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On the Contacts between Władysław Zamoyski and Bronisław Piłsudski

The individuals named in the title of this article, as background figures of the socio-political life of Poland at the dawn of its regained independence, have not been given detailed biographical accounts to date, despite the fact that each of them very much deserves it. This is not to say that the two personalities do not evoke any interest among Poles, as is the case with Władysław Zamoyski (1853-1924), whose biography has been examined mainly by Polish scholars, and internationally with regard to Bronisław Piłsudski¹. Waiting for new publications summarizing those quite substantial investigations, especially with regard to Bronisław Piłsudski, I would like to introduce a peculiar episode from his life, noted by the biographers of Józef Piłsudski. The story is about the visit of Marshall Piłsudski, then the Country's Leader, to Kórnik on 9 July, 1921, where he said to count Zamoyski, who welcomed him, "I came here to say thank you for my brother". The reply "I have always seen a compatriot in him" prompts us to look into the contacts of the two individuals marked by tragedy.

In the literature published so far, their contacts are merely mentioned. This is due to the lack of sources, including the Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, regarding the Women's Housework School where B. Piłsudski resided at the turn of 1911 and 1912. The evidence of their personal contact is incidental as well, even though it was highly probable. These circumstances suggest rather different conclusions from those that come to mind when looking at the conversation at the market square of Kórnik. This were also the only words uttered by Marshall Piłsudski and count

¹ Cf. *Władysław Zamoyski 1853-1924*. Collected works edited by Stanisław Sierpowski. Kórnik-Zakopane 2003, pp.399; S. Sierpowski, *Polsko-rosyjsko-japońska fortuna Bronisława Piłsudskiego*, [in]: *Polska-Europa-świat XX wieku*. Ed. Waław Wawrzyniec. Rzeszów 2005, pp.566-574.

Zamoyski about Bronisław Piłsudski, deceased three years earlier, despite the fact that the visit lasted several hours.²

This paper attempts a reconstruction and description of the contacts between Bronisław Piłsudski and Władysław Zamoyski. The relevant time span comprises the years 1906 and 1907 when B. Piłsudski appeared in Zakopane surrounded by fame of heroic Siberian deportee, adored by his patriotic countrymen, as well as the day of May 23, 1918 when Władysław Zamoyski and Władysław Mickiewicz³ identified his body recovered from the Seine. However, neither in Zakopane nor in Paris were these relations intensive enough to claim that Bronisław Piłsudski “remained under the care of count Władysław Zamoyski” as written in a beautifully published brochure of the exhibition accompanying the Third International Conference on Zamoyski’s Scientific Heritage.⁴ This opinion was established by their clearly distinct social status. On one hand, count Zamoyski possessing estates in Great Poland and Zakopane and a Siberian deportee, convicted of assassination on tsar Alexander II in 1887 on the other.

It is a well-known fact that the youth of Bronisław Piłsudski was full of dramatic circumstances. Benedykt Dybowski, an outstanding Polish zoologist who corresponded with him for many years, acknowledged that “a young man thrown into the inferno of Sakhalin [...] is bound to die a miserable death. However, quite the opposite happened. B. Piłsudski grew there to the height of scientist, a man of sacrifice and Christlike virtue. The gold of moral character remained intact in him.”⁵

The accounts on B. Piłsudski’s personality are extraordinarily unanimous. Their authors emphasize his supreme goodness, neighborly love, and the ability to forgive the torturers. “His character, the constitution of his will bound by goodness made him in my eyes even greater and holier than all the recognized great and holy figures [...]”⁶.

Sharing the joys and sorrows of tribes on the verge of extinction, especially the Gilak and the Ainu, he won their friendship and, without any irony intended, the title of “Ainu

² Cf. S. Sierpowski, Wizyta Józefa Piłsudskiego w kórnickim zamku w 1921 r. [in:] *Dzieje polityczne, kultura, biografistyka*. Ed. L. Trzeciakowski and P. Matusik. Poznań 2002, p. 194 ff.

³ Władysław Mickiewicz (1838-1926) was a son of the great Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz and his biographer. He was also a columnist and patriotic activist in Paris.

⁴ The brochure was published in 1999 by the Center of Japanese Art and Culture Manga in Cracow.

⁵ Cf.: Z. J. Wójcik, *Materiały do biografii Bronisława Piłsudskiego*. [in:] *Zesłaniec. Etnograf. Polityk. Bronisław Piłsudski*. Ed. A. Kuczyński. Wrocław 2000, p. 166.

⁶ Cf. Z. Lubicz-Zaleski, *Dziennik nieciągły (1904-1925)*. Ed. H. Willaume. Paris - Łódź 1998, pp. 219-220.

King.” According to A. F. Majewicz, one of the leading figures in the study of Far Eastern languages and cultures, his achievements are so valuable that they “place him among the best Ainu experts even today”⁷

Shortly before the Japanese occupation of Sakhalin on November 11, 1905, Piłsudski left the island. He never saw his Ainu family again, having never seen his daughter Kiyō. On 5 August, 1905 Piłsudski departed from Yokohama for the United States and finally touched Polish ground in October of the same year. His Galician period, interrupted by trips to Bohemia, Switzerland, France and Belgium, was a very active one. However, at the same time, periods of enthusiasm about his return to the bosom of his beloved and idealized Poland alternated with observations of ubiquitous strife and feud. Moments of happiness with Maria Baniewicz (then Żarnowska), who succumbed to an incurable disease soon afterwards, were enjoyed under persistently difficult living conditions⁸.

The material stabilization Piłsudski achieved after his nomination as secretary of the Ethnology Section of the Anthropological Committee of the Polish Academy of Learning in March 1914 was very short. The outbreak of war forced him, an Austro-Hungarian subject, to leave Galicia, an Austro-Hungarian province. According to the opinion of professor Julian Talko-Hryniewicz, one of Piłsudski’s patrons in Cracow, the material aspect of this misfortune was of lesser importance. In the introduction to *Lithuanian Crosses* Talko-Hryniewicz wrote: “his needs were very extraordinarily modest and he did not want to take any work merely for wage, that would not be absorbing. He preferred to remain poor rather than go against his nature”⁹ This opinion is also reflected in the observations of other contemporaries, even persons that appeared only casually, e.g. Maria Bobrzyńska (nee Paygert). In her characterization of B. Piłsudski, she noticed that after the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war, [...] he did not

⁷ A. F. Majewicz, *Dzieje i wierzenia Ajnów*. Poznań 1991, p. 55. On the initiative of the Committee for Restoration and Assessment of B. Piłsudski’s Life and Work (ICRAP) established in 1981 systematic work has been started to collect B. Piłsudski’s works. Among the projects carried out in Poland, Japan and Russia the work of Alfred F. Majewicz: *The Collected Works of Bronisław Piłsudski*. Berlin, New York vol. I-II 1998, vol. III 2004 deserves special attention.

