

# The Contribution of the Second Generation of Great Emigration and the *Polish Bulletin* to the Validation of Polish Culture and Politics in the West

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## ABSTRACT

The article shows the contribution of the second and third generations of the Great Emigration called *Batignolles* in maintaining and promoting the Polish community and its culture in France and in Europe. **Scientific objective:** Presentation, creation, evolution and analysis of the content of the most prestigious, published in French, *Bulletin polonais littéraire, scientifique et artistique* and the activities of its editors. **Research methods:** Referring to the methods of press studies and analysis of historical sources, it presents the importance of the journal in maintaining the Polish identity. **Results and conclusions:** It presents the importance of the magazine, shunned by politics, in the building of the strength and prestige of the conservative-patriotic group on the eve of independence in the face of other ephemeral journalistic ventures. **Cognitive value:** It shows its role as a chronicler and at the same time a representative of Polish moods at the Seine.

## KEY WORDS

Batignolles, *Polish Bulletin*, journal, emigration, culture



In Western Europe, the group of the most important emigrant institutions guarding the preservation of the national identity of Poles in exile should include the existing Polish Library in Paris, established in 1838, and the so-called Batignolles school (1842), together with its subordinate library, open to all emigration (Pugacewicz, 2015, pp. 177–192). These two institutions were supported by prominent activists and generated new forms of Polonia activity. It was after all from the environment of the Lambert Hotel and its library that the University of Poland at Montparnasse grew up, to which after 1848 the elite of the youth camp arrived, prepared together with the local Batignolles graduates (called Batignolles after the school) to enter the so-called *grandes écoles* – elite engineering and technical schools or to get into another type of university within the Western university system. For purely existential reasons – émigré poverty and poverty – it was necessary to establish the House of St. Kazimierz in Paris and the House of St. Stanislaus in Juvisy, who supported the weakest, sick, deprived of livelihoods, but also complemented the educational activities of Batignolles, teaching the expatriate orphans on the elementary level. An expression of concern for Polish girls was the Institute of Polish Girls in Paris and other similar initiatives related to the environment of Lambert Hotel (Karbowski, 1910, pp. 102–144). At a time when such educated children of post-November exile Poles reached a mature age, as adults, they undertook their own initiatives aimed at preserving and nurturing Polish nationality. It is very difficult to follow the fate of subsequent generations brought up outside their native land. Usually, their careers and professional activities are blurred in a foreign reality, and the integration with French culture, which increases over time, often leads to denationalization. The pace of this type of change depends on the strategy of survival in a double national developed as a youngster. Undoubtedly, it was slowed by the development of own social capital in exile, which was favoured by group-based rather than individual initiatives, various types of joint undertakings aimed at maintaining the Polish identity. Without this kind of community activity, mutual influence and mobilization in difficult, important or solemn moments, this Polish national spirit of descendants of the Great Emigration would not survive until regaining independence.

The condition for the survival of Polishness in the second or even third generation of emigrants, according to previous research (Pugacewicz, 2012a, 2012b) is not so much about domestic and national upbringing, but this institutionalised upbringing, including belonging to associations and similar ethnic national organisations, based on mutual intergenerational relations. About 1,400 young people passed through the Polish University in Paris in the years 1842–1874, which from the older junior high school grades was simultaneously educated in the French teaching system. Due to the lack of appropriate sources, we cannot definitely say whether, due to such a doubled education, most of them in their adult life still felt Poles. We know from the accounts and other documents left by the juveniles that a small part of the Batignolles youth even hated the Polish school, treating it as a necessary evil that must be faced (Pugacewicz, 2017, pp. 332–333). Not much memories and reports referring to the exile national self-awareness have remained from the past teenage years. What is extremely important for the topic of this article, after regaining independence, none of the over 100,000 Batignolles returned to the country permanently. Therefore, from the point of view of the primary purpose of the school – sons' education with a view to securing the future needs of the liberated fatherland, which sons will go to the country's first call, the entire seventy-five-year undertaking turned out to be a fiasco. Only that during the three quarters of the century, both the functioning of the school and the educational goals themselves, as well as the essence and role of emigration obligations towards the enslaved country have also changed. Comparing hopes and expectations, and thus the emotional relationship and worldview of the first generation of Great Emigration

