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JEWISH EMANCIPATION AND THE
POLISH INSURRECTION OF 1863:
JAN CZYŃSKI'S LETTER OF 1862
TO LUDWIK KRÓLIKOWSKI *

By ABRAHAM G. DUKER

INTRODUCTION

The following is an unpublished letter of September 29, 1862 by Jan Czyński¹ to Ludwik Królikowski,² a remnant of the archival

* For list of abbreviations, see end of article.

¹ Jan Czyński (1801–67), a radical publicist, author, editor and political leader, a life-time fighter for the Emancipation of the Jews in Poland and their transformation into the third estate after independence, for productivization, and enlightenment and reform. A participant in the 1831 Insurrection, Czyński spent the rest of his life in exile, mainly in France, where he continued his reform (Fourierist), revolutionary and emancipationist activities. Early, he was singled out for his *Question de Juifs Polonais* (Paris, November 1833). It was followed by a number of books, brochures and articles on Jewish themes. While there is no single all-embracing work on this unusual person of Frankist descent who became an open defender of the Jews, he figures in articles, the most important among which are the biography by Józef Frejlich in *PSB* (Krakow, 1938), IV, 378; Tyrowicz, *TDP*, pp. 113–115; Mateusz (Mathias) Mieses, *Polacy chrześcijanie pochodzenia żydowskiego* [Christian Poles of Jewish Descent] (Warsaw, 1938), I, 83–92; Krystyna Świerczewska, “Jan Czyński, Political Activist, Literary Figure and Publicist of the Great Emigration (1801–1867),” *Towarzystwo Literackie Imieniem Adama Mickiewicza* [The Adam Mickiewicz Literary Society], Section in Łódź, *Prace Polonistyczne* [Polonistic Works], Series VIII, 1950 (Warsaw, Łódź, 1951), pp. 11–36; J. Danielewicz, “Jan Czyński and his Struggle for the Equality of the Jewish Population,” *BZIH*, Nos. 11–12 (1934), 98–108; Duker, “1848,” pp. 83–96; Duker, “PGE,” pp. 55, 59, 75–95, 143, 147, 151, 153, 171–175, 182–183, 212–215, 540–542; Duker, “TDP,” pp. 103–, 106 ff.; Duker, “LCJE,” pp. 172 ff.; Duker, “Appeal,” pp. 432–442; Duker, “Participants 1830”; Duker, “PCE,” pp. 168–170; Artur Eisenbach, *Wielka Emigracja wobec kwestii żydowskiej (1832–1849)* [The Great Emigration in Relation to the Jewish Question, 1832–1849] (Warsaw, 1974), index (based on my dissertation and publications, not always with proper acknowledgement); see various issues of *BZIH*; Edmund Silberner, *Ha-sotsialism ha-maaravi u-sheelat ha-yehudim* [Western

collections of the Polish “Great Emigration” (political exiles of the anti-Tsarist Uprising of 1830–31)³ in Rapperswyl, Switzerland. After Poland’s resurrection in 1918, the collection was incorporated in the National Library and housed in the Central Military Library in Warsaw, where I perused it in 1933 and 1934 in connection with research for my doctoral dissertation. The late Dr. Helena Więckowska was kind enough to have the text copied for me and to check the typescript.⁴ Most of the collection was

Socialism and the Jewish Question] (Jerusalem, 1955), pp. 42–44. See also Kazimierz Bartoszyński, Introduction to Czyński (and B. H. Demolière), *Cesarzewicz Konstanty i Joanna Grudzińska czyli jakubini polscy* [Crown-prince Constantine and Joanna Grudzińska or the Polish Jacobins] (Warsaw, 1956), 5–55.

² Ludwik Królikowski (1799–1879-United States), writer, polemicist, utopian. A leftist during the 1831 Uprising; he lived as an exile in Krakow, since 1831 in Paris, and later in Iowa. He was a leading Cabetist and anti-Catholic Christian Socialist. In 1861 he drew closer to Czyński. Biographical data will be found in Jan Turowski’s article in *PSB*, XV (1970), 376–378. J. Ujejski’s “Ludwik Królikowski,” in *Wiek XIX: Sto lat myśli polskiej* [The Nineteenth Century: A Hundred Years of Polish Thought] (Warsaw, 1913), VII, 29–42, though outdated is still useful.

Królikowski’s interest in the Jews included conversion, a Cabetist colony, a utopian scheme, and a new interfaith universal organization (1866–67). His last call to the Jews was issued in the United States in 1878. See my “The Polish Émigré Christian Socialists and the Jewish Problem,” [“PECS”], *JSS*, XV (1953), 332–342. His correspondence on the *Alliance polonaise* remains to be published.

³ This Poland-in-Exile exercised a most powerful influence on Polish thinking, literature and action. It was deeply involved in underground work and instigated several unsuccessful uprisings. On its relation to the Jews and the Jewish question see my “GE,” and other publications, some of which are mentioned in notes 1, 2 and others. See also Eisenbach’s *Wielka Emigracja*, as in note 1. Concise bibliographies on works dealing with the Jews during the period of the November Insurrection, and with their participation in it, ranging from Schipper to N. M. Gelber, will be found in my “Jewish Participants in the Polish November (1830–31) Insurrection. A List of Seventeen Names Hitherto Not Recorded,” *Abraham Weiss Jubilee Volume* (New York, 1964), pp. 81–88 [“Participants 1830”]; and in my “Hollaenderski’s Letter of Inquiry to Lelewel,” *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, I (1954), 165–166, n. 10.

