

VEERLE CLAERHOUT
IDESBALD GODDEERIS

BETWEEN CONSERVATISM AND RADICALISM WINCENTY TYSZKIEWICZ IN BELGIUM (1833-1848)

1. INTRODUCTION

After the Polish defeat in the November Insurrection of 1830-1831, many members of the Polish intellectual and military elite left their fatherland. Most of them emigrated to France, but other countries hosted Poles as well. One of them was Belgium, that had just gained its independence from the Netherlands and where about 200 Poles settled down¹. The most known was the democratic leader Joachim Lelewel, who stayed in Brussels from 1833 till a week before his death in 1861. In Belgium, he cooperated with other radicals such as Aleksander Kazimierz Pułaski, Stanisław Worcell, Tadeusz Krępowiecki, Ludwik Ozeasz Lubliner and Wiktor Heltman. On the other hand, Belgium was also the residence of some representatives of the Hotel Lambert.

Mgr. VEERLE CLAERHOUT graduated in 1999 as a MA in Slavic Studies at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven with a MA Thesis on Wincenty Tyszkiewicz (V. C l a e r h o u t, *Tussen radicalisme en legalisme. Wincenty Tyszkiewicz (1795-1856)*, Leuven: Unpublished MA Thesis 1999) written under the coordination of Idesbald Goddeeris and the supervision of Prof. Dr L. Vos.

Dr IDESBALD GODDEERIS studied Slavic Studies and History at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, and obtained his doctorate with a thesis entitled *The Temptation of Legitimacy. Polish Exile Politics in Belgium, 1830-1870* (Leuven, 2001, in Dutch). Since January 2002, he works as a postdoctoral fellow at the History Department of the KU Leuven. Address: Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Faculteit Letteren, Blijde Inkomststraat 21/5, 3000 Leuven (Belgium), e-mail: idesbald.goddeeris@arts.kuleuven.ac.be; tel: 00-32-16/32.49.72; Fax: 00-32-16/32.49.91

The authors would like to thank Mrs. Veronique Arkosi for reading a first version of this text.

¹ S. K a l e m b k a, *Wielka Emigracja. Polskie wychodźstwo polityczne w latach 1832-1862*, Warszawa 1971, p. 60.

Among the about 70 Polish officers and soldiers that were recruited by the Belgian army in 1832 and 1838, we find high officers and monarchists, such as Ignacy Marceł Kruszewski, Prot Proszyński, Jan Skrzynecki (the Polish commander during the November Insurrection) and Władysław Zamoyski (the nephew of Adam Jerzy Czartoryski)².

Some other Polish émigrés in Belgium do not fit in this classical scheme of leftist and rightist political groups. Such an exception is count Wincenty Tyszkiewicz, a former Member of Parliament (Sejm), who arrived in Belgium at the end of 1833 and stayed there till the spring of 1848. Tyszkiewicz clearly cooperated with both democratic and monarchist sides. Certainly in the 1830's, he was a close friend of Lelewel, with whom for instance he founded in 1835 the *Związek Dzieci Ludu Polskiego (Union of the Children of the Polish People)*, a conspiratorial organization that was ideologically inspired by Mazzini's Young Europe movement. On the other hand, he also maintained good relations with some monarchists, as Ignacy Marceł Kruszewski, who married his stepdaughter, or the brothers Herman and Józef Potocki and Michał and Wincenty Budzyński, of blue blood just as himself³. In the 1840's, Tyszkiewicz was a member of the ZEP (*Zjednoczenie Emigracji Polskiej, Union of the Polish Emigration*), a Lelewelistic organization that tried in vain to unify all democratic forces in the emigration. However, in 1846, he took control of its central committee and its periodical, the *Orzeł Biały*, and directed it towards the monarchist side. The significance of Tyszkiewicz is illustrated by the fact that Jan Skrzynecki claimed in 1845 that only four Poles in Belgium were able to organize an uprising, and one of them was Tyszkiewicz⁴.

Tyszkiewicz' ideological ambivalence is also noticeable in the profiles that historians made of him. The clearly aristocratic-minded L. Gadon, for instan-

² R. B e n d e r, *Polacy w armii belgijskiej w latach 1830-1856*, in: *Polska w Europie*, ed. H. Zins, Lublin 1968, pp. 223-239.

³ The writer Michał Budzyński dedicated a novel on the November Insurrection to Tyszkiewicz (Biblioteka Jagiellońska (Kraków) [henceforth BJ] rkp. 5918 (Michał Budzyński. *Wacław Rzewuski. Fantazja z czasów powstania Podolsko-Ukraińskiego w 1831 r. napisał Michał Budzyński (M.B.) w Brukselli, w drukarni Polskiej, 1841 r. Wincentowi Tyszkiewiczowi w dowód przyjaźni i uwielbienie jego cnót prywatnych i obywatelskich poświęcił autor*). M. Budzyński served at that time as the house teacher of Tyszkiewicz' children.

⁴ J. L e l e w e l, *Listy emigracyjne*, wydała i wstępem poprzedziła H. Więckowska, t. I, Kraków 1948 – T. V, index, Wrocław-Kraków 1956. The quote in t. III, p. 317 (28.12.1845).

WINCENTY TYSZKIEWICZ AROUND 1830



Reprint from: *Kronika powstań polskich 1794-1944*. Warszawa 1994 p. 127.



Reprint from: J. Straszewicz. *Les Polonais et les Polonaises de la révolution du 29 Novembre 1830*. Paris 1832.

ce, insinuated that Wincenty Tyszkiewicz was a democrat and a republican⁵. In the People's Republic era, however, Wielka Emigracja specialists such as B. Cygler and A.F. Grabski described him as a conservative aristocrat⁶. Precisely this ambiguity is perhaps the reason why Tyszkiewicz has not yet received much attention by historians. Certainly about his stay in Belgium, we find only superficial information in his biographies by for instance H. Dudzińska, J. Straszewicz, an anonymous Austrian biographer and the priest A. Prusinowski, who held a funeral oration in Tyszkiewicz' honor⁷.

Another reason for the limited historical attention paid to Tyszkiewicz could be the fact that he has not left many letters or memoirs. However, this does not mean that sources are lacking. Tyszkiewicz is one of the rare Polish refugees whose file has been conserved at the Belgian Alien Police⁸. He is also mentioned in several Polish archives that were brought together in a broader research on Polish emigration in Belgium. Finally, Tyszkiewicz is regularly mentioned in published sources, as the correspondence of Lelewel, the émigré press and political manifestoes.

This article focalizes on the life and the political activities of Wincenty Tyszkiewicz in Belgium. Some related aspects will be discussed too, such as the role of 'a' Tyszkiewicz in the emigration in 1831 and the stay in Belgium of his son Tadeusz, one of the rare Poles (next to Joachim Lelewel and Ludwik Lubliner) about whom an article is written in the national Belgian biography⁹.

⁵ L. G a d o n, *Wielka Emigracja w pierwszych latach po powstaniu listopadowym*, Paris s.d., p. 414-416.

⁶ B. C y g l e r, *Działalność społeczno-polityczna Joachima Lelewela na emigracji w latach 1831-1861*, Gdańsk 1969, 207-209 and A. F. G r a b s k i, *Joachim Lelewel i demokracja niemiecka. Z dziejów międzynarodowych kontaktów polskiej lewicy w dobie Wielkiej Emigracji*, Łódź 1987, p. 158, 161, 181-199, 211-220.

⁷ H. D u d z i Ń s k a, *Wincenty hr. Tyszkiewicz z Kolbuszowej – bojownik o wolność Polski, współorganizator partyzantki płk. Józefa Zaliwskiego*, „Rocznik Kolbuszowski” 1(1986), pp. 39-86; *Wincenty Tyszkiewicz*, in: J. S t r a s z e w i c z, *Les Polonais et les Polonaises de la révolution du 29 Novembre 1830*, Paris 1832; *Tyszkiewicz, Vincenz*, in: *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaizerthums Oesterreich*, t. XLVIII, Vienna 1883, pp. 201-202; A. P r u s i n o w s k i, *Mowa żałobna na pogrzebie Wincentego Tyszkiewicza w Grylewie dnia 2 maja 1856*, Grodzisk 1856.

⁸ Archives Générales du Royaume (Brussels) [henceforth AGR], Archives of the Ministry of Justice, Administration of Public Security (Alien Police), Individual Files nr. 40 845.

⁹ P. B e r g m a n s, *Tadeusz Tyszkiewicz*, in: *Biographie Nationale*, t. XXV, Bruxelles 1930-1932, pp. 880-882.

2. THE POLISH YEARS OF WINCENTY TYSZKIEWICZ

Wincenty Tyszkiewicz belonged to an old aristocratic family¹⁰. His namesake was married to Teresa Poniatowska, the niece of the last Polish king and sister of general Józef Poniatowski. This Wincenty (1757-1816) is however only a distant relative of Stanisław Antoni Tyszkiewicz (1727-1801), the grandfather of the here discussed one¹¹. Stanisław Antoni made a successful career at the court of Stanisław August Poniatowski, and was made successively marshal of the Lithuanian Tribunal, 'starosta', and 'kasztelan' of Samogitia. He had three sons: Janusz († 1814), a general who fought in the Kościuszko Insurrection of 1794; Jerzy Janusz (1768-1831), who sat in the Long Four-years Sejm (1788-1791), participated in the Kościuszko Insurrection and was the father of the here discussed Wincenty; and Tadeusz (1774-1852), a general in the army of Napoleon, who lived in the emigration too after the November Insurrection¹².

The father of Wincenty, Jerzy Janusz Tyszkiewicz, had married Łucja Lubomirska, the heiress of the estate of Kolbuszowa (in Galicia, about 10 km northwest of Rzeszów), where Wincenty was born in April 1795¹³. Wincenty spent a part of his childhood on the estate of his father in Poniemun, north of Wilno, but must have moved definitely to Kolbuszowa in 1805. Possibly, he participated as a fellow of fourteen in the Polish expedition of 1809 against Austria¹⁴, and maybe he took off to Wilno after the war to study¹⁵. Anyway, in 1811 he must have been back in Kolbuszowa. On May

¹⁰ Some family histories: E. T y s z k i e w i c z, *Groby rodziny Tyszkiewiczów*, Warszawa 1873; T. Ż y c h l i ń s k i, *Złota księga szlachty polskiej*, t. V, S. 1, 1883, pp. 333-377.

¹¹ Teodor Tyszkiewicz, the father of Stanisław Antoni, and Michał Tyszkiewicz, the grandfather of referendarz Wincenty, were brothers.

¹² See his biography: W. K a l i n k a, *Żywot Tadeusza Tyszkiewicza*, Poznań 1853.

¹³ There is discussion about the exact date of his birth. According to Prusinowski (*Mowa żałobna*, p. 7), he was born on April 10, 1795. Dudzińska (*Wincenty hr. Tyszkiewicz*, p. 44) took this date from him. Żychliński, however, wrote that Tyszkiewicz was born on April 10, 1796. The Belgian Alien Police noted down that Tyszkiewicz was born on April, 5, 1795. So, as two independent sources give April 1795, it seems reasonable to take that date over. The two encyclopedias where it is written that he was born in 1792 must be wrong (*Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna PWN*, t. IX, Warszawa 1968, col. 760 and *Nowa Encyklopedia Powszechna PWN*, t. VI, Warszawa 1996, col. 522).

¹⁴ According to Prusinowski and Straszewicz, he did.

¹⁵ According to Prusinowski, his studies in Wilno were interrupted in 1812. Others, however (e.g. Jabłonowski, quoted in Dudzińska, *Wincenty hr. Tyszkiewicz*), wrote that he had ended his studies already in 1809.