⁸ Mrs. General Zamoyski in the letter to her son Władysław of April 17, 1912, referred to Piłsudski as a „poor man” who intended to get married in Kuźnice, but „I heard from a reliable source that it was not any of his brothers who appropriated someone else’s wife and kept her for a year of two”. BK 7592, pp. 804-805.

⁹ B. Piłsudski, *Krzyże litewskie*. Lwów 1922, p. VI (introduction by J. Talko-Hryniewicz); first appeared in French *Les croix lithuaniennes*. [in:] Arch. Suisses des tradit. popul. Vol. XX, 1916.

accept a governmental post at the military field hospital administrator. As a wanderer and community worker, he did not want a permanent job, and searched for cemeteries instead, collecting gravestones with inscriptions, hunter materials and artifacts from the animal world. [...] Sedentary scientific work did not suit him very well, he kept looking for new thrills¹⁰.

This attitude slightly contrasts with the isolated opinion of Jan Staszel who, researching connections between B. Piłsudski and the Polish Academy of Learning, pointed out his expectations regarding material stability. It was supposed to be a form of compensation for the lost chances in life, his interrupted studies and impossibility of academic work. That is why, according to Jan Staszel, he sought help from “relatives, friends, and wealthy landed gentry expecting that his compatriots would in a common effort found a decent scholarship that would allow him to finish his study and conduct research in some quiet, preferably rural seclusion, in accordance with his avocation.”¹¹

One such place was Zakopane, bought at an auction by W. Zamoyski in 1889. This small yet rapidly developing holiday and health resort was a favored destination of Józef Piłsudski. It was at Zakopane that the brothers met after 18 years of separation¹². Sharing his time between Kraków¹³ and Zakopane, B. Piłsudski became friends with his remote relative Stanisław Witkiewicz, called in the letters “dear uncle.” He probably also met Władysław Zamoyski, in connection with plans to enlarge the Tatra Museum. Adam Chramiec MD who participated in those talks does not mention B. Piłsudski anywhere, which is probably due to the local conflict caused by Stanisław Witkiewicz’s (the “dear uncle’s”) ambitions. Bronisław Piłsudski probably took Witkiewicz’s side,

¹⁰ M. z Paygertów Bobrzyńska, *Życie zmiennym jest*. Kraków 1959, part I, p. 199; typescript no. BK 12974.

¹¹ J. Staszel, *Związki Bronisława Piłsudskiego z Akademią Umiejętności w Krakowie*. [in:] *Bronisław Piłsudski (1866-1918). Człowiek – Uczony – Patriot*. Zakopane 2003, p. 163; an important source illustrating Piłsudski’s material expectations was his letter of May 4, 1913, to an attorney from Vilnius Bronisław Krzyżanowski in which he complained about his fate and being dependent on stinginess, formalism and even incompetence of the Academy of Learning officials. He went as far as to accusing them of lack of „sense of patriotic duty [...] obligation to support each Polish scholar in order to elevate the Polish academia”. Cf. A. Rataj, *Nieznane materiały po Bronisławie Piłsudskim*. „Rocznik Muzeum Etnograficznego w Krakowie”. Vol. 13:1996, p. 115 ff.

¹² L. Dall, *Bronisław Piłsudski w Zakopanem*. [in:] *Bronisław Piłsudski (1866-1918)*, p. 111.

¹³ While in Cracow, he stayed in his brother’s place at Topolowa Street 18, in a four-room apartment in the second floor with kitchen and balcony. He was registered there as an ethnographer of noble birth, Catholic denomination, scientist. Józef, active in the underground movement, was not registered. Cf. W. Jędrzejewicz, J. Cisek, *Kalendarium życia Józefa Piłsudskiego 1867-1935*. Warszawa 1998, v. II, p. 329.

since he was supported by him and considered him an authority in many fields.¹⁴ Zakopane was divided into two camps. Its owner, while a stranger coming from “the plains,” i.e. the group fighting Dr. Chramiec, belonged to his adherents and even friends. In his memoirs he wrote: “living with Zamoyski almost a quarter century, as with my brother, I did not have any secrets before him and neither did he.”¹⁵

Władysław Zamoyski, as deputy chairman of the Tatra Museum Society, belonged to the advocates of the construction of a new museum. Bronisław Piłsudski and Zamoyski were among the distinguished signatories of the *Call for a wide dedication to the construction of a masonry building for the Tatra Museum* (Jan Kasprovicz, Ignacy J. Paderewski, Kazimierz Tetmajer, Stefan Żeromski). This was the first contact of the two figures in question confirmed by sources, although we do not know whether they met in person. Even if they met each other, they did not grow closer together.

Considering the atmosphere that accompanied the feud in Zakopane, it is not surprising that in the rather abundant, for the most part commonly known correspondence of B. Piłsudski the name of Dr. Chramiec appears only once, with reference to his well prospering and developing hydrotherapeutic facility. B. Piłsudski who suffered chronic bronchitis and was in therapy wrote in his letter from November 6, 1911 to J.M. Rozwadowski: “The highland air is too severe for me, I keep catching cold from the baths and then going back to Kuźnice from Chramiec”¹⁶.

Consideration for the “dear uncle” probably made B. Piłsudski incidentally mention Władysław Zamoyski who, after all, belonged to Dr Chramiec’s camp. The feuds surrounding him contributed to a great disappointment with Polishness. Piłsudski noticed a large gap between the idealized image of Poland he had created during his Siberian deportation and the reality found after his return. Moreover, his everyday existence was difficult, and results of his scientific and social initiatives were minute compared to the intentions. He was constantly forced to look for accommodation and

¹⁴ Bronisław Piłsudski asking Stanisław Witkiewicz for advice on different issues regarding Tatra Museum put the following opinion at the end of his letter from July 25, 1912. „I beg the advice and leadership of Dear Uncle who, after Chałubiński, did the most for Zakopane, who is appreciated by thousands of adherents more than any of the living activists, scientists, writers and painters.” One should keep in mind that since November 1918 S. Witkiewicz lived already in Lovran (Eastern Istria) and did not come to Zakopane. Cit. from A. Kuczyński, „Kochany i Drogi Wujaszku”. *Listy Bronisława Piłsudskiego do Stanisława Witkiewicza*. „Literatura Ludowa”. Y. 43:1999, no 1, p. 61.

¹⁵ A. Chramiec, *Wspomnienia*. Edition, foreword and afterword by B. Wysocka. Kórnik – Zakopane 2004, p. 63.