⁴ Więckowska, a prominent archivist and librarian, edited *Listy emigra-*

destroyed during World War II. Therefore, like many other documents which I copied or summarized, the letter was literally delivered from the fires of the Holocaust.⁵

The letter reflects the émigré euphoria following the impact of the 1861 fraternization events, the sudden and unexpected participation of Jews in the patriotic manifestations, including religious services in Warsaw.⁶ As in the homeland, hostility to the Jews was

cyjne Joachima Lelewela [Émigré Letters of Joachim Lelewel] (Krakow, 1952), and also co-edited with Adam Lewak, the three-volume *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Narodowej* [Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the National Library] (Warsaw, 1929–38). She was the initiator, planner, and an editor of *Encyklopedia współczesna bibliotekarstwa polskiego* [Contemporary Encyclopedia of the Polish Library Profession] (Wrocław, 1970). I wish to express my gratitude for her help over forty years ago.

Thanks are also due to Professor Mark Liwshyc of Brooklyn College, City University of New York, for his careful perusal of my translation of Czyński's letter.

⁵ On the destruction of the collections, see Więckowska, *Listy* (as in n. 4), I, viii; *Nowy Korbut*. . . [New Korbut. . .], VII (1968), 251; VIII (1969), 226.

⁶ The background of the period is covered by Artur Eisenbach, *Kwestia równouprawnienia żydów w królestwie polskim* [The Question of Jewish Equality in the Kingdom of Poland] (Warsaw, 1972). (See also M. Korzen's review in *Gal 'Ed*, III [1975], 393–402). The participation of the Jews in the Uprising is treated by Nathan Michael Gelber, *Die Juden und der polnische Aufstand 1863* (Vienna–Berlin, 1923) and in Jacob Shatzky's critical review of it in YIVO, *Historische shriften* [Historical Writings] (Warsaw, 1929), I, cols. 425–68; Shatzky, *Geshikhte fun yidn in varshe* [History of Jews in Warsaw] (New York, 1948), II, 193–257 is indispensable. Other pertinent works of Gelber are listed in Hugo Gold, "Dr. N. M. Gelber's Writings: A Bibliographical List," *Sepher Ha-yovel mugash li-khevod Dr. N. M. Gelber. . . le-regel yovlo ha-shiv'im* . . . [Jubilee Volume Presented to Dr. N. M. Gelber on his Seventieth Birthday] (Tel Aviv, 1963), pp. 237–264, items 283, 302. Important on participation is Artur Eisenbach, D. Fajnhauz and A. Wein, *Żydzi w powstaniu styczniowym* [Jews in the January Uprising] (Warsaw, 1963), Supplement No. 34 to *BZIH* (1962).

The fraternization followed an acrimonious attack against the Jews' economic and cultural rise, their participation in Polish culture and its patronage, conversion and intermarriage, labeled by an anti-Semitic historian as the "Jewish War of 1859." For a detailed treatment, see Eisenbach, *Kwestia*, as above, pp. 259–306 and more briefly my "FMPJ," pp. 146–47.

set aside and there were serious efforts to deepen and cement the new friendship in order to promote the cause of Polish independence. With some exceptions, the Emigration's leaders expressed their conviction that fraternization had come to stay and that it was the exiles' task to prepare public opinion abroad for the support of the forthcoming revolutionary liberation efforts in Poland. The Jewish communities abroad were viewed as powerful and influential potential allies.

The document consists of two parts. The first pertains to secret preparations for the uprising. Among several subjects it touches on the neglect of the "religious and burgher" question by some exiles. Królikowski's Christian Socialist circle is rebuked for its silence on the blood libel in Saratov.⁷

The second part sheds light on the history of the *Alliance polonaise des toutes des croyances religieuses*, an association organized to promote the emancipation of the Polish Jews and to cultivate the goodwill of the Jews and liberals toward Poland and the forthcoming insurrection.⁸ The latter aim was not emphasized.

⁷ The Saratov Affair was a government-promoted ritual murder accusation in 1852, which led to the sentencing of two local Jews to hard labor in Siberia. Even the liberal Tsar Alexander II approved the verdict in May 1860. Czyński's confidential prediction failed to materialize that year since the prisoners were released only as late as 1867 in consequence of the efforts of Adolphe Crémieux, then president of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. See Simon Dubnow, *Die neueste Geschichte des juedischen Volkes* (Berlin, 1929), IX, 400–402; and his *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland* (Philadelphia, 1918), II, 150 ff.; Iuli Gessen (Hessen), *Istoria Evreev v Rossii* [History of the Jews in Russia] (St. Petersburg, 1914), chap. 14, pp. 267 ff.; and his article in *Evreiskaia Entsiklopedia*, XIV, cols. 2–9, where the date of the release is not given. The same holds for Y. Slutsky's article in *EJ*, XIV, col. 873. On G. Kostomarov's role in its promotion, see E. Ettlinger, *Tsiyon*, XXXV (1970), 224–225. See also n. 13 below.

⁸ An extensive coverage of the *Alliance polonaise* will appear in my forthcoming book. (See n. 11.) Some insight into its early activities is given by Żosa Szajkowski, "AIU." It was sometimes called in Polish circles "Zbratnienie Polskie" [Polish Fraternization]. The French press often confused it with "La Comité polonaise à Paris."