27 that year, he killed his mother by accident¹⁶. In 1812, Wincenty joined the Napoleon expedition to Moscow, just as his elder brother Maurycy (who was killed) and his younger brothers Henryk and Jerzy. After the war, he may have ended his studies in Wilno, settled in Ukraine and perhaps served in the Russian army. According to Straszewicz, who published Tyszkiewicz's biography in 1832, thus still in a revolutionary atmosphere, Tyszkiewicz came in contact with the conspiratorial ideas of the comrades of Waleryan Łukasiński (who was arrested in 1821), was forced to take refuge in Galicia after the decabrist insurrection of 1825, but was arrested by the Austrians and confined for eight months in the prison of Lwów¹⁷. After his release, he moved to the Oczeretna estate of his brother Henryk in Krzywe Jezioro near Kiev, and fell in love with Frebonia Szołajska, the sister of Henryk's wife Eufrozyna. The love of Wincenty Tyszkiewicz, who was described as „a nice dandy in the full meaning of the word, with a friendly face and heavily built”¹⁸, seemed to be reciprocal. Frebonia, who was married to Michał Moczyński and had four children, decided to divorce, and contracted a second marriage with Wincenty Tyszkiewicz in 1827. Together with two daughters of Frebonia's, Michalina and Eufrozyna, the young couple settled down in Krzywe Jezioro. Their first son Janusz was born in December 1827 or January 1828¹⁹.

The married bliss did not last a long time. In November 1830, the Poles started an insurrection against their Russian occupiers, and Wincenty Tyszkiewicz did not let the revolt pass him by. Although he perhaps had not aspired to a leading position, the szlachta of Volhynia and Podolia elected him coordinator of their conspiratorial activities. However, Tyszkiewicz did not suc-

¹⁶ D u d z i ń s k a, *Wincenty hr. Tyszkiewicz*, pp. 55-56. Richard Wagner recorded the same story, however not about Tyszkiewicz's mother, but about his wife (*Mein Leben*, t. I, München 1914, p. 82). In 1811, however, Tyszkiewicz was only 16 years old.

¹⁷ S t r a s z e w i c z, *Wincenty Tyszkiewicz*, On the other hand, it is possible that Tyszkiewicz could return to Ukraine without being prosecuted, as his uncle Tadeusz was a member of the commission who had to judge the supposed Polish revolutionaries (K a l i n k a, *Żywot Tadeusza Tyszkiewicza*, pp. 142-143).

¹⁸ M. B u d z y ń s k i, *Wspomnienia z mojego życia. Napisał M.B. w 1860 roku*, Poznań 1880, p. 266: „Pięknie ukształcony, salonowy w całym znaczeniu, miłej twarzy i ogromnej budowy”.

¹⁹ The whole story about the divorce in Budzyński (*Wspomnienia*, pp. 265-267). The exact date of birth of Janusz Tyszkiewicz is not known. According to Żychliński (*Złota księga*, t. V, p. 356), he was born on December 10, 1827. But when Janusz died on October 22, 1845, the Belgian Alien Police recorded that he had reached the age of 17 years, 8 months and 22 days (AGR, Alien Police, nr. 40 485). So, he should have been born on January 31, 1828.

ceed in organizing and proclaiming an insurrection in the region. It is perhaps because of this inability in organizing, that his participation in the uprising was judged negatively by Ludwik Mierosławski²⁰. Tyszkiewicz can however not be blamed of everything that went wrong. Not only was an important part of the Polish nobles in Ukraine not interested in a revolt against the czar, but also was the coordination confused by similar activities by Major Bazyli Chróściechowski²¹. In May 1831, Tyszkiewicz placed himself under the command of general Benedykt Kołyszko, but after a first defeat near Daszów, he crossed the border with the Polish kingdom and joined the Polish army. As an adjutant of general Jan Skrzynecki, he took part in the battle near Ostrołęka on May 26, 1831. In July, when the Sejm in Warsaw was enlarged to include 32 representatives of Lithuania and Ukraine, Tyszkiewicz was elected MP for the region of Skwira (70 km southeast of Kiev). A month later, he was seated in the parliamentary commission that removed Skrzynecki from the post of commander in chief. According to Lelewel, he was also charged with the conservation of the official documents of the Sejm²².

Just like many other MP's, Tyszkiewicz fled to the Grand Duchy of Poznań after the fall of Warsaw in September 1831. After a short stay in a Prussian prison, he took refuge in Leipzig, Saxonia. There, he was member of a relief committee that supported refugees on their way to France, met compatriots as general Józef Bem and Walenty Zwierkowski, and had good contacts with Richard Wagner. The last one described Tyszkiewicz as a man of

²⁰ According to Lelewel (*Listy emigracyjne*, t. II, p. 181 (8.2.1838)) Mierosławski had blamed Tyszkiewicz in his book (*Histoire de la révolution de Pologne*. Paris 1835-1838) of betrayal during the November Insurrection.

²¹ W. B o r k o w s k a, *Chróściechowski, Bazyli*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, t. III, Kraków 1937, p. 455.

²² More details about Tyszkiewicz' participation in the November Insurrection in all biographies that were mentioned in the introduction, and in: Z. W a w c z a k, *Kolbuszowianin w powstaniu listopadowym*, „Profile” 13(1981), vol. 9, pp. 13-14 (who borrowed his material from Dudzińska). Also in: B. S z y n d l e r, *Henryk Dembiński. 1791-1864*, Warszawa 1984, we found some details about this period in the life of Tyszkiewicz (pp. 166, 168, 171 and 205). About the insurrection in Ukraine, some documents are conserved in the Polish Library in Paris (Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu (Paris) [henceforth BPP], rkp. 347, X („Materiały do powstania r. 1831 na Litwie, Żmudzi i Rusi”). Wincenty Tyszkiewicz is recorded in the *Xięga pamiątkowa w 50 letnią rocznicę powstania roku 1830*. Lwów 1881, p. 157 (just as his brother Henryk on p. 54). About the Skrzynecki commission: W. Z a m o y s k i, *Jenerał Zamoyski 1803-1868. II. 1830-1832*, Poznań 1913, p. 333; A. O s t r o w s k i, *Pamiętnik z czasów powstania listopadowego*, Wrocław 1961, pp. 240-241. Finally the quotation by Lelewel in: L e l e w e l, *Listy emigracyjne*, t. IV, p. 432 (22.12.1859).

royal figure, with a distinguished and resolute, but equally quiet and resigned attitude. He even called him „the future dictator of Poland”...²³.

In the autumn of 1832, Tyszkiewicz returned to Kolbuszowa (in the Austrian part of Poland)²⁴. Soon afterwards, he met Walerian Pietkiewicz, who was sent from Paris by Joachim Lelewel in order to organize a new revolt against the Russians. Tyszkiewicz was asked to prepare the arrival of Józef Zaliwski, who would lead the new insurrection. Therefore, he founded a nameless (considering the secrecy) organization, the *związek bezimienny*, declared himself on a meeting on February 13, 1833 openly in favor of the liberation of the peasants and started to propagate his ideas. On March 17, 1833, he hosted Zaliwski in Kolbuszowa and gave him about 500 guns²⁵. Tyszkiewicz tried to convince the emissary to postpone the revolt, as preparations had not been finished and the population was not yet ready. Nevertheless, the start shot for the riots was given two days later. Zaliwski considered Tyszkiewicz as his best help in Galicia because of his influence on the local nobility²⁶, but this opinion is not shared by some historians. S. Kieniewicz for instance wrote that the count did not have the power to organize a conspiracy: the *związek bezimienny* was dissolved soon after the meeting in February 1833 and Tyszkiewicz succeeded only in involving his neighbors in the surroundings of Kolbuszowa²⁷. However, for the Austrian police, Tyszkiewicz was suspected enough to be arrested on April 25, 1833. Because a house search in Kolbuszowa was not successful, he was released after a few weeks. Only in a next house search, weapons were found and Wincenty's brother Jerzy arrested.

²³ W a g n e r, *Mein Leben*, t. I, p. 81-84. The quotations on p. 82: „Vorzüglich zog mich die ungemein kräftige Gestalt und überaus männliche Physiognomie eines Grafen Vinzenz Tyszkiewicz an, der mit ruhiger vornehmer Haltung eine, mir bis dahin ganz unbekannte, Sicherheit und Gelassenheit verband. Einen Mann von so königlichem Benehmen im Schnürrock und mit der roten Samtmütze zu sehen, vernichtete in mir sofort alle Verehrung, die ich bisher der geschraubten Kampfhahntournüre der Heroen unserer Studentenwelt gezollt hatte” and on p. 84: „der zukünftiger Diktator Polens”.

²⁴ According to the *Pielgrzym Polski. Pismo polityce i literaturze narodowej poświęcone przez Eustachego Januszkiewicza*. 25.1.1833, Tyszkiewicz lived in Tarnów at that moment.

²⁵ B u d z y Ń s k i, *Wspomnienia*, pp. 98-99.

²⁶ According to his statement to the Russian police; see: V. A. D'j a k o v a.o., *Spoleczeństwo polskie i próby wznowienia walki zbrojnej w 1833 roku*, Wrocław 1984, pp. 399 and 402-403.

²⁷ S. K i e n i e w i c z, *Konspiracje Galicyjskie*, Warszawa 1950, pp. 65-66, 68 and 72; D'j a k o v, *Spoleczeństwo Polskie*, p. 87. Their opinion is not shared by Dudzińska, from whom the other information above was taken.

Anyway, the failure of the expedition cannot be laid at Tyszkiewicz's door. It was caused by the disagreement among its leaders, the segmentation of the emigration, the international apathy and above all by the lack of support among the local population. That does not mean that Tyszkiewicz can be acquitted totally. On the contrary, he did not act against the ideological division, and had contacts with Zaliwski's opponents as well. In February, he cooperated with Franciszek Ksawery Krasicki, who resisted involvement of émigrés as Zaliwski. After the riots, he participated in meetings of Józef Świrski, who was sent to Galicia by Czartoryski in order to counteract the Zaliwski activities. Obviously, already then, Tyszkiewicz appeared to be ambiguous in the political and ideological field²⁸.

In the autumn of 1833, the Austrian authorities issued a second arrest warrant against Tyszkiewicz. So, the count fled to the Saxon capital Dresden together with his family and his newborn son Tadeusz²⁹. His hope to return to Galicia must have gone up in smoke when Vienna tightened the reins after a new conspiracy of Karol Borkowski. Even Saxonia expelled Tyszkiewicz, who had to travel further westward and arrived in Belgium in the end of 1833. A new life was waiting him there.

This short biography of Tyszkiewicz during and immediately after the November Insurrection clearly shows that he had busy activities in Poland, and thus cannot have passed some time in Western countries as Belgium, as some historians suggest. Lubomir Gadon for instance mentions a Tyszkiewicz, who was one of the first Polish refugees to appear in London in the autumn of 1831 and was equally present at a meeting of the Belgian king Leopold with some Polish officers³⁰. In the index, the first name 'Wincenty' is given to this Tyszkiewicz.

It is true that there must have been a Tyszkiewicz at that time in the emigration, but it was certainly another one than the Wincenty who dealt with in this article. Through the correspondence between this emigrated Tysz-

²⁸ G a d o n, *Wielka Emigracja*, pp. 414-416.

²⁹ Equally about Tadeusz' date of birth, there is disagreement. According to the Belgian Alien Police (AGR, Alien Police, nr. 40 485) and Tadeusz' biographer (Bergmans, *Tadeusz Tyszkiewicz*, t. XXV, p. 880), he was born in Lwów on May 7, 1833. According to Żychliński (*Złota księga*, t. V, p. 357), he was born on the same date, but in Belgium (it is very unlikely that Frebonia Tyszkiewiczowa was already in Belgium by then, and Lelewel, the oldest source, affirms that he was born in Galicia (L e l e w e l, *Listy emigracyjne*, t. I, p. 254 (12.3.1834)). Dudzińska (*Wincenty hr. Tyszkiewicz*, p. 79) states that Tadeusz Tyszkiewicz was born in Galicia, but in October 1833.

