

# FACTORS INFLUENCING DECISIONS AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF POLISH EMIGRANTS AFTER THE KOŚCIUSZKO UPRISING

Michał Balogh

Warsaw University, Institute of History  
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-5673-3524

## Introduction

Few historians have been interested in the problem of Polish emigration after the Kościuszko Uprising, which was only considered in regard to its political aspects, with the exception of Polish Legions in Italy. Among them, one can list Jan Pachoński,<sup>1</sup> Aleksander Kraushar,<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> J. Pachoński, *Legiony Polskie. Prawda czy legenda 1794–1807*, vol. 1–4, Warszawa 1969–1979. However, it concerns mainly the Polish Legions in Italy, in subject of emigration see: Idem, *Emigracja polska w Wenecji w latach 1794–1797*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny” 1968, t. 75, nr 3, pp. 869–893.

<sup>2</sup> He mainly wrote works connected with Wojciech Turcki [A. Kraushar, *Albert Sarmata (Wojciech Turcki)*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny” 1899, t. 13, 1899, pp. 42–68], Franciszek Barss [Idem, *Barss, palestrant warszawski i jego misja polityczna we Francji (1793–1800)*, Warszawa 1904], to which Bogusław Leśnodorski rightly referred with the following words “As usual, he did not do anything else but summarize some documents from the French archives and paint the background.” See: B. Leśnodorski, *Polscy jakobini*, Warszawa 1960, p. 68. My research is based mainly on original manuscripts because not all of Kraushar’s translations are considered precise; A. Kraushar, *Bonneau. Ostatni konsul generalny Rzeczypospolitej Francuzkiej za Stanisława Augusta (1759–1805)*, Lwów 1900. The author, however, mainly reported materials from the French Archives Diplomatiques concerning Poland.

Adam Skałkowski,<sup>3</sup> and Marian Kukiel.<sup>4</sup> My purpose is not to delve into particular aspects of emigration policy, but instead to analyze and illustrate the factors which affected decisions and choice of centers in which Poles decided to stay and be active. It is worth following exiles' experience and competencies, which affected or could have affected their decisions and actions. The first part of the text is devoted to explaining the decisions concerning the ways and manners of their activities, the second one presents the influence of family and financial situation on the activity and realised plans.

The political environment was functioning in an entirely different way in the face of difficulties of emigration, when problems connected to finances, health, family relationship, or correspondence had a totally different dimension than for politicians in service for a normally functioning country. Some correlations, existing between the functioning of particular emigration groups, their efficiency, foundation, causes, and determining factors have not been elaborated and explained yet, however, in my opinion, they have considerable significance for the understanding the mechanisms and patterns of their activity. Many examples and the aforementioned reasoning builds an image that can be useful for further investigation of the topic.

It is worth paying attention to the difficulty of work on this topic since many of the source materials are scattered,<sup>5</sup> probably the majority had disappeared or was destroyed. This was caused not only by the destruction of many archive documents during partitions and wars but also by emigration difficulties. Although some emigrants did collect historical materials to edit them later (for example, Franciszek Barss and Józef Wybicki) and, impressively, they often also saved written diaries and correspondence, one should nonetheless notice that a great part of documents had already disappeared during the Legion period. The prevalent majority of saved materials were used by Jan Pachoński mainly to capture the history of the Polish Legions.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> A. Skałkowski, *O kokardę Legionów*, Lwów 1912; *Archiwum Wybickiego*, vol. 1–3, red. A. Skałkowski, Gdańsk 1948–1950–1978.

<sup>4</sup> M. Kukiel, *Próby powstańcze po trzecim rozbiore: 1795–1797*, Kraków–Warszawa 1912.

<sup>5</sup> For example, the Archive of Agency, Archive of Deputation, and Barss's papers. Entire documentation disappeared at the beginning of the 19th century.

<sup>6</sup> J. Pachoński, *Legiony Polskie*, vol. 1, op. cit., pp. 8–40.

## Emigration centres

In the latter part of 1794, Poles mainly went to Venice, Paris, and German cities. In later years their number had increased in Constantinople, Moldova, and Wallachia. Obviously, it is difficult to mention all of the locations where Poles emigrated, because a lot of them showed up not to take political steps, but as ordinary citizens or guests. In some centres (for example in Constantinople or Stockholm) individuals pursued diplomatic missions.

It is worth considering the choice of specific destinations of emigration. Some Poles were in Venice already in October 1794. The Republic of Venice was located in the centre of Europe and was neutral towards the war with the French Revolution and possessive policy of powers in Central and Western Europe. It was not the first time that it was visited by Poles at the end of the 18th century. Even before the Great Diet, many well-known people were staying there, such as Stanisław Sołtyk or Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz.<sup>7</sup> Five years later, in 1789, Captain Piotr Gołkowski, who was courier on legation's service, and later Piotr Franciszek Potocki with his entourage arrived there for political reasons, on their way to Constantinople.<sup>8</sup> Venice was visited also by Stanisław Staszic in 1790. The Commonwealth was represented there by the diplomatic agent—Joseph Dall'Oglio.<sup>9</sup>

During the Great Diet, Poles encountered great cordiality and support from Venetian authorities.<sup>10</sup> Between 1792 and 1794, we can also find examples of Poles who were in exile there. The most famous Poles in exile there were Stanisław Małachowski, Kazimierz Nestor

<sup>7</sup> J. U. Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, t. 1, red. J. Dihm, Warszawa 1958, pp. 172–176.

<sup>8</sup> The legation has its own source edition dedicated to it, see: *Ostatni poseł polski do Porty Otomańskiej. Akta legacji stambulskiej Franciszka Piotra Potockiego*, t. 1–2, red. K. Walliszewski, Paryż 1894.

<sup>9</sup> J. Łojek, *Materiały do historii polskiej służby zagranicznej w latach 1788–1795*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny” 1962, t. 53, pp. 520–533, also: Dall'Oglio's correspondence with the Polish politicians from 1771–1796, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [further: AGAD], ZP [further: Zbiór Popielów], ms. 495.