A similar earlier émigré attempt was "The Philanthropic Society for the

The Alliance was very active in France and England. Its efforts and propaganda even reached Poland, the United States and other countries. Consequently, it aroused the suspicion of the partitioning powers: Russia, Prussia, and Austria.⁹ The Alliance's activities attracted many notables, Jews and non-Jews, Poles, Frenchmen, Russians, and later also others who had taken its aims seriously. Some, particularly Rabinowicz,¹⁰ made demands for a far-reaching educational and "dialogue"-action on behalf of Jewish Emancipation. This initiated a discussion on fundamental theological causes of anti-Semitism interpreted as inherent in the Christians' antagonisms to Jews and Judaism. These functions accepted by many as essential, particularly since the Second Vatican Synod, were then discussed as an important part of the post-uprisings society's aims. Space does not permit a more detailed presentation, particularly since I will try to achieve that in a forthcoming

Acceleration of Jewish Emancipation Throughout the World," commonly called "The Lafayette Committee." See my "LCJE."

⁹ On the effectiveness of the contacts of the *Alliance polonaise* in Poland, see N. M. Gelber, *Aus zwei Jahrhunderten: Beitrage zur neuern Geschichte der Juden* (Vienna-Leipzig, 1924), pp. 142 ff.; his *Juden . . . 1863* (as in n. 6), pp. 209-213. (The police confused it with the Alliance Israélite Universelle).

¹⁰ Israel [Yehiel] Michal Rabinowicz (Rabinowitz) (b. Horodetz, 1818-1892), received the customary talmudic training. At twenty-five he left his village in search of secular education, in Galicia, then Breslau, and since 1854 in Paris, where he received his medical degree. He concentrated on research in Talmud, translations of it, and had many publications to his credit. An omnivorous researcher, writer and correspondent, he also published in linguistics and mysticism. Considering himself a patriotic Pole, with strong mystical inclinations, he was one of the most active ideologues and leaders of the *Alliance polonaise*, and was of great influence in its activities in defense of the Talmud and the Jews. His correspondence with Czyński and Królikowski is still to be published. Later he became an active proto-Zionist (Hibat Zion movement). The services of an unpublished, incomplete biography draft by Dr. N. M. Gelber are hereby acknowledged. See biography by Peter Wiernik, in *JE*, X, 298. See also, Szajkowski, "AIU," pp. 142-143, and early Zionist lexicons.

book,¹¹ based mainly on archival materials and scheduled for early publication.

Most important for the history of the Alliance, called by its Polish founders and generally in contemporary media *Zbratnienie Polskie* (Polish Brotherhood or Polish Fraternity [in process]) is a list of thirty-one persons who were the first to join. It is in the order of their adherence. Of these: fifteen were Poles, including two priests; seven were French Jews; five French non-Jews; two Polish Jews; one German Jew; and one whose origin is to be determined.

Seven persons were singled out in the first issue of the *Bulletin* of the Alliance polonaise early in 1863 for their encouragement at the beginning of the efforts of the Society. They were [Isaac Adolphe] Crémieux, "Advocate, former Minister of Justice"; Prince Dolgorukow; Favre Clavaïroz, consul general of Mexico; [Adolphe] Franck, member of the Institute, professor at the College de France; [Lazare] Isidor, Chief Rabbi of Paris; [Salomon] Munk, member of the Institute; and [Salomon] Ulmann, Chief Rabbi of the Consistoire Centrale. Of these only the last two are listed in the letter as the earliest members of the Alliance polonaise. However, the others appear on the alphabetical membership list of April 23, 1863 in the same source.¹² The list establishes the

¹¹ *The Insurrection of 1863 and Polish Interfaith Efforts Abroad: The Great Emigration and the Jews*, Boulder, Colorado, East European Monographs, Brooklyn College Series. Ed. Béla K. Király (in preparation).

¹² [Isaac] Adolphe Crémieux was a prominent lawyer and political leader, minister of justice in 1848, later a member of the Chamber of Deputies, a consistent advocate of liberal legislation, and active in Jewish communal affairs. He was a founder of the AIU and its president. A friend of Polish independence, Crémieux was a member of the Polish Committee in France as early as 1830 and retained his membership in it at least as late as 1870. See the memorial of members of the TDP, unpublished (Rap. Ms. 428). His standard biography is A. Posener's *Adolphe Crémieux* (Paris, 1933), 2 vols., where no particular attention is paid to his Polish interests.

[Jacob] Adolphe Franck (1809–93), Professor of Philosophy at College de France, member of the French Academy, vice-president of the Consistoire and president of the AIU, was active in Jewish scholarship and in

identity of the organization's actual founders and earliest enthusiasts and will help to bring an end to false claims, misrepresentations and misconceptions.

TRANSLATION OF THE LETTER ^{12a}

Dear Brother

29.8.[1862]

Let the subject's importance be the excuse for my answering only today. I gave my friends the kind of an answer that you have received from yours. They accepted it with hearty gratitude that gives evidence of the feelings on which we had counted. But after the attainment of contacts and the exhaustion of explanations all sources recommend that I should give you the following explanations, so that you should make proper use of them.

