

ELŻBIETA LIJEWSKA

EUPHEMIA TUDOR KLECZKOWSKA AND KETTY KLECZKOWSKA-KIERKPATRICK

Zawsze oskarżałem polskie społeczeństwo w rzeczach małżeństw. Dziewice nie mają dość rozwiniętej indywidualności i woli serca, jak np. każda panna angielska i amerykańska, czy to córka lorda, czy szewca, czy negocjanta bostońskiego: każda chce? – to chce; woli? – to woli. Jak biblijne niewiasty mówią one: „Bóg Twój i kraj Twój – Bogiem moim i krajem”.

Proszę spojrzeć na nie, ileż ich rzuciło się w ramiona ludziom bez niczego, bez niczego na świecie! – one! – takich szczęśliwych i wielkich dzieci społeczeństw (PWsz IX, 247¹).

[I have always accused the Polish society in matters of marriage. Maidens do not have sufficiently developed individuality and will of heart, as does e.g. any English or American maiden, be it daughter of a lord, a cobbler, or a Bostonian negotiator: she wants? – then she wants; wishes? – then she wishes. Like the Bible women, they say: “Thy God and Thy country be God and country of mine”.

Look at them, how many of them have rushed into the arms of people with nothing, nothing in the world! – they! – children of such happy and great societies (PWsz IX, 247).

Norwid could give “expert” opinions on the relations of Poles with American or English women based on e.g. observing the marriages of his cousins: Michał Kleczkowski and Kornel (Korneliusz Wincenty) Kleczkowski². Orphaned at a very

¹ C. NORWID, *Pisma wszystkie*, collection and establishment of texts, introduction and critical remarks by J.W. Gomulicki, vol. I-XI, Warszawa 1971-1976 (further as PWsz, with Roman numbers for volumes and Arabic numbers for pages).

² The family relations between Michał and Kornel had to be close, since Kornel’s son Alfred Waclaw (1851-after 1912) took custody of Michał Kleczkowski’s children after the latter’s death (PSB, vol. XIII, p. 556). They were likely first cousins (grandsons of Stanisław and Marianna nee Drewnowska). Michał’s father was Józef Adolf (born ca. 1779), and Kornel’s father was probably Ignacy (born 1772). Michał’s parents married in 1817 (marriage certificate of Józef Adolf and Julianna Sobieska is available at Genealodzy.pl website at <http://metryki.genealodzy.pl/metryka.php>

young age, Michał was twenty when he came to France. He learnt Chinese there, and in 1847 he left to China as a translator³. Kornel, a member of the November Uprising of 1830, after the defeat of the Uprising moved to Belgium and served in the Belgian army. Some years later, Michał married the daughter of a “Boston negotiator” – as Adam Pług stated in the obituary: “Kleczkowski was married to an American, Miss Tudor, born in Boston, family to the distinguished Parnell”⁴. Kornel married the daughter of “honourable” William Adair Carter of London. The wives of both Kleczkowskis were truly, in the words of Norwid, children of “szczęśliwych i wielkich [...] społeczeństw” (“happy and great [...] societies”), which is particularly visible with Euphemia Tudor.

?ar=1&zs=0189d&sy=122&kt=2&plik=065.jpg#zoom=1.25&x=0&y=0 (accessed: 20.02.2015). For Norwid’s relation to Michał Kleczkowski, see Z. DAMBEK, *Krąg rodzinny Cypriana Norwida*, [in:] Z. TROJANOWICZOWA, Z. DAMBEK, I. GRZESZCZAK, *Kalendarz życia i twórczości Cypriana Norwida*, vol. III: *Aneks. Bibliografia. Indeksy*. Poznań 2007, pp. 9-11). Beside Michał and Kornel, Norwid mentioned other Kleczkowskis in his letters: Adam, and a Warsaw lawyer named Kleczkowski (J.W. Gomulicki supposed they were one and the same person). Adam Zenon Kleczkowski (1814-1859) was a secretary of the Warsaw Charity Society (his birth certificate was written in Warsaw in 1846, and one of the witnesses was Norwid’s uncle, Michał Sobieski; perhaps the original certificate of 1814 was destroyed). His grandson was a well-known German philologist Adam Kleczkowski (1883-1949), who in his home in Poznań, before WWII, had a portrait of Michał Kleczkowski painted by Norwid (PSB, vol. XIII, p. 557). The above mentioned lawyer, in turn, was Józef Kleczkowski (1818-1882), brother of Adam Zenon, engaged e.g. in the sale of the property left by the late husband of Zofia Sobieska and by late Józef Komierowski (“Kurier Warszawski” 1863, No. 70, p. 9). Norwid advertised his services also to Joanna Kuczyńska, wife to Marshal Aleksander Kuczyński: “Czy Pani nie będzie przyjemnie mówić z adwokatem w Warszawie K l e c z k o w s k i m, bliskim krewnym mego bliskiego krewnego Sekretarza Cesarza Francuzów?” [Would you not be pleased to speak with a Warsaw lawyer K l e c z k o w s k i, a close relative to my close relative, Secretary of the Emperor of the French?"] (PWSz IX, 249). Adam Zenon and Józef were sons of Ignacy Kleczkowski and Józefa nee Downarowicz vel Doliwa, who were married in 1809 in the Wąsosz parish. Kornel Kleczkowski was born in the same parish, according to his statement in the application for naturalisation in Belgium: <http://www.senate.be/lexdocs/S0580/S05801491.pdf> (accessed: 20.02.2015). He was likely the oldest son of Ignacy. That would agree with Norwid’s statement that Kornel was a brother to a lawyer: “Brat adwokata, były major, a potem pułkownik angielski, Kornel Kleczkowski” [Brother to a lawyer, British major and later colonel, Kornel Kleczkowski] (PWSz IX, 312). Ignacy’s sons were also: Franciszek (born 1812) and Karol (1819-1844). Information about the Kleczkowski family is given, among others, according to birth and marriage certificates available at the Genealodzy.pl website and inscriptions of the Kleczkowski family grave in the Stare Powązki cemetery (section 156, row 4, places 25-27).

³ Z. TROJANOWICZOWA, Z. DAMBEK, with J. CZARNOMORSKA, *Kalendarz życia i twórczości Cypriana Norwida*, vol. I: *1821-1860*, Poznań 2007, p. 257 (further as *Kalendarz I*).

⁴ A. PŁUG, *Michał Alexander hr. Kleczkowski*, “Kłosa” 1886, No. 1093, p. 356.