with the second and the next, we see a clear change in the perception of its role in the remote, often unknown homeland and a different self-esteem and shape of its identity. Just as the first generation of refugees saw its happiness only in returning to a free country, where it wanted to be buried, another generation born and raised in exile visited the graves of the relatives on French soil and constructed their own worldview more on the basis of her French reality and culture. The French reality became a reference, but also a support of their Polish, idealised identity. None of the first generation of the Great Emigration came across the idea that you can be Polish and French at the same time (Maillot, 2008, p. 15; Jedliński, 1853, p. 71). This invention, perhaps for the first time articulated<sup>1</sup> by the Polish diaspora, accurately characterised the second, and especially the third generation of youth already born in France, not so much Polish as the Polish diaspora. Characteristics attributed to one of the Batignolles – Waclaw Gasztowtt (1844–1920), that he was the most French of Poles and the most Polish of the French (Brzezinski, 1920, p. 77), from the seventies of the nineteenth century until 1918 becomes the motto of the next generations growing in the romantic spirit of heirs of the independence-emigration ethos. Born and brought up in the West, they consciously constructed their not fully fulfilled Polish and this more real French national identity, which in fact was neither one nor the other. It should be perceived as typically emigration-like, suspended between two cultures. Is there any way to check and describe such a “cultural bivalence” (Kloskowska, 2005, p. 129), and not in relation to the individual, but to the entire community? It seems that a good example of this may be the analysis of the pro-social and pro-Polish attitudes of the Batignolles youth after leaving the “oppressively Polish” school (Jedliński, 1853, p. 23).

### **Association – Genesis, Representatives, Goals**

The Association des anciens élèves de l'École polonaise, the Association of Former Students of the Polish School, founded in 1865, despite the various opinions, already in the first months of activity gathered over seventy members – former Batignolles students (Procès verbal, 1865, p. 5). Describing the genesis of the organisation, one of its activists emphasised that the century in which they lived boldly can be called a century of various associations and circles. He ended his reflection with the statement that there is probably no other environment that would feel the need for association and national unity more than Polish immigrants (Procès verbal, 1865, p. 2). Admittedly, already eight years earlier the first talks with the school's director at the time took place, about the creation of a youth union, but the attempts at that time ended in a fiasco. A perfect example of the permanent attachment of graduates to the often-disliked school, and at the same time an example of the persistence of patriotic education, was the attitude of Witold Hryniewicki, who a few years after leaving it, in 1862, “decided to offer the last edition of Adam Mickiewicz's works as an honorary prize for a student who, from all school, regardless the class he belongs to, works the hardest in terms of the Polish language and history” (Book of Protocols, 13.07.1862)<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See the content of Polish and French speeches on the occasion of the end of the school year, in which for the first time statements about two equal homelands of the Batignolles youth are found: Polish and French (Pugacewicz, 2017, pp. 513–534).

<sup>2</sup> Witold Hryniewicki in his letter to the School Council of 30.06.1862 (School Board, correspondence) announced that he will persuade former colleagues to help existing students of the school and that he would like to establish an Association of Former Students of the Polish School, which two years later became a fact. Thus, the initiator of its creation was not Gasztowtt, but Hryniewicki.

The aftermath of this kind of attitudes were also additional classes bottom-up organised by the pupils of Batignolles, at that time students of recognised French universities, in the form of tutoring addressed to poorly performing younger colleagues. With time, after gaining proper education, some of these tutor societies infiltrated the Polonia teachers, replacing their former professors, and after the death in 1890 of the last director from the generation of November insurgents – Stanisław Malinowski (Konarska, pp. 361–362), its next bosses came only from the best school’s graduates<sup>3</sup>. The graduates, being constantly close to it, whether for social or professional or scientific reasons, in order to use its rich library and contacts with pedagogues and scientists employed there, involuntarily participated, and also strongly influenced the lives of subsequent generations of émigré youth. The multi-generational community thus formed in 1865 was mobilized for formal organisational activities in order to establish its own association. An important catalyst was also the need to jointly experience national mourning after the defeat of the January Uprising. The mourning was so painful and at the same time mobilizing to the pro-national activity that among the victims of the insurrection there were also Batignolles pupils, friends from one bench<sup>4</sup>. Three (organised in 1864) informal meetings were enough to present at the next meeting, convened on 9 August 1865, the first statutory projects of the Association of Former Students of the Polish School (Pożerski, 1923, p. 1). It was a different, more efficient association process, in relation to the one we had observed thirty years earlier when various political forces were arguing with each other. Certainly, it can be said that the always plotting parents passed their social enthusiasm onto another emigrant generation, while the organisational sense and the indication of good practices is a merit of the French<sup>5</sup>, but the goal and the need for association activity is the result of Batignolles upbringing. In the so-called *Statuts*, i.e. a record of the Association’s regulations, it was clearly stated to “help each other” (1893, p. 3), which was very broadly understood. Above all, care had to be taken to maintain close contact between former students after leaving school. Help in a professional career, support self-education and development of younger colleagues. Maintain contacts with emigration, especially with young people coming after the January Uprising (ch. I – The purpose of the Association, *I. But de l’Association*), (*Status*, p. 1). Help each other in crisis situations, in poverty, when the fathers of the families are gone, support relatives, help the school itself (ch. IV – Use of funds, *IV. Emploi des fonds*), (*Status*, p. 3). At the head of such a conceived Association stood the eminent graduates: the aforementioned Waclaw Gasztowtt, whose exceptional merits for France and Poland were described in the excellent publication of Remy Landy (2017) and Artur Stępiński (Pugacewicz, 2017a, p. 595), future teacher and headmaster; Józef Piliński – an outstanding diplomat for French contacts with Sweden, decorated in 1882 with the Golden Order of Gustav Vasa, and a year

<sup>3</sup> Two subsequent directors that came after Stanisław Malinowski – Artur Stępiński (1890–1900) and Feliks Saniewski (1890–1901) are not only great graduates of Batignolles, but also colleagues from one class (Pugacewicz, 2017b).