<sup>10</sup> A fragment of Potocki's letter to the Deputation is a good example: “Venetians gave numerous and most polite proofs of their kindness and support for our country, that I can find no other way to show my gratitude, but to inform the honorable Deputation about them.” *P. Potocki do Deputacji Spraw Zagranicznych, Patras 13 I 1790, nr 46*, [in:] *Akta legacji*, t. 1, op. cit., p. 103.

Sapieha,<sup>11</sup> and also Stanisław Sołtyk, who was accompanied by Marcin Leżeński,<sup>12</sup> who at that time corresponded directly with the Polish king. Both were planning to travel to Rome before October. Venice was therefore a popular destination, detached from connections with Polish people, though simultaneously we should not attribute a special role to it in previous relations between the states.

In addition, Venice had a location that was very advantageous for emigrants. It was possible to maintain relatively free simultaneous relations with Paris, Constantinople, and Galicia. Messages were transmitted by independent (non-attached) merchants from Trieste, which was also very convenient.<sup>13</sup> In Venice, the function of the French representative was held by Jean Baptiste Lallement.<sup>14</sup> He received the order to treat Poles on a par with the French as equivalent victims of the absolutist regime.<sup>15</sup> He, therefore, served in a friendly manner alongside his son, who was at that time secretary in the embassy. Poles were gathering at the Petrillo inn next to Ponte Rialto. However, they moved to Sento di Francia soon, where in proximity the French embassy was located.<sup>16</sup> Starting with the second half of 1795, the number of emigrants in Venice decreased. Some of them moved to Paris, which was more and more significant in political terms, some were delegated to other centers to carry out their political missions.

Paris had already been a political base for emigrants in 1792. Wojciech Turski was active at that time in the capital of France and at the beginning of the following year Tadeusz Kościuszko,<sup>17</sup> as well as

---

<sup>11</sup> J. Bonneau to M. Descorches, Warsaw 24 XI 1792, Archives Diplomatiques [further: AD], Correspondance Politique [further: CP], Pologne, ms. 320, f. 357.

<sup>12</sup> M. Leżeński to P. Kiciński, Venice 24 X 1792, AGAD, ZP, ms. 371, p. 413; M. Leżeński to Stanisław August, Venice 24 X 1792, AGAD, ZP, ms. 371, pp. 417–418; M. Leżeński to Stanisław August, Rome 26 II 1793, AGAD, ZP, ms. 371, p. 431–432; D. Rolnik, *Szlachta koronna wobec konfederacji targowickiej (maj 1792 –styczeń 1793)*, Katowice 2000, p. 133.

<sup>13</sup> M. Ogiński, *Pamiętniki o Polsce i Polakach od roku 1788 do końca roku 1815*, t. 2, Poznań 1870, p. 62; L. Chodźko, *Histoire des Légions polonaises en Italie, sous le commandement du général Dombrowski*, vol. 1, Paris 1829, p. 90.

<sup>14</sup> J. Pachoński, *Emigracja*, op.cit., p. 871.

<sup>15</sup> L. Chodźko, op. cit., p. 89.

<sup>16</sup> J. Pachoński, *Legiony Polskie*, t. 1, op.cit., pp. 65–66.

<sup>17</sup> Except for many of the biographies of Tadeusz Kościuszko, an important monography about his mission was written by W. M. Kozłowski, *Misja Kościuszki do Paryża w r. 1793*, Lwów 1899.

people on king's service or representing his interests.<sup>18</sup> During the early months of 1794, there were many Polish soldiers who had to leave France soon and joined the Kościuszko Uprising.<sup>19</sup> The difference between the Parisian and Venetian centres is easy to see: Emigrants from the former had high hopes towards the French government, but the Republic of Venice served as a neutral territory of sojourning for the exiles. It was not considered a force when it came to plans and political memorials.

The person around whom the emigrant environment finally gathered was Franciszek Barss, who was present in Paris from the beginning of February 1794.<sup>20</sup> During the whole Kościuszko Uprising, he struggled to gain the support of the Revolutionary Government and remained in the capital after its fall. He was designated to become the leading character of the Polish Agency which was gathering around him. It is obvious that it was easier to cooperate with the Revolutionary government while having permanent access to French elites. With time, more and more Poles flowed to Paris, and it finally became the main emigration centre.<sup>21</sup>

German cities were the third choice, among them Frankfurt, Leipzig, Dresden, and Altona, though none of them had any political significance as Venice or Paris. There were not so many significant persons. Without a doubt Pierre Parandier's appearance in Leipzig was important.<sup>22</sup> He was then delegated to Altona where he stayed for a couple of months before being delegated to Berlin.<sup>23</sup> The emigration to Saxony between 1792 and 1794 and preparations of insurrection by environments of Polish patriots had an undoubted influence on the presence of emigrants in the Reich.

<sup>18</sup> Tadeusz Mostowski, Piotr Maleszewski, Jan Komarzewski, or Scipio Piattoli passed through Paris. The question needs separate consideration.

<sup>19</sup> According to Hipolit Błęszyński's rapport, at least thirty Polish soldiers, including three generals, see: Błęszyński's report, Paris [?] 17 II 1795, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 322, f. 50.

<sup>20</sup> A. Kraushar, *Barss*, op. cit., p. 81.

<sup>21</sup> The information about personal status was presented by Barss: AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 77, 122, 129, 139, 162. According to Pachoński, the number was about fifty (J. Pachoński, *Legiony Polskie*, vol. 1, op.cit., pp. 69, 81), however, it need deeper analysis.

<sup>22</sup> He had been a lawyer in Lyon at first and subsequently took upon the function of Ignacy Potocki's secretary, working with Poles. Owing to that, he understood the language properly and was well aware of the situation. He was active in Leipzig only in January, maybe also at the beginning of February. P. Parandier to Committee of Public Safety, Leipzig 12 I 1795, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 14.

