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“I THANK MY LUCKY STAR FOR THE TIME SPENT WITH MY FAMILY”: EFFORTS TO REUNITE WITH FAMILIES AMONG MEMBERS OF THE GREAT EMIGRATION*

Abstract: The present text brings to light the social and political challenges of reuniting with families among members of the Great Emigration and the intricate question of the possibility of travel and permanent or partial return from emigration. These questions are examined through two case studies: that of Władysław Zamoyski and his three attempts at a short-term reunion with his family, and that of Józef Głębocki and his struggles to obtain a one-year return to Austrian Galicia. The main focus of the analysis is the communication between the emigrants, their family members, and representatives of the Austrian Empire. Despite many differences, the same elements can be found in both cases, such as the emphasis on the emotional difficulty of emigration for the emigrants and their families and the desire to be reunited with elderly and sick parents. Declarations of non-political purposes of the return to Austria and financial guarantees of material assets of the émigrés are mentioned as arguments for their cases. At the same time, the analysed cases also shed light on the societal and political challenges faced by the emigrants when communicating with Austrian authorities and the problem of the long-term consequences of the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Keywords: Great Emigration, Galicia, Austrian Empire, Władysław Zamoyski, Konstanty Czartoryski, Klemens von Metternich, Józef Ezechiel Głębocki, Aniela Głębocka

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INTRODUCTION

It would not be an exaggeration to suggest that Władysław Zamoyski's statement quoted in the title of this article speaks for itself.¹ Even with his social prominence, consistent mobility and broad connections, as well as his undoubtedly significant work for the Hôtel Lambert, he still experienced moments of emotional suffering from the fact that the emigration after 1831 prevented him from spending as much time as he would wish with his parents and siblings. Yet, he was still one of the fortunate ones who at least had some opportunities to meet with his family, as confirmed by the letter that contains this quote, sent to his brother August after a visit to his father Stanisław Kostka Zamoyski and other members of the family in Vienna during the summer of 1838.

This article focuses on the family as an area of needs and desires among members of the Great Emigration, specifically in the case of those emigrants who actively tried to reunite with family members. This analysis is juxtaposed with the question of a return from emigration, either temporary or permanent since any family reunion would be impossible without crossing the border of the mother country. Thus, the main question the study seeks to answer is whether and to what extent there was an effort in the Polish emigrant community to re-establish relations with family members who did not emigrate. This is done by analysing two specific examples in which family or the intention to reunite with family members left behind became a reason for actions. In addition to Władysław Zamoyski and his three attempts to visit his family in Vienna (in 1838 and 1839) and in Gräfenberg² (1841), attention is also focused on one of the lesser-known figures of the Great Emigration, Józef Ezechiel Głębocki, who lived in Strasburg at the time he lodged his appeal, trying to secure a visit to his mother in Galicia. In both cases, the protagonists communicated their appeals to the Austrian government. Apart from this similarity, each case has a variety of unique characteristics. The presented text might, therefore,

¹ The actual words in Polish are as follows: “[...] dziękuję mojej dobrej gwiazdce za pobyt wśród rodziny [...]”, Władysław Zamoyski, *Generał Zamoyski, 1803–1868*, iv: 1837–1847 (Poznań, 1918), 17.

² Today's Lázně Jeseník, part of the town Jeseník in the Olomouc Region, Czech Republic. In 1822, Vincenz Prießnitz founded the first modern hydrotherapeutic institute in the world in the city, which gained immediate popularity.

provide partial conclusions concerning various phenomena – particularly, but not exclusively, answers to questions about the emotional desire among members of the Great Emigration to reunite with family and potentially return to the homeland; the question of the émigrés' communication strategies and their interactions with foreign governments (e.g. the role their social status played in these interactions); the (im)possibility of a complete severing of various relationships (interpersonal, economic); and the long-term consequences of the geopolitical upheavals in the territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth that began in the 1770s on the life of Polish émigrés during the 1830s and 1840s.

The majority of Polish émigrés who headed west after the unsuccessful November Uprising in 1830–1831 had lost much more than the hope of regaining the political independence of their country. They lost their homes, families, properties, and occupations, and in the end, many even questioned their identity. After all, most insurrectionists who crossed the Polish-Prussian border in the autumn of 1831 decided to return to the Kingdom of Poland and not emigrate. As Norbert Kasperek suggests, there were intense debates about whether to emigrate or return. Questions concerning family, property, education, and future life in general were relevant factors in many cases in the decision-making.³ Naturally, emigrants who crossed the Polish-Austrian border found themselves in a similar situation, although the Galician context was slightly different. However, for those who eventually decided to emigrate, the prospect might not have seemed so dark initially. The initial march through the territories of the German Confederation almost resembled a triumphant procession.⁴ Locals openly expressed support, nationalist songs were being sung, and numerous celebrations of brave Polish soldiers were organised.⁵ Nevertheless, all this happened in the spirit of hope for an early (and

³ Norbert Kasperek, 'Żołnierze powstania listopadowego w Prusach. Powroty i emigracja', *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie*, 1 (1993), 77–94.

⁴ Józef Alfons Potrykowski recalled that there was a considerable difference between travel through Prussia and the rest of the German Confederation. Only the latter welcomed émigrés in a cordial manner. See Józef Alfons Potrykowski, *Tulactwo Polaków we Francji. Dziennik emigranta*, 1 (Kraków, 1974), 80–1.

⁵ For a detailed analysis, see Lubomir Gadon, *Przejście Polaków przez Niemcy po upadku powstania listopadowego* (Poznań, 1889); Sławomir Kalembka, *Wielka Emigracja. Polskie wychodźstwo polityczne w latach 1831–1862* (Warszawa, 1971), 24–37.

victorious) return to the homeland. As Robert Williams suggests, this attitude had always been the general pattern for mass (political) emigration. However, what usually followed was the consequential recognition of the permanence of exile, which typically led to the prevalence of tragedy and loneliness among the émigré community.⁶ Generally, this transformation of ideals results from the limited ability, or, in some cases, inability, to fulfil everyday needs, which would provide the first reminder of the severity of life in emigration.⁷ In the case of the Great Emigration, one first-hand account of this persistent economic deprivation are records of appeals addressed to French authorities. A certain part of these appeals was preserved by the collaborators of Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, who either by request from his fellow countrymen or by his own decision advocated for their causes in front of the French government. Increasing, restoring, or retaining governmental subsidies was the primary motive for these appeals.⁸ Even though financial difficulties were the most common and probably the most crucial everyday problem that the émigrés had to deal with, the list of negative impacts of emigration was much longer. Among them was, naturally, the disruption of family relationships.

My conclusions are mainly based on the analysis of primary sources held in the collection of Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna, in the fonds *Staatskanzlei – Provinzen – Galizien*.⁹ The collection is generally quite limited, with only a few letters of appeal preserved, and neither of the others provides details of the appellant's situation.