Dear brother. The good in the appeal of the Warsaw Committee published in *Kolokol*¹³ is that it shows that a certain minute part of the men of action in Warsaw feel the need of common activity with your friends. But let your friends not take the minute fragment for the whole. There are a few such small circles in Warsaw. The published appeal puts to a vote what ought to have been avoided. It will evoke opposition which will be breached

Jewish defense. His work *La Kabbale* (Paris, 1843) marks the beginning of scientific study of this field. See J. O. Heller, *EJ* (German), VII, cols. 473–474.

Lazare Isidor (1806–88) was Chief Rabbi of Paris (1847–67), and Chief Rabbi of France afterwards. See M. Guttmann, *EJ* (German), VIII, col. 654.

Prince Peter Vladimirovich Dolgorukov (1807–68), published under pseudonym the exposé *La Vérité sur la Russie*. After a stay in Siberia, he left Russia in 1853. See *Bolshaiia Sovietskaia Entsiklopedia* (1931), XXIII, col. 52. On Salomon Munk and Salomon Ullmann, see n. 25.

The membership list of April 22, 1863 appeared in the Society's *Bulletin* 1 (1863), 10–11.

^{12a} I divided the original lengthy paragraph into smaller topical units.

¹³ *Kolokol* [The Bell] was published bi-weekly in London (1857–67) by Aleksandr I. Herzen (Gertzen, 1812–67), an exile. See Genowea Kurpisowa, *Aleksander Hercen a emigracja polska. . .* [Alexander Herzen and the Polish Emigration. . . 1847–1870] (Gdańsk 1964).

in the first number of *Baczność*.¹⁴ As for me I have seen with pleasure that the principle of reward has been accepted.

Be so good as to read the following with the utmost attention. Just as no man can halt the oncoming night, nothing will stop the despair that will emerge nine days before the [military] draft, or during the night of the draft. Not only does the Elżanowski and Wysocki¹⁵ circlet know, but all [circles] and everyone knows that the ax is raised for the murder of Polish youth. Moscow knows that it is a matter of death or life and she already has brought troops and has massed them at the border. — We know that now through our contacts and I guarantee you that. There is a command and an order After the first outbreak in Warsaw. They will bomb Warsaw and they will allow the drunken soldiery two days of pillaging.¹⁶ This is known to us with [such] certainty that you too would be convinced of it, if I dared to entrust the source to writing.

Dear Brother, your friends' cordial reply cannot satisfy us under the present state of affairs. We shall do what Warsaw will do. — They may come to the aid of a corpse. The hour is set. The ax is raised. Your friends must not wait for what Warsaw will do, but rather anticipate the blow. — Since they are in the confidence of one circlet, let them, if needed, indicate to that circlet what they

¹⁴ *Baczność* [Caution] was an irregular publication, launched in Paris in 1862 and edited in exile by Ludwik Brzozowski (1833–73), a participant in the 1830 and 1863 Uprisings, a follower of Mierosławski (see n. 28). His biography by Stanisław Piotr Koczorowski is in *PSB* (1937), III, 65–66.

¹⁵ Seweryn Elżanowski (1821–1874) was an associate of Mierosławski (see n. 28) until 1862. Active in émigré organizations in Paris and a leader of the Galician underground in 1863, he returned to Paris after the defeat. Biography by Helena Luczak Kożerska, *PSB* (1948), VI, 240–241.

Józef Wysocki (1809–1873) who fought in 1831, was active in the *TDP*, defeated in battle in 1863, and interned until 1866. Biography in Tyrowicz, *TDP*, pp. 774–776. There were Jews in Wysocki's outfit in Hungary in 1848. See my "1848," p. 93, n. 81.

¹⁶ Czyński's predictions of the utter disaster failed to materialize. See Piotr S. Wandycz, *The Lands of Partitioned Poland, 1795–1918* (Seattle, 1974), pp. 155–179.

demand of it. It is necessary that even this circlet should know that the others also want to cooperate with it. We, that is my friends, do not in the least desire to communicate directly. I will willingly confide to you whatever I will know. Whatever you will decide after having been in touch with your friends, we shall submit to those who are known to us and we shall attempt to add all efforts to the common action.

I am summarizing. Despair will call forth movement. The ax is raised. It will not be the [right] time to come to Warsaw's aid, when she will bury herself in ruins. — Let not your friends take the will of one circlet for that of all. — Under such solemn decisive circumstances, the love of country, the great national need, despair, can and perhaps should bring closer the separated. And if it is a question about leadership, service amidst the storm and flames, those who fight will proclaim the boldest, the ablest one. —

Dear Brother. My most amiable friends have entrusted to me the aforesaid to your heart, to your judgement, to your Polish feelings, to your love of the common people. Make use of it. May God help you.

Now my dear Brother, what follows is my personal expression.

Your friends have neglected the religious, burgher and financial questions.¹⁷ Day by day they will see that they have committed a grave error, with every day they will become convinced that Tsardom will be able to profit from it. At this [very] moment I have great proof of it, proof that is so much stronger [strong enough] that it will immediately convince you at the same time that we have contacts which enable us to know before others do what is being prepared in the smithy of our misfortunes.

