## I The President Thomas Woodrow Wilson Monument. Ignacy Jan Paderewski's Gift to the City of Poznań and Its Artistic Implications

Among the many works of art in Ignacy Jan Paderewski's¹ collection bequeathed to the National Museum in Warsaw is a print portfolio titled *Impressions of Pomerania* by Leon Wyczółkowski, preserved in a specially-made binding whose leather cover is embossed with a gilded dedication reading: *SWEMU | DOKTOROWI HONOROWEMU | IGNACEMU PADEREWSKIEMU | UNIWERSYTET POZNAŃSKI | 6. LIPCA 1931* R. [TO OUR | HONORARY DOCTOR | IGNACY PADEREWSKI | UNIVERSITY OF POZNAŃ | 6 JULY 1931]. The portfolio is one of several remnants of a planned but unrealised ceremony connected with the unveiling of the Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) monument in Poznań – a monument funded by the composer with his own money and contributions collected at his concerts. Paderewski was to visit Poland for the event. Though, ultimately, he could not follow through on his plans, it had been very important for the composer to take part in the ceremony honouring his friend, the President of the United States, a man so instrumental in Poland regaining sovereignty.

## Paderewski's Gift

The city of Poznań had commemorated the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the United States of America on 4 July 1926 by naming its botanical gardens after President Wilson,<sup>2</sup> the architect of the 14-point program in which one of the stipulations of peace after the First World War was the reinstatement of a fully-independent Polish state with access to the sea. It was likely already then that the Mayor of Poznań, Cyryl Ratajski, and Ignacy Jan Paderewski devised their intentions to erect a monument in honour of the US president.<sup>3</sup> Not long thereafter, the matter was made official with the appointment of the Executive Committee for the Construction of the Woodrow Wilson Monument on 28 December 1927. It was decided that the design for the monument would be selected by way of a competition. Also determined

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> On the Paderewskis' art collection, see Anna Feliks, "Historia ukryta w przedmiotach. Pamiątki po Ignacym Janie Paderewskim w zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie," *Niepodległość i Pamięć*, Ann. 24, no. 1(57) (2017), pp. 197–216; id., "Zbiory dzieł sztuki Ignacego i Heleny Paderewskich z Riond-Bosson" in *Paderewski*, Joanna Bojarska-Cieślik, Magdalena Pinker, Joanna Popkowska, academic eds, exh. cat., The National Museum in Warsaw, 2018 (Warsaw, 2018), pp. 43–69 and in this issue of *Journal*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Waldemar Karolczak, "Perła ogrodów poznańskich. Z dziejów parku Wilsona w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym," *Kronika Miasta Poznania*, Ann. 66, no. 3 (1998), p. 126.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Tadeusz Świtała, "Poznań w roku 1926" (2<sup>nd</sup> part), Kronika Miasta Poznania, Ann. 56, no. 3 (1988), p. 95, n. 4.

was the location for the monument - Wilson Park, with its unveiling envisioned to take place during the opening of the General National Exhibition on 15 May 1929. Paderewski was informed of these details in a letter from Ratajski which also included a preliminary costs estimate for the undertaking with consideration of the funds to be supplied by the composer, to be collected for that purpose among the Polish diaspora in North America.<sup>5</sup> The design competition was a closed one, with six artists invited to offer submissions. The outcome was announced on 27 February 1928, identifying the winner to be the Warsaw-based sculptor Zofia Trzcińska-Kamińska (1890-1977). Paderewski was sent all of the documentation along with photographs of the monument model and a letter from the artist describing the piece in detail. For the materials, the sculptor had chosen limestone from Lesser Poland and Czech syenite in a warm, pale hue (fig. 1). The model of the bust depicted the president in a synthetic, geometric manner, set atop a tall plinth ornamented with reliefs personifying Freedom, Poland and America.8 Paderewski judged the monument to be overly modest and its location unfortunate. It seems, however, that the sculpture failed to win the benefactor's approval mainly on account of its exceedingly modern form. As a result, in October of 1928, the composer contacted the American sculptor of Danish descent Gutzon Borglum (1867-1941)10