⁶ Robert C. Williams, 'European Political Emigrations: A Lost Subject', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, xxii, 2 (1970), 140–2.

⁷ The first moment of disillusion could occur even before the financial issues. Potrykowski mentions the disappointment of émigrés when they learned that France was not at war with Russia, contrary to what they were initially told. See Potrykowski, *Tulactwo Polaków we Francji*, i, 80–1.

⁸ Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie (Princes Czartoryski Library in Kraków; hereinafter: BCz), 3898 II, 'Spisy treści próśb polskich emigrantów do urzędów francuskich z lat 1847–1850'; BCz 5318 II, 'Dziennik próźb podawanych przez emigrantów do rządu, a apostilowanych przez księcia. 1839–1840'; BCz 5319 II, 'Prośby emigrantów polskich do władz francuskich wysłane z poparciem księcia Adama Jerzego Czartoryskiego, 1842–1844'.

⁹ Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Wien (hereinafter: HHStA), Diplomatie un Außenpolitik vor 1848, Staatskanzlei (1500–1860), Provinzen (1577–1867), Galizien (1775–1851), boxes 1–7.

There are only three pieces of writing related to the case of Józef Głębocki, of which he authored none. The studied correspondence records the efforts of his mother, Aniela, who tried to support her son's appeal. The manuscripts at the Princes Czartoryski Library in Kraków shed more light on Głębocki's life and experience in emigration and even before emigration but contain no information about his attempt to visit Galicia in the relevant preserved writings. Concerning Zamoyski, the Viennese collection includes his and his uncle Konstanty Czartoryski's correspondence with the Austrian chancellor Klemens von Metternich. Konstanty resided in Vienna and supported his nephew's appeal in 1838. Zamoyski's memoirs also deserve a mention, mainly thanks to the transcription of his correspondence with family members.¹⁰

For the general overview of the question of the capacity of the émigrés to travel and, therefore, reunite with the family, I analysed the records of émigrés who appealed to the French government and asked Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski to support their cases.¹¹ While studying these records, one must bear in mind that not only do they cover only a restricted period (1839–1844 and 1847–1849), but more importantly, communication with the French government through Czartoryski was not the only option; therefore, these records show only a part of the mosaic. Nevertheless, as an illustration, these records may provide a broader context for actual case studies on which the text focuses.

A PASSPORT AS A REQUIREMENT FOR A FAMILY REUNION

In circumstances of emigration, reuniting with a family was inseparable from the question of capacity to travel. Only a few women and children joined the first wave of the Poles who left the country after the failure of the November Uprising in 1831. In her sociocultural analysis of this Great Polish Emigration, Alina Witkowska even puts forward the social category of "the culture of single men," which, in her opinion, characterises most of the émigré community.¹² Records of one of the

¹⁰ Zamoyski, *Jeneral Zamoyski*, iv.

¹¹ Cf. fn. 9.

¹² Alina Witkowska, *Cześć i skandale. O emigracyjnym doświadczeniu Polaków* (Gdańsk, 1997), 31–94.

first refugee *dépôts* in Avignon speak of 1,173 émigrés, all adult men except for ten officers' wives and twenty-two children.¹³ Considering that until 1846, about 6,000 Poles had gone into exile in France, it is justified to assume that only a minority of them could reconnect permanently with their families. According to statistics from 1839, only about 200 Polish women were among the émigrés.¹⁴ A plan to facilitate the arrival of wives and children of Polish officers to France was on the agenda of the National Committee of Polish Emigrants [Komitet Narodowy Emigracji Polskiej], an organisation established by General Józef Dwernicki.¹⁵ However, the results of this initiative are not known. Iwona Pugacewicz finds that only a few such efforts ended with success and that the idea remained mainly an unfulfilled ambition.¹⁶ Regarding Dwernicki, it is noteworthy that he later returned from emigration, having been approved to settle in Galicia in 1848, where he spent the rest of his life.¹⁷ On the other hand, Witkowska suggests that sharing a life in emigration with a Polish wife could also have unfortunate consequences since Polish women almost automatically attracted the attention of their male compatriots. As she illustrates with the case of Leon Szypowski, their intentions were often dishonest. Szypowski had to resettle himself and his family several times because of his wife's recurring extramarital affairs with other émigrés. This unfortunate case ended in the city of Amiens when Szypowski decided to poison one of his wife's lovers, Ludwik Pietkiewicz.¹⁸

One of the reasons these efforts to reunite were not very successful was that the success of any effort on the part of an émigré to bring his family out of the country or, on the other hand, to receive permission to return to the homeland always depended on a complex set of circumstances. After all, even travelling within France was not freely permitted, and émigrés usually needed a governmentally issued passport to be allowed to travel from the place of exile to other

¹³ Kalemka, *Wielka Emigracja*, 40.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 281.

¹⁵ Lubomir Gadon, *Emigracja Polska. Pierwsze lata po upadku powstania listopadowego*, iii (Kraków, 1902), 9–14.

¹⁶ Iwona H. Pugacewicz, *Batignolles 1842–1874. Edukacja Wielkiej Emigracji* (Warszawa, 2017), 39–41.

¹⁷ Cf. Józef Dwernicki, *Pamiętniki Jenerala Józefa Dwernickiego* (Lwów, 1870), xi–xiii.

¹⁸ Witkowska, *Cześć i skandale*, 38–9.

locations in France.¹⁹ Numerous appeals to that effect were addressed to the French authorities and eventually to Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, who, as mentioned above, tried to advocate for these cases in front of the French government.

In November 1839, five émigrés living in London – Stanisław Macewicz, Saturnin Kłeczyński, Jan Deczkiewicz, Tomasz Bajewski, and Józef Sadowski – asked Czartoryski to help them obtain passports to France, justifying their request with two arguments: the possibility of acquiring subsidies from the French government and the unfavourable British climate. According to a note by the Prince, he wrote to the French officials and, in that same letter, even recalled another case of a man who had already submitted a similar appeal and was waiting for a decision.²⁰ A few weeks earlier, Czartoryski received a letter from Waclaw Jabłonowski, who had planned to travel to the United Kingdom. He got a passport but then decided it was a mistake and asked the Prince's help to obtain permission to stay in France.²¹

In the remaining records, cases where émigrés asked for a passport for a different reason than to depart to or from the United Kingdom or travel within France are far less frequent. Regarding the return to the territories of the former Commonwealth, the majority of such appeals concerned the approval of travel to the Grand Duchy of Posen. As Sławomir Kalembka argues, in the early 1840s, after the new king Frederick William IV succeeded the throne, Prussia became the most accessible means to return to the territories of the former Commonwealth. Nevertheless, he claims that such returns were rare, mentioning that in 1838, there were only eight recorded cases of return from emigration.²² Among those recorded in the sources with more details is Józef Pawłowski, who had lived in Paris since 1832, who appealed in December 1842 to the French Ministry of the Interior and subsequently to Czartoryski for help in obtaining a passport

¹⁹ Multiple authors have dealt with the interactions between the émigré community and the French government. Along with the previously cited works of Sławomir Kalembka and Lubomir Gadon, it is noteworthy to mention the work of Delphine Diaz, see Delphine Diaz, *Un asile pour tous les peuples?: Exilés et réfugiés étrangers dans la France au cours du premier XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 2014).