<sup>4</sup> Among those who did not return to the Paris school were also: Karol Józef Łosiewicz, Adolf Narkiewicz, Bronisław Gasztowtt, August Sołeck, Artur Bieńkowski, Bolesław Remont, Karol Głowacki, Onufry Jacewicz, Rudolf Krzycki, Juliusz Michałowski. Władysław Potrykowski and Władysław Stryjeński did not return from the exile to Siberia (*Inauguration des plaques commémoratives*, 1877, p. 32).

<sup>5</sup> Starting from the 1830s, the young French, as part of their high schools, associated in large numbers, whether due to the necessity of helping regions affected by flood, or due to the jubilee of the director and the need to buy a gift for him, or for example because of the war with Prussia, in order to provide material support for soldiers fighting for France and the emperor (Pugacewicz, 2017a, p. 569).

later invited to the group of members of the Paris Academy (“Nécrologie”, 1905, p. 135); Ludwik Mękowski – world-famous engineer, inventor of pneumatic drive (Eder, 2005, p. 288); Kazimierz Zaleski – an outstanding metallurgist, author of many scientific works (Chwaściński, 2015, p. 446); Emil Bojanowski – economist and treasurer of the Society (Procès verbal, 1872, pp. 5–14); Artur Gronostajski – son of an eminent mathematician, following in the footsteps of his father (“Nécrologie”, 1905 p. 280), as well as architects sculptors, creators of emigrant tombstones: Ludwik Tödwen (“Nécrologie”, 1919, p. 247) and Albert Bitner (Chowaniec, 1936, pp. 114–115), or the valued anthropologist Zygmunt Zaborowski (Opióła, 2005, p. 367). Without claiming the right to represent all the prominent members of the new association, because nearly 450 people passed through it to the year Poland regained independence (*Liste des sociétaires*, 1910), let us emphasise that the mentioned ones are above all those who were the most active to contribute to create own press body, the so-called *Bulletin polonais littéraire, scientifique et artistique* (1874–1923), in an emigre community colloquially called the *Polish Bulletin*. The journal, founded in 1874, was regularly published for almost half a century. Its end in 1923 was not a matter of chance or exhaustion of the potential of the journalistic Polish editorial office, but a deliberate decision of the last editor Edward Pożerski. Outstanding gastronomy, but above all, a recognised professor at the Pasteur Institute in Paris, (Ostrowska, 1984/85; Pugacewicz, 2018) in a letter to readers, explained that he did not see the further need of its existence, since an independent homeland not only has been revived, but also strengthened. The former objective of Batignolles: “To uphold information and enlighten French public opinion on the past and present situation of Poland” has been achieved (...) *The Polish Bulletin* will not be released anymore<sup>6</sup>”.

### **The Polish Bulletin – Evolution and Contents**

The idea of the Polonia’s periodical precluded the influence of any political party or groups on the shape and content of the articles published there, and yet, in time, it was given a patch of the political journal of the émigré conservatives (Śladkowski, 1976, pp. 37–38). Before we answer the thesis formulated in this way, let us follow the story of the journal. In principle, this reporting body of the Association of Former Students of the Polish School was a phenomenon on the French press market, because no association, formed on the basis of secondary education and functioning at the time in Paris, was able to set up a regularly released periodical. The few who tried to conduct propaganda and publishing activities connected with the best French schools did this most often, promoting their own work of a scientific nature, or commemorating the importance of various celebrations and jubilees<sup>7</sup>. The *Polish Bulletin*, established in the mid-1970s, also had no

<sup>6</sup>In the letter to all readers with a subscription, sent on 5 February 1923, he wrote: “The General Assembly of the Society of Former Students of the Polish School, collected on 4 February 1823, decided to suspend the publication of the »Polish Bulletin«. For over 48 years, the »Polish Bulletin« has been the guardian of information and enlightenment of French public opinion on the past and present situation of Poland. Its goal and aspirations have always remained unchanged. They were the goal and aspirations of the Polish Emigration. Like our Fathers, we also wanted a free and independent Poland. Today, this goal has been achieved. The »Polish Bulletin« will not be released anymore. We shall now bow to the wonderful devotion of our former colleagues and thank our colleagues, subscribers and readers for continually supporting us in our efforts. They also contributed to the resurrection of Poland. Long live Poland!” (Pożerski, 1923, p. 4).