¹⁶ Cit. from J. Staszal, *Związki Bronisława Piłsudskiego...*, p. 156.

money to provide for his own upkeep. Such difficulties led Piłsudski to Kuźnice, where he stayed from late September 1911 until the end of April 1912 as a resident of the Women's Housework School conducted by Mrs. General Jadwiga Zamoyski. Even though the invitation was pronounced by Władysław Zamoyski (this fact is explicitly stated by Bronisław in his letter to professor Jan M. Rozwadowski in 1911¹⁷), an invitation without her acceptance or maybe even inspiration was out of the question. In the memoirs of doctor Andrzej Chamiec, J. Zamoyski appears as "pervaded with passionate love for her home country and great reverence for Siberian deportees and other imprisoned patriots...¹⁸".

Many authors omit the episode of Piłsudski's stay in Kuźnice. Mrs. General Jadwiga Zamoyski in the letters to her son in Paris mentioned Bronisław a couple of times. At the end of December 1911, she informed that "Poor Mr. Piłsudski caught a slight cold, and suffered a bit from rheumatism in his legs. He was cold even though he had a good southern room, he had little sunshine due to the protruding roof. We moved him to a different room which he could not enjoy more. Normally, I do not have special liking for residents, but giving some relief to a Siberian deportee is a nice thing indeed"¹⁹.

The above words suggest that B. Piłsudski lived on the premises of the Women's Housework School, where range of better or worse rooms to be allotted was quite wide.²⁰ Another letter from Mrs. General Jadwiga Zamoyski, written on Christmas Eve

¹⁷ J. Staszek, *Związki Bronisława Piłsudskiego...*, pp. 156-157.

¹⁸ A. Chamiec, *Wspomnienia*, p. 60. In the memoirs of Tymon Niesiołowski some sense of grievance can be found that was expressed at the beginning of the century by a Jewish Merchant Teleman to Jan Kasproicz with regard to the school ran by Mrs. General. "You know, Mr. Kasproicz [Said Mrs. Teleman], they harmed me there in Kuźnice at Mrs. Zamoyski's place. They baptized my daughter and did not allow me to even see her". "The same God" replied Kasproicz. "But it was unfair to take a child away from her parents" – nodded Teleman. T. Niesiołowski, *Wspomnienia*. Warszawa 1963, pp. 62-63

¹⁹ BK 7593, p. 178 – List Jadwigi Zamoyskiej do syna Władysława z 29 grudnia 1911 r.

²⁰ The issue of Piłsudski's stay in Kuźnice is rather unclear. I would like to note the opinion of Zofia Nowak (*Historia Zakładu Kórnickiego. Cz. II. „Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej”*. No. 26, 2003, p. 61), stating that Władysław Zamoyski has a small house at his disposal, located 1500m from the School. The information from A. Chamiec (*Wspomnienia*), about count W. Zamoyski who, after his arrival to Zakopane, adopted two rooms for his needs and arranged one guest room, must be noted as well. They were located in the second floor of the School's administration building. Jan Staszek writes that Bronisław Piłsudski lived in a remote part of Zakopane, at Dolina Bystra. When he said farewell to the "hospitable School" in spring 1912, „he moved to Bystre (estate at Nosal)" to the house of Tadeusz Korniłowicz (J. Staszek, *Związki Bronisława Piłsudskiego...*, p. 156 and 158). Lesław Dall, in turn, writes that in the years 1911-1914 B. Piłsudski permanently lived in villa Korniłowiczówka at the Oswald Balzer Road. One must also note the lack of mention of Kuźnice

of 1911, speaks in favor of this version as well: “Our gentlemen, invited for Christmas Eves, went to different families. We invited Mr. Piłsudski to us for dinner, but this gathering of more than a hundred of people tired him out. He is a very pleasant man, as all our Siberian deportees. He entertains the idea of establishing an ethnographic museum of Polish manuscripts, artifacts, inventions and similar things. He would like to establish this institution in Zakopane. I asked him whether it would not be better to add such a section to an already existing museum, and he did not oppose. He wanted you to donate objects you brought from Australia.”²¹

Bronisław Piłsudski felt good in this milieu, as can be seen from the letter he sent to his friend professor Jan. M. Rozwadowski on November 6, 1911: “Mrs. General is a very kind and warm-hearted woman. Everybody around is very friendly, but they keep addressing me as professor, in spite of my protests.”²² From these letters, it appears that he gave talks to the schoolgirls about Siberia, Sakhalin, and Japan. The meetings were very popular as he was asked to increase their number. He was afraid that weekly talks might be too much of a burden for him, but finally decided that “[...] this will be beneficial to me personally as I can prepare materials for my memoirs this way.”²³

This was not the only plan B. Piłsudski did not carry out. At that time, he was mostly occupied with protracted printing and corrections of his book on the Ainu language. He also devoted a lot of attention to the exploration of Podhale ethnography. It has been established that while visiting the Zamoyski family he wrote down the *Song of Highlanders from Jurgów, from the Times of the Morskie Oko Battles* which was later reprinted several times, on postcards among others.²⁴ In the same period, on November

times of Bronisław Piłsudski and activity of W. Zamoyski – cf. L. Dall, Bronisław Piłsudski w Zakopanem, p. 115.

²¹ BK 7592, letter from Jadwiga Zamoyski do Władysław, Kuźnice December 24, 1911; the mention on collection from Australia refers to the rich ethnographic collection gathered by W. Zamoyski when he went to Sydney in 1879 as a member of French delegation to the World Exhibition.

²² Cit. from J. Staszek, Związki Bronisława Piłsudskiego..., p. 156.

²³ Ibidem, p. 157.

²⁴ Songs written down by B. Piłsudski on February 8, 1912 in Jurgów according to the oral tradition of the highlanders:

Jaworińskie pany [The lords of Jawor]
Z Rybim się prawocą. [Litigate over Rybie]
Dy polscy panowie [Polish lords]
Rybiego nie dadzą. [Will not give Rybie up]
W Żabim jest dwa stawy, [There are two ponds in Żabie]
Przy Rybim dom nowy; [And a new house at Rybie]
Panowie w nim siedzą, [Lords sitting in it]

11, 1911, Bronisław Piłsudski finalized the project of establishing the Ethnographic Section of the Tatra Society,²⁵ and undertook an important initiative he had been involved in for several years, i.e. establishing the “Poland in Exile” society. One of the elements of this project was to found a yearly publication on Podhale that would “accommodate serious figures of Podhale, their friends, and, on the other hand, publishing works that could give a possibility to get to know the past and present of Podhale”. According to the plan presented to S. Witkiewicz on July 25, 1912, the yearbook was supposed to comprise articles and smaller paragraphs on ethnography, economy, statistics, and history, as well as illustrations, reproductions and bibliographical accounts. The fundamental obstacle to this plan, which Piłsudski was very strongly involved with, were difficulties with raising appropriate funds. Juliusz Zborowski, a long-standing director of the Tatra Museum who considered Bronisław Piłsudski one of the most beautiful figures of strangers who passed through Zakopane and Podhale, wrote: “Penniless, suffering a sometimes severe poverty, Piłsudski gathers a dozen strangers who have long moved to Podhale, and skillfully gathers every penny from the wealthy and the not so wealthy.”²⁶ Piłsudski very much counted on the generosity of count Władysław Zamoyski to whom he directed the following letter:

Kr. Vinohrady, Nerudova Street 16, Praha

24.X.1912

Dear Sir,

As you can see from the attached appeal, I have not abandoned the thought that was on my mind already during my trip back to Poland. I, or rather we the undersigned, would like to turn to you with a far more modest request than last year when I pinned my utmost hope upon you. I hope that you will not refuse your support, for, in principle, you considered this idea noble and important to our society. Could you

Rybiego nie dadzą. [Will not give up Rybie]

²⁵ See A. Kuczyński, Statut Sekcji Ludoznawczej Towarzystwa Tatrzańskiego... [w:] Zesłaniec..., p. 166.

²⁶ J. Zborowski, Muzeum Tatrzańskie i sztuka ludowa Podhala. (An outline). „Rocznik Podhalański”, Vol. 5:1992, p. 27.

kindly point at some of your relatives and persons from your circle you find suitable for the initial organizational work.

I am writing to Zakopane, since I suppose that you have already returned to Kuźnice.

Awaiting your response I remain with true respect.

Bronisław Piłsudski²⁷

Bronisław Piłsudski devoted a lot of time and effort to balancing the budget. The work on the first volume of the “Yearbook” was uplifted by the news about financial guaranty from W. Zamoyski who pledged to cover the print costs at the beginning of 1914. Texts were sent for typesetting in May of the same year.²⁸ The outbreak of war interrupted the already advanced publication process that was resumed in 1921 when the *Podhale Yearbook* appeared. In the editor’s note, tribute was paid to the initiator and actual creator of the volume, and at the same time the information was given that the printing was financed by “cultural institutions and a circle of private persons with count Władysław Zamoyski in the first place”.

The second memorable initiative, construction of Tatra Museum building, was finalized with remarkable participation of Władysław Zamoyski. The construction works were finished in 1922, that is, more than ten years after the decision to construct the new building. Bronisław Piłsudski tried to calm the feuds that arose during the construction process down with great dedication. This was all the more difficult since Zamoyski supported the design of architect Franciszek Mączyński for which he wanted to donate 20 thousand crowns (against 70 thousand of the total cost estimate). The competing project was a more expensive proposal by Stanisław Witkiewicz. While informing the “dear uncle” about the feuds, Piłsudski “conspired” with his adherents in order to decide common actions and a proper composition of the Managing Board before the General Meeting. As he wrote on July 25, 1912, *I was told that Zamoyski had given a great loan in materials and money (it is supposed to be donated after a couple of years) under the condition that the project be made and construction supervised by Mr. Mączyński. This is because he has the confidence of Zamoyski and bears his endless*

²⁷ BK 7669/2, pp. 608-609.

²⁸ J. M. Roszkowski, Bronisław Piłsudski wobec Kresów Południowych i Słowiańszczyzny. [in:] Bronisław Piłsudski (1866-1918). Człowiek – Uczony – Patriotą, p. 163.

stories about construction and his constant detailed advice patiently. Zamoyski considers himself a great expert on construction, Brzega²⁹ is also convinced that his opinions are very reasonable.³⁰ The changes envisioned by Piłsudski in the composition of the Managing Board that was supposed to resign unanimously did not include Zamoyski, as he could contribute the most to the construction and maybe even to future works.³¹ The protracted feuds were partially resolved by fate, first through the outbreak of war and then through the death of Witkiewicz in the following year.

In the Tatra Museum that was finally completed, nearly 170 artifacts collected by B. Piłsudski in the years 1912-1913 were placed. The then elaborated concept of arrangement of the ethnographic division is considered by the contemporary ethnographers a fundament of museumship, not only in ethnography. The pioneering ideas of B. Piłsudski did not win recognition before World War I, since [...] *the science and collector's world still adhered to the neoromantic vision of history that was associated with patriotic duties toward the enslaved country [...] With regard to ethnology, the heritage of this Siberian deportee has been truly appreciated only in the contemporary times. Better late than never.*³²

As can be seen, a preoccupation with museums connected the figures appearing in this essay to some extent, since the collection of Władysław Zamoyski gathered during his stay in Australia and his collection regarding Morskie Oko Lake were supposed to be part of the ethnographic division. Piłsudski wanted to arrange part of this division with help of Zamoyski who *as a citizen, put a lot of effort into this project. I also know that he has some relevant artifacts*³³. However, there is no specific data on this issue. There are no opinions or evidence regarding the material support to B. Piłsudski who had no permanent income. Another fact indicative of the lack of contacts with Zamoyski is Piłsudski's stay in Paris where he went in May 1913 after a couple of months spent in Switzerland (mainly Neuchâtel). He stayed for a couple of weeks with Waclaw Sieroszewski, with whom he had visited Hokkaido ten years earlier. However, already

²⁹ Wojciech Brzega (1872-1941), a friend of B. Piłsudski, author of works on Tatra highlanders printed in the journal „Lud” in the years 1910-1911.

³⁰ Cit. from A. Kuczyński, „Kochany i Drogi Wujaszku” ..., p. 61.

³¹ Ibidem.

³² H. Błaszczyk-Żurowska, *Działalność kolekcjonerska Bronisława Piłsudskiego w Zakopanem*. [in:] *Zesłaniec...*, pp. 139-140.

³³ B. Piłsudski, *W sprawie Muzeum Tatrzańkiego*. „Rocznik Podhalański”, Vol. 1:1914-1921, p. 183.

in June, he was in the Paris apartment of Iwan I. Meisner, a former Sakhalin deportee. Piłsudski did not tolerate the stay in Paris very well. He suffered material privation and mental loneliness, the *terrible rush, the awful air [and] the so very boring old gaffers* at the School of Anthropology³⁴. Piłsudski did not however seek contact with the Polish Library at Quai d'Orléans 6, where the residence of the Zamoyski family, then in Kuźnice, was located. The only material evidence of their possible contact from that time is the letter from Wincenty Szymborski from December 30, 1913 sent to B. Piłsudski, who had been staying in Zakopane since October:

Honorable Sir Bronisław Piłsudski

Zakopane

Mrs. Witkiewicz's Pension at Bystre

Having no chance of seeing you, I am sending the custom and rail certificates, left at the Count's residence, issued for the garment box sent by Vorzimmer and Co., Cracow.