²⁰ BCz 5318 II, 'Dziennik prózb podawanych przez emigrantów do rządu, a apostilowanych przez księcia. 1839–1840'.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Kalembka, *Wielka Emigracja*, 281.

from the Prussian ambassador in Paris. According to his statement, he had broken a leg earlier that year and would probably not be able to maintain his current occupation. Therefore, he appealed for a passport and financial support to effect a journey back to the Grand Duchy. Czartoryski's notes reveal that both of Pawłowski's requests were granted, and he departed from France.²³ Somewhat different was the situation of Edward Zymański, who stated that thanks to his decent salary, he had gathered some money during his time in France and then began planning a return to Posen. However, he did not obtain a passport, which forced him to live off his savings; because of his previous earnings, he was not subject to support from the French government. Nevertheless, after living for some time in Paris, he ran through the money, and thus, in January 1844, he applied for a passport or subsidies. Once again, Czartoryski's notes state that Zymański finally received a passport, and according to the Prince, in response to his request, the French authorities even granted Zymański 60 francs for the travel.²⁴ Also noteworthy is the case of Adam Kwapiszewski, who recognisably demonstrates the immediate collapse of ideals and the reality of the arduous life of emigration. Kwapiszewski, a native of Radom, was among a group of émigrés that arrived in France from the Grand Duchy in October 1844. He found accommodation in Paris at Rue Saint-Dominique d'Enfer (today's Rue Royer-Collard), and, like his fellow émigrés, he requested subsidies from the French government. There is a shortage of specific information regarding their past. Interestingly, they asked for government support (initially meant for the veterans of the Polish insurrectionist army) even though they arrived in France more than a decade after the November uprising. Their appeals were sent to the authorities with a letter of support from Adam Jerzy Czartoryski. However, as his request sent to Czartoryski on 22 November indicates, Kwapiszewski's demand for financial support was rejected (possibly because of the aforementioned characteristics of his case), and he decided to return to the Grand Duchy, soliciting the Prince's help in that regard.²⁵ In his case, reversing the initial decision to emigrate only took a little over a month.

²³ BCz 5319 II, 'Prośby emigrantów polskich do władz francuskich wysłane z poparciem księcia Adama Jerzego Czartoryskiego, 1842–1844'.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ BCz 5319 II, 'Prośby emigrantów polskich do władz francuskich wysłane z poparciem księcia Adama Jerzego Czartoryskiego, 1842–1844'.

Neither of these requests, though, explicitly mentioned family in any sense. The only case when reuniting with a family was cited as a reason for the planned trip was the appeal from N. Miaskowski from August 1839; at that time, a resident of Bordeaux who requested a passport to Italy to meet with his family, which had just arrived there. The attached note explains that a police prefect accepted this appeal and on 28 August, issued the passport for Miaskowski. Nevertheless, considering the cases of émigrés who wished to return to their former homeland, it is justified to suggest that, at least in some, the return also meant a reunion with the family.

Such an example is that of Adam Węgliński, who communicated his request for permission to travel to Galicia directly to the Austrian government. His appeal, which is the only source of information regarding his case, is preserved in the collections of Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna. Thus, it can be stated that it was undoubtedly delivered to Vienna. However, the remaining sources contain no information about any response from the Austrian side.²⁶ In August 1840, Węgliński, living in Paris, requested a passport that would allow him to settle in Galicia and reunite with his ageing mother. The request has another possible option: he would cover the cost of his mother's journey to France. The request is written in the third person, and as it mentions that he could not find an occupation during his time in France, it can be assumed that he did not write the plea himself but asked someone else to do it for him. Finding employment would be difficult even for someone who knew French, but he would probably not find stable employment if one did not. Węgliński mentions that his sister in Galicia had recently died, so his ageing mother was left entirely alone. He argues that the only thing that would give her a reason to live would be a reunion with her beloved son, whom she had not seen for almost ten years. Therefore, he appealed for a passport to Galicia on humanitarian grounds.

According to the appeal, Węgliński was born on 20 December 1811 in the village of Boby [Boby-Wieś, old: Boby Stare] near Lublin. He was eighteen when the November Uprising began, and he enthusiastically joined the Polish army as a volunteer. After the uprising was defeated, he emigrated to France like thousands of his comrades. He remembers the decade in Paris as a time of constant

²⁶ HHStA, Galizien (1775–1851), 6. Galizien Varia, Adam Węgliński's appeal, 17 Aug. 1840.

misery, and he claims to have never truly settled in France and that he always felt like an alien. As a result, he would not have married or acquired any wealth during that time. Therefore, though he does not mention it in his request, it might be assumed that he was hoping for a permanent return to Galicia. In the appeal, he emphasised his disinterest in any political activities. He offers to provide the Austrian ambassador in Paris²⁷ with testimonies as to his character and morality and prove his non-involvement in any political activities. He regrets joining the insurrectionist army in 1830 and looks forward to a calm and peaceful life. Regarding the value of these claims in the eyes of the Austrian authorities, it can be assumed natural and logical that the Austrian government would be disinclined to allow politically active émigrés with the potential for subversive activities to settle within its borders. After all, there were cases when the French government decided to expel émigrés because of their suspicious actions, suggesting that the activities of the émigrés were indeed considered relevant.

JÓZEF GŁĘBOCKI: THE FUTILE ATTEMPT TO VISIT HIS MOTHER IN GALICIA

Unlike the appeal of Adam Węgliński, Józef Głębocki's appeal for permission to return – or more precisely, to visit – Galicia is not found in the collection of manuscripts studied for this analysis. On the other hand, the remaining sources provide many interesting (and maybe even more important) details regarding his attempt to visit his mother, allowing an analysis of his status, plans, and communication with the Austrian authorities. Interestingly, the only available sources pertinent to the question of his return are several letters from his mother, Aniela, to the Austrian authorities, written on behalf of her son.²⁸ Extant manuscripts that were either directly written by Józef in emigration or connected to him present no evidence of his efforts to return. On the other hand, they reveal more about

²⁷ This office was held by Anton Apponyi, who served as the Austrian ambassador in France between 1826 and 1848.