<sup>23</sup> Some of Parandier's rapports from this period are in: AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323; Archives Nationales [further: AN], III, Pologne 74/301.

Saxony was a country showing a kind attitude towards Polish emigrants, where due to uncensored German and French press and relative liberty of correspondence with other Poles remaining in the country, political messages were coming to their community regularly. It is worth paying attention to the location of Saxony—its main cities were visited by French, German, and Russian diplomats. Dresden as capital had political significance, where the political atmosphere was clear. However, Leipzig could have a different status. It is worth paying attention that it was registered in 1792 by the Patriots as a place completely detached from the current politics,<sup>24</sup> where people are relatively friendly and focused on trade.<sup>25</sup> It was illustrated as a place completely unadapted to any kind of conspiracy.<sup>26</sup>

Parandier was informing the Committee of Public Safety from Altona that there were many migrants in Saxony who left the country endangered by Catherina's persecution and the activities of the Russian army. Many of them sympathized with the idea of negotiations with the partitioning countries.<sup>27</sup>

It's important to note that only few people who played any political role between 1792 and 1794 emigrated after Kościuszko Uprising: Franciszek Ksawery Dmochowski, Wojciech Turski, Jan Chrzyciel Komarzewski, Michał Kleofas Ogiński, and Karol Prozor.<sup>28</sup> Those who were closer to Pierre Parandier like Ignacy and Stanisław Kostka Potocki, Hugo Kollątaj, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, and Tadeusz Kościuszko were taken to Russian captivity. Perhaps this is why Parandier's mission in Altona to form a committee turned out to be fruitless<sup>29</sup> and his activity did not provide any major results. Finally, the most significant centres in the first months of emigration appeared to be Venice and Paris.

---

<sup>24</sup> S. Piattoli to Stanisław August, Dresden 11 VIII 1792, Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego imienia Ossolińskich [further: BZNiO], ms. 9675, p. 1075.

<sup>25</sup> *H. Kollątaj do F. Barssa, Lipsk 6 X 1792, nr XXI*, [in:] *Listy Hugona Kollątaja pisane z emigracji w r. 1792, 1793 i 1794.*, t. 1, red. L. Siemieński, Poznań 1872, p. 48.

<sup>26</sup> Stanisław Kostka Potocki to Stanisław August, Leipzig 25 VIII 1792, BZNiO, ms. 9675, p. 1080 (letter added to Piattoli's correspondence).

<sup>27</sup> P. Parandier to Committee of Public Safety, Altona 8 II 1795, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 24–25 (he also mentioned a large emigration in Galicia).

<sup>28</sup> Prozor and Ogiński were on emigration in Saxony but for a relatively short period of time receiving permission for return from leading activists.

<sup>29</sup> However, firstly Venice was compared with Altona as similar committees, see: Report to Committee of Public Safety, Paris [?] 21 II 1795, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 36.

## Emigrants' experience

The functions which emigrants were performing before leaving the country undoubtedly had an influence on their later activity. Even minor experience in the field of diplomacy and the atmosphere of France definitely made their actions easier and allowed them to understand the current political situation better than those with the experience of military service, even at the level of general. Many activists operated in Paris just before the defeat of the Kościuszko Uprising. One of the most prominent of them was Franciszek Barss who was delegated to the capital of the Republic after Kościuszko's fruitless mission at the end of 1793. Deputed by the Polish emigration centre in Leipzig, he was announced to French minister François Louis Desforgues by Parandier, who moved from Leipzig to Paris at minister's command.<sup>30</sup> The capital of France was visited by Barss in February 1794.

His political activity gave him sophistication, connections, and discernment among Parisian elites. Next to him was Kazimierz Skalski La Roche, also French by origin, but born in Poland of a Polish mother.<sup>31</sup> Promoted to colonel degree in French service, he had received the order to set off to Warsaw as secondary secretary and translator next to Marie Louis Descorches, who was then performing a political mission. After the defeat in the war of 1792, he was expelled from the Commonwealth in November.<sup>32</sup>

What is important, La Roche was also active among Polish emigrants just before the Kościuszko Uprising, simultaneously engaged on the Left and cooperating with Wojciech Turcki. He was also interested in the Polish east mission, being a proponent of establishing Polish postal services to the Ottoman Empire, moreover creating a Polish military formation there and in Sweden. He was corresponding in these cases and cooperating with Wojciech Turcki from the Polish side and deputy in Constantinople Marie Louis Descorches from the French side.

<sup>30</sup> A. Kraushar, *Barss*, op.cit., pp. 71–73.

<sup>31</sup> Kazimierz Skalski La Roche was also acquainted with Polish affairs, for a long time he was a correspondent of Paris "Moniteur," moreover he was performing the function of the secretary of the French mission in Warsaw next to minister Descroches. See more: J. Pachoński, J. Reychman, *La Roche Skalski Kazimierz*, "Polski Słownik Biograficzny" 1971, t. 16, pp. 514–516.

<sup>32</sup> C. La Roche to Minister Le Brun, Varsovie 7 XI 1792, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 320, f. 312. As he wrote in his correspondence, finally he left with Wojciech Turcki passing Strasbourg.

Among Poles present in Venice at the turn of 1794 and 1795, Piotr Potocki and Michał Skrzetuski had diplomatic experience; both of them had acted in the mission in the Ottoman Empire, as well as Michał Ogiński, who was an ex-deputy in the Netherlands, and Stanisław Sołtyk—ex-deputy in Austria. They were middle-of-the-road, representing views based on the Third of May Constitution. Obviously, it is difficult to analyse the influence of previous diplomatic experience on every undertaken political action or initiative, however, we can easily illustrate the collective character of main factions and the general result of their activity over two years. It is important to note that around Polish Agency there were people who had previously performed diplomatic functions, namely Barss, La Roche, Potocki, Sołtyk, Ogiński, and moreover Józef Wybicki, who was active during the Confederation of Bar as a politician. The main role in the Polish Deputation was played by Dionizy Mniewski, Gabriel Taszycki, and Franciszek Dmochowski, of whom the last two were mainly publicists.