The Tudor family belonged to the most outstanding and wealthiest Boston families. Their ancestor was John Tudor (1709-1795), who came to Boston from England with his mother as a small boy⁵. He was a baker by profession, and likely enjoyed considerable respect in the society, as he held the functions of a treasurer and deacon at the New Brick Church and the Second Church. He wrote a diary for several dozen years, which currently provides a wealth of knowledge about 18th-century Boston⁶. One of his sons, Judge William Tudor (1750-1819), was a well-known and affluent lawyer, as well as the founding member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the oldest historical society in the United States. The son of Judge William, also named William (1779-1830), was involved in literature and journalism and co-founded the “North American Review” and “Boston Athenaeum”. His sister Delia (1787-1861) married admiral Charles Stewart and was the grandmother of the Irish politician Charles Stewart Parnell, mentioned by Plug in Kleczkowski’s obituary. The brother of William and Delia, Frederic, was father to Euphemia Tudor, the wife of Michał Kleczkowski. Below a longer consideration of Kleczkowski’s father-in-law – the most colourful figure in the family.

Frederic Tudor (1783-1864), whom Norwid named the “Boston negotiator”, was known in America as the Ice King, because he made a fortune on selling... ice. He did not follow the footsteps of his father – he gave up the opportunity of making a career in law and got involved in business already as a teenager. His story exemplifies the American dream: ingenuity, resourcefulness, hard work and great success. His genius consisted in selling globally something that cost nothing and was abundant during hard winters in New England. Before the era of electricity, the way to store winter ice until summer was commonly known, but trading in ice and selling it to the countries which did not know it seemed madness. After many failed attempts, and even a jail sentence for debts, Frederic Tudor managed to obtain the knowledge how to best store ice (even in hot climate) and transport it on large distances. During the winter, there was a great ice harvest in the lakes and rivers of Massachusetts, then blocks of ice were loaded on ships and taken first to the Caribbean, then Europe, and even India. Since then, you could have ice cream in Cuba or in India, and Europe imported citrus fruit stored in ice... Frederic Tudor became a millionaire.

⁵ Information about the Tudor family, mainly about Kleczkowski’s father-in-law, Frederic Tudor, given after e.g.: G. WEIGHTAM, *The Frozen-Water Trade: A True Story* (Hachette Books 2004) and according to the Web publication: *Frederic Tudor Ice King. Taken from the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, November 1933* <http://www.iceharvestingusa.com/Frederic%20Tudor%20Ice%20King.html> (accessed: 20.02.2015).

⁶ *Deacon Tudor’s Diary, Or [...] A Record Of More Or Less Important Events In Boston. From 1733 to 1793. By An Eye Witness*, ed. by W. Tudor, Boston 1896.

Busy with hard work, for a long time he did not have time to think about marriage. Only at the respectable age of 49 did he fall in love, which was returned, and so he married Euphemia Fenno (1814-1884), his junior by 30 years. It was a very felicitous marriage. The couple had six children, the oldest of whom was Euphemia (born 1837), who later married Kleczkowski. One of the Tudors' sons, William (1848-1928), a painter and the editor of *Deacon Tudor's Diary*, later settled in Europe. The notification of the death of his brother-in-law, Michał Kleczkowski, of 1886 bears his signature.

It is not known where Michał met his future wife – whether he visited Boston during his overseas journeys, or if Miss Tudor travelled to Paris. It is certain he must have enjoyed the trust of Frederic Tudor, who surely would not have given away his oldest, beloved daughter to just about anyone. Perhaps they met in India, where Tudor transported the ice? What impressed the great Boston entrepreneur in his future son-in-law? Likely his integrity and courage, displayed when he contributed to saving the crew of a whaler, “Le Narval”, which was wrecked in 1852 near the Korean coast. Kleczkowski received the Legion of Honour for his deed. Frederic, who'd sailed the seas and oceans of the whole world, certainly knew to value that. And perhaps the title of Count, which Kleczkowski started using, was not without significance. It is a fact that in the Tudor family memory, Count Kleczkowski came down as “a direct descendant of John Sobieski, King of Poland”⁷.

In late 1861 Euphemia Tudor came to Paris to marry Michał. When it turned out that her fiancé must remain at his diplomatic post in China, she decided to follow him there. “W Wigilię Narodzenia Bożego prezentowany byłam pannie Tudor – wczora zaś wieczorem u pani [Ketty] Kleczkowskiej żegnałem przyszłą Twoją” [On the Eve of Christmas I was introduced to Miss Tudor – and yester evening I said the goodbyes to your future [wife] with Mrs [Ketty] Kleczkowska], wrote Norwid to his cousin in late December 1861 (PWsz VIII, 459). Euphemia's stay in Paris was prolonged; she actually left Paris in early February. Norwid's letter to Joanna Kuczyńska contains a vivid description of the farewell:

[...] odprowadzałem na wyjezdne d o C h i n moją przyszłą krewnę, pannę Tudor, która odebrawszy zapewnienie od Ministerium, iż obecność jej przyszłego w Państwie-Niebieskim jest nieodwołalnie konieczna, postanowiła tamże jechać z jedną służącą, purytanką-amerykańską, która wypielęgnowała ją od dziecka.

Wprawdzie Kleczkowski przygotował wszystko, aby przyszła jego jechała przez t e r z y morza (po przebyciu pierwszej O c e a n u), aby jechała, mówię, z biskupem Pekinu

⁷ In his notes about the Tudor genealogy in *Deacon Tudor's Diary*, William Tudor wrote: “Michel Alexandre Cholewa, Count Kleczkowski [...] only son of Count Joseph Kleczkowski and Julie Sobieska, a direct descendant of John Sobieski, King of Poland”. (Ibid., p. XXVI).

i trzydziestoma zakonnicami, ale Ministerium arcybiskupowskiemu dało statek żaglowy, więc moja Amerykaneczka nie chciała około pięciu miesięcy po morzach tułać się i angielskimi statkami popłynęła.

Wszystko było dobrze aż do wsiadania do wagonu: kupowała sobie pomarańcze i bawiła się z nami wesoło, ale jak przyszło próg przestąpić, zobaczyłem ją bladą jak ten papier i dwie strugi łez przy latarniach wieczornych jak dwa wielkie promienie kometne zaświeciły. Smutno mi było widzieć tę piękną osobę i niepospolicie zamożną rzucającą się tak, aby więcej niż trzy części okręgu ziemskiego obieć. [...] Przyznam się, że gdyby była piękną jak Venus de Milo, jeszcze nie przyjąłbym od niej poświęcenia takich wymiarów [...] (PWsz IX, 16-17).