Yours sincerely

*W. Szymborski*³⁵

*Attachments*³⁶

At the beginning of 1914, the protracted efforts to establish the Ethnography Section within the Anthropology Committee of the Academy of Learning started to bring some results. The joy caused by the nomination of B. Piłsudski to the secretary of the Section lasted merely a couple of months. After the outbreak of war, he returned to Zakopane which he left for Vienna in November 1914. On April 11, 1915, Piłsudski crossed the border into Switzerland. The opinion prevailing in the literature, disseminated by Waław Jędrzejewicz, is that Piłsudski left Galicia due to his fear of being arrested by

³⁴ Cf. J. Staszek, *Związki Bronisława Piłsudskiego...*, pp. 165-166

³⁵ BK 8086, k. 535.

³⁶ There are no attachments.

the Austrians as a Russian citizen. This view is denied by Halina Florkowska-Frančić who based her argument on sources³⁷. Above all, staying in Vienna entailed a much higher risk of being arrested than “hiding” in Galicia.

The outbreak of war also affected the Zamoyski family, who were French citizens. Their annual stay in Paris, started on June 16, 1914, had been intended to last six weeks. The beginning of war prevented their return and cut off income from the Zakopane and Kórnik properties. Their spending was significantly reduced, including the public donations. At the end of 1914, W. Zamoyski took out a loan of 10 thousand Francs. In one of his letters he claimed “not to have a penny to his name”,³⁸

Keeping the proper distance to the material situation of the two figures, one can say that in the period in question their situations were equally bad. In March 1917, Bronisław Piłsudski was apparently “penniless, and was asking for some subsidy to be arranged.”³⁹ This shows that his plan of becoming politically active as a representative of the Supreme National Committee (SNC) appeared to be of no avail. Many times his pacifistic attitude and kind-heartedness, as well as his aversion to violence in any form, were emphasized by his contemporaries and posterity. Therefore, he was only of limited usefulness to Władysław Sikorski, the head of the Military Department of SNC, who opted for sending Piłsudski to the Polish Library in Rapperswil, an institution important to Polish propaganda. He worked there on encyclopedic publications propagating the “Polish issue” in the context of cooperation with Lithuania and Rus’. Piłsudski conducted research in leading Polish libraries, also in Biblioteka Kórnicka library, property of Zamoyski. This is proven by the letter from Adam Lewak of March 21, 1916 sent to Zygmunt Celichowski, administrator of the Kórnik property, including the library.

Rapperswil Castle, March 21, 1916

LIBRARY

of the

³⁷ H. Florkowska-Frančić, *Ostatnie lata Bronisława Piłsudskiego (1915-1918, Szwajcaria – Paryż)*. [in:] *Bronisław Piłsudski (1866-1918)*, p. 185 ff.

³⁸ For a more exhaustive treatment see S. Sierpowski, *Władysław Zamoyski w Paryżu w latach I wojny światowej*. [in:] *Władysław Zamoyski 1853-1924*. Kórnik – Zakopane 2003, p. 188 ff.

³⁹ Cf. J. Staszal, *Związki Bronisława Piłsudskiego...*, p. 177.

*Polish National Museum
in Rapperswil (Switzerland)*

Honorable Doctor [Celichowski],

Mr. Bronislaw Pilsudski, currently working on the economic issues of Lithuania and Rus', requests the advice of Rapperswil library regarding bibliography and relevant literature.

As you know, our collection mostly covers the history of emigration and political history. As we do not have a subject catalog, with the advice of B. Pilsudski, I would dare to ask for advice on the aforementioned field, i.e. economic and business relations of Lithuania and Rus'. Let me thank you sincerely in advance for your help and effort.

I remain with best regards.

Yours,

*Adam Lewak
librarian⁴⁰*

The Eastern Borderlands of Poland („Kresy”) have always been object of vivid interest, provoking fierce dispute in the Polish community. Pilsudski, considering himself Lithuanian, was a devoted Polish patriot and ardent supporter of the Republic of the Two Nations. That is why, when considering the fact that he was the initiator and chairman of Comité Général des Sècours pour les Victimes de la Guerre en Lithuanie seated in Freiburg, one should note not so much the “considerable sums”⁴¹ donated as help to Lithuanians (as he called Poles from the Great Duchy of Lithuania) and Letuvises (de facto Lithuanians) as his effort put into finding a common way for the two nations. To put it simply, he wanted return of Poland onto the map of Europe within its borders from before the first partition. Different plans, assuming independence of Lithuania as a country, caused a storm experienced, among others, by Roman Dmowski in the residence of Zamoyski in Paris at Quai d’Orléans 6. When he informed about the

⁴⁰ BK, AB 225, k. 111; copy 26/3 1916 – with appropriate indications.

⁴¹ W. Kowalski, *Ścieżka obok drogi*. „Nowy Świat”, 30-31 May 1992, p. 8. Witold Armon wrote in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish Bibliographic Dictionary], vol. XXVI (p. 307) that the Committee sent between ten and twenty thousand Swiss franc to Lithuania.

planned borders of Poland, not comprising the Eastern outskirts (including Vilnius), Mrs. General Zamoyski experienced a “heavy heart attack”⁴².

Quite similar views professed by many Poles (including the figures appearing in this article) on future borders of the reborn country harmed independence aspirations of the Lithuanians. Conciliatory nature of B. Piłsudski helped him win personal liking and appreciation for his ability to bring together people of different views⁴³, but even he himself saw that the results of his efforts were very limited, when contradictory interests of the bordering nations came to play.

The ongoing world war added new antagonisms and divisions to the already existing conflicts. This was the case among Poles of different or even contradictory views as well. Piłsudski was deeply affected when Erazm Piltz,⁴⁴ who bet on a victory of Russia and the Triple Entente, postponed work on those volumes of the encyclopedia that could violate Russia’s interests in any way, especially in the area of Lithuania, Belorussia, and Ukraine. But he was also careful about wording when talking about the freedom of Lithuania, as can be seen in the final part of the brochure published in 1916 under the title *Les croix lithuaniennes* where he wrote that the Lithuanian nation, despite a total destruction of significant parts of the country, “still expects that the great war returns its free country.” On the beloved soil of the fatherland, thousands of current exiles would be able to raise large, beautiful and decorative crosses [...] *as a sign of gratitude for deferring the ultimate God’s cross that Lithuania carried with its sister Poland for many years with all Christian humility, but breaking down in the face of pain and despair.*⁴⁵

Numerous encounters with representatives of various orientations and parties having their branches or adherents in Switzerland revealed disintegration of the Polish community that was generally patriotic (even nationalistic), but determined to emphasize the divisions rather than seek unity. The idea of a union of people of good will, going beyond the partisan, national and religious boundaries, which Piłsudski had

⁴² H. Korwin-Milewski, *Siedemdziesiąt lat wspomnień (1855-1925)*. Warszawa 1993, p. 312.