²⁸ HHStA, Galizien (1775–1851), 6. Galizien Varia, Aniela Głębocka to Joseph Breinl, 31 July 1845; Joseph Breinl to Aniela Głębocka, 18 Aug. 1845; Aniela Głębocka to Klemens Hügel, 21 Sep. 1845.

his life as an émigré and the impact it had on his situation and the eventual request.²⁹

According to a short biographical note from 1847 prepared after he joined the Insurrectionist-Monarchist Association of the Third of May [Towarzystwo Insurekcyjno-Monarchiczne Trzeciego Maja],³⁰ Józef Ezechiel Głębocki was born on 10 April 1808, in a village called Iwaczków in the Volhynian Governorate. His parents were Judge Michał Głębocki and his wife Aniela, née Sroczyńska, who was related to the noble family of Woronicz. His place of birth and his mother's noble origin played a crucial role in Józef's later life. Like his father, he graduated from a law department and then went to Warsaw, where he arrived only shortly before the November Uprising. In March 1831, he joined the Third Uhlan Regiment as a non-commissioned officer and participated in several battles. He was wounded in the Battle of Ostrołęka and spent some time convalescing. By the daily order of General Girolamo Ramorino from 10 September of the same year, Głębocki was promoted to second lieutenant. As part of Ramorino's forces, he crossed the Galician border and was disarmed by the Austrians. His name was placed on the list of those who were exempted from the amnesty by Russian Emperor Nicholas I,³¹ so return to the Kingdom was not an option, but he was then allowed to settle in his mother's manor in the Galician village of Żelichów near Tarnów. However, because of his birthplace, the Russian government still considered him a Russian subject and protested against his presence in Galicia. In 1834, the Austrian authorities finally ordered him to leave Galicia. Głębocki travelled through Brno to Trieste and then by ship to Marseille, where he stepped on French soil on 21 July 1835.

²⁹ These manuscripts are held in various records of the Princes Czartoryski Library in Cracow, for specific references, see the relevant footnotes.

³⁰ The association was a political organisation associated with Hôtel Lambert. As its name suggests, it promoted the restoration of an independent Polish state based on the principles of the Constitution of 3 May 1791, with Adam Jerzy Czartoryski as the king.

³¹ Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie (Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw), 200, Władze Centralne Powstania Listopadowego; 744, Lista imienna niewiadomych z teraźniejszego pobytu osób, oddanych pod Sąd Najwyższy Kryminalny, na zasadzie Manifestu Najjaśniejszego Cesarza Wszech Rossyi Króla Polskiego z 20 X/1 XI 1831 r., z powodu zarzutu o spełnienie przestępstw wyłączonych spod ogólnego przebaczenia..., fol. 3.

The French government ordered him to stay in the town of Carpentras, where he lived for about a year, after which he asked permission to resettle to Marseille, which he was allowed to do. He found employment at a notary office, where he worked until 1842, and then for two more years at a merchant office.³² However, as he explained to Czartoryski in a letter from June 1842, there was no prospect of promotion in either job, and the pay was relatively low. Due to his poor health and the fact that he recently married (and his wife had no dowry), he then asked Czartoryski's help in requesting the French government to renew his subsidies. A note in the margin of that letter indicates that the Prince agreed to support Głębocki's case.³³ The biography also sheds more light on the question of his marriage. On 19 March 1842, Głębocki married a Frenchwoman named Clarisse Carré, daughter of a French navy officer. A year later, on 19 March 1843, their first child was born: a son named Józef Michał Napoleon. Two years later, on 19 April 1845, Clarisse gave birth to a daughter, Ludwika Helena. At that time, the family was already living in Strasbourg, where they moved in April 1844.³⁴

Shortly after the move to Strasbourg, Głębocki requested from the Austrian government a one-year passport to Galicia for him and his family (at that time, a wife and a son) to visit Galicia. Even though his original request for passports was not preserved and thus is not among the analysed materials, he had to have sent that appeal sometime between the move to Strasbourg and November 1844. As summarised in a letter from Joseph Breinl von Wallerstern,³⁵ *Kreishauptmann* of the Tarnów district,³⁶ to Aniela Głębocka, written

³² BCz 6586 IV, Archiwum Hotelu Lambert. Towarzystwo Insurekcyjno-Monarchiczne Trzeciego Maja. 'Biografie i deklaracje członków od litery A do L', Głębocki Józef Ezechiel, 1847.

³³ BCz 6662 IV, Teki emigrantów, Głębocki Ezechiel, 2. Notatka i projekt dopisku ks. Adama Jerzego Czartoryskiego do listu ministra spraw wewn., 1842.

³⁴ BCz 6586 IV, 'Biografie i deklaracje członków od litery A do L', Głębocki Józef Ezechiel, 1847.

³⁵ Joseph Breinl von Wallerstern held this office since 1835. From 1837 on, he was also the director of the local gymnasium. His most controversial actions occurred during the Galician peasant uprising in 1846, when he openly incited peasants to violence against the local nobility, and even offered to help a leading figure among the peasants, Jakub Szela.

³⁶ *Schematismus der Königreiche Galizien und Lodomerien für das Jahr 1845* (Lemberg, 1845), 51.

in August 1845, her son's appeal was denied by the Governor-General of Galicia, Archduke Ferdinand,³⁷ on 30 November of the previous year. The official decree that confirmed this decision was issued on 4 December 1844.³⁸ Notwithstanding this decision, Aniela continued to petition the authorities in a futile attempt to change this outcome. The letter from Breinl (of August 1845) mentioned above is a response to Aniela's appeal from 31 July 1845.³⁹ However, even though Breinl tried to explain to her the reasons behind the denial and tried to persuade her to abandon her attempts, she did not. She wrote to Klemens Wenzel von Hügel⁴⁰ in September with the same request. In her letter, she describes Józef's situation, mentioning that he supposedly requested passports directly from Chancellor Metternich. According to her account, Józef informed her that Metternich assured him of a positive outcome. Nevertheless, nothing of the sort must have happened since she begs Hügel for help.⁴¹

Aniela's letters (especially the one to Hügel) are full of emotional statements, and she repeatedly pleads for her son's case. The main line of her argumentation is that as a mother at an advanced age, her last desperate wish was to see again her son and his family. She prayed to be able to see her grandchildren at least once (since Józef's daughter Ludwika Helena was born between the original request and Aniela's communication with the Austrian authorities), which, as she stated, was one of the last wishes she still had in her life.

However, a reunion with his mother was not the only motivation Józef had for temporarily returning to Galicia. Aside from the emotional aspect of the case, Aniela also mentioned that her son had certain business obligations to settle. As her letter indicates, Józef was endowed by her with a manor in the Galician village of Żelichów, which he then sold to *ritter* Kotarski for 13,500 guldens to finance his life in the emigration. She orchestrated the sale since he was absent

³⁷ Archduke Ferdinand Karl Joseph of Austria-Este – cousin of the Austrian Emperor Francis I – held the office between 1832 and 1846. Cf. *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950*, i (Wien, 1957), 300.