<sup>7</sup>An excellent example of this type of publication are the Parisian *Annales de l’Association Amicale des Anciens Elèves du Lycée Condorcet* issued in 1859–1883. In the book which is a collection of various documents, including the speeches of the Association’s members at banquets organised annually, there are, among others,

competition in terms of other foreign national news. The periodical, performing in the first place the information and reporting function of the emigration environment, in each issue, regularly published short reports on the Batignolles school (number of pupils, teachers, program, reports from holidays and other important events) until the end of its days. Until 1883, the first pages of the *Bulletin* had the so-called *procès verbal*, or reports on the course of all General Meetings of the Association. It should be emphasised that their publication, started in 1865, was a harbinger of a future émigré periodical. The actual journal took on real shape during the nearly two-year long work of a small group of reporters, informally led by Gasztowtt. According to his student and the only successor to Pożerski, already in 1874 it was known that the journal would certainly arise. On 8 August 1875 its final character was approved as a literary, scientific and artistic periodical, registering and certifying the achievements of Polish and émigré culture, which was later reflected in the slightly changed title: *Bulletin polonais littéraire, scientifique et artistique* (Pożerski, 1923, p. 2). As the activities of the members of the Batignolles Association were increasingly focused on the dynamically developing journal, this was confirmed by the update of the Association's statute carried out in 1884. The eighth point added at the time testified to the full integrity of the newly-established journal with the association's superior objectives and program activity. *Bulletin polonais littéraire, scientifique et artistique*, until 1888, colloquially called the "Bulletin d'Association", or the *Bulletin*, was to be devoted to typically national issues, including sustaining and developing emigre Polishness (*Statuts*, 1893, pp. 7–8). The first editorial committee included: Waclaw Gasztowtt, Zygmunt Zaborowski and outstanding graphic artist Walerian Plauszewski ("Nécrologie", 1908, pp. 263–264). In keeping with the democratic spirit of the school and the traditional Batignolles upbringing, as never before, the members of the Association of Former Students of the Polish School did not appoint a president or a chairman from among themselves, guided by the principle of absolute equality and freedom. Similarly, the matter was presented with the formal management of their press body. Both Gasztowtt and, after his death in 1920, Pożerski, fulfilled the functions of chief editors informally, honourably, in recognition of merits for Polish emigration. Their long-standing authorities, highly respected voices at all meetings and gatherings are perfectly legible in handwritten protocol books, the so-called *Procès verbaux de séances du comité et l'Assemblée Générale* (1865–1873), completely unused by researchers of the topic and historians of the Polish diaspora, and constituting a perfect complement to the mentioned *procès verbal*.

The second, already fully thought-out issue of the *Bulletin*, just like the next ones, was released in addition to the semester report on the activities of the Association des Anciens Elèves de l'École Polonaise (6.02.1865) in the twelfth year of its operation. The four-and-a-half-page journal, according to previous findings, was divided into five parts. After the first, dedicated to the school itself, entitled "Ecole polonaise" (*Bulletin d'Association*, 1865, p. 7), there was a much longer second part, "Fait littéraire et scientifique" (literary and scientific events), with particular attention to publications and the achievements of former Batignolles, but also informing about new publications in the country, especially those concerning France and emigration. There was news about major cultural and scientific events, about leading and new press titles – in a word, about the intellectual life of the Polish community in France and worldwide, and Poles in the occupied

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the first two statutes of the Association, on which the Batignolles modelled themselves (Ollendorff, 1886, pp. 325–229).

country. The third part of the reports “Fait artistique” (artistic events) was careful tracking and registration of the actions of Polish artists at all European and world exhibitions, recording their paintings, sculptural, architectural and casting works performed for private persons, on public orders or for governments. The rubric of “obituaries” (“Nécrologie”) was not as extensive as the dedicated column in the *Annals of the Historical and Literary Society in Paris* (Kalembka, 1984), led with special diligence by Bronisław Zaleski, but it also scrupulously recorded the deaths of those less known emigrants, largely from Batignolles. Their short biographies, often written down only from the accounts and memories of colleagues, are a perfect complement to the great emigration biographies published in the “Annals”. When those in 1878 ceased to be released, conscientious editors of the *Bulletin* tried to fill out the gap created in such a sad record, widening the spectrum of the subject in their own journal. The last part of the *Bulletin* – “Variété” – was not at all entertaining. Here, first and foremost, various less important, from the point of view of high culture or big politics, facts and events happening in emigration were recorded (mainly minor successes of its representatives), while avoiding any comments. For example, in the discussed issue of the “Bulletin” (1865, p. 11) readers were informed about the aggregation in physics obtained by Aleksander Dybowski and about his nomination as a professor in Algiers; about passing the bachelor’s degree in mathematics by Alfred Budzyński in the famous Ecole Normale Supérieure; about the admission of Jerome Fraenkl to the Polytechnical School and the similar successes of colleagues and emigre friends. The fifth edition of the journal, twice as extensive, appeared under a sort of trial title of *Bulletin de l’Association des anciens élèves de l’École polonaise* (1877) with the above-discussed, but well-expanded rubrics that carefully recorded the achievements of Polish emigration. They were so significant and so numerous that it was decided to separate literature from science, creating two separate sections.