³⁰ G a d o n, *Wielka Emigracja*, pp. 149, 388.

kiewicz and the Polish legation in Paris, we learn that he had been living already for a long time in the English capital, and that he had just organized a mission to Sweden, in order to incite the population against Russia and to start even an insurrection there (3 000 guns were bought, but the action, of course, did not succeed)³¹. From September 1831 on, he is also mentioned in the diary of Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, who lived in London at that time³². A few months later, on February 1, 1832, Tyszkiewicz wrote a letter in English to Niemcewicz from Brussels. He had heard from the English ambassador in Brussels, that king Leopold was to engage some Polish officers in the Belgian army, and had been received, together with some compatriots, in audience by the king, who did confirm the words of the British ambassador³³. Indeed, the first Polish officers were recruited soon afterwards³⁴.

It is beyond doubt that the Tyszkiewicz in London and in Brussels is one and the same person. The Brussels writer appeared to be insufficiently fluent in Polish – „Don't think it foppery from my part, when I candidly acknowledge my incapacity to express myself in my own language”, he wrote –, so he must have been living in England for a long time. He asserted that he answered a letter of January 27, and exactly on that date, Niemcewicz noted down in his diary that he had written a letter to the Tyszkiewicz he had met in September 1831. Moreover, Tyszkiewicz wrote from Brussels that „I still cling to my former plan of leaving Europe forever and removing to America”, while the London Tyszkiewicz was mentioned in *The Times* in October or November 1831 in connection with the emigration of Poles to the United States³⁵. Obviously, the Tyszkiewicz in London and in Brussels was the same person. But in spite of former suppositions, he could not have been the same as the Wincenty Tyszkiewicz with whom we deal here. The latter lived in Saxony at that time and arrived in Belgium only at the end of 1833.

³¹ BPP, rkp. 357, k. 15 (131); rkp. 358, s. 75, 79, 250, 561-562; rkp. 359, s. 20 (8).

³² J. U. N i e m c e w i c z, *Pamiętniki Juliana Ursyna Niemcewicza. Dziennik pobytu za granicą. I, 1831-1832*, Poznań 1876, pp. 67-68, 89.

³³ A copy of this letter is conserved in both the *Biblioteka Czartoryskich* in Kraków (BCZ, rkp. 5468, k. 188 („Xiąże Adam Czartoryski. Correspondance.” XIX, T-V. Korespondencja z: ... Tyszkiewiczami ...)) and in the Polish Library in Paris (BPP, rkp. 361, s. 173-174 (Akta misji polskiej w Paryżu z 1832, t. XII).

³⁴ B e n d e r, *Polacy*, pp. 225-227.

³⁵ N i e m c e w i c z, *Pamiętniki*, pp. 113-114.

3. LIFE IN BELGIUM

Tyszkiewicz arrived in Belgium on Christmas Day, 1833. He was almost 39 years old and would stay in Belgium for fifteen years. The count was accompanied by his wife, his two little sons Janusz and Tadeusz, and two daughters from his wife's first marriage, Michalina and Eufrozyna Moszczyńska³⁶. The first months in Belgium they must have passed in a hostel or at a friend's. Only gradually, Tyszkiewicz decided to settle down in Belgium³⁷. From the beginning of May 1834, the family lived in Laken, a borough of Brussels. In October, they moved to the *Chaussée d'Anvers*, 28. The 14th or 16th of that month, a third son Stanisław was born. Joachim Lelewel was godfather to the boy who was lightly handicapped³⁸.

Already shortly after his arrival, Tyszkiewicz engaged himself in the social life of the local Polish community. At the end of February 1834, he was one of the founding members of a relief organization, the *Agence pour le placement des réfugiés polonais*, which wanted to help the refugees to find work, but probably did not get off the ground³⁹. His house was considered as a salon for Polish émigrés in Brussels and was the place of several commemorations and celebrations. It saw visitors very regularly, both of democratic (e.g. Lelewel) as legitimistic signature (e.g. Kruszewski and the Potocki's)⁴⁰. Tyszkiewicz was even involved in two duels. In January 1836, his compatriot Jan Szylling decided to defend the honor of Tyszkiewicz after a quarrel with the Rottermund brothers, but killed their second, Józef Peszczyń-

³⁶ Biblioteka Narodowa (Warszawa) [henceforth BN], rkp. 8925, k. 13-13v („Różne materiały ze spuścizny Henryka Kałusowskiego”; letter of Kałusowski to Lelewel; [London], 6.8.1838) contains a lot of details about Mrs. Tyszkiewiczowa.

³⁷ At his arrival, he had a passport for England, and in Brussels, he tried to get one for France. He even wrote a letter to the influential prince A. J. Czartoryski in order to get a visa. See: BCZ, Teka Emigrantów, letter from Tyszkiewicz to Czartoryski of July 30, 1834 and answer from Czartoryski of August 4, 1834.

³⁸ See the letters of Lelewel in that period; AGR, Alien Police, nr. 40 485 and Żychliński (*Złota księga*, t. V, p. 357).

³⁹ No report is found, apart from the founding act (*Le Courier Belge*. 1834 nr. 74 (15.3.1834) p. 3) and a mention by Lelewel (*Listy emigracyjne*, t. I, p. 254 (12.3.1834)), where Tyszkiewicz is not recorded. See also: I. G o d d e e r i s, *The First Years of Belgian Alien Policy: Decentralization Measures and Government Relief for Polish Refugees in the 1830's*, „The Polish Review” 41(2000), vol. 1, p. 78.

⁴⁰ BPP, rkp. 478, vol. 18, s. 717-720, s. 721-724 (Papiery emigrantów. Kruszewski Ignacy) and BPP, rkp. 509, vol. 33, s. 867-898 (Papiery emigrantów. Potocki Herman).

ski. Half a year later, Tyszkiewicz acted as the second of Konstanty Zaleski against two Frenchmen⁴¹.

In 1836, the Tyszkiewicz family suffered more and more from poor health. Both Mrs. Tyszkiewiczowa, who was expecting her eighth child, and the children got serious forms of whooping cough and inflammations. So, the family moved to another house in Brussels just before the birth of Hortensja on June 2, 1836. However, the health of their children did not improve, and Wincenty's wife got even arthritis on her hands after the delivery. Finally, the family moved to Suarlée, a rural village 7 km from Namur, where the diseases evidently disappeared. In August 1837, Frebonia Tyszkiewiczowa even made arrangements for a trip to Galicia, possibly to her brother-in-law, who had become proprietor of Kolbuszowa after his release in June 1836. Initially, she had troubles to get a passport, but she was helped by king Leopold himself, and could leave Belgium at the end of 1837 or in the beginning of 1838 with a royal letter of recommendation. This did not help her much, because already after three days, she was forced to leave Vienna and return to Belgium.

The following year 1838, the family moved again to a house in the city of Namur⁴². New troubles followed them soon. On the one side, they learned that their house in Krzywe Jezioro was destroyed. On the other side, the Podolian properties of Mrs. Tyszkiewiczowa's were confiscated. Originally, the couple thought that the Russian government had appropriated the estates, but it was found later that Michał Moszczyński, the first husband of Mrs. Tyszkiewiczowa, had ran up debts. In the summer of 1839, Moszczyński came to Aachen and took his two daughters with him to Poland „for purposes of property”, as Budzyński records – perhaps, Moszczyński needed them for the money they could inherit from their mother. The two sisters must have been missed by the Polish émigrés in Brussels, among whom they had been very popular. The elder one, Michalina, drove captain Stanisław Malhomme to a suicide attempt already in 1836, when she was only fifteen years old. Later, colonel Ignacy Kruszewski and Michał Budzyński fell in love with her too. After 1839, however, she married a landowner in Ukraine. Her younger sister on the contrary did come back to Belgium. After the rejection of a

⁴¹ All these facts can be found in the *Listy emigracyjne* of Joachim Lelewel, which are very handy in use thanks to the index. The whole story about the duel between Szylling and Peszczyński in Budzyński (*Wspomnienia*, pp. 249-250) and Kalemka (*Wielka Emigracja*, pp. 288 ff.).

⁴² AGR, Alien Police, nr. 40 485.

proposal by Wincenty Budzyński, she got engaged with the twenty years older Ignacy Kruszewski (now apparently concentrating on the sister of his first love) shortly before she left to Poland. Kruszewski followed her, and they married in the Grand Duchy of Poznań in the autumn of 1841. In March 1842, the couple settled again in Belgium, where they had two children, Maria and Bolesław⁴³.

Their mother did not live to see her return. After the leaving of her two daughters, Frebonia Tyszkiewiczowa could not recover from the harm of the separation. In spite of cures in the famous health resorts of Spa and Ostend, she caught a brain fever and suffered from spasms. The delivery of a new daughter in April 1840, who died immediately after her birth, weakened her totally, and she died a month later, on May 25. A lot of compatriots and Belgians attended her funerals. The Polish émigrés organized a collection and gathered 600 francs for a commemorative tomb, which was subsidized by the Brussels town council too⁴⁴. Immediately after the death of his wife, Tyszkiewicz left their house, stayed at Kruszewski's and hired a house in a Namur suburb for his children, who were educated by Michał Budzyński till 1842.

Shortly after the leaving of Budzyński for Brussels, Tyszkiewicz left Belgium for almost a year. From September till November 1842, he stayed in Prussia and Saxonia; afterwards, he traveled further to the Grand Duchy of Poznań, probably to manage financial matters. He stayed so long in the region that Lelewel feared he would not come back. In July 1843, however, Tyszkiewicz appeared in Belgium again. Initially, he hired a house in the capital, and in the autumn of that year he moved to the neighboring Schaarbeek, at the Rue Royale, 13. At that time, he started the juridical procedure to get the Belgian nationality. His exact motives remain unknown, but one should remember that a lot of Poles asked for a naturalization⁴⁵. Possibly, he got disappointed during his stay in the Grand Duchy of Poznań and had planned to stay definitely in Belgium. On June 19, 1844, the naturalization commission treated his request. It was the immediate cause for the newspaper

⁴³ A lot of details about the love affairs of the Moszczyńska sisters in Budzyński (*Wspomnienia*, pp. 250-251). The marriage with Kruszewski is of course also discussed in his biography: M. K l e d z i k, *Ignacy Marcei Kruszewski (1799-1879)*, Warszawa 1989, pp. 225-227.

⁴⁴ See the article in *Le Belge. Journal des villes et des campagnes* of July 8, 1844.

⁴⁵ For instance, all Polish officers in the Belgian army had to do so after 1839. Neither in England was naturalization rare, as can be deduced from the long name list made by M. Paszkiewicz (*Polacy naturalizowani w Wielkiej Brytanii w XIX wieku*, in: „Materiały do biografii, genealogii i heraldyki polskiej”, t. III. Buenos Aires-Paryż 1966, pp. 65-116).

„Le Belge” to write a very favorable biography about this „noble proscrip-
crit”⁴⁶. Nevertheless, it still lasted till April 1845 before Tyszkiewicz offi-
cially obtained the Belgian nationality. Shortly after the naturalization, the
Tyszkiewicz family was overtaken by a new catastrophe. Wincenty’s eldest
son, the seventeen-years-old Janusz Tyszkiewicz, got a heavy pneumonia and
died after a long struggle on October 22, 1845. A lot of people attended the
funerals in the St. Maria-church in Schaarbeek near Brussels, both many
young Belgian friends of Janusz and Polish companions of Wincenty.