[...] I saw my future cousin, Miss Tudor, off to her trip to China, who on receiving an affirmation from the Ministry that her husband's-to-be presence in the State-Under-Heaven is irrevocably requisite, decided to go there with one maid-servant, an American-Puritan, who nursed her since childhood.

Kleczkowski prepared everything to have her sail those three seas (on first sailing the Ocean), to have her sail, like I said, with the bishop of Beijing and thirty nuns, but the Ministry provided a sailing ship to the Beijing archshepherd, and thus my little American did not wish to roam the seas for five months and took English ships.

Everything was fine until boarding the car: she bought oranges and played merrily with us, but when it came to crossing the threshold, I saw her pale like a paper sheet, and two trickles of tears shone in the evening lights like two great comet beams. I was saddened to see that beautiful and uncommonly affluent person rushing thus to traverse more than three parts of the earthly globe. [...] I admit that were she such a beauty as Venus de Milo, I would still not want to accept a sacrifice of such dimensions of her [...]

Also Michał Kleczkowski did not want to accept such a sacrifice and set out to intercept his fiancée, likely concerned about her safety. The marriage was concluded on 12th April 1862 in Singapore, India⁸. It is probably when the friendship started between the Kleczkowskis and the family of Alexander Hutchinson from Boston, who served as a US consul in Singapore in 1860-1862 (later his son, Barnard⁹, would marry the oldest daughter of Michał and Euphemia – also named Euphemia – in Paris). After the wedding, the newlyweds set off to China and stayed in Beijing, where Michał Kleczkowski served as a “*chargé d'affaires* of the French legation”¹⁰. Norwid learned about the life of the couple both from his

⁸ Ibid., p. XXVI; “The Oriental and India Office Collection of the British Library”, No. 1, vol. 101, f. 575: <http://users.rootsweb.com/~indwgv/Bengal/BengalJ.htm> (the name wrongly given as Jutor instead of Tudor, accessed in 2010).

⁹ P. DERBY, *The Hutchinson Family Or The Descendants Of Barnard Hutchinson*, Salem 1870, pp. 96-97; *Deacon Tudor's Diary*, p. XXVI.

¹⁰ “Kleczkowski left with Monteuban's expedition to China and from 1861 to 1863 stayed in

cousin's letters and from conversations with Ketty Kleczkowska, whose husband Kornel was staying in China at that time in British service. To Michał, Norwid wrote:

Pytam Panią Ketty, czy małżonka Twoja nic jej nie pisała? Odpowiada mi, że tym razem nie; mówi, że pan hrabia Kleczkowski jest szalenie zakochany w swojej żonie. Odpowiadam jej, że trzeba, iżby się to działo gdzie w Chinach – w niezbyt cywilizowanym społeczeństwie¹¹.

It is worth noting that Kleczkowski amassed a priceless collection of Chinese art at that time, which he later transported to France. Adam Pług thus wrote about it later:

During his stay in China, thanks to a respectable salary, and a considerable fortune received by way of dowry, Kleczkowski could not only live opulently, but even satisfy his ardent penchant for collecting rare objects; as a matter of fact, his Chinese collection is today one of the most illustrious in the world as concerns the artistry and beauty of the products, which include specimens such as are considered rarity even in China.¹²

Beijing, as *chargé d'affaires* of the French legation, being highly useful to them in that position. He also did a grand favour to Portugal, as well: it was thanks to his mediation that the Chinese agreed to conclude a trade treaty with the Portuguese, who had been unable to persuade the Chinese to do so even as they held Macau for three centuries. For the successful negotiations, the Portugal government awarded him the grand *Order of the Tower and the Sword*. On his return to France, Kleczkowski was appointed first secretary translator of the Emperor". A. PŁUG, *Michał Alexander*; cf. PSB, vol. XII, p. 559. On Kleczkowski's diplomatic activity and Norwid's attitude towards it, see Z. DAMBEK, *Norwid i Chińczycy*, [in:] EADEM: *Cyprian Norwid a tradycje szlacheckie*, Poznań 2012, pp. 183-193. The topic requires further research.

¹¹ PWSz IX, 83, transl. from French by S. Jakóbczyk.

¹² A. PŁUG, *Michał Kleczkowski*. Further fate of Kleczkowski's collections is reported by Montezuma (*My note book* in the NY "The Art Amateur", 13(1885), No. 5, October 1, p. 89) in an announcement concerning an auction of the collections of Mary J. Morgan (1823-1885): "There was the splendid Parisien cabinet, for instance, of the Count Kleczkowski, who while Minister to China in 1856 – which was before the value of fine Oriental porcelains, bronzes, lacquers and enamels was appreciated in Europe – got together some of the finest pieces that are known. He long resisted the importunities of such well-known dealers as Bing or Sichel to despoil his cabinet of his treasures; but one fine day a representative of Messers Herter Brothers came along, and, acting upon a friendly hint thrown out by an outsider, made a proposition to the Count, which resulted in the purchase of the entire collection. Many of the finest objects found their way to the shelves in Mrs. Morgan's rooms. Let me mention only a few of them. [...] The objects from the Kleczkowski collection include, among the Chinese porcelains, a small, bottle-shaped vase of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, of the finest paste decorated with landscapes, birds and flowers of exquisite beauty

In late 1862, Kleczkowski was appointed first secretary-translator of Chinese at the French ministry of foreign affairs, which enabled the couple to return to Paris. With some pride and joy, Norwid thus wrote to Joanna Kuczyńska:

Michał K. został mianowany Sekretarzem J. Cesarskiej Mości Cesarza Francuzów, a przeto powołują go z Chin do Paryża z żoną – więc, jeśli Bóg da dożyć, za pięć miesięcy zobaczą ich. Ludzie r e a l n i mówią: „Na cóż tedy ona do Chin jechała?”

Mój Boże!... na to, że jak wróci do Paryża z mężem, z którym współdoświadczenie trudności ją zjednało, to będzie siedemkroć razy tyle szczęśliwa. [...]

[...] krewnego z Chin przyjazd będzie mi nie bez nowego ciężaru przyjemnością. Już dziś mówią, że mam krewnego u Dworu i bogatą krewną (PWsz IX, 77).