Subsequent issues, appearing on a quarterly basis, have increased from 1877 to over thirty pages per year. The journal, published only in French, did not inform its readers about the authorship of particular sections or articles, more and more reports from subsequent lectures and Polish conferences organised in Paris by Batignolles or special occasional issues such as the one dedicated to the 200th anniversary of the Battle of Vienna (*Bulletin d’Association*, 1883, no 18). Such anonymity was on the one hand intended, on the other hand – only apparent. Intended, because the entire Association signed under the published content. Apparent, as one tried to hide the authors of individual texts, personally referring them during the protocol meetings of the Association. Sometimes, it was briefly informed that the authorship of given articles should be attributed to “former students of the Polish school” and they were signed this way. Nevertheless, everyone was perfectly aware that Gasztowtt was the most-published author in the *Bulletin*, and in time he signed as the “Emigrant’s son”, in short “S.E.”, and his editorial colleagues. The following, apart from Gasztowtt himself, participated in the creation of the first issues: Emil Bojanowski, Józef Piliński, Rafał Orłowski, Artur Czernik, Ludwik Tödwen, Franciszek Zwierkowski and Walery Plauszewski. From the 1880s, it was this group that decided to broaden the area of historical and literary interests, which recalled the most important events of Polish history, the review of culture, including the literature of other nations without statehood, mainly Slavic ones. For example, in the tenth issue (from 1880) an article was published about contemporary Czech prose and poetry (*Bulletin d’Association*, 1880, no. 10, pp. 21–25, no 11, pp. 30–31). The eleventh issue, already thirty pages long, reported about Kraszewski’s jubilee, about Polish publishing novelties, about countrymen exhibiting in French artists’ salons in Paris, etc. (*Bulletin d’Association*, 1880, no 11, pp. 15–46). However, since the twelfth issue, regular translations and summaries of the most important masterpieces of Polish literature began to appear. The cycle began with Jankiel’s concert from *Pan Tadeusz* in the translation by Gasztowtt

(*Bulletin d'Association*, 1881, no 12, pp. 14–32). Subsequent issues of the journal were enriched with contemporary emigration poetry and prose; with reports from international symposia with the participation of the Polish diaspora; with studies on the state of Polish science and education under occupation, along with reprints and summaries of interesting publications from the so-called “cordon” press. The *Bulletin* also includes bibliographic references on Polish and foreign (but on typically Polish topics) literature. In a word, attempts were made to register the cultural life of the Polish diaspora and its cognitive horizons as faithfully as possible, to emphasise the vitality of the national spirit in emigration, and above all, despite all the circumstances, to promote all kinds of Polish successes and achievements. In the fourteenth issue, consisting of 35 pages, for the first time we find officially given names of the newly elected editorial office. It included: Juliusz Jasiewicz, Alfred Maria Kowalski, Teodor Szretter (*Bulletin d'Association*, 1882, no 14, p. 35). Jasiewicz, a student of Batignolles in the years 1864–1872, was an outstanding physician with historical interests (*Bulletin d'Association*, 1888, no 37, pp. 33–34). Kowalski (in the Polish school in the years 1855–1866), railway engineer, has been a foreign correspondent of the *Bulletin* since 1884, because he moved to Austria for a temporary stay, from where he regularly wrote. The most devoted to the editorial side of the *Bulletin* – Szretter – (in school in 1849–59) not only dealt with the graphic matters, but also explained and popularised regional history and customs (*Bulletin d'Association*, 1885, No. 26, p. 26).

## World War I – National Revival

Throughout the existence of the *Bulletin*, the popularity of the Batignolles journal has never decreased, as evidenced by its continuous development and the increasing frequency of annual editions<sup>8</sup>. In the years 1894–1918, the *Bulletin* was published regularly, and as a monthly. During the World War I, it was exceptionally rich in various Polish events and political information – it became very active, constantly emphasising the historical importance of Polish lands in the European Middle East, followed and commented on the actions of the French government, reprinted international dispatches, but also tried to faithfully fulfil its founding mission, seemingly sticking as far as possible from world politics. The meticulous registration of various events and celebrations, proving a unique revival of the Polish cultural and artistic life at the Seine, deserves a special mention. In the year of the outbreak of the World War I, no major arts and entertainment events such as balls, concerts, Polish theatre performances or recitals were recorded in the *Bulletin*. The August issue of the magazine was opened with an appeal to the Polish emigration about the obligation to actively participate in the defence of the second homeland of France, culminating in the cries of “Vive la France! Vive la Pologne!” (*Bulletin polonais*, no 313, 15.08.1914, p. 229). The first patriotic concert described in details, later repeated many times, the profits from which were transferred to the volunteers and wounded soldiers, took place in 1915. The repertoire included, among others, French translations of *Boże, coś Polskę, Z dymem pożarów* and other patriotic songs (Sivert, 1980, p. 44). In the issue 327, three new organisations were reported in Paris: Civic Assistance Committee for Poles, Association for Assistance to Polish Soldiers in France and Committee for Poland, collecting money donations for the benefit

<sup>8</sup> For example, issue 269 had already 85 pages, including almost a 20-page description of the battle of Grunwald and old times by Karol Szajnocha, fragments of Juliusz Słowacki's *The King-Spirit* in translation by Waclaw Gasztowtt, the history of the Polish School in Paris by Antoni Karbowski translated into French by Jerome Fraenkel, and many other interesting novelties (*Bulletin polonais*, 1910, pp. 349–434).

of the pro-Polish emigrants' campaign (*Bulletin polonais*, no. 327, 15/10/1915, p. 314). The last December issue closed with an anxious statement: "The year ends in the darkness. (...) What was not brought to us by 1915, let us hope that it will be finally brought in 1916" (*Bulletin polonais*, no 329, 15/12/1915, p. 349).