This Polish presence at the funerals shows that Wincenty Tyszkiewicz,
even after his long absence from Brussels, did not lose contact with the Po-
lish emigration in Belgium. He regularly traveled to the capital, for instance
on his way to Ostend, for personal affairs (e.g. for the passport of his wife),
or for the commemoration of the outbreak of the November Insurrection (in
1839, he even for a moment functioned as a chairman of the meeting, as
Lelewel came too late). On the other hand, a lot of compatriots came to visit
him in Suarlée and Namur. Already in July 1837, that is only two months
after their moving, Piotr Kopczyński and Józef Straszewicz (a famous printer)
called on him, and at a celebration at Easter 1838, a lot of Poles were pre-
sent at the Tyszkiewicz’. In addition, Tyszkiewicz had good relations with the
Polish émigrés living in the region, as colonel Ignacy Kruszewski (who was
barracked in Namur), Józef Strzembosz and his son Władysław, and the for-
mer members of the *Konfederacja Narodu Polskiego* (*Confederation of the
Polish Nation*) Jan Ledóchowski, Leon and Dionyzy Stempowski and Franci-
szek Trzcziński (who had left Brussels for Ciney in the autumn of 1837 and
moved to Huy a year later; both Ciney and Huy are situated only a few
dozens of miles from Namur)⁴⁷. After his return to Brussels in 1843, Win-
centy Tyszkiewicz came in contact with Jan Skrzynecki. Although the famous
general wrote that they did not very often meet each other⁴⁸, the count so-
metimes had dinner at the general’s and passed Skrzynecki’s letters to the ad-
dressees when he traveled to Paris⁴⁹. Skrzynecki was not involved in Tysz-

⁴⁶ A copy of which is conserved in AGR, Alien Police, nr. 40 485.

⁴⁷ Especially Lelewel is a good reporter of the visits of Poles to Suarlée and Namur. See for instance *Listy emigracyjne*, t. II, p. 121 (25.4.1837), p. 191 (12.4.1838) and p. 224 (16.10.1838).

⁴⁸ Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Kraków) [henceforth PAN], rkp. 1840, k. 36-37 (Correspondence of Jan Skrzynecki to Walery Wielogłowski, letter from Brussels, 12.6.1846).

⁴⁹ PAN, rkp. 2210/t. 13, k. 111-112 (Correspondence of Jan Skrzynecki to Stanisław Egbert Koźmian; letter from Brussels, 7.2.1846) and k. 105-106 (s.1. [Brussels], s.d. [end of 1845]); PAN, rkp. 1840, k. 134 (s. 1., s.d.)

kiewicz' political activities after 1846⁵⁰, but when Tyszkiewicz ran into financial troubles after the bankruptcy of Feliks Zaremba Jastrzębski, both Skrzynecki and lieutenant-general Prot Proszyński searched support in Paris⁵¹.

On the other hand, Tyszkiewicz was familiar with some Belgians too. The house teacher of his children, Michał Budzyński, records in his memoirs how the count frequented the clubs, salons and balls in Namur. His boss also introduced him to local aristocratic families, as baron de Barre, general Merckx and count de Valmont⁵². Tyszkiewicz was equally acquainted with baron Amédée de Beaufort (a professor at the Brussels University ULB), who attended the funerals of his wife⁵³. Finally, he had also good contacts with prince Eugène de Ligne, who had married the princess Jadwiga Lubomirska, a distant relative of Tyszkiewicz' mother Łucja Lubomirska⁵⁴.

Many of these biographical details illustrate that Tyszkiewicz had a rather aristocratic „train de vie”. He emigrated with his whole family, lived in the fashionable Brussels suburb Laken or in the country, regularly made trips to Spa, Ostend, Paris and even Saxonia and Poznań, frequented clubs and balls and organized parties for his compatriots. Such a lifestyle contrasts sharply with the way most Polish émigrés lived. Very famous is for instance the modest style of living of Joachim Lelewel. His small apartment and blue shirt became symbolic and served as an example in the People's Republic of the way a real democrat lived in the emigration. However, certainly in the 1830's, we find count Tyszkiewicz in the same political camp as Lelewel.

⁵⁰ PAN, rkp. 1840, k. 76-77 (Brussels, 6.5.1847).

⁵¹ PAN, rkp. 2210/13, 141-142; L e l e w e l, *Listy emigracyjne*, t. III, p. 420 (24.12.1847).

⁵² B u d z y ń s k i, *Wspomnienia*, p. 275.

⁵³ Beaufort was also a close friend of Skrzynecki, who for instance in 1851 stayed at his place during more than ten days. PAN, rkp. 2210/t. 13, k. 154 (Letter of Skrzynecki; Brussels, 8.6.1851) and PAN, rkp. 2408, k. 2-3 (Correspondence to Jan Skrzynecki; letter of Marquis de Beaufort).

⁵⁴ L e l e w e l, *Listy emigracyjne*, t. II, p. 394 (26.12.1841). For more information about Jadwiga Lubomirska, see: I. G o d d e r i s, *Życie małżeńskie wychodźców polistopadowych w Belgii*, in: *Losy Polek żyjących na obczyźnie i ich wkład w kulturę i naukę świata. Historia i współczesność. Materiały IV sympozjum biografistyki polonijnej. Wiedeń, 1-2 września 1999*, eds. A. Judycka, Z. Judycki, Lublin 1999, p. 73, including further bibliographical references.

4. A DOUBTFUL SERVANT OF JOACHIM LELEWEL (1833-1846)

Tyszkiewicz and Lelewel did not meet for the first time in Brussels. Already during the insurrection in Poland, they knew each other. Lelewel was a member of the government and played an important role in the *Towarzystwo Patriotyczne (Patriotic Society)*. Tyszkiewicz was a member of this democratic organization and of the insurrection parliament. In 1833, they were both involved in the expedition of Zaliwski in Galicia. What's more, they both seem to have shared the same political ideas. Lelewel was a moderate democrat who had been trying to unify the Polish community in the emigration. Tyszkiewicz equally profiled himself as an average democrat, although he was of noble birth.

Therefore, it is not amazing that, once Tyszkiewicz arrived in Brussels, they quickly got along with each other. Tyszkiewicz must have been impressed by the charisma of Lelewel, which could be one of the reasons why he settled down in Belgium, in spite of former plans. Lelewel was very interested in Tyszkiewicz's reports about the conspiracies in Galicia. He was also honored that an MP had come to Brussels, and even dreamed of convening a new Sejm in the Belgian capital. Moreover, Tyszkiewicz had real chances to get a passport for Paris, unlike Lelewel, who had been expelled from France and was thereby cut off from the most important activities and movements of the Polish emigration. Tyszkiewicz could serve as his representative in the Polish political capital. So, in a letter to Walerian Pietkiewicz, Lelewel explicitly expressed his contentment about Tyszkiewicz, although he added that he still would have been more satisfied with the presence of Walenty Zwierkowski (who lived in France)⁵⁵.

However, other companions of Lelewel did not trust Tyszkiewicz that much. Stanisław Worcell and Aleksander Kazimierz Pułaski, who equally stayed in Brussels at that time and cooperated with Lelewel in the edition of the radical paper *La Voix du Peuple*, even did not want to meet Tyszkiewicz⁵⁶. This did not stop Lelewel from supporting the latter and involving him in the Young Poland movement⁵⁷. In November 1834, Tyszkiewicz not

⁵⁵ L e l e w e l, *Listy emigracyjne*, t. II, p. 236 (12.1.1834).

⁵⁶ Ibidem, pp. 228-229 (30.12.1833).

⁵⁷ For more information about *Młoda Polska* and the ZDLP: S. S o b o ł o w s k a, *Młoda Polska. Z dziejów ugrupowań demokratycznych Wielkiej Emigracji*, Wrocław 1972; A. B a r s z c z e w s k a, *Szymon Konarski*, Warszawa 1976; K a l e m b k a, *Wielka Emigracja*, pp. 175-180; *Akt Związku Dzieci Ludu Polskiego. Bruksela, 23.2.1835*, in: W. Ł u k a-

only signed a manifesto of Lelewel⁵⁸, but was also ordered to found a local *Młoda Polska* branch in Brussels, which however took place only on March 8, 1835⁵⁹. Two weeks earlier, they set up a new organization, the *Związek Dzieci Ludu Polskiego* (*Union of the Children of the Polish People*). Tyszkiewicz clearly was involved in the ZDLP, although concrete actions are unknown, as all activities were secret. His pseudonyms were Jerzy and 43.

In the same year 1835, other projects to unify all Polish democratic organizations in exile were defended in the emigration Sejm, which assembled in Paris. Several democrats had different plans concerning a *Konfederacja Narodu Polskiego* (*Confederation of the Polish Nation*), and although Lelewel was very skeptical and critical about the Sejm – in the first place because he could not participate himself – he did not want to stand aside while others were trying to unify the emigration. He showed special interests in the projects of Roman Sołtyk. Both Lelewel and Tyszkiewicz tried to get a passport in order to support Sołtyk's ideas in the Sejm, but only Tyszkiewicz was allowed to travel to Paris. He arrived on October, 8, participated in the last meeting of the Sejm on October, 12⁶⁰, probably also met Leonard Chodźko (who was asked by Lelewel to introduce Tyszkiewicz to some French liberals), but stayed only till the 14th⁶¹.

After Tyszkiewicz's short stay in Paris, Lelewel gradually became more and more disappointed in him. Already in November 1835, he wrote about Tyszkiewicz's „coarseness”⁶². At the end of 1836, he gave the following judgment on him:

You know that I presented him in my letters as a real hit, being of the opinion that he would bear fruit, but no fruit has already appeared. Although in daily life, I go to the right and he to the left, we come together concerning the national action: he appears to be sly and decisive. But, as I say, there has been no result yet⁶³.

s z e w i c z, W. L e w a n d o w s k i, *Postępowa publicystyka emigracyjna 1831-1846. Wybór źródeł*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1961, pp. 98-103.

⁵⁸ *Polacy w Brukseli, do rodaków*, Bruksella 29.11.1834.

⁵⁹ L e l e w e l, *Listy emigracyjne*, t. II, p. 303 (21.11.1834).

⁶⁰ BPP, rkp. 552 („Akta sejmu polskiego na emigracji. T. II. Protokoły sejmowe z lat 1840-1841 z załącznikami”), s. 79.

⁶¹ AGR, Alien Police, nr. 40 485; L e l e w e l, *Listy emigracyjne*, t. I, p. 322 (31.3.1835), p. 350 (20.8.1835) ff., p. 370 (3.10.1835) and p. 374 (ca. 14.10.1835).

⁶² L e l e w e l, *Listy emigracyjne*, t. I, p. 377 (26.11.1835): „aby się nie razić na dalsze jego grubiaństwa”.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, t. II, p. 352 (19.10.1836): „Wiesz, że w relacjach utrzymałem go prawdziwie przebojem sądząc, że z tego jaki owoc będzie, dotąd nie ma żadnego. Chociaż w potocznym

Yet, in contrary to Lelewel's opinion, decisiveness is the last quality we would attribute to Tyszkiewicz. In Lelewel's most important action to unite the (democratic wing of the) emigration, the *Zjednoczenie Emigracji Polskiej* (*Unification of the Polish Emigration*), Tyszkiewicz did not participate with all his heart, although he did not dissociate himself totally either. The ZEP grew gradually from several local unification initiatives, among which some manifestoes and manifestations by Lelewel and the Brussels emigration. In his dissertation on the ZEP, B. Cygler mentions, concerning Brussels, four manifestoes and the important celebration on November 29, 1838. At least two of the manifestoes were not signed by Tyszkiewicz⁶⁴, who was not present either at the celebration of the eighth anniversary of the outbreak of the November Insurrection, officially because his wife was ill⁶⁵.