The situation illustrating the differences, which based on individual experiences, was the speech given before the Convention by Wojciech Turcki, who would be operating in France since 1792.<sup>33</sup> It became famous among Polish emigrants and was received positively by the Patriotic faction, who were in close contact with the king as well as the French elite.<sup>34</sup> Most likely, the Turcki's harangue became the reason for the Deputation to take the speech during the Convention on 22 September 1795. Its initiator was most probably Dmochowski, who was in Saxony in 1792, engaged in the Leipzig faction of the Patriots, and was subsequently one of the leaders of Deputation. The September speech turned out to be one of the most important political actions of Poles at the beginning of their emigration activity. However, it turned out to be a complete failure. The speech was widely criticized, and on top of that, French authorities didn't receive it well at all. Finally, it led to a personal reshuffle in political collocation. The moderate oriented milieus were convinced that Barss would not have made such a mistake.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> The manuscript of Turcki's speech is in the Jagiellonian Library (ms. 3362), it was later reprinted with translation by W. M. Kozłowski, op. cit., pp. 16–19.

<sup>34</sup> P. Parandier to Minister, Leipzig 13 I 1793, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 321, f. 22 and f. 99–100; S. Piattoli to Stanisław August, Dresden 31 I 1793, BZNiO, ms. 9675, p. 1182; "Gazette nationale ou le Moniteur universel" 1794 (1 janvier), pp. 3–4.

<sup>35</sup> See: J. Pachoński, *Legiony Polskie*, t. 1, op. cit., pp. 91–92.

The difference is visible also in the matter of choosing ways, which were supposed to lead to the realization of political goals. The Constitutional faction pursued cooperation with European diplomacy by unofficial political missions, while simultaneously getting help from French diplomatic representation. Michał Ogiński was delegated to Constantinople, Aleksander Walknowski to Stockholm,<sup>36</sup> Ignacy Ledóchowski to Berlin, talks were held with Barthélemy in Basel. Finally, the discussions with Bonaparte in Milan gave real success at the beginning of January 1797—the Polish Legions were created in Italy. Contrary to these measures, the Polish Deputation was based on national conspiracy, which is illustrated by the Lviv Centre (*Centralizacja Lwowska*), Romuald Giedroyc's activity in Lithuania or later Polish Republicans' Society (*Towarzystwo Republikanów Polskich*). They were against creating Polish troops in allied countries<sup>37</sup> but wanted to pursue unreal plans, namely, restore the Commonwealth purely by the national power. Even though the faction of “diplomats” was trying to act according to their competences, they were not successful. The missions in Constantinople and Stockholm brought no benefits but creating the Polish Legions was undoubtedly a unique success. It is difficult to decide if it was the fruit of political experience, the coincidence of circumstances, and Bonaparte's successes or perhaps French business. With great probability, we can suppose that without earlier activity in the diplomatic field, the project could not have been undertaken and realized.

### Family situation

In many cases, emigrants' family and financial status influenced their political activity; for not everyone could afford to travelling with their close ones. Therefore it was easier to act for people without family nor real estate because they weren't bound by responsibility while making

<sup>36</sup> Verninac was recommended for the Polish missions to Stockholm and Constantinople, see: M. Ogiński, op. cit., p. 72. More about Ogiński's mission in his memoirs, which include documents and letters written by politicians of the period. AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323. There are brief mentions about Walknowski in: A. Skałkowski, *O kokardę*, op.cit., p. 37; Extrait d'une lettre des Polonois Réfugiés, Paris 3 Messidor an 4e, AN, AFIII, Pologne 74/301.

<sup>37</sup> Simultaneously republicans had a critical attitude towards “Polish aristocracy, who shivers at the very notion of the reawakening of peasants,” see: J. K. Szaniawski to NN, Paris, 22 X 1797, Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich, ms. 3930, pp. 118–121.

decisions. Matters of family and finances were included in emigrant dispute.<sup>38</sup>

Many of the emigrants had wives and children who either stayed in their estates or traveled with the head of the family. It often was an effect of the financial situation which was a result of the invaders' politics. The connections between emigrant political activity and family can be seen after 1792. Correspondence shows that Ignacy Potocki was regularly informed about his daughter and waiting for her,<sup>39</sup> Stanisław Kostka Potocki awaited his spouse, just like Stanisław Sołtan, and wife allegedly came to aid ill Józef Mostowski.<sup>40</sup>

The Franciszek Barss' family<sup>41</sup> hadn't been much around him before 1795.<sup>42</sup> It was because the lawyer first went to Vienna, then to Leipzig and Paris. What is important, he left his wife with two young daughters, and a man's absence complicated a lot of matters. However, it is known that Luiza Barss followed her husband with their daughters and *la femme de confiance* to Paris.<sup>43</sup> They lived at Rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré 33, near Rue d'Anjou.<sup>44</sup> Poles emigrating to Saxony after the Insurrection's fall traveled with their families, which Parandier pointed out.<sup>45</sup>

Michał Ogiński also traveled with his spouse. Having arrived in Vienna where he reconciled with her, after ten days under the name Michałowski, they departed to Venice.<sup>46</sup> He remained in touch with

---

<sup>38</sup> Kollątaj may serve as an example here, as seen in his letter to Barss: "If you are to suffer and ready to put your wife and children to a similar fate, now is the time, but consider in your heart whether your will agree with that of your wife and the fate of your children," *H. Kollątaj do F. Barssa, Lipsk 6 X 1792, nr XXI*, [in:] *Listy Hugona Kollątaja*, t. I, pp. 48–49.

