with someone else, detection of his weaknesses and sins - in all this spiritual weakness and little charity;²¹⁸
- 2) Impatience with and worry about matters prior to departure.

Friday, [September 21]

I slept only two or three hours, and so throughout the day after Communion

- 1) deliberate surrender to the subsequent fatigue;
- 2) tea, even after dinner, and again in the evening, and with that breaking the fast;

²¹⁷ The seven year-old conflict between Holland and Belgium occasioned by territorial disputes threatened the outbreak of a war. The Belgian king Leopold I intended to offer the title of commander-in-chief to a veteran army man. Upon the advice and persuasion of Montalembert, related by marriage with the influential Belgian family de Mérode, he decided upon General John Skrzynecki, a former commander-in-chief in the November uprising. It should be emphasized that in the eyes of Montalembert Skrzynecki was a hero, and he considered him to be a friend. Skrzynecki left Prague secretly and reached Belgium by a roundabout way. He arrived in Brussels on January 29, 1839. He was named general of a reserve division. He was a co-organizer of the Belgian army.

²¹⁸ Jański would soon set down in writing his remarks and advice with regard to Mikulski's conduct, and his stay in the Collège Juilly. Cf. Appendix, position XV: *September 22 - with Mikulski*.

3) On account of pride, was unable to write a letter to Rome.

4) In conversations and conduct, yesterday and before yesterday lacking in zeal and good example.

Saturday, [September 22]

1. Failure to preserve peace and freedom of spirit in the midst of the accumulation of affairs - as a result of failure to keep watch on myself;

2. After awakening such contrition in Mikulski, a failure to thank God most humbly for that;

3. Showing discontent and animosity toward Hippolyte, such a good and loving brother, since he acquitted himself poorly with regard to the letters.

580

Sunday, [September 23]

1. Through lack of fervor and failure to use the required means: a) failure to attend Mass and receive Communion; b) failure to perform the penance, that is, a half hour of prayer and the Psalms.

2. Surrender to fatigue, and failure to take advantage of the Director of Collège Juilly's good disposition toward us.

3. A deliberate lie concerning a letter from Rome to Mickiewicz, in order to avoid being humiliated; an unnecessary lie concerning my supper.

4. A lack of humility in relations with Mikulski; I should be grateful for the humiliation, (and punishment for sins), which God sent me in all of his insults and the domestic disturbances he caused.

Monday, [September 24]. Confession.

First. Failure to attend Mass and receive Communion yesterday, and failure to complete the penance.

Second. Breaking the fast on Friday, using the excuse of fatigue.

Third. Submitting to fatigue, lack of fervor. Failure to keep watch on myself. Surrender to irritation, troubles. Pride and insincerity; in dealing with Mikulski, a lack of humility.

Fourth. 2 lies.

Fifth. Once especially, impure thoughts and memories.

Sixth. Through pride I did not write to Rome.

582

Seventeenth week after Pentecost

{with the externs)

Monday, September 24

Boleski. Prince Giedroją.

Bukaty, Kazimirski, (Zawadzki) 53.

(Śliwiński), Dworzaczek, Korabiewicz.

Letter to Bishop Skórkowski.²¹⁹

to Montpellier; to Aix; to Nevers.

Valerian's explanations, and difficulties with Kazimirski and Ropelewski before leaving for Versailles, and Batory's²²⁰ business.

- Invite Kozłowski; he may live with us during the period of weakness.

Burgaud.

- Zan, Kalinoski.

- Walter - letter.

[Tuesday, September 25]

(to Kozłowski)

To Fr. Badiche.

To Ordęga.

To Mrs. Białopiotrowicz, (to the Ogińskis), back home and letters to Nevers, Juilly, Aix, Montpellier, and to Batory.

to Buchez, to Machwitz, (perhaps through Szulc).

Transon, Kolesiński.²²¹ to Fr. Bernard. [Dubué]

583

Wednesday, [September 26]

Baudé/Biergiel. (Machwitz) - Boleski

Letters... Słowaczyński, Transon

to Fr. Levayer, Aix, Montpellier.

Perisse, 46 sous - (*Eucologie*)

Koszucki,²²² (for dinner to Mrs. Białopiotrowicz)

²¹⁹ Charles Sariusz Skórkowski (1768-1851) - Bishop of Kraków from 1830. An advocate of the November uprising. In 1834, for his patriotic stance, he was deprived of authority over the portion of his diocese situated in the Kingdom of Poland. In 1835 he was exiled to Opawa, where he resided until he died. He was the uncle of Marian Apolinaris Kamocki, a resident of Paris in 1837.

²²⁰ Ferdinand Bathory - A hungarian, captain, who lived in Paris. At Jański's request, he translated from the Hungarian an article citing statistics concerning the status of religion in Austria for the publication "Ami de la Religion."

²²¹ Benedict Kolesiński, from Vilno. He completed his studies at the University of Vilno. As an emigrant in France, from 1839 he studied in the School of Mines in Paris. Or Zygmunt Kolesiński (1802-1843) - completed the course in medicine in Vilno. In the November uprising he served as a battalion doctor with the 25th infantry regiment. An emigrant in Paris. In 1839 he enrolled in the school of medicine.

Thursday, [September 27]

to the Prefecture.

Burgaud des Marets. Eudes²²³

Greuve for dinner.

Friday, [September 28]

perhaps to the Zaleskis

Saturday, [September 29]

after two, Kalinoski.

Sunday, [September 30]

The New Testament and books of devotion.

to Januszkiewicz

to Batory

to Ladislaus Plater

to Caesar, to Nevers.

584

Monday, [October 1]

Budrewicz, Henschel, Boleski

Husson, Prince Ogiński and his wife

Szymański and *Athanase*²²⁴

Tuesday, [October 2]

(Fr. Petit)²²⁵

Wednesday, [October 3]

at about nine, with Mrs. Białopiotrowicz to Sévres

(Bukaty) to Januszkiewicz, book of devotions,

²²² Possibly John Koszucki (Koszutski) (1810-1888) - from Poznań; a second lieutenant in the Poznań cavalry. In the emigration he worked in a French school as a teacher of the German language.

²²³ Eudes - a former saintsimonist, whose name Jański included in a list of saintsimonists.

²²⁴ *Athanase* - French title of a pamphlet by Johann Joseph Göress (*Athanasius*, Regensburg, 1837), in which the author vigorously attacked the religious politics of Prussian authorities and their attacks upon freedom of conscience in connection with the so-called Cologne affair. He appealed for freedom for the Church, equality, and the right to freedom of conscience and belief.

²²⁵ Fr. Alexis Petit - Cf. 1832, footnote 235.

Węgier, receipt from, etc.

Thursday, [October 4]

Januskiewicz (Bukaty)

Fr. Foisset²²⁶ at 11:30, Bernard at twelve.

receipt for 12 francs.

Słowaczyński, Zdziennicki

Jules Séguin,²²⁷ about the pharmacy

Węgier and Valerian. Mrs. Białopiotrowicz.

books to Poitiers and Marseilles or Aix

Wednesday, Thursday, about 60 francs.

Madame Bazard, Transon

Inquire about someone in Compiègne, who might provide information about Nielubowicz, who left Craon last winter to go to Compiègne to some factory (in which Siedlicki²²⁸ was working; but he left). Chiry or Chily?²²⁹

Friday, [October 5]

Prince Giedroją - Fr. Buquet - Commissioner Barbet,²³⁰ Świącicki²³¹

Jules Séguin

Mrs. Białopiotrowicz - books to Poitiers.

Transon.

Saturday, [October 6]

at eleven in Saint-Sulpice

Mr. Jussieu²³²

²²⁶ Silvestre-Théophile Foisset - a priest; the rector of Collège de Jully.

²²⁷ Jules Séguin - Cf. 1832, footnote 260.

²²⁸ Siedlicki - further information lacking.

²²⁹ Correctly Chiry - a town in the Oise department.

²³⁰ Barbet (?Berbet) - further information lacking.

²³¹ Joseph Świącicki (1799-1868) - an instructor in the Polish army. He participated in the November uprising, in which he achieved the rank of second lieutenant. He was the last commander of the 4th infantry regiment ("the fourths"). As an emigrant he resided first in France, and then in England, where he wrote *Memoirs* (publ. 1982). Persuaded by Louis Jelski (Cf. above, footnote 205), in 1838 he came to Paris seeking paid work. He failed in this regard, fell ill, and spent three months in the Saint-Louis hospital in Paris which was designated for the poor. French authorities forced him to return to England. After receiving permission from these same authorities, he returned to France, where he dedicated himself to welfare work and patriotic activity. He was a mason. Świącicki was married to Marianne Eleanor Kaczorowska, the sister of Stanislaus Kaczorowski (Cf. above footnote 238).

petition concerning Markiewicz²³³

Poitiers - Caesar - Montpellier

Mickiewicz

Monsieur compte Louis Jelski, rue Grange-Batelière, 18 - to Klimaszewski: the Korzeniewskis²³⁴ will leave for Versailles by gondola at 10:40 - they will be in Versailles at 12:40.

Mr. Refendary's business, Jełowicki.

586

The 19th week after Pentecost

Tuesday, [October 19]

to Jules Séguin, to Witwicki

letters to Caesar, to Edward

to Valerian and Wróblewski

- to Zdziennicki

- to Świącicki; to Mickiewicz, with the Pope's allocution²³⁵

(Walter) - to Mikulski

Mr. Refendary

before dinner, books from second-hand bookstores

Madame Niboyet, Jabłoński.

Wednesday, [October 10]

to Kalinoski

Thursday, [October 11]

to Kalinoski

to Fr. Rodez

²³² Undoubtedly Alexis de Jussieu (1802-1866), lawyer, editor of "Courier Français". From 1837 he was a director of police in the ministry for interior affairs.

²³³ Perhaps Casimir Markiewicz (1808-1843) - studied literature and fine arts at the University of Vilno. He participated in the November uprising with the rank of second lieutenant in the 10th uhlán regiment. From 1832 he was an emigrant in France, where he studied law in Poitiers; in 1836 he received his diploma as a "bachelor of law". He worked in the Polish Library.

²³⁴ The Korzeniewskis - possibly those listed in Krosnowski's *Almanach* and Bielecki's *Epitome...* : Adolph Korzeniewski from Grodno, a second lieutenant in the 11th uhlán regiment, and Ferdinand Korzeniewski, from Lithuania, a second lieutenant.

²³⁵ This refers to the allocution of Pope Gregory XVI on September 13, 1838, in which he condemned the perfidy of Prussian politics with regard to the rights of the Catholic Church, and supported the position of Archbishop Martin Dunin in defense of these rights.

Friday, [October 12]

Kalinoski, Fr. Buquet.

Translation and Kopenszteter,²³⁶ and letter from Mr. Refendary Jełowicki at ten, translation for A[dam] M[ickiewicz]²³⁷

- to the Ministry of Education with regard to Ordęga's business

- books for Mrs. Białopiotrowicz.

Kopenszteter.

587

Saturday, [October 13] (besides Friday's notes)

to Fr. Rodez concerning the house.

Desplanches, Starzyński

Stanley's²³⁸ petition - Ratuld's²³⁹ business.

letter to Caesar, to Edward

Boleski - Jabłoński

to Transon, the hatter.

Mrs. Białopiotrowicz

²³⁶ Maurice Kopenszteter (Koppenstetter) (1813-1880) - student of medicine at the University of Warsaw (1829). In the November uprising a second lieutenant in the 2nd uhlán regiment. In the years 1832-1833 he attended the Paris School of the General Staff, and in 1834 enrolled in the School of Commerce and Administration. He returned to Warsaw in 1842.

²³⁷ *a traveling bag for Adam Mickiewicz* - undoubtedly in connection with the poet's planned departure for Switzerland, which took place before October 20, 1838, in order to apply for "a position of professor of Latin in Lausanne". In a letter to Jański sent from Geneva on October 20, 1838, Mickiewicz wrote: "Please do not tell anyone about my presence here or about my hopes. From time to time pay a visit to my wife, who now remains alone." (*Works*, Vol. XV, *Letters*, Part two, p.215).

²³⁸ Stanislaus Kaczorowski (b.1818 or 1821) - during the November uprising he fought as a soldier in the 4th infantry regiment under the command of his brother-in-law colonel Joseph Świącicki, and came to France with him in February, 1832. He enrolled in the school of commerce. Jański wrote about him in a letter of July 12, 1839 to the brothers in Rome: "A young man of 18 came here not long ago from Freiburg, a nephew [!] of Major Świącicki, who after getting out of the hospital stayed with us for a while. He is preparing to enter some special school" (ACRR 8542, p.279).

²³⁹ Eugene Casimir Edward Ratuld (Ratułd) (1813-1895) - He participated in the November uprising. After the collapse of the uprising he stayed in Kraków, where he enrolled in the school of medicine. A radical member of the Association of the Polish People. In connection with the discovery of a conspiracy and the beginning of arrests, he interrupted his studies in his fifth year, and in 1836 went to England, and then to France. He attended the Paris School of Mines, and completed the course there in 1838. Ultimately he returned to Kraków. He left his funds to the Jagellonian University.

- to Mikulski
- the carpenter
- (letter to the Bishop)²⁴⁰ - Fr. Levayer
- (- to Pawłowicz)

Sunday, [October 14]

Chełchowski, Chołoniewski,²⁴¹ Greuvé
 correct the translation of the Bull²⁴² with Hippolyte. Starzyński
 Ordęga - Pawłowicz (Mieczkoski)
 Hippolyte to Świącicki
 Mrs. Białopiotrowicz. Prince Czartoryski
 translation of the Bull (Kopenszteter and the letter from Mr. Refendary)
 (to Pawłowicz, rue Sainte-Marguerite, 25)
letters
 Saint-Chéron between seven and eight, perhaps a contract²⁴³
 Fr. Froment (Bukaty)
Fr. Dłuski, Kazimirski, Jabłoński.
 at Prince Giedrojąć.

588

Monday, [October 15]

To Ladislaus Plater. Chełchoski. Noé.
 Fr. Foisset. Fr. Levayer.
 (Chłoneski) Stanley's request.
 The Bishop [?]. Fr. Badiche, 25 francs, and with reference to the chapel.

Tuesday, [October 16]

inspect the house
 the Oborowicz²⁴⁴ will come at ten
 Ratuld

²⁴⁰ Perhaps Bishop Skórkowski, Cf. above, footnote 218.

²⁴¹ Undoubtedly Hippolyte Augustine Chołoniewski, (1807-1880) - an officer in the Austrian Hussars. He participated in the November uprising. A former adjutant to Ladislaus Zamoyski.

²⁴² *correct the translation of the Bull...* undoubtedly Gregory XVI's brief *Cum Primum*.

²⁴³ An agreement to rent rooms at rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs 31 bis.

²⁴⁴ The Oborowicz brothers: Anthony (1816-1885), while still a young man he left for Paris, where he finished secondary school. He studied medicine, and obtained the doctorate in 1844. In 1850 he returned to Poland. - August (1818-1869) - a musician, a future composer and teacher of the theory of music and song.

Wednesday, [October 17]

Hauser,²⁴⁵ Bohdan Zaleski.

Priest for Stanislaus.

Szymański at dinner. Rogiński.

At Januszkiewicz at two, for Alexander Jełowicki

The Eborowiczses.

590

[Friday, October 19]

Account of the 1,000 francs

(from Kamocki on October 11, to the 19th)

Quarterly lodgings.....	177,10
Desplanches.....	100
Starzyński.....	50
to Marian [Kamocki] for Marylski.....	150
to the baker.....	±50
to Mrs. Białopiotrowicz.....	50
to Kranas.....	50
to Zdziennicki.....	60
housekeeping.....	±60

747	
to Jastrzębski ²⁴⁶	30
to Jaś [Omieciński] for Hłuszniewicz....	30
to the carpenter.....	<u>23</u>
830	

²⁴⁵ Hauser, possibly the person listed in Krosnowski's *Almanach*, Zygmunt Hauzer, a second lieutenant who lived in Villeneuve-de-Bery (Ardèche).

²⁴⁶ Undoubtedly Louis John Korwin Jastrzemski (Jastrzębski) (1804-1852) - After graduating from the Krzemieniecki Lyceum, he moved to Vilno and studied at the university there. He participated in the November uprising. As an emigrant in Paris, he enrolled in the school of commerce. From 1837 to 1841 he attended the School of Archivists (École des Chartes) in Paris. A historian, paleographer, and an emigrant journalist. He maintained contact with the Resurrectionists in Rome.

to Ratold..... 25
 books..... 25
 Letters
 to the shoemaker, rest of the debt..... 10
 to Mr. Anthony...
 890
 Loans, alms
 to Hippolyte etc.
 remaining in the cashbox

593

Friday, [October 19]. St. Peter of Alcantara²⁴⁷
 letters to Bordeaux, Dax, etc.
 Orpiszewski, (letter to Eborowicz)
 Mr. de Maine Noille.²⁴⁸ Rue Vavin.
 Carpenter. (Hauser. Ladislaus Plater).
 with Kamocki to Fr. Buquet (Baudet)
 Bukaty concerning Sulimoski²⁴⁹
 Saint-Chéron, Korabiewicz, Ratold, Rogiński
 letter to Fr. Foisset. (to the Giedrojćes).
 Mrs. Mickiewicz. Rev. Bishop [?], Kazimirski

Saturday, [October 20]
 (to Januszkiewicz with *The Polish Altar*
 Petitions to the Prefecture with Ratold
 a priest for Stanislaus
 letter to Juilly - to Bordeaux - (to Hippolyte)
 Fr. Froment. Saint-Chéron. Dworzaczek
 Wołowicz²⁵⁰ at about dinner-time;
 to the carpenter, rue Montmorency, etc.

²⁴⁷ Peter of Alcantara (1499-1562) - a Spanish reformer and provincial in the Franciscan Community; the confessor, e.g., of Teresa of Avila; author of ascetical writings. Canonized in 1669.

²⁴⁸ Monsieur de Maine Noille - no further information.

²⁴⁹ Undoubtedly Felix Sulimowski (1811-1886) from Augustow; he participated in the November uprising as a standard-bearer in the grenadiers. From 1832, an emigrant in France. He worked as a printer.

²⁵⁰ Wołowicz (Wołowicz), further information lacking.

at Ladislaus Plater - with Eborowicz's petition

[On this same day Jański noted the *Expenses from the future amount* (p.600) which he was expecting. Moreover, on the following pages he wrote remarks dealing with the time preceding Alexander "Jełowicki's entry" into the seminary at Collège Stanislas (p. 601), as well as things he intended to do *before leaving for La Trappe*, which he never got around to doing.]

600

[Saturday]. October 20, St. John Cantius

Expenses from the previous sum

to Witwicki on the 25th..... 50
 to Mrs. Białopiotrowicz on the 1st.... 100
 + to Saint-Girons..... 50
 + to Dax....Valerian's ransom..... 100
 to Bandurski..... 30
 to Bordeaux

the coal merchant, 6 sacks
 the hatter
 the laundress
 the baker
 quilt etc. for Jaś
 sheets
 bells
 prie-Dieu [kneeler]
 to La Trappe
 Słowaczyński, Sidorowicz, Miłkoski, Włoch

601

Before Jełowicki's entry

(ask Jaś) should I inform Miłkoski, Ordęga, Kazimirski, Starzyński, Bukaty.

602

Before leaving for La Trappe

- Put papers in order. List of debts.

- (Visit Mont Valérien)²⁵¹
- Study of religious communities.
- The question of a public appearance, civic activity, as soon as possible.
- First, the question of a penitential life.
- We are not yet sufficiently attached to Christ, the Pope, Catholic unity; in the case of a conflict, we could detach ourselves.

593

Sunday, [October] 21

Faubourg du Roule²⁵²

Respond to Chodkiewicz.

Monday, [October 22]

to Juilly, a letter to Leopold [Turowski's].

to Mickiewicz,²⁵³ to Bordeaux, to Dax.

Jełowicki at three - on rue Transonnain.

Kazimirski, Zan, Wrotnowski.

to Ladislaus Plater. Transon

a letter for Ratold. Lodgings.

letters for Hippolyte

to Bordeaux, to Dax.

Wrotnowski, Lodgings.

594

Tuesday, [October 23]

50 francs to Witwicki.

to Koźmian on the 25th.

with Ordęga to Fr. Blanc, and to Orpiszewski,

²⁵¹ Mont-Valérien - a hill in the Seine department west of Paris. Jański was thinking about establishing a summer place for his confreres in a suitable place.

²⁵² Faubourg du Roule - a suburb of Paris northwest of the city, near the village of Batignolles. Prince Adam Czartoryski built a residence here for himself and his family, as well as for his closest co-workers (e.g. Hippolitus Błotnicki). Ordinarily, on Tuesdays, the Prince's parlors were open to guests.

²⁵³ Jański sent a letter to the poet who was staying in Switzerland asking him when he would return to Paris in order to accept work as professor of Latin at the Collège de Juilly. In his response to Jański on October 30 - Cf. above, footnote 236 - the poet sent: Address: á Genève á hotel de la Balance. I received your letter yesterday in Geneva. It followed mew around for a few days" (*Works*, Vol.XV, *Letters*, Part two, pp. 216-217).

to the landlord.
 with Hippolyte to Januskiewicz (take *The Altar*)
 to Fr. Levayer. *The Altar* to Mrs. Białopiotrowicz.
 at twelve to Faubourg du Roule
 money. Returning by carriage to rue Transonnain, etc. Once again books
 by carriage.
 at about three or four with Włoch to the new house
 to Mr. Ladislaus (Adam's wife)
 Jabłoński, Maliński, Zan
 Fr. Badiche, and Transon.
 Kraków, Warsaw.
Bookseller. Mr. Refendary
 Bukaty.

[Tuesday, October 23]

596

Account from 1,000 francs received from Orpiszewski
on October 23, St. John of Capistrano²⁵⁴

Quarterly, rue Vavin.....	450
Piowarwki	45 (!)
Coal merchant, for six sacks, and for housekeeping.....	70 (!)
Bandurski.....	40
Hatter.....	36
Witwicki.....	50
Januskiewicz, debt.....	60 francs
(of which 25 francs for Kalinkoski)	
Chodkiewicz.....	50
Shoemaker.....	16
±	
- 800	

Curtains

Letters to Bordeaux, to Dax, to Saint-Girons

²⁵⁴ John of Capistrano (1386-1456) - a lawyer; before becoming a priest he sent his wife back to her family. A Franciscan. Papal Legate and Inquisitor. He visited in Poland. An eloquent preacher. Initiator of a crusade. He was canonized in 1690.

Chełkowski on Friday and Saturday - home until 9,
from 9 to 4 P.M. in the office, Rue Montmartre, 18
from 5 o'clock at home.

Dr. Wernicki²⁵⁵

rue de Bac, passage
Sainte Marie, 11 bis
Zan, rue de Mercier, 57

Wednesday, [October 24]

Zdziennicki, daughter

to Fr. Froment - with Mr. Alexander [Jełowicki] between one and two o'clock at
the bookseller

at 10:30, Jełowicki

to Januszkiewicz with 20 francs

the *smaller Polish Altar* for Fr. Boulatier²⁵⁶

Fr. Korycki, and for the *Altar*

a letter to Dugied for Colonel Gawroński²⁵⁷ today

letter to Valerian, Wrotnoski, Zan

to Fr. Badiche

hat.

Thursday, [October] 25

50 francs to Witwicki and Hippolyte

to Fr. Boulatier

a short letter to Jełowicki

Saint-Chéron. To Mrs. Mickiewicz.

Petitions for Adolph [Zaleski] and

to the police station.

Faubourg du Roule curtains

furniture in the fourth room

to Mrs. Białopiotrowicz, and *The Altar*.

²⁵⁵ Joseph Alexander Wernicki (1810-after 1874) - He studied medicine before the November uprising, and took part in the uprising as a battalion doctor. He was an emigrant in Montpellier, where he completed his medical studies, and in January of 1835 received his diploma as a doctor of medicine. He worked, among other places in Paris. In 1850 he received French citizenship. He participated in the January revolt.

²⁵⁶ Fr. Boulatier - further information lacking.

²⁵⁷ Andrew Gawroński (1791-1864) - a follower of Napoleon; A colonel of the engineers in the November uprising. He was an emigrant in France and Belgium. He wrote memoirs of his life as a soldier. He was co-editor of the occasional periodical "Poland".

595

Friday, [October 26]

(Wrotnoski), Saint-Chéron, Fr. Buquet
 Jełowicki before eleven.
 letter to Zan. Petition for Adolph.
 Fr. Levayer. Carpenter.
 (*The Polish Altar* by way of Victor)
 (look at Biergiel's letter).

Saturday, [October 27]

back home with Kranas - and Fr. Buquet²⁵⁸
 Saint-Chéron - Jełowicki
 Adolph's petition and Fr. Levayer
 at Hippolyte, a letter from Saint-Girons
 Mr. Refendary's business
 a letter to Zan. Wrotnoski. Buchez.
 find the pawn ticket
 Valerian
 before seven to Fr. Foisset.

597

Monday, October 29

To Fr. Buquet
 Mr. Referendary's business
 to the carpenter
 letter to Sévres, to Nevers, to Drewnicki²⁵⁹
 to Versailles, to Orpiszewski
 Wrotnoski, lessons for Siennicki for 3 months
 to Jełowicki after two
 To Ladislaus Plater (Ratold's petition)
 to Błotnicki

Tuesday, [October] 30

50 francs for Chodkiewicz

²⁵⁸ Fr. Buquet, Jański's confessor at the time. A text has been preserved: *At confession before the Feast of Saints Simon and Jude* (October 28); Cf. Appendix, position XVI.

²⁵⁹ Leon Drewnicki (1791-1870) - He was born of a peasant family; a schismatic. In the November uprising he was a major in the Polish army. He was an emigrant in France, living in Paris. The author of memoirs, *In my time* (published in 1971).

[dinner] tickets for Mierzwiński
 Fr. Ravinet²⁶⁰
 to Plater
 with Fr. Lisowski,²⁶¹ with Kozarzewski, in which
 depot

Wednesday, [October] 31

(46 francs to Chodkiewicz)
 concerning Ratold
 to Drewnicki } the Zaleskis
 to Periss - Baudé
 note for Prince Ogiński
 at Prince Giedroją concerning Zdziennicki
 Zdziennicki's daughter

598

at the carpenter, more quilts and 2 mattresses
on rue Montmorency tables and the lower part of the bookcase
 a bed for Jaś [a camp bed] to Newelski
 with Hippolyte, about a stove for Newelski
 Perisse
 in the evening making order in the house.
 pictures, etc.

Thursday, [November 1]

To Fr. Badiche concerning Czajkoski²⁶²
 at eleven to Newelski, to Greuvé
 to Jełowicki - for Słowaczyński
 to Mrs. Adam [Mickiewicz]
 Ordega's sister²⁶³
 to Fr. Guéranger concerning the Zaleskis

²⁶⁰ Emmanuel-Jules Ravinet (1801-1881) - a graduate of Collège Stanislas. A priest, professor of theology in that College. From 1840, Vicar-General of the Archdiocese of Paris. In 1861 he was consecrated as Bishop of Troyes.

²⁶¹ Simon Francis Lisowski; in 1838 he was a student in the seminary at Sens. He lived with the Franciscans in Paris.

²⁶² Michael Czajkowski (Cf. 1835, footnote 219), was then living in Paris. An advocate of the politics of Prince Czartoryski. He was a long-time friend of John Omieciński, who in the following year, under his influence, left the House of Jański to join the followers of Czartoryski.

²⁶³ Antonine Ordega, nee Kielczewski, (1812-1893) - wife of Joseph Ordega (Cf. 1834, footnote 8). For some time she was a collector of funds for Jański.

Biergiel, 50 francs
 - Baudé - at Prince Giedrojc
a letter to Fr. Foisset

Friday, [November 2]
 to Błotnicki: concerning Święcicki, Fr. Lisowski
 Mierzwiński
 Królikoski's petition

599

Sunday, November 4
 a letter to Prince Ogiński
 Mrs. Adam Mickiewicz's sister²⁶⁴

²⁶⁴ *Adam's wife* - Celine Mickiewicz was a collect of funds for Jański, helping him in his apostolic activity. At this time she fell into a period of depression. At Mickiewicz's request Jański visited her and watched out for her. Having his address, he undoubtedly informed the poet who was living in Geneva about the illness of his wife. He organized care for her (Doctor Greuvé), and possibly got help from Eustachius Januszkiewicz, who had been living in Mickiewicz's home from November 18. Awaiting Mickiewicz's arrival, on November 18 Jański sent a short letter to Bohdan and Joseph Zaleski who were staying in Sévres: "Sunday, 5 P.M. Thank God it is better - better than it ever was. After a restless night, she took a bath for a few hours - and calmed, from morning, and especially from after noon, she is almost completely well.

Esquirol has finally finished his consultation. He advised, as far as possible, not to disturb her, and to encourage her to take the baths as frequently as possible. He offers hope.

Of necessity, most gracious brothers, persevere in your holy, fraternal, intention. Come here before Adam returns - and so of necessity tomorrow, Monday, and take up temporary lodgings nearby... so that you might be close to Adam all day. O God! Have mercy! (Jag. Library, 9201-III k. 14-14a). However, Mickiewicz returned already on Sunday. In a letter of November 24 written to his confreres in Rome, Jański informed them that "Adam's wife is sick, seriously, terribly sick. I leave the details for later. Arrange a solemn novena for her health" (ACRR 8535, pp.46-47). In December Celine Mickiewicz was transferred to a nursing home in Vanves near Paris. At this dramatic time, Jański was undoubtedly close to Mickiewicz, inviting him to dinner on Sundays, as a short letter of the poet testifies: "As it happens, I cannot be with you on this Sunday for dinner. I may stop by on Monday. Vale. Adam" (*Works*, op.cit., Vol.XV, *Letters*, part two, p.219).

In the letter to the brothers in Rome mentioned above, Jański wrote that, through the intercession of Fr. Froment, he had made the acquaintance of the Bishop of Nancy, the Primate of Lotharingia, Charles Auguste de Forbin-Janson, "who is so gracious that he indicated he would be willing to take letters to you, and that he would deliver this letter." What is more, "he also offered hope for a recommendation and assistance here. He is very powerful here by reason of all of his relationships and influence." At the time Jański was experiencing very difficult material conditions. As a result of the circumstances

Greuvé
 subscription to "Annales de la Propagation de la
 Foi"
 a letter to Fr. Guéranger, to Nevers, to Rome, to
 Geneva
 have Kranas write petitions...