[Michał K. Was appointed Secretary to His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the French, and thus they call him from China to Paris with his wife – thus, God willing, I shall see them in five months. R e a l people say: “For what reason did she then go to China?”

My God!... for the reason that when she returns to Paris with a husband with whom she was united through a co-experience of hardship, she shall be seven times as happy. [...]

[...] the coming of my relative from China will be a pleasure not without a new burden. Even now they say I have a relative at the Court and a wealthy lady for a cousin.]

The Kleczkowskis did not return to Paris quickly, however, likely because Euphemia was expecting. On 18th April 1863, in Beijing, little Euphemia Alice Alexandrine Marie Kleczkowska was born. Soon after, the family travelled the seas. In November of the same year the Kleczkowskis were in Boston¹³, where

and delicacy; an unusually large, bottle-shaped vase with wonderful landscape decoration of the Keen Lung period, of Imperial manufacture; a curious crackle vase great rarity, elegant in form, of charming color and iridescence, and perhaps of the fourteenth century; two very curious old vases, with turquoise blue ground and black decoration sprinkled with white. [...] So for the present let me stop here, saying nothing of the fine pieces of cloisonné and the splendid little collection of jade. Yet I cannot close the paragraph without mentioning a marvelous antique vase of solid opaque enamel, with Imperial Chinese yellow ground, the high relief carvings being covered with layers of enamel blue – like lapis lazuli-green, and red. The cutting of such pieces is done when the enamel is cold and the hardness of the material presents almost insuperable difficulties” <https://archive.org/stream/jstor-25628417/25628417#page/n1/mode/2up> (accessed: 20.02.2015). The Herter Brothers mentioned in the article were a New York company (1864-1906) owned by brothers Gustave and Christian, engaged in manufacture of artistic furniture and interior design in the spirit of aestheticism. The announced auction took place in March 1886. Mary J. Morgan’s collection was dispersed.

¹³ As indicated by the dates of Kleczkowski’s letters to marquis Pastoret – one of 2nd May from Beijing, another of 29th November from Boston (Recueil de lettres autographes du comte de Kleczkowski, ministre de France en Chine, et de son neveu A. Kleczkowski au marquis de Pastoret, sign. 10178, Bibliothèque National in Paris).

they came perhaps called by the news of deteriorating health of the then 80-year-old Frederic Tudor (he died in early February 1864). They were likely staying in Frederic's favourite country residence on the Nahant island near Boston. From that period remains a photograph of Euphemia taken in Boston in the atelier of John Adams Whipple¹⁴, an American photographer who later rose to fame.

When the Kleczkowskis returned to France for good and lived in Paris in rue de Marignan 23, Norwid could observe their marriage from up close. He stressed Euphemia's independence, indicating her as a model to Mrs Kuczyńska's oldest daughter, whose marriage was on the verge of breaking up:

Na kilkadziesiąt Polaków żonatych z Angielkami i Amerykankami ledwo, ledwo jedno, i to jeszcze wątpliwie nieudolne, napotka się małżeństwo. [...] Mało znam trudniejszych (lubo i mało szanowniejszych) charakterów jak przyrodniego mego, dyplomaty francuskiego, Sekretarza J. C. Mości – ale on taki szczęśliwy z Amerykanką! która, gdyby miała kiedy powiedzieć dla męża, że białe jest czarne, to nie umiałaby potem w zwierciadło spojrzeć; a jednak jest słodka i niewieścia, ale jako stal prosta i niezachwiana w godności sumienia swego (PWsz IX, 247-248).

[For several dozen of Poles married to English or American ladies, you can find hardly, hardly one ill, and that doubtfully so. [...] I know few characters more difficult (just as few more esteemed) than that of my relative, French diplomat, Secretary to HI Majesty – and yet how happy he is with his American wife! who, were she ever to say for her husband that white is black, could not look herself in the face in the mirror later; and yet she is sweet and feminine, but straight and steadfast like steel in the dignity of her conscience.]

It seems that Euphemia often served as a conciliator between Cyprian and Michał when their relations became inflamed. Her unobtrusive presence is noticeable in many of Norwid's letters. Both cousins had difficult characters, of which multiple traces can be found in their correspondence. After a period of warm relations, when e.g. Norwid painted Michał's oil portrait as the latter spoke with a Chinese man¹⁵, there came a time of serious clashes and misunderstandings. It

¹⁴ Description in WorldCat base (with information that a copy of the photograph is found in the collections of Boston Athenaeum): "Full-length standing portrait of a woman in an elaborate ruffled gown holding her gloves in her left hand and carrying a paisley shawl in the other. She is standing against a balustrade probably meant to simulate a balcony as the backdrop shows a lake, trees on its bank, and their reflections, with mountains rising behind" <http://www.worldcat.org/title/euphemia-nee-tudor-a-polish-countess/oclc/191910259> (accessed: 20.02.2015).

¹⁵ After Michał's death, the painting was kept by his son Frederic Tudor Kleczkowski in Fourqueux in France. A photograph of that painting was displayed in an exhibition of Norwid's art in the National Museum in Warsaw in 1946, and is now kept in the National Library of Poland, inventory

was caused by Norwid's worsening material situation, as Kleczkowski had to stop paying him a regular pension which he had done for some time¹⁶. In 1867 it came to a sharp clash, when – persuaded by engineer Falkowski – Norwid tried to gain his cousin's interest in a rather fantastic transaction, namely purchase of land in Paris for the brother of the Japanese emperor. Kleczkowski fiercely protested his participation in that land speculation¹⁷. The cousins exchanged extremely harsh letters in 1868, when the proposal to put Norwid in a residential care facility first arose¹⁸. The poet expected completely different help from his highly placed cousin: mediation in finding work or in selling artistic pieces. Actually, in late November of the same year, Kleczkowski asked Norwid to make six pencil drawings or aquarelles which Michał would then sell. Yet the form of the offer was unacceptable: the topic of the works was to be “charming and pleasant”, because they were meant to be New Year gifts, sold anonymously¹⁹. In reply, Norwid sent a formal notice about the presentation of his works under his name:

M. Norwid – artiste: rue Lallier 3 – aura l'honneur de vous faire présenter six pièces de ses dessins, aquarelles etc. le 15 du mois prochain 1868.

Ces pièces d'album seront déposées ce jour-là chez Mr le Comte Kleczkowski, rue de Marignan 23.