In the next year of the war, we observe a further, distinct revival of everyday artistic and cultural emigration life. Numerous charity events, recitations, and occasional concerts were given by professional artists as well as by political or paramilitary associations. For example, the Polish Gymnastic Society "Sokół" organised on the New Year's Eve in 1916 in an elegant room of the Hôtel des Sociétés Savantes in Paris, a Christmas eve for all Polish children (*Bulletin polonais*, no 330, 15/01/1916, p. 29). In turn, the little-known workers' Amateur Circle of the Employees' Tax Association of the Polish Colony in France celebrated the centenary of the death of Tadeusz Kosciuszko with an appropriate reading and a piano concert (*Bulletin polonais*, no 333, 15/03/1916, pp. 65–66). In all circles of the Polish diaspora, attempts were made to testify about their nationality in the most visible manner. In April 1916, in Collège Sévigné, a "Polish day" was organised with patriotic readings, followed by a series of music programs with Chopin's music and songs by Moniuszko (Sivert, 1980, p. 46). The next meeting, devoted to Poland and its historical achievements, took place on 12 January 1917 at the Sorbonne. Speakers included the French historian Georges Lacour-Gayet, poetry by Słowacki, Mickiewicz, and Kochanowski, recited by Halka Hulewicz (Docraïne), the whole Parisian Polonia was present in the room, with Władysław Mickiewicz in front (Sivert, 1980, p. 54). In exchange for exceptional artistic and scientific activity and the continued maintaining of the elevated Polish atmosphere, the French community surrounded the Polish diaspora with exceptional sympathy and cordiality. The January issue of the *Bulletin*, making more and more bold dreams about independence, asked in the first page: "Oh, the year of 1917! Will you lead us to salvation?" (*Bulletin polonais*, no 342, 15/01/1917, p. 1). Probably the most solemnly celebrated event in 1918, uniting all organisations and parties, was the 50th anniversary of the death of Juliusz Słowacki. The crowning of the celebrations lasting for several months, held in various corners of France, turned out to be a great concert organised on 31 July 1918 by the Military Section of Polish Paramedics in the Parisian Bastionie Boulevard Suchet. Performers of the hymn *Boże coś Polskę* sung with unique faith, hope and emotions (*Bulletin polonais*, no 369, 15/06/1918, p. 224).

### **The year 1918, Politicization of the Editorial Staff, Adherents and Adversaries**

The last issues from 1918 preceding the regaining of independence in the first pages no longer provided information from the everyday life of the Batignolles school, in which only eight boys remained (*Bulletin polonais*, no 368, 15/10/1918, p. 354) and on cultural and artistic events relating to emigration. On the other hand, emotionally balanced reports from the front were popular. In September, the winners from Marna were greeted, but the Polish emigration was called for prudence and peace, as if in fear of unnecessary, uncontrolled irredentism, which could shake Polish-French relations not easily reconstructed in the most neutral spirit (*Bulletin polonais*, no 362, 15/09/1818, p. 293). Therefore, the "Emigrant's son" deliberately ended the wartime reports with a just call: "Let's do our job! Hope!" (*Bulletin polonais*, no 362, 15.09.1918, p. 295). Right under the current reports, an article devoted to the Polish borders from before 1772 was placed. The next, October issue, kept in a similar tone, at its very beginning reported: "the whole world accepts the independence of Poland" and asked the question right away: but which Poland? How should it be arranged politically (*Bulletin polonais*, no 363, 15/10/1918, pp. 325–327)? The next page contains the further part of the considerations entitled "Historical Polish Rights to Royal Prussia and Duchy of Prussia", and they contain appropriate extracts from sources confirming the

thesis formulated in the title (pp. 327–335) and a fragment of the *Powieść o polskiej duszy* novel by Maria Zabojecka<sup>9</sup>. November issue of the *Bulletin* with bold slogans, printed in large font on the first page: “Victory! Cease-fire! Revolution in Austria, Hungary, Germany! What is actually happening in Poland? Invaders, beware of each other!” (*Bulletin polonais*, no 364, 15.11.1918, s. 357) is an enthusiastic burst of joy. The crowning of the propaganda campaign conducted in the first pages of the journal was the December issue. This time, slightly depreciated words have been replaced by an eloquent image. From the cover, the first page of the last issue from 1918, the likeness of Józef Piłsudski spoke (*Bulletin polonais*, no 365, 15.12.1918, p. 389). The editors did not have to place any slogans or additional explanations. Everything was clear. The publicist consistency of Batignolles policy, presented in the headlines of the French-language periodical, did not raise any doubts. Its conservative line was represented by the inter-rising diaspora born, raised and educated in the double Polish-French reality, because that period (between November and January insurrection, in which the previously characterised journalists were raised) and people from that epoch (November insurgents in Poland – their teachers) instilled in almost entire emigration the spirit of the emigre patriotism, expressed in patient, but hardworking and highly active expecting in terms of science and culture.