Monday, [November 5]

Wood. Stoves.
 Petitions through Fr. Levayer
 Perisse
 Fr. Zawitniewicz²⁶⁵

Tuesday, [November 6]

To Fr. Rodez (Buchez)
 Korabiewicz
 Bailly²⁶⁶
 rewrite the list of dissolved monastic orders

Wednesday, [November 7]

take the list of dissolved monastic orders to
 Fr. Lisowski
 Fr. Desquibes
 Kaszyc²⁶⁷
 Królikoski's petition by way of Fr. Michel Chevé²⁶⁸

599a

Thursday, [November 8]

at eleven a meeting with Chevé.

mentioned above, Jański was unable to continue the Diary, or even write daily notes (from November 9 to December 9).

²⁶⁵ Zawitniewicz - a Uniate priest, a former chaplain during the uprising. He lived in Marseilles. Edward Duński met with him on the journey to Rome.

²⁶⁶ Emmanuel Bailly de Surcy - a printer. In December of 1830 he was a member of the Common Agency for the Defense of Religious Freedom. A member, and director of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in Paris (Leprévost was the assistant director). He worked together with Ozanam.

²⁶⁷ Joseph Kaszyc (1795-1868) from Lithuania, a Napoleonic officer, a lieutenant colonel in the Nowogród cavalry, envoy to the Sejm, a colonel in the November uprising. An emigrant in France. A follower of Prince Czartoryski.

²⁶⁸ Michel Chevé - further information lacking.

613

Second week of Advent

614

Monday, [December 10]

to Bohdan [Zaleski] and Witwicki
 to Prince Giedroją; Januszkiewicz
 to Błotnicki with the pictures - and tickets
 for Mierzwiński, and Bandurski's picture
 (to Fr. Badiche)
 to Walter (with ?)
 Valerian's redemption

Tuesday, [December 11]

to Błotnicki
 to Walter

Wednesday, [December 12]

to Mrs. Szokalska²⁶⁹
 Stoves. Refectory table. Carpentry.
 M[ichel] Chevalier
 Renovation of the brass
 to Fr. Levayer
 Woronicz,²⁷⁰ Bednarczyk,²⁷¹ Bandurski
 to Hube

Thursday, [December 13]

²⁶⁹ Justine Szokalska, nee Rogozińska, the mother of doctor Victor (Cf. above, footnote 56).

²⁷⁰ Janusz Woronicz (1805-1874) - nephew of Archbishop John Paul Woronicz. He participated in the November uprising with the rank of captain. An emigrant in France from May, 1832. Secretary and agent of Adam Czartoryski and editor of "Poland and the Emigration" (1834-1937) and "The Third of May" (1839-1848). Author of the publication *A question of the dynasty and the monarchy in Poland* (June, 1839). A co-organizer of the Monarchical-Insurrectional Society "Third of May", which proposed Prince Czartoryski as king of Poland.

²⁷¹ Emil Bednarczyk (1812-1888) - in the autumn of 1830, he enrolled in the Preparatory School for the Polytechnic Institute in Warsaw. He participated in the November uprising. An emigrant in France, in 1832 he applied for access to the Polish Democratic Society. As an emissary, several times he travelled to Galicia. He was a democratic agent in the emigration.

to Greuvé; to the Zaleskis; to Ropelewski
to Walter at 4:30
with Valerian concerning Wątrobka and Ratold
about the collection - furniture

Friday, [December 14]

Ratold between seven and eight
M[ichel] Ch[evalier]... - the Zaleskis.
Rendez-vous with Valerian.
- Return the papers to Mikulski.
- Letters.

613a

Third week of Advent

Monday, [December] 17

to Napoleon (and to the Princess)
Orpiszewski
to M[ichel] Ch[evalier]... note
Book. Collections.
Carpentry.

Tuesday, [December] 18

to Walter Plater
Wi[twicki?]
Giedrojc, Mikulski, Perisse

Wednesday, [December 19]

Thursday, [December 20]

Journey...²⁷²
Boleski

613b

Fourth week of Advent

Sunday, [December 23]

²⁷² *Trip*... I was unable to find any further information about this note.

Monday, [December 24]

Tuesday, [December 25] CHRISTMAS DAY

Wednesday, [December 26] St. Stephen
Common prayer for S[tephen] W[itcki]

APPENDIX

I.

8627

467

CONFESSION OF JANUARY 6

1. Still the penance poorly completed. Prayer 3 times as late as the evening, and the psalm once only on the following day.
2. Lack of order and regulation in all my activities - I allowed myself to be caught up in the whirl of activities - failure to watch myself constantly.
3. As a result a great waste of time, laziness.
4. Laziness in rising. Moreover, once I omitted morning prayer, through my own fault. I missed Mass twice.
5. Two small lies.
6. Glances at women, as a result of distraction and curiosity.
7. Reading things that are forbidden (perhaps), in the newspapers.
8. In general, much carelessness and lukewarmness by which I could scandalize one of my brothers.
9. [Ask] about forbidden books.
10. About Vespers (a sung Mass).

II.

CONFESSION OF JANUARY 13

1. I said the penance, but once again delayed prayer until the evening. Psalms without arms crossed.
2. Holy Communion as advised - and very good.
3. Bad regulation; many small visits, neglect of necessary matters, letters.
4. Much waste of time, laziness. Failure to conquer obstacles on the part of confreres, Ziomecki and Sidorowicz. Once I got up late due to laziness.
5. Lack of zeal in conversations (Wrotnowski, Jełowicki, Słowaczyński), and in occupations.
6. Aggravation in dealing with Ziomecki on Sunday and with lack of success of works, like Rettel's letter
7. Unnecessary complaining about bad business matters, when I should have been very peaceful and very grateful to God.

8. Lack of mortification (3 drinks, too long at dinner).
9. Unnecessary glances at women. Forbidden books.

III.

477

CONFESSION OF FEBRUARY 3

1. Still lukewarmness and laxity
2. With regard to fulfilling the penance: weakness, twice in the evening, and once during the day - not at all, unfulfilled until today.
3. Much negligence, laziness in recent days.
4. Glances.
5. (meals too expensive.)
6. Money problems demoralized me.
7. Late rising.
8. Failure to hear daily Mass.

IV.

478

CONFESSION OF FEBRUARY 24

I confessed three weeks ago, on the 3rd of February, and since then, received Holy Communion on Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday [word illegible], and had permission to do so throughout the octave; but unexpectedly I left, and while travelling for the past 18 days I have become completely lax.

1. I did not fulfill the latest penance (although I had the intention of making it up).
2. Morning and evening prayers.
3. I missed Mass once on Sunday.
4. I did not observe the fast, once on Friday, and once on Saturday.
5. Among my confreres, wishing to win their confidence, I imitated their way of life. As a result, I listened to their light conversations, and even took part in them. Constant drinking, gluttony, and laziness.
6. Tolerance of sin and neglect.
7. A few times, impure thoughts and glances.
8. Feelings of self-love. Lies when borrowing.

V.

[ORDER OF THE DAY]

8592

1188

Sunday, Holy Trinity, June 10

1. After recreation, ring the bell, and everyone returns to his room. Appointments cancelled.

2. Talking quietly throughout the day, especially on the stairs and in common rooms. Reminders of silence and quiet by signs (knocking etc.).

3. A sung Mass on Sunday, after a quiet Mass. The one serving leaves the sung Mass, in order to prepare breakfast. After breakfast no recreation. Silence until the conference.

4. After the Angelus at noon, a quarter hour of recreation, and then the bell.

5. Reading after dinner is moved to 8:15.

6. Go to church together, and leave together; behave in church.

The brothers are reminded:

1. Arrange time in writing.

2. The bell at designated times.

3. The Angelus at noon.

4. Stricter silence before noon and after noon.

VI. [Smolikowski, **History**... vol II, p.128

[RULES FOR BEHAVIOR IN THE HOUSE]

Every day our lips repeat our sorrow for sin, our external contrition, and failures to keep our purpose of amendment. Every day our mind sounds the depths of our fall, and the distance required to lift ourselves up in Christ our Lord. And although our hearts play their part in our prayer, confession, and meditation, general maxims are not easily applied to the particular circumstances of our life; extensive and holy theories are not easily incorporated into the narrow practical sphere of the life of sinners. Therefore, the members listed below, united for the purpose of perfecting ourselves in Christian virtue, after receiving Holy Communion on the Feast of St. Vincent de Paul, in the name of God the Father, one God in three Persons, have decided to establish the following house rule, which we are all to observe, read it every evening after prayers, and admonish one another for any failure to observe it.

1) Observe with very conscientious perfection all of the resolutions of the last conference, leaving the application of these to individuals and circumstances to the arbitrary will of the Elder Brother.

2) Not neglect every evening mutual reminders for the slightest transgression against God, people, or the rules, considering one who indulges himself as one who seeks to obtain forbearance from others, and thus a relaxation of the rule.

3) Observe strict silence in the hours designated at the last conference, and at other times not speak except in a subdued voice, without shouting or laughing, which by their boisterousness would indicate a worldly person.

4) None of us except the Elder Brother is allowed to speak to many people about religious, political and philosophical matters when even a single guest is present, since that would have the appearance of teaching, for which we do not have the strength, and of which we are not worthy. Separately, however, it is permitted, and even proper, to talk with each of our acquaintances about such matters. Moreover outside the house, if the people or circumstances require, we can even speak to many people, as long as we do not argue with anyone. Therefore, it is best to avoid this, since this may be an occasion to develop pride in ourselves, and irritation in others.

5) You should never speak about yourselves, unless you are asked, one on one, to do so, or if two persons ask us to do so in company.

6) Do not interrupt anyone who begins to speak. Only for an important reason may you quietly speak to another person, as long as it is not the person who is speaking, or one to whom the discourse is directed.

7) It is not permitted to contradict even a very obvious falsity until 24 hours have passed, and that at the evening session. However, if this involves a person outside the house, it is proper, after 24 hours to reflect on the best way to lead a person in error away from the road of falsity by your pleasant behavior.

8) Since a person's life is composed of little ways of behavior toward people and toward God, and even with regard to oneself, we should guard very carefully to avoid everything that characterizes a scatterbrain, a person who is restless and impatient, and that not only because our exterior appearance should be as edifying, exemplary and eloquent as a good sermon for others, but also because our exterior behavior cannot remain long in contrast with a person's

interior condition. It must be conquered by the soul, if the soul is working with and takes advantage of divine graces, or it will conquer if we will listen to our flesh, blood and senses. Above all, we will try to see to it that in each of our rooms all of the furniture and other things would be so systematically arranged, each having its own proper place, that the inhabitant could find his way even at night. Further, it is our wish that no one, God forbid, touch what belongs to another without permission or absolute need, neither inspect nor, above all, move things from place to place.

9) It is our decision that no one respond with even a single word to a reproof or admonition addressed to him at an evening session, considering his response to be the "Hail Mary" etc. which he will recite together with the other brothers, and allow this to be added to the register, so that at the end of the week he can use this as material for confession, and as a spur to determine a new form of mortification for the next week, of which the Elder Brother should be aware.

VII.

8627

510

[CONFESSION] OF JULY 6

An apology for mixing things which pertain to direction, with confession, and that, at least in writing, there is a lack of proper order.

1. With regard to penance. Prayer with voluntary distraction. Once, through forgetfulness, apparently only prayer.

Fasts on Friday (I would like to fast several days in a row).

Glances.

Becoming involved in reproaches and difficult situations.

2. With regard to the last confession. Anxiety that I was not well prepared, not sufficiently contrite. But, I did make an act of contrition and purpose of amendment, as well as I could at that moment. Was this enough? Always good will, but weak.

Always the same daily sins, the same baseness.

a) For almost three weeks I have not been to confession, and have received Communion rarely due to my meanness. Fulfillment of penance.

b) Great laxity in work to free myself from faults and errors, and to begin to introduce into my life the good thoughts and inspirations which urge me on so frequently.

Continuing neglect in daily occupations, constant deficiency and lack of equity toward my neighbor, in an imperious way, and not in relation to the importance of the affair. Vain, empty thoughts, a frequent waste of time, a failure to fulfill my obligations. As a result, failure to fulfill my obligations, scandal relative to correspondence; pride is the source of neglect. Possible errors (with regard to our spirituality and temporal matters) in failure to observe our rule - and possible scandal - laziness often results from fatigue and the desire to sleep or daydream - hence a bad example, gluttony - an alleged need for good food in selection of items - sensual pleasures beyond the means at hand. - The question of spending money. (Debts).

The need to work at mortification which I feel is a pretext for the need of an active life.

I scandalize others by the pipe; and although I knew this, I continued to smoke.

Impure thoughts - neglect in getting rid of them. I take delight in them, but do not consent to them. Memories, glances, sometimes shortly after Communion. On reading about abuses in monasteries, I shudder, but feel a kind of attraction, even though there sin is connected with heresy.

511

From this laxity in my behavior with regard to myself, laxity in relations with others - a lack of severity, fixity of purpose, thoroughness. A lack of love, of zeal, since I did not have sufficient perseverance. I did not encourage two people, W[alter] and Sz[ulc], who were just about ready to confess, but did not go, for I should have met with them and encouraged them. Thus I may be holding back my more fervent colleagues.

Duplicity in words. That is, a false friendly attitude toward those who are present, and a malevolent disposition toward those not present. In general, I told lies in order to avoid humiliation, or in order to achieve some purpose, often charitable. Lack of effort, and of mental awareness in conversations - sometimes a kind of neglect in words, in tone of voice. Sometimes impatience, by which I scandalized F.L.

I scandalized others by my love of self.

I spoke of myself with vanity.

I had thoughts of some great mission on my part.

1. Ask about saintsmonist books.

2. About *Benedicite* at dinner - or in the *Benedictine Hours*.

About finding a place for Zdziennicki's Zosia, and about F.L.

VIII.

578

DAILY REMINDER

- Isolation from the brothers and guarding against excessive familiarity. Avoiding entering into any discussions or arguments with Mikulski.

- Very many, and very important, reasons for the greatest speed in action.

- Until I get to the point where I myself would completely renounce the world, placing all of the means accumulated at the disposition of various institutions, I will not yet have done anything.

IX.

8595

1239

[Friday], July 27, 1838

THE MOST IMMEDIATE PLANS

Of necessity, some studies and writing about politics in general, and national politics, for my own people, for unity, even if negative.

A central and life-long union.

In the city. In Paris

1. A chapel. Food for the poor.
2. A library, newspapers, scholarly conferences, editorial bureau. (A center for the brotherhood - a university, etc.)
3. a school for poor children, etc.

Outside the city. A hospital (medical consultation) and a home for invalids, veterans. (A very comfortable life, with the best possible arrangements.) Seminarians?

1. A house of penance (the school of a more perfect life, voluntary poverty, a hermit's life, mortification, constant fasting and prayer).

2. Establishment of a common house. Earnings. Cash box. Trade. Arts. (Workshops for various trades in Paris, in which there would be a few hours of work for everyone. In the country, work at farming, weaving etc. fishing, growing flowers, gardening.)

3. In the provinces. Nucleuses. Inns in the larger cities and in the country.

4. England, Belgium, Ireland, Algiers.

5. Relations with Poland. Kraków, Galicia, the region of Poznań, etc.

6. Rome.

X. [The third decade of August]

8627

547

WITH TUROWSKI BEFORE LEAVING FOR LA TRAPPE

1. Why was he not open with me?

2. Let him say what is bothering him.

(Letter to Jacob)

3. Explanations concerning Poland, democracy (about Mikulski).

4. How does he want to stand among us, in what category?

5. Classification in his absence.

548

By way of letter

1. Announce that he is not to write poetry, or even correspondence, for a while, and to do so only after receiving a clear order to do so.

2. He will no longer go out to the city.

3. He will undoubtedly go to Collège Stanislas.

XI.

[for August 27]

[NOTES FOR CONFESSION]

1. Consenting to evil thoughts, and taking delight in them.
2. Lack of mortification, external, with regard to food and glances; internal, with regard to compliments, offended self-love, bearing with fatigue, sleep, whims to buy things, to visit. Lukewarmness neglect, lassitude in conversations, thoughts and work.
3. Wasting time.
4. Against charity [love of neighbor]. The fact that I do not write.

XII.

8560

321

FOR MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1838

First. In order to avoid a misunderstanding that might have arisen from what happened today,

continue the discussions about classifications, divisions, greater or lesser perfection, general and specific obligations etc. - about our future brotherhood - stricter unity (however, it is permissible to organize ourselves, and seek security) -

What should we do - we do not ask permission for this.

Second. Read the rule.

(Third. Plans for a penal code)

(a lack of life; Mikulski's statement)

(that is why the plans are not executed immediately. This is true)

- the brothers are not allowed to enter one another's rooms, or meet together, except with my permission.

First of all, today, with Kamocki about general and specific obligations, about greater or lesser perfection, about our future brotherhood or Congregation

- with Terlecki, with John, with Victor.

On the way to and leaving church - behavior!

Remain for a while after Communion.

Fourth. Recreation can be individual.

XIII.

8627

575

[Friday, September 7]

VIGIL OF THE BIRTH OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY. 1838

I am so very concerned about the conversion of others, about various business for other people, and various ways to contribute to what is good, to the glory of God - and how am I living?

Always the same old sins, bad habits, imperfections, which keep me apart from God, disorder in little things, which causes all of my most holy intentions to fall to pieces.

I am concerned about many things, yet lack one thing - complete surrender to God.

How did I spend the last week, from the first of this month?

Why did I not make notes of my activities and faults? I would have enjoyed peace, and could go to Holy Communion.

XIV.

[Saturday, September 8] Nativity of the Blessed Virgin

576

CONFESSION

Enlightened, that my scruples, uneasiness, my so frequent and detailed confessions, apparently stem from dissatisfied self-love, instead of than from sorrow for having offended God.

O God! Grant me this very strong sorrow! For there is so much for which I must be sorry!

XV.

SEPTEMBER 22 - WITH MIKULSKI

581

I am not intent on humbling you, for I know that this would not correct you.

I regard his most recent sufferings and anger as reproaches.

The first purpose for conversations:

a) to prevent him from falling into an abyss; and he will fall if he does not acknowledge the illness and the means. He comes to us as to a house of correction - a penitent, a student. A boarder.

b) There will be discord between us, if what is the cause of that discord is not removed.

Confidence in me, and so, that I do not want your millions, your talents or your obedience; but what I do, I do for you in Christ the Lord.

Money (without my knowledge - no), time, relationship (up to now he considered this as an inn), correspondence, all written material.

c) Advice concerning Juilly:

Modesty, and avoid bragging

do not talk about your millions, relationships, political opinions; avoid a vulgar, bragging, sergeant's tone.

Conditions:

1. sealed documents,
2. money (with my knowledge) for any debt,
3. keep nothing hidden from me, and do nothing without my knowledge,
4. nothing against others, whatever their opinions

XVI.

[Saturday, October 27]

603

FOR CONFESSION BEFORE SAINTS SIMON AND JUDE

I confessed about three months ago, close to the feast of St. Bruno or St. Brigid.¹

The penance was performed badly, especially with regard to prayer, at Mass.

1. Lies in conversation with Fr. R[odez], with Lefaure, with Fr. F[roment].

False diplomacy, false compliments with B[ohdan] Z[aleski].

2. Again, failure to watch my words, speaking ill of others before Fr. - about Fr. Lisowski without certainty. Scandalizing others by my vanity, greediness etc. with E.J. - with Tr., by way of an unnecessary joke with Jaś.

3. Resentment with F[rancis] M[ikulski].

4. Contempt with L[adislaus] P[later].

5. Lustful glances, failure to banish thoughts.

6. Once, especially, gluttony, failing to exercise restraint in eating and drinking.

7. In general, very foolish pride, ascribing some good to myself. Taking pleasure in praise, and unwillingness to accept humiliation.

8. Spending money beyond what was possible, wasting time.

¹ Bruno of Cologne (1030-1101) - an Abbot. Founder of the Cartusian Community. His feast was celebrated in the Catholic Church on October 6.

Brigid of Sweden (c.1302-1373) - widow, founder of the Bridgittine Community. Author of *A Book of Revelations*. In the contemporary liturgical calendar, her feast was celebrated on October 7.

DIARY

Year 1839¹

January, 1839

First week of the New Year

Wednesday, [January 2]

Prince Giedrojc (a five franc letter)

rue Vavin - Collège Stanislas (Fr. Buquet, Fr. Froment)

Szymański, Mr. Refendary, Michael Chevalier - and Mercier, Madame

Niboyet, Walter

Letter to Szotarska, to Valerian, to Maliński, to Jabłoński, to Królikowski

¹ The Diary for the year 1839, like that of the preceding year 1838, displays notable lacunae. The first quarter of the year is almost completely lacking in daily entries. From the end of April Jański was staying at La Trappe on retreat, and after that he was in Mortagne, and it is at this time that he returns to the Diary. He continues it - aside from a break caused by the recurring attacks of consumption - up to December 17, after which he leaves Paris, on his way to Rome.

Also, there are no daily entries from the first and last quarter of the year 1839.

The mission of Jański, founder of the House, was subjected to a severe trial in this period. He was attacked directly and indirectly by the democratic left of the Polish emigration (J.B. Ostrowski, J. Czyński, masons), and on the other hand by some monarchists (L. Plater). These exterior attacks on Jański were accompanied by increasing interior tensions in the House: in his concern for maintaining unity in this House, he is forced to expel some of the dabblers in politics.

The extreme poverty, lack of funds, forced Jański to resign from renting a house on Boulevard de Mont Parnasse, and limited him to the locale on rue Vavin. Likewise, in this time Jański's attacks of illness were renewed, forcing him to remain in bed for a long time.

In January, 1839, two non-Diary texts, without a title, appear: the first, without a date, begins with *In the last year, 1838, after the retreats in La Trappe and later in Solesmes*, the second, dated (January 31, 1839), begins with *Question: Should it be together with the Diary...* In the first case, Jański acted in the same way at the end of 1837, when he set down his own transgressions in writing: *In the week from Christmas to the New Year* (Cf. Appendix to the year 1837, position XXIX).

The first and second texts are located in the Appendix to the year 1839 as positions I and II.

Thursday, [January 3]

Starzyński; to the landlord.

Friday, [January 4]

to Zdziennicki.

Saturday, [January 5]

Ladislaus Plater

Redeeming

Letter to Rome - letter for Lucian²

Greuvé, rue Racine, 12

Walter; letter to Kozłowski

(Fr. Badiche)

Valerian's redemption (of a bill?)

22 francs, Fr. Dziewulski, 20 Ordęga, 50 Starzyński, 63 épicier, h baker,
(the laundress)

Monday, [January 6]

Coffee at about eight, and in chapel at nine.

Sznajderski,³ in the evening at eight.

Wednesday, [January 9]

Dinner with Szymański at three.

Friday, [January 11]

With Sznajderski at ten.

Sunday, [January 13]

to Zwierkowski

Buchez, Bukaty, Dworzaczek

January

Sidorowicz 37

Terlecki 37

Kranas 32

Marszewski 30

Turowski 37

Newelski 30

² Lucian Weyssenhoff, a painter living in Rome, and at times a guest in the clerical house of Kajsiewicz and Semenenko, especially in the period of Caesar Plater's stay with them.

³ Perhaps Anthony Sznajderski, an insurgent in 1831, a second lieutenant in the 6th regiment of infantry riflemen. He lived in Paris.

Biergiel 30	Jaś 37
Słowaczyński 20	Rettel
Włoch 40	Kalinkowski
Jański 40	Szulc
Kamocki <u>40</u>	Zaleski
276	134

Expenses

Wodziarz 5
 Épicier 64
 Baker 131
 Dairy woman 57
 257

Jourdain, passage de Jeu de Boules, 5.

[Monday], January 21, 1839

Carpentry	116
Ordega	70
Greuvé	
Korycki, Bońkowski	
Trousers	
Żerosław	
Mr. Anthony	15
Major Święcicki	15
Wood	20
Newelski	
Rettel	
Sznajder	20
Hippolit	5

Kitchen arrangements

Tables
 Chairs
 2 mattresses
 quilts
 pillows

S. Adela⁴

Tomorrow, Tuesday, [January] 22, to Montalembert
 to the houses
 to Ordęga - to Hube - Rome
 Letter: to Warsaw - Guderly
 Caesar's health⁵
 M. Chevalier's business, about work
 letter... Rettel

[January 31, 1839]⁶

+

Saturday, April 27, Feast of St. Antym.⁷ Notre Dame de la Trappe

By the grace of God I arrived here finally last Monday, the 22nd, on the Vigil of St. Adalbert. Poor in spirit, poor in health, but with never failing hope of improvement, a change for the better, and once again complete reconciliation with the Lord. Would that this would be a final reconciliation at last.

After the first prayer for the graces necessary to achieve this reconciliation, having long before visited my little room, I gave thanks to God for this first and very definite, grace - that in spite of so many difficulties on my part, the result of my weaknesses and my wantonness, I was once more led to this holy place.

Five days have already past since I arrived here. I have not yet begun my retreat, and have not even begun the letters which I am supposed to write first of all. But I am dull, cold, dry, agitated by so many troubles, and weaknesses, that I beg the Almighty Lord for a miracle, so that I might finally be rid of them. Yet, thanks to the infinite mercy of God, I have already experienced many consolations. A most unworthy sinner, I have experienced holy inspirations and salutary thoughts, which I need to follow most faithfully; and, with trust in God,

⁴ S. Adela - the "extern" Sister Adela Szryk. It is not certain that this refers to the Adela Jański knew as far back as 1832.

⁵ Caesar Plater came to Rome at Christmas time in 1838. He took up residence in the clerical house of Kajsiewicz and Semenenko and became sick, about which Jański was notified.

⁶ The date given was supplied by the editor of this work, providing information concerning the text dated January 31, 1839 (which begins: *Question: should this be together with the diary...*) which is located in the Appendix as position II.

⁷ Antym - Saint Anthinui, Bishop, whose liturgical feast fell on April 27.

this is what I will do. Therefore, first of all, in order to confirm these in my mind, I will occupy myself by writing them down.⁸

623

Tuesday, [April 23], (St. Adalbert)

I spent almost the whole day in bed.

624

Wednesday, [April 24] - I was mainly occupied with thoughts encouraging me to do penance.

Thursday, [April 25] St. Mark. It was a great feast. The Bishop came to confirm the children in the neighboring parishes. Most of the time in church.

Thoughts about improvement, about our associative vocation etc. Also, on Thursday Turowski is coming, very well disposed toward us.

Friday, [April 26] - I continued reading Dyonisius the Areopagite, or thinking about further projects. I was overjoyed with the inspiration to spend less time occupied repairing our, and my, work, and our relationships with a view to human respect, but to think solely about the future, about my own salvation, the good of others, and the glory of God.

Saturday, [April 27] - From early morning today I have been spending too much time dreaming about plans (after the retreat, and after Solesmes) for a tour of the depots, especially in Poitiers etc. In general, I have been governing poorly, and sometime not at all. Only about four in the afternoon, thanks to the Merciful and Almighty Lord, did I make a resolution to refrain from using the pipe, first today, and then tomorrow, and that due to my renewed resolution.

O Lord, give me your help to keep this resolution, without which nothing will happen. O Jesus, grant me your assistance with regard to correspondence.

Friday, [May] 3

Overcome difficulties. A letter to Sidorowicz.

Sunday, [May 5]

This was a very good day.

⁸ An indication of the salutary thoughts written down by the retreatant, and their confirmation in memory, which might be the undated text *First thoughts and inspirations in La Trappe* presented in the Appendix as position III.

Monday, [May 6]

Also very good. Why did I not begin to take a firm stand?

Tuesday, [May] 7

Confession at about 3 o'clock. A sharp pain. I slept until Vespers. And then, after the *Salve* I prayed very little, forgetting the amen.

Wednesday, [May] 8

To Soligny at three; I returned at five). Various troubling thoughts; Why didn't I go to confession to just any priest? Why, at the beginning of October, did I fail to pray to God for help? (Even though I woke up I did not get out of bed, etc.)

Thursday, [May] 9

Thanks to God, The spirit of prayer has returned. Thoughts about all of my sins, and all the evil I have done.⁹ Anthony with folded arms. News from Galicia.¹⁰

Friday, [May 10]

Thoughts about Rome, about my trip there and the establishment, transferring our members.

Saturday, [May] 11

An incident in the morning before Mass. A letter to Victor [Sidorowicz] which deprived me of the disposition for confession. From dinner, moving, up to the time for Vespers.

Letters from Valerian [Wielogłowski].

Sunday, [May 12]

I get up after six.

I should have sent letters to Victor and Valerian. Through negligence I did not send them. I forget *The Month of Mary*.

⁹ Jański's hand-written note entitled: *Reflections on past sins* which is located in the Appendix as position IV. These [reflections] preceded, and in a sense prepared the ground for the original par excellence text entitled: *Looking back at the past*. This is a synoptic version of Jański's spiritual autobiography, beginning with the 16th year of his life. It concludes with the date: Wednesday after Pentecost, or May 22, 1838. This unique text is located in the Appendix, position VII.

¹⁰ I do not know what "news" Jański had in mind.

Monday, [May] 13

I get up after five (an incident at night). To church. 2 Masses piously. High Mass until 11:15. After dinner I sleep until three. I assist Fr. Theodore¹¹ (about indulgences). Vespers. A funeral. Supper (news about some kind of disturbances in Paris).¹² *Salve*.

620

Tasks for the 2 days before Pentecost

Friday, [May] 17

A letter to my wife as sacramental penance.

Letters to: Adam [Mickiewicz],

Victor [Sidorowicz]

Grotkowski

Valerian and Adolph

Tomorrow to Ziomecki.

- A checklist of the days spent here in La Trappe.

- A designation, as far as possible, of categories relating to our future,¹³ as a preparation for prayer for enlightenment, and especially Holy Communion for that intention.

- If possible, a record of the past, from the beginning of our dispersal after the brothers left for Rome.

Saturday evening tell the porter that I would like to be present at the night Office.¹⁴

¹¹ Theodore Chollet, a Trappist, a deacon; in the monastery he served as the guest master (hôtelier).