- <sup>4</sup> Archive of New Records, Ignacy Jan Paderewski Archive (further: ANR, Arch. IJP) sign. 2/100/0/5,10/1950 Correspondence of Cyryl Ratajski with Ignacy Paderewski regarding the monument.
- <sup>5</sup> This was not the first instance of Paderewski funding a monument. Unveiled in 1910 in Krakow was the Grunwald Monument in honour of the 500th anniversary of the Battle of Grunwald.
- <sup>6</sup> Invited to enter submissions in the competition were: Władysław Marcinkowski and Marcin Rożek from Poznań, Mieczysław Lubelski from Łódź, Xawery Dunikowski from Krakow, and Stanisław Kazimierz Ostrowski, Zofia Trzcińska-Kamińska and Edward Wittig from Warsaw. Witting did not submit an entry. The jury consisted of: Jan Biernacki, Tadeusz Breyer, Stefan Cybichowski, Nikodem Pajzderski, Roger Sławski, Stanisław Sławski, Jan Raszka, Cyryl Ratajski and Stanisław Wachowiak. It was decided not to reveal the competition details prior to the publication of the results.
- <sup>7</sup> The competition outcome met with a lukewarm response from artistic circles. The jury was criticised for failing to invite sculptors affiliated with the Krakow academy see "Rozstrzygnięcie konkursu," *Sztuki Piękne*, Ann 4, no. 5 (1928), p. 189. This, however, was inaccurate as one of the invitees was Xawery Dunikowski, a professor at the Krakow Academy of Fine Art.
- The sculptor only managed to produce a bust of the president, which was presented to the public at the General National Exhibition in 1929. Though the sculpture was fortunate enough to have survived the war, it was never erected in the park, renamed after Marcin Kasprzak in 1951. The Wilson bust was to be destroyed. Fortunately, packing it up proved easier and it languished buried in the ground until 1973, when it was accidentally discovered on the grounds of the Municipal Renovation and Construction Company. In 1993, it underwent complete restoration. Today, it crowns the existing monument, unveiled on 14 June 1994 in Wilson Park see Eugeniusz Goliński, *Pomniki Poznania* (Poznań, 2001), pp. 54, 55, 122, 123; Iwona Błaszczyk, *Konserwacja zabytków ruchomych w Poznaniu w latach 1990–2007* (Poznań, 2008), p. 160.
- From the memoir of Trzcińska-Kamińska, we know that: "The magistrate was surprised by the monument benefactor changing his mind [...]. He had informed the magistrate that the Wilson monument would be produced in the US." Cited after: Edmund Nadolski, "Pomnik Thomasa Woodrowa Wilsona w Poznaniu," *Kronika Wielkopolski*, no. 4 (1994), p. 58. The artist refused to have the contract voided and declined a payout for damages. As an alternative, she offered to make a monument of Tadeusz Kościuszko for the city of Poznań, which was erected at the intersection of Bukowska and Roosevelta streets see Janusz Pazdera, "O poznańskich pomnikach po 1918 roku," *Kronika Miasta Poznania*, Ann. 69, no. 2 (2001), p. 44.
- <sup>10</sup> Borglum met Paderewski by chance, while attending one of his concerts. The composer shared the sculptor's conservative attitude on art. In a letter to Paderewski dated 10 September 1928, Ratajski wrote: "the citizens' committee on the Wilson monument has moved away from its intention to erect the proposed, and ostensibly too modest, monument to President Wilson. [...] I gather it would be best if the American artist [...] came to Poznań so that I could confer with him on the most appropriate site. In the name of the City of Poznań, I leave to your disposal any site which Your Honourable Mr. President and his proxy may deem befitting and worthy of the monument." (ANR, Arch. IJP, sign. 2/100/o/5.9/1837/10-11).