⁴³ Józef Komenda, an employee of the Polish Museum Library in Rapperswil, wrote in his letter to Wincenty Lutosławski from June 23, 1916 that the good B. Piłsudski turned gray in Siberia, and „at the same time got even more beautiful spiritually”. Cf. J. Staszek, *Związki Bronisława Piłsudskiego...*, p. 175, footnote 77.

⁴⁴ One of the leaders of the Polish National Committee, representing Polish national interests in Paris in relations with the countries of the Triple Entente.

⁴⁵ B. Piłsudski, *Litewskie krzyże*, p. 21.

been consumed with already in Galician times, became more articulated, and even obsessive during the war. In the *Lithuanian Crosses* cited above, he expressed his reluctance about the ongoing conflict, writing that the old Europe after the war “will look with shame at the fulfilled act of death and destruction; many regions, many countries will deserve the name of land of graves and crosses.”⁴⁶ The more, as he suggested to his readers, the cooperation in the name of higher goals and Christian mercy is necessary.

This striving for agreement became one of the most important aspects of Piłsudski’s socio-political activity also in France, where he arrived in the first days of November 1917. His move to Paris as an associate of the Polish National Committee (PNC) headed by Roman Dmowski, which had been established in August 1917 in Lausanne, opened the most intensive, but also the most dramatic period in his life. He was assigned do the Committee (Section or Bureau) of Political Studies, headed by Jan Rozwadowski. Another figures active in this committee were lawyer Bohdan Winiarski and historian Stanisław Szpotański. H. Florkowska-Frančić writes that B. Piłsudski was also a “coordinator and reviewer” of the Committee’s works in which Georges Bienaimé and Waclaw Gasztowtt⁴⁷ actively took part. Participation of a person bearing a name already famous in Poland in the works of newly established PNC was all the more desired since his political views and most prominently his determination to ease conflicts were well known. Moreover, the Polish community in Paris denied the right of the group gathered around Dmowski to represent Polish interests, even though all powers of the Triple Entente formally recognized the PNC as official Polish representation in autumn of 1917. In January 1918, the Citizen’s Committee to Help Poles in France was established in Paris following an agreement of the majority of several dozens of Polish associations existing, but not necessarily active, in France. The Citizen’s Council appointed by this committee aspired to the role of a Polish consulate⁴⁸.

The fight for leadership in France was all the more painful for B. Piłsudski because the opponents of the PNC reproached its leaders (e.g. Dmowski, Piltz) for their relations with the Tsarist regime, the draconian and unjust sentence of which had heavily influenced his whole life. The widening gulf between the leaders of the PNC and his

⁴⁶ Ibidem, p. 1.

⁴⁷ H. Florkowska-Frančić, *Ostatnie lata...*, p. 201.

⁴⁸ W. Śladkowski, *Emigracja polska we Francji 1871-1918*. Lublin 1980, p. 296 ff.

brother Józef (“Ziuk”), detained in the summer of 1917, played an equally important role. From this point of view, his work for the PNC, and the fact that he was living at its headquarters at Avenue Klebér 11 bis had a significant propaganda value and eased the accusations of philorussian character and domination of National Democracy (Endecja) associated with the right wing⁴⁹.

In this very active period of B. Piłsudski’s life, occasional encounters took place with Władysław Zamoyski, who had long moved to Paris, but did not undertake any wider public activity. In this regard, he was surpassed by his sister Maria who ran a charity association known as “Polish Care” in all of France. These devoted activities of Maria Zamoyska were not accompanied by a comparable involvement of Władysław Zamoyski. It is impossible to overlook the fact that no mention of any contact between Mrs. General Zamoyski (ruling in the family) and Bronisław Piłsudski during his stay in Paris which started in November 1917 has been found. This is surprising considering her hospitality in Kuźnice in 1911-1912, where Mrs. General displayed, if not actual liking for the victims of the Tsar’s regime, at least a favorable interest and some willingness to help. This lack of contacts in Paris was probably not accidental, since there is no mention, either, about meetings with Maria Zamoyska, who carried out charitable activities for Poles long resident in France, as well as for newcomers who found themselves in France as a result of war. Her significant activity must have been related to the issues Piłsudski was in charge of at the PNC. However, even in the resources of the renovated Polish Library in Paris, no sources related to this matter have been found.⁵⁰ The information on the contact of the two gentlemen in question is very succinct. Zygmunt Lubicz-Zalewski, an employee of the Paris Branch of the Polish Academy of Learning, noted under the date of November 13, 1917: “Conversation in my place at 1 rue des Écoles with Zamoyski [Władysław], Piłsudski Bronisław i Janusz

⁴⁹ The source on which Jan Staszek (*Związki*, p. 180) based his claim that Bronisław Piłsudski spent the last months of his life with Zamoyski family is not known. Even if such sources existed, they would not be true. What is decisive here are the documents published by A. Kuczyński in 2002, *Gdy nastał kres życia. Nowe materiały dotyczące śmierci Bronisława Piłsudskiego*. „Lud”, Vol. 26: 2002, p. 269. I have not found any confirmation in sources for the earlier view that Władysław Zamoyski helped B. Piłsudski “overcome the living difficulties” (see S. Sierpowski, *Wizyta*, p. 194, footnote 10), in the sense of material support. After all, this was perhaps the only period in Bronisław’s life in which he had a stable income.

⁵⁰ In July and August 2009, my Ph.D. student Edyta Bądkiewicz conducted a search, but to no avail.

Nawroczyński”⁵¹. However, there is no evidence of any contacts between Piłsudski and Zamoyski. One of the major reasons was because of the “Polish-Polish” relations that were full of rivalry, aversion and even hostility. Piłsudski was perceived as brother of the imprisoned in Magdebourg legion brigadier and key opponent to the Parisian KNP, headed by Dmowski. At the same time, Bronisław Piłsudski, with his great abomination, was referring to these quarrels as “pacifist by nature, the benignant man, redolent with the Christian idea of forgiveness [...] organically not capable to preach his brothers material intentions”⁵².

There were claims being submitted against the “political” B. Piłsudski by both his brothers’ legionnaires, the Parisian society of Polish people which was already well rooted and represented by Zamoyski family, and an immigrant society associated with KNP. Strenuous and almost obsessive efforts demonstrated by B. Piłsudski were aimed at cooperation in the name of an imperative national goal and in practice was meant to support only one side. Besides, as a part of his task as the employee residing on KNP premises (!), according to his own notes, he was working to bring the Committee’s goals closer to “people which are far from them and who improperly spin yarn”. It was also about keeping “personal relations with people from outside the Committee”, and also with Władysław Zamoyski who was supposed to probe, discuss and popularize KNP’s projects⁵³. Some of them, for example, establishing a new journal for Polish soldiers and prisoners, had been handed over directly to representatives of the Polish society and KNP. This had Władysław Zamoyski on one hand and Marian Sayda on the other⁵⁴.