³⁸ HHStA, 6. Galizien Varia, Joseph Breinl to Aniela Głębocka, 18 Aug. 1845.

³⁹ HHStA, 6. Galizien Varia, Aniela Głębocka to Joseph Breinl, 31 July 1845.

⁴⁰ Klemens Wenzel von Hügel – diplomat and writer, close collaborator of Metternich, since 1835 the *Präsidialsekretär* of the *Staatskanzlei*. Cf. *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950*, iii (Wien 1961), 3.

⁴¹ HHStA, 6. Galizien Varia, Aniela Głębocka to Klemens Hügel, 21 Sept. 1845.

from the country, but his presence in Galicia would still be beneficial.⁴² His biography from 1847 aligns with this sentiment since it mentions that since their arrival in Strasbourg, Józef had been unemployed and living from his savings.⁴³ Interestingly, Aniela referred to this aspect of Józef's planned visit with clear intention. She even utilised it as an argument for his benefit, complaining to Hügel that many other émigrés had been granted passports, and her son was in a category of émigrés who possessed valuable property. His only misfortune, she continued, was that he was born in Russia, which was the reason for his expulsion in 1834 and the denial of his request ten years later.⁴⁴

Just like in the case of Węgliński and his professed non-involvement in politics, this economic argument probably says more about what Aniela Głębocka (and maybe even Józef himself) considered a relevant argument in the eyes of Austrian officials than what seemed important from the Austrian point of view. After all, his initial request was denied because of his birthplace, not his economic background or political activity. Regarding politics, Aniela's correspondence does not mention her son's activity or inactivity in this field. His biography also mentions that since his arrival in France, he was not a member of any association until he joined the Insurrectionist-Monarchist Association of the Third of May.⁴⁵ However, some connections existed between Głębocki and Czartoryski's milieu before that. There is a letter that Józef wrote to Adam Jerzy Czartoryski in September 1841, in which he acknowledges the Prince as a head of government and even voluntarily offers his services to him.⁴⁶ More importantly, according to two letters from Czartoryski to Zamoyski, in July 1841, the Prince entrusted Głębocki (at that time still living in Marseille) with the task of sending a letter to Hôtel Lambert's agent Michał Czajkowski.⁴⁷

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ BCz 6586 IV, 'Biografie i deklaracje członków od litery A do L', Głębocki Józef Ezechiel, 1847.

⁴⁴ HHStA, 6. Galizien Varia, Aniela Głębocka to Klemens Hügel, 21 Sept. 1845.

⁴⁵ BCz 6586 IV, 'Biografie i deklaracje członków od litery A do L', Głębocki Józef Ezechiel, 1847.

⁴⁶ BCz 6662 IV, Teki emigrantów, Głębocki Ezechiel, 1. Listy do następujących: Czartoryski Adam Jerzy, 1841.

⁴⁷ BCz 6962 III, Archiwum Hotelu Lambert, Władysław Zamoyski, Korespondencja, copies of letters from Adam Jerzy Czartoryski dated 18 July 1841 and 26 July 1841.

Nevertheless, it was probably not until 1847 that he became active in this kind of work when he joined and simultaneously became the head of the Strasbourg branch of the Insurrectionist-Monarchist Association of the Third of May.

WŁADYSŁAW ZAMOYSKI: THE LEADING FIGURE
OF HÔTEL LAMBERT VISITING HIS FAMILY
IN THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE

Władysław Zamoyski was by no means an ordinary emigrant. In the context of this article, this stems not only from his social status or political activities but maybe even more importantly from the fact that Zamoyski had tried to visit his father (and his family in general), who lived in the Austrian Empire, not once, but three times.⁴⁸ Considering his personal history and position in the émigré circles, it is evident that in neither of these cases was the goal one of permanent return. On the other hand, it meant that his plans to visit the Austrian Empire attracted even more attention.

At this point, it should be noted that until the events of the Galician peasant uprising (*rabacja*) in 1846, Zamoyski represented a mildly pro-Austrian position within Czartoryski's milieu. Before his emigration in 1832, he initially considered joining the Austrian army. Still, since it was conditioned on swearing an oath to the Russian tsar, he abandoned the idea and joined his uncle in the emigration. During the late 1830s, he had proposed several plans to persuade the Habsburg court to cooperate with the Western powers (and consequently support the Polish cause) instead of Russia and Prussia.⁴⁹ On the other hand, from the Austrian point of view, he was still a member of a revolutionary cell that was considered a threat to the geopolitical status quo.⁵⁰ His uncertainty about his status at the Viennese court

⁴⁸ This statement refers to the three analysed attempts between 1838 and 1841, not his entire life in emigration.

⁴⁹ As Barbara Konarska argues, in Zamoyski's eyes, the Austrian Empire was a crucial geopolitical player who had all the reasons to fear Russian expansion and, at the same time, had a strong enough position to persuade the Western powers to intervene. Cf. Barbara Konarska, *W kręgu Hotelu Lambert. Władysław Zamoyski w latach 1832–1847* (Wrocław, 1971), 93.

⁵⁰ Numerous reports about the activities of representatives and agents of Hôtel Lambert across Europe are found in the extensive *Informationsbüro* records, see

was evidenced by a letter to his brother Zdzisław, written in January 1837, in which he asked Zdzisław to inquire about the Austrian administration's perspective on Władysław should he encounter the Austrian diplomat and close family friend Count Ludwig Senfft von Pilsach.⁵¹ Zamoyski's interests were centred explicitly on the manor of Cewków, which he would later inherit in 1837, and the possibility of travelling to Austria.⁵² Zamoyski was, without a doubt, aware of his position and that it could be a severe obstacle when requesting a passport to visit his family in the Austrian Empire, yet this did not stop him, and he was granted a passport in response to two of the three appeals he made between 1838 and 1841.

The first occasion arose in May 1838, when Zamoyski's sister, Gryzelda Celestyna Działyńska, was planning her return to Galicia. She had gone to Paris with her two daughters, Elżbieta and Jadwiga, for medical treatment in the late summer of the previous year.⁵³ They initially travelled to Florence to meet Gryzelda's dying mother, Zofia,⁵⁴ yet she had passed away by the time they arrived. Władysław, on the other hand, was at Zofia's side through the last days of her life (accompanied by other family members, along with her older brother, Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski) and presented his recollection of the events in his memoirs.⁵⁵ Then, on his way back to France, he met with

HHStA, Ministerium des Äußern (1784–1924), Informationsbüro (1791–1909), Informationsbüro der Staatskanzlei (1791–1848).