with a proposition to produce the monument. Borglum was an accomplished artist, known at the time for his multi-figural Wars of America monument in New Jersey. Since 1927, Borglum had been working on what would become his most iconic work, the Mount Rushmore National Memorial in North Dakota, a monumental depiction of the heads of four US presidents carved into a mountain face. The composer's choice of artist was described in the following way: "Paderewski knew that no-one was capable of creating a more appropriate piece than Borglum. Gutzon Borglum had a long history with President Wilson, having been an associate of his during the Great War and a great supporter of his ideas on peace." Ratajski acquiesced to Paderewski's objections and proposed three alternative sites, leaving the final decision to the benefactor and the monument's designer. 12

Through Paderewski, Borglum received maps and photographs of the sites where the monument might be erected. However, the sculptor chose to visit Poland to view the proposed locations in person.<sup>13</sup> He assured Paderewski that he would begin work on the sketches and models without delay. In November 1928, he sent the composer a draft contract along with an assurance that he was treating this commission as a priority, writing: "We must make the memorial to Wilson one of the most spiritual things in Europe." The final contract, made out for a sum of 60 thousand dollars, was signed on 7 December 1928, <sup>14</sup> with the artist committing to deliver the finished bronze sculpture to Poznań no later than 1 December 1929.

The initial model of the monument, known from photographs sent to Paderewski by the sculptor, depicted Wilson on the steps of the Capitol making an open, peaceful gesture suggestive of wartime turmoil being pacified [fig. 2]. Intended to stand in front of him was a personification of the nation of Poland – a young woman clad in antique armour and prepared for battle, which was meant to underscore Poland's military exploits on the road to independence, an independence not only granted but also won. The idea to supplement the memorial with the figure representing Poland evidently did not resonate with Paderewski – the subsequent versions and models abandoned that component and consisted of only the statue of Wilson. In order to represent Wilson as faithfully as possible, the sculptor travelled to Washington in late May of that year to examine the late president's surviving wardrobe. In September, Borglum sent photos of a full-scale model to Paderewski for his approval (fig. 3). In his left hand, the president held a scroll – doubtless the famous 14-point peace program

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> "Dlaczego twórcą pomnika Wilsona jest Gutzon Borglum? Wywiad z p. dr. Orłowskim, przyjacielem i współpracownikiem Paderewskiego," *Kurjer Poznański*, Ann. 26, no. 293 (1931), p. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> In a letter to Paderewski dated 12 November 1928, Ratajski propose three potential sites: a) in front of Hotel Bazar at Macinkowskiego avenue and Wolności Square, b) in front of the old Teatr Miejski on Wolności Square, c) at the foot of Dworcowa street near Kaponiera. Paderewski proposed that the unveiling take place on 28 December 1929 (ANR, Arch. IJP, sign. 2/100/o/5.9/1837/27-28). Likely for sentimental reasons, the composer preferred the location at Hotel Bazar, where he had been greeted by droves of fans upon his arrival to Poznań in December 1918.

The monument site was not selected until April 1931. In May, the city council had once again indicated Wilson Park. The final decision was left to the sculptor, who in May 1931 visited Poznań with his family to personally choose a site and oversee the construction work. To make the task easier, they used a 1:1 scale model of the monument made in the Teatr Wielki props workshop, which was "tested" at various points in the city. Ultimately, Borglum chose Wilson Park, thereby returning to the original concept.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Initially, assuming that the monument would be produced by a Polish artist, Paderewski anticipated a sum of 20 thousand dollars, which proved insufficient in the end.

 $<sup>^{15}</sup>$  "The confident gesture of his hand neither imposes nor pleads but proclaims the inviolability and stability of our borders with free access to the sea," cited after: "Dlaczego twórcą pomnika...," op. cit., p. 3.

he presented to Congress, while his right hand was extended forward in a peaceful gesture over a map of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Republic of Poland unfolding at his feet.