¹² On May 12, 1839, armed conspirators, with August Blanqui at their head, as opponents of the citizens' monarchy, proclaimed a temporary revolutionary government in the Paris city-hall. Their revolt was put down on the following day.

¹³ A hand-written copy of Jański's *Categories of the future* dated "today, Friday before Pentecost", that is May 17, 1839, has been preserved. The text is located in the Appendix, position V. A hand-written copy of Jański's *Categories of the future* dated "today, Friday before Pentecost", that is May 17, 1839, has been preserved. The text is located in the Appendix, position V.

¹⁴ From the 18th to the 19th of May, that is, for Pentecost Sunday. In Jański's own words: "I was enlightened suddenly, and deeply moved, by three thoughts." These were written down, and listed under the title: *Inspirations of the Holy Spirit on Pentecost Sunday*. They are located in the Appendix, position VI.

621

For next week

Monday, [May 20] to Solesmes

A letter to Rome

Letters: to the Bishop; to Mrs. Łopacińska¹⁵ and Grotkowski; to Górski; to Valerian;

to Ladislaus [Plater]; to Januszkiewicz;

to Kranas (write it here, but send it only after I arrive in Solesmes).

[May] 24 - to Philip, thanking him.

to Królikowski, from Solesmes; to Popiel.¹⁶

618

Tomorrow, Tuesday, [May] 21Letters: to Warsaw, and to Fr. Prior, with a request for confession;¹⁷

letters to Paris, and to Ziomecki,

and, if possible - to Strasbourg.

Wednesday, [May 22]

¹⁵ An unknown person of the name Łopacińska of the Łopacińskis, a landed proprietess from the Dynaburg region. Both she and her daughter Alina (Anna) supported the work of Jański financially.

¹⁶ Paul Popiel (1807-1892) - a Galician landowner. In 1823-1827 he studied law at the University of Warsaw. He travelled throughout Europe. In the summer of 1829 he became acquainted with Fr. Félicité Lamennais in La Chenaie. After his return, he worked in the Warsaw Government Education Commission. He opposed the November uprising, but participated in it as a simple uhlán. After the collapse of the uprising, he settled in Galicia. He was a confidant of Adam Czartoryski. He opposed political liberalism. He took part in smuggling Polish emigrant literature to Kraków. He was co-founder of the Kraków daily "Czas" (Time). He contributed to the defense and preservation of Kraków monuments. The author of *Memoirs* (Kraków, 1927). P. Popiel was related to Valerian Wielogłowski. He mentions Jański in one of his letter to him: "I do not know Jański at all. I only heard of him, and that from various sides, that he is a truly noble person" (Bibl. PAN, Kraków, classification Nr. 1838 k 80; ACRR 8627, p.712).

¹⁷ A Trappist, Fr. Prior Bernard Dugué, Jański's confessor during the previous retreat made in La Trappe in 1837.

The Polish-French text of the confession mentioned here is preserved in its original form under the title *For a future confession*. Cf. Appendix, position VIII. At the time, for his own use, Jański also wrote *Counsels for the remaining days in La Trappe*. Cf. Appendix, position IX.

To Versailles, to Solesmes, and to Rome.

Thursday, [May] 23

Prepare a letter to Walter, to be sent on Friday.

625

+

[Saturday], May 25, Vigil of the Most Blessed Trinity,
St. Magdalene of Pazzi,¹⁸ St. Gregory VII.

A very blessed day for me: after 5 weeks of penance and waiting, in a spirit of genuine sadness and hope, I received absolution from Fr. Prior at five o'clock, before Vespers.

From now on, for the sake of memory, and as a lesson, I ought to make a written examination of every hour, of practically every minute. O God, help me to do this.

From five until six I was in church, disturbed by the thought that I may have falsely excused myself from a sin of injustice, speaking of the relation between my conclusion and personal expenses. Before that, after leaving the confessional, I am distracted immediately, paying attention to those standing there, and am somewhat scandalized by the silent movements of a novice, apparently a holy person and always so much better than me, a sinner.

In the course of the confession, and before absolution, when Fr. Prior was giving me an instruction, I felt a kind of dryness; and yet sorrow, faith, hope, a desire to improve were in my heart. However, that dryness disturbs me. - O God of mercy, complete your work of my reconciliation with You! Do not abandon me!

626

From six until seven, supper etc. At this time the thought crosses my mind: How, up to now, could I have considered myself equal to others? Why, instead, did I not have a fear of my baseness?

From seven until eight in church. (I send letters to Valerian and Walter.)

Before falling asleep I read a bit of Preparation for Holy Communion and the *Meditations* of Père Nouët on the Holy Trinity.¹⁹

¹⁸ Mary Magdalen de Pazzi (1566-1607) - an Italian Carmelite, mystic and stigmatic; the author of a diary which she wrote at the direction of her confessor, and in which she described her mystical experiences.

Sunday, Feast of the Most Holy Trinity, [May 26]

I got up before five. To the extent that I am able I turn my thoughts to the Great Act, and to the Grace in which I am to participate; but there is no rapture or animation (didn't I deserve this?). To church at 5:30. I did not spend enough time preparing myself, and I hurry to receive Holy Communion. I receive it at Père Jean's Mass in the chapel of St. Benedict.

Yesterday's anxiety and scruples are renewed. I quiet them with acts of contrition and resolutions to confess them once more.

When I receive Holy Communion I am not aflame with the fire of love; but thanks be to God, I do so with humility, faith and profound respect. I receive Communion somehow speechless and confused in the presence of the Lord. All I do is renew all of my resolutions in the depths of my soul. O God! Accept them, and grant me the will and the strength to fulfill them.

I leave church at 7:30. After breakfast needlessly I allow myself to be involved in a conversation with the priest from Dijon.

During the High Mass I read *Meditations* about the Holy Trinity - and experience some distractions, looking around at those who were entering.

627

After dinner I forget myself - joking and laughing while walking. Conversation about the persecution of religion in Poland. I talk too much. I cite some things about which I am not certain against Nicholas²⁰ - as a result I am uneasy later.

Before Vespers, to the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, where I recite the rosary again with the monks.

After Vespers I notice that throughout this day - so holy for me - I have not been sufficiently aware of its holiness.

Unfortunately, after the *Salve* I put off until tomorrow the writing of these notes, and that is why I am writing them only today, on Wednesday. Up to now I have been disturbed as a result of this failure to write.

¹⁹ Jacob Nouét (1603-1680) - Jesuit, ascetical writer, author of *Spiritual Meditations*, (Paris, 1839).

²⁰ Nicholas I (1796-1855) - Russian Tsar from 1825, and King of Poland in the years 1825-1831. He crushed the November uprising. In 1832, in place of the constitution of 1815, he introduced their Organic Statutes in the Congress Kingdom. He resorted to despotism, political oppression, and Russification. He aimed at uniting the Uniate Church to the Orthodox Church.

Why didn't I write? Because of the pipe and rest. As if I did not use the latter sufficiently.

Monday, [May] 27

I got up at 5:30, and before prayers the most unnecessary toilet, trimming my beard, which takes me a whole hour.

Before seven, adoration of the Most Blessed Sacrament and *Imitation*, in which I find words that stir me deeply about interior peace and fervor, first of all with regard to myself.²¹

At breakfast I eat too much, and then I need to rest. An unnecessary and too lengthy a conversation with the Père hotelier about the character of Poles.

Holy Mass, after which I meditate, and sigh, deeply impressed by the truths contained in the *Imitation*. I must write letters. I make this my excuse to the fat Frenchman, and send him away.

And so, after dinner letters to Adam [Mickiewicz] and Sidorowicz; but in them there is still some resentment. As a result I write them from one o'clock until 3:30, and I am still not satisfied.

For Vespers, and then to the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, disturbed and dissatisfied with those letters, as well as with my languor toward what is good. I pray with deepest humility, invoke the intercession of the saints whose relics are on the altar, unite with the prayers offered in this chapel, place them in the hands of the Blessed Virgin, and finally experience extraordinary delights and graces, a kind of sudden enlightenment and rapture which I will remember for a long time. O why have I failed to take advantage of this!

Forgive me, O Blessed Virgin! Through your love for your Divine Son, through your mercy for all sinners seeking your assistance, grant that I may yet be able to remember and confirm for all time all of the truths and inspirations, with which your most loving intercession has filled me in this moment.

Concerning humility and duplicity up to now, and from the wantonness of my entire life; concerning a kind of prevarication, a desire to excuse myself and a definite exaltation of self in all correspondence and relations with

²¹ Jański had in mind texts from *The Imitation of Christ*, from the first book entitled *Admonitions for a spiritual life*: Chapter XI: *On acquiring peace, and on zeal for the perfection of self*; Chapter XXV: *On the zealous improvement of one's whole life*.

people.²² Concerning the very stupid desire for recognition among people. Concerning the wrong direction of the House in recent times. Concerning the need to humble myself very sincerely before the brothers (Hippolite, Kranas, Victor, etc.). Concerning my stupidity and pride in relation to founding some kind of Community... And at the same time, inspiration concerning the place where I belong. And all of this in a few moments.

O Lord! You are Almighty! Give these moments back to me. Multiply, purify, and preserve them in me!

After returning from church, I did nevertheless thank God for these graces, and while I was walking I was completely occupied with listening to the interior voice I heard, and yet thoughtlessly I allowed myself to be drawn into a conversation about birds etc. with an Irishman and a Frenchman from Bayeux.

After supper, at which I spoke up without necessity, why didn't I go to my room in order to make a note of what I had recently experienced so vividly? Instead, a walk, and there I forget myself, allowing myself to be drawn into the spirit and conversation of the company. And in the end I said something by which I might have offended one of my companions (about the Marshal's baton). (I took the letters back).

After the *Salve*, moved by unnecessary delicacy, I did not send the fat Frenchman from Bayeux away. He tells me about the École de Mars²³ (empty curiosity on my part in this matter) and goes on and on at length. As a result, I neglected to foster with respect and fidelity the inspirations I received.

Tuesday, [May] 28

I get up late, after six (laziness), and go for adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, settling down from yesterday's uneasiness.

But at breakfast once again I become involved in a conversation and speak unnecessarily about La Trappe. Then an unnecessary protest to the Frenchman from Bayeux who claims that a republican cannot be a Catholic. And I go on at table, not alone but in the presence of a medical student, until the Père hotelier chases us out for Mass at 8:30.

630

²² Undoubtedly Jański's reflection *Against neglect of letters* stems from this time. The text is found in the Appendix, Position X. Jański would return to this reflection, completing it, on July 17.

²³ École de Mars - a military school in Paris, the erection of which was begun by King Louis XV. The northern facade of this building extended into the Le Champ-de-Mars.

After 9:30, I spend a few hours lost in reverie, settling down. The Frenchman from Bayeux interrupts me and I become impatient.

After dinner a walk with an elderly priest until one o'clock (he came to La Trappe for the first time in 1770). I rewrite the letters to Mickiewicz and Victor. It takes until four o'clock, for I still do so with some pretence.

Vespers and devotion in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, after which I am comforted and more at ease. Meditation to settle down and remember yesterday's inspirations.

Supper, a pipe, *Salve*. (Temporary notes from Sunday until now) - and I go to bed. That nice Abbé [Adolphe] Labigne stops by to say good-night. Why in previous conversation with him was I satisfied with a feeling of liking for him, instead of establishing a deeper union with him in Christ the Lord?)

Wednesday, [May 29]

I got up only after six, although I was awake earlier. Laziness.

Adoration of the Most Blessed Sacrament with great interior consolation and refreshment for the soul.

Breakfast. I stay there too long. Mass at 8:30. After Mass the Frenchman from Bayeux accepts my excuse with regard to the inscription of the Act of Union on the picture etc., and accepts my promise to send it to him from Paris. Thus he releases me from a disturbing trifle.

Meditation, inspirations. About prayer and reflections for myself and for my brothers, and an apologetic document. I write other inspirations. Through impurity original sin is multiplied - from Fr. Grenada.

635

After dinner a walk with the young pastor from the area of Alençon. Too long - until 1:30 (and as a result I do not write letters to Victor and Hippolyte). And in this conversation a desire to boast about my acquaintances (Montalembert, Lacordaire), a desire to pontificate rather than to arouse myself to piety.

At two o'clock I begin to write here this control and prepare for confession. Just then the bell rings. Vespers at four. After Vespers to the chapel of the

Blessed Virgin. Prayer also for my brother Stephen who celebrates his nameday today.²⁴

Arousing myself to humility and detachment from earthly things by means of the thought about death.

After supper I sit too long at table, until seven. I engage in conversation with Fr. Desgenettes, and in the course of the conversation once again I lose compunction [the spirit of humility].

After the *Salve*, I venture to ask Fr. Prior for permission to receive Holy Communion without confession (and also for permission to participate in the evening Office with the Irish priest and the priest from Dijon) - he grants me permission. What good fortune! O God, grant me the graces I need to be most deserving of this permission!

618

[Friday], June 7, the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

Notes.

At least a letter to Ziomecki.

Plans for a retreat for Adolph.

[Saturday, June 8] that Adolph might begin the retreat.

The first volume of the *Catechism* for him.

Perhaps I can send a letter to Ziomecki, and to Grotkowski, and to Mrs. Łopaciński).

and to Victor and Prince Giedroją.

619

Before leaving

Show Adolph some excerpts of letters from Rome.

- Discuss Buchez, the republic, democracy.

634

[Friday], June 7, Feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, after Holy Communion.

Once more I have neglected these notes for a whole week. Supposedly due to the arrival of Zaleski, but in reality due to spiritual dissipation, less

²⁴ Stephen Jański was born on May 29, 1809. Thus this was his birthday; but it was also his nameday.

fervor in prayer and, what is scandalous, throughout the Octave of Corpus Christi little fervor in devotion to the Most Blessed Sacrament. No mortification of the flesh, not even once. Almost constantly late in rising, smoking the pipe as much as I like. In conversation, little jokes, pranks, and intemperate in thought. Everything under the pretext of condescension to Zaleski. Once more in letters a small lie, as a habit.

However, prior to Sunday, in the Octave of Corpus Christi, I noticed that this occasion can distract me. Why, O my God, did you not cleanse me of dust by way of the Sacrament of Penance, and lend me strength and fervor in the Most Blessed Sacrament? Why did I forget that I could not afford to devote time to anything and anybody since I have so many tasks and so many obligations - letters to Warsaw, to Rome, to Strasbourg, to Agen, etc. not written.

Through your most merciful grace, O Christ the Lord, I am once again cleansed of these new offenses, which condemn me so completely, after such an experience, and in such circumstances. O God of mercy, grant me the grace and the strength not to fall into these faults once again, and from this day, the Feast of your Divine love manifested in Christ the Lord, grant me the grace to begin a new life, inspired completely by unlimited love for You, O Lord, for your commandments and perfection.

Last Thursday, May 30, Corpus Christi

I got up at midnight to celebrate the night Office together with the Irish priest and the priest from Dijon. In church until five. Then, tired, I walk along the canal until 5:30. I go back to the church. I receive Holy Communion together with the Irish priest. At Holy Mass at six. I ask God to restore the inspirations He gave me on Monday and Wednesday, etc.

637

In order to avoid idle conversations, I do not go to breakfast when others are there; after that I avoid meeting others, and go for the High Mass. +At Holy Mass and Communion, inspirations about simplicity of intention and purity of heart.+ After returning from the procession through the corridors of the monastery, I notice Adolph [Zaleski] at the entrance. We put away his things and the Cistersian Missal. I take him with me for Holy Mass, and we remain there almost until it is time for dinner. Walking with him for a few moments before Père hôtelier came out of church, I ask him for news, about riots, and say nothing about the purpose of his trip? This is a bad sign of my dissipation, and yielding to his spirit, even though rightly, in order to discover in what state he is, I should have tried to encourage him to reveal his feelings rather than keep-

ing them hidden in the face of my attacks. However, in any case, in spirit, I ought to be equally recollected.

After dinner, a pipe with him, and conversation about various bits of news, especially political. Then I fell asleep until four! (Whereas the Fathers only asleep until two.) After that Vespers, a continuing walk with Zaleski, and conversation about news from Paris or about La Trappe. In the evening the Frenchman from Bayeux brings me a small packet of prayers. And I talk with him about Aporille from Caen.²⁵

Friday, [May 31]

I wake up before five, and in spite of the long siesta yesterday afternoon, do not get up until six. I go for adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, but I am preoccupied with Zaleski. Why did I not try with all my strength to escape from this state? +Leporsone²⁶ and the young priest from near Alençon are leaving.+

At breakfast, I allow myself to eat whatever is pleasing to the eyes, and after that I cannot get down to work. Before dinner a conversation with Fr. Theodore about Zaleski. I forewarn him about the latter's dispositions.

Inspirations about a military order to defend the holy faith against schism. Why don't I note these inspirations immediately? Before Vespers a conversation with Zaleski about his former dedication, and his need for purification and complete renewal; about Buchez and plans for a conference.

In the evening Fr. Prior comes to the visitors' quarters. In conversation with him, my tongue gets twisted. I am mixed up and overcome by my feeling for him. I would like to say all that I have to say at once, and do not give Zaleski a chance to speak. +I receive a letter from Rettel.+

Saturday, [June 1]

Once again I rise quite late. Apparently it was on Saturday and not on Friday that I had the inspirations concerning a military order. After dinner to Soligny for tobacco and tinder. When I return, I sleep until Vespers. In the evening a letter from Sidorowicz, but I put off reading it until tomorrow.

636

²⁵ Mrs. Aporille rented rooms to Michael and Joseph Hube, who lived in Normandy from 1832 to 1836.

Caen - a city in Normandy in northwestern France. The city of Bayeux was in the vicinity of Caen.

²⁶ Leporsone - information on this person is lacking.

Sunday, June 2

I rise so late that I don't get to church until 7:30. And, since I noticed how relaxed I had become, I should have gone to confession, and by means of Holy Communion, have acquired new strength and graces.

After breakfast I read the letter from Sidorowicz, in which he sends me a draft for 40 francs. Mass was offered by an unfamiliar priest.

After dinner I lay down on the bed in Zaleski's room, and talk with him about the Jesuits, about Blessed Bobola,²⁷ Fr. Ryłło²⁸, etc.

At two o'clock (at the time of Vespers in chapel), in spite of such a long sleep, I still doze in my room.

I am late for Vespers. The chapel is already full of people. Although exposition lasted from Holy Mass until Vespers, throughout this day I have come to adore practically not at all; moreover, throughout the whole octave I have been very negligent and lacking in fervor in adoring the Most Blessed Sacrament.

Monday, [June 3]

After Mass, just before dinner, I met with Fr. Prior. I spoke with him about Zaleski, whom I present all too politically. In conversation I stumble, wishing to say too much at once. After dinner, once again in Zaleski's room a pipe, and smoke until 1:30. After that I send a letter to Sidorowicz, and go to church for adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. The rain keeps me there longer.

Conversation with Fr. Theodore etc. about Pepin and dissolute monks.²⁹

Tuesday, [June 4]

Again frolicking before dinner; too long a siesta after dinner. In the evening a discussion with Zaleski; the story of his life.

Wednesday, [June] 5

²⁷ Andrew Bobola (1591-1657) - a Jesuit; an eloquent preacher, confessor, and zealous apostle. He won over many orthodox to Catholicism. He suffered a martyr's death at the hands of the Cossacks. He was beatified in 1853, and canonized in 1938.

²⁸ Maximillian Ryłło (1802-1848) - a Jesuit; an eloquent preacher and a missionary in Eastern countries. In 1836 he was living in Lebanon, serving as a visitor apostolic.

²⁹ Pepin the Short (714 or 715-768) - King of the Franks. He contributed to the birth of an Ecclesiastical State. Father of Charlemagne.

In the Christian Middle Ages, as a result of wars, epidemics, and other natural calamities, monastic life suffered from a weakening of religious fervor, a relaxation of the obligation to observe poverty, a lessening of the number of vocations, and in monasteries it reached the point of shocking scandals.

Once again I rise late, and take a long while in dressing. Before Mass, some notes and resolutions. After dinner, a nap; I sleep until three. Then musing, and distressed about a bad use of time, until Vespers. I receive a letter from Valerian [Wielogłowski]/

Thursday, [June 6] Octave of Corpus Christi

I get up at five. To church after six. After breakfast Adolph continues the story of his life, until Mass, and after dinner. With Fr. Chollet³⁰ about Poland. And, of course, a visit to the Blessed Sacrament. To Fr. Prior. He tells me to come back tomorrow.

638

Friday, [June 7] The Sacred Heart of Jesus

I rose after midnight, and together with Adolph and Fr. Roney³¹ went for the night Office. A beautiful hymn by St. Bernard.³² - Adolph has a bloody nose. - After the Office, about five o'clock, to Fr. Prior. I wait quite long, thank God with contrition, and in a spirit of prayer. Confession from ten days,³³ penance. Writing letters. Holy Communion at Mass at six. On returning from Mass, why am I so preoccupied by the fact that the monks are looking at me? Inspirations concerning a conference with the brothers in Paris etc.

651

To be noted

From Friday, the Feast of the Sacred Heart

1. A conference with the Brothers in Paris.
2. What else should I say to Adolph; what leave for later.

After breakfast I set about writing the notes from Corpus Christi. Mass. After dinner a siesta until three or four. Vespers.

638

³⁰ In his entries (ACRR 8627, pp. 733-734) Jański mentioned two persons with the same name: a Trappist, Theodore Chollet (père hôtelier), and Fr. Director Chollet.

³¹ Patrick Rooney (1790-1851) - a priest from Ireland, and a monk at Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet in Paris.

³² A hymn beginning with the words *Jesu, dulcis memoria/Dans vera cordis gaudia...*, regarded as a hymn of St. Bernard of Clairvaux (Cf. 1837, footnote 68). The hymn was sung in Gregorian chant.

³³ Already on May 29 Jański was "preparing for confession", which he made only 10 days later. It is not known whether he prepared it in writing.

Before Vespers I speak to Fr. Theodore about the *Montpellier Catechism*.³⁴ In relation to this he tells me about Fr. Abbot's Thomism etc.

After supper. Why didn't I continue to write the notes?

I smoke a pipe only after *Salve*, and have a pious conversation with Adolph - with unction, as I wished to do this for the past few days. A clear grace from Holy Communion. On leaving him, I determine that tomorrow in the morning I will begin my conversation with him spiritually, and to offer him constant incentives.

Saturday, [June] 8

Thanks be to God, I got up earlier than the last few days, but still not immediately after waking. And then to church.

After breakfast, a conversation with Adolph and his confidences, which occupied me for two days, Saturday and Sunday.

After Mass a letter to Ziomecki (first I should have written the notes dealing with supervision; that is the first and main thing). I struggle with it, barely finishing one page before dinner.

After dinner, once again, a kind of languor; too long a siesta in spite of the fact that at dinner I was full of resolutions to work hard, and of Adolph's confidences. With Fr. Chollet a longer conversation about the divisions of Poland, religious persecution, her situation in Austria, etc. I make note of Adolph's confidences. The same thing in the evening.

At supper Fr. Chollet joked about me - that he was edified by how, early in the morning, I took the cat to the mice. It disturbed me that I accepted this like a fool.

+I was supposed to go to see Fr. Prior with a plan for a retreat for Adolph, and with a request to receive Holy Communion. Because of what happened I did not go. Very bad.+

639

Sunday, [June 9]

I get up at five. For Mass at six, and I stay in church until seven. It is my decision to write also today, as indicated for a penance. But first I begin writing Adolph's confidences (a pity that I did not write the notes first).

During the day and in the evening, the same with Adolph.

Monday, [June] 10

³⁴ The *Montpellier Catechism* - Cf. 1835, footnote 291.

Once again, thank God, I rise quite early. And notes about Adolph. After breakfast, again more of Adolph's story. After Mass I make note on this, but I suspend the note-taking, and up to now it is still suspended.

After dinner and a short siesta, a letter to Sidorowicz, and a letter to Mrs. Giedrojc, with which I am also not satisfied; however I calm myself, taking this dissatisfaction as a deserving punishment for my pretence and affectation. I do not go to Vespers in order to finish the letters, and I finish them only at about five o'clock.

After supper, at which the Irishman is absent, a false compliment from Fr. Chollet, that the representative of our amiability etc.

After the *Salve* a conversation with the Irishman and Adolph about Louis XVII,³⁵ and Courtenay;³⁶ about Martin,³⁷ the *clairvoyant from Prevost*, Catherine Emerich, and about the possessed. We were all satisfied. And then further talk with Adolph about spirits, about prayer etc. Quite late.

Tuesday, [June] 11

Unfortunately, when I got up it was already after six. I was awake earlier, but did not get up under the pretext that I went to bed late last night.

To the chapel and for Fr. Chollet's Mass at 7:30. At breakfast I enter into an unnecessary conversation with Fr. Chollet about Louis XVII, and about what Fr. Rooney told us yesterday about Louis Phillippe - that after Henry's death he might be declared *légitimé*;³⁸ and then with Fr. Theodore about Louis XVII etc. All of this empty talk and harmful to the spirit. Then with Adolph about the Jesuits and their retreats, their novitiate. He says: "Why are there no such novitiates for lay people? - Therefore, after Mass, a long conversation with him dealing with the fact that lay people and families are called to a life of Christian

³⁵ Louis XVII (1785-1795) - son of Louis XVI, the former heir to the throne of France.

³⁶ Courtenay - the name of a city in the French Department of Loiret, and also the name of an old French noble family which took part in the first Crusade at the beginning of the 12th century.

This may refer to John Courtenay (1741-1816), an Irish politician and historian, the author of a book about the Great French Revolution.

³⁷ Louis-Henri De Martin (1810-1883) - a French historian, the author of historical novels from the time of Fronde, as well as *Histoire de France* (1833-1836, 15 volumes), which achieved great popularity among its readers.

³⁸ French legitimists recognized Prince Henry (1810-1883), Count of Chambord and Prince of Bordeaux as King (Henry V; the ancient Bourbon line died with him). As a result, they fought against Louis Philip (Cf. 1835, footnote 357), regarding him as a usurper.

perfection, which until now only monks lived; about the goals of our spiritual association, about our recent dispersion, etc.

640

Before dinner I note some resolutions.

After dinner a common recreation at which Fr. Chollet's presents his ideas, which once again weary me, and so I escape to my room. Fr. Rooney comes to see me and stays until two o'clock. I am tired, so I lay down; impure thoughts and memories. It is after three when I get up, and loiter. Finally I write a letter to Valerian (in which there is still some strain, pretense, a lack of simplicity and humility) which I want to take to Soligny myself. It is already six o'clock by the time I finish the letter. Just then the pastor from Soligny drops by, and I give him the letter to mail.

After supper another walk and more ideas. I go to my room before the *Salve*. (At the Angelus still some impure thoughts.)

After the *Salve* I do not waste time. It is still light enough to go for a walk; but I remind myself of the last days since Friday, and begin to write my notes from those days. Then I walk for an hour, first alone, and then with Adolph. After that, thank God, I finish these notes by candle-light; then, until 1:30 A.M., I write the still unwritten details relative to Adolph's curriculum vitae.

For the last four days since my last Holy Communion I have experienced peace of conscience. The only bad thing was that I succumbed to lukewarmness, and did not ask for permission to receive Holy Communion; instead I joined this request to the condition that at the same time I would deliver the plan for Adolph's retreat. But I did not have the plan prepared. I should have left out the condition and gone to Communion.

2. Unnecessarily I worried that I might have lost a great deal of time listening to and writing Adolph's confidences; but I think that this was necessary and in place.

3. I allowed myself to be drawn into conversations about totally unnecessary matters or even little jokes. This continued to trouble me spiritually, and this is something I need to guard against. Having so much on my mind and conscience, I need to avoid all unnecessary talk. Moreover, in my conversations I allowed myself to hurt or flatter others - I tried to tease others.

4. Often I continued to waste a few moments, at meal time, or while waiting to go to church - and this results in serious matters.

5. In my letters there is still pretense, and this disturbs me.

641

6. But worst of all, I guarded myself very poorly and weakly against the attacks of impure memories and attractions, especially in the last two days. O Most Holy Virgin, protect me and support me!

7. Once I wasted time and stayed too long with the priest from Normandy, moved by curiosity, in order to learn from him details relative to the scandal of closing of the retreat house. This happened on Saturday.

8. I am smoking the pipe without moderation.

Wednesday, [June] 12

I got up at six and, thank God, once awake, I got out of bed immediately, dressed quickly, and went to church where I stayed until seven. However, apparently I forgot to recite my regular morning prayers. Therefore, as soon as I remembered, I said the prayers, and for this I wish to thank God!

Before breakfast, unnecessarily, a walk for about 5 minutes, and perhaps more. I should have gone to my room, sat down to work, and put off my walk until after breakfast.

At breakfast, and after breakfast, unnecessarily I myself begin or allow myself to be drawn into conversation; as a result, I lack freedom of spirit and drag it out too long. After that to Fr. Theodore, to talk with him about Zaleski, and find out something about Fr. Abbot's³⁹ Thomism etc. I waste my time and his - more than fifteen minutes, until Mass at 8:15.

After Mass, after nine o'clock, I conquer the desire to take a walk, and go to my room to write these notes. In them, first of all, an examination of conscience from the previous four days, which, since they were not kept in mind, began to disturb me. Other notes - either resolutions or inspirations etc. - and it is already eleven o'clock.

Then still some brief notes, and I begin to write the retreat regulations for Adolph.⁴⁰ And then dinner.

At dinner I needlessly voice a compliment for Fr. Chollet. After dinner, although I am not very sleepy, I lay down; and, as it were as a punishment, I sleep until three o'clock, and then cannot recover. O God, from now on grant me the strength to avoid sleeping, as I am resolved to do.

642

³⁹ Fr. Joseph-Marie Harselin, from Brittany, a Trappist Abbot at La Trappe, with whom Jański was acquainted from his previous stay on retreat in 1837. It was undoubtedly thanks to the Abbot that Jański became interested in Thomism.

⁴⁰ *Règlement de la retraite* for Adolph, composed by Jański, is preserved in the Roman Archives of the Congregation of the Resurrection (ACRR 8627, p. 655).

Before four Fr. Prior comes with some new guest asking me not to respond to his mistakes in speaking. This disturbs me (through excessive self-love). For Vespers. After Vespers, I go to see Fr. Prior, asking him for permission to receive Holy Communion (he grants permission) and concerning Adolph's retreat. I admit that I have written very few letters.