On the other hand, Tyszkiewicz cannot be blamed of passivity either. When Karol Różycki came to Brussels in April 1837 in order to present the umpteenth unification project, he did not only meet Lelewel, but also Tyszkiewicz⁶⁶. At the end of 1838, the count made another trip to Paris, where he was asked to meet some companions, such as Aleksander Smolikowski (who was trying to revive Young Poland), the later ZEP-members Walenty Zwierkowski and Józef Ordęga, and the former ZDLP-members Antoni Hłuszniewicz and Karol Różycki. Again, the trip to Paris turned out to be a disappointment: Tyszkiewicz had quarrels with Smolikowski and did not meet Ordęga. Zwierkowski and Hłuszniewicz blamed Tyszkiewicz, but Lelewel took a different view and attributed the failure to the chaotic circumstances in which the negotiations were carried on⁶⁷. In November 1839, Tyszkie-

życiu ja w prawo, on w lewo, schodzimy się jednak w sprawie narodowej: okazuje się chytry i zdecydowany, ale, jak powiadam, skutku dotąd żadnego”.

⁶⁴ B. Cygler (*Zjednoczenie Emigracji Polskiej. 1837-1846*. Gdańsk 1963 pp. 46 and 56) gives four manifestoes: dating from November 29, 1836 (*Manifest Polaków znajdujących się w Belgii*, Bruxella 29.11.1836), from May 22, 1837 (which we did not recover), from June 19, 1837 (*Stowarzyszeni Polacy w Bruxelli do emigracji polskiej*. Bruxella 19.6.1837) and from July 24, 1837 (*Stowarzyszeni Polacy w Bruxelli do emigracji polskiej*. Bruxella 24.7.1837, in: J. L e l e w e l, *Polska, dzieje i rzeczy jej rozpatrywane przez ...*, Tom XX: *Mowy i pisma polityczne*. Poznań 1864, pp. 239-256; this edition does unfortunately not give the signatures of the supporters). Tyszkiewicz did certainly not sign the manifestoes of November 29, 1836 and June 19, 1837.

⁶⁵ L e l e w e l, *Listy emigracyjne*, t. II, p. 237 (4.12.1838).

⁶⁶ C y g l e r, *Działalność*, pp. 158-161; L e l e w e l, *Listy emigracyjne*, t. II, p. 119 (11.4.1837).

⁶⁷ L e l e w e l, *Listy emigracyjne*, t. II, p. 197 (5.5.1838), p. 200 (19.5.1838), p. 202 (10.6.1838), p. 207 (14.6.1838), ff.

wicz was involved in the *Towarzystwo Braci Polaków (Society of the Brothers of the Poles)*, a kind of successor of the ZDLP, for which Seweryn Pilchowski came to Brussels and negotiated with Tyszkiewicz too⁶⁸. At the same time, Tyszkiewicz attended the ninth anniversary of the November Night.

A year later, in 1840, Tyszkiewicz participated in some sessions of the Polish Parliament in Paris, that was sitting again after the Egyptian crisis. Again, Tyszkiewicz seems to have taken the restrained point of view of Lelewel, who was refused a visa to Paris. Though he expressed his attachment to the project and confirmed that he would stay in Paris as long as necessary, he only once attended the set of meetings, which were held in the autumn and winter of 1840-1841⁶⁹. In May or June 1841, he nevertheless returned to the French capital, in order to discuss some new projects of Lelewel about the precise status of the Sejm with the MP nestor Alojzy Biernacki⁷⁰.

At the same time, Tyszkiewicz was involved in other initiatives. Together with some other worried and mostly moderate democratic fathers, he founded the *Stowarzyszenie Ojców Rodzin Polskich w Wychodźstwie (Association of Fathers of Polish Families in the Emigration)* on May 16, 1841. This organization founded the famous Polish school in October 1842, that later on moved to the Paris suburb Batignolles. Tyszkiewicz however did not play an important role in the establishment of this school – on the contrary, he was in Saxonia when it was founded. He got only mixed up in the discussion where the *Biblioteka Wersalska (Library of Versailles)* was to be settled. According to Tyszkiewicz, it should have been part of the new school, but finally, it was moved to Tours⁷¹.

Tyszkiewicz' involvement in the foundation of this Polish school shows that he was also engaged in other projects than those of Lelewel. Obviously, we may not describe Tyszkiewicz merely as a servant of Lelewel. On the contrary, we must remain aware of the fact that a great part of our characteri-

⁶⁸ See especially: B u d z y ń s k i, *Wspomnienia*, pp. 261-262. According to Lelewel (*Listy emigracyjny*, t. II, p. 221 (8.9.1838)), Tyszkiewicz also corresponded with Hłuszniewicz, another member of the TBP.

⁶⁹ BPP, rkp. 552, s. 13, 26, 33 and ff. („Akta sejmu polskiego na emigracji. T. II. Protokoły sejmowe z lat 1840-1841 z załącznikami”).

⁷⁰ L e l e w e l, *Listy emigracyjne*, t. II, p. 358 (20.4.1841) and p. 367 (30.6.1841).

⁷¹ U. W e n c e l - K a l e m b k o w a, *Działalność generała Józefa Dwernickiego na emigracji w latach 1832-1848*, Warszawa-Poznań-Toruń 1978, pp. 119-120; S. G o g ł u s k a, *Szkoła Polska na Batignolles. Księga Pamiątkowa Wychowanków Polskiego Liceum w Paryżu z okazji 130 rocznicy powstania Szkoły Batiniolskiej*, Warszawa 1972.

zation is based on the correspondence of Lelewel, who could have put only one side of Tyszkiewicz's activities in the spotlight. Other sources show that he was involved in other projects too. During his stay in Paris at the end of 1838, Tyszkiewicz not only discussed some plans and texts of Lelewel with Karol Różycki and others, but also at least three times paid a visit to prince Czartoryski⁷².

One can however not deny that Lelewel was mixed up in a great part of Tyszkiewicz's political steps. We are not the only ones to suppose this. B. Cygler even wrote that Tyszkiewicz's travel to Saxonia and Poznań from September 1842 till July 1843 was made in the function of an agent of Lelewel⁷³. Perhaps, this is somewhat exaggerated; at least, there are no concrete results of some possible assignments. But nevertheless, after his return to Brussels, Tyszkiewicz came again more often in contact with the charismatic historian.

The political engagement of Lelewel in those years was still canalized in the ZEP. The organization however proved to be very inefficient and even paralyzed. Although elections for its executive committee kept dragging on from January 1840 till July 1843, the number of five members that was prescribed by the statutes could not be reached. Moreover, the four members who were elected did not get along with each other. Lelewel and Zwierkowski first excluded Józefat Bolesław Ostrowski, then fell out with Antoni Odynecki and finally had to call for new elections. These proved to be disastrous for the ZEP, as only 585 members (of the 2 450, besides less than 10% of the total emigration) participated. By the summer of 1845, the five members were elected: Stanisław Worcell (539 votes), Joachim Lelewel (510), Walenty Zwierkowski (495), Wincenty Tyszkiewicz (400) and Karol Stolzman (341).

Wincenty Tyszkiewicz became the subject of constant concern among the other committee members. The count had put himself up for the committee in March 1844, but announced his desire to withdraw already in October⁷⁴. After a furious reaction of Lelewel and some other ZEP members, he put himself up again. Nevertheless, Lelewel lost his confidence, and wrote in

⁷² BN, rkp. 8925, k. 12v („Różne materiały ze spuścizny Henryka Kałusowskiego”; letter of Kałusowski to Lelewel; [London], 6.8.1838).

⁷³ C y g l e r, *Działalność*, p. 202.

⁷⁴ *Wywód słowny*, t. IX (3.1844); L e l e w e l, *Listy emigracyjne*, t. III, p. 214-215 (27.10.1844).

February 1845 that all the promises of Tyszkiewicz end in disappointments⁷⁵. In June 1845, the historian proved to be right. After the proclamation of the names of new members, Tyszkiewicz refused to hold his seat in the committee⁷⁶. On the first two sessions of the new committee in September 1845, he confirmed his decision. According to the *Wywód słowny*, he had good reasons to withdraw, but he did not want them to be published⁷⁷. Possibly, he was preoccupied by the illness of his son (who would die in October 1845). But eight months later, Tyszkiewicz declared he had also political arguments for his behavior. On the one hand, he pointed out that the other committee members were all radical democrats, and that a Unification (*Zjednoczenie*) of the emigration was therefore out of the question. On the other hand, he had doubts about the organizational possibilities, and predicted that the committee would not regularly meet, as Worcell and Stolzman lived in England, Zwierkowski in France and Lelewel (and he himself) in Brussels⁷⁸.

Obviously, Tyszkiewicz seemed to be disappointed in the (possibilities of) politics in exile and did not believe that a new ZEP committee would bring a lot of improvements. It should be stressed that Tyszkiewicz' withdrawal did not lead to a definitive quarrel with Lelewel. In the beginning of 1846, they both participated in a commission, which was founded by Jan Nepomucen Młodecki in order to collect money for the making of a medal in honor of the Polish martyrs. Even Stanisław Worcell held a seat in the commission⁷⁹. This rather paradoxical situation seems to be an illustration of the somewhat local and personal dimensions of the exile politics. It also explains why precisely Tyszkiewicz was authorized after the Kraków Insurrection to go to Paris as a representative of the ZEP and to negotiate with the TDP – a trip that would have totally different consequences than what the ZEP committee had thought.

⁷⁵ L e l e w e l, *Listy emigracyjne*, t. III, p. 261 (19.2.1845): „Prosić, błagać, a bez skutku. Obietnica, a zawód!”

⁷⁶ L e l e w e l, *Listy emigracyjne*, t. III, p. 287 (13.6.1845).

⁷⁷ See: „Wyjątek z protokołu” and „Drugi wyjątek z protokołu” in the first number of *Wywód słowny* after September 1845.

⁷⁸ „Orzeł Biały”, t. VII, nr. 3 (22.5.1846). Of course, this announcement was written in totally other circumstances (e.g. after the insurrection of Kraków), that certainly had an influence on Tyszkiewicz' arguments.

⁷⁹ „Orzeł Biały”, t. VI, nr. 21 (26.1.1846), containing an address to the Polish emigration that was also published apart: *Komisja gminy bruxelskiej do emigracji polskiej* (10.1.1846). See also: L e l e w e l, *Listy emigracyjne*, t. III, p. 315 (20.12.1845).

5. ARISTOCRATIC REACTION (1846-1848)

The Kraków Insurrection, that broke out in the night of February 20, 1846, but held on only nine days and was unsuccessful because of the bad coordination with the other Polish regions, arrests in Prussian Poland and the unexpected *rabacja* (a rising of Polish peasants, set on by the Austrians against their Polish landowners), caused a lot of discussions in the emigration. Most émigrés did agree on the fact that they were not sufficiently equipped for an uprising in their fatherland and that all actions were harmed by the splintering of the emigration. Several organizations decided to cooperate. The ZEP committee sent Tyszkiewicz to Paris where he was to meet the ZEP committee members Zwierkowski and Dybowski (who replaced Tyszkiewicz in the committee), and to start negotiations with the TDP⁸⁰.

The TDP representative Tomasz Malinowski, however, was not interested in the propositions of the ZEP, and – as we may believe the report of the ZEP envoys – even flatly turned down cooperation. As a consequence, Tyszkiewicz and Dybowski turned to the monarchist organization *Towarzystwo Trzeciego Maja (Society of the Third of May)* and came to terms with one of its leaders, Władysław Zamoyski. According to the ZEP report, Zamoyski declared that Czartoryski was very interested in conciliation with the ZEP⁸¹. According to Zamoyski, Tyszkiewicz and Dybowski declared to support Czartoryski⁸².

Their actions were, however, not supported by other ZEP members. Zwierkowski, one of the co-authors of the report, explicitly dissociated himself from the negotiations with the monarchists, in which he did not even take part⁸³. According to him, the TDP was indeed ready to find an agreement with the ZEP, but the negotiations failed because Malinowski was not authorized to represent the TDP-*centralizacja*. Zwierkowski also pointed out that

⁸⁰ *Komitet Narodowy Polski do emigracji polskiej zjednoczonej*, in: J. L e l e w e l, *Mowy i pisma polityczne*, t. XX (*Polska, dzieje i rzeczy jej*, Poznań 1864, pp. 497-501; „Orzeł Biały”, t. VII, nr. 3 (22.5.1846); L e l e w e l, *Listy emigracyjne*, t. III, p. 320 (2.2.1846) and ff.