Starting from the 1980s, and especially during the World War I, all journal editors and Batignolles gathered around the *Bulletin* was described as an old emigration adoring the unfashionable nineteenth-century political models, believing in democracy and social solidarity, faithful to the traditions of the Constitution of 3 May 1791. This emigration, recognised by Waław Gąsiorowski<sup>10</sup> as “mammoths” (1931, p. 108), opposed to the ideology of socialism, distrustful of positivism, striving in its efforts to fight for the independence of the Homeland to unite at all costs the Polish diaspora, as discussed in more details by Wiesław Śladkowski (2015, pp. 405–416), never organised himself into a separate political party. The most prominent example of Batignolles influences and *quasi*-political activity was their effective participation and leadership in the Polish National Alliance, founded during the celebrations of the 25th anniversary of the January Uprising. Considered the most serious and unique representation of the old exiles in the West, it “officially controlled the national institutions in exile, the museum in Rapperswil with the national treasury and the Polish school in Paris” (Śladkowski, 1976, p. 37). The core of this representation, exceptionally respected in the French environment, which succeeded in 1871 to unite for the first time almost the entire Western European Polish diaspora (Śladkowski, 2015, p. 416) were Batignolles and their *Bulletin polonais*. The gravity and strength of the Polish National Alliance were multiplied at the beginning of December 1914, when a group of the younger generation of Democrats joined it, including a prominent urologist and bacteriologist, highly valued in the émigré progressive-socialist realms, doctor Bolesław Motz (Śladkowski, 1976, pp. 38, pp. 82–85). Despite the wide influence and authority established by the Batignolles in the West, due to their moderation and distancing themselves from current politics, their adversaries did not spare them strong criticism. “The so-called Batignolles – in

<sup>9</sup> Maria Zabojecka, born Malwina Garfeinowa-Garska (1870–1932) writer, publicist, translator associated with the socialist movement. *Powieści o polskiej duszy* written in 1912 refers to Polish patriotic attitudes from the times of the January Uprising.

<sup>10</sup> Waław Gąsiorowski (1863–1939), writer, journalist, publicist, and Polonia’s activist. From 1904 in exile in Paris, then in Switzerland and North America. He was the founder of the “Polonia” weekly and the “Sokół” organisational structures.

the opinion of Jan Lorentowicz<sup>11</sup> connected with the socialist movement, who mayor at every opportunity, wave with the banner of the cheapest patriotism, brood themselves and others with an easy and empty phrase, locked themselves in the most extreme retrograde” (Lorentowicz, 1957, p. 106). Only that it is difficult to find an equally influential and more “ideologically” consistent political coterie or organisation with much more features of a cultural-scientific or educational-propaganda nature than the party and political ones. The diaspora around *Bulletin polonais* and Gasztowtt is about 1,500 Polish readers and at least the same number of French recipients – life companions, friends and acquaintances. The most serious of their adversaries was the radical socialist youth counting for the help of the French left in the reconstruction of Poland, represented, among others, by an outstanding theoretician Kazimierz Kelles Krauz or Bolesław Motz, who competed with him, and others associated with the Society of Working Poles in Paris or the Progressive Youth of Poland “Spójnia”. Apart from the Parisian socialist trend, there was a conservative one, loyal to Władysław Mickiewicz, at that time already a noble old man, long-time director of the Polish Library in Paris. This group was very unusual, grown up – like the Batignolles – in French culture, in respect and tradition towards Polish culture and the past, as distant from the big politics as the editors of the *Bulletin*. The gathering based its authority on the spiritual heritage of Romanticism and the nineteenth-century patriotism of the national prophet, whose somewhat emigrant depository was his eldest son Władysław, since childhood sincerely hating the Batignolles school (Mickiewicz, 2012, p. 289). An unwritten duty of every Pole who appeared at the Seine was to visit his home at 7 rue Guénégoud, which was a kind of unofficial Polish embassy. At Mickiewicz’s, on the so-called Monday’s “fixes”, gathered the whole elite in Paris: the Warsaw bourgeoisie, Lithuanian landowners, artists politicians, scholars. Despite Władysław’s atavistic reluctance towards the Batignolles, the group closest to the Mickiewicz’s Polonia consisted mostly of those under the banner of the *Bulletin*. When in 1918 representatives from the Polish emigration came to the Passport Commission and the Commission for the Care of Interned and Prisoners, which were to operate as part of the Civilian Bureau of Poles, Władysław and Maria Mickiewicz and Gasztowtt were pointed to in the first place (Sibora, 1998, pp. 219–220). This was primarily due to the respect and universal recognition of their authority, respect in the French government spheres and their political realism. On the other hand, it was precisely in the pages of the *Bulletin* that all public activity of Mickiewicz<sup>12</sup> was described in with a particular esteem, and he probably praised the journal himself, since it was at the leading place among other periodicals in his library.