At supper, and after supper, at the time for the *Salve*, because a stranger is present, I would like to make a deep impression on him - already a kind of obstacle. +After supper a strong desire for a cigar, and as a result I am late for Compline.+

Tomorrow Holy Communion for the intention of Mary [Mickiewicz], and for the repose of the soul of my dear Anthony.

Thursday, [June 13], after the *Salve*

Yesterday, after writing these notes, I went out to the garden to find out whether the tobacco had been delivered. And only shortly after feeling sorry about the sin of greed which I committed before Compline with a cigar, all taken up with the desire for that tobacco, mingling with company, engaged in the empty talk which dissipates the spirit, I walk until eleven!

As a result I got up late today, after six, even though I was awake earlier, at five o'clock. I did not get up because I was lazy. Moreover I was sorry that I did not spend the evening preparing for Holy Communion.

At 6:30 to church, where I communicate at the Mass of Fr. Prior, in the chapel of St. Benedict, and the merciful God gives me a good disposition. I remain in church until 9:30.

When I return home I talk with Adolph for an hour. Also, we read the Life of St. Anthony of Padua.⁴¹ Then I meet with Fr. Theodore about the retreat program for Adolph which he reads to me. The thought crosses my mind that today I must definitely begin a letter to the brothers in Rome.

After dinner I allow myself to be drawn into a walk and company, even though I had planned to take a nap. Later this disturbs me. Such a waste of time!

It is 2:30 by the time I get up, and I rewrite the Rule for Adolph. Vespers. - After Vespers to Fr. Prior at 5:45. I wait almost an hour, reading the *Imitation*. In it I find very edifying lessons for myself about detachment from all earthly

⁴¹ Anthony of Padua (1195-1231) - a Franciscan preacher and theologian, canonized in 1232.

goods and means.⁴² From this I draw inspirations with regard to our undertakings.

643

After supper, in spite of my remorse for what happened after dinner, I allowed myself to be drawn into company; and although I was moved by a constant desire to break off, and even though I had so recently made a resolution to follow the voice of conscience immediately in such instances, I continued to be engaged in idle talk until 7:30, until time for the *Salve*. Walking with a newly arrived young nobleman,⁴³ I try to impress him with information about Solesmes, La Trappe, monastic orders etc., and I realize later that this was vanity! I did not write even one letter! O God! Forgive me! Save me!

I received a letter from Valerian. I did not read it as yet, and before I do I will write the inspirations from the *Imitation* - and others.

Friday, [June 14]

Having written these notes yesterday, I go to the Irishman for matches in order to light the candle, and in spite of all the resolutions not to waste time, I stay there almost an hour without need, and perhaps even taking up his time. Then notes of inspirations etc., and I go to bed at about eleven. A great storm.

Today I got up just before six, in good spirits. I went to church at six for prayers and meditation until seven. At breakfast Adolph is like clam. He may be offended that I sent him away yesterday when I was writing these notes. After an unnecessary rest, and some conversation with Fr. Theodore and Brother Ephrem about the storm, I get down to correcting and rewriting a second copy of a letter to my wife. I work at it, but it goes slowly, until time for Mass at ten. I hear Mass with distraction. I went out unnecessarily before the end of Sext; when I returned I did a little more work on the letter to my wife.

After dinner, at which Adolph once again was peevish, I go to visit him with the Irishman. And although I constantly wish to leave, I remain there needlessly until 1:30. Then, instead of going for a walk and getting back to work - a nap! I sleep until four, and miss Vespers. Fr. Prior comes along, and, as if to humble me, he meets me walking in the garden. He gives me Adolph's retreat schedule. I would like to get down to work at five, but I dally and dawdle instead. I go to visit Adolph, so that Fr. Prior would not find me in my room and stop for conversation and a

⁴² Cf. *The Imitation of Christ*, Book III, Chapter XXXI entitled: *About abandonment of all creation in order to find the Creator*.

⁴³ Master Louis De Mecfelt whose name Jański will cite later in the Diary under the date June 16.

pipe. Why, instead of preparing him for the retreat, do I talk with him about saintsmonism, Poland, the Papal Bull.

After supper, a walk, *Salve*, these notes, and to the Irishman.

644

Saturday, [June 15]

The Irish priest invited me to share a few wild strawberries which Fr. Theodore had given him. I reply to his questions that I am married, and that I live in a community.

This morning I wake up at two, and then when it is already completely light - laziness and languor. I get up only at 5:30. I go to chapel at six, remain there until 7:30, and spend the rest of the time until breakfast doing nothing.

After breakfast I still feel some languor, and so I read Dyonisius the Areopagite, needlessly. I should have gotten down to work and prayer immediately. Fr. Theodore comes along to clear the room - and by then it is nine, time for Mass.

After Mass, from Mass to dinner, almost deliberate loitering and a waste of time which seems very long to me. I only rinsed out my socks. Fr. Theodore summons me to cover the table - and childishness! A completely improper thoughtlessness. Once again I kiss his hand - until this time he is surprised.

After dinner until one with Adolph, and again I allowed the conversation to focus on the anecdote about Martin etc., and it was my responsibility to motivate, enlighten, and animate him as far as possible. Then a visit to the Most Blessed Sacrament, for which God rewarded me with fervor in prayer. I remained for None until two o'clock. On coming back home I wash my feet and trim my beard. Brother Ephrem stops by. I write a letter for him, and he talks on and on. I do not go for Vespers. At about five I get down to finishing the letter to Szotarska - it meets with great resistance. Why didn't I begin to pray immediately, to seek God's help, to arouse the spirit within me? Time for supper. What a waste of time!

Before supper I run like a child in order to ring the bell for it, lacking in dignity, unbecomingly. At supper flightiness. God was not in my heart, practically throughout the whole day. A great downpour.

Compline. *Salve* - and these notes. I received a letter from Victor. O God, help to rise tomorrow as early as possible.

645

Sunday, [June 16]

Unfortunately I woke up late, and after dressing I didn't get to church until six o'clock.

After breakfast, I move about in order to wake up, for I feel very sleepy and languorous. I write letters, but unfortunately only in my head. Mass at 9:30. After Mass and Sext still some wasting of time.

After dinner with Adolph. We meet Fr. Prior, who speaks to Adolph about the rosary, and devotion to the Blessed Virgin. After one, why don't I get up to get moving even though I don't walk around? But no; a nap until almost two. I get up at 2:15. Then Fr. Blouet⁴⁴ stops me, and I allow myself to be caught up in idle conversation until 3:30. Then, aching all over, incapable of doing anything, I smoke a pipe - and Vespers at four.

+At Vespers I think about going to Mortagne as soon as possible, the day after tomorrow. Perhaps the regime here, the food, weakens me, and I don't have the time to overcome this. I need to this lack of strength with humility. Tomorrow to Fr. Prior with this plan. +After Vespers the young nobleman bids me farewell. He is leaving, but assures me of his desire to be of service to me if I come to Normandy. He asks me if I will come. And to all this I make practically no reply. I do not thank him (I am a trifle offended that he speaks to me of service), and so behave very badly in parting with him. Fr. Chollet comes by and takes control of me. I wish to leave him to go to the young nobleman, but he restrains me. The latter bows to me on leaving. I bow in return. I should have run after him, made amends for my coldness, and walked with him. But I am too weak, too stodgy, to follow the inspiration of my heart immediately! O God, have mercy on me! And then I walk with Fr. Chollet almost until supper, full of jokes and compliments.

Fr. Theodore tells me the name of the young nobleman (he himself had told me his name before): Louis de Mecfelt. He lives near Caen, and apparently is some kind of Marquis who was born in Le Mans.

After supper I spend some time with Adolph, but I continue to miss Mr. Mecfelt. To church for Compline. He is still on my mind, and I pray for him. My conscience and my heart berate me for my coldness, languor and clumsiness.

After the *Salve* these notes, and then I go to see Fr. Rooney. Out of needless curiosity I tell him to purchase for himself a copy of the infirmarian, Fr. Robert's, book⁴⁵ - and allow me to glance through it before I leave. I did not

⁴⁴ Fr. Blouet served as sacristan and disciplinarian in the monastery, a fact which Jański mentions (ACRR, 8627, p.734).

⁴⁵ Trappist Robert Debreyne (1786-1867) from Dunkirk, a doctor. The author of medical works and theological-philosophical studies. His work *Pensées d'croyant catholique ou*

write the letters to Victor, Ladislaus Plater, Valerian and Mercier, even though they were quite urgent.

646

Monday, [June] 17, St. Adolph⁴⁶

I spent the whole day very badly, in almost a complete collapse of the spirit and surrender to infirmity and languor of the flesh.

At night pollution. In the morning, even though I was awake, I did not get up until just before six. To the chapel for Fr. Chollet's Mass, and there all I do is recite morning prayer, feeling completely sluggish.

At breakfast I had no appetite, so why do I force myself to eat? This undoubtedly led to further sluggishness. After breakfast a long conversation about various local priests, especially from Evreux (Fr. Matieu - now the Archbishop of Besançon),⁴⁷ etc.

After breakfast I feel even more sluggish. I have a fever. I lie down. I decide on Mass in the chapel and do not go to church. I read St. Dyonisius. This picks me up a little, but I have no energy for work, and the letters are so urgent!

After dinner with Adolph. I offer him greetings on his nameday, but I am cold and listless; when he leaves at one o'clock, I do not get up, but sleep until after two. And then again, instead of getting down to letters I read Dyonisius, or write Adolph's curriculum, vitae, about Płock, Wierzbina⁴⁸ etc. - wasting time sitting. From the beginning of this day I had fully decided to leave for Mortagne as soon as possible and there finish the work I have to do, as if this entitled me to waste time here. Fr. Theodore stops by. He brings me the prospectus for Fr. infirmarian's book.

I tarry, and so come to church when it is already after Vespers. In church, while praying, I immediately feel stronger, and am sorry for having wasted time and for not seeking help in prayer in church. I go to see Fr. Prior to tell him about my departure. He has no time and does not receive me. Back at five o'clock. I walk around, not knowing what to do with myself. The time is too

considerations philosophiques, morales et religieuses sur le materialisme moderne appeared in Paris in 1839.

⁴⁶ Adolph (c.1185-1224) - Bishop of Osnabrück, a Cistersian reformer and philanthropist; a saint.

⁴⁷ Jacques-Marie-Adrien-Cesaire Mathieu (1796-1875) - a graduate of the Seminary of St. Sulpice in Paris. Ordained a priest, he served successively as a professor in the Évreux diocese in Normandy, superior of the seminary, Canon and Vicar General in Paris, pastor of the church of St. Magdalene. In 1832, he was appointed Bishop; in 1834 Archbishop in Besançon, and Cardinal in 1850.

⁴⁸ Wierzbina - a village in the vicinity of Warsaw.

long, as never before. Finally I meet Fr. Rooney and Fr. Theodore, and we watch the fathers working in the garden. Fr. Theodore tells us about the ceremonies at the profession of monastic vows, and this moves us.

After supper, with Adolph. At least the conversation was more friendly. He tells me about his lectures etc. Then I sit, feeling ponderous. Why, even if I do not go out, do I not move around? After Compline and the *Salve* (at which once again I experience delight and strengthening as a result of prayer) these notes. Then I go to Fr. Blouet, who tells me that he would like to receive us as boarders when he become a pastor. I walk with him in the garden until after ten.

647

Tuesday, [June 18]

Adolph came to wake me at five. Why do I delay, and do not rise until after six? To church for prayers and a visit to the Blessed Sacrament. Breakfast, and for Mass. Thank God, I am stronger in spirit as a result of a sincere act of contrition before the Lord for yesterday [and I pray].

After Mass, Fr. Blouet brings me a French Bible. The Old Testament. I read it, and this strengthens me even more; it cheers me up and raises my spirits. But as for the letters, I continue to fail to write them. +At dinner unnecessary levity, joking with Fr. Blouet, which could scandalize others.+

After dinner, I speak with Adolph about Latin, about Alvarez,⁴⁹ talk of the catechism in Poland, etc. After one, a nap, thank God a short one, until 1:45. Then I continue reading the bible until Vespers, with great joy and comfort. Why do I seek with predilection material about women and sins of impurity?

After Vespers Brother Gabriel gives me letters from Valerian, Victor, and Rome. I am somewhat frightened as I begin to read them, especially those from Paris. I lift up my heart to God. I offer him my suffering as a result of the troubles and my faults which caused them. I admit that I merited even more! I renew my act of submission, in humility, to the absolute will of God.

After supper I read to Asolph excerpts from the letters of Valerian and Edward [Duński]. I hint that I cannot tell him the bare and strict truth. This may not have left the best impression on him. O God, help me to repair this, and turn all of our future conversations to the Your greater glory, and to his and my spiritual benefit.

⁴⁹ Manuel Alvarez (1526-1583) - a Portuguese Jesuit, teacher of classical languages, and author of a Latin grammar used universally in Jesuit schools.

After the *Salve* these notes, and a walk with Fr. Blouet until 10:15 (he tells me about his library).

Wednesday, [June] 19

I get up late, even though Adolph came to wake me at five. When I go out to church it is already 6:15. I meet Fr. Prior in front of the church. He takes me to his room and there we talk for about an hour about the present-day superficial religious movement, and about the meaning of conversion.⁵⁰ The pamphlets of Cheruel, Lacordaire etc.⁵¹ Fr. Prior speaks about the general degradation, and says that he does not expect anything from the present age.

648

After eight, back home. Fr. Theodore introduces me to Fr. Paschal,⁵² who is to replace him for a few days. Then breakfast. Mass at nine. After Mass I write maxims from the *Imitation*, and some sayings in my notes. I think about the letters I have to write, especially to Valerian - and dinner, after which I realize that once again, in spite of the reproaches I made to myself previously, I became involved in frivolous talk with Fr. Blouet which might have scandalized others.

After dinner - with Adolph (he tells me about Jersey,⁵³ about his trip from Hamburg to London etc.) - and a nap, in spite of such a long sleep at night - I lay in bed until 2:30. Then I go to church for 15 minutes for a visit to the Blessed Sacrament, and finally I write a letter to Valerian. I do not go for Vespers; however I did not finish the letter before supper, and I take the unfinished letter with me as I go to Soligny to buy some tobacco.

Why on the way there do I find delight in impure thoughts and memories, and why don't I reject them strenuously?

On my way back I recite the rosary, and this lifts my spirits. I returned after ten, and went to bed immediately.

Thursday, [June] 20

⁵⁰ Undoubtedly in connection with this conversation Jański wrote the observations entitled: *What is conversion?* These are located in the Appendix, position XI.

⁵¹ It proved impossible to establish which pamphlet of Cheruel Jański had in mind. - Lacordaire's pamphlet is undoubtedly *Mémoire pour le rétablissement en France de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs* (Paris, 1839).

⁵² Fr. Pascal - The former Fr. Trautin of the Congregation of Our Lady of the Rosary. At La Trappe he was the master of the lay brothers.

⁵³ Jersey - an English island on the Normandy coast. In 1834 a section of the Polish Democratic Society was established there, which elaborated the ideology of the Groups of Polish People.

Today once again, although Adolph wakes me up at five, I get up after six, and go to church at 6:45.

After breakfast, once again sluggishness, and a kind of feverishness. Perhaps I am drinking too much apple cider. I feel like lying down, but go down to the garden. There Fr. Blouet gives me the newspapers "Univers" (Czartoryski's speech for the 3rd of May etc. etc.).⁵⁴

Mass, after which I write the notes from yesterday. Maxims from the *Imitation*. Unnecessary glancing through the bibliography which Fr. Blouet brought me, and no letter.

After dinner and a conversation with Adolph, once again a nap, from one o'clock until 2:30. My sluggishness is even greater than in the past days. For a visit to the Blessed Sacrament, and on returning I get down to letters, first to my wife. Fr. Paschal comes to see me. We talk about Fr. Rozan's⁵⁵ congregation etc. I finish the letter to my wife (I may have finished it before dinner) and I begin to rewrite it. I do not go for Vespers, and finish the letter only right before supper. (Rain; and so nothing today, neither an excursion, nor can I take the letter to the post-office.)

After supper, Adolph tells me about the Kraków conspiracies,⁵⁶ about reading French books, etc. After the *Salve* these notes.

649

A great misfortune - on Sunday and Monday I recognized in myself both a weakness of the flesh, and sleepiness, and I succumbed to it, not struggling with it to the bitter end. Finally, I pay a visit to Fr. Rooney, who edifies me with his conversation. I offer him St. John Climacus.

Friday, [June] 21

⁵⁴ Adam Czartoryski's speech on May 3, 1839, which was published in the French language in "Univers".

⁵⁵ Pascal-Frantin-David de Rauzan (1772-1834) - a Paris priest. Because he refused to take the oath required by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in 1790, he was forced to emigrate. In 1802 he returned to Paris and became the chaplain of the chapel in the Tuileries.

After the restoration he organized spectacles connected with the mission. In 1814 he established a congregation of missionaries whose purpose was the conversion of the post-revolution, dechristianized French society.

⁵⁶ This refers to the conspiracies of the Association of Polish People, a secret democratic organization promoting independence, established in February, 1835, and active in Galicia from 1837. Adolph Zaleski was one of the leading active members of the Association.

Once again when I get up it is after six, even though I woke up sooner, and I go to the chapel for prayers only at 6:45.

After breakfast, once again sluggishness. Then I make a copy of ascetical authors from the "Bibliothèque d'un littérateur Chrétien".⁵⁷ Then Mass. After Mass, maxims from the *Imitation*, and notes concerning what I must avoid above all and what I must strive to accomplish; then I begin a letter to Mercier.

After dinner Adolph tells me about his duel at the University etc. I am listless. O God! How I must scandalize him by my sluggishness. And unfortunately, a nap until two. Then I go out into the garden. I intend to make a visit to the Blessed Sacrament in order to prepare myself later for confession (I decided that the letters which I wanted to send from here today I would take to the post-office in Mortagne tomorrow.) I met Fr. Blouet in the meadow. He invited me for a pinch of snuff, and I allowed myself to become involved in an empty conversation, thus wasting about an hour.

When I return to the house, I am ill at ease, and finally do not go for Vespers. Instead I prepare myself for confession. Then it is almost six, and supper.

In order to prepare for confession, I read through these notes of the last 14 days from my last confession on the 7th, the Feast of the Sacred Heart. What a waste of time. What neglect. What a lack of zeal and work on myself, as well as work with Adolph. And all of this could have been avoided if I received the sacraments more frequently. - But first on Sunday, the ninth, I did not go because I felt that at the same time I definitely had to take the retreat program for Adolph to Fr. Prior. Then last Sunday (after Holy Communion on the feast of St. Anthony), as a penance because I had written so few letters. And from Sunday it seemed that I would be leaving any day, even though Brother Jean is not going until tomorrow - as though I could not have taken advantage of another occasion; for example, leave first, and then from Soligny request that my things be forwarded, since I am just wasting time here.

650

How shameful is submission to an imagined weakness of the flesh, and failing to struggle with sleep and sluggishness.

⁵⁷ This refers to "Bibliothèque d'un littérateur et d'un philosophie chrétien" ... edited by Frs. Goliot and Tharin, and published in Besançon.

I am less severe now than previously with minor daily transgressions, less fervent in prayer. I am weak in resisting evil temptations. - O God! Have mercy on me, a sinner!⁵⁸

726

Before returning from Solesmes

Histoire de la papauté of Ranke.⁵⁹ Innocent III, and Gregory VII.

Obtain a copy of Buchez (and perhaps *La religion expliquée*).⁶⁰ - The question of war in the theology of St. Thomas; with Fr. Guéranger about this, and about nationalities.

Rohrbacher's *Des deux puissances*.⁶¹ What does Demaistre⁶² have to say? In every reading ask yourself questions - and that in writing: Why am I reading this? And then offer answers, also in writing.

- The question about military orders, brotherhoods etc., in which married men would be members. Was there ever a case of such orders, etc? (P. Helyot)⁶³

Apologetic works of the Fathers of the Church, and read Gerbet's *sur le dogme générateur*, and in the "Université Catholique".

How did the Pope, and Church authorities, behave with regard to the Arians⁶⁴ - (as against the Maurs and the Turks)? Lacordaire's *Reestablishment of*

⁵⁸ A two-day break in continuing the Diary. Texts containing religious-moral reflections, reminders, and inspirations, written in snatches during Jański's stay on retreat in La Trappe are preserved in the Roman Archives of the Congregation of the Resurrection. These are situated in the Appendix with a title: *Resolutions, and reflections, in the daily reminder*, position XII.

⁵⁹ Leopold Ranke (1795-1886) - a German historian. His main work *Die römischen Papste, ihre Kirche und ihr Staat im 16 und 17 Jahrhundert*, (Berlin, 1834-1836), 3 volumes). This work was translated into French and published in 1838.

⁶⁰ *La religion expliquée* - I was unable to identify this position.

⁶¹ This refers to a two-volume work of Rohrbacher entitled *Des rapports naturels entre les deux puissances* which was published in Besançon in 1838.

⁶² Cf. Joseph de Maistre, 1831, footnote 10.

⁶³ Pierre Helyot, called "Père Hippolyte" (1660-1716) - a Franciscan, the author of the first five volumes of the history of religious congregations, and orders of knights: *Histoire des ordres monastiques, religieux et militaires, et des congrégations séculières*, 5 volumes, Paris, 1714-1719. This work was completed and published in 1838.

⁶⁴ The Arians were followers of the teaching of Arius (c.256-336), who interpreted the Mystery of the Trinity in a way not in conformity with orthodox teaching; for this he was condemned and exiled.

*religious orders.*⁶⁵ Artaud - concerning the schism in Constantinople? De Montor's⁶⁶ *History of Pius VII* etc. - Concerning protestantism: Richelieu's deceitful politics, alliances with the Templars;⁶⁷ with the protestants for humbling the Catholic court?⁶⁸

Consult the Constitutions written by St. Bernard. Was any of the founders of military orders or Knights a saint?

- Perhaps I could find the Bull of 1832 to the Polish Bishops - in the *Affaires de Rome* or somewhere else?⁶⁹ And on this account consult Fr. Guéranger.

Letters: to Popiel; to Królikowski; perhaps to Kazimirski; to Mr. Lefauré.

727

On the way back to Paris

In Orleans (live apart, for they are all quarreling among themselves) aside from acquaintances etc. - Colonel Kozłowski - visit with Kownacki,⁷⁰ who lived with my brother Stephen [in Warsaw] on Krzywe Kole, and with Cyprysiński;

⁶⁵ Lacordaire initiated a congregation-wide reform in France in the first half of the 19th century (Cf. 1832, footnote 45). He wrote *Mémoire pour rétablissement en France...*; Cf. above, footnote 51.

⁶⁶ Alexis-François Artaud de Montor (1772-1849) - a French diplomat in Rome and Florence; a connoisseur of literature, translator of Dante's *Divine Comedy*. He published *Histoire de Pie VII*, a biography honored with a medal from the French Academy in 1838.

⁶⁷ Templars - an order of knights from the beginning of the 12th century, organized to war against the Mohammedans. They observed a cistersian rule, supposedly written by St. Bernard of Clairvaux.

⁶⁸ Cardinal Richelieu, in order to bolster the political power of France, allied himself with the Protestant Union, at war with the Austrian and Spanish Habsburgs for breaking the 1555 Augsburg treaty of peace.

⁶⁹ Gregory XVI's Brief *Cum primum* of June 9, 1832, addressed to the Bishops of the Kingdom of Poland, translated into French as *Bref du Pape aux évêques de Pologne*, and published in *Affaires de Rome*, F. De la Mennais in the work: *Pièces justificatives*, Paris, 1836-1837, pp. 309-313; also in the Belgian edition (Bruxelles, 1837).

⁷⁰ Adam Kozłowski (1791-1847) a second lieutenant, who participated in the November uprising. From 1832, in Bourges.

Joseph Kownacki (1806-1908) - from Płock. He participated in the 1831 uprising, as a lieutenant in the 4th artillery regiment. As an emigrant in France, he lived first in Dijon, and then in Angers. Mentioned later.

Gros - further information lacking.

with Gros (whose wife has now arrived from Kraków), and who through Turowski and Kranas spoke of a desire to become a priest.

656

Monday, [June] 24

I leave with Brother at six. Fr. Blouet and Fournier⁷¹ accompany us to Prépontain. We get to Mortagne at 9:30. - Why did I accept breakfast at Bojanowski's?

Tuesday, [June 25] [Mortagne]

Bath. First I receive 40 francs, and deliver the letters at the post-office. A very encouraging letter from Hippolyte. Breakfast at about eleven - until one. Then to the Collège. For a walk together, etc. etc. Dinner at Bojanowski's house. A walk to the pond. +An impure glance.+ He agrees to let me live alone.

Wednesday, [June 26]

Again I get up late. I choose a room for myself. Breakfast in my room. For coffee at Gauthier. Adolph does not have a room, and so I remain once more. I go to my room, bring my belongings and unpack. Dinner in my room. Brother Ephrem - with him to Dames-Blanches⁷² - (rosary).

Thursday, [June] 27

Bojanowski is going somewhere out in the country. I get up late. To church with Adolph, and for breakfast to Gauthier. He is leaving at about eleven. I write a letter to Sidorowicz. Letters to Szotarska. Dinner early, in my room; then for coffee to my former [female] companion. In the evening unnecessary walks.

Friday, [June 28]

I write a letter to Ladislaus Plater, a copy - and I do not finish it. Breakfast and dinner in my room. - Temptations, walks. Contrition during evening prayer.

Saturday, [June 29]. Feast of Saint Peter

⁷¹ Fournier - further information lacking.

⁷² The parish church of Notre-Dame des Dames Blanches in Mortagne; a monumental shrine from the end of the 15th century.

A fair in the city. In church I hear Mass. I plan to begin a letter to Peter [Semenenko]. I mail the letters to Ladislaus and Sidorowicz, but already too late. In the evening I become acquainted with Zgórski.⁷³

Sunday, [June 30]

To Bojanowski for breakfast, and then for the High Mass. B[ojanowski] and I meet Konachowski.⁷⁴ After that letters to Ladislaus and Victor, and then for Vespers. Dinner at Zgórski's house; Konachowski is present. A walk together.

657

Monday, [July] 1

To church, and confession, of course. How much better I feel! Breakfast at Zgórski's house. A letter to Sidorowicz, and in that letter a letter to Szotarska. In the evening to the hospital church.⁷⁵ A walk along the Route Neuve.

Tuesday, [July 2]. Visitation of the Blessed Virgin.

To the hospital church at 7:30. Holy Communion at the Mass at 9:30 - until 10:30. Breakfast at Konachowski, until 1:30.

A letter to Victor.

Before dinner to church. - Dinner at B[ojanowski].

658

To Victor, with regard to the tax.

To Mr. Lefaire,⁷⁶ likewise with regard to the tax.

To Valerian, with regard to Kamocki, that he lacks understanding - and the reasons.

For Wednesday, July 3

To Valerian. To Mr. Lefaire.

To Mikulski and Górski.

⁷³ Adolph Francis Zgórski (1808 or 1809-1884) - From 1827 he studied medicine at the University of Warsaw. He participated in the November uprising. An emigrant in France, in Montpellier, where he studied medicine, and in 1837 received his diploma as doctor of medicine.

⁷⁴ Michael Konachowski from the Lublin region; participated in the 1831 uprising as a lieutenant in the 21st infantry regiment. He lived in Alençon in France.

⁷⁵ The hospital church, actually the hospital chapel in Mortagne.

⁷⁶ Lefaire - Cf. 1838, footnote 134.

For Saturday, [July 6]

To Victor, telling him to ask Mr. Husson whether he knows Lefaure etc. (Archives).⁷⁷

657

Wednesday, [July 3]

Mass at nine. (in the morning with Konachowski.)

A letter to Valerian [Wielogłowski], which I finish only before four o'clock. I give my shoes to be mended. I stay at home. In the evening with the boy - and Buchez.

Thursday, [July 4]

A letter to Victor with excuses, and to Valerian and his wife for three o'clock. (To church in slippers)

To Bojanowski - the newspaper. To church, and to the shoemaker. Dinner. Buchez. Then with Zgórski around the square, and to Bojanowski. About his Communion. I give him my landlady's bill: 30 francs!

Friday, [July 5]

A letter to Parlon [tenant], to Victor, and to Husson. Breakfast, coffee at Reney. Dinner at home.

Saturday, [July 6]

Breakfast at home. A walk to the pond with Bojanowski. Milk. Dinner with him, eggs.

Sunday, [July 7]

At High Mass in the hospital chapel. With Bojanowski, tripe for breakfast. Lustful glances, etc. Back home, a letter to Hippolyte. Vespers in church. Dinner at Bojanowski's house (Konachowski and Zgórski) and the evening together. A conversation with Zgórski, about God, the soul etc. before leaving.

Monday, [July 8]

⁷⁷ Archives auxiliaires - an office of the Seine Department.

A letter from Plater. In the morning a bath and to the hospital chapel. Once again I feel the great need and the facility of writing to Rome. To Bojanowski; it is already twelve. A copy of a letter to Lefaire. A letter to Bolesia (Wielogłowski's wife). A storm. Dinner at home. Buchez. At Bojanowski's house, cards and beer.⁷⁸

672

Sunday, July 14

I arrive in Versaille at 3:30 A.M. A rest next door to the Valerians [Wielogłowskis]. At eight to Valerian. Breakfast. Mass. A walk in the garden and conversation until two or three. Beer and newspaper. At four dinner, and I leave.

To Paris at eight. To Ordęga (a meeting with Jakubowski,⁷⁹ Mierzwiński, and Dmóchowski). He is out.

Back home. Fr. Dłuski, and once again to Ordęga. I meet him in company with the Suchorzewskis,⁸⁰ Korycki, etc. A letter to Fr. Korycki's landlord. Then, with Adolph all the way to rue Nouvelle de Bailly. We return at 10:30, and then go for beer, where we meet Szulc and Ordon.⁸¹ (Barbés is pardoned.)⁸²

Monday, [July 15]

For Mass. Coffee. To Ordęga. I receive 16 francs, 10 ducats. To Desplanches. To Ladislaus Plater; he is not in. I go toward Mrs. Th[ayer] but I do not stop in. I change the gold. to Mercier. To the landlord at four; I wait until

⁷⁸ A break in the continuation of the Diary from July 9-13. Jański began to write a letter to the brothers in Rome on July 12.