Bronisław Piłsudski was one of the architects of the national office of civil affairs which conducted tasks appropriate to the Polish consulate and thanks to his intense efforts, on March 29th, 1918, the Office Polonais pour les Affaires Civiles en France stated its operations. He was a member in two out of four commissions: the general commission and the commission for the care of prisoners and internees. However,

⁵¹ Z. Lubicz-Zaleski, *Dziennik nieciągły...*, p. 210.

⁵² W. Kowalski, *Ścieżka obok drogi...*, p. 8.

⁵³ AAN, KNP, no. 309, pp. 23-24 (B. Piłsudski, „Moje zajęcia w biurze i poza nim”, n/a); cf. H. Florkowska-Frančić, *Ostatnie lata...*, p. 200 ff.

⁵⁴ H. Florkowska-Frančić, *Ostatnie lata...*, p. 202 ff.

neither Władysław nor his sister Maria Zamoyska, who was very selfless in her work for prisoners in France, were in this body⁵⁵.

B. Piłsudski's activity in the Polish society strengthened his political-national yearnings in the context of the future of the Republic of Both Nations (Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth). Already in the quoted list of "in and out of the office" activities, he put first, the preparation of the French edition of documents dealing with the Polish-Lithuanian relations and tracking developments at the Polish-Lithuanian-Belarusian-Ukrainian border. He was not, however, the representative of Lithuania at KNP, as both Adam Lewak followed by Jan Staszel wrote⁵⁶. Also, the pompous opinion of Zygmunt Lubicz-Zaleski stating that he was "the apparent evidence of the Polish-Lithuanian union" was incorrect. The union, that was understood, as not only the political postulate, but also as a world scale moral phenomenon⁵⁷. He was as more or less, but mainly, the inexhaustible ambassador propagator or even the pilgrim of national reconciliation.

In the spring of 1918 he also returned to pre-war idea, derived from Kraków/Zakopane region, which is based on creating an association of Polish people living abroad. This was not only to find out the input of Polish people into the civilization heritage of the countries of their residence, but also to popularize Polish matters among others. Creation of a "Universal Association of Polish People" was intended to be the foundation for reconciliation of all Polish people fighting for independence in which he would like to gather in the association of an unambiguously resounding name, "The League of Understanding". Bronisław Piłsudski was taking the initiative to come to an understanding of all "nationally oriented organizations and individuals so to discuss common matters together with settling mutual relations". The League of Understanding (or reconciliation and kindness) was supposed to function based on the honorable tribunal, which having pledged objectivity, was to serve to heal quarrels and introduce greater harmony and joy of life in the rebuilding of the Motherland⁵⁸.

⁵⁵ M. Seyda, *Polska na przełomie dziejów. Fakty i dokumenty*. Poznań 1931, pp. 332-333 (this is the only mention of M. Seyda on B. Piłsudski).

⁵⁶ Cf. J. Staszel, *Związki Bronisława Piłsudskiego...*, pp. 180-181.

⁵⁷ Z. Lubicz-Zaleski, *Dziennik nieciągły...*, p. 210.

⁵⁸ Memorial, together with the copy without any specific address and with Piłsudski's handwritten amendments is at the Kórnik Library (no. BK 7738); some fragmented were cited by, for example,

As Head of State, Józef Piłsudski, who came to Kórnik on July 9th, 1921, thanked Władysław Zamoyski “for his brother”, this can be referred to as the last days of Bronisław’s life. Władysław Zamoyski’s active role in this period is well evidenced. Many details can be found in published materials by Antoni Kuczyński about Jan Rozwadowski, who on May 19th, 1918, two days after the suicide of Bronisław Piłsudski, described developments of that period⁵⁹. During these days it can be inferred that B. Piłsudski suffered a bad anxiety disorder. It is probably that this was not only due to the lack of confidence requested from the management of KNP, but also the repeated concerns that somebody wanted to poison or kill him⁶⁰. He shared his concerns on May 15th with Władysław Zamoyski, who after many hours spent together, acknowledged him as a “totally sick person, suffering from the delusions of persecution demonstrating astonishing political views, who must be ordered to see a physician as soon as possible”. Jan Rozwadowski, who quoted these words, also reported that Zamoyski, due to late night timing, committed himself to setting a meeting the next day with the well known neurologist Jozef Babiński. Before the visit on the afternoon of May 16th, Piłsudski spent “few hours” with Zamoyski who was, during these difficult moments, a real supporter of the sick and later the source of information on further developments of the situation. Related to the doctor’s visit, Jan Rozwadowski asked Zamoyski about “the stage of sickness, possible threatening dangers involved and finally the sanatorium where he could be sent with and a doctor that could be the most entrusted”⁶¹.

The next day, May 17th, Jan Rozwadowski, having realized the absence of Bronisław Piłsudski both in his home and office, had hoped to “go again” to Władysław Zamoyski. However, W. Zamoyski, having arrived to Avenue Kleber, communicated about the doctor’s diagnosis of sclerosis and “vein tension”, which can result in

A. Kuczyński, *Bronisław Piłsudski – czyli sztuka służenia ludziom i nauce. Szkic do portretu*. „Niepodległość”, Vol. XLV:1992, pp. 214-215 and H. Florkowska-Frančić, *Ostatnie lata...*, p. 207 ff.; an entire memorial was published by S. Sierpowski, *in: Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej*. Vol. 27, 2005, pp. 53-56.

⁵⁹ A. Kuczyński, *Gdy nastal kres życia*, pp. 259-276; part of this legacy was referred to by H. Florkowska-Frančić, *Ostatnie lata...*, p. 203 ff.

⁶⁰ In the discussion of May 16th, Bronisław Piłsudski recalled, for example, Bohdana Winiarskiego, „who he is afraid of as he glowers at him” – *ibidem*, p. 265; Prof. B. Winiarski used to live in the KNP’s premises once he was the secretary of the legal section – cf. J. Sandorski, *Bohdan Winiarski. Prawo. Polityka. Sprawiedliwość*. Poznań 2004, p. 20.

⁶¹ A. Kuczyński, *Gdy nastal kres życia...*, pp. 265-266.

immediate death. In this situation, "mental condition was paled into insignificance", particularly because the sick was aware of the existence of the delusions of persecution⁶². On May 17th, the ill fated day few hours before his death in Dionizy Zaleski's apartment, he wrote: "I came here to ask you for the injection and to finish this world. I am free from all these suspicions which arise around me. All left for the office?"⁶³.