Mr Norwid ne fait pas des dessins à titre d'essais et qui ne se vendent que par rapport au jour de l'an [...]”²⁰.

The growing conflict was then mitigated with a proposal to sell the works not in France, but in Boston. It might have been Euphemia's idea; her family definitely mediated in the transaction. Thus started Norwid's “American affair”. In January 1869, the poet proudly wrote to Kazimierz Władysław Wójcicki that he had an audience both in Europe and in America. The letter indicates that also aqua-fortis

No. F. 267 (the copy bears the date of 1864). The catalogue of the exhibition states that there was a second portrait of Michał painted by Norwid in 1863. *Cyprian Norwid. Wystawa w 125 rocznicę urodzin. Katalog*, Warszawa: Muzeum Narodowe 1946, items 44 and 45.

¹⁶ See Z. TROJANOWICZOWA, E. LIJEWSKA, with M. PLUTA, *Kalendarz życia i twórczości Cypriana Norwida*, vol. II: 1861-1883, Poznań 2007, pp. 193, 320 (further as *Kalendarz II*).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 292-294.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 347, 352-353.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 365.

²⁰ PWSz IX, 379: “P. Norwid – artysta: ul. Lallier 3 – będzie miał zaszczyt zaprezentować Państwu s z e ś ć s z t u k swoich rysunków, akwarel itp. dnia 15 przyszłego miesiąca r. 1868. Owe karty albumowe zostaną zdeponowane tego dnia u p. Hrabiego Kleczkowskiego, ul. de Marignan 23. P. Norwid nie robi rysunków na próbę, sprzedawanych jedynie w związku z nowym rokiem [...]”, transl. S. Jakóbczyk.

etchings made a trip to Boston (Kleczkowski ordered drawings and aquarelles): “Francuzy publikują moje inne blachy tejże wielkości – *Sybille, Pythonissę*, etc... i niedługo sześć innych Amerykanie w Bostonie będą publikować” [The French publish my other [metal] sheets of that size – *Sybilla, Pythonissa*, etc... and soon six others shall be published by the Americans in Boston] (PWsz IX, 387). In early February, Norwid proudly informed Joanna Kuczyńska: “jeśli Amerykanie w Bostonie, mając sześć moich robót (na sprzedanie wyszłych z Liverpoolu 22 zeszłego miesiąca), zakupią, to będę miał parę miesięcy wolnych dla odpoczynku ducha i ciała” [if the Americans in Boston, with six of my works (the works having left Liverpool for sale on the 22nd of last month), make the purchase, I shall have a few months free to rest my spirit and my body] (PWsz IX, 389). Unfortunately, further story of the works is not known; it is probable they were not published (Norwid would have likely boasted of that in his later letters and indicated the publications in *Autobiografia artystyczna*). Perhaps they were bought by Euphemia’s family. Maybe they should be traced to the Massachusetts Historical Society, with which the Tudor family was connected²¹. The fee must have been satisfactory. First, Norwid received 100 francs in advance from Michał and a few months later demanded another 200 in caustic words (he priced his works in total at 300 francs)²². The final price was probably even higher. In November, he wrote to Kuczyńska: “Pani pyta o moją amerykańską aferę i publiczność – ach! to już rok za to żyłem i wyżyłem!” [You are asking, Madam, about my American affair and audience – ah! it has me living and surviving a full year!] (PWsz IX, 436). It is hard to say whether it is that fee which is indicated in Norwid’s words to Julia Pusłowska of 1874 that before the war of 1870, he had over 1000 francs, which would have been indeed extraordinary in his situation: “j’avais enfin mille quelque francs”²³.

In 1869, Norwid has additional expenses connected with sending his financially ruined brother Ludwik from Paris to Warsaw. At that time, he wrote to Michał in a tone of reproach, officially addressing him per ‘Sir’:

²¹ Michał Kleczkowski likely had some contact with the Society, as well, since in 1876 he presented his textbook on Chinese to include in its collections, with an inscription: “A la Société Historique du Massachusetts Hommage très empressé et très respectueux de l’auteur (gendre de feu et toujours regretté de Frédéric Tudor) Michel Alexandre, Cte Kleczkowski, Paris 69, rue de Morny, ce 10 Juin, 1876” – information from the proceedings of the Society: <http://www.mocavo.com/Proceedings-of-the-Massachusetts-Historical-Society-S1-V15/437559/33> (accessed: 20.02.2015).

²² “Le dernier jour de l’année passée 1868, vous avez cru juste de me faire prêter cent (100) fr. sur les six pièces de mes aquarelles, que je n’ai jamais vendues [...] ([...] mais en général je puis dire que 50 la pièce)” (PWsz IX, 401).

²³ Kalendarz II, p. 378.

Ponieważ pytał mnie Pan po francusku, w obecności Pańskiej małżonki, „cudzoziemki”, czy mój brat wyjechał i czy przeprowadzona została jakaś kwesta, by pomóc mu w nieszczęściu, zechce Pan poinformować Panią Kleczkowską, że mój brat, Ludwik Norwid, wyjechał nie mogąc na to wszystko czekać, zgodnie z bardzo wyraźnym rozkazem rządu rosyjskiego²⁴.

Those words indicate a coolness in the relations with both Kleczkowskis. But the most difficult time in the relations of the cousins was certainly the moment of placing Cyprian in the nursing home of St. Casimir's Institute in February 1877, which had been settled between the Resurrectionists²⁵, Kleczkowski and Sister Teofila Mikułowska²⁶, without the knowledge of the person most interested. It is doubtful that the presence of Michał's spouse would have mitigated the conflict, although Sister Mikułowska earnestly invited both Kleczkowskis to visit with Norwid: “Je vous engage, Monsieur le Comte, de venir le voir un jour, du reste je tiens beaucoup à votre promesse, de nous amener Madame la Comtesse, avec vos deux Demoiselles” (PWSz X, 241). It is not known whether any such visit actually occurred. Since February 1877, the correspondence between the cousins stops, although Michał paid for Norwid's stay in St. Casimir's Institute each month.