⁷⁹ Jakubowski - It is difficult to establish which of the Jakubowskis living among the emigrants Jański had in mind.

⁸⁰ Undoubtedly Thaddeus Suchorzewski (d.1852) - a legionary, brigadier general, and his wife Teresa, nee Turczynowicz (d. 1869), who were living in Paris.

⁸¹ Julius Constantine Ordon (1810-1887) - at the time of the November uprising, commander of the artillery redoubt No.54 on the Wola. In the course of the battle the Russians surrounded the redoubt and penetrated it. An explosion followed. An ammunition dump exploded, and both the Russians and the defenders of the redoubt perished. Ordon, the commander of the redoubt escaped, wounded and burnt. Involuntarily, he became the hero of Adam Mickiewicz's poem, *Ordon's Redoubt*. - As an emigrant he lived in England and Belgium. Only at the end of October, 1838, did he come to Paris seeking work. In 1839 he returned to England, where he worked as a tutor of languages. Later he was an officer in the Piedmont, Turkish, and Italian service.

⁸² Armand Barbès (1809-1870) - a revolutionary, republican, opposed the monarchy of Louis Philip. He was sentenced to life imprisonment, but was released before the revolution in 1848.

five. A miracle! There is no need for long excuses - he will wait.⁸³ Dinner at Saint- Eustache. Confession, and to Parlon. He is not in; neither is he at Mont Parnasse. At home, with Victor, we speak with levity and double meaning about Mr. Anthony. Unnecessary trimming of Victor's beard before Holy Communion.

670

Most urgent tasks

Tuesday,[July 16]. Blessed Virgin of the Scapular
Deplanches. To Górski. Siennicki.
To the cassock maker; to Mrs. Niboyet;
Mrs. Berthole.

Perisse - Roman Ordo

to the coal merchant, the laundress.
Bojanowski. Grande Poste - a letter to Fr. Rooney.

Wednesday, [July 17]

Januszkiewicz comes to see me at twelve.

672

Tuesday, [July 16]

Holy Communion at the Carmelites. Back home, and letters to Rome almost until dinner. Dinner apparently on rue de Lille, and conversation with my brothers etc.

[A text has been preserved which Jański - except for the slightly changed beginning on July 15 - did not enter into his Diary. We offer the text below in its entirety:]

Yesterday, Monday [July 15] in the evening after confession, levity with Victor (double meaning with reference to Mr. Anthony); pipe before falling asleep; today in the morning, before Holy Communion, unnecessary trimming of Victor's beard. A strange conversation with Leopold [Turowski]. Looking around in church. Tell the future confessor: 1. that I have recovered from a serious fall and a lengthy period of laxity; 2. I am in very serious financial trouble; many people think that my work will fail (some people may be glad to see this happen); 3. difficulties with regard to jealous and ill-disposed people

⁸³ The landlord of the Evrat house agreed to a later settlement of the rent that was due.

who wish to humble me, to subjugate me to themselves; with regard to those who judge me very severely; with regard to my brothers who are lacking in confidence, or are scandalized by the past; with regard to many people who I have offended.

673

Wednesday, [July] 17

Szymański early in the morning - insisting that I come to the Ogińskis, at the latest on the day after tomorrow. He accompanies me to Saint-Sulpice. After church, Jaś [Omieciński]. I read an excerpt from a letter to Rome to him, +very imprudently+ leaving out all of the postscripts.⁸⁴ The cassock maker. The baker. To Walter for a while; he is not in. To Ladislaus Plater - and for dinner to rue de Lille.

Thursday, [July 18]

The man who made repairs in the kitchen and gave us a kettle stopped in. To Ladislaus. I was supposed to come before eleven, whereas it was after... a proposal concerning Mrs. Skorupa⁸⁵ etc.

At Perisse *Visites au Saint Sacrament* and about the author of *Pratique de l'Oraison mentale*.⁸⁶ To the coal merchant; he is not in. A conversation with Hippolyte, and with Victor...

668

Friday, [July] 19. St. Vincent de Paul

In church (and Jaś) until about nine. Leopold is going out into the country. A conversation with Victor.

I go to the Ogińskis for dinner. I am supposed to be there tomorrow also. I leave early in order to visit Walter. I stop by to see Mrs. Białopiotrowicz; she

⁸⁴ On that day, July 18, Janski added his observations to a text written earlier, *Against neglect in Letters*, which is situated in the Appendix, position X.

⁸⁵ Undoubtedly Josephine, nee Przerębska, Skorupka, the widow of Joseph Skorupka (d.1835), a senator of the Free City of Kraków.

⁸⁶ *Visites au Saint Sacrament*, written by Alfons Maria de Liguori (1696-1787), apostle of the cult of the Most Blessed Sacrament. *Pratique de l'oraison mental* - a publication of two authors: Pierre-Joseph Picot de Clavière, and Jacques-Pierre-Joseph Lesurre.

is not in (a balloon on the Champs-Élysées). Back home. A longer talk with Kaczanowski.

Saturday, [July 20]

(I send a card to Siennicki asking him to come to see me.) Chełkowski - Mayzner - Siennicki - he tells me about his affairs. I begin to dress at three, and am to be there at four, so I am late. (Desplanches brought the frock-coat etc.) For dinner at the Ogińskis. I am late, and eat at the toll-gate. The evening at the Ogińskis - Szymański has decided to join Lubieński.⁸⁷ Mrs. Skorupa will not be coming. The Łuszczewskis⁸⁸ drive me back to near the Odéon at eleven.

Sunday, [July 21]

There is supposed to be a conference. Leonard. Jaś comes in the morning. He accompanies me to Saint-Sulpice. I have a long conversation with him - about Jełowicki and Kamocki etc. joining us. After Holy Communion for chocolate, and then home. A card to Mayzner.

At two to Walter, and then for Vespers to Notre-Dame - and back to him for dinner. Also Marszewski, Wolski,⁸⁹ and I leave. To Prince Giedroją and family - my first visit.

Monday, July 22. St. Magdalene

(I bought St. Bonaventure's *Miroir de Novices*⁹⁰ and am sorry). Chodkiewicz, and with him about Chełkowski etc. Mr. Referendary [Michael Hube], by way of Fr. Dłuski, invites me to visit tomorrow. About 2 o'clock Mercier, and once again I do not go to the Collège. A long conversation with him. For dinner to John Bull, coffee. He accompanied me on my return. To Saint-Roch, and to Fr. Levayer. I bought the *Journée du Chrétien* for him. I go back home with him.

Tuesday, [July 23]

⁸⁷ Undoubtedly Simon Jacob (Kuba) Szymański (1811-1851), the brother of Anthony Marcellus. He studied law at the University of Warsaw, and participated in the November uprising.

Thomas Lubieński (1784-1870) - a general, politician and financier. He participated in the November uprising even though he was not in favor of it. After the collapse of the uprising, he directed the Commercial House of the Lubieński Brothers and Company.

⁸⁸ Adam and Theophile Łuszczewski. Cf. 1835, footnote 77.

⁸⁹ There were several Wolskis among the emigrants, and it is uncertain which one Jański had in mind.

⁹⁰ *Miroir des Novices* (The Mirror of novices) of St. Bonaventure - Franciscan philosopher and theologian, canonized in 1482. Seraphic Doctor. A Doctor of the Church (1587).

I am not able to go to Mr. Referendary and to Mrs. Bertholle and so I go to Siennicki. With him for breakfast. He tells me about all of the madness going on, etc. He has decided upon La Trappe. Then to Januszkiewicz. He gives me an appointment for tomorrow at twelve. To Ladislaus. He gives me the "Democrat"⁹¹ to read. Tascher,⁹² Lucian Plater⁹³ - I do not wait for him, and leave.

To Mrs. Bertholle. To Mr. Referendary. to John Bull for dinner. I had the veal pie; it did not agree with me. To Husson, who promises work for Kaczanowski, and to Prince Giedrojc. I met Romuald [Szymański], who showed me a letter from Mrs. Wilkszycki.⁹⁴

669

Wednesday, [July 24]

A letter to Bojanowski. In the morning, Kaczanowski's petition. To Orpizewski, etc. I met Jełowicki etc. in the Luxembourg Gardens, and then Rettel. To Ordega. I am to be there this evening. Januszkiewicz cannot come at

⁹¹ "The Polish Democrat" - a polemic publication defending the principles and politics of the Polish Democratic Society, published in Poitiers in the years 1837-1842.

Ladislaus Plater, was at this time a follower of Prince Adam Czartoryski and his politics. He was noted for his controversial activities which were not always acceptable to the Prince. He published an article, *A plan to establish a Polish Office in Paris* anonymously in "The Polish Democrat". In this article, among other people, he listed Jański's congregation as belonging to the monarchical group supported by those disposing of funds arriving from Poland ("The Polish Democrat", Year 3, 1839, vol. II, pp. 153-160). This anonymous publication by the author evoked a reaction on the part of editors of Polish emigrant publications ("The Chronicle of the Polish Emigration", year 6, 1839, vol. 8, p. 218f; "Young Poland", year 2, 1839, vol.2, p. 257).

In order to refute the insinuation of the anonymous author, Jański prepared a response: "Our profession of faith". This article, almost completed, dated August 1, 1839, was not published. It remained in the collection of Jański's manuscripts. At this time it is presented in the Appendix, position XIV.

⁹² Jean-Samuel-Ferdinand Tascher de la Pagerie (1779-1858) - Count, French politician, member of the House of Peers, noted in that forum for his pronouncements in defense of the interests of Poland.

⁹³ Lucian Stanislaus Broel-Plater (1808-1857) - participated in the November uprising as a second lieutenant in the 7th infantry regiment. An emigrant in Paris. In September of 1839 he left for Australia, and remained there.

⁹⁴ Frances Wilkrzycka (1805-1874) - a benefactress, From 1842 the wife of Severin Joseph Stanislaus Gomora Mielżyński (1804-1872).

twelve; I go to visit him at about four. (Mrs. Caboga's offering.)⁹⁵ I accompany him to the rue d'Asse. He tells me about Konarski.⁹⁶ To Quinze- Vingts⁹⁷ for dinner. On the way back I met Januszkiewicz. Reyer.⁹⁸ We walk. Fatigued, I go to visit Ordega, and there I meet Valerian. On the way back, for beer with Terlecki. I meet Orpiszewski. Fr. Abbot⁹⁹ was at our house.

Thursday, [July] 25

I intended to go to confession in the morning, but did not go. Orpiszewski was here early in the morning. I feel weak. After Mass to Felber for breakfast. Mr. Anthony Plater. Valerian at about twelve, etc. I read a letter from Rome to him, and talked with him until four. Jacob [Szymański] stopped by to repeat his invitation. For dinner with the Szymańskis. I meet Macfelt. I tolerate and listen to impure conversation with inner delight. Coffee. Tuileries. Anthony [Szymański] accompanies me to Ordega. Once again many people are there. Adolph is in bad humor, and leaves early. Apparently once again it is a question about me. Then we go for beer with Januszkiewicz, Chodkiewicz etc. until eleven.

Friday, [July 26]

I was supposed to go to Fr. Buquet again - but when I got up it was already after seven. Siennicki. I make corrections in a letter for him. A letter from Rome. After 9 o'clock, I leave with him. To Saint-Sulpice for Mass [for] Terlecki, and then for chocolate with Valerian and Adolph. I get back home at twelve, and read the letter from Rome. Roman [Januszkiewicz].

⁹⁵ Julia Wanda, nee Potocka, Caboga (1788-1876). She first married Michael Wielkopolski (d.1838); divorced, she married again in 1815 to Cajetan Uruski (D.1827), and bore him a son, Severin (Cf. 1836, footnote 109). In 1833, as a widow, she was married to the Austrian General and Field-Marshal, Bernard Caboga (1785-1855). She was famous for her philanthropic and charitable work, especially in the religious field. She left behind a many-volume collection of materials: memoirs and correspondence.

⁹⁶ Simon Konarski (1808-1839) - an officer in the November uprising. In the emigration he was active as a mason, along with John Czyński co-editor of "The North", and a member of "Young Poland". He took part in Zaliwski's expedition. He was one of the principal organizers of The Society of the Polish Nation". In 1835-1838 he organized a plot in the Ukraine, White Russia and Lithuania. Captured by the Russians and tortured, he did not betray anyone. He was executed by a firing squad on February 27, 1839 In Vilno.

⁹⁷ Hospice des Quinze-Vingts - a shelter, hospice for the poor, was established in the 13th century by the King, St. Louis.

⁹⁸ Albert Reyer - mentioned in Jański's Diary in 1832, but about whom we have no information.

⁹⁹ Probably Fr. Guéranger, the Abbot of Solesmes.

He promises to deliver the letter for Mrs. Caboga to Eustachius.¹⁰⁰ Why do I lie down? I get up at about one or two o'clock. I begin to write, and continue writing until five. Napoleon - and an invitation for dinner. Before dinner I drink whiskey, and this is very bad. On my way back I meet Thibaut.¹⁰¹ To Hube. I am very weak. To Valerian, etc. until eleven. Back home. Prayer with Januszkiewicz, and then still with Adolph - about Buchez. I fall asleep at twelve.

Saturday, [July 27]

Fr. Dłuski wakes me up before five, but I do not get out of bed. Kaczanowski after five. Prayer. We go out at six. I am sick. My chest hurts. For coffee at six. Hippolyte is leaving¹⁰² at seven. To Walter, and I stay there until ten. To Notre-Dame for the end of the Mass, and back home before eleven. I sleep until two, and then decide to write a check list and so prepare for confession.¹⁰³

671

Sunday, [July 28]

Confession and Holy Communion at Saint-Sulpice (at three Masses). Siennicki. Journée de Juillet.¹⁰⁴ Orpizewski come to visit me.

¹⁰⁰ Two versions of a rough draft of Jański's letter have been preserved. In this letter he writes to "the Gracious Lady and Sister Benefactress" thanking her for the financial support she had sent by way of Eustachius Januszkiewicz. He writes that "Madame Countess has already received information from your very good son, and our gracious friend Severin, about our efforts and our goals, from my brothers and spiritual companions living in Rome, and finally from our dear friend Mr. Eustachius." On this occasion Jański also offered a "most solemn declaration that, dedicating ourselves to the service of God, and to work for the benefit of religion, we are subject completely, and without any restriction at all, to the teaching of our Holy Roman Catholic Church. We have no particular doctrines, and do not wish to do or undertake any work except in the spirit of most complete unity with the Holy Apostolic See, and in case of necessity, and depending on the importance of the matter, solely with her proper approval. Moreover, we do not belong to any political party, have no links with such, or any other human affiliation. In Christ the Lord, in His divine teaching, and in His Holy Church, is all that we seek!" (Fragments of a letter dated July 30, 1839, rue Vavin 13. ACRR 8540-8541, pp. 272, 275-276).

¹⁰¹ Thibaut - further information is lacking.

¹⁰² Hippolitus Terlecki lived and practiced as a doctor in Alligence.

¹⁰³ A Polish-French text of a *confession on Saturday, July 27*, has been preserved. It is located in the Appendix, position XIII.

¹⁰⁴ Journée de Juillet - a day in July, the anniversary of the outbreak of the July Revolution in 1830.

Monday, [July 29]

Tuesday, [July 30]

Wednesday, [July 31]. Saint Ignatius

To Fr. Buchez, Froment, Augé. Money for Chodkiewicz. To Mercier. Through the boulevards close to the Bastille¹⁰⁵ to visit Chodkiewicz.

Dinner at Walter's house, and after that with him for a drink. Then back home, and I accompany him to the Luxembourg.

671

Thursday, [August 1]

I get up at seven. (Victor woke me up). Siennicki. Why do I fall into camaraderie in spirit? After eight for Mass with Kaczanowski. To Januszkiewicz (proofs) until ten. Breakfast at Felber. Back home at 12:30. Fr. Chollet until 1:30 (Adolph). Back home, I lie down (Mr. Gallen)¹⁰⁶ - "Université Catholique" - letters - KostECKI etc. Our profession of faith.¹⁰⁷ Mercier.

664

Friday, [August 2]

After church and Mass, breakfast at Felber. To Mrs. Hube¹⁰⁸ until 2:30. To Mercier (I do not force him to come with me, and I wait! Until tomorrow, etc...).

At four, to the Collège; I do not meet him. To Mr. Referendary.

Saturday, [August 3]

At eleven Mercier stops by, completely changed. We are to go to Mass. He does not go, and I do not force him. At 4:30, Siennicki, with pretences that etc.

666

¹⁰⁵ Bastille - the name of the square established on the spot of Bastille prison which was destroyed during the Great Revolution.

¹⁰⁶ Gallen - further information lacking.

¹⁰⁷ *Our profession of faith* - Cf. above, footnote 91.

¹⁰⁸ Theophile, nee Rościszewska, Hube (1815 or 1817-1876, Paris); from 1834 the wife of Romuald Hube (Cf. 1835, footnote 306).

Sunday, August 4

At nine, to Jełowicki.

At twelve, to Mr. Ladislaus [Plater].

Monday, [August 5]

Mr. Anthony [Gorecki] stops by.

665

Sunday, [August 4]. Saint Dominic

Holy Communion, and then to Jełowicki for breakfast after nine. Explanations until after twelve. (Why so spitefully about Plater, etc.?) Back home, and then to Mr. Ladislaus; he was not in. Letters from Szotarska.¹⁰⁹ Breakfast with meat on rue de Lille. Raymond. Vespers at Saint-Roch, for coffee to Pont Neuf, and then home. (Anxiety and discontent as a result of the morning's explanations.)

Monday, [August 5]

¹⁰⁹ Juliana Szotarska, nee Zawadzka, (Cf. 1837, footnote 63) - after she received Bogdan Jański's letter of June 27, 1839, in which he pleaded with her to send "detailed news about the family," about Alexandra, and his brother Stephen, she soon sent him a long reply. Here are some of the news items and fragments of her letter of July 20, 1839, preserved in the archives (ACRR 56452):

Re brother Stephen: "He died four years ago, of cholera just at the time when he was preparing to go to Vilno to complete his medical studies." The father of Juliana (and Alexandra), Colonel Agustin Zawadzki died in 1837.

With regard to Alexandra: "she remains constantly in very great poverty...already brought to a most pitiful state, suffering from a serious illness [in June, 1839], that is typhus, and was close to dying"; "she was in no condition to save any money, or even to work decently for a piece of bread"; "Dear Bogdan, there is only one means of salvation for her, that is to provide a dowry for her in some convent so that she would have a room and food there for the rest of her life; moreover, if you can, set aside some funds for her support - that is housekeeping. Now she has already abandoned her bad habits; during this illness she confessed with genuine sorrow." "When Alexandra read your letter, she cried very hard, and kissed your words saying that she was unworthy of this comfort from God but that she will remember it forever." - Szotarska also mentioned Alexandra's son, who continued to live with the Grabowskis: "August [i.e. Augustine] has grown some, but still does not know how to read, for up to now he has only been occupied in the barns."

Jański sent money "for housekeeping" for Alexandra". She was admitted to a convent of the hospital Sisters of St. Martin, caring for the sick in Warsaw. She died in October, 1843.

I asked Kaczanowski to pray for Stephen. After Mass to Mr. Ladislaus Plater; he gives me 15 francs. Back home. Mercier. Mr. Anthony (takes *Sophie*).¹¹⁰ Jaś and Trzeciak.¹¹¹ Mr. Miraflor.¹¹² To Walter for dinner (about Stephen). With him to Kazimirski, Ropelewski.

Tuesday, [August 6] Transfiguration

Bergiel; I advise him not to become a priest. A letter from Szymański. Holy Communion. Breakfast at Felber, coffee. Back home I want to get down to work, but I doze. Pawłowicz accompanies me (the "Université Catholique" arrived). Before four to Heben¹¹³ about Adolph's business, about Rostkowski etc. Dinner with Prince Ogiński and his family; a walk with Princess Kunegunda. [Anthony] Szymański accompanies me - he speaks of his plans for a history of the villages in Poland etc.

Wednesday, [August 7] Saint Cajetan¹¹⁴

Early in the morning, Kamocki comes for an umbrella; Orpiszewski. For Mass. (I meet Siennicki, who accompanies me). After breakfast, back home. Ranke, and I nap until three. To Walter at about four for dinner. At eight to Meudon.¹¹⁵

Thursday, [August] 8

After rising, I go to Meudon for Mass. A walk, and breakfast. At about ten we leave. The conversation is very friendly. Once again he is decided to become a monk. For coffee at the place de la Croix Rouge. Back home after

¹¹⁰ This may refer to a book by an anonymous author, available among the Polish emigrants familiar with the French language: *Sophie ou le triomphe de l'amour et de la vertu*. The book was published in Paris as early as 1815. It is interesting that it was catalogued in the Library of the Polish National School in Batignoles (classification Nr.794). At present it is located in the collection of the National Library in Warsaw.

¹¹¹ Possibly Felix Trzeciak from the Ukraine (whence the already mentioned Jaś Omieciński came); he participated in the Napoleonic wars, a former officer of the Emperor Napoleon's Guard living in Paris.

¹¹² Miraflor - a friend of Adam Jabłoński.

¹¹³ Perhaps Michel-Pierre Hébert, a lawyer, a deputy of the National Assembly in 1834-1848, later Minister of Justice. Undoubtedly Jański wanted to talk with him concerning Theodor Rostkowski, who in 1839 lost his job as a spy for the French police as a result of the abuse of alcohol.

¹¹⁴ Cajetan (1480-1547) - Priest founder of the Clerks Regular, also called the Theatines. He was canonized in 1671.

¹¹⁵ Meudon - a city in the French Department of Seine-et-Oise, in the region of Versailles. Possibly Jański was going there to meet with Alexander Jełowicki, who was staying in the seminary in Versailles.

twelve. Mercier, and conversation; once again nothing from the letters. Material sent from Rome. Barczewski. To the Collège; he is not there. Dinner with Mercier, Taffenc, and Seuffert.¹¹⁶ I am not feeling well. A walk in the Luxembourg. To Mejnner. Wilczyński, for coffee. "Université Catholique.

[Friday, August] 9. Saint Roman¹¹⁷

I wake up at 7:30 (Turowski until two in the morning). I dress. Prayers. To Jełowicki concerning the inscription beneath Jesus. At ten, to Saint-Sulpice (and to the Palais Cardinal¹¹⁸ for Lacordair's pamphlet). For breakfast; the newspapers. To Januskiewicz at 12:30. I receive 10 francs etc. With Mejnner to the Prince Ogińskis. Back home before two, and preparation for confession.¹¹⁹

Saturday, [August 10]

Dinner with Ordęga. Colonel Różycki etc. I deliver the requests to the Society to Kamocki, etc. I give him the chronicles. Mercier invites me for dinner; I do not want to go.

667

Sunday, August 11

In the church of Saint-Sulpice for a votive Mass. (Dumont¹²⁰ receives Communion, Cornudet¹²¹). Breakfast etc. Back home. Marszewski. To Kamocki; Joseph Zawadzki received 40 francs etc. To Prince Giedroń already after four (I do not go for Vespers). To Walter for dinner. At eight I go out to visit Transon; he is not in. Back home.

Monday, [August 12]

2 francs from Marszewski for a letter etc.). To Mr. Referendary. A meeting with Ordęga after Mass. Breakfast at Felber. 5 francs from Januskiewicz, information about Wierzycki.¹²² I meet Fr. Buquet. (Mercier

¹¹⁶ Taffenc or Taffens - the writing is not clear.

Johann Adam von Seuffert (1794-1857) - a lawyer, university professor in Würzburg, a judge in the appellate court. In 1839 he left government service and lived in Munich.

¹¹⁷ Roman (d.258) - porter, martyr for the faith, honored as a saint.

¹¹⁸ Palais Cardinal - the popular name for the palace of Port-Royal, once the property of Cardinal Richelieu.

¹¹⁹ The text of the *confession of August 10* is located in the Appendix, position XV.

¹²⁰ Dumont - a former saintsimonist; Cf. 1832, footnote 270.

¹²¹ Alexandre-Marie-Léon Cornudet (1808-1876) - from early youth a close friend of Charles de Montalembert. A lawyer, head of the Minister's Cabinet, in 1836 a member of the National Council. A friend of Ozanam, co-organizer of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.

¹²² Wierzycki - further information lacking.

returns the books.) Back home. An extraordinary spiritual condition, anxiety, prayer, etc. etc. At seven to Lescophy for dinner. To Princess Giedrojć's mother. Rain on the Champs-Élysées.

Tuesday, [August 13]. Saint Hippolitus

To Rettel; he is not in. (Orpizewski, unnecessary endearments.) Mass. Breakfast at Felber. Back home at about one. 55 francs from Jeleński.¹²³ About the Dominicans. Mercier. A Frenchman from the Collège Stanislas etc. Jaś. For dinner at eight, and then back home. (35 francs for Kaczanowski.) Leopold [Turowski] in Paris. Temptations etc.

Wednesday, [August 14]

Siennicki etc. To Rettel. Hat. Mass. (Meyzner, Woronicz) at the police prefecture. Breakfast. Fr. Regniouf.¹²⁴ To the Collège (Fr. Augé and Fr. Blanc). Back home. Mercier. Petitions for Marszewski.

674

Wednesday, [August] 14

Breakfast at Felber. Visit with Fr. Regnouf at one. Back home. To the Visitation Sisters at five. At about seven a visit with Mrs. Hube - until 8:30. Dinner at Quinze-Vingts. (Kazimirski).

Thursday, [August 15] The Assumption

(The coal merchant, Siennicki.) In Saint-Sulpice. At Ordęga. Kunatt, Mr. Referendary [Michael Hube], Kamocki, Jełowicki (about tolerance, the Angelus) are there for coffee. At Prince Giedrojć. Mercier... falseness with him. Breakfast on rue Taranne; coffee in the passage.. At the home of Mrs. Hube. Siennicki. Rain. To Prince Giedrojć. Mrs. Białopiotrowicz. Chemineau.¹²⁵

680a

Friday, August 16

Kunatt... A letter to Jully. Deliver the letter
Prince Giedrojć. To Mrs. Hube. Dinner at Ordęga.

¹²³ Perhaps Raphael Jeleński (b.1812) - studied law at the University of Vilno. As an emigrant, he lived in Paris, studying painting.

¹²⁴ Cf. 1838, footnote 206.

¹²⁵ Jean Chemineau (1773-1852) - a French general.

To Walter. to Chodkiewicz.

Notes. Inspirations, resolutions. Letters.

Marszewski's business.

Better to draw up arrangements and enterprises - than to do so so poorly...

Do not disperse to various religious orders etc.

From now on, resolutions, control, arrangement of all things, for this leads to keeping a watch on oneself.

Saturday, [August 17]

Sunday, [August 18]

At twelve to Prince and Princess Ogiński.

Declaration

Caesar Plater

Mrs. Wilkszyca

The Bishop

674

Friday, [August 16]. Saint Hyacinth

Chocolate carrefour de l'Odéon. At ten Kunatt. To Januszkiewicz, a letter to Kozarzewski. After twelve to Prince Beauveau.¹²⁶ Temptations, hopes, dissatisfaction. Conversation with Kunatt (currant juice) until 2:30. To Mrs. Hube, a letter from Petersburg, and from Joseph [Hube]. Back home, a letter from Rome. (Mercier gives me 10 sous). Dinner at Ordega. To Mr. Referendary (the word "arrogant").¹²⁷ Back home at about eight.

675

Saturday, [August 17]

¹²⁶ Prince Charles de Beauveau de Craon (1793-1864) - in 1839 he was engaged to Louise Komarów, a former student of Jański. Their marriage took place in 1840.

¹²⁷ Jański, who at the request of Joseph Hube took care of his father Michael, a former referendary, in spite of himself became a witness to a schism in the Hube family, in which Theophile Hube, the young wife of Romuald, who recently came to Paris from Petersburg, may have played a definite role.

Siennicki was supposed to visit me. I waited, and did not go to Mass. I am peevish and surly toward Marszewski on account of his request. I go to visit him, and have breakfast with him; the tone of the conversation was false and light.

At nine, to Kunatt. He accompanies me for a demi-tasse carrefour de l'Odéon.

To Januskiewicz (a letter to Marseilles). I meet Jaś... (with him I am confused). I leave at about three and go to see Mrs. Hube; the dinner is set for Monday. On my way back, I stop to see Jacob Szymański, and then to r. Referendary - I loan him five francs. To Felber at 6:30, and back home without a demi-tasse. Mercier - through him I send a response to [Joseph] Meyzner for his note (very well). I lie down, and smoke. Then Sidorowicz; with him about Joseph, the royalists¹²⁸ etc. etc. until twelve etc., and I look for the letters from Edward from Marseilles; about Horodyński.¹²⁹ To sleep at two.

Sunday, [August 18]

Kaczanowski wakes me up after five, but I do not rise! And remain until eight! I dress for Mass about ten o'clock. Coffee at carrefour de l'Odéon. To Meyzner. To Mrs. Hube at 12:30 - she does not want a dinner; she fusses etc. Omnibus to the Prince Ogińskis at 1:30. Examination.¹³⁰ I feel sad. Dinner is late; I leave at 9:30. Back home. Adolph. In talking with Przeclawski I reveal secrets about Joseph and Romuald. Meditation. To sleep at one o'clock.

Monday, [August 19]

I rise at six and go to church. To the shoemaker. Sidorowicz bandages my leg. To Kunatt (not for dinner today). Maliszewski's petition.¹³¹ For chocolate to carrefour de l'Odéon, until one. Back home. Mercier. To Mr. Referendary at about two. Back home, in the company of Mercier, I smoke until almost five. He accompanies me to Januskiewicz (for Szymański's article); he is not in. Dinner and coffee at place du Châtelet. To Walter, to bid him farewell.

¹²⁸ Among the emigrants there were some supporters of Prince Adam Czartoryski as a future king of the Kingdom of Poland. They were called royalists or monarchists.

¹²⁹ Hyacinth Horodyński (1786-1848) - a colonel of the cavalry in the November uprising, a major of the 10th uhlan regiment. He lived in Marseilles together with his wife and daughters. Duński wrote of him to Jański in his letter of October 10, 1838. On his way to Rome, he stopped in Marseilles.

¹³⁰ This undoubtedly refers to an examination of Victor Ogiński, a student of Jański.