Do you remember that I asked you what impression the sentencing of the Jews in Saratov to tortures, imprisonment, flogging has made on your friends. You became convinced that the event that moved the Parliament and the European press failed to elicit any protests from your friends' side. — Thus, this coming Friday the news will arrive in Paris that the Tsar ordered in response to

¹⁷ The religious question also pertained to the Jews. See n. 1.

the presentation of the Alliance Israélite¹⁸ that the verdict passed in Saratov be examined and [that] he appointed new judges. What will be the result of it? Had your friends taken the victims under their protection, they would gain what Warsaw has gained: the sympathy. . . / . . . / . . . / . . . fanatical persons who think, who are sensitive and who are powerful because of their influence.¹⁹

I know that they are counting on the strength of the armed slaves who are breaking their bonds, some day, if God will bless them, they will become convinced that it is easier to awaken the lion than to lead him. The burghers could and can help to lead in the right direction. Men of the future cannot disregard this element. Ten million thinking people, ingenious and downtrodden, deserve to be taken into account.

Now a word about my efforts concerning the Alliance polonaise. — I am sending you a list of those who have joined. The association no longer depends on one single will; it has its fervent adherents who will not allow it to fall. I am writing the names of those who joined in the order that their adherence had taken place. — 1. Czyński, 2. Królikowski, Ludwik,²⁰ 3. Priest Różański, 4. D. Rochetin, 5. Kasperek,²¹ 6. Rabbinowicz, 7. Hernicz,²² 8. Levi

¹⁸ The Alliance was established in 1860 to defend Jewish rights and promote Emancipation. André Chouraqui, *Cent ans d'histoire: L'Alliance Israélite Universelle et la renaissance juive contemporaine 1860–1906* (Paris, 1965), has no reference to Saratov.

¹⁹ This is the first of two passages that Dr. Więkowska was unable to decipher.

²⁰ On Czyński and Królikowski, see ns. 1 and 2.

²¹ Father Felix A. Różański published pro-peasant works and *Przegląd religijny*: Vol. II, *Religia starożytnych izraelitów* [Religious Review: Vol. II, The Religion of the Ancient Israelites] (Paris, 1862; repr. Lwow, 1879), exposing persecutions and condemning Jews for their rejection of Christianity. See also Eligjusz Kozłowski, *Bibliografia powstania styczniowego* [Bibliography of the January Insurrection] (Warsaw, 1964), pp. 156, 281, 348.

The period's works on Poland by Count Victor-Henri de Rochetin, 1831 insurrectionist, are listed in Kozłowski, *ibid.*, pp. 236, 340.

Józef Franciszek Kasperek (d. Paris, 1892), is listed as a possible mem-

Bernard, 9. Aristide Astruc rabbi, 10. Cienglewicz, 11. Klemens Miller, 12. Munk member of the Consistoire,²³ 13. Joseph Wien, 14. Priest Bławaczyński, 15. Królikowski Mirosław. 16. Miss Pons de Herault Hermina, 17. Miss Pons de Herault Paulina,²⁴ 18. Oulber of TDP and co-founder of the *Alliance polonaise* in Tyrowicz; see *TDP*, p. 284.

²² On Rabinowicz, see n. 10.

Stanisław (Synaj) Hernicz (Hernisz) (ca. 1805–1866) was a hussar officer in the November Insurrection, after he had tried to organize a Jewish legion. An émigré in France he wrote patriotic articles and translated Polish works. He entered the diplomatic service in the United States and died in London on the way to the Far East as an American representative. Biography by Artur Eisenbach in *PSB* (1960–61), IX, 466. An ardent polonizer, he was active in émigré Jewish affairs. See my “PGE”, 149–151. Czyński proposed him and Count Rochetin for Dembiński’s émigré central committee. See Czartoryski Museum, Krakow, Ms. 5593/269b, July 23, 1861; and Czyński, in *Archives israélites*, XXII (1861), 561–562.

²³ Dr. Bernard Lewi (Levi), a physician, appears in the Membership List. See also Szajkowski, “AIU,” p. 142.

Elie Aristide Astruc (1831–1905), assistant to the Chief Rabbi of Paris and later Chief Rabbi of Belgium, 1866–79, was a founder of the AIU. Biography by Julien Weil in *JE*, II, 251.

Kasper Cięglewicz [Cienglewicz] (1807–86), a Galician, participated in the November Insurrection, continued his underground activities, and escaped from an Austrian prison. Settling in Paris after 1848, he lived in poverty, as a not very distinguished poet. Biography by Władysław Wisłocki and Zofia Horoszkiewicz in *PSB* (1938), IV, 71, where no mention is made of his participation in *Alliance polonaise*.

Klemens Miller still has to be identified.

Salomon Munk (1803–67), outstanding Orientalist, succeeded Ernest Renan in the Chair of Hebrew at the College de France. He was secretary of the Central Consistoire and translator of Maimonides’ *Guide*. Biography by Moise Schwab, *JE*, IX, 110–111.

²⁴ Józef Wien, 1831 Insurrectionist, a Pole, continued his political activities in exile and was a member of TDP until 1836. Biography in Tyrowicz, *TDP*, pp. 736–737, where he is identified as a co-founder and secretary of the *Alliance polonaise*. See its *Bulletin*, 1 (1863), 4.

Father Bławaczyński is still to be identified. Mirosław Królikowski, a brother of Ludwik, was not much involved in politics. See n. 2.