⁵¹ Ludwig Senfft von Pilsach (1774–1853), Saxon diplomat, envoy to Paris (1806–1809). In 1813, he began his service for Austria and became ambassador in Turin, Florence, The Hague, and London. Senfft and his wife Henriette had long maintained friendly relations with the Zamoyski family, and after Henriette died in 1836, Zofia Zamoyska became his closest friend and confidant. Władysław even mentions in his memoirs that his mother, on her deathbed, asked them to shower Senfft with love and care after her passing. This relationship is also exemplified by the fact that Władysław, for example, discussed with Senfft the educational possibilities of his younger brother Stanisław. See Constantin Wurzbach, 'Senfft von Pilsach, Friedrich Christian Ludwig Graf', *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Österreich*, xxxiv (Wien, 1877), 108–11; Władysław Zamoyski, *Jeneral Zamoyski, 1803–1868*, iii: 1832–1837 (Poznań, 1914), 409, 417.

⁵² Zamoyski, *Jeneral Zamoyski*, iii, 402.

⁵³ HHStA, 6. Galizien Varia, Władysław Zamoyski to Klemens Metternich, 1 May 1838.

⁵⁴ Zofia Zamoyska, née Czartoryska (1778–1837), daughter of Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski and his wife Izabela, therefore younger sister of Adam Jerzy.

⁵⁵ Zamoyski, *Jeneral Zamoyski*, iii, 390–417.

his sister and nieces, and they took the rest of the journey together.⁵⁶ As Zamoyski states in his letter to Chancellor Metternich from 1 May 1838, even though her health improved during her time in Paris, he would still not let her travel alone. Therefore, he chose to accompany her to Munich and then to the Austrian border. On this occasion, he decided to appeal to the Chancellor for a passport, which would allow him to travel with his sister to Vienna and meet his father, Stanisław Kostka Zamoyski, who had been living in the capital since the death of his wife, Zofia. Like in Węgliński's and Głębocki's cases, Zamoyski also stressed his father's age and deteriorating health in his appeal; he wrote that it had been causing him anxiety for the previous two years, and he was living in constant fear that he would not have another chance to meet his dear father.⁵⁷ Zamoyski, who came from a family that emphasised relationships and family as a substantial value, had the opportunity to meet his siblings and other family members on several occasions during his emigration. However, his father's health did not allow him to travel abroad for long periods, so a visit to his father was only an option in the Austrian Empire. Since the argument of Stanisław Kostka Zamoyski's poor health was also present in the two subsequent appeals, it is noteworthy that he lived to be 81 and died in April 1856, almost twenty years after the first analysed case.⁵⁸

Along with the letter to Metternich, Zamoyski also wrote to his uncle, Konstanty Czartoryski. The younger brother of Prince Adam had been living in Vienna since 1828 and was a well-known figure with personal ties to the political elites of the Austrian Empire.⁵⁹ Naturally, Władysław believed that his uncle was in a position to intervene in his favour and kindly asked him to do so. Like Aniela Głębocka in her son's case, Konstanty Czartoryski immediately interceded on his

⁵⁶ *Id.*, *Jeneral Zamoyski*, iv, 1.

⁵⁷ HHStA, 6. Galizien Varia, Władysław Zamoyski to Klemens Metternich, 1 May 1838.

⁵⁸ On the other hand, Stanisław Kostka Zamoyski's health was far from perfect. In autumn 1836, he suffered partial paralysis, which prevented him from travelling back to Florence to join his wife before she passed away. Władysław mentions in his memoirs that in November 1836, while eagerly awaiting his father's return, he learned that he was staying with Władysław's sister Jadwiga in Lviv because of his ailments. Cf. Zamoyski, *Jeneral Zamoyski*, iii, 401.

⁵⁹ Roman Taborski, *Polacy w Wiedniu* (Wrocław, 1992), 50.

nephew's behalf,⁶⁰ yet as it turned out, that was unnecessary. Metternich replied to Konstanty's letter from 18 May 1838, the next day, informing him that his nephew's request had already been approved and the Austrian embassy in Munich was ordered to issue Zamoyski a passport.⁶¹ Władysław confirmed this in a letter to his father from 22 May that year, in which he stressed his excitement about an opportunity to meet his beloved father again. Władysław assured his father that nobody would blame him for letting his son come and kiss his father's hand⁶²; the significance of this statement is that it apparently refers to Zamoyski's involvement in Hôtel Lambert's political activities. Count Charles Flahaut,⁶³ aide-de-camp of Duke of Orléans,⁶⁴ warned Władysław after his mother passed away in 1837 not to wait for his father's return to Florence, as he originally planned, stating that the tsar would not consider a family tragedy an attenuating circumstance and might hold it against his father if he met him.⁶⁵ Both father and son (as well as the rest of the family) were aware of Władysław's position, and the question of the possible consequences of this reunion was undoubtedly relevant. In his first letter to Metternich, Zamoyski even stated that he understood that his presence in Vienna could cause a disturbance and declared his absolute willingness to follow any orders of the Austrian authorities. As he stated multiple times, his only desire was to meet his father and not to conduct any political activity.

On 27 May, departing from Linz towards Vienna, Zamoyski wrote to Adam Jerzy Czartoryski that he would not send him any letters from the Austrian capital. Czartoryski understandably chose the same course of action, sending his letters to Zamoyski to Munich. However, as is evident from their content, he was later quite surprised by the

⁶⁰ HHStA, 6. Galizien Varia, Konstanty Czartoryski to Klemens Metternich, 18 May 1838.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Klemens Metternich to Konstanty Czartoryski, 19 May 1838.

⁶² Zamoyski, *Jeneral Zamoyski*, iv, 14.

⁶³ Charles Joseph, comte de Flahaut (1785–1870), French general, statesman, and diplomat. Flahaut had close ties with Zamoyski, especially because of his mother, Adelaide Filleul, who nursed Zamoyski for some time in his childhood, and Zamoyski even referred to her as “Mamam de Paris”.

⁶⁴ Ferdinand Philippe, Duke of Orléans (1810–1842), eldest son of King Louis Philippe.

⁶⁵ Zamoyski, *Jeneral Zamoyski*, iii, 415.