### **The Contribution of Batignolles Journalism to the Strengthening of Emigration Identity and Polish Culture**

The experience of the 123 years of deprivation of independence consisted of running a Polish foreign-emigration policy, including cultural and educational-scientific, by a nation without a state. During the Great Emigration period, it adopted the shape of a real diplomacy without “credentials” (Hahn, 1987), and on the other hand, it guarded such an emigre social policy,

<sup>11</sup> Jan Lorentowicz (1868–1940), publicist, journalist, theatre critic, director of theatres, president of the Polish Pen Club, member of the Polish Academy of Literature, strongly associated with the socialist movement.

<sup>12</sup> See, e.g. the report on the unveiling of the statue of Strasbourg, during which “the noble eighteenth-year-old Mickiewicz spoke like the apostle” (*Bulletin polonais*, no 365, 15.12.1918, p. 406)

which consisted of mutual education and continuous cultural and national self-development. Placing the Polish case on the agenda of each of the European crises is in a way a replacement of official state and professional diplomats by educated, self-aware emigre writers, journalists, and Polish cultural activists (Waško, 2009, p. 110). Bolesław Motz in 1914 emphasised: “Affecting the statesmen, the press, publishing brochures, appeals, materials, the Poles should convince the Europe and America that granting independence to Poland will not only make justice, but also be a deed of great political wisdom” (Śladkowski, 1976, p. 85 ), which perfectly expressed the objectives and confirmed the activities of the Batignolles associated in the Association des anciens élèves de l’École polonaise. When, during the World War I, all major political groups, as they once did, dreamed of their own émigré press body, the establishment and maintenance of such a system turned out to be much more complicated than in the times of the post-November exile. Among others, extremely democratic circles experienced the reluctance of France to all this type of actions, the effectiveness of the French censorship, as in June 1915 only one issue of *La Tribune Polonaise* was issued, but even such an implementation demanded enormous cunning and prudence<sup>13</sup>. The existence of *La Voix Polonaise* (Sibora, 1998, p. 220) and many other newspapers also ended with a closure by the French censorship. Similar problems in publishing were experienced by conservatives gathered around Kazimierz Woźnicki (Gmurczyk-Wrońska, 1996, pp. 204–205). In this context, the activity of the Batignolles and their press body, which was the *Polish Bulletin*, is an extremely important element of the intellectual, but also political life of emigration. If we measure the importance and seriousness of the Association of Former Students of the Polish School, the representativeness of their journalistic activities, the Batignolles “beat everyone”. *Bulletin polonais*, starting from the first issue, with only a few pages, turned out to be a constantly growing journal, consistently informing the public in the West about intellectual viability and the power of survival of the Polish diaspora, disseminating knowledge about Poland, about the nation’s contribution to European cultural heritage. This “world monument” (*un monument mondial*) of the Polish literature, the works of the second and third generation of Great Emigration, as accurately described by the last editor of the *Bulletin*, Pożerski Bulletin (1923, p. 4), gathered in fifteen volumes, each of which has almost 1000 pages, is a collection certifying Poland’s cultural history and the history of emigration, sustaining its persistence in Polish nationality, recording all emigration events, disseminating (translated into the French language understandable to the world) Polish art, science and literature. Sent regularly to more than three hundred intellectuals in France and abroad, received with interest by French readers (Pożerski, 1923, p. 3), reaching the most important institutions headed by the French National Library, the British Museum in London, the Polish Library in Paris or Kraków Academy of Learning, it contributed to the strengthening of the Polish immigration national identity, confirming Europe in the conviction of the importance and legitimacy of Polish autonomous science and culture as a base and a binder to reconstruct its independence. Władysław Mickiewicz, describing the possibilities of Polonia’s publishing and propaganda activities in the West after years, mentioned in his memoirs: “preventive censorship has not

<sup>13</sup> In order to avoid problems, the Free Poland Committee indicated Lozanna as the place where the journal was published, although it was printed in Paris. This did not fool the French censors, who had scare Parisian printers to such an extent that there was no alternative but to print the next issue in Switzerland. Unfortunately, the journal was confiscated in an attempt to transport it across the French border and in this way ended its life on the second issue (Sibora, 1998, pp. 58–59).

allowed any campaign for total independence of Poland (...). Cannons were the one to speak” (Mickiewicz, 2012, p. 929). The only exception was the journal discussed in this article, which lasted the longest of all the emigre newspapers, because for almost half a century it guarded the Polish immigrant culture and the Polish identity.

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