Władysław Zamoyski, next to Jan Rozwadowski and Kazimierz Woźnicki, was one of the most involved when looking for the missing Bronisław Piłsudski on May 17th, who at a quarter to twelve, jumped into the Seine from Pont des Arts, next to the Louvre. On May 18th, W. Zamoyski and J. Rozwadowski also visited Waclaw Gasztowitt, Piłsudski's distant cousin, with information on his frock coat together with documents found in the Seine and the possibility of a suicidal death. Władysław Zamoyski, together with Władysław Mickiewicz, identified the body which was pulled out from the Seine around Pont d'Jena in the area of the Eiffel Tower on May 23rd⁶⁴.

It is difficult to say, with confidence and certainty, that Zamoyski family took part in the ecclesiastical obsequies. It is thought that, contrary to conveyances rooted in the literature, the ecclesiastical authorities withdrew from the suicide memorial services at Notre Dame Cathedral, which is still the capital cathedral. In that case, a rather third rate inquisitiveness does not undermine the assertion that Bronisław Piłsudski became the most demonstrative victim of the all embracing arguments amongst Polish people fighting for their independence. They also made some unsuccessful efforts to form a common Polish front on the Parisian ground. The approaching independence was, to many people, lame, incomplete, or even perceived as a personal failure. In some, although various aspects, this could be referred to title heroes of this memorial for which reconstruction of the Republic of Both Nations was still a pending postulate. All biographers write about B. Piłsudski's nostalgic romance to Lithuania. Also, W. Zamoyski, after the Treaty of Riga, did not conceal his far reaching territorial aspirations with respect to the East. Responding to Józef Piłsudski's statement that

⁶² In post factum notes of doctor J. Babiński as of May 24, 1918 not only was it the high blood pressure but also suicidal inclinations that were observed – *ibidem*, p. 267.

⁶³ H. Florkowska-Frančić, *Ostatnie lata...*, p. 206, fn. 84.

⁶⁴ It is surprising that Bronisław Piłsudski, the close person to Władysław Mickiewicz, for some reasons did not appear in his memoirs at all (*Pamiętniki*. Vol. 3 (the last one): 1870-1925. Warszawa 1933).

“everybody would like to have its properties located 10 km from the border on the Polish side”, Władysław Zamoyski made a point to the Head of State that: “Mr. Chief of State, each property constitutes a part of Poland”⁶⁵.

Proximity, sometimes even identity of Bronisław Pilsudski and Władysław Zamoyski’s views, with respect to the Eastern Borderlands, is not difficult to prove. Their spiritual affinity is worth emphasizing, particularly through the missionary approach to their own life. Whatsoever their achievement could be different in nature, their activity, was in the heart of the matter, a missionary one. This is because it is difficult to speak to Bronisław Pilsudski’s ethno-linguistic studies back from the breakthrough of the century or the push, with respect, to the construction of the new building for the Tatra Museum. At the same time, his efforts aimed at restoring understanding between conflicted factions, orientations or individuals, which end up in the “League of Understanding” project, can be referred to as the demonstration of not only political but also life naivety.

Niezłomna wiara w moralizatorską siłę słowa, a zwłaszcza osobistego przykładu, zbliżała B. Piłsudskiego do W. Zamoyskiego. Jednakże ten drugi twardo stąpił po ziemi, dając liczne dowody realizmu, przede wszystkim w sprawach gospodarczych. Dlatego też ślady działalności obu tytułowych postaci tego tekstu są tak odmienne: w przypadku W. Zamoyskiego jest to nie tylko Morskie Oko i Park Tatrzański do dziś funkcjonujący na terenach będących jego własnością, ale utworzona przez niego fundacja „Zakłady Kórnickie” należąca do najbardziej okazałych w dziejach narodu polskiego.

Irrevocable faith, in the moralizing sense of the word, and in particular the personal example, made B. Pilsudski and W. Zamoyski closer to each other. However, the latter, W. Zamoyski, had his feet on the ground proving his realism, particularly with respect to economic matters. For these reasons, the records of activity for both title heroes are much different. In the case of W. Zamoyski, not only is it the “Morskie Oko” and the Tatra Park which run its operation on its own territory up until now, but also the foundation “Zakłady Kórnickie” which is one of the most prominent in the history of the Polish nation.

⁶⁵ J. z Puttkamerów Żółtowska, *Dziennik. Fragmenty wielkopolskie 1919-1933*. Selection, editing and introduction by B. Wysocka. Poznań 2003, pp. 106-107.

On the other hand, also taking into account the great elite ethno-graphical output of Bronisław Piłsudski, we have the project “the League of Understanding”, in which so much is written about the personality of the “old AINU”⁶⁶ and mediation efforts, offering indifferent situations both to individuals and socio-political groups. The last months of his life were poisoned by the atmosphere of mutual, sometimes absolute, devastation of different orientation and groups of interest. Many people from his vicinity considered the fact that the brother of Chief of State was collaborating and being financed by his enemies from KNP. As well, some conservatives, like Władysław Zamojski, didn't like his contacts with those who proclaimed an egalitarian slogan. Bronisław Piłsudski's life was accompanied by the faith that the future will be better, more prosperous, peaceful but also rational, and more tolerant to opponents. The history of the following decades, which was presented in the appeal to the Polish people living in Paris, shows how much the future differs from reality. “Kurier Poznański”, after the May Coup d'Etat carried out by Józef Piłsudski in the 1926 volume dated May 28th, wrote: *“For some time a number of verbal and written statements raised serious questions in terms of the mental state of this man. In the light of these ambiguities, it is worth mentioning that J. Piłsudski's older brother, the late, famous anthropologist, Bronisław Piłsudski, after some melancholy time, committed suicide in Paris by throwing himself off a bridge into the Seine. It happened shortly after the civil war and perhaps in both cases it has something to do with a hereditary taint which ended up, for the late Bronisław Piłsudski, as a personal and family tragedy, but for the latter, reflects the fates of the country with a chronic national failure.*

(The more exhaustive treatment was published in: Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej (Memoirs of Kórnik Library), vol. 27, 2005, pp. 29-52).

⁶⁶ The term “old AINU” appeared in the letter of associate professor Andrzej Gawroński (friend to Bronisław Piłsudski) to professor J. M. Rozwadowski on March 28th, 1917 r. in a quite characteristic stylization: „Why not to help an old AINU somehow”. From the letter of Józef Komanda from Rapperswil we know, that also the term “Dziadek [grandpa]” was used, however, B. Piłsudski was only 50 at that time – cf. J. Staszek, *Związki Bronisława Piłsudskiego...*, pp. 177, 180.

On the Contacts between Władysław Zamoyski and Bronisław Piłsudski,
[w]: A Critical Biography of Bronisław Piłsudski. /Preprint/. Edited by
Kazuhiko Sawada and Köichi Inoue. Saitama 2010, vol. 2, s. 167-188