Michał Kleczkowski was present at Cyprian's funeral and paid some of the costs²⁷. He outlived his cousin by 3 years; he died on the 23rd March 1886 in Paris. The notification of his death was signed by: his son Frederic, nephew Alfred, and William Tudor, his brother-in-law²⁸. There is no signature of his wife – perhaps Euphemia was dead by that time. According to information in *Polski słownik biograficzny* (vol. XIII, p. 556), Alfred took custody of their children. In the obituary in “Kłoso”, Adam Pług wrote that Michał Kleczkowski “is survived by three daughters and an only son, currently 14 years of age, heir to a significant fortune comprising a lovely estate on the coast of Lower Normandy, between Dinard and St. Malo, with a delightful villa with a wonderful view to the sea.”²⁹

²⁴ PWSz IX, 390, transl. S. Jakóbczyk. On that occasion, Norwid reminded Kleczkowski of some difficult moment in the latter's biography: “Wielmożny Ludwik Norwid, brat mój, wyjechał dziś z Paryża, tak jak Ty, panie Michale, wyjechałeś z Drezna; jest więc nadzieja, że może będzie kiedyś w pomyślności”.

²⁵ Congregation of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ [translator's note].

²⁶ See T. Mikułowska's letter to M. Kleczkowski of 31st January 1877 (PWSz X, 239).

²⁷ J. Dybowski's letter to A. Dybowski of 3rd June 1883, copy of the manuscript BN (National Library of Poland) III, 6321, c. 89; cf. Kalendarz II, p. 783.

²⁸ *Materiały do biografii, genealogii i heraldyki polskiej*, vol. VII/VIII, Rome 1985, p. 207.

²⁹ A. PŁUG, *Michał Alexander*.

Beside the Beijing-born oldest daughter of the Kleczkowskis, Euphemia, who later married Bernard Hutchinson, two younger daughters were born in Paris. Those were, according to their uncle William Tudor as given in *Deacon Tudor's Diary*³⁰: Eleonora Delia Julie Aimee, born 3rd January 1865 (christened in the Anglican Church of the Holy Trinity in Paris³¹) and the much younger Yvonne Jeanne Michelene Isabelle Virginie, born 25th February 1880. The latter married the pianist Rafael Navas in 1908 in Wichita, US³². The son of the Kleczkowskis, Frederic Tudor Alexandre Paul Henry, was born on the 17th October 1871 in Versailles. It was him that Zenon Przesmycki contacted in 1909 concerning the legacy of Cyprian Norwid. Frederic Tudor Kleczkowski was living in Fourqueux near Paris at that time. Norwid's letters and photographs of Michał's portraits that Przesmycki received for copying must have come from him. It was also Frederic who enabled the researcher contact with Alfred Kleczkowski, the son of Ketty and Kornel, who was living in Montevideo³³.

While much is known about the family of Euphemia Kleczkowska, there no known text of hers addressed to Norwid. It is thus not known how she really perceived the poor relative of her husband. The situation with her sister-in-law, Ketty Kleczkowska, is quite the opposite. Although there are only a few surviving letters of Ketty, they clearly show her cordial familiarity with Cyprian, "dear cousin and friend". Little, however, is known about Ketty's family, as well as about the life of her first husband, Kornel Kleczkowski.

³⁰ *Deacon Tudor's Diary*, p. XXVI.

³¹ C. ALLEN, *The history of the American Pro-Cathedral, Church of the Holy Trinity, Paris (1815-1980)*, Bloomington 2013, p. 512 (christened as Julie Aimee-Delia-Eleonore). Perhaps it is her who married Ernest Percival Tudor-Hart (1873-1954) from Canada in 1900. The genealogy of the American Jewish family of Tudor-Hart lists a Julie Aimee Delia Eleanore (Nellie) Kleykowska, died in 1917. Children from that marriage: Alexander Ethan (born in Florence, 1901) and Helena Beatrix (born 1903) http://americanjewisharchives.org/publications/fajf/pdfs/stern_p096.pdf (accessed: 20.02.2015).

³² "The marriage of Mr Rafael Navas to Miss Yvonne Kleczkowski of Paris [...], Euphemia Tudor-Kleczkowski, mother of Mrs Navas is an American, and comes from the well-known Tudor family of Boston". "The Wichita Daily Eagle", December 10, 1908, p. 3, <http://www.newspapers.com/newspage/63174184/> (accessed: 20.02.2015). "Mrs. Yvonne Navas filed suit today for divorce from Rafael Navas, alleging cruelty, non-support, and adultery. They were married in Wichita in 1908 and have one son, John, age four and a half." "The Wichita Beacon" 1914, June 30, p. 8 – quoted after: http://specialcollections.wichita.edu/collections/local_history/tihen/pdf/People&Places/Navas.PDF (accessed: 20.02.2015).

³³ Przesmycki's archive has two letters from F.T. Kleczkowski (a note from his wife and a folder of a boarding house in Fourqueux) and one letter from A. Kleczkowski. Regrettably, the letters are almost illegible today, ms BN IV 6319, vol. II, cc. 15-22.

Korneliusz Wincenty was likely first cousin to Michał, and son of Ignacy. He was born ca. 1810 in Wąsosz³⁴. During the November Uprising he served in the 1st Rifle (Infantry) Regiment, then in the artillery³⁵. After the defeat of the Uprising, he settled in Belgium and applied for naturalisation there. It is not known when exactly he married Katherine Josephine Carter. Their son Alfred Waclaw Adair was born in 1851 in Mons³⁶. The marriage also brought a daughter, Cecylia, and one more child³⁷. Kornel served in the Belgian army together with Norwid's uncle, Seweryn Sobieski: "in the artillery we see Kleczowski [sic!], who distinguished himself in 1848 in the Risquons-tout (Mouscron) battle; after he retired as a major, he left for China in British service, where he died in 1867 in Amoi."³⁸

Ketty, i.e. Katherine Josephine, was an English lady born in 1825 in St. Marylebone in London, a daughter to William Adair Carter (1799-1836) and Elizabeth Hyde Hayne (born 1804). After the death of Kornel Kleczkowski she remarried; her husband was Edward Thomas Kirkpatrick (1830-1875)³⁹. She is thus the same lady as the mysterious K. Kirkpatrick, who wrote a letter to Norwid from London in 1874⁴⁰. It is likely that Zenon Przesmycki, who copied the letter (from the collections of Alfred Kleczkowski?), knew that it was one and the same person – Katherine Kleczkowska nee Carter, later Kirkpatrick.

In Norwid's letters to Michał Kleczkowski in the 1860s there are numerous mentions of Ketty Kleczkowska which indicate that they had regular, warm contact. A letter dated August 1861 informs the reader of her intention to follow her husband to China, likely mimicking Euphemia Tudor⁴¹. Ketty, in turn, wrote to

³⁴ See footnote 2.