¹³¹ Alexander Maliszewski (1811-1851) - a student of medicine in Warsaw; he participated in the November uprising as a second lieutenant in the 4th infantry regiment. He lived in France as an emigrant. In 1834 he enrolled in the School of Medicine at Montpellier, but did not finish the course. He underwent treatment in a hospital for the mentally ill.

Marszewski (levity) until 9:30. I speak to Leopold about Joseph, under the seal of secrecy [?] Sidorowicz etc. about [a word is illegible], the porter, Januszkiewicz.¹³²

659

Tuesday, [August] 20. Saint Bernard

Holy Communion at the Blessed Sacrament Sisters.¹³³ To Collège Stanislas. A letter to Górski. To Juilly; I get soaked by the rain. When I arrive I am uncomfortable, and suffering from a cold.

Wednesday, [August 21]. Saint Joan

I do not receive Communion. I leave at 2 o'clock. The daughter of Madame Boné.¹³⁴ I find a letter from Mr. Łuszczewski waiting for me.

683

Thursday, [August] 22

To Mr. Boré¹³⁵ - to Burgaud des Marets.

Tax. To Ordęga. To Mrs. Hube.

At two, at home for the Caeńczyks.

To Zdziennicki.

Inquire about Juilly.

L'abbé Gaubile\Gobile¹³⁶ au Mans.

681

Monday, [August] 26

Letters: from Mr. and Mrs. Łuszczewski; to Szymański; to Bojanowski.

To Mrs. Hube (about boarding).

Siennicki etc.

¹³² From this day comes Jański's note about dedicating himself to perfection among the laity which is located in the Appendix as position XVI.

¹³³ In the middle of the 17th century a convent of the Benedictine Sisters of Perpetual Adoration of the Most Blessed Sacrament was established in Paris. In Poland they were called the "Sacrament Sisters". Their convent was located on rue Ferou 11.

¹³⁴ Madame Boné - further information is lacking.

¹³⁵ Léon Boré - a journalist at "Université Catholique" and a professor at the Collège Stanislas. A friend of Jourdain.

¹³⁶ L'Abbé Gaubile, au Mans - A Catholic priest about whom further information is lacking. Undoubtedly he lived in Mans in the Sarthe Department.

Burgaud des Marets

Fr. Badiche

Confession

Łempicki, Jabłoński, Królikowski

Kranas, Koźmian, Maliński, Joseph Zawadzki

Rome. Warsaw.

Tuesday, [August] 27

Jaś's letters

Burgaud des Marets

Letters. Preparation for confession.

Thursday, [August 29]

Joseph Hube

Friday, [August 30]

To Fr. Buquet. At six, to Pecqueur.

Fr. Czerkas¹³⁷ at about four. - Mercier.

Saturday morning [August 31]

To Rettel and to confession.

A letter to Fr. Prior.

chez monsieur Cliquet,¹³⁸

rue Saint André des Arts 53.

682

Sunday, September 1

Monday, [September 2]

Fr. Czerkas between one and two o'clock.

Complaint about the overcoat and umbrella.

Sunday, [September] 8

Czarnecki¹³⁹ between four and five.

¹³⁷ Roman Czerkas (1801-1875) - a former Jesuit. After the order was suppressed in Połock, he lived in Paris teaching in Jesuit schools and boarding schools. Toward the end of his life he was stationed at the church of Saint-Séverin in Paris.

¹³⁸ Monsieur Cliquet - further information is lacking.

¹³⁹ Czarnecki - further information is lacking.

Transon. Tattens.

Monday, [September 9]

To Mejnzer between twelve and one.
(To Fr. Blanc, l'abbé Gaubile, au Mans)

Thursday, [August 22] Octave of the Assumption

At Mr. Boré. I am weak, and so return home.

Friday, [August] 23

Almost the entire day in bed. Weak.
(A letter from Rome)

Saturday, [August] 24

In the morning, Sidorowicz invites me to visit Prince Giedrojć

I pay for letters from Rome.

To Fr. Buquet (in the chapel) at about six.

Grand Jean.¹⁴⁰ To Prince Giedrojć for Napoleon, in order to offer greetings to Fr. Buquet. I offer the greetings and go home.

Sunday, [August] 25

I leave for church very late, and then breakfast at Felber. Vespers at the Carmelites, and then home. Père Grand Jean will be coming to La Trappe after Saint Climacus. I talk nonsense in answering. Fr. Czerkas. I write a letter to Błotnicki for him.

660

Monday, [August] 26

I am supposed to write letters. I go to see Mrs. Hube (about boarding). To Saint-Roch (I do not remain for Mass). Siennicki. Boleś [Wielogłowski] 100 francs. Breakfast along the rue l'Estrapade. To Burgaud des Marets (he is not in). I return by omnibus at about one or two o'clock. Mercier. Dinner at Felber, and then by omnibus to Fr. Badiche with the books.

Tuesday, August 27

¹⁴⁰ Grand Jean - This is undoubtedly the name Jański gave to Fr. Jean, a Trappist, the master of novices and librarian at La Trappe.

To Jaś (he is not in). I give Sidorowicz 20 francs for the butcher. To Mrs. [Romuald] Hube. With Siennicki to the banker. At about four, to the steamship office. With a letter to the postoffice (the cab driver is a philosopher). To Romuald's wife with a vest for Romuald etc. Dinner at Quinze-Vingts. To Hube Sr.

Wednesday, [August] 28

At seven to the Lafitte¹⁴¹ stage-coach in order to see Adolph off. He had already left. On the way back, all the way to Jaś (he is not in). Breakfast at carre- four de l'Odéon (Henszel, Sołtyk). By bus to the banker on rue Bergère. He does not give me any money. To Romuald's wife; she is not there. To Mikułowski, Kowalewski etc. and back to Mrs. Hube. A female companion. She agrees not to go. I leave at about three, and go to Hube Sr. In the evening to Hube Sr. Joseph is not there. To Romuald's wife, to the parlor. I return on foot. Fruit along the way.

Thursday, [August 29]

I stay home in the morning in order to rest. At about ten o'clock I go to visit Hube. Joseph is there. I go with him to the hatter, and then back home. He goes to his father's house. I go to Saint-Sulpice, and for breakfast to Felber. Coffee on rue Bus [?]. With Joseph to Romuald's wife after one o'clock. We talk about our affairs. To the steamship office; the money is there. I return to Romuald's wife, and write in the albums. At four I go to the passage Panoramas to meet with Hube Sr., and then go home by bus. Fr. Korycki. Fr. Czerkas. Dinner at chez Dagneaux. At 8:30, to Hube Sr. I leave with Marszewski.

Friday, [August 30]

I get up before six and go to the Hubes. Joseph left at five, and so I do not go to the steamship but to church - until 7:30. Then I go to Jaś (I return the letters). To Ordęga (and milk). "Journal des Débats" in the Luxembourg. I leave the books I got from Jaś at home. Breakfast at Felber. Mr. Lefauré. Back home at about twelve. (I was supposed to get down to letters immediately, and prepare for confession.) I dozed off until two or three o'clock. To Fr. Buquet (but he had already left). Mercier, tiresome and silly. At about six, Fr. Czerkas. At about seven dinner at Felber (fried sole) and coffee at carrefour de l'Odéon. Ranke.

Saturday, [August 31]

¹⁴¹ Lafitte - the name of a high-grade Burgundian wine - here the name of a Paris stage-coach.

I got up after six. Siennicki (angry at the Hubes) I leave the house before eight. Mr. Referendary. Parlon (he is not in). Rettel, and tea. To Saint-Sulpice at ten. Newspapers on rue de Seine, and Wołowski. Januszkiewicz returns 35 francs (and Kazimirski). Back home at about twelve. Mikułowski until two. Fr. Czerkas. Kamocki (three o'clock) with propositions about a draft. Kozłowski - four o'clock. Mercier. And there is still confession. A big rainstorm. Nevertheless Turowski is going to Vincennes. And unfortunately the time passed without confession.

678

Sunday, September 1

The carpenter's wife, apparently to borrow money - and I give her 15 francs. A silent Mass in Saint-Sulpice. Kamocki is leaving at twelve. I was supposed to see him off. Mr. Francis Grzymała. Siennicki, about a letter for tomorrow. Vespers also in Saint-Sulpice. During the sermon I went to the chapel of the Blessed Virgin to pray. On leaving I did not wish to go for dinner immediately, and so I walked toward the Palais-Royal. I met Kazimirski, and walked with him along the rue du Bac, through the quai d'Orsay, then toward rue Taranne (we cannot separate), and finally to Felber. Cliquet was there. I accompany him in the evening without necessity. I catch cold and cough (we talk about the republic, the nobility in Poland etc.). In the evening I receive a short letter from Prince Giedroją about Strykowski.

Monday, [September] 2

Siennicki; I write a letter for him. Mrs. Łuszczewska about Juilly and Freiburg¹⁴² etc. The letter to Siennicki for one o'clock etc. A second short letter from Prince Giedroją about Strykowski. To Saint-Sulpice; for newspapers on rue du Yieux Colombier. To Prince Giedroją with an excuse concerning Strykowski. Back home (Fr. Czerkas does not come). Siennicki, and I send him for syrup. While he is gone I write a letter to Fr. Bernard [Dugué]. He bought a ticket, and will go [to La Trappe]. The *Ordo Romanus* for Fr. Rooney. For dinner. Purchases for Bojanowski. I write a letter to Szymański about a priest for Turowski. In the evening to the Reading Room - Wroński.

Tuesday, [September] 3

¹⁴² Friburg - French Fribourg, German Freiburg, a city in Western Switzerland. Peter Canitius, a Jesuit, established a college in this city, which his confreres directed from 1580-1848.

To Mr. Referendary. I show him a letter from Madame Aporille; she will not return until Friday. Breakfast. Then home to wait for Ordęga (he does not come).

After six, for dinner; the rain soaks me. Back home. Anthony Szymański, about etc., about Thomas Łubieński; for Thursday.

Wednesday, September 4

In the morning Szulc takes a blood sample. About Greuvé. Sidorowicz advises me to see Louis,¹⁴³ rue de Ménars, 8. I leave home late to visit Hłuszniewicz; he is not in. For dinner (without meat). I do not go to visit Louis, for I do not know his office hours.

Back home - and Jacob [Szymański] gives me the records of his court sessions etc.; the charges against him. He tells me about Fr. Czerkas' accident etc.

In the evening water for my feet, but it is just lukewarm.

Thursday, [September] 5

I give the baker a draft for 33 francs from the rue des Postes. After getting up late, I go to Saint-Sulpice. Newspapers, and then to Januszkiewicz. I get 5 francs (I buy a mnemonic table). Dinner at Felber - a chicken fricasse etc. Then back home. On my way I meet Fr. Czerkas. Kaczanowski is acquainted with him. I wish to leave before seven, but they detain me in order to soak my feet. The water is very hot. Napoleon. Kaczanowski etc.

Friday, [September] 6

I get up late. To church at about eleven. To the shoemaker for shoes. A jar of preserves. Newspapers. Further volumes of Ranke - and back home. Salve - a sealing wax - gum... I am supposed to prepare for confession, write letters - but I read Ranke. Miraflor delivers a letter from Jabłoński. I doze. At about five o'clock Chełkowski, Omieciński, Kaczanowski, Marszewski, Napoleon etc. Soaking my feet.

Saturday, September 7

I wake up at six; medicine. Czarnecki is already leaving today; he wants 60 francs. Woronicz is leaving for Saint-Étienne. A letter from Adolph. I read

¹⁴³ Pierre-Charles Louis (1787-1872) - a French doctor who specialized in contagious diseases, the author of medical statistics. After the death of his son of consumption in 1854 he discontinued his professional and teaching work. Recommended to the emigrants by Ferdinand Dworzaczek and Charles Marcinkowski, he served as Prince Adam Czartoryski and Zygmunt Krasiński's doctor.

Ranke. I get up at about ten. Pére Grand Jean from La Trappe (Fr. Rooney left for America, along with Fr. Forbin de Janson). Sznajderski. At 11:30 I go to Saint-Sulpice and for the newspapers. I get back home before one. Meyzner. Biergiel and Czarnecki. I tell him to come back tomorrow between four and five. Joseph [Hube] and Nowakowski.¹⁴⁴ Mercier.

688

I laid down in bed during the octave of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin [from Sunday, September 8, to Monday, the 16th].¹⁴⁵

On the Wednesday before that, blood-letting.

I left the house for the first time after my illness on Sunday, October 27, going to Saint-Sulpice to celebrate the Feast of Reparation for all of the insults to the Most Blessed Sacrament.

For several days after that I did not leave the house.

685 Tomorrow, Tuesday, October 29

To Jabłoński; to Wróblewski; Rome; Maliński

To Dijon - to Jabłoński

To Kranas for Bautain.

- Return the *Seer from Prevost* to Prince Ogiński, or leave it with Januszkiewicz.

- Verify the laundryman's bill.

688

Wednesday, [October 30]

I went to visit Mr. La Ville.¹⁴⁶

Thursday, [October 31] the Vigil of All Saints

I suggest confession to [Casimir] Kozarzewski. Fr. Lefèvre.¹⁴⁷

Friday, [November 1]

Princess [Kunegunda] Ogińska come to visit, but does not find me at home. I go out with Ordega.

¹⁴⁴ Stanislaus Nowakowski - a friend of Joseph Hube.

¹⁴⁵ Jański's *Confession on September 8* is located in the Appendix as position XVII.

¹⁴⁶ La Ville de Mirmont (1783-1845) - A French writer and poet.

¹⁴⁷ Emmanuel Lefèvre (1809-1879) - ordained a priest in 1834. Administrator of the church of Saint-Germain d'Auxerrois.

Saturday, [november] 2

I receive 600 francs from Mr. La Ville. I have decided to leave. I go to visit Mr. Ladislaus [Plater], to mademoiselle de Martin. Confession.¹⁴⁸ I travel to visit Mr. Lefaure. I get back home at about seven. Fr. Lefèvre could not wait for me. Princess Giedrojc - an urgent note to redeem what was pawned. I do not send for the holy Sacraments! In the evening, [Charles] Królikowski. I received a letter from Mr. Ladislaus [Plater] urging me to leave.

Sunday, [November] 3

Casimir [Kozarzewski] is dying, and there is no one with him! At ten to Holy Communion. I return before twelve. I meet Valerian [Wielogłowski]'s wife. Orpizewski, [John] Koźmian, Wróblewski.¹⁴⁹ All day at home.

Monday, [November 4]. Saint Charles¹⁵⁰

Holy Communion, especially for the intention of [Charles] Królikowski, [Charles] Kaczanowski etc. Wróblewski came to see me, frightened because he had not received money; I was cold toward him. I wrote a letter to Mr. Ladislaus, having come to a firm decision.

689

All day at home. At about 2 o'clock Dr. Wat, on a visit to a dead person.¹⁵¹ After three I travel to see the banker Bechet, about discounting a 600 franc note - he does not agree.

686

Buy articles for writing: pencils, sealing wafers, erasers.

To Rettel on Wednesday [November 6], on the occasion of his nameday, and definitely oblige him to go to confession. Retrieve Augustine's *Choix d'Ouvrage*.¹⁵²

Tuesday, [November 5] to Prince Ogiński and his wife.

¹⁴⁸ Undoubtedly confession for the dying Casimir Kozarzewski, whom Fr. Lefèvre was asked to visit.

¹⁴⁹ It is difficult to identify this Wróblewski. This may be Erasmus Wróblewski who was mentioned previously in Jański's Diary (Cf. 1836, footnote 156).

¹⁵⁰ Charles Borromeo (1538-1584) - Bishop, Cardinal; he helped to conclude the sessions of the Council of Trent. He was canonized in 1610.

¹⁵¹ Doctor Wat (?) - called to confirm Kozarzewski's death, and to provide a certificate of death.

¹⁵² *Choix d'Ouvrage Augustin* - a selection of the writings of St. Augustine of Hippo which was published by Panthéon Littéraire.

Urge Królikowski to go to confession this week.

Wednesday, [November 6]

Rig.¹⁵³ - Z[aleski?] - Desplanches - Witwicki - Ogiń[ska] - Mrs. Białopiotrowicz.

The dairy woman (look for the bill)

Walter

Thursday, [November 7]

Ask Królikowski about Ferdynand Karski.¹⁵⁴ Januszkiewicz about Balewicz.¹⁵⁵

At two, to Fr. Lefèvre. Wróblewski in the evening.

Friday, [November 8]

To Mr. Lefaure

To the Prince Ogińskis...

A letter to Mrs. Wilkszycki

Letters to Bońkowski and Kranas.

Saturday, [November 9]

At nine to the Most Blessed Black Madonna¹⁵⁶

The dairy woman. Parlon

Passport

Sunday, [November 10]

To Mr. and Mrs. Łuszczewski¹⁵⁷

At 3:30 to Philip [Walter]

After ten to Witwicki.

689

¹⁵³ Rig. - Rigaud, an official receiving transfers of funds.

¹⁵⁴ Ferdinand Karski - from Płock; participated in the November uprising as a second-lieutenant in the 20th infantry regiment; a former Secretary General in the Ministry for External Affairs in Warsaw.

¹⁵⁵ Joseph Balewicz (1800-1865) - an army man, he participated in the November uprising as a lieutenant in the 3rd regiment of mounted riflemen. He lived in Clamecy, where he was a photographer.

¹⁵⁶ Our Lady of the Bright Mountain (of Częstochowa), also referred to as the Black Madonna. Her picture was located in the church of the Assumption (l'Assomption) at the right side of the main altar.

¹⁵⁷ Adam and Theophile Łuszczewski - Cf. 1835, footnote 77.

Tuesday, [November] 5

At eleven exportation of the body. Mass in Saint-Sulpice. I return from rue Mont Parnasse because I am fatigued - and to the Giedrojćes. Only then do I take the pawn ticket. Dinner at home - and after three to Omieciński. The discount was completed on rue Berry. I give Mr. Lefaire 500 francs, and want to go to Walter, and to Łuszczewski. I walk up and down rue Saint-Antoine looking for a bus, and finally find one. I receive an answer from Mr. Ladislaus along with a transfer of funds. Thanks be to GOD!

Wednesday, [November 6]

Mikulski irritates me by playing the fool and insisting on political explanations etc. to the point where I do not dare go to Holy Communion, even though this is Leonard's nameday. Breakfast at Dagneux. With the transfer of funds to Mr. Rigaud. Payment of the pawn ticket, 175 francs. To Desplanches etc. Back home for my coat; then to exchange a 1,000 Franc note, and home again. To Valerian and his wife for dinner. Too late; it is already after five. And so to rue d'Enfer.

Thursday, [November 7]

Once again I do not go to Holy Communion, for it is too late - after twelve, and there is some kind of wedding. Breakfast at Dagneux. (To Januszkiewicz; he has not returned as yet.) To Desplanches, the umbrella-maker and the hatter etc. I deliver the redemption of the pawn ticket to the Giedrojćes. To Fr. Lefèvre. To Valerian [Wielogłowski] for dinner. Walter. Mr. Romuald [Szymański].

Friday, [November 8]

To church at about eleven (I was impatient with Siennicki). Breakfast. Januszkiewicz. Rutkowski. A cab to Mr. Lefaire (he is not in). To the Prince Ogińskis. On my way back, to Mrs. Białopiotrowicz. In the evening Chodkiewicz, Biergiel, Królikowski.

690

[Wednesday], November 6. Saint Leonard

I would like to receive Holy Communion for the intention of Leonard, and the brothers who have strayed, as well as in thanksgiving to God for the new graces I have received, and for the help to pay my debts and my travel expenses.

Saturday, [November] 2

Evening. On my account Kozarzewski does not receive the holy Sacraments.

Saturday, [November] 9

To the police for a passport, which I obtained. Too bad! I should have put this off for later and got down to writing a letter to Mrs. Wilkszycki.

To confession,¹⁵⁸ and to Parlon. Dinner at the Valerian Wielogłowskis.

In the evening, Jawornicki¹⁵⁹ - There is no sign in my conversation of any Christian spirit, or unction, as after confession and before Holy Communion, but rather languor and indifference.

Sunday, [November] 10

Holy Communion. Breakfast at Valerian's house. Once again I was an hour late. Różycki stops by (why do I feel some kind of aversion, reluctance - and even a kind of discontent with Valerian).

To Witwicki at 1:30. Thank God 365 francs arrive, (of which 65 are for me). Why in my conversation with him - so sincere and simple - do I maintain mental reservations about intentions, secret plans, of not sending this money to Rome, but, etc.

To Walter for dinner, and again I am late - instead of being there at 3:30, I get there at 4:30. I stayed there until 7:30, lacking energy and without any spirit. After I get home, immediately i begin to doze while reading *Saint Martin of Tours*¹⁶⁰ by Mercier.

704

Sunday, [November] 10, evening.

Verify the bill of the laundryman.

Saint Martin of Tours.

Monday, November 11

¹⁵⁸ The text of *the confession of November 10* is found in the Appendix, position XVIII.

¹⁵⁹ John Marcellus Jawornicki (1813-1895) - participated in the November uprising. In 1836 he lived in Galicia and in the Ukraine, conducting a meat market. He traveled abroad to increase his knowledge; he was in France. When he returned from his travels he engaged in agricultural, commercial and administrative activities in Kraków.

¹⁶⁰ St. Martin of Tours (316 or 317-397) - a former Roman legionary, initiator of monastic life in France, Bishop of Tours. Sulpicius Severus was the first to write his biography. His feast is celebrated liturgically on November 11.

To Desplanches. (To Rettel with a reminder.)
 Between eleven and twelve, the laundryman.
 Between seven and eight in the evening, Wróblewski

Tuesday, [November 12]

Letter to Walter
 The dairy woman
 Siennicki's letter to Mr. Referendary
 To Mr. Lefaure; to Mr. and Mrs. Łuszczewski.
 To Adolph; to Bońkowski; to Kranas; to Ziomecki

Wednesday, [November] 13. St. Stanislaus Kostka

(Wish Iwanowski a happy feastday.)¹⁶¹
 The portress. The dairy woman.
 Between eleven and twelve to Desplanches.
 Dinner with Mr. and Mrs. Łuszczewski.
 Królikowski's business.
 To Fr. Badiche, with the books. Sending money.

Thursday, [November 14]

Fr. Buquet. Fr. Korycki.

Friday, [November] 15. Blessed Albert the Great¹⁶²

Desplanches.
 8:45, Iwanowski about Fr. Buquet.
 Królikowski will stop by at about eleven or twelve
 To the dentist
 Look at the house on rue Jean Bart
 A letter to Boleslaus from Fr. Badiche.

Saturday, [November 16] Saint Edmund,¹⁶³ offer greetings to Korabiewicz.

Sunday, [November 17]

Ladislaus Plater - Giedrojć.

¹⁶¹ Stanislaus Iwanowski - Cf. 1835, footnote 337.

¹⁶² Albert the Great (c.1206-1280) - a Dominican theologian and philosopher. His feast is celebrated liturgically on November 15.

¹⁶³ Edmund of Abingdon (c.1180-1240) - theologian and philosopher, eloquent preacher, Archbishop. Author of the ascetical tract *Speculum Ecclesiae*. His feast was celebrated in England on November 16.

Verify the bill of the laundryman.
Dinner at Walter.

Monday, [November 18]

To the baker by way of Victor. Starzyński.
Put stamps on the registered letters.
To Madame Niboyet.
Mr. Louis, if possible. Confession.

Tuesday, [November 19]

At nine o'clock at the Carmelites.
At ten, at [Zerosław] Starzyński.
Breakfast, and back home.
At one, to Plater. To the dentist.
To the police. After four, to Valerian.

Wednesday, [November 20]

Mercier for necessary things.

Thursday, [November 21]

Wróblewski at 7 P.M.
Henszel, for the dictionary and the note.
Transon.

706

Sunday, [November 24]

Wróblewski at two o'clock.

Monday, [November 25]

(Light overcoat - trunk)

Tuesday, [November 26]

Handkerchiefs, socks, etc.

Wednesday. [November 27]

Umbrella-maker, Henschel, Madame Cárđinal.¹⁶⁴
Pencil and ink-bottles.
Plater. Fr. Buquet. Baudé.

¹⁶⁴ Madame Cárđinal - a person about whom further information is lacking.

707 To Adolph: like from Côtne to Alligny.¹⁶⁵

Starzyński, 62 rue d'Enfer.

Fr. Trepka, rue des Enfants Rouges, 8, near the shrine.

Madame Mécou, a widow, rue de la Harpe, 102.

Chez Monsieur Horet, Place des Cordeliers, No.28, Restaurant.

- Monsieur Charles Frenet, rue de la Germe, No.4

Fr. Korycki, rue d'Arcole, impasse de Sainte-Marine 4.

691

Monday, [November] 11. Saint Martin

I receive Holy Communion. After breakfast back home in order to write a letter to Mrs. Wilkszycki. It is hot. Mercier is working. And so I lie down. I want to rest. I doze. I do nothing until dinner at Valerian. After dinner he tells me about his need, and so I promise him 100 francs; he is to send for these tomorrow morning. Back home. Parlon is waiting for me. I give him 80 francs etc., and Wróblewski etc.

692

Tuesday, [November] 12

A servant comes from Plater. Church. Breakfast at rue Dauphine. To Mr. Lefaure; he agrees to cancellation.¹⁶⁶ To Mr. Ladislaus. To Iwanowski (he already rented the apartment). To Desplanches inviting him to visit me (on Wednesday). John Zieliński.¹⁶⁷ To Valerian for dinner with the 100 francs.

Wednesday, [November 13]. St. Stanislaus Kostka.

Orpizewski... Church. Dagneux. Des Planches. Back home. Payments to the portress (clothes after Kozarzewski). At three, to Henszel. Héb[ert].¹⁶⁸ at the Łuszczewskis. Fr. Badiche, where I stay until ten.

Thursday, [November 14]

In the morning I stay in bed for a long time. For breakfast to Valerian. I meet Princess Giedroń. Back home, Królikowski. I was supposed to visit Fr.

¹⁶⁵ Côtne - the principal city in the French Department of Nièvre. Dr. Terlecki worked in Alligny.

¹⁶⁶ This refers to the consent to cancel an agreement between Jański and the owner dealing with the rental of the house on rue Vavin 13.

¹⁶⁷ John Zieliński - Cf. 1833, footnote 25.

¹⁶⁸ Héb[ert] - Cf. above, footnote 113.

Buquet (I do not go). A letter to Miss de Martin, and to the printer. Greuvé. Dinner. Back home. I am weak, languid; I do nothing. Sz wajcyr, Królikowski.

693

Friday, [November] 15

Desplanches brings the dresses. Iwanowski at 8:45, to visit Fr. Buquet. Królikowski at about eleven. I receive from him tickets to Mortagne from Nevers and Orléans.

Korabiewicz. I offer him greetings for his nameday tomorrow.

Saturday, [November] 16

I delay confession - unfortunately.

100

65

65

230

694

Sunday, [November] 17

To Holy Communion. Dinner at Walter.

Monday, [November 18]

To Żerosław; (he is not in). I cannot spend the night at home due to the lack of funds, and so I sleep at Valerian's house.

Tuesday, [November] 19

At nine to the Carmelites for Mass. At ten, at Żerosław [Starzyński]; he welcomes me with open arms. Breakfast at rue d'Enfer, and then home. To Plater - with Królikowski. To the dentist. To the police about Królikowski. To Valerian at four o'clock.

Wednesday, [November] 20

I send what is owing to Madame Niboyet, and for Dunin's¹⁶⁹ portraits. The weather is bad; they do not let me leave the house. Marszewski buys a

¹⁶⁹ Martin Dunin (1774-1842) - Archbishop of Gniezno and Poznań in the years 1830-1942.

chicken. I do not go out at all. (Królikowski goes to Juilly. Dainpartie).¹⁷⁰
Mercier for necessary things.

Thursday, [November] 21

Once again I do not go out, the whole day. In the evening, at seven, Wróblewski.

Friday, [November] 22

I go out for breakfast and return home. I am weak.

Saturday, [November] 23

To Mr. Louis. To Avenarius and Heideloff¹⁷¹ for the books for Boleski. To Mr. Ladislaus. To the Visitation Sisters. To confession, unprepared and too late.

695

Sunday, [November] 24. Saint John of the Cross

I do not venture to go to Communion at the last Mass... Wróblewski at two (I am late).

Monday, [November] 25

After breakfast a cab and [paletot?]. Then to Mr. Ladislaus, and the trunk etc.

[Tuesday, November] 26

In the morning the water-man; I pay for two months
After breakfast at the baker. Reliquaries. To Ladislaus Plater. Handkerchiefs, socks, etc. etc. 14 francs. The umbrella to be repaired. [Louis] Królikowski arrived from Kraków,¹⁷² and so I go to visit him before five - and after dinner - from Valerian's house.

Wednesday, [November] 27

After breakfast to Madame Cárđinal. To Mr. Ladislaus (someone is there, and so I do not enter). Pulares, the umbrella man; to Henszel, and back home at three o'clock. Louis Królikowski is waiting for me - until five. I accompany him, and go for dinner to Dagneux.

¹⁷⁰ *Dainpartie* - I do not know to what this refers.

¹⁷¹ Edouard Avenarius - co-owner of the Paris bookstore: Brockhaus et Avenarius.
Heideloff - co-owner of the bookstore Heideloff et Campé on rue Vivienne 16.

¹⁷² Louis Królikowski from Kraków - Cf. 1830, footnote 34.

Thursday, [November] 28

The [Louis] Królikowskis come to look around. To Mr. de Bages.¹⁷³ After breakfast to Mr. Ladislaus; he has a letter from Rome, apparently by way of Wielogłowski. To Wielogłowski; he did not receive anything. I leave at 1:30. I buy a night-cap, a hat, a shirt etc. Then I go to Felber. (Plater does not come.) For dinner to the [Valerian] Wielogłowskis, and then to the Królikowskis - once again I give notice to the landlord.

Friday, [November 29]

Mr. Referendary, Koźmian, Benoiste with a letter from Mallet.¹⁷⁴ Późniak, Boleslaus [Wielogłowski] etc. Before eleven, to the church of Saint-Germain-du-Auxerrois.¹⁷⁵ Valerian's wife tells me about letters from Rome. I leave with Koźmian; breakfast at Felber. To Mr. Ladislaus; a farewell. To Mallet; I receive 604,17 (francs). Back home. I put my papers in order. To Valerian. Dinner. 3,000 francs. Until 10:30 [the text breaks off].