⁸¹ „Orzeł Biały”, t. VII, nr. 3 (22.5.1846) and „Dziennik Narodowy”, 1846, nr. 263 (25.4.1846), containing the „Rapport zdany komitetowi na dniu 27 marca”.

⁸² W. Z a m o y s k i, *Jeneral Zamoyski 1803-1868. IV. 1837-1847*, Poznań 1918, containing a letter of Zamoyski to Dudley Stuart dating from April 5, 1846. See also: B. K o n a r s k a, *W kręgu Hotelu Lambert. Władysław Zamoyski w latach 1832-1847*, Wrocław 1971, p. 124.

⁸³ *Wywód słowny*, April 1840, containing the „Raport do prezesa Komitetu Narodowego Polskiego”.

they were only empowered to negotiate with the TDP, and that Tyszkiewicz, who did not even sit in the ZEP committee, had not at all the authority to act that independently. Zwierkowski was supported by Stanisław Worcell, the president of the ZEP committee. As a result of the discussions, both Dybowski and Zwierkowski left the ZEP committee and Tyszkiewicz returned to Brussels around April 10.

Joachim Lelewel had supported the negotiations with Władysław Zamoyski as long as they did not act against the democratic principles of the ZEP. Yet, after the departure of Dybowski and Zwierkowski, he took the point of view of the latter. He dissociated himself from the project of Tyszkiewicz and directed the ZEP towards an agreement with the TDP, which appeared to favor a junction too. To prove to the TDP members that he would not aspire to the leadership, Lelewel also withdrew from the committee. The opposition, i.e. Tyszkiewicz, Wiktor Tyszka and Jan Nepomucen Młodecki, considered this withdrawal as an act of betrayal and organized a coup d'état in the committee during a session in Brussels on April 23, 1846. Lelewel now officially called out for an association with the TDP. On July 10, 1846, the former committee members declared the dissolution of the ZEP and their junction with the TDP⁸⁴. In spite of this announcement, the other party considered the *Zjednoczenie* as still existing and took the leadership of it. In a manifesto dated May 5, 1846, Tyszkiewicz proclaimed himself *Pełnomocnik Emigracji Zjednoczonej (Plenipotentiary of the United Emigration)*⁸⁵. He incorporated the ZEP-newspaper *Orzeł Biały (The White Eagle)*, which from then on till the last issue of February 16, 1848 was the speaker's platform of the new ZEP⁸⁶.

The call of Tyszkiewicz to join his new ZEP was not met with a wide response. Barely five of more or less forty ZEP communities agreed with his steps⁸⁷. The TDP and the other ZEP fraction dissociated themselves from

⁸⁴ L e l e w e l, *Listy emigracyjne*, t. III, p. 325 (1.4.1846) and ff.; *Komitet narodowy Polski do emigracji polskiej zjednoczonej*, in: L e l e w e l, *Mowy*, 506-511; *Zebranie nadzwyczajne Polaków w Bruxelli*, „Orzeł Biały”, t. VII, nr. 2 (25.4.1846); „Dziennik Narodowy”, 1846, nr. 264 (2.5.1846).

⁸⁵ W. T y s z k i e w i c z, *Do emigracji zjednoczonej* (5.5.1846). Also published in „Orzeł Biały”, t. VII, nr. 3 (22.5.1846).

⁸⁶ In 1978, the Belgian-Polish student J. Pustkowska wrote a MA thesis at the university of Liège about the paper „Orzeł Biały”: J. P u s t k o w s k a, *Un journal polonais d'émigration: „Orzeł Biały” autour de 1846*, Liège: Unpublished MA Thesis 1978.

⁸⁷ „Orzeł Biały”, t. VII, nr. 4 (2.6.1846), nr. 5 (2.6.1846); t. VIII, nr. 8 (20.6.1846): the communities of Le Mans, Vaugirard, Toulouse, Pignal and Lyon joined the party of Tyszkiewicz.

Tyszkiewicz, who was considered as a usurper⁸⁸. Neither did the conservatives approve Tyszkiewicz' unification plans. They were not very enthusiastic about working together with the democrats⁸⁹, and only convoked Tyszkiewicz to dissolve the *Zjednoczenie* and to join their ranks⁹⁰. Tyszkiewicz preferred to remain independent. However, he continued to have contacts with the aristocratic party. When Ludwik Bystrzonowski accompanied princess Czartoryska on her trip to Ostend in the summer of 1846 and stayed for a few days in Brussels, he wrote to the Hotel Lambert that Tyszkiewicz was very willing⁹¹. The Brussels alien police even confused the new ZEP with the *Trzeci Maj* and noted down, of course erroneously: „la Société du Trois-Mai dont M. le Comte Tyszkiewicz [sic] est un des membres directeurs”⁹².

On the whole, one can state that the backing of Tyszkiewicz was limited to the Polish emigration in Brussels, which was from then on divided in two ranks: the TDP including Lelewel and the ZEP of Tyszkiewicz. According to some sources, the latter initially had a lot of followers among the Brussels emigrants⁹³. Later on, as Lelewel's weight once more increased, Tyszkiewicz' popularity diminished⁹⁴. As one may expect, there existed a latent and sometimes manifest hostility between these two splinter groups. Tyszkiewicz and his companions for instance sabotaged the anniversary of the Kraków Insurrection, which was organized by Lelewel and was to be held in February 1847. Nevertheless, seeing that they lived in a small community, they could not avoid each other for ever. In the spring of 1847, Tyszkiewicz even paid

wicz. Ezechiel Staniewicz however declared that eight communities worked together with Tyszkiewicz (See: L e l e w e l, *Listy emigracyjne*, t. III, pp. 358-359 (29.5.1846)).

⁸⁸ See the readers' letters column in „Demokrata Polski”, 8(1846), (16.5.1846) and the article *Dyktator Tyszkiewicz i jego ajenci*, „Demokrata Polski” 8(1846), (6.6.1846).

⁸⁹ *Ruch w emigracji*, „Dziennik Narodowy”, Nr. 246 (16.5.1846).

⁹⁰ *Do Tyszkiewicza Wincentego* (6.1.1847) (a leaflet, conserved in the BCZ).

⁹¹ BCZ, rkp. 5484, k. 323-328 („Reports of L. Bystrzonowski to Prince Czartoryski and others”); Brussels, 12.7.1846).

⁹² AGR, Alien Police, nr. 71 055 [file of August Teyszerski].

⁹³ As a result of a sabotage by Tyszkiewicz and his companions, only five emigrants showed up at the anniversary of the Kraków insurrection, organized in February, 1847 by Lelewel (See: „Orzeł Biały”, t. VIII, nr. 2 (18.3.1847); L e l e w e l, *Listy emigracyjne*, t. III, p. 395 (25-26.2.1846)).

⁹⁴ L e l e w e l, *Listy emigracyjne*, t. III, p. 398 (6.3.1847), p. 411 (3-6.9.1847), p. 414 (18.11.1847); G r a b s k i, *Joachim Lelewel*, p. 214: Tyszkiewicz' former supporter Ezechiel Staniewicz for instance took the side of Lelewel during the same anniversary of the Kraków Insurrection. Also Konstanty Zaleski supported Lelewel once more.

Lelewel a visit on at least three occasions. Moreover, the TDP-member Marcin Kordaszewski was the governor of Tyszkiewicz's children⁹⁵.

In November 1847, the two fractions organized the 17th anniversary of the November Insurrection together. Both during the preparations and on the celebration itself, some fundamental disagreements came to the surface. Not very long before, Lelewel and some other TDP members had joined the *Association Démocratique (Democratic Association)*, an international pre-socialistic lobby group, but Tyszkiewicz, and especially his right hand Młodecki, tried to diminish the influence of the Association on the 29th November. Nevertheless, some foreign members could present a lecture and formulate heavy criticism on the liberal catholicism of e.g. Félix de Mérode⁹⁶. However, the dimension of these discussions should not be exaggerated. After all, Lelewel and Tyszkiewicz participated in the same meetings, and the former was even touched by the latter's speech and shook the hand of his rival⁹⁷. Or is this only propaganda from the camp of the ZEP? Lelewel indeed wrote that when he entered a pub that evening, Tyszkiewicz and some compatriots who were sitting there, left the establishment immediately⁹⁸.

Nevertheless, the two fractions tried to forget their mutual disagreements on the occasion of the anniversary of the uprising of the dekabrists. The commemoration was set up by Lelewel and Michail Bakunin. Although the famous Russian anarchist seems to have disliked Tyszkiewicz and his companions, they supported the celebration, which did not take place in December, but on February 14, 1848⁹⁹.

In the meanwhile, revolutionary explosions burst out in Sicily and Paris and set off uprisings all over Europe, including the Austrian Kraków and Lwów, and the Prussian Poznań. The Polish emigrants followed the developments in their fatherland very closely. General Józef Dwernicki, a veteran of the November Insurrection who in exile revealed himself as a moderate liberal, founded a committee which wanted to represent the Polish nation before the European powers. Tyszkiewicz worked together with this *Komitet Emigracji Polskiej (Committee of the Polish Emigration)*. During a meeting in Paris

⁹⁵ L e l e w e l, *Listy emigracyjne*, t. III, p. 399 (22.4.1847), p. 401 (17.5.1847), p. 410 (3-6.9.1847).

⁹⁶ A. F. G r a b s k i, *Obchody rocznicy wybuchu powstania listopadowego w Brukseli 29 listopada 1847 roku*, „Przegląd humanistyczny” 29(1985), vol. 3-4, pp. 67-82.

⁹⁷ *Obchód w Brukseli*, „Orzeł Biały”, t. VII, nr. 19-20 (20.12.1846).

⁹⁸ G r a b s k i, *Obchody*, p. 82.

⁹⁹ A. L e ś n i e w s k i, *Bakunin a sprawy polskie w okresie wiosny ludów i powstania styczniowego 1863 roku*, Łódź 1962, pp. 30-31.

on March 9, 1848, he declared the loyalty of the Brussels emigration to Dwernicki¹⁰⁰. The ZEP *pełnomocnik* served as an informant of the committee members who passed through Brussels¹⁰¹. In the first half of April, Tyszkiewicz himself left eastwards in order to support the people of Poznań in their claim for more freedom¹⁰². Prussia, however, did not trust the Polish emigrants returning to their fatherland, and detained most of them in Berlin¹⁰³. Only when the revolutionary atmosphere subsided, Tyszkiewicz got the permission to travel to Poznań.

6. RETURN TO POLAND AND DESCENDANTS IN BELGIUM

It is not clear whether his plans were final at his arrival, but Tyszkiewicz definitely settled down in the Grand Duchy of Poznań. Only on a few occasions, he returned to Belgium for a short time¹⁰⁴. Tyszkiewicz clearly put an end to his political engagement and seemed to have lost contact with his political companions and opponents. Instead, on January 15, 1850, he married Izabela Grabowska, the daughter of count Józef Grabowski and heiress to the estates of Grylewo (between Poznań, Piła and Bydgoszcz), where the couple settled down. A year after their marriage, a daughter Józefa was born. Tyszkiewicz' retirement, however, did not last long. On April 28, 1856 he died of typhus, an illness which he had caught during an epidemic, while nursing other patients. On May 2, he was buried in the parish of Grylewo. On this occasion the priest Aleksander Prusinowski held a funeral oration. In other cities too people honored him. In Kraków, there was a service on May 6¹⁰⁵.

Wincenty Tyszkiewicz had five children: Janusz, Tadeusz, Stanisław and Hortensja by his first wife Frebonia Szolańska, and Józefa by his second wife

¹⁰⁰ W e n c e l - K a l e m b k o w a, *Działalność*, pp. 132-135.