³⁵ An order issued in the main headquarters in Warsaw on 30th January 1831. "Dziennik Powszechny Krajowy" 1831, No. 31, p. 2.

³⁶ See biographical entry on Alfred Kleczkowski in PSB, vol. XIII, pp. 555-556.

³⁷ The name of the child, recorded by Przesmycki (ms BN IV, 6319, vol. II, c. 21 r.), is illegible.

³⁸ Ch. MERZBACH, *Oficerowie polscy w armii belgijskiej*, "Przegląd Współczesny" 41(1932), No. 120, p. 176.

³⁹ Information about the family of Ketty Kleczkowska quoted after "The Kirkpatrick Family Archives" <http://genealogy.kirkpatrickaustralian.com/archives/getperson.php?personID=I10995-&tree=TKA> (accessed: 20.02.2015)

⁴⁰ The letter is signed only with an initial of the first name, and French grammatical forms do not indicate the author's gender. J.W. Gomulicki supposed it was some "English friend of Norwid" (PWSz IX, 656); Kalendarz II, p. 564, gives an erroneous supposition that the author may be Katherine Aurore (Kitty) Kirkpatrick.

⁴¹ "[...] gdyby przyszło, iż zatrzymujecie się na czas jakiś w Chinach, gdyby przypadkiem Pani Kleczkowska zdecydowała się podążyć za małżonkiem [...]", transl. S. Jakóbczyk, PWSz

Cyprian about news and letters from China from Michał and quoted fragments of Kornel's letters. Norwid visited her either during her stays in Paris, or in the country. The warm atmosphere of those meetings, the facetious banter with the hostess, is well reflected in a fragment of Norwid's letter to Michał of 1863:

Oddają mi drugi list, od Cecylki Kleczkowskiej, abym był u p. Ketty na obiedzie [...] i jadę do pani Kleczkowskiej. Zastaję panią Ketty zdrowszą niż dni temu parę – oddaje mi list od Ciebie – siadam do obiadu [...]. [...]

Pani Ketty każe mi gadać o różnych rzeczach i daje mi kawy – pozwala mi palić cygaro – zmęczony jestem – ona takinuje mię, mówiąc, że „Krzysztof Kolumb nie był wielkim-człowiekiem” – a ja jej na to: „Vous le dites pour me faire divaguer – voilf tout – adieu!” – jadę do siebie (PWsz IX, 83).

[They give me another letter, from Cecylka [Cecylia] Kleczkowska, to dine with Mrs Ketty [...] and I am going to Mrs Kleczkowska. I find Mrs Ketty better than a few days ago – she gives me a letter from you – I sit to the dining table [...]. [...]

Mrs Ketty tells me to speak of various things and gives me coffee – allows me to smoke a cigar – I am tired – she teases me, saying that “Christopher Columbus was not a great-man” – and I respond: “Vous le dites pour me faire divaguer – voilf tout – adieu!” – I go home.]

A memory of the poet at such a meeting is given by Alfred Kleczkowski, who recalled Norwid in a very favourable manner in a letter of 1909 to Przesmycki:

Przypominam sobie jego piękną głowę, wyraz jego fizjonomii, nieokreślony charakter jego wzroku zagubionego gdzieś w odległych marzeniach oraz napady niespodziewanego śmiechu, gdy rozbawiła go jakaś idea przelatująca mu przez umysł (PWsz X, 377).

[I recall his beautiful head, the expression of his face, the vague character of his look lost somewhere in distant dreams, and the bursts of sudden laughter, when he was amused by some idea crossing his mind.]

Only one letter by Norwid to Ketty Kleczkowska survived, dated January 1861⁴², and four letters written by Ketty to Norwid. In March 1861, Kleczkowska related Kornel's reaction to the news of Warsaw manifestations:

Otrzymałam bardzo dobre wiadomości od naszych drogich wygnańców, wszyscy znajdują się w Pekinie, a mój mąż urządza się w Tienn-scien. [...] [Kornel] Klecz. mówi

VIII, 448.

⁴² The letter is a request to inform Michał Kleczkowski that Fr. A. Jełowicki intends to write of his merits in China to Pope Pius IX (PWsz VIII, 438-439; Kalendarz II, p. 5).

mi: „Wiadomości z Warszawy, które znałem z dzienników angielskich czy nawet z monitora francuskiego bardzo mnie [poruszyły]. Niemniej jednak, wyrazy gorących i patriotycznych uczuć względem mojej nieszczęśliwej ojczyzny czytałem z [ból]em [...]”.

Postarajcie się proszę odwiedzić mnie choć raz przed piętnastym przyszłego miesiąca, bo tego dnia pojedziemy na jakiś czas na wieś. Do zobaczenia, szczerze Wam oddana Ketty Klecz⁴³.

The letter was likely written during Ksawery Norwid's stay in Paris and Ketty's invitation to visit is apparently addressed to both brothers. The circumstances of Kornel's sudden death in 1867 are not known, except for a mention in Norwid's letter to Zofia Sobieska Radwanowa: “Brat adwokata⁴⁴, były major, a potem pułkownik angielski, Kornel Kleczkowski, nagle umarł w Chinach na wyspie Amoy – żona i troje dzieci pozostały [...] osierocone we wszelkim względzie” [Brother to a lawyer, British major and later colonel, Kornel Kleczkowski, died suddenly in China on the island of Amoy – survived by a wife and three children [...] bereft in every sense] (PWsz IX, 312).

Further trace of contacts dates back to 1871, the time after the siege and capitulation of Paris during the Franco-Prussian War. On 27th March 1871, Mrs Kleczkowska wrote to Norwid from Brussels:

Z wielką radością ujrzałam Pański list i stwierdziłam, iż jest Pan z tych, którzy nie zapominają. Myśleliśmy o Panu z prawdziwym niepokojem w naszym małym „domku”, gdzie często rozbrzmiewało Pańskie nazwisko. Jakże musiał Pan cierpieć podczas tego strasznego oblężenia! Biedny Paryż! Jakże on żył nadzieją i odwagą! [...] I Pan, biedny przyjacielu, w samym środku tych strasznych barykad! [...]

Ja mam tu spokój „belgijski”. Cecylia nie opuściła mnie, jest tu także ze swoim dwuletnim synkiem; jej mąż jeszcze w Pekinie, spodziewa się wrócić na dobre w czerwcu lub w lipcu. Alfred przebywa ze swoim wujem Michałem w Arcachon, gdzie się na razie wszyscy zatrzymali; Alfred prosi mnie o zgodę na wyjazd do Chin, a ja nie mogę się na to zdecydować! Boję się Chin! [...]