Saturday, [November] 30

Louis Królikowski. Ravet with the draft.¹⁷⁶ I leave home before twelve to go to Risler.¹⁷⁷ At 12:30 I go to Valerian. I remain there until 3:30. He tells me of his plans to announce a state of bankruptcy. He also speaks to me of letters. (Joseph Zaleski, Adolph). Back home to prepare for confession; however, I did not manage to prepare in time.

698

December 1. First Sunday of Advent.

I am still preparing for confession.¹⁷⁸ About ten o'clock, to Fr. Regnouf on rue de la Planch,15, and to Saint-Sulpice. +A few francs to Adolph.+ Breakfast, and back home in order to clean up a room for the arrival of Joseph

¹⁷³ This is how it is in the original. Jański corrected his error by writing Desages; Cf. footnote 188.

¹⁷⁴ Mallet - Cf. 1832, footnote 293.

¹⁷⁵ Undoubtedly on the anniversary of the outbreak of the November uprising.

¹⁷⁶ Ravet - further information is lacking.

¹⁷⁷ Risler - further information is lacking.

¹⁷⁸ The text of the *Confession on the first Sunday of Advent*, that is December 1, in the Appendix, position XIX.

Zaleski. He comes. He reads the very beautiful *Cries* of St. Teresa¹⁷⁹ to me. I give him the relics and the rosaries. I offer a few explanations with reference to the plan for a Polish Chancellery,¹⁸⁰ concerning our affairs, etc. Dinner at Valerian (was I not to speak to him any longer about his letter to Joseph Was[ilewski]?). He seemed to be impatient with someone.

[Monday, December] 2. St. Bibiana.¹⁸¹

I receive Holy Communion, and keep my spirit up as well as possible. To Leonard (he is not in). To Januszkiewicz (crowded with people,¹⁸² too late). + I cut my hair, buy collars, books, 6 copies of Gerbet, Henrion's *The History of religious orders, The Imitation, Lallemand, etc.* + Fr. Korycki comes along with great complaints, and I do not console him sufficiently. I return the 22 francs I owe him. Apparently with Valerian I continue to be dissatisfied with humiliation of self-love, that he does not hold me in high regard or love me, that he does not listen to me as before.

I receive Holy Communion, and thank God for a fervent spirit. I go to visit Leonard, and am greatly disturbed by his poor reception of me. I buy the *Petit Godescard*,¹⁸³ *St. Teresa's Way and Castle*. Dinner at Valerian. After that to Charles Królikowski. He gives me his plans for Schools for Children of Christ.¹⁸⁴ I pay Rogiński for the subscription to "The Pole".¹⁸⁵

Wednesday, [December] 4. Saint Barbara.

I had a desire to receive Holy Communion. Because of false scruples I do not receive; as a result later I feel indifferent. After Mass, and chocolate - to

¹⁷⁹ A famous poetical composition of St. Teresa of Avila. It is difficult to determine in whose Polish translation Jański recognized "the very beautiful call".

¹⁸⁰ *I am making some explanations with regard to the plan for a Polish Chancellery...* Cf. above, footnote 91. In the collection of manuscripts there is no trace of "some explanations".

¹⁸¹ St. Bibiana - a martyr for the Christian faith during the reign of the Emperor Julian the Apostate (4th century).

¹⁸² Perhaps on the occasion of the recent birthday of Eustachius Januszkiewicz on November 29(!).

¹⁸³ The *Petit* of Godescard is an epitome, extract, selection from the four-volume work *Abrégé de la vie des saints*; Cf. 1838, footnote 28.

¹⁸⁴ During Jański's illness Charles Królikowski supervised the House (until 1840) - Concerning plans for a School, no further information is available. Cf. 1835, footnote 172.

¹⁸⁵ Ferdinand Rogiński - Cf. 1836, footnote 154.

"The Pole" - a quarterly, later bi-weekly periodical published in Paris in the years 1837-1839; an organ of the Union of the Polish Emigration. The editors of the publication were Michael Borejko Chodźko (pseudonym Michel Polonais) and Julian (Jules) Mieczkowski.

Koźmian. He is not in, away somewhere on business. I go to visit Januszkiewicz, who gives me 50 francs, and we make plans for the future. To Valerian. He gives me 400 francs. I go home with them. I can't decide whether I should go to town. I do not go, except for dinner to Dagneux, where I have a little wine - according to the advice of Dr. Louis, ordinary "Bordeaux" - which bothers me. I lie down the whole evening, worn out.

699

Thursday, [December] 5. Saint Saba¹⁸⁶

Louis Królikowski stops by in the morning; (he tells me about yesterday's row with his wife). To Koźmian (Barczewski, Sz wajcy r, Rettel). And so Koźmian will not be traveling with me. +I give various commissions to Charles Królikowski, especially relative to Kaczanowski - he pays Arndt¹⁸⁷ etc.+ To Omieciński; he is not in. I leave a note asking him to stop by tomorrow. Breakfast at Lescophy, but I can eat practically nothing. I do not go to Mass, in order not to be late for my visit to the prince - punished for the volume. To Prince Czartoryski; he promises to give me a letter to Mr. Desages.¹⁸⁸ He receives me more coldly than previously. It is clear that he is prejudiced by street talk. He already considers our work a failure. Finally, he was irritated by the article in "Young Poland" regarding the celebration.¹⁸⁹ +Although I had said a Hail Mary beforehand, I was lacking in unction, as though I were taking the blame and the reasons for his animosity on myself. Why did I neglect Holy Communion? Why so badly about "Young Poland"?+

I came back by bus, and for the first time my feet froze. I was very fatigued. I undressed, and sent dear Charles to the Valerian [Wielogłowski] for dinner. I will stay at home for the night in order to gather my strength. However I am so weak, so sleepy, that I fall asleep with my clothes on until one o'clock. Since I was coughing, I took the pills.

¹⁸⁶ Saba (439-532) - a hermit, the founder of monastic colonies, cloister-colonies, called monasteries. An Abbot regarded as a saint by both the Catholic and the Orthodox Churches.

¹⁸⁷ Perhaps John Arndt, a druggist.

¹⁸⁸ Emil Dessages (1793-1850) - former secretary of the French embassy in Warsaw in the year 1811. A State Councillor and political director in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

¹⁸⁹ In connection with the anniversary of the November uprising, a meeting of the Literary Society took place in Paris on November 29 in the hall of the Polish Library on rue Surenne at which Prince Adam Czartoryski spoke. His speech was criticized by "Young Poland" (Nr. 34, December 2, 1839, pp. 397-408) which accused him of insincerity in the conduct of his Polish politics.

Friday, [December] 6. St. Nicholas

After taking the pills I no longer thought about going to Communion. I stayed at home for quite a while.

Omieciński stopped by (I gave him 125 francs). Charles [Królikowski] is arranging sales - the hatter. Kaczanowski, drawing-board, and rue T. - the cassock maker. Letters to Górski and Bojanowski, and it is too late for Mass. For breakfast to Risba, and by cab to Valerian (I meet Mrs. Januszewicz with her daughters¹⁹⁰ etc.). I apologize to Valerian, and shortly after go to rue Saint-André-des-Arts to put stamps on the letters to Bojanowski and Górski. To Walter (I return 85 francs, Auxiliaires Archives (Mr. Lefaire is not there); to Gotherlé¹⁹¹ (I pay 11 francs for Charles Kaczanowski). I change a 500 franc bill on rue du Bac, and go to the laundryman on Gros-Caillou¹⁹² (I give him 760 francs), and return home before five. Dinner from the Valerian Wielogłowskis. I am much better in the evening. However I doze, and as a result wake up at night.

700

Saturday, [December] 7. Saint Ambrose.

Today I do not even think about Holy Communion; however I do intend to hear Mass, and prepare well for Confession. Frost. Newspaper in the morning. The Allocution of the Holy Father in the matter of the Uniate schism.¹⁹³ Louis Królikowski drops by with his son. Once again bad news; he no longer wants to look for any employment for his wife etc. etc. An errand for Charles on Chaillot, to Stefański¹⁹⁴ and to Batignoles. Turkish beggar (I offer him a small alms, 7 francs). To Saint-Sulpice, thank God still in time for Mass before the elevation. After one, to Valerian. No one is there, but breakfast is left for me. I eat it and wait for Valerian. We leave before three - I go back home to

¹⁹⁰ Not known by the name Januszewicz (d.1888), the wife of Theophile Januszewicz (1796-1876). The latter participated in the November uprising, and was a co-founder of the Association of the Polish People. He was an emigrant in France, and was active in The Commission for Emigrant Funds. A member of the Polish Democratic Society. He rendered great service toward the growth of the Polish School in Batignolles. President of the Institute of Worship and Bread.

¹⁹¹ Gotherlé - further information is lacking.

¹⁹² Hôpital du Gros-Caillou - a military hospital in Paris on rue Saint-Dominique.

¹⁹³ The Allocution of Gregory XVI of November 22, 1839 concerning conversion of Uniate Bishops to the Orthodox Church, and the persecution of the Catholic Church in Russia.

¹⁹⁴ Charles Kaczanowski initially worked in a factory producing metal castings in the village of Chaillot in the suburbs of Paris, and later became a supervisor of workers. Stefański - at the time there were many Stefańskis in the emigration. It is not known which of these Jański had in mind.

prepare to go to confession today; but I do not make it in time, and so I do not go out any more.

695

In the evening my health in very good, except that I lie down without necessity, and so wake up at night.

708 Second week of Advent (1839)

Sunday, [December] 8

Charles with a letter to Korabiewicz.

Hunt up old clothes\ furniture for Turecki.

To Fr. Buquet and Baudét, and Fr. [name lacking]

To the Prince Ogińskis.

Monday, [December 9]

Philip [Walter]

Letter to Mr. Baykowski.¹⁹⁵

To Mr. De Bages.

Interest from Valerian's receipt.

700

Sunday, [December 8] Immaculate Conception of B.V.M.

I did not record my confession yesterday, and so only today.¹⁹⁶ However, I waste time in getting up and dressing; as a result it is already 11:30 when I leave. To Fr. Regnouf; too late! Therefore, only Mass. What a misfortune! Once more a week in lukewarmness!

After Mass to the [Valerian] Wielogłowskis. Chit-chat. Hłuśniewicz stops by and stays until 3:30. (An unnecessary waste of time. I should have been putting my papers in order at home.)

After dinner I lie down once again; idle talk etc.

Monday, [December 9]

701

Many visits: Walter, Koźmian etc., the landlord to sign a dissolution of the contract; he speaks so vehemently, and with wine on his breath, that I grow

¹⁹⁵ Undoubtedly Victor Baykowski (1794-after 1857) - a chaplain in the 3rd regiment of infantry riflemen in the November uprising.

¹⁹⁶ The text of *the confession on the second Sunday of Advent* is located in the Appendix, position XX.

weak. Moreover the visits continue, so that I grow impatient (a sin). I leave, no longer in time for Mass. For breakfast to Dagneux. On my way back I forget that this is the ninth, Valerian's nameday, but at Perisse I buy the *Meditations* of père Nouet, *Voyage d'un Irlandais* etc., and go straight home. Feliński stops in to talk about his trip to Rome. Today, only after dinner, a letter to Błotnicki, who asks about how I am doing. Charles to Mr. Edwards (but the drawing board is not ready).

Tuesday, [December] 10

After church to Valerian, and there breakfast as well as an hour of conversation; but once again I am caustic with regard to someone (a sin). Back home, and putting papers in order. Before Dinner, Meyzner stops by with a letter from Princess Ogiński to Mr. Caesar. In the evening, once again putting papers in order until late. Sending Charles to Mr. Edwards succeeds at last.

Wednesday, [December 11]

In the morning Królikowski (reconciled with his wife). Rostkowski in extreme need, sick etc. Breakfast at home. After leaving the house I go only to church. Chocolate. By bus after two o'clock, to Prince Adam [Czartoryski]; I still cannot find out about anything. To Mrs. Białopiotrowicz by way of farewell. I accompany her to place Vendôme,¹⁹⁷ and by myself in parisienne. Back home, fatigued. From Valerian Charles brings me a new letter of the Edwards from Rome, and the "Third of May"¹⁹⁸ In the evening I doze.

Thursday, [December] 12

I get up quite early. Sznajderski, with letters from Januszkiewicz, telling me that he has 100 francs for me for my voyage. - And these notes from Sunday. Then breakfast - and I decide not to go out. Instead I put papers in order all day, until dinner. After dinner a rest; dozing.

Friday, [December 13]

Finally the letter to Mr. Desages arrives. I get dressed in order to go and deliver it. O God! Help me!

¹⁹⁷ Place Vendôme - a square dating from the first half of the 18th century, situated on the site of the former palace of Prince Vendôme. At the center of the square was a sculptured column, erected by the Emperor Napoleon in honor of the Great Army.

¹⁹⁸ "The Third of May" - a weekly publication of the Polish emigrant monarchists, appearing in Paris from December 10, 1839 to March 31, 1848, edited first by Louis Orpizewski, and later by Janusz Woronicz.

715

Before leaving
rue Saint-Honoré

To Transon	to Desplanches
To Fr. Badiche	Pay the maid ¹⁹⁹
25 francs to Mrs. Niboyet	
To Adela	
To Orpiszewski	
I to the G[iedrojćes] 10 francs	
Kamocki, Orpiszewski	
Januszkiewicz	To Prince Czartoryski
Fr. Korycki	To Michel Chevalier
(Chełkowski)	
Januszkiewicz's business	

695

Sunday, [December 15]

Mercier	Kranas' address: Poitiers
(Mrs. Wilkszycka)	chez monsieur Bastard
Prince Giedrojć	
(Januszkiewicz)	letter to Ladislaus [Plater]
- for the stage-coach	(To Rome, to Warsaw)
To Mr. & Mrs. Ł[uszczewski]	
and Fr. ...	
Fr. Badiche	
Transon	
Parlon	

715a

Letters: to Królikowski
to Łempicki, Fr. Dłuski, Jabłoński, Valen[tine]
to Gorski, Leyki²⁰⁰
to Bordeaux

¹⁹⁹ This undoubtedly refers to Mrs. Boré, the "cassock seamstress", who had to be paid "upward of 100 francs for cassocks".

²⁰⁰ Francis Xavier Leyko from Lithuania, an 1831 insurgent, a second-lieutenant of the uhlans.

to Guderley
to Maliński

8594
1207

For Monday, December 16 (the vigil of my departure)

To Fr. Buquet and Mr. Baudet (Fr. Augé's address)

To Prince Giedrojc and his wife

To Saint-Chéron

To Mr. Referendary Hube

To the commissioner with Victor [Sidorowicz]

To church. Breakfast and cab

To Valerian

Orpiszewski. Chrles Królikowski

To Kunatt. To Hłuśniewicz

To Mequignon for Liberman²⁰¹

Victor will buy:

1. a tin plate for visiting cards and bandages

2. a pocket-knife

3. *Abrégés de la Religion* by l'abbé Merauld (d'Orleans),²⁰² *Introduction à la Philosophie de l'histoire*

(buy Lamennais' latest *De l'Esclavage moderne* and other recent editions)²⁰³

to the banker

letters to Hippolyte and Szotarska

(at least from Côtne)

To Prince Ogiński and his wife

to Mr. and Mrs. Łuszczewski

(To Fr. Augé)

²⁰¹ Mequignon - a French bookseller.

Bruno Franz Leopold Liebermann (1759-1844) - A German Catholic priest, theologian and social writer. He contributed to raising the intellectual level in the seminary in Moguntia. Vicar General of Strasbourg. The founder of a theological school; author of *Institutiones theologiae dogmaticae* (a seminary text).

²⁰² Athanase-René Merauld de Bizy (1744-1835) - Rector of the seminary in Orleans, an apologist.

²⁰³ ...other recent ones - this undoubtedly refers to Lamennais' works such as *De la Lutte entre la Coeur et le pouvoir parlam.*

(Relics and Gombert²⁰⁴
a letter to Fr. Buquet

From Mercier
{paper, metal pens, ink for Mrs. Łuszczewski
Letter to Fr. Kamocki
Letter to Ziomecki (at least from Côtne)

1208
Tuesday, [December 17]
Commissioner
Kunatt. Ordega. Paper. Hłuśniewicz.
Transon, Jourdain, Szwaycyr, Świącicki
Valerian, Madame Niboyet
Saint-Chéron. Mr. Referendary. Madame de Martin.
Prince and Princess Giedroją. Fr. Buquet, Baudet.
Walter and Mr. and Mrs. Łuszczewski.

1209 Cards with farewell

Transon	Jaś	Hłuśniewicz
Jourdain +	Orpizewski	<u>Mr. Referendary</u>
Saint-Chéron	Ordega	Madame Niboyet +
Prince and Princess Ogiński		
Prince and Princess Giedroją		
+Wesołowski ²⁰⁵ and Korabiewicz+		
Seuffert, Ropelewski		
Mrs. Białopiotrowicz		
de Martin +		
Koźmian		
Mr. and Mrs. Łuszczewski		
+Szwaycyr		
+major Świącicki		

²⁰⁴ Vincent Gombert - the author of *Le Bon exemple de la Madeleine...* Paris, 1633;, the 4th edition of this work appeared in Paris in 1837.

²⁰⁵ Wesołowski - further information is lacking.

APPENDIX

I.

IN THE PAST YEAR, 1838...

8627

906

In the past year, 1838, after the retreat in La Trappe and then in Solesmes
 - how much evil still remained in my heart when, in sending letters from
 Mortagne to Mrs. Giedrojć, and to Caesar, I worked so hard to show myself to
 best advantage.

- and after arriving in Paris, I did not manage to respond to Caesar's letter
 which contained such good news.

- from there a trip to Clamecy and Nevers

- and there such a loose life; and I did not write at all to the Brothers in
 Rome

- and such neglect in dealing with the Zaleskis

- and a lie to Edward, that I sent his letter to Rome, while I kept it so long

- and finally, such impotence in the midst of financial difficulties.

- and my behavior toward Mrs. Mickiewicz

- and then in the midst of dispersion - misery

O God, have mercy! Grant perseverance for the future.

II.

8592

1182 January 31, 1839

THE QUESTION: WHETHER WITH A NEWSPAPER...

The question: Should I not, together with the newspaper, reveal to the
 chosen few the project of submitting the government to the Pope etc., and for
 this the proper votes and pledges.

- The editorial staff gathers after Holy Communion and appropriate
 prayer.

Regular meetings, communication of ideas for articles after *Veni Sancte*
 etc.

- Along with incorporating anew the idea of a spiritual government,
 should we not also undertake efforts among non-Poles, etc.

- This hidden idea, veiled, propaganda only for the Church, of unity etc. With works a priori - perhaps, parochial service. - Among fellow Poles, by way of pious fraternities.

In order to implant it in the nation - educational work and publication of suitable works (Ranke, Hunt²⁰⁶), for which collections are taken up, etc.

- In the first number of the publication, deposition of all the leaders of parties, and enthronement of the Holy Spirit and Christ the Lord.

When others bind themselves to blood traditions, to inspirations drawn from foreign customs and worldly wisdom, we will begin with the observation that we are one of the Christian families, and are inspired by the thought of universal unity in Christ the Lord, etc.

(A declaration concerning "Young Poland": It does not contain the name of a single Pole, or even a translator.) We accept the work of one who is not a Pole etc., but not the imposition of himself upon this medium etc. in which there is dishonesty and duplicity.

- Presentation of a report to our people of the years that have passed in the emigration etc.

III.

8627

954

INITIAL THOUGHTS AND INSPIRATIONS AT LA TRAPPE

While praying for God's blessing upon this retreat of mine, I should always be grateful for God's infinite mercy, for it was definitely He in his divine mercy who led me here.

For how many incidents, relationships, acquaintances in my recent sinful life might have drawn me away from this - and God knows for how long!

Reasons for obedience to all of the commandments of the Church, especially those relative to the doctrine concerning purity.

And even though I always nurtured the thought of coming here, I continued to behave as though I did not have it. Thus, God wanted to give me a permanent lesson that my conversion was very clearly accomplished only by means of his grace and mercy, while my bad will and bad life was doing everything to the contrary.

²⁰⁶ Perhaps John Henry Leigh Hunt (1784-1859) - an English writer, journalist and poet.

Up until now, (unfortunately), I ascribed every good undertaking, project, progress, to the good that was in me (if not openly, then secretly). Now what a humiliation! What a lesson!

God grant that this would serve as the greatest, most lasting, eternal, benefit for me.

A lesson: A guarantee is needed in case the Elder Brother should fail. Why until now have I opposed this in practice (based on reasoning that the Elder Brother is the most perfect?). However, at any moment the most perfect may be the most imperfect.

A lesson concerning the need for constant training in humility. By way of humility I would have conquered the first tendencies to sophistry etc.

IV.

[May 17...]

912

REFLECTIONS ON PAST SINS

Reflecting on past sins (which will be difficult for me to avoid in the future, and even what I should do to achieve definite contrition), it would be good for me to write down conclusions, a kind of formulation of my past, with regard to each of my sins: what was the occasion for such, and in what circumstances did it either increase or decrease.

By setting down such conclusions in writing, perhaps I can settle my thoughts with regard to the whole of my past life, and thereby avoid so many of the empty reveries I have experienced up to now. This will also serve as material for a daily act of contrition, and daily resolutions.

(Today, on the Friday before Pentecost, I have spent a long time reflecting on the sin of impurity, from my 16th year on. What a sad conclusion: I was at my worst when I should have been at my best.

- What a shameful service I offered to my brother Stephen, Jaroszyński, Maliński, and Walter!... What in relations with Ziomecki, Danił[owski], Alexandra! What kind of a son was I to my mother, my father? - Anthony, Anthony! Only egotistic sentimentality: I do good only when I have an attraction for it.

What kind of friend - how easily neglecting some for others, exploiting them.

- Not a word to Olechowski before he died - and Jaroszyński! -

- Rybicki in Paris, how neglected! - Królikowski, only when needed! And Burgaud des Marets - and Ribes, Boussonel, Benoist, Carnot?!

913

How did I strike up every friendship, every acquaintance, with money in mind, mainly without doubt through disarray in my interests - but why did that disarray reach such a degree that I had no respect for delicacy, and feelings that were so respected!

Today almost all of those relationships have been compromised, all acquaintances exploited, scandalized by my disorder, frustration. What zeal, humility, and perseverance do I need now!

And how many relationships neglected.

How many of those closest to me from my youth - Łempicki, Grzybowski, Jabłoński, etc. - did I neglect, without doing anything to enlighten them, because they were not at my side - through neglect in correspondence - and mainly due to a lack of zeal, as a bad friend.

How many times, once having conquered myself, for example having written a letter, fulfilling some inspirations, could I have emerged from the greatest of difficulties, extricated myself from the evil, which later gave birth to a whole series of transgressions and suffering!

How often formerly, in my childhood and younger years, a single morning rising, a single lesson concerning what, with all good will, enabled me to get on my feet, and opened new faculties of the mind, new fields for my future... (as when I learned Greek, how to read French books, etc., how to learn one or another philosophical system, etc.).

Do not neglect! Do not neglect obligations and inspirations!

V.

[Friday, May 17]

8532

254

CATEGORIES OF THE FUTURE

Thank you, O God, infinite Love! Today, the Friday before Pentecost, unexpectedly, I experienced once again within me the desire, the inspiration, the hunger to leave the world and people completely, and to isolate myself somewhere in a desert place in order to communicate solely with the Lord, and to dedicate myself solely to his holy love, doing penance for my past sins, praying for myself, as well as for all of those who are in spiritual or corporal need of conquering the old man within themselves, of overcoming all of the de-

mands of corrupt nature, of remembering, and understanding more fully, the words of the Lord contained in the Sacred Scriptures. Only then will I be able to become worthy of teaching and leading others.

However, without regard for the possibility and the time required to execute this holy project, it is necessary right now, in the circumstances in which God has placed me, to strive with all my strength for perfection, a most complete union with the Lord, and rebirth in Jesus Christ.

Would it not be proper to think, and even beforehand to arrange things in such a way that, after putting everything in order, and making provision for the continuation and growth of the spiritual union whose initial care God entrusted to me - I might renounce all seniority, and escape to a solitary life with the Lord?

And even before this provision for security and renunciation of seniority, would it not be possible at least at times to move to such an isolated spot, or even arrange for a permanent residence there, which I would leave only in time of extreme need, and from which I might direct the brothers?

(Perhaps Villebon, Daumont or Mont Valérien)²⁰⁷

VI. [Sunday, May 19]

8627

922

INSPIRATIONS OF THE HOLY SPIRIT ON PENTECOST SUNDAY

I got up for the religious service at midnight. After arriving in church, and after a humble and very confident prayer in spirit, I was suddenly enlightened and wholly taken up with the three thoughts that had occupied me throughout this entire holy day, and which continue to remain deeply rooted in my heart.

O God, for Your glory and my eternal benefit, may I find mercy in You!

I. In order to begin a new and truly Christian life, and to persevere in it, before God and people, I need to abandon all mental reservations (deriving from my self-love and my own wantonness), all hidden preoccupation, which I

²⁰⁷ Villebon - a town in the vicinity of Paris.

would be ashamed to admit, and which up to now I have admitted to practically no one, only hinting at it to my brothers.

To have nothing troubling, impure, doubtful and suspicious, disturbing and confused, in my thoughts and feelings. And so, of necessity, to unravel, clarify and cleanse all my plans, tendencies or feelings - and that by way of prayer, humility, mortification and most pure love, as well as by the most perfect fulfillment of the resolutions I have made, receiving thereby the graces of the Holy Spirit.

Reveal and root out all of the bad habits and evil affections, which are the cause of this internal confusion and trouble. This in order that I may desire to be united with God, and work most resolutely with my whole soul toward introducing unity and complete harmony within myself; so that the light of the Spirit might disperse all the darkness of my thoughts, inflame all the cold areas of my heart, and strengthen me in the face of all my weaknesses and bad habits.

Holy Spirit, enlighten me!

Holy Spirit, strengthen me!

Holy Spirit, light a fire within me, and envelop me completely with Your most perfect love!

What kind of thoughts, what affections, what habits create this disunity etc. within me? Impurity? Purification. Illumination.

II. A good Catholic listens to the Pope, even in non-dogmatic matters, and even if the command was not what it should be. Nothing should be done contrary to this command until it is recalled, or unless one has special permission.

Contrary to this truth, dispositions and intentions created a disturbance within me, keeping me from humbly submitting to the Church, and achieving a complete religious spirit.

As a result, the first thing that I need to do before undertaking any definite actions, arrangements, or making a public pronouncement, is to clarify my own thoughts in this regard and make sure. [Write] to Rome for a decision, either from the Holy Father, or from a person who understands such affairs and has authority.

III. Pray to God every day, that mine may be a pure offering consecrated to God, and in union with God; that he may introduce an ever more perfect unity and harmony within me. And therefore, work resolutely and seriously on every day, so as to spend it holily.

IV. Toward evening of this Sunday my whole being was moved intensely by the thought and an inner voice, to begin a life in the spirit without delay. And so, new reasons why, trusting in God, this retreat, like the first one, will be very decisive for me.

VII. Wednesday after Pentecost, [May 22], 1839

965

A LOOK BACK AT THE PAST

First, 16 years of childhood and student life.
Then 16 years after finishing schools.

12 years outside the Church:

9 years of disbelief in Christ the Lord.

7 years of complete irreligion.

5 years of materialism and atheism.

This included:

3 years of increasing disbelief (the first while still a deist; the second, still a spiritualist.

1823-1825 (the 17th, 18th, and 19th year of my life). The first 2 years a spiritualist: 1 year as a materialist; the other 2 as an atheist.

2 years of very arrogant projects as well as inner strength; however in these years I begin to honor Christ the Lord (1826-1827; my 20th and 21st year)

2 years of affliction, catastrophe, weakness and desperation 1828-1829; my 22nd and 23d year*) In 1829 there is already a desire to combine materialism and spiritualism by means of eclecticism and Scotch philosophy. Desperate projects.

2 years of rising from my fall, and of the final efforts of unbelief (already in these years a religious sense: 1830, and 1831; my 24th and 25th year). In July, still desperate projects.

3 years of faith, without any actions; a catechumenate. Christ is God. I accept all the dogmas, but do not submit to the Church completely, and am not reconciled by the sacrament of penance: 1832-1834; the 26th, 17th. and 28th year of my life.

The 9 years of religion:

7 years from my conversion.

4 years up to now of practice in the Church+

1 year of simple planning (1835; my 29th year)

3 years of bad execution (1836-1838; my 30th, 31st, and 32nd years), always putting off plans for perfection, awaiting certain circumstances and conditions. In disarray, anxiety, and inner discord; there still remain tendencies to assure a definite temporal position among people.

After this, a resolution to be perfect, holy (the 33rd year of my life.

+ These four years were a life of purgation. God grant that the purification from sins and bad habits resulting from these would be effective and lasting!

VIII. Vigil of the Holy Trinity, [Saturday, May 25]

631

UNTIL THE NEXT CONFESSION

1. At the time of absolution, anxiety; even though the will is making all the acts of sorrow and a promise of amendment, the heart is emptier than before.

2. A lack of recollection; unnecessary watching those around me, immediately after absolution.

3. Anxiety, that perhaps I may have falsely explained my contribution, and the amounts of my personal expenses. Since this is somewhat confused, I will repeat it: True, I did have the desire to excuse myself and a kind of shame lest Fr. Prior think that I squandered the house's money, as though this sin was greater than all the other unknown sins; however I told him what I thought was the truth, and now I repeat it.

4. Anxiety that my retreat and my penance were very imperfect; that I did not feel often and sufficiently enough that I am the most unworthy reprobate of all.

Sunday, [May 26]

Scruples at the time for Holy communion. I approach without sufficient preparation.

Distractions, looking around, during the Mass. I allow myself to be drawn into unnecessary conversations...

632 For now, as far as possible, enter into conversations as little as possible.

IX.

633 COUNSELS FOR THE REMAINING DAYS IN LA TRAPPE

1. Upon awakening, get up immediately. Learn to overcome the heaviness of the flesh and mind. Immediately think about thanking God for granting you the grace to conquer yourself, and ask him to support you.

2. Some - Do not spend a lot of time in washing up, but rather dress as quickly as possible.

3. Kneel down briefly for adoration, thanksgiving, and offering to God; then hurry to church to kneel before the Blessed Sacrament.