¹⁰¹ BPP, rkp. 582, s. 1257-1258 („Papiery komitetu emigracji polskiej w Paryżu w roku 1848. T. II”).

¹⁰² AGR, Alien Police, nr. 40 845.

¹⁰³ BJ, rkp. 9239 („Listy różnych do różnych. Ze spuścizny do Zalewskiego”), k. 37 (letter from Józef Zaleski to Wincenty Tyszkiewicz, 28.4.1848); L e l e w e l, *Listy emigracyjne*, t. III, p. 433 (21.4.1848).

¹⁰⁴ AGR, Alien Police, nr. 40 845: Tyszkiewicz stayed in Belgium from the end of January 1849 till August 1849 (during this period he also traveled to England) and in August 1850.

¹⁰⁵ Ż y c h l i ń s k i, *Złota księga*, t. V, pp. 357-360 and t. 24, p. 213; D u d z i ń s k a, *Wincenty hr. Tyszkiewicz*, p. 84; P r u s i n o w s k i, *Mowa żałobna*, p. 17; „Czas”, t. CIV (6.5.1856), p. 4.

Izabela Grabowska. Janusz and Tadeusz (and Józefa) were born in Poland, while Stanisław and Hortensja were born and bred in Belgium. Two of his children died at a young age: Janusz of pneumonia at the age of seventeen and Józefa in 1859, when she was merely eight. Tadeusz died in 1870 and the long-lived Stanisław in 1911. The latter had spent a great deal of his youth in Poland, after he had moved there together with Hortensja in August 1849 to join their father. Later on, Stanisław studied in Paris, while Hortensja joined the convent of the Barefoot Carmelite nuns in Kraków¹⁰⁶.

Wincenty Tyszkiewicz's second son Tadeusz, however, did not follow his father to Poland in 1849, although he was barely sixteen years old at that time. Because of his closer relations with Belgium, Tadeusz deserves some more attention. According to the Belgian *Biographie Nationale*, he was a lively and passionate young man, who was influenced by his schoolmaster Emile Labrousse, a French republican living in exile in Brussels, and the founder of the *Ecole centrale de commerce et d'industrie* (Central school of trade and industry)¹⁰⁷. Instead of accompanying his father to Poland, Tadeusz moved to Prussia, where he occupied himself with music. In the Leipzig *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, he published a eulogy on Richard Wagner's notorious opera *Tannhäuser*, for which he was banished to France. In Paris, he summoned the famous *Opéra* to play a shortened version of *Der Freischütz* by Carl Maria von Weber. With the help of the French lawyer Celliez, the young Tyszkiewicz won the lawsuit against this well-established opera house¹⁰⁸.

Although Tadeusz lived most of the time in Prussia and France, he kept in touch with Belgium too. In 1855, he worked as a courier for the Belgian Embassy in Paris. On April 26, 1856, he even obtained the Belgian nationality, just as his father did eleven years earlier. Besides, his younger brother Stanisław was naturalized on August 8 of the same year, which implied that both brothers must have spent some time together in Belgium then. It remains unknown why they made the effort to ask for the Belgian nationality, as they left Belgium soon after 1856. Stanisław reappeared in Warsaw only in 1860.

¹⁰⁶ AGR, Alien Police, nr. 40 845; Ż y c h l i ń s k i, *Złota księga*, t. V, pp. 356-357.

¹⁰⁷ Emile Labrousse, in: *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, t. XVIII, Paris 1994; Emile Labrousse, in: J. M a i t r o n, *Dictionnaires Biographiques de mouvement ouvrier français (1789-1864)*, t. II, Paris 1967.

¹⁰⁸ B e r g m a n s, *Tadeusz Tyszkiewicz*, t. XXV, p. 880; J. G. P r o d ' h o m m e, *Robin des bois et le Freischütz à Paris*, „Le Menestrel”, t. LXXXVIII, nr. 44 (29.10.1926); W a g n e r, *Mein Leben*, t. III, p. 75.

Tadeusz lived in Paris in 1857 and moved to Wilno a year later, where he married Kaźmiera-Antonina Łopaczyńska¹⁰⁹. In June 1861, he turned up in Saint Petersburg.

During the turbulent first years of the 1860's, Tadeusz Tyszkiewicz developed a rather controversial opinion about the Russian-Polish situation. Unlike many of his fellow countrymen, he thought that Poland should work together with Russia in order to regain its autonomy. He did not believe in the success of an uprising, since the Russians were stronger and just as nationalistic as the Poles. Conversely, he felt that Russia and Poland should collaborate in a monarchist and democratic republic, which would lead to national freedom later on. Tyszkiewicz put his ideas into practice by working in the cabinet of the Russian minister of Internal Affairs Piotr Valuev from June 1861 on. In the autumn of 1861 he was sent to Wilno and Warsaw to observe the local state of affairs. As Tyszkiewicz later stated, he got very disappointed with the violent behavior of the Polish landowners and the Russian servicemen. Because Valuev did not dare to give a full account of Tyszkiewicz' report to the emperor, Tyszkiewicz left the civil service and returned to Western Europe in the winter of 1861-1862¹¹⁰.

There are two versions of his adventures during the next months. According to the first story, Tyszkiewicz resigned in January 1862 and reached the Russian border without significant problems¹¹¹. Yet, according to a second version, he did not resign, but only asked a six weeks' leave in order to publish a book about the Polish question. He traveled to Wilno, where he got a passport on January 13, 1862. Four days later, however, he was summoned by Valuev to return to Saint Petersburg, which he did, leaving the manuscript of his book at his friend's Charles Hoffman. When the latter unexpectedly got arrested, the (without doubt incriminating) papers fell into the hands of the authorities. So, Tyszkiewicz was forced to flee to Prussia, where on February 15, he wrote a letter to the tsar in which he explained his political ideas and asked to recover his manuscript. It is unknown whether the empe-

¹⁰⁹ AGR, Alien Police, nr. 40 845; Ż y c h l i ń s k i, *Złota księga*, t. XX, p. 225, concerning Tyszkiewicz' new wife, who was born in Wilno in 1835 and died there in 1896.

¹¹⁰ T. T y s z k i e w i c z, *Ecrits sur la Pologne contemporaine (1862-1864)*, Brussels 1864, pp. I-XVI and 1-112.

¹¹¹ This story is based on a letter of Tyszkiewicz written to general Kruszewski on 26 December, 1862 and published in his own book of 1864 (*Lettre au général Kruszewski*, in: T y s z k i e w i c z, *Ecrits sur la Pologne contemporaine*, pp. 105-112).

ror ever received the letter, since we came only across a draft¹¹². Tyszkiewicz also sent a leaflet containing his opinions about the Russian-Polish federation to the Polish MP's in the Prussian parliament. One of the addressees was Karol Libelt, who kept a copy of the pamphlet¹¹³.

In the spring of 1862, Tyszkiewicz traveled further to Paris, where he completed his essay *La question russo-polonaise* in September¹¹⁴. It was a great charge against the despotism and egoism of the Polish landowners and an apology of a panslavistic republic, but for the moment the text remained a manuscript. His Belgian friend Henry Van Blarenberghe, who used to work as an engineer in Russia, is supposed to have said: „Don't publish it: you will fall out with everybody, both with Russians and with Poles...”¹¹⁵ Moreover, his fellow countrymen disapproved Tyszkiewicz' former employment in the Russian civil service. Consequently, Tyszkiewicz must have lived quite isolated from the Polish emigration in France. His only comfort was his wife Kaźmiera, who joined him in the autumn of 1862, and Konstanty Zaleski, an old friend of his father, who visited him on several occasions.

In his (not always that truthful) testimony published in 1864, Tadeusz Tyszkiewicz wrote that he joined the January Insurrection in the district of Rawa. However, only on February 20, 1863, Stanisław Tyszkiewicz received in Brussels a passport for Russia, Austria and Prussia¹¹⁶. His brother Stanisław, on the other side, lived in Warsaw from 1860 till 1862¹¹⁷. So, it must have been Stanisław who was assigned in June 1862 by the National Committee to propagate the revolution in the district of Rawa. After the outbreak of the insurrection, Stanisław took the leadership of a troop of partisans and even got wounded during the battle of Miechów (February 17). He took flight in Kraków, where he met Tadeusz in the beginning of March. Both brothers left for Paris in April or May¹¹⁸.

¹¹² BCZ, Teka Emigrantów, letter of Tadeusz Tyszkiewicz to Alexander II of February 15, 1862.

¹¹³ Which is conserved at the BCZ. T. T y s z k i e w i c z, *La question russo-polonaise par Thadée Tyszkiewicz. Résumé, arguments, conclusions*, S.d. [February, 1862].

¹¹⁴ T. T y s z k i e w i c z, *La question russo-polonaise*, in: T y s z k i e w i c z, *Ecrits sur la Pologne contemporaine*, pp. 1-104.

¹¹⁵ T y s z k i e w i c z, *Ecrits sur la Pologne contemporaine*, p. XIV: „Ne la publiez pas; elle vous brouillera avec tout le monde aussi bien avec les Russes qu'avec les Polonais...”

¹¹⁶ AGR, Alien Police, nr. 40 845.

¹¹⁷ AGR, Alien Police, nr. 40 845.

¹¹⁸ T y s z k i e w i c z, *Ecrits sur la Pologne contemporaine*, pp. XIV and 126-144.

There, Tadeusz Tyszkiewicz soon completed his essay on the January Insurrection¹¹⁹. In contrary to his manuscript of 1862, he now sided with the Polish emancipation movement and fulminated against the adversaries of a national revolution. In the second half of 1864, the essay was published in Brussels in a book called *Ecrits sur la Pologne contemporaine*. The book still contained four other texts: the essay *La question russo-polonaise*; a letter to general Kruszewski in which Tyszkiewicz explained why he had joined the Russian civil service in 1861; and two (rather dreary) dissertations *Pourquoi la Pologne ne s'est-elle pas soulevée pendant la guerre d'Orient* and *Les Czartoryski*. On January 1, 1864, Tyszkiewicz issued the first and apparently also the last volume of his periodical *Notes pour servir à l'intelligence des affaires de Pologne par Thadée Tyszkiewicz*¹²⁰. A lot of his fellow countrymen must have looked with distrust at Tyszkiewicz, who had provoked in his publications all nationalists, democrats as well as conservatives. Nasty rumors chased him away from Brussels to Paris and further to the countryside¹²¹. Some emigrants even would have taken legal steps against him¹²². We do not know how this lawsuit ended, since we lost sight of Tyszkiewicz till he suddenly reappeared in Liège in the spring of 1868.

Although Tyszkiewicz had withdrawn from Polish politics by that time, he had not sowed his wild oats. In January 30, 1869, the criminal court of Liège ordered him to pay one hundred Belgian francs upon the charge of breach of confidence. Moreover, he spent more than six months in a mental institution in Elsene (a borough of Brussels; *Ixelles* in French) because he suffered from monomania and hallucinations. Supposedly, Tyszkiewicz had visited the minister of Justice Jules Bara during the night in order to demand his resignation in the name of the fictive *Fédération Anti-athéiste des Travailleurs*. He also told to have sent some confusing telegrams to the king of Belgium, Bismarck and the princesses of Saxonia. After his release in October 1869, he stayed in Elsene till February 1870. Afterwards, he moved to

¹¹⁹ T. T y s z k i e w i c z, *L'insurrection de 1863*, in: T y s z k i e w i c z, *Ecrits sur la Pologne contemporaine*, pp. 113-170.

¹²⁰ T. T y s z k i e w i c z, *Les Czartoryskis*, in: *Notes pour servir à l'intelligence des affaires de Pologne par Thadée Tyszkiewicz*, t. I, (1.1.1864).

¹²¹ AGR, Alien Police, nr. 40 845.