Małgorzata Praczyk, who has analysed the monuments of Poznań, points out that "the choice of that specific moment entwines Wilson in the sequence of events and places him in an exact historical context. This historical contextualization of the statue inscribes him in a narrative shared by the commemorated president and the observers." The idea to depict the democratically-elected president in the process of fulfilling his public function at a moment crucial to Poland regaining independence seems to buck the prevailing convention of likenesses of leaders being "timeless," a convention that places emphasis on issue of command and on the cultural role of men. The decision to do away with a pedestal or plinth for the figure was meant to bring the president closer to viewer and, consequently, to convey the notion of civil equality. Borglum "did not place him on a tall plinth because he wanted him to be among the people, close to those coming to see him." To

The original date of the monument's unveiling proved unrealistic. The sculpture was not cast in bronze until January 1930 and it was decided to have it shipped to Poland by sea and then on to Poznań by rail. Paderewski thus proposed a new date for the unveiling: 28 June. However, due to transport complications, the ceremony was again pushed back, to June of the following year. On request of the Americans, the date was further postponed to 4 July – Independence Day. The ceremony was given the status of a national event, to which not only members of the diplomatic corps were invited but also Wilson's widow (fig. 4).

Because of the political changes transpiring in Poland over the several years from the birth of the idea to raise a monument to its ultimate unveiling, Paderewski's visit to attend the ceremony became uncertain. As Arkadiusz Kołodziejczyk observed: "the political situation in Poland changed diametrically. There was a sudden increase in stringency in the political treatment of the opposition, its leaders finding themselves in prison at the fortress in Brest. Thousands of other opponents of the Sanation party were also locked up. Amid serious turbulence in public opinion, the government decided to take part in the festivities surrounding the unveiling of the Wilson monument and to take advantage of Paderewski's name in order to obscure the memory of Brest and of the political tactics used during the election period.<sup>20</sup> Paderewski was warned of such a possibility by General Władysław Sikorski in a series of letters. The composer was well aware of his visit's potential utility to Sanation propaganda. After all, he was not a 'private' figure. Due to the domestic situation, the composer decided to cancel his visit despite formal invitations from authorities like Mayor Ratajski as well as from Cardinal August Hlond and various others. [...] In the end, Paderewski did not attend the

Małgorzata Praczyk, Materia pomnika. Studium porównawcze na przykładzie monumentów w Poznaniu i Strasburgu w XIX i XX wieku (Poznań, 2015), p. 63.

<sup>17 &</sup>quot;Pomnik i jego twórca," Ilustracja Polska, Ann. 4, no. 40 (1931), p. 7.

The date was approved by Ratajski, who wrote that "the monument's unveiling date, proposed for 28 June 1930, is dear to us, it being the anniversary of the day Mr. President signed the Treaty of Versailles. We see no obstacles in the way of us bowing our heads to the great Mr. Wilson on that momentous day [...] – barring the occurrence of any unforeseen technical difficulties." (ANR, Arch. IJP, sign. 2/100/0/5.9/1837/39-42 – Ratajski's letter to Paderewski, dated 15 February 1930).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> In March 1931, the unveiling date of 28 June was announced at a press conference for Paderewski and Borglum in Amarillo, Texas.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>bf 20}$  This relates to a snap parliamentary election in November 1930, sarcastically dubbed the Brest election due to the incarceration of opposition leaders at the Brest fortress two months prior to the election.

unveiling ceremony for the Wilson Monument on 4 July 1931. The event certainly suffered as a result."<sup>21</sup> Given as the official reason for Paderewski's absence was his wife's deteriorating health. The composer had taken into consideration the possibility of coming for only one day and only to Poznań, as indicated by his correspondence with city officials and the University of Poznań. Yet, ultimately, he remained in Switzerland. Today, it is difficult to determine with any degree of certainty whether this was due to the political context or in fact personal matters.