<sup>39</sup> *J. Dembowski do I. Potockiego, Warszawa 8 VIII 1792, nr 4*, [in:] *Tajna korespondencja z Warszawy 1792–1794 do Ignacego Potockiego*, red. M. Rymaszyna, A. Zahorski, Warszawa 1961, p. 28; *J. Dembowski do I. Potockiego, Warszawa 25 VIII 1792, nr 12*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 39.

<sup>40</sup> S. Piattoli to Stanisław August, Dresden 22 XI 1792, BZNIo, ms. 9675, p. 1147.

<sup>41</sup> Daughters Julianna and Franciszka, and wife Luiza, daughter of the Warsaw president Warsaw Andrzej Rafałowicz. *Liste des Polonais qui se trouvent à Paris et qui sont connus de l'Agence Polonaise*, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 77; A. Kraushar, *Barss*, op.cit., p. 11.

<sup>42</sup> A. Kraushar, *Barss*, op.cit., p. 19.

<sup>43</sup> *Liste des Polonais qui se trouvent à Paris et qui sont connus de l'Agence Polonaise*, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 77.

<sup>44</sup> J. C. Méhée to Minister B. Barère, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 73; J. Pachoński, *Legiony Polskie*, t. 1, op. cit., p. 70.

<sup>45</sup> P. Parandier to Committee of Public Safety, Altona 8 II 1795, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 24.

<sup>46</sup> M. Ogiński, op. cit., p. 56. However, since it is difficult to unambiguously specify which of the migrants took refuge with his family, one has to assume that not every one

her while completing the mission in Constantinople.<sup>47</sup> According to François Cacault, Karol Prozor left his wife, children, and estate and emigrated.<sup>48</sup> Marian Dubiecki recorded that Prozor also left his mother, who lived in Żółkiew's Basilian monastery with her chamberlain. Probably, during his three-week-long wait for a passport in Jarosław, Prozor saw his family for the last time.<sup>49</sup> According to Lallement's report, his two-year-old child was held hostage by the Russians.<sup>50</sup> Having heard about the Kościuszko Uprising, general Franciszek Łażniński<sup>51</sup> left his wife and child in Ukraine. Kazimierz La Roche was accompanied by his mother, Pole by birth.

Romuald Giedroyc had the possibility of connecting his service towards the motherland with the family life, simultaneously overseeing his estate. He went to Lithuania in summer 1796<sup>52</sup> where he was to observe the social moods.<sup>53</sup> It appears that this choice wasn't only caused by Giedroyc's familiarity with the area, but the purpose was to allow him to contact with his family as well. Dmochowski in 1797 didn't hesitate to visit Hamburg where his numerous cousins lived.<sup>54</sup> A clear example of emigrants caring for their families is Wybicki's attitude. In the letter to Sandoz-Rollin, a Prussian representative in Paris, he was expressed his concern about his wife, Estera, and three children, Teresa, Józef, and Łukasz, who were staying in Southern Prussia. According to the letter, at this time he had not had any information about his family for ten months<sup>55</sup>.

---

of these mentioned it in his documents, even more so, that it has to be stressed that most of those papers do not exist anymore.

<sup>47</sup> F. Rymkiewicz do T. Wysogierda, *Konstantynopol 16 II 1797, nr 63*, [in:] W. Smoleński, *Emigracja polska w latach 1795–1797. Materiały Historyczne*, Warszawa 1911, p. 89. Ogiński's wife lived in Brunswick during his absence.

<sup>48</sup> F. Cacault to Committee of Public Safety, Florence 7 II 1795, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 20–21.

<sup>49</sup> M. Dubiecki, *Karol Prozor, obożny w. w. ks. litew.*, Kraków 1897, p. 269.

<sup>50</sup> Lallement to 2e Section, Venice AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 22.

<sup>51</sup> The informations are in Lallement's report, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 200–207.

<sup>52</sup> Case of passport's issuance in AN, AFIII, ms. Pologne 74/301.

<sup>53</sup> "Dombrowski rencontra chez la palatine Zieberg le général Romuald Giedroyc, qui allait rejoindre sa famille en Lithuanie, et qui s'était chargé en même temps de sonder l'esprit de cette province." L. Chodźko, op. cit., p. 134.

<sup>54</sup> Jan Dembowski do P. Potockiego, *Paryż 9 IV 1797, nr 28*, [in:] W. Smoleński, *Emigracja*, op. cit., p. 39.

<sup>55</sup> J. Wybicki o D. Sandoz-Rollina, *Paryż 1795, nr 127*, [in:] *Archiwum Wybickiego*, t. 1, red. A. Skalkowski, Gdańsk 1948, p. 208.

It is therefore visible that family relations had their weight and were developed, given the possibility. In the case of selected migrants, the family and political life were partially combined, which in some matter projected onto their actions.

Family matters were pressed during the dispute over the formation of national representation which was meant to continue the Great Diet. The projects' creators were, above all, the moderates. They intended to call the national representation in Milan to prolong the state's continuity. Ogiński, representing a stance differing from the moderates in that matter, believed that „it is unreasonable, inhumane and unworthy to call upon peaceful owners to leave their estates, separating fathers from their children, and expose them to a self-contradictory motion, uncertain, and useless in my belief.”<sup>56</sup> Eventually, plans of limited Sejm's continuation failed. Without any doubt, difficulties regarding such a great distance and leaving families and estates in the home country did contribute to the failure.

## Finances

Besides family matters, the financial status of the Polish migrants greatly affected their activity and their possibilities of action, but also caused disputes. It is worth noting that among the activists' petty nobility predominated, engaged in the country's political life in varying degrees, but not holding major offices.<sup>57</sup> Loss of estate due to the invaders' repressions was common among the migrants.<sup>58</sup> Among people in possession of somewhat more significant property, there were Piotr Franciszek Potocki, Dionizy Mniewski (who financially supported the Venetian party<sup>59</sup>), or Stanisław Sołtyk. Stanisław Kostka Potocki spent some time in Venice as well and had a significant estate<sup>60</sup> but he didn't play a great role after 1794. At least at the beginning, Michał Ogiński

---

<sup>56</sup> M. Ogiński, op. cit., p. 222.