The Pons de Heraults may have been related to André, a liberal whose works are listed in Bibliothèque Nationale, *Catalogue général*. . . CXL, 627–628.

man Grand Rabbi, 19. Fricz, 20. Odynocki, 21. Płodowska, Ma-tylda, 22. Deputy Leduchowski, 23. Konstanty Zaleski, 24. Leven advocate.²⁵ 25. Ludwig Wilh. 26. Gawroński colonel. 27. Beyrele. 28. Joseph Adelberg, 29. Madame Adam Salomon, 30. Miss Ferrazio, 31. Madame Amanton.²⁶

²⁵ Salomon Ulmann [not Oulman] (1806–65), was Chief Rabbi of the Consistoire (1853–1865). Biography by Jaques Kahn in *JE*, XII, 342–343. See also Szajkowski, “AIU,” p. 141.

Karol Frycz (Frytsch), insurrectionist cavalry officer, member of TDP, of whom little is known. Biography in Tyrowicz, *TDP*, p. 173.

Tomasz Odynocki, probably Odyńiecki or Odynecki (ca. 1808–1872), an 1831 insurrectionist, was a member of TDP until 1837. His namesake, Antoni (1808–72), an insurrectionist, was a Blanquist and TDP member. Biography in Tyrowicz, *TDP*, 483–484.

Mme. Mathilda Płodowska, listed in the Membership List, is still to be identified.

Count Jan Ledóchowski (1791–1864), a Sejm deputy, on the conservative side in the insurrection, joined the TDP in 1846 and went to Krakow in 1863. He was an author and a greatly respected personality. Biography by Władysław Zajewski in *PSB* (1971), XVI, 623–625.

Konstanty Zaleski (1803–68), a Philaret and Decembrist, captain in 1831, while in exile was a carbonare, follower of Joachim Lelewel’s “Half-Middle” trend and co-editor of *Orzeł Biały* [White Eagle]. Biography in Tyrowicz, *TDP*, pp. 790–791, where he is described as a founder of the *Alliance polonaise*.

Narcisse Leven (1833–1915), lawyer and communal leader, was secretary to Cremieux, member of the Paris Consistoire and Jewish Colonization Association, founder, vice-president, then president of AIU, and author of its history. Biography by Jaques Kahn in *JE*, VIII, p. 18. See also Szajkowski, “AIU,” p. 141.

²⁶ Ludwig (Louis) Wihl (not Wilh) (1807–82), a German Jewish radical poet in exile, wrote *Le Mendiant pour la Pologne* (Paris 1864) and other poetry in French and German. See G. Papereau, *Dictionnaire universel des contemporaines*. . . (Paris, 4th ed., 1870), p. 1859, entry, Wilh; L. Fraenkel, *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, XL (1897), 469–472; Sol Liptzin, *EJ*, XVI, 510.

Andrzej Gawroński (1791?–1864), served under Napoleon; after 1815, in the army in the Kingdom of Poland, he became colonel in the 1831 insurrectionist army. In exile he lived in France and Belgium. Biography by Jan Popłatek in *PSB* (1948–58), VIII, 324. He is listed as a member of the Council of the *Alliance polonaise*, *Bulletin*, 1 (1863), 9.

I will end with one remark. The fate of the *Północ*²⁷ may be decided by the important conversation that you will have with your friends. So is the fate of the North. Feel the weight of this. Be strong with the cause's importance and the love that you have accumulated among friends here and there. Great benefit may come out of this if the little circle now connected with your friends will not know that you have contacts with others. Mierosławski fled.²⁸ His but it is necessary to [do] what is easy [and] alike [?]

The bitter hatred that I have evoked in the Jesuit circle and that has penetrated among your friends could bring harm to the outcome. You are assured of my heartiest sympathy and action. And should you feel that it is needed for the cause, I will most willingly permit that another brother should enter into contact with you, a brother who also trusts you as well as I do and who loves you and respects you.

Be well

Jan.

Beyerle could have been the mayor of Beumont or one of the several Beyerles whose books are listed in Bibliothèque Nationale, *Catalogue général*. . . XII, 943. He is not on the Membership List.

Joseph Adelberg, prominent Jewish leader, is on the Membership List.

Georgine Cornélie Adam-Salomon [née Coutelhier] (d. 1878), sculptress and convert to Judaism, was the wife of Antony Samuel Adam-Salomon (pseud. L'Adama), a renowned sculptor. Biography by Julien Weill in *EJ*, I, 84.

Mademoiselle Ferrazio's name is not included in the Membership List. She is still to be identified.

Mme. Amanton is still to be identified. Works by Claude-Nicolas and Victor Amanton are listed in Bibliothèque Nationale. *Catalogue général*, II, 795–799.

²⁷ *Północ* [North] seems to be a code word or a reference to Russia, presented as the North. Interestingly, Czyński published a journal by this name in the 1830s.

²⁸ Ludwik Mierosławski (1814–78) was a stormy petrel in the Emigration. A radical activist since 1830, he established the Military School in Cuneo in 1861, agitated for a social and nationalist revolution, and lost it as the Dictator in 1863. Biography by S. Kieniewicz, *PSB*, XX (1975), 812–814.