Bardzo mi Pana brak tutaj, gdzie myśl przysypia nieco! Pamięta Pan, z jaką przyjemnością spotykałam się z Panem? Czemuż nie może Pan przybyć do nas jak dawniej, ileż to rzeczy mielibyśmy sobie do powiedzenia, r z e c z y, k t ó r y c h n i e d a s i ę s p i s a ć! [...]⁴⁵.

⁴³ Transl. from French by W. Malinowski – quoted after: Kalendarz II, p. 19; org. *Książka pamiątek*, ms BN I, 6296, c. 54.

⁴⁴ Józef Kleczkowski, see footnote 2.

⁴⁵ Transl. by W. Malinowski – quoted after: Kalendarz II, pp. 483-484; org. ms BN IV, 6290, c. 62-63.

Perhaps the letter was accompanied by some financial support, because Norwid sent then a small oil painting *Łódź apostolska na jeziorze Genezareth (The Apostles' Boat on the Sea of Galilee)* to Brussels. He marked the painting later in his artistic biography as: "własność Pani K. w Belgii" [owned by Mrs K. in Belgium] (PWsz VI, 558). In June, Ketty thanked him for the painting:

Mój drogi Kuzynie i przyjacielu,

W dawnych dobrych czasach, kiedyśmy spotykali się i śmiali tak serdecznie, nazywałam Pana „niemożliwym”; dziś winnam Pana nazywać „niezrównanym”. To jezioro Genezareth jest prawdziwą perłą [...]. Nie pretenduję do miana znawcy, ale uwielbiam malarstwo [...] i spędzam w muzeach więcej czasu, niż ośmieliłabym się wyznać, i otóż odnajduję w Pańskiej s z t u c e coś, co przypomina dawnych mistrzów, czy to kolor? czy to pociągnięcie pędzla? Nie umiem wskazać przyczyny, ale efekt jest widoczny. [...] Każę zrobić głęboką ramę, głęboką nieskończenie, aby lepiej uwydatnić obraz; i mówię szczerze, że to ja jestem Pańską wierzycielką. Jeśli tylko usłyszę godne uwagi opinie na temat *Jeziora* pochodzące z branży, przekażę je Panu.

Mam nadzieję pokazać się w Paryżu jesienią. Uprzedzę Pana o tym natychmiast. [...] ⁴⁶.

In January 1873, in the Anglican Church of Holy Trinity in Brompton, Ketty Kleczkowska married Edward Thomas Kirkpatrick, a former British consul in Honduras⁴⁷. Her last known letter to Norwid was written on 6th April 1874 in London. She was thanking him for the etching *Dialogue des Morts (Rembrandt–Phidias)*:

Z wielką przyjemnością przyjąłam pańską cudowną a k w a f o r t ę, *etching* w języku anglosaskim. Muszę powiedzieć z całą pokorą konesera bez pretensji, lecz przekonanego, iż posiada pewne odbicie tego, co starożytny filozof nazwał 'umiłowaniem piękna', że dzieło to zdaje mi się niezrównane. Z przyjemnością wciąż do niego wracam, jego myśl przewodnia, zasłonięta dla mas, ale widoczna dla myślicieli, jeśli się nie mylę, jest taka oto: 'łopata pogrzebała ich obu' – czy źle odczytałam, źle zrozumiałam? – w takim razie przepraszam. Rembrandt przypomina mi Pana, a jego pogardliwy i szyderczy uśmiešek musiał być skopiowany u Pana. Myśl jest subtelna i sarkastyczna od początku do końca tego epickiego poematu pomieszczonego na luźnej kartce, a pociągnięcia piórkiem są n i e p o s p o l i t e. Niech wolno mi będzie powiedzieć, drogi Panie, że z podobnym talentem wstyd byłoby nazbyt oddawać się marzeniom, i że należałoby zamienić go w z ł o t o. Mam wielką ochotę pokazać to dzieło angielskiemu 'Goupilowi' i spytać go o zdanie co

⁴⁶ Transl. by W. Malinowski – quoted after: Kalendarz II, pp. 495-496; org. ms BN IV, 6290, c. 64-65.

⁴⁷ <http://genealogy.kirkpatrickaustralian.com/archives/getperson.php?personID=I7261&tree=TKA> (accessed: 20.02.2015).

do sposobu, w jaki można by przemienić ów talent w £ szterlingi. Czy chce Pan, żebym się tym zajęła? [...]”⁴⁸.

Ketty was unable to quite turn her cousin’s talent into gold or pound sterling, after all. Yet it must be stated that as a child of a “happy and great [...] society” she apparently understood the need to cash a work of art better than the artist’s Polish environment did.

Ketty’s second marriage did not last long. Thomas Edward Kirkpatrick died in 1875 in Jamaica. Ketty died two years later, also in Jamaica. Her son, Alfred Kleczkowski, was studying in Quebec at that time, and later became a well-known French diplomat. Unfortunately, the married name of her daughter Cecylia, of whom she wrote to Norwid, is not known, and so the trace of the family disappears.

Translated by Agnieszka Gernand

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⁴⁸ Transl. W. Malinowski – quoted after: *Kalendarz II*, pp. 563-564; cf. *PWsz IX*, 656; Przesmycki’s copy: ms BN IV, 6324, c. 232.

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EUPHEMIA TUDOR KLECZKOWSKA
AND KETTY KLECZKOWSKA-KIERKPATRICK

S u m m a r y

The article discusses Cyprian Norwid's contacts with more distant relatives: Euphemia Tudor, daughter of Frederic Tudor and wife of the diplomat Michał Kleczkowski; and Ketty Carter, wife of Colonel Kornel Kleczkowski (and after his death, wife of Thomas Edward Kierpatrick). Both these couples were used by Norwid as subject to his deliberations on mixed marriages of Poles with American and English women. The author is painstakingly collecting any available data on both Norwid's relatives, hoping for her knowledge of the relationships to expand.

Key words: Cyprian Norwid; Euphemia Tudor Kleczkowska; Ketty Kleczkowska-Kirkpatrick; biography, 19th-century Polish emigration

Słowa kluczowe: Cyprian Norwid; Euphemia Tudor Kleczkowska; Ketty Kleczkowska-Kirkpatrick; biografia; emigracja polska w XIX w.

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