4. Even if you lie down later, get up as soon as you awake. On awaking, from the bottom of your heart ask God for this grace.

5. At breakfast eat as little as possible, since later you may feel too weighed down to work.

Why, if I cannot wake up by myself, do I not ask others to waken me?

X.

952 AGAINST NEGLECT IN WRITING LETTERS

Each time, before writing, lift your mind and heart to God, asking Him for the grace of humility and simplicity.

Awaken within yourself the intention not to wish to appear more perfect than you are; indeed, desire to allow yourself to be seen in all of your weakness and imperfection.

I found it most difficult to write in situations where I wished to appear greater than I am, in a colossal spiritual image which I do not possess.

If I experience anxiety and mortification after writing some letter, accept this with humility before the Lord as a just punishment for past pretences and pride, and the remnants of such which have undoubtedly wormed their way into this letter, and which gave rise to the anxiety.

Breaking, not paying attention to, conditions which I usually set down for myself before every task, and fulfilling an obligation, completing a business matter. I do it; but to do it as it should be done, I need to wait in order to do it, as, when, etc. As a result of such delay, I lose the sense of assurance, need, and the way to do something; and I do not do it.

953 Avoid frenzy, feverishness, eccentricity. Rather, always before writing quiet your mind, arouse and confirm the will to write what you wish to write (so as to write in peace, and without confusion).

Destroy all the letters you have written up to now. In them there was always falsity, duplicity, a desire to excuse myself, to glorify myself, self-love etc., even in the last letter to Rome.

As long as I do not definitely cast out this duplicity and self-love, I will indeed continue to be dissatisfied with what I have written; and always, because of pride, I will be unable to write...

O God, have mercy on me! (July 17)

XI.

959 **WHAT IS CONVERSION?**

The text of a psalm, or of one of the prophets: "We are converted" etc. Perhaps I can begin a future letter in this way, at least after I have related who we are?

While writing, acknowledge my own unworthiness and the need for conversion.

Against those who think that, having gone to confession, having received absolution, and having made a very sincere resolution against falling into certain sins, one is already converted.

Here the concern is a complete change of life...!

How many saints, already leading a perfect life, continued to pray, and to acknowledge the need for conversion.

Perhaps it may be possible to collect some of their maxims concerning what constitutes conversion and the Christian life.

Against those who leave a perfect life solely to monks and priests.

It is not easy to reach heaven and salvation: the way is narrow, and one must do real violence to oneself and all the inclinations of one's nature. (All of the national misfortunes are punishment for the sins of the nation.)

XII.

837 **RESOLUTIONS, MEDITATIONS IN THE DAILY REMINDER**

Prayer, for the grace of an ever clearer and more certain sense of my vocation, of an ever stronger and more complete attachment to Him, dedicating myself to Him with my whole soul, as well as with ever greater courage and fervor.

An act of acceptance of the present, and of all the trials and troubles to be found there, as an undeserved gift from the merciful God, and an all too lenient punishment from the justice of God.

Among many inspirations, grasp those that are most important for eternity, for holiness, and do this first.

Mortification: Ask God for the grace, and strive never to fall into that feverish offering of self which deprives one of peace and seriousness, and always leads to a fall. Avoid feverish weakness or anxiety; always be one in Christ the Lord.

In company, in the midst of occupations, in all circumstances, be very quick to follow the inspirations of conscience. Break with, shatter, the obstacles which draw you into what you should avoid. Freedom of spirit, fervor of the will, efficiency in action.

838 Avoid all brushing, grooming, fancy dressing before prayers and church. This results in a great waste of time, and distracts the mind.

My recent past should at last convince me of my inability to direct others. I can offer counsel from time to time; but up to now I have been constantly taking people under my direction and care, and then I have abandoned them. And this not only by a lack of correspondence, but even those with whom I was living, usually due to my own laxity, and also as a result of financial difficulties.

Lately I did not know how to keep them occupied, and they wished to be occupied, to have someone to give them orders; I did not give them orders, and they grew impatient, and left me.

Up to now I invited, and seemed to accept a gift from one who entered our group (for we wished to consider this as our work, for our glory; at least this feeling mingled with other good feelings among us; and so, in fact, one who entered, supported us etc.).

From now on, submitting to God in all things, offering ourselves to God in all things, we wish to consider everything of ours that is good as the work of God (something we knew and felt previously, but not clearly enough); and so now, when we accept anyone, we consider that we are doing him a favor. And we cannot accept just anyone; although even today, if we gain a new member, we can and should rejoice.

833 The main thing in the daily reminder is to recite daily an act of conquering ourselves, an act of mortification in all circumstances that might occur: such as if you feel lazy, with a mind not ready to think, a body not ready to move, a heart that is cold, if the weather is bad - so that not taking this into consideration: to do what obligation demands; and not do what we would like to do, but rather what we are obliged to do. And so, all works and less important obligations must cede priority to the most important. Thus, one should always fulfill the most important works.

If there is a whim to visit someone, and there is something urgent, of obligation, to do, then do not visit. Also stifle the desire to read one thing or another, even pious material, but rather always read in accord with decisions reached beforehand. Except in a certain time designated for this.

In the daily reminder, in relations with people, in meetings of societies, in conversations, (not only in speech, but also in mind and heart) do not enter into the thoughts and feelings of others by way of a kind of forbearance, desire to please, or to ingratiate oneself. It would be best, when you hear something said against you, to remain silent, turn the conversation in another direction, or delicately, but frankly, refute it. Avoid facile fraternization - with brotherhood in Christ the Lord. A sense of Christian dignity, gravity, seniority.

834 While I have spent so much time in idleness, the most miserable difficulties and occupations, and sin, how active were the enemies of Christ the Lord! What a topic this is for reflection, sorrow, humility, prayer!

O Lord, you have protected me in the midst of so much misery, so many difficulties and sins, where it would have taken little to remove me forever from my situation, my position, my future.

Grant, O Lord, that this possibility for further service to You among people may be used for Your greatest glory, and be in accord with Your will!

Grant me light, grant me strength, grant me love!

That any desire for some kind of meaning in this world might vanish, it is sufficient to consider what people are like today - and what will shortly remain from all that glitters so brightly, and makes so much noise today - and of the entire contemporary age and contemporary literature, civilization and society. Our hope is in God that all of this will collapse, in order to be completely renewed (in any case, how quickly it vanishes for us!)

835 If I am not to renounce my position as the Elder Brother, then I should at least be so little attached to it as to be ready always to renounce it, and even to beg God constantly to indicate to me someone who would clearly be better suited for my position, one to whom as Elder Brother I would submit myself (one who would accept our original thought, and perhaps would correct, purify, develop, and perfect it?). This is the daily reminder.

Next: while retaining the position of Elder Brother, ask God for enlightenment as to how I am to direct our entire Congregation, without attaching myself to any of my own special plans, but solely very constantly and very faithfully persevering in most complete dedication to God.

Holy Spirit, descend upon me, even though I am most unworthy, and yet, with confidence in the mercy of the Lord Jesus, wishing to be the most faithful, most dedicated, and most loving of God's servants.

836

Now at last my pride should be humbled, and my incompetence established. When I had the most opportunities for doing good, I did not know how to use them. When the enemies of the Lord were so active in using their subjects, in so many many things I did not know how to take advantage of favorable circumstances. Would that all of this would be for my good and the glory of God! Would that it would be for my ultimate mortification, and lead to dedication to God, to accomplish His will, and to serve Him unreservedly.

Nevertheless, though undeserving, the merciful God continued to protect me, left me with means of deliverance, restoration, and most effective further direction of our community.

Feeling my incompetence to such a degree, should I still continue in my situation and obligations, or should I immediately transfer them to someone else?

In the end, would not our common initial idea of the purest and most complete dedication to the service of God come to naught among many, and our union be dissolved?

O God, come to my assistance! Enlighten me! I surrender myself entirely to Your will, and for Your service!

XIII.

661 **CONFESSION OF SATURDAY, JULY 27**

The last confession was on the 15th, the vigil of Our Lady of Mount Carmel [the scapular]. My last Communion was last Sunday.

First of all, the general state of my soul. A retreat lasting two months, preceded by three months of neglect. My present state is one of rising from the fall, not exposing myself to danger, and not becoming discouraged in the midst of great difficulties.

- 1.) because of business matters,
- 2.) because of people who are ill-disposed, jealous, scandalized or grown weak in confidence in me,
- 3.) because of old habits - financial disorders, laziness in correspondence.

I accuse myself.

- 1.) that often I recited my penance from La Trappe in haste, simply to finish it quickly;
- 2.) that in prayer, and often during Mass, I lost heart, I did not make sufficient efforts to get rid of extraneous thoughts or to awaken devotion;
- 3.) that generally I allowed myself to be overcome by minor interests and problems, and as a result
 - a.) I usually forgot about my resolutions and practices of devotion, such as the particular examen of all the days, in writing, and stopped occupying myself with holy thoughts and inspirations, on the evoking of which my reformation depends (I fail to pray);
 - b.) I neglected the responsibilities which my position and duties as Elder Brother placed upon me, neglecting letters, necessary and important visits, and by allowing myself to become absorbed in trifles, and not conquering this fault;
4. that I did not make an effort to conquer the fatigue and weakness in myself, but rather submitted to these feelings, lying down, and in this way wasting much time which does not belong to me (in view of the very outstanding obligations);
- 5.) that by way of this relaxation I could have scandalized the brothers in the house, and did not do what could have been done to restore and reform this situation;
- 6.) that I spoke with aversion and displeasure about some individuals, which could have scandalized him with whom I was speaking, or confirmed him in his own similar opinions;

7.) a lack of simplicity in various matters, but a reticence, shrewdness, almost duplicity, in order to justify myself before more prominent people in certain matters;

8.) twice I had impure thoughts, and did not get rid of them immediately with disgust. Voluntary glancing at women with a kind of delight.

- Ask for prayer as a penance.

(Tolerance of dissolute conversation at the dinner with the Szymańskis.)

Political and egotistical prejudices, against Ladislaus Plater, Prince Czartoryski, Jełowicki and Kamocki, Adolph and Ordega, etc.

XIV.

[Thursday, August 1]

844 One God, one faith, one Church.

[OUR PROFESSION OF FAITH]

+

A declaration of brothers living together, united in community with Christ the Lord in a religious community consisting of houses... in Paris and in Rome, and united with them in communal unity - in response to calumnies and rumors that have been spread about them up to now, and because of the recently announced Plan of the Polish Chancellery. - I, The Elder Brother and chief servant of the brothers, united in a religious community, living together in Paris and in Rome, and of all those united with us, after diligent reflection in the presence of God, and most fervent prayer to God for enlightenment, consider it my obligation to make the following public statement in the name of my confreres and associates:

After much wandering, difficult trials ... converted through the very special mercy of God..

Four years have passed since we joined together and began to live a common life...

In order to confirm ourselves in this conversion, exercise spiritually and prepare ourselves to dedicate our life for the future... in order to make up for the evil...

(Practically everyone with a name unknown...)

A similar intention, which in all simplicity and truth was evident to anyone wishing to know, seemed, humanly... not to deserve the opposition and ill-will it awakened from the beginning, and which, with the growth of our numbers and passage through the test of time, it continues to awaken... if God were not teaching us that anything good and undertaken for the glory of God will find enemies in this world.

845

From the beginning of our coming together, in spite of the fact that we did not engage in any discussions, intrigues or parties - we were the object of the most baseless accusations and calumnies, all of which were meant to prove that we are only a tool and means of some political party, of some form of secret intrigues and tendencies, to which those accusing us were most opposed.

N.B. They remained in error, continuing to be deceived by worldly doctrines. In revealing this intention of ours, and the mercy that God has visited upon us, we plunge into our own nothingness...

O Great God! The most perfect dedication of our whole lives would not suffice to thank You worthily for allowing us to recognize the futility of all these intrigues and tendencies...

You have shown us the eternal light...

You have given us an anchor of salvation, a port

... The sole truth which can provide direction in the labyrinth and chaos of the present day, a solid foundation when everything else is wavering...etc.

And we began...

We returned to the bosom of Church... without any restriction... determined to give ourselves to God, to the service of Christ our Lord, in Whom there is everything for us - all truth and love, the salvation of every good work...

Revealing to the world this ineffable gift of Your mercy which You poured out on us - praising You, we offer You first of all the homage of our thanks. And renewing publicly the intention of dedicating ourselves to Your service, which we made initially when we came together, we lift up to You our most humble and earnest prayers, asking that you would disperse us and destroy all of our undertakings immediately if at any time we were to allow ourselves to be seduced by any worldly interests, and, changing the purpose for which we came together - our character and religious spirit - we were to become nothing more than a tool for secondary and temporal etc. goals.

845 +With the intention of protesting most solemnly and in Your presence against the accusations that we are nothing more than an instrument of some political cabal, we send our petitions up to You, asking that You disperse and destroy us immediately if this were ever to be so...+

846 Grant this, the fullness of Your mercy, O Lord! Confirm us on our way. Cleanse us, and accept us among Your faithful servants!

From the beginning of our coming together, accusations, calumnies, falsehoods!

Now they represent us a members of some organization... a Bureau of Chancellery... announcing collections.

Forced by this to reply, we wish to respond to all of the accusations, testifying that: this is a response to the accusations... and not a profession of faith, a public appearance.

When there are police...inspections, suspicions... When some accused us of fanaticism, of severe penances; others, on the contrary, accused us of maintaining our former doctrines; still others, ridiculing our poverty, for we had managed to acquire bundle of straw and work-tables, announced that we were organized by the aristocracy... Or, that we were organized, and are directed ... by foreign diplomacies... by agents of a spiritual congregation with a special vocation in the Church, as a result of a special animosity on the part of enemies of religion... (people whose heads have been turned.)

All of the enemies of religion proclaimed with the greatest levity whatever they thought would harm us the most, and most effectively, among people...

Up to now we have suffered, waiting... And all people of good will have become convinced that all of these accusations were false. Everything that happened for the good of religion resulted in credit for us. For every word, for every evil deed of anyone having any connection with us, we were made responsible.

We deny all of this.

We thank God that we have the opportunity to admit the reality: that our ambit is small etc.

847 Thus, separating ourselves from all political parties, we declare obedience to all national authority.

Our friends with famous names were put in the same class.

The truth demands that we profess solemnly: We may owe them for what is good; but they are not responsible for our faults...

Every household trifle, every movement, became a reason for malicious and very false judgments...

We accepted some people temporarily...

A few months ago, a few of such people ceased to live with us; hence...

Since the editor of the emigration weekly was cited by name... therefore...

As to plans for a Chancellery: This is all a lie! We speak before God, and so we acknowledge that one Pole mentioned his plans to us etc...

But since he does not acknowledge...

Finally, ask all of the readers who believe for prayer; priests for prayer at Mass and for a blessing.

Since we wish to dedicate ourselves completely, we do not plan to undertake anything without proper approbation...

We do not insist upon anything...

We ask for advice...

Given in Paris, in our house at rue Vavin 13 (and rue Notre-Dame des Champs 31 bis), the day...

At orders from, and with the specific instructions of, the Elder Brother, this proclamation etc. is presented for publication etc. Brother...

XV.

CONFESSION OF AUGUST 10

680

1. The penance, a few times hastily, and to be done with it. During prayers, submitting freely to languor and frigidity.

2. Neglecting to control time - for the examination of conscience and regulation of time. Neglecting retreat resolutions. Neglecting reforms in the house, common prayers.

3. Neglect of letters, which by reason of my obligations as an individual, and as Elder Brother, were, and continue to be, very urgent.

4. Attacked in various ways by malicious remarks, I became angry, and gave way to feelings of animosity and depression. I wished to humble them, and did not hold back unfriendly words.

5. I allowed myself to speak words of ill-will and contrary to charity, harmful judgments, malicious revelation of secrets about Jełowicki and Plater. (temptation on the Feast of St. Hippolitus).

6. A few times I yielded to impure thoughts - looking through periodicals and books with pleasure for reports of shocking scandals.

7. Once a small lie, the occasion for which I cannot remember.

8. Levity with Orpiszewski and Victor.

I did not attend Vespers last Sunday by reason of neglect on my part.

(Ask for prayer as a penance.)

XVI.

676 Monday, [August] 19, in the evening

A THOUGHT ABOUT DEDICATING MYSELF...

A thought about dedicating myself to perfection among lay people: trade fraternities, trade schools, a common or individual life according to a rule.

First principle: disentanglement from party quarrels, showing respect for all laws, doing nothing at once. Parochial services. Purpose: the restoration of Christian unity (protestantism, schism) and spiritual life among the laity. (Approbation from Rome for the fraternity a necessity). In the fraternity, first of all, spiritual services: office-bearers, monks (religious and lay, married, and unmarried; elders and superiors in abstinence). Second, fraternities established and directed by them, qualities (helpers in these), in which there is no percentage for the capital etc., and so spiritual families - here an ever better material existence. Acceptance of the three principles (a third society, with special prayers, alms, and a definite regularity of life. Acceptance of the two main principles).

Second principle: Conversion, Christian reform, as a result of change, the practice of a constant, daily, life - habits, customs, relationships, etc.

Third principle: fraternal life, renunciation of separateness, independence in spiritual direction, and property etc.

677

FIRST

1. Should we not take advantage of the occasion, and gain access to political authority; then complete renunciation, and general, noblest, Christian goals. Should N. not have seized authority?

2. Has the time not come for work directly toward uniting all humnity in one family, etc.? What are the means to this goal? What are the main difficulties?

XVII.

684

CONFESSION ON SEPTEMBER 8

I was not to confession since the 14th - three and a half weeks.

1. Bad fulfillment of the penance. Miserere. Meditations. The Memorare. The rosary.

2. Surrender to weakness, and so

- a) negligence in all of my practices of piety and resolutions;
 - b) failure to observe the house rules;
 - c) failure to write very obligatory letters.
3. Movements of self-love following upon a small humiliation - twice; the princess, B[iałopiotrowicz], Fr. S[corbiac], S[idorowicz?].
4. Resentment toward someone...
5. Two little lies.
6. Some sentiments of delectation at the sight of the two.

XVIII.

687

CONFESSION ON NOVEMBER 10

Because of unnecessary scruples I did not receive Holy Communion once.

Neglect concerning the Sacraments with regard to Casimir [Kozarzewski]; no one was present at Casimir's death.

1. Continued surrender to weakness, and failure to watch myself and my behavior; consequently, slackness and laziness, which could scandalize others; coldness, a lack of effort to keep a watch on myself and to raise my spirit to God.

- 2. A renewed wave of offences.
- 3. Movements of impatience which were a scandal to others, etc.
- 4. A few small lies, self-justification.

XIX.

696

CONFESSION ON THE FIRST SUNDAY OF ADVENT, 1839

I confessed three months ago. I received Holy Communion until five days ago.

I accuse myself:

First, of neglect - that I neglected to go to confession for such a long time, especially since I see that, as the result of a clear punishment from God, I fell into neglect, laziness, frigidity; this is the second thing of which I accuse myself. Prayers often without attention; I was so occupied with business matters that I did not meditate at all.

Especially in the last week I did not attend Mass on weekdays, as it were for lack of time, I left the house late etc.

Third: Laziness with regard to fulfilling obligations, sluggishness (the state of my health may have had some bearing on this), but mainly due to a lack of moral energy, the result of a spiritual decline.

Fourth: In some relations with people of different opinions, a lack of simplicity, sincerity, passing over in silence, or even a kind of acquiescence, etc.

Fifth: In time of persecution, strong feelings of pride and self-love; a desire to reject every calumny, every reproach.

Sixth: Impatience in times of adversity.

Seventh: Scandal, of which, as I heard, I am guilty by way of coldness, and those movements of self-love or impatience.

Eighth: Lies in matters of lesser importance, and always to avoid any humiliation.

Ninth: With regard to confession three months ago: the Psalm Miserere, etc.

XX.

702

CONFESSION FOR THE SECOND SUNDAY OF ADVENT

1. Frigidity, from the time when I stopped receiving Holy Communion because of false scruples (I did not receive Holy Communion on the feast of St. Nicholas because I had taken my pills an hour before). I missed two Masses in order not to neglect business matters (on Monday I missed a third Mass). I still have not undertaken the practice of meditation.

2. Feelings of offended self-love because someone changed his attitude toward me (from a very impassioned friendship, to frigidity and displeasure). Anxiety, offended self-love, because someone received me badly.

3. In order not to oppose someone, and not to insist on my own opinion, I spoke badly about a third person; even though I was merely expressing a practically universal opinion, if I had taken the time to consider... etc. etc.

703 4. I did not sympathize with a certain person who spoke to me about his misfortunes, and whom, due to my indifference, I did not comfort with words of consolation etc.

5. As a result of vanity and idle talk, or due to hidden self-love, I performed a certain pious practice which I observe, and that unceremonious behavior scandalized the person who ascribed this solely to my love of self.

6. Among my confreres, due to my own frigidity, I did not call their attention, but allowed them to do and say what they pleased.

7. Wasting time. I did not overcome feelings of languor, and desires for repose.

8. Movements of impatience caused by slight annoyances.

9. In order to admit that somebody was right, I was insincere, spoke angrily, or at least unkindly about another person.

ANNEX

AGNES JAŃSKA, TO HER SON THEODORE¹

8514
206

My dear Teddy.

I cannot say all that I would like to say to you. You will humble yourself before me, cajole me, and explain to me, and I, a loving and affectionate mother, forget what motherly admonitions and warnings I should offer you, and I continue to suffer on that account. Please, remember your poor mother, and heed my advice: Do not keep company with those who would lead you to such worldliness and such evil conduct. Look for good company, where you would enjoy a good reputation, and love from all people. I give you a place in my maternal blessing. Be a Father guardian to yourself, for you know that it is as if you did not have such a father - there is no one to watch over you; and a Mother, for I will not be there where you are. And believe that God sees everything. Be a good religious and pious person, and God will bless you in everything.

207 My dear Theodore, accept this as from a mother who placed great hopes in you, so that I would not live to hear some day about your evil deeds, for this would surely lead me to the grave. You are still young, but you have beauty in yur head and a good mind; would that you would use this for good, [the text breaks off here]

¹ Editor's title. The original is in ACRR. "A letter" written (in Pułtusk?) very probably before Bogdan (Theodore) Jański's departure for Warsaw to study at the university in September, 1823.

8495

153

No. 11366

2362

Warsaw,
September 29, 1828**THE GOVERNMENT COMMISSION FOR
RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PUBLIC EDUCATION**

[The Government Commission] at public cost, sends Mr. Bogdan Jański abroad for two or three years, as far as funds allow, with the condition that he prepare himself to become a professor of commercial studies, and mainly commercial law, as well as commercial geography and history, and that upon his return, he would serve his country, at the call of the Government, working in this or another similar responsibility, with credit to himself and benefit to his fellow countrymen, and that counting three years for every year of his sabbatical.

To this end, Mr. Jański will leave immediately for Paris, and there will strive to obtain for himself entrance to the Special School of Commerce established by the businessmen and bankers at rue St. Antoine Nr 143, in the former Hotel Sully, where he will find all of the courses required for his future success, and where he will perfect himself in these studies for one year, and for two years if the time of his stay abroad might be prolonged to three years.

INSTRUCTIONS AND OBLIGATIONS

for

Mr. Bogdan Janski, Master of Law and Administration
as a candidate being sent abroad for the purpose
of preparing to be a professor at the Polytechnic
Institute.

154

From the various articles about this school which can be obtained in the p. Renard bookstore at rue St. Antoine No.71a,² Mr. Janski will learn about arrangements at this school, and the conditions under which he may be admitted to it, as well as the studies that are offered there.

Immediately after his arrival in Paris, Mr. Jański will not fail to present himself to the Ambassador of His Majesty the King, to whom he will relate the purpose of his voyage, and whom he will ask for letters of recommendation to Count Chaptal, a Peer of France and President of the Special School of Commerce, or to Mr. Lafitte, Banker and Vice-President, so that through the intercession of one of these he might obtain his favorable acceptance to the above-mentioned school.

Some of the courses at this school will be too elementary for Mr. Jański; however he will not neglect to audit these courses as well, and that to penetrate the spirit of this institution, to judge the soundness of the methods of teaching used there, and also to get to know the bounds within which the various courses of interest to merchants and businessmen are taught. Above all, Mr. Jański will strive to become properly and in the least detail acquainted with the practical portion of the instruction offered there, keeping in mind that this type of institute is something completely new for our country, and that it is practical instruction that is its most important part, for which, as a result, he is especially obliged to prepare himself. - Therefore, Mr. Jański should keep in touch with his colleagues³ who were sent abroad for this same purpose, so that somehow, sharing among themselves all of the obligations which await them on their return to Poland, they may the more easily cope with these, and fulfill the eminent hopes that are placed in them. It would also be very useful for Mr. Jański to obtain admission to some commercial or banking house, to observe there all of the operations which can be performed on a small scale, and as a test only, in a commercial school. He will strive to observe such conditions in various commercial houses in England, the Netherlands and Germany which he is to visit in turn, and to this purpose he will dedicate the last year of his stay abroad.

The Government commission leaves the disposition of this time to his will; or rather, Mr. Jański will seek counsel on this point from people who are experts in commercial matters, and will make his plans for a further stay abroad

² Reglement interieur de l'ecole speciale de Commerce - Discours prononces aux seances du Conseil de perfectionnement de l'ecole speciale de Commerce.

³ P. Zubelewicz was sent abroad for commercial studies, and especially for the study of commodities. P. Barciński was sent for the same studies, and especially for accounting, book-keeping and commercial correspondence.

known to the Polytechnic Council, with which he will be in constant contact, sending it reports on his various occupations and scholarly progress, in conformity with the General arrangement established by the Government Commission, on February 1 of the current year, as well as by the Polytechnic Council. on the 20th of this same month, and sent to previous candidates in Paris.

For his commercial studies, Mr. Jański will learn foreign languages, namely English and German, and if time allows, Italian. He will also become acquainted with commercial literature, and will notify the Polytechnic Council about the price of more important books of this kind. Moreover, he will keep a diary of his voyage, noting in it his scholarly observations and all things worth remembering.

For his maintenance abroad, and for his studies, including the cost of travel, the Government Commission allots Mr. Jański 6,000 Polish zlotys, and an additional 1,000 Polish zlotys for the quarter that he will be in England. The first quarterly installment, from October 1 to December 31, Mr. Jański will receive upon leaving Warsaw; further installments will be sent to him at the proper time through the Paris Banker, Lafitte. He will also receive a fund for enrollment in the Paris School of Commerce.

156 At this time the Government Commission presents Mr. Jański with an open letter of recommendation; later, once a letter of recommendation is obtained to His Excellency the Ambassador of His Majesty the King to the French Court, this will be sent to him. Mr. Jański should not fail to have recourse to the latter's protection in every need that might occur. He will do the same when he is living in London and other European Capitols.

Presiding Minister
Stanislaus Grabowski

Head of Section II
Radomiński

Secretary General
Rakiety

SUMMARY

BOGDAN JAŃSKI (1807-1840) - an organizer of Christian life for Polish immigrants in France; redactor, publicist, translator; founder of the lay community Bractwo Służby Narodowej (The Brotherhood of National Service), named with time, 'Jański's House'. He contributed to the origins of the pious society, which took name of the Congregation of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Congregatio a Resurrectione Domini Nostri Jesu Christi).

He received a Master of Laws and Economics at the University of Warsaw in 1827. Given his outstanding skills, he was nominated a professor at the Polytechnic Institute, and received a stipend from the government for further studies abroad.

As a student, influenced by the writings of the philosophers of the French Enlightenment, he had disowned faith in God. He lived his youth tumultuously, professing the principles of hedonism. In Paris he was committed to the Saint-Simonists, becoming a fervent advocate on their behalf. He collaborated closely with their leaders, men like Prosper-Barthelemy Enfantin, Lazare-Hippolyte Carnot, Pierre Leroux, Edmond Talabot and others. B. Jański was the first foreigner, and the first Pole, who, in the hierarchy of the French Saint-Simonists, had received firstly the third, and then the second degree. During his stay in London, besides studying, he was involved in propagating saintsimonism among English lawyers, barristers, and redactors. He established contacts with then famous Englishmen like John Stuart Mill, philosopher and economist; Joseph Hume, lawyer and writer, member of the House of Commons; John MacCulloch, professor of economics; Abraham Hayvard, lawyer and editor; and especially with Robert Owen, social reformer and philanthropist, and with whom he would keep correspondence.

In London he learned about the outbreak of the 1830 insurrection in Poland. He did not take part in it but returned to Paris. When the saintsimonist movement collapsed, Jański, having lost his life-compass, entered into a profound spiritual crisis. At this time he became aware of participants in this insurrection who had fled to Paris and he begun taking part in their social, political, and cultural life. He collaborated closely with Adam Mickiewicz, translating into French his *Księgi narodu polskiego (Books of the Polish Pilgrims)*. He was engaged in writing reviews and commentaries for the French press, as well as entries in the well-known French encyclopedias, especially regarding Slavic issues. Searching for the meaning of life, he started to read about matters of religion and faith. He read writings on mysticism by Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin and also particularly the works of the leaders of the Catholic renewal in France, assembled earlier around the daily "*L'Avenir*". In

the forefront of this renewal were Felicite-Robert De Lamennais and his closest associates: Philippe-Olympe Gerbet, Jean-Baptiste-Henri Lacordaire, and Charles de Montalambert.

Jański was undergoing a slow religious, moral, and intellectual evolution on the way to his final return to Catholicism. From that time on he was totally dedicated to bringing about the religious renewal of his secularized fellow countrymen living in France. He organized Bractwo Służby Narodowej (The Brotherhood of National Service). Thanks to his deep religious involvement and gifted with a charisma, he attracted to his "House" young Poles who chose this for an apostolate. In this way he contributed to the founding of a later group of priests. The first members of the Congregation would play a relevant role later on in the lives of Polish immigrants, nation and Church.

Jański died in Rome because of tuberculosis.

He left his *Diary* from the years 1830-1839. It was not destined to be published, but was written exclusively for himself and for no one else. The Author had intended this *Diary* to be an instrument for his own self-knowledge, in his daily control of self in order to proceed on the way to perfection. It is a fascinating record of the profoundness of his thoughts and the drama of his experiences, and therefore an unprecedented document of his spiritual life.

Andrzej Jastrzębski

(Summary translated by Roman J. Lebedziuk, C. R..)