<sup>57</sup> With exceptions of people like Michał Kleofas Ogiński or Piotr Potocki.

<sup>58</sup> Lallement to 2e Section, Venice, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 22–23; Iwaszkiewicz provides the index, mentioning among the landowners who lost their estates after the second and third partitions: Zagórski, Michał Ogiński, Józef Wybicki, Ksawery Dąbrowski, Antoni Prusiński, and Dionizy Mniewski, see: J. Iwaszkiewicz, *Wykaz dóbr ziemskich skonfiskowanych przez rządy zaborcze w latach 1773–1867*, Warszawa 1929, pp. 16–19.

<sup>59</sup> J. Pachoński, *Emigracja*, op.cit., p. 874.

<sup>60</sup> Sz. Askenazy, *Napoleon a Polska*, Warszawa–Kraków 1918, p. 88.

did possess some wealth.<sup>61</sup> He was rid of demesne profiting about million zlotys per year because of his refusal of returning to the estate and informed by the invader's decision that he was forbidden to return. Before his travel to Constantinople, he received 2,000 gold ducats,<sup>62</sup> the last money from his demesne.<sup>63</sup> Many didn't possess any funds during their departure from the motherland. Alojzy Sulistrowski, for example, went to Italy while indebted and probably in a significant manner, since this information was highlighted in the document.<sup>64</sup>

The funds were raised by any means possible. Some came from secret political organisations in the country and fundraisers (mainly from Galicia). There were also examples of financing of the Poles by the French,<sup>65</sup> however, one can find out about financial support provided by more opulent activists.<sup>66</sup>

One such example is Starost of Szczerzec Piotr Potocki, who stayed in Venice. He was able to support the refugees materially. In August 1796, Karol Prozor addressed the letter to Potocki with requests for money for a public cause, due to increasing problems,<sup>67</sup> just like Ogiński who was at the time in the capital of the Ottoman Empire asked him for the funds.<sup>68</sup> Further examples can be found by following the correspondence from that year's November. Potocki then donated 500 zlotys to Jan Henryk Dąbrowski, Wojczyński, and Tremo for their journey to Italy.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>61</sup> J. Pachoński, *Emigracja*, op. cit., p. 873; Departing with his wife from Vienna to Venice in Autumn 1794, he had "several hundred ducats." The author mentions those funds as being insufficient for his needs and the Ogiński's estate was confiscated because he refused to return to the country, see: M. Ogiński, op. cit., pp. 56–59

<sup>62</sup> For second half of the eighteenth century one talar had value of 7,28 Polish zlotys, one ducat—about 17,4 Polish zlotys. *Historia Polski w liczbach*, vol. 2, red. F. Kubiczek, A. Jezierski, A. Wyczański, Warszawa 2006, p. 153.

<sup>63</sup> He received the money on 1 November 1795 in Venice; see: *ibidem*, p. 85.

<sup>64</sup> Lallement to 2e Section, Venice, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 22.

<sup>65</sup> Ogiński who persuaded Verninac into supporting financially few Poles in Istanbul, may serve as an example, see: *F. Rymkiewicz do obywateli Galicji, Konstantynopol 17 VIII 1796*, nr 39, [in:] W. Smoleński, *Emigracja*, op. cit., p. 50.

<sup>66</sup> J. Pachoński, *Emigracja*, op.cit., pp. 872–873.

<sup>67</sup> *K. Prozor do P. Potockiego, 11 VIII 1796*, [in:] W. Smoleński, *Emigracja*, op. cit., p. 9; also correspondence from a day later.

<sup>68</sup> "Have mercy, citizen, think of me and make sure that whatever money is sent to me. It is known to you that I am living on my meager fund so far." *M. Ogiński do P. Potockiego, Konstantynopol 31 VIII 1796*, nr 41, [in:] W. Smoleński, *Emigracja*, op.cit., p. 55.

<sup>69</sup> J. Wybicki, *Życie moje*, Wrocław 2010, p. 234.

At the same time, Macon requested money because he didn't have anything to live on. Having received 450 talars from unknown donors and two little rings sold for 20 talars, he shared the money with Jabłonowski.<sup>70</sup> According to the correspondence, financial support amounting to 20 talars was granted to him by Ogiński as well.<sup>71</sup>

It can be questioned whether Potocki indeed administered his own finances or on behalf of the emigration powers. In 1797, he could afford the purchase a palace in Ostów around Mielnik<sup>72</sup> and he bought an estate around Dresden.<sup>73</sup>

The amounts needed by the emigrants weren't high. Relying on the relations of the Polish envoys to the Ottoman Empire, it can be deduced that monthly upkeep required around 30 ducats. A disproportion of prices is to be considered because in Italy currency's worth was different and in the Ottoman Empire prices of goods did differ from Western Europe or Poland. Potocki, having been in Venice years before, recounts that "in this city, there is a great dearth on everything."<sup>74</sup> In comparison, Ogiński rented an apartment in Istanbul, for which he paid 100 ducats annually and a similar amount for the furniture.<sup>75</sup> Sending a courier from Constantinople cost a similar price.<sup>76</sup>

On more than one occasion the migrants' push for the creation of armed forces aiding foreign powers can be noted (which could give them employment).<sup>77</sup> This conclusion concerns mostly emigrants hav-

---

<sup>70</sup> In the manuscript: "Obywatelowi Jabłon...", look: Macon [F. Rymkiewicz] to P. Potocki, Constantinople 20 XI 1796, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, ms. 40; For example, some palace antiques and wines were sold to gain funds for Tremo's and La Roche's journey to the east and to obtain money for the further existence of emigration, see: J. Pachonński, *Legiony Polskie*, t. 1, op. cit., p. 90.

<sup>71</sup> In the manuscript: "O..." (only letter).