¹²² BJ, rkp. 3685 („Korespondencja J.N. Janowskiego od lat 1830 do 1880”), t. VII, k. 18 (letter from Tadeusz Tyszkiewicz to J.N. Janowski of May 21, 1865).

France, but in October 1870, he reappeared in Brussels where he participated in a socialist meeting¹²³.

In the 1870s, Tyszkiewicz once more was engaged in music. In 1871, he attended a *Tonkünstlerverein* in Berlin and published an article in the *Musikalisches Konversationslexicon*. In 1874, he even got involved in a polemic between two Belgian art-magazines: *De Vlaamsche Kunstbode* (*The Flemish Messenger of Art*) and *La Fédération Artistique*. The former was the speaker's platform of the Flemish composer Peter Benoît, while the latter stood up for the interests of the French-speaking François-August Gevaert, chairman of the conservatory of Brussels. Although Tyszkiewicz previously had defended the Flemish school of Benoît, he now turned away from it¹²⁴.

The last days of Tadeusz Tyszkiewicz were just as astonishing as the rest of his life. On March 13, 1876, he was arrested in Mechelen (between Brussels and Antwerp) and confined in prison for more than four months. According to an article in a Belgian newspaper¹²⁵, Tyszkiewicz had swindled the librarian Max Kronicker for the sum of 202 francs. He was also accused of impersonating a count and wearing false decorations. On June 7, he was ordered to pay a fine of 328 francs and condemned to five months of prison. He got acquitted in appeal of the first two charges and had only to pay 50 francs. His stay in prison however damaged his health. Tadeusz Tyszkiewicz died in Schaarbeek (Brussels) on June 16, 1877, leaving his wife Kaźmiera-Antonina Łopaczyńska a widow and his three-year-old son Stanisław an orphan¹²⁶.

Tadeusz Tyszkiewicz was the last direct descendant of Wincenty Tyszkiewicz who died in exile. His son probably stayed in Germany, while his younger brother Stanisław had left France in the middle of the 1860's and had returned to the Grand Duchy of Poznań. He was married twice (first with Julia Celińska and then with Wanda Ponińska) and had two sons: Janusz (1862-1916) and Wincenty (1866-1903). In 1894, he moved to Kolbuszowa, because his grandson Jerzy (1892-1945, the son of Janusz), had inherited the estate. Stanisław died there in 1911. Jerzy was the last owner of the Kolbu-

¹²³ H. Wouters, *Documenten betreffende de geschiedenis der arbeidersbeweging ten tijde van de Iste Internationale (1866-1880)*, Leuven-Parijs 1970 and AGR, Alien Police, nr. 40 845.

¹²⁴ Bergmans, *Tadeusz Tyszkiewicz*, t. XXV, pp. 880-882.

¹²⁵ *L'Etoile Belge*. Nrs. of 15.3.1876 and 6.8.1876. A copy of this newspaper was found in the file of the Alien police.

¹²⁶ AGR, Alien police, nr. 40 845. Stanisław was born on February 16, 1874, in Erfurt.

szowa estate and probably the last male descendant of Wincenty Tyszkiewicz¹²⁷.

7. SUMMARY

This article sheds light on the life and the political activities in exile of count Wincenty Tyszkiewicz (1795-1856). It is based on archives in Belgium and Poland the correspondence of Lelewel and emigration press. Some Belgian sources, in the first place Tyszkiewicz' file at the Alien Police, are disclosed for the Polish historian. The article also pays attention to the life of Wincenty's son Tadeusz (1833-1877), one of the rare Poles (next to Joachim Lelewel and Ludwik Lubliner) to whom an article is devoted in the national Belgian Biography.

Wincenty Tyszkiewicz was the son of Jerzy Janusz and the nephew of general Tadeusz Tyszkiewicz. In 1831, he coordinated some unsuccessful actions in Ukraine and was elected MP in the Insurrection Sejm. After the fall of Warsaw, he fled to Leipzig, but returned to Galicia a year later. In spite of former suppositions, it was another Tyszkiewicz who was involved in the recruitment in 1832 of Polish officers in the Belgian army. Only after his engagement in the conscription of Zaliwski, Wincenty Tyszkiewicz was forced to flee to the West. He arrived in Belgium in December 1833. Initially, he settled down in Brussels. There, he actively took part in the emigration life, which was highly stimulated by Joachim Lelewel. Tyszkiewicz was involved in some projects of the democratic leader, such as the ZDLP. At the same time, he had good contacts with some monarchists, such as the officers Kruszewski and Proszyński, and he adopted the more aristocratic lifestyle in the emigration, living quite richly with his family. This did not bring him happiness: both his wife and his eldest son died in Belgium, although they had left Brussels for the countryside near Namur. There, Tyszkiewicz lived more isolated from the emigration. In 1842-1843, he even stayed for almost a year in the Grand Duchy of Poznań. Afterwards, he moved to the Belgian capital again. After the Kraków Insurrection in February 1846, Tyszkiewicz took control of the ZEP and its paper „Orzeł Biały”, proclaimed himself Plenipotentiary of the United Emigration, and orientated the former Lelewel

¹²⁷ AGR, Alien police, nr. 40 845; M. P i ó r e k, *Właściciele ziemscy Weryni, Kolbuszowej i okolic w przeszłości historycznej*, „Rocznik Kolbuszowski”, t. I, 1986, pp. 35-38; Ż y c h l i ń s k i, *Złota księga*, t. V, p. 357, t. X, p. 280.

organization into a more monarchist direction. After the 1848 revolutions, he moved to the Grand Duchy of Poznań. Tyszkiewicz died in 1856 on the estate of his new wife Izabela Grabowska.

Wincenty Tyszkiewicz is certainly not the greatest personality among the Polish emigration. He appeared to be fundamentally sceptic and could never show permanent enthusiasm for political projects. Great dilemmas covered his life: to emigrate or to stay in his fatherland?; to choose for legitimistic monarchism or to opt for Lelewelistic radicalism?; to engage himself for the Polish cause or to choose for his family and withdraw himself in the countryside or in Poznań?; ... Wincenty's son Tadeusz even hesitated between the struggle against Russia and the civil service in Saint Petersburg. This ambiguity could be attributed to the character of father and son Tyszkiewicz. But on the other side, the biography of Wincenty Tyszkiewicz does not seem an exceptional one. Other Polish refugees as well could not straightway decide questions as whether to return or whether to withdraw from politics. Other émigrés too, such as Wincenty Budzyński and general Józef Dwernicki, exceed the classic political duality between left and right. One should not forget that, next to the emigrants who engaged themselves in certain causes, there were many others who led a less successful life of misery, unhappiness, frustration and doubt on both the political and the non-political fields. They deserve as much attention from historians as their more successful compatriots.

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BN [Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa]: rkp. 8925.

BPP [Paris, Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu]: rkp. 347, 357-359, 361, 478/18, 509/33, 552, 582.

PAN [Kraków, Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk]: rkp. 1840, 2210/13 and 2408.

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MIĘDZY KONSERWATYZMEM A RADYKALIZMEM
WINCENTY TYSZKIEWICZ W BELGII (1833-1848)

S t r e s z c z e n i e

Artykuł niniejszy rzuca światło na życie i działalność polityczną na emigracji hrabiego Wincentego Tyszkiewicza (1795-1856). Opracowano go na podstawie zbiorów archiwalnych w Belgii i Polsce i korespondencji Lelewela oraz prasy emigracyjnej. Odkryto między innymi kilka źródeł belgijskich dotąd nieznanymi polskim historykom, jak teka Tyszkiewicza w archiwum brukselskiej policji do spraw cudzoziemskich. Autor omawia także życie syna Wincentego, Tadeusza Tyszkiewicza (1833-1877), jednego z Polaków (oprócz Joachima Lelewela oraz Ludwika Lubliner), któremu poświęcono biogram w narodowym belgijskim słowniku biograficznym.

Wincenty Tyszkiewicz był synem Jerzego Janusza a bratankiem generała Tadeusza Tyszkiewicza. W 1831 r. skoordynował kilka niefortunnych akcji na Ukrainie i został wybrany posłem. Jesienią tego roku uciekł do Lipska, a rok później wrócił do Galicji. W przeciwieństwie do wcześniejszych przypuszczeń dotyczących rekrutacji polskich oficerów do wojska belgijskiego w r. 1832, ze sprawą tą łączony jest inny Tyszkiewicz. Po udziale w konspiracji Józefa Zaliwskiego, Wincenty Tyszkiewicz został zmuszony do ucieczki na Zachód. Przyjechał do Belgii w grudniu 1833 r. Początkowo osiedlił się w Brukseli. Brał tam czynny udział w życiu emigra-

cyjnym bardzo ożywionym dzięki Lelewelowi. Działał w kilku klubach demokratycznych, m.in. ZDLP. Jednocześnie utrzymywał dobre stosunki z kilkoma monarchistami (między innymi z Kruszewskim oraz Proszyńskim) i przyjął wraz z rodziną bardziej arystokratyczny styl bycia na emigracji. Nie przyniosło mu to szczęścia: żona i starszy syn zmarli w Belgii, mimo że w roku 1838 z powodów zdrowotnych rodzina przeprowadziła się z Brukseli na wieś koło Namur. Tam Tyszkiewicz żył w większej izolacji od emigracji. W latach 1842 i 1843 prawie przez rok przebywał w Wielkim Księstwie Poznańskim. Potem osiedlił się znów w stolicy belgijskiej. Po powstaniu krakowskim przyjął zwierzchnictwo nad ZEP i jego periodykiem „Orłem Białym”, ogłosił się Pełnomocnikiem Zjednoczonej Emigracji i zorientował dawną organizację lelewelowską w kierunku bardziej monarchistycznym. Po upadku rewolucji 1848 r., Tyszkiewicz przeprowadził się do Wielkiego Księstwa Poznańskiego. Zmarł w roku 1856 w majątku nowej żony Izabeli Grabowskiej.

Rzecz oczywista, że Wincenty Tyszkiewicz nie był najważniejszym przedstawicielem Wielkiej Emigracji. Okazał się fundamentalnym sceptykiem i nigdy nie pałał entuzjazmem do projektów politycznych. Wielkie dylematy składały się na jego życie: wyemigrować czy zostać w kraju?; monarchizm legitymistyczny czy radykalizm lelewelowski?; angażować się w sprawę polską, czy wybrać rodzinę i wycofać się na wieś lub do Wielkiego Księstwa Poznańskiego? Syn Wincentego Tadeusz wahał się nawet między walką z Rosją a służbą w Sankt Petersburgu. Charakterem ojca i syna Tyszkiewiczów może być zarzucona chwiejność, ale biografia Wincentego Tyszkiewicza nie wydaje się aż tak wyjątkowa. Inni uchodźcy polscy także nie mogli rozwiązać dylematu dotyczącego powrotu do kraju lub wycofania się z polityki. Wśród emigrantów taką dwoistość polityczną między lewicą a prawicą prezentowali m.in. hrabia Wincenty Budzyński i generał Józef Dwernicki. Nie wolno zapominać, że, oprócz emigrantów zaangażowanych w działalność na obczyźnie, wielu było takich, którzy wiedli życie mniej udane, pełne frustracji i wahania zarówno w dziedzinie politycznej, jak i z dala od spraw publicznych. Oni również zasługują na zainteresowanie ze strony historyków, jak i ich bardziej szczęśliwych ziomków.

Słowa kluczowe: Wielka Emigracja, Belgia, Wincenty Tyszkiewicz, Tadeusz Tyszkiewicz, uchodźcy polityczni.

Key Words: Great Emigration, Belgium, Wincenty Tyszkiewicz, Tadeusz Tyszkiewicz, Exile Politics.

WINCENTY TYSZKIEWICZ AROUND 1830

Reprint from: *Kronika powstań polskich 1794-1944*. Warszawa 1994 p. 127.

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