ABBREVIATIONS

* *AIU* = Alliance Israélite Universelle, Paris; *Bulletin* = Alliance polonaise de toutes les croyances religieuses, *Bulletin* [No. 1, after April 22, 1863]. Membership List of April 1863 appears on pp. 10–11; *BŻIH* = *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* [Bulletin of the Jewish Historical Institute], Warsaw; Duker, "Appeal" = "The Polish Great Emigration's Appeal to the Jews of October 3, 1832," *Sepher Ha-Yovel l'Yitzhak Baer* [I. F. Baer Jubilee Volume] (Jerusalem, 1960), pp. 431–448 (Hebrew); —, "1848" = "The Polish Political Émigrés and the Jews in 1848," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, XXIV (1955), pp. 69–102; —, "FPJS" = "Frankism as Polish-Jewish Synthesis," *Tolerance and Movements of Religious Dissent in Eastern Europe*, ed. Béla Király (New York, 1975), pp. 133–164. Published in series "Eastern European Monographs" (*East European Quarterly*); —, "LCJE" = "The Lafayette Committee for Jewish Emancipation," *Essays on Jewish Life and Thought, Presented in Honor of Salo Baron* (New York, 1959); —, "Participants, 1830" = see n. 2; —, "Participants, 1863," = see n. 2; —, "PCE" = "Prince Czartoryski, the Émigré, and the Jewish Problem," *The Joshua Bloch Memorial Volume. Studies in Booklore and History* (New York, 1960), pp. 165–179; —, "PECS" = see n. 2; —, "PGE" = "The Polish 'Great Emigration' and the Jews. Studies in Political and Intellectual History" (Publication 16, 277, Dissertation Series, 1956, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mich.), 710 pp.; —, "PFD" = "Polish Frankism's Duration: From Cabbalistic Judaism to Roman Catholicism and from Jewishness to Polishness," *JSS*, XXV (1963), 287–333; —, "TDP" = "The Polish Democratic Society and the Jewish Problem, 1832–46," *JSS*, XIX (1957), pp. 99–112. Reprinted in *Emancipation and Counter-Emancipation*. Ed. by A. G. Duker and M. Ben-Horin (New York, 1974), pp. 116–140; *EJ* — (German) = *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Berlin; *EJ* = *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Jerusalem; *JE* = *Jewish Encyclopedia*, New York; *JSS* = *Jewish Social Studies*, New York; *PSB* = Polska Akademia Nauk [Umiejętności] (Polish Academy of Sciences), *Polski słownik biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Dictionary], Kraków; Szajkowski, "AIU" = see n. 8; TDP = Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie [Polish Democratic Society]; Tyrowicz, *TDP* = Marian Tyrowicz, *Towarzystwo demokratyczne polskie 1832–1863: Przywódcy i kadry członkowskie; Przewodnik bibliograficzny* [Polish Democratic Society 1832–1863: Leaders and Membership Cadres; Bio-bibliographical Guide] (Warsaw, 1964).

APPENDIX

THE ORIGINAL POLISH TEXT

Drogi Bracie

29.8

Niech ważność przedmiotu będzie wymówką, że dopiero dziś odpisuję, — Odpowiedź iaką od przyjaciół Twoich otrzymałeś, moim im dałem. Przyjęli ją z serdeczną wdzięcznością iako dającą dowód uczuć na iakie rachowaliśmy. Ale po porozumieniu się i wyczerpaniu objaśnień, że wszelkich źródeł mam sobie polecone abym Tobie następne dał objaśnienia, abys z nich stosowny uczynił użytek. Drogi bracie. Odezwa ogłoszona w Kołokole od komitetu Warszawskiego, ma to dobrego iż okazuie, że pewna częśćka ludzi czynu w Warszawie, czuie potrzebę wspólnego działania z przyjaciółmi Twemi. Ale niech przyjaciele Twoi, częściutki nie biorą za całość. Takich kółek jest kilka w Warszawie. Odezwa ogłoszona, poddaie pod głosowanie to co pominiętem być powinno. Wywoła ona opozycję, którą się przebijie w pierwszym numerze Baczności. — Co do mnie ja z przyjemnością widziałem, iż zasada wy-nagrodzenia została przyjętą. — Racz z najwyższą uwagą to co następuje odczytać. — Tak jak żaden z ludzi nadchodzącej nocy wstrzymać nie potrafi, tak nic nie wstrzyma rozpacz jak na dni 9 przed poborem, albo w nocy poboru wyniknie. — Niejedno Elżanowskiego i Wysockiego kółko, ale wszystkie, ale wszyscy wiedzą o tem, że topór podniesiony, na zabicie młodzieży polskiej. Moskwa wie, że idzie o śmierć lub życie, i iuż pościągala wojsk i sku-piła ie na granicy. — Teraz to co my przez nasze stosunki wiemy, a za co Ci ręczę. Jest rozkaz i instrukcja. Za pierwszym wybuchem w Warszawie. Będą Warszawę bombardować, a opoionemu żoł-dactwu, pozwolą dwa dni rabunku. To jet tak nam znana z pew-nością, że i Ty byś o tem był przekonany, gdybym śmiał pismu źródło powierzyć. Drogi Bracie, serdeczna przyjaciół Twoich od-powiedź, w takim stanie rzeczy nie może nas zaspokoić. Zrobimy co zrobi Warszawa. — Mogą przyjść na pomoc trupowi. Godzina jest wyznaczona. Topór podniesiony, przyjaciele Twoi powinni nie czekać co zrobi Warszawa, ale uprzędzić cios! — Że są w zaufaniu z jednym kółkiem, niech temu kółkowi jeśli potrzeba wskażą co