Austrian authorities' agreeableness; on 2 July, he even expressed regret that he had not sent the letters directly to Vienna.⁶⁶ It may be inferred that Zamoyski's initial decision was made to avoid attracting unnecessary attention and disrupting his visit. After all, he proved his cautiousness even before he entered Austrian territories; in the previous letter to Czartoryski, dated 22 May in München, he noted that after arriving in the Bavarian capital, he contacted and subsequently met with French and British representatives just to secure his position. The complicated reality of Zamoyski's capacity to travel demonstrated itself when he stopped in Munich on his way back to France. Although he wanted to spend some time with his brother Stanisław, who was studying there, he was urged by the Bavarian authorities to depart from the city within twenty-four hours because of the planned visit of the Russian Tsar Nicholas I. Zamoyski contacted French officials in response to this instruction, but since he did not want to risk his brother's welfare, he then decided to leave the city.⁶⁷

According to his recollections, his visit to Vienna turned out to be a blessed time spent with his family. Metternich even prolonged his passport so that he could stay in the Austrian capital for six weeks. Zamoyski expressed immense gratitude to the Chancellor before he left the capital. His letter to Metternich from 7 June 1838 is full of expressions of appreciation and joy that he was allowed to spend precious time with his family.⁶⁸ According to his memoirs, he did not encounter any trouble, and the only unpleasantness stemmed from the need to return to his duties and cut his stay shorter than was allowed by the Austrian authorities.⁶⁹

A similar situation to that of the summer of 1838 occurred in September of the following year. Zamoyski once again accompanied a family member from Paris to the Austrian borders, though this time, it was not his sister, but an aunt – the sister of his late mother – Maria Wirtemberska.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ BCz 6962 III, Archiwum Hotelu Lambert, Władysław Zamoyski, Korespondencja, copies of letters from Adam Jerzy Czartoryski dated 18 June 1838, 27 June 1838, and 2 July 1838.

⁶⁷ Zamoyski, *Jeneral Zamoyski*, iv, 14–7.

⁶⁸ HHStA, 6. Galizien Varia, Władysław Zamoyski to Klemens Metternich, 7 June 1838.

⁶⁹ Zamoyski, *Jeneral Zamoyski*, iv, 17.

⁷⁰ Maria Wirtemberska, née Czartoryska (1768–1854), daughter of Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski and his wife Izabela. She married Duke Adam of Württemberg.

On that occasion, he wrote an appeal to Metternich in which he once again asked for a passport which would allow him to visit his father. Nonetheless, this time, the situation became somewhat more complicated.⁷¹ Metternich informed him in a letter from Johannisberg, dated 17 October, that even though exceptions were possible from the general rule that prohibited Zamoyski and his compatriots in exile from entering Austria, the assessment of his appeal fell within the competence of the Ministry of Interior, not Metternich.⁷² There are several reasons for this change in the assessment process. One of them involves the distinction of competencies between Metternich and Interior Minister Count Franz von Kolowrat.⁷³ These two men were not only leading figures of Austrian politics before 1848 but also political rivals who constantly tried to strengthen their position and influence, so it is possible that Metternich's response was affected by some internal strife.⁷⁴ The second possible reason might be the Chancellor's deteriorating health. Metternich suffered a breakdown in August, and the actual reason for his stay at Johannisberg in October 1839 was recovery.⁷⁵ Concerning Metternich's and Kolowrat's position within the Austrian government, it is interesting that even though it was Kolowrat who finally issued a passport for Zamoyski in early November, in his letter to Lord Dudley Stuart,⁷⁶ Zamoyski praised Metternich's goodwill.⁷⁷ When Zamoyski planned

However, they divorced in 1793 after he betrayed her during the war against Russia in 1792.

⁷¹ HHStA, 6. Galizien Varia, Władysław Zamoyski to Klemens Metternich, 14 Sept. 1839.

⁷² *Ibid.*, Klemens Metternich to Władysław Zamoyski, 17. Oct. 1839

⁷³ Franz Anton von Kolowrat-Liebsteinsky (1778–1861), Bohemian noble and Austrian statesman, member of the *Staatskonferenz* between 1836 and 1848. Following the Revolution of 1848, he served as the first Minister-President of Austria, resigning after only a month. Cf. Constantin Wurzbach, 'Kolowrat-Liebsteinsky, Franz Anton Graf', *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Österreich*, 12 (Wien, 1864), 392–6.

⁷⁴ Cf. Wolfram Siemann, *Metternich. Strategist and Visionary* (Cambridge–London, 2019); Alan Sked, *Metternich and Austria: An Evaluation* (New York, 2008).

⁷⁵ Miroslav Šedivý, 'Metternich's Plan for a Viennese Conference in 1839', *Central European History*, 44 (2011), 414.

⁷⁶ Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart (1803–1854), British politician and a passionate advocate of Polish independence.

⁷⁷ Zamoyski, *Jeneral Zamoyski*, iv, 105.

to visit Gräfenberg in July 1841, he again turned to Metternich, despite these experiences.⁷⁸

In a letter from Passau to Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski dated 11 November, Zamoyski writes that he had just received the passport and planned to depart for Vienna immediately. Zamoyski also mentions that his brothers had informed him that Kolowrat spoke cordially with them and that he discussed Władysław's request at the *Staatskonferenz* meeting, and there were no objections to his arrival. However, the period for which he was allowed to visit Vienna, two weeks, was, in his opinion, too short, and it would even be shortened afterwards.⁷⁹ Senfft von Pilsach suggested that this was an act of revenge by the Austrian government for Hôtel Lambert's role in orchestrating the escape of General Jan Skrzynecki⁸⁰ from Prague in January 1839.⁸¹ Zamoyski, on the other hand, considered this decision to be influenced by Russian representatives. Without relevant sources, it is impossible to state which was true. Either way, on 26 November, he was already in Linz, where he wrote several letters to his siblings. He expressed most profound sadness over his departure, and in a letter to his sister Jadwiga, he even mentions that he remained in Linz longer than necessary to feel like he was near them.⁸² The emotional significance of this visit was emphasised by Czartoryski, who, in his letter from December 2nd, told his nephew to enjoy his time in Vienna with his family as much as possible, for there is nothing happier and more rewarding than time spent with loved ones. The Prince was obviously unaware that Zamoyski had already been forced to leave the Austrian capital.⁸³

⁷⁸ HHStA, 6. Galizien Varia, Władysław Zamoyski to Klemens Metternich, 19 July 1841.

⁷⁹ Zamoyski, *Jeneral Zamoyski*, iv, 105.

⁸⁰ General Skrzynecki, who had been living under police surveillance in Prague, escaped in January 1839 to Belgium, accompanied by Ludwik Bystrzonowski. According to the original plan, he was supposed to join the Belgian army. This event caused a diplomatic crisis. Austro-Belgian relationships were re-established after diplomatic talks in June 1839. One of the results of these events was the decision that Skrzynecki would not be granted a command. Cf. Hubert Chudzio, *Polityk Hotelu Lambert. General Ludwik Bystrzonowski (1797–1878)* (Kraków, 2008), 92–110.

⁸¹ Zamoyski, *Jeneral Zamoyski*, iv, 105.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 105–8.

⁸³ BCz 6962 III, Archiwum Hotelu Lambert, Władysław Zamoyski, Korespondencja, copy of letter from Adam Jerzy Czartoryski dated 2 Dec. 1839.