<sup>72</sup> *Akt sprzedaży placu pod miastem Mielnikiem Fran. Piotrowi Potockiemu, staroście szczyrzeckiemu, przez Franciszka Wyrzykowskiego 1797*, AGAD, Zbiór Anny z Potockich Ksawerowej Branickiej, ms. 605.

<sup>73</sup> M. Czeppe, *Potocki Franciszek Piotr*, "Polski Słownik Biograficzny" 1984–1985, t. 28, p. 131.

<sup>74</sup> *P. Potocki do Deputacji Spraw Zagranicznych, Wenecja 12 IX 1789, nr 28*, [in:] *Akta legacy*, t. 1, op. cit., p. 74.

<sup>75</sup> *F. Rymkiewicz to Weytynowski [S. Sołtyk] obywateli Galicji, Konstantynopol 20 III 1797, nr 64*, [in:] W. Smoleński, *Emigracja*, op. cit., p. 92.

<sup>76</sup> *M. Ogiński do P. Potockiego, Konstantynopol 31 VIII 1796, nr 41*, [in:] W. Smoleński, *Emigracja*, op. cit., p. 55.

<sup>77</sup> "The public cause has always been the only one for me. I have supported it not only with my sword but also with my pen. Now I am doing the latter, but wishing for the times when I can also do the former." Macon [F. Rymkiewicz] to P. Potocki, 1 X 1796, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, ms. 40.

ing a military status without a regular salary. It is obviously combined with the patriotic idea of creating Polish foreign military force, however, the improvement of one's material status became even more necessary. For example, Wojciech Turcki, sent from Paris to Sublime Porte with the task of organising Turkish cavalry, received a yearly salary of 7,000 piastres, equivalent to 1,000 ducats.<sup>78</sup> Between 1794 and 1795 the hopes of the Poles in Constantinople were supported by the French politicians who promised financial aid<sup>79</sup>.

It is worth noting that even in 1795, few migrants could afford to maintain their staff in Paris.<sup>80</sup> It is, however, difficult to assess exact costs and relations between the activists and *les hommes de confiance*.

Dealing with French politicians usually required financial effort as well—for example, a well-known method of persuading Parisian elite members were parties hosted by Poles. Often there was a plain shortage of money to buy French officials' sympathy. This was the goal for which Prozor needed so many funds. He wrote to Potocki: "While we need to communicate more closely with the French, we need to make friendships, we cannot afford to pay for dinner for a few people even if we put all our money together."<sup>81</sup> Before the failed Deputation's appearance before the Commission on 22 September 1795, a sumptuous dinner had been served to some of its members, which also must have jeopardized the finances of the emigration leadership.<sup>82</sup> The clashes caused by such issues were hardly avoidable, especially after the secession of the republican Deputation. On 3 November 1795, Franciszek Dmochowski attacked Kazimierz la Roche, accusing him that "he manages the emigration palace lavishly and for his own benefit."<sup>83</sup>

Undoubtedly, the poor finances halted, slowed down, or complicated political activity, for it was difficult to freely operate on such a vast area of Europe, taking into account correspondence and delegated missions, without a permanent income. It was due to that, among other reasons,

<sup>78</sup> M. Ogiński, op. cit., p. 106; J. Pachonński, *Słownik biograficzny oficerów Legionów Polskich 1796–1807*, Kraków 1998–2003, p. 319.

<sup>79</sup> A. Kraushar, *Barss*, op. cit., p. 275

<sup>80</sup> AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 77–77, 122.

<sup>81</sup> *K. Prozor do P. Potockiego, 11 VIII 1796, nr 10* [in:] W. Smoleński, *Emigracja*, op. cit., p. 9.

<sup>82</sup> Sz. Askenazy, op. cit., p. 98.

<sup>83</sup> The initiator of the idea of purchasing and maintaining the palace as well as organizing parties for French politics was Karol Prozor: J. Pachonński, *Legiony Polskie*, t. 1, op. cit., p. 90; Prozor cites his response to La Roche's information that there are still funds for maintaining the palace for emigrants for three months more, Rapperswil Collections, ms. 114, II, p. 30–36.

that the emigrants rushed to organise military units and sought employment in the French army.<sup>84</sup> This plan ultimately succeeded despite a considerable resistance on the Deputation's behalf and ultimately the Polish Legions in Italy were formed at the beginning of the year 1797.

## Conclusion

As can be easily seen, besides politics, decisions of the most important leaders, and ongoing military conflicts, secondary factors, while hardly evident, had considerable importance—especially in case of emigration realities. The factors stretching across two axes, namely “vertical”—chronological—and “horizontal”—actual, caused by family and material status—collide with each other. The resultant force of those wasn't overshadowed by the primary factors, like general European politics and conflicts. It is hard to understand the detailed history of Polish emigration, especially in face of such a difficult and complicated period, without a profound analysis of all the particular circumstances. Studies are also held back by the fact that large parts of the materials have been lost or destroyed.

The above examples are not exhaustive but representative. Without a doubt, studies concerning contemporary realities of traveling, daily life and prosopography, and biographistics of the characters behind these events could allow further exploration of the matters tackled in this article. It is also necessary to state that the subject of emigration activity requires separate treatment and methods which results not only from the difficulties concerning the availability of source material but also of the necessity of understanding the contemporary political, social, and economic conditions in the context of both elites (abroad) and migrants, a social group which is difficult to describe.

## Bibliography

### **Manuscripts**

Archives Diplomatiques du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères de La Courneve: Correspondance Politique, Pologne, ms. 320, 321, 322, 323.

---

<sup>84</sup> Poles on the French service were numerous before 1794. Józef Miączyński, Klaudiusz Łazowski, or Józef Sułkowski, to name just a few, were the most famous ones.

- Archives Nationales de France, AFIII, Ms. Pologne 74/301.  
Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie: 12 Zbiór Popielów (ms. 371, 495); 336 Archiwum Roskie (ms. 40); 338 Zbiór Anny z Potockich Ksawerowej Branickiej (ms. 605).  
Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich: Ms. 3929, 3930.  
Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich: Ms. 9675, 9751.  
Biblioteka Jagiellońska: Ms. 3362.