od niego wymagają. Nie potrzeba żeby, nawet to kółko wiedziało, że inne także chcą współdziałać. My, to jest przyjaciele moi, bynajmniej niechęć bezpośrednio się porozumiewać. To co wiedzieć będą chętnie Tobie powierzę. To co osądzisz, za porozumieniem się z przyjaciółmi Twemi, my nam znanym przełożym i wszelkiego starania do wspólnego działania dołożym. Streszczam. Rozpacz ruch wywoła. Topór podniesiony. Nie czas przyjść w pomoc Warszawie, iak ona w gruzach się zagrzebie. — Niech przyjaciele Twoi jednego kółka nie biorą za wolę wszystkich. — W tak uroczystych stanowczych okolicznościach miłość kraju, wielka narodowa potrzeba, rozpacz, może i powinna zbliżyć rozdzielonych. A jeśli idzie o służbę o przewodnictwo w burzy i płomieniach, walczący ogłoszą najśmielszego najzdolniejszego. —

Drogi Bracie Twojemu sercu, twojej rozwadze, Twoim uczuciom polskim, Twojej miłości ludowej to co poprzedziło najmiłsi mi przyjaciele powierzą. Uczyni z tego użytek. Niech Ci Bóg dopomoże.

Teraz drogi Bracie, co następuje, jest moim osobistym wyrazem.

Przyjaciele Twoi, opuścili kwestyą religijną, mieszczańską i finansową. Z każdym dniem przekonają się, że ciężki popełnili błąd, z każdym dniem przekonają się, że Carat z tego korzystać potrafi. — Mam tego w tej chwili wielki dowód, dowód tym mocniejszy, że zarazem Cię przekona, iż mamy stosunki które nam pozwalają wiedzieć, przed innemi co się gotuje w kuźni nieszczęść naszych.

Czy pamiętasz że Cię pytałem jakie uczucie uczyniło na przyjaciół Twoich, skazanie na tortury, więzienie, chłostę żydów w Saratowie? Przekonałeś się, że ten wypadek co poruszył Parlament i druk europejski, nie wywołał żadnej protestacyi ze strony przyjaciół Twoich. — Otóż, przyjdzie w przyszły piątek do Paryża wiadomość, że Car na przełożenie Alliance Israelite, wyrok zapadły w Saratowie przejrzyć rozkazał i nowych sędziów wyznaczył. — Iaki tego skutek? Gdyby przyjaciele Twoi byli wzięli pod swoją opiekę pokrzywdzonych, byłiby to wskórali, co zyskała Warszawa; współczucie . . / . . / . . / . . / . . fanatyczne ludzi myślących, czułych, potężnych wpływem. — Wiem, że oni rachują na siłę uzbrojonych pęta zrywających niewolników, kiedyś jeśli im Bóg pobło-

gosławi, przekonają się że łatwiej lwa przebudzić jak go poprowadzić. Mieszczanie mogli i mogą do kierunku dopomódz. Tym żywiołem ludzie przyszłości poniewierać nie mogą. Dziesięć milionów ludzi myślących, przemysłnych, a przygniecionych zasługują aby się z nimi rachować.

Słowo, teraz o usiłowaniach moich, co do Alliance polonaise. — Posyłam Ci listę tych co przystąpili. Stowarzyszenie to już dziś od pojedynczej woli niezawisło, ma swoich gorących zwolenników, którzy mu upaść niedozwolą. — Piszę imiona tych co przystąpili w kolei iak te przystąpienia nastąpiły. 1. Czyński, 2. Królikowski Ludwik, 3. Xiądz Różański, 4. D. Rochetin, 5. Kasperek, 6. Rabinowicz, 7. Hernicz. 8. Levi Bernard. 9. Aristide Astruc rabin, 10. Cienglewicz. 11. Klemens Miller, 12. Munk członek Consistoire, 13. Józef Wien, 14. Xiądz Bławaczyński, 15. Królikowski Mirosław, 16. Panna Pons de Herault Hermina, 17. Panna Pons de Herault Paulina, 18. Oulman Grand Rabbi, 19. Fricz, 20. Odynecki, 21. Płodowska Matylda, 22. Posel Leduchowski, 23. Konstanty Zaleski, 24. Leven adwokat, 25. Ludwig Wilh, 26. Gawroński pułkownik, 27. Beyrele, 28. Joseph Adelberg, 29. Pani Adam Salomon, 30. Panna Ferrazio, 31. Pani Amanton.

Kończę jedną uwagę. Z ważnej rozmowy jaką mieć będziesz z przyjaciółmi Twemi, może się rozstrzygnąć los północy. Tak jest los Północy. Uczuj tego wagę. Bądź silny, ważnością sprawy i miłością jaką u przyjaciół Twoich tam i tu skarbiłeś. Wielka może wyniknąć z tego korzyść jeśli kółko dziś z przyjaciółmi Twemi związane, wiedzieć nie będzie, że masz z innemi styczność. Mirosławski uciekł. Jego.....ale.....trzeba co jest łatwym podobnem.

Zajadła nienawiść iaką ja wywołałem w kółku Jezuityckim, a która się wcisnęła do przyjaciół Twoich mogłaby szkodzić skutkowi. Jesteś pewny mego najserdeczniejszego współczucia i działania. A jeśli tego uznasz potrzebę dla sprawy, ja najchętniej zezwolę aby inny brat wszedł z Tobą w stosunki, brat który Ci także ufa iak ja i który Cię kocha i szanuje.

Żyj zdrów

Jan.