While the visit in the autumn of 1839 was much shorter than Zamoyski wished, it did at least happen. His subsequent request from the summer of 1841 was rejected. As he mentions in a letter to Metternich dated 19 July 1841, he tried to obtain permission to visit Gräfenberg at least since 17 June, when he communicated his appeal via his brother-in-law Leon Sapieha.⁸⁴ Since there was no answer, he wrote directly to the Chancellor, who, as Władysław stresses, had already proved his willingness and compassion and could be expected to allow again a son to visit his old and ailing father, who had been receiving treatment at the famous Gräfenberg baths. In addition, sometime between his communication with Sapieha and his letter to Metternich, he was informed that the wedding of his sister Eliza would take place in Gräfenberg. Along with the letter to Metternich, he urged Count Anton Apponyi,⁸⁵ the Austrian ambassador in France, to help him with the request.⁸⁶ However, according to a statement in his letter to Prince Adam, written in Frankfurt on 9 August, that was not enough. He did not receive any response from the Austrian authorities and regretfully noted that the wedding would take place without his presence.⁸⁷ The wedding of Eliza Zamoyska and Zenon Brzozowski⁸⁸ took place on 31 July 1841. Władysław was probably unaware since he used the future tense when writing to Czartoryski more than a week after the event.

Contrary to the previous occasions, there are only two relevant sources of information for this case – Zamoyski's letters to Metternich and Czartoryski. The lack of sources from the Austrian side is especially significant. With these limitations, it is impossible to argue if Zamoyski received any response at all (either positive or negative, but undoubtedly late) or what was the actual reason for the decision of the Austrian authorities to treat this case differently from the previous two, in which they responded promptly. During the period

⁸⁴ Leon Ludwik Sapieha (1803–1878), politician, diplomat, and officer. Even though he did not emigrate, he maintained contacts with the Hôtel Lambert and provided them with information and funds.

⁸⁵ See fn. 27 above.

⁸⁶ HHStA, 6. Galizien Varia, Władysław Zamoyski to Klemens Metternich, 19 July 1841.

⁸⁷ Zamoyski, *Jeneral Zamoyski*, iv, 188.

⁸⁸ Zenon Brzozowski (1806–1887), well-known patron of the arts, close friend of poet Juliusz Słowacki.

in question, Zamoyski's appeals for passports to visit Austria brought diminishing returns, from the first, which led to a stay that was not only allowed but even prolonged, to the last, which was, if not directly denied, then at least disregarded.

However, any attempt to interpret this change in the decision-making process of the Austrian administration is very limited by the availability of the relevant sources. Was it somehow connected with Hôtel Lambert's, specifically Zamoyski's, activities? Or perhaps it was the revenge that Senfft von Pilsach mentioned? On the other hand, there are also many other circumstances, like changes within the Austrian government, that might have influenced the decision-making process. The possibility that it was neither of the above and that no specific strategy was involved beyond the actual decision to deny or ignore should not be ruled out either.

What is certain is the recurring presence of the family as a category of life values, which drove Zamoyski's actions and decision-making in all three cases. Moreover, with his conservative and catholic ideological grounding, which is clearly expressed in his private and political correspondence, it may also be suggested that his sister's wedding provided an additional motivation to visit Gräfenberg. After all, in his letter to Czartoryski, he clearly declared his regret for not being allowed to attend.

CONCLUSION

Undoubtedly, emigration profoundly affected the emotional lives of those who left the territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth after 1831. There is also no doubt that emotions, sometimes governed by rationality but sometimes acting as a dominant element, guided their decision-making. An example of this can also be found in the analysed cases of émigrés who pursued a reunion (even temporarily) with their families. In this article, only two, or rather three, such cases are discussed. Yet, they clearly show that in addition to the daily efforts to meet the basic needs of life, the emigrant community also faced the issues of ruptured family ties. Some individuals attempted to re-establish them, even if only for a short period. This brings up the broad question of the emotional lives of the émigrés, how it affected their everyday experiences, decision-making processes, plans and hopes, and relationships with other émigrés or locals, and

many different aspects of reality that deserve to be analysed in future research. Some of these have been addressed in previous historical research, but many are yet to be considered.

This research focused on cases in which émigrés not only declared their desire to reunite with their families but also tried to effect such reunions. The spotlight was mainly on their communication with the Austrian officials, the communication strategies émigrés and their relatives used, and how the government of the partitioning state handled these relations. A common aspect of the cases studied is the recurring reminder of severed family ties, in particular references to the advanced age or ill health of the émigrés' parents and the notion that a passport was the last chance to see a parent alive. In these cases, it is necessary to consider the possible use of this appeal to humanity and emotions as a communication strategy behind which other intentions are hidden, but within the cases analysed, there is no indication that visiting one's parents was a mere pretext. After all, Aniela Głębocka openly admitted that her son was also interested in resolving specific property issues, and Władysław Zamoyski, who was aware of his complicated position, repeatedly declared that his only interest lay in meeting his family (particularly his father, whom he could not meet abroad because of his ill-health). He was allowed to do so twice, although, in his case, his social status almost certainly played a part. On the one hand, he was a representative of the emigrant faction, which was highly active politically and diplomatically. On the other hand, as a member of one of the most important Polish noble families, he understandably enjoyed a completely different status to that of ordinary emigrants. Even though not explicitly mentioned, the sole fact that he communicated with Metternich personally and repeatedly suggests how differently he was treated compared to other emigrants.⁸⁹

Supporting one's case with claims of disinterest in political or conspirational activities, as in Adam Węgliński's appeal, can be regarded

⁸⁹ Probably the best proof of Metternich's not necessarily negative (and sometimes even quite positive) attitude towards Polish émigré leaders is the fact that it was he who helped Adam Jerzy Czartoryski flee from the Kingdom of Poland in 1831, after the failure of the November Uprising. See Janusz Pezda, 'Itinerarium księcia Adama Jerzego Czartoryskiego jesienią 1831 roku', in Hubert Chudzio and Janusz Pezda (eds), *Wokół powstania listopadowego. Zbiór studiów* (Kraków, 2014), 151–8.

as an expected strategy. Holding an asset might be considered a less expected argument, although it also has its pragmatic logic. Nevertheless, it did not help Głębocki's case because the main problem lay in the fact that he was born in the Russian, not Austrian, partition. The fact that it affected his situation during the 1830s and 1840s, though, is an interesting illustration of the long-term consequences of the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

The Great Emigration was a heterogeneous phenomenon on many levels. It should not be characterised only by its political and cultural impact or the harshness of the everyday reality of the emigrants. The present article aims to bring novelty to the existing scholarship by outlining how the family was treated within this community as a category of emotional life.

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