### Published sources

- Archiwum Wybickiego*, t. 1–2, red. A. Skałkowski, Gdańsk 1948–1950.  
*Archiwum Wybickiego*, t. 3, red. A. Bukowski, Gdańsk 1978.  
*Listy Hugona Kołłątaja pisane z emigracji*, red. L. Siemieński, Poznań 1872.  
Niemcewicz J. U., *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, t. 1, red. J. Dihm, Warszawa 1958.  
Ogiński M., *Pamiętniki o Polsce i Polakach od roku 1788 do końca roku 1815*, t. 2, Poznań 1870.  
*Ostatni poseł polski do Porty Otomańskiej. Akta legacji stambulskiej Franciszka Piotra Potockiego*, t. 1–2, red. K. Waliszewski, Paryż 1894.  
Smoleński W., *Emigracja polska w latach 1795–1797*, Warszawa 1911.  
*Tajna korespondencja z Warszawy do Ignacego Potockiego 1792–1794*, red. M. Rymyszyna, A. Zahorski, Warszawa 1961.  
Wybicki J., *Życie moje*, Wrocław 2010.

### Literature and articles

- Askenazy S., *Napoleon a Polska*, t. 1–3, Warszawa 1918–1919.  
Chodźko L., *Histoire des Légions polonaises en Italie, sous le commandement du général Dombrowski*, t. 1–2, Paris 1829.  
Czeppe M., *Potocki Franciszek Piotr*, “Polski Słownik Biograficzny” 1984–1985, t. 28, p. 131.  
Czubaty J., *Zasada „dwóch sumień”: normy postępowania i granice kompromisu politycznego Polaków w sytuacjach wyboru, 1795–1815*, Warszawa 2005.  
Dubiecki M., *Karol Prozor, oboźny w. w. ks. litew.*, Kraków 1897.  
Iwazkiewicz J., *Wykaz dóbr ziemskich skonfiskowanych przez rządy zaborcze w latach 1773–1867*, Warszawa 1929.  
*Historia Polski w liczbach*, vol. 2, red. F. Kubiczek, A. Jezierski, A. Wyczański, Warszawa 2006.  
Konopczyński W., *Polska a Turcja 1683–1795*, Warszawa 1936.  
Kozłowski W. M., *Misja Kościuszki do Paryża w r. 1793*, Lwów 1899.

- Kraushar A., *Albert Sarmata (Wojciech Turski)*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny” 1899, t. 13, pp. 42–68.
- Kraushar A., *Barss palestrant warszawski. Jego misja polityczna we Francji (1793–1800). Ze źródeł archiwalnych*, Warszawa 1904.
- Kraushar A., *Bonneau. Ostatni konsul generalny Rzeczypospolitej Francuskiej za Stanisława Augusta (1759–1805)*, Lwów 1900.
- Kukiel M., *Dzieje oręża polskiego w epoce napoleońskiej 1795–1815*, Poznań 1912.
- Kukiel M., *Próby powstańcze po trzecim rozbiore: 1795–1797*, Kraków–Warszawa 1912.
- Leśnodorski B., *Polscy jakobini. Karta z dziejów insurekcji 1794 roku*, Warszawa 1960.
- Łojek J., *Materiały do historii polskiej służby zagranicznej w latach 1788–1795* Kwartalnik Historyczny, 1962, t. 53, pp. 520–533.
- Pachoński J., *Emigracja polska w Wenecji w latach 1794–1797*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny” 1968, t. 75, nr 3, pp. 869–893.
- Pachoński J., *Legiony Polskie. Prawda czy legenda 1794–1807*, t. 1–4, Warszawa 1969–1979.
- Pachoński J., Reychman J., *La Roche Skalski Kazimierz*, „Polski Słownik Biograficzny” 1971, t. 16, pp. 514–516.
- Reychman J., *Pomiędzy Warszawą a Stambulem. Kontakty i oddźwięki insurekcji kościuszkowskiej w Europie Południowo-Wschodniej*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny” 1966, t. 73, nr 2, pp. 291–325.
- Reychman J., *Życie polskie w Stambule w XVIII w.*, Warszawa 1959.
- Rolnik D., *Szlachta koronna wobec konfederacji targowickiej (maj 1792 – styczeń 1793)*, Katowice 2000.
- Skałkowski A., *O cześć imienia polskiego*, Lwów 1908.
- Skałkowski A., *O kokardę Legionów*, Lwów 1915.
- Zajewski W., *Józef Wybicki*, Warszawa 1989.

## Abstract

After the fall of Kościusko Uprising many Poles who had been actively involved in it had to leave the country. They mainly went to Venice, German cities, and Paris in order to take political action or look for refuge. However, the selection of the locations was conditioned by previous experience of the activists and the ever-changing political situation. These factors also affected other emigrants' decisions. Their

impact on the efficiency of migrants' actions may be seen in many examples. Similarly, their financial and family situation had a considerable influence which determined undertaken activity. It is important to remember that factors from outside of the political mainstream also had their toll on the migrants' decisions and outcomes of undertaken activity, and on more than one occasion they had a defining character.

Keywords: Polish emigration, France, Venice, Polish Agency, Polish Deputation, partitions of Poland, 18th century

### Author

Michał Balogh is a graduate of the University of Science and Technology (engineering studies), Jagiellonian University (BA and MA studies), and Université d'Orléans (MA studies), currently a PhD student at the University of Warsaw. His theses were devoted to the history of France and Poland at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries. In the 2018/2019 academic year, the President of the Academic Society of Student Historians of the Jagiellonian University. Author of several articles and co-authorship of the source edition (M. Balogh, P. Kuc, *Protokół Czynności Wydziału Interesów Zagranicznych Rady Najwyższej Narodowej*, Krakow 2020).