The monument was unveiled by President Ignacy Mościcki (**fig. 5**), with the benefactor's absence being lamented by the Greater Poland and national press. Though the very idea of the monument was welcomed enthusiastically by the residents of Poznań, its form generated mixed opinions. In addition to critical remarks appearing in a fine arts periodical,<sup>22</sup> doubts were also voiced by the guests in attendance and the president's widow, Edith Wilson. She extended warm words of gratitude for the delightful ceremony, which, nevertheless, was marred solely by the statue's form: "The unfortunate side was and remains the monument's inappropriate artistic quality [...] it is neither artistic nor accurate. I would never guess that this is my husband [...] I find it odd that Mr. Borglum would want his art (?) to be immortalised in this manner."<sup>23</sup>

The memorial remained in place until 1939, when it was destroyed as Poznań fell under German occupation. The last-minute cancellation of Paderewski's visit to Poland meant that many of the planned festivities surrounding the event were also cancelled.

## Gifts for Paderewski

During an official meeting taking place in Poznań, it had been decided to honour the composer with a number of splendid gifts. From the city, he was to receive a portrait by Jan Styka, most likely in connection with the unveiling ceremony of the Grunwald Memorial in Krakow in 1910 (fig. 6). Cyryl Ratajski and Witold Hedinger issued a letter in which they stated that "We had wished to present the portrait to the Honourable Mister President during a ceremonial assembly of the City Council planned in his honour on the day of the unveiling of the Wilson Monument. Despite our best intentions, not being able to make this a reality, we have, for the time being, deposited the portrait at the Municipal Museum as a loan of Mr. Paderewski [...] remaining hopeful that there will arise a possibility to present him with this gift in the near

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Arkadiusz Kołodziejczyk, *Cyryl Ratajski 1875–1942* (Poznań, 1986), p. 28. In a letter dated 22 May 1931, Sikorski warned Paderewski about coming to Poland, and specifically to Warsaw, in connection to the unveiling of the monument in Poznań: "It is desired to take advantage of the President [Paderewski's] name to shield the perpetrators of the Brest crimes and to deflect from the collapse of the meaning of Poland abroad. These are the reasons behind these only partially open efforts to incline you to begin your time in Poland with a ceremonial visit to Presi[dent] M[ościcki] and with a stay at Warsaw's White House. [...] However, it would be unfortunate for the lustre of the Paderewski name to be exploited for the ends of the clique in charge of the country. The current occupant of the castle has proved unworthy of his grand station and does not deserve special considerations. In the eyes of a vast majority of the population, he sadly comes across as a passive, or even worse – a willing instrument of the mafia." Cited after: *Archiwum polityczne Ignacego Paderewskiego*, vol. 3, Halina Janowska, Czesław Madajczyk, eds (Wrocław-Warsaw-Krakow-Gdańsk, 1974), pp. 183, 184.

The Krakow periodical Głos Plastyków criticised Paderewski for selecting an American sculptor to produce the Wilson monument: "Putting aside the fundamental issue of our having perfectly capable sculptors in Poland [...] we believe that, on Polish soil and in Polish, only a Pole could really say something in stone on the essence of Wilson's thesis on Poland." Głos Plastyków, Ann. 2, no. 9 (1931), p. 6.

<sup>23</sup> Cited after: Andrzej Zarzycki, "Na przekór Wątpiącym i Zrozpaczonym". Cyryl Ratajski 1875–1942 (Poznań, 1991), p. 83.

future."<sup>24</sup> Additionally, via courier, Ratajski sent a striking portfolio of works by the Poznań photographer Roman Ulatowski bound in red leather and adorned with a gilded title reading WILSON | PARK | IN | POZNAŃ, which, as stated in the dedication, was also intended to be presented to the composer in connection with the monument's unveiling.<sup>25</sup> The portfolio contains artistic photographs of the park, its surroundings, the plaque unveiled on the day that the park was rechristened in honour of Wilson, and of the actual sculpture designed by Borglum (fig. 7).<sup>26</sup>

Paderewski, a recipient of an honorary doctorate degree from the University of Poznań, was also to be honoured by the school.<sup>27</sup> Planned was a special assembly in the auditorium during which he would be presented with a portfolio by Leon Wyczółkowski titled *Impressions of Pomerania*, which was meant as a memento of the event.<sup>28</sup> For obvious reasons, the ceremony, clearly listed in the schedule, never came to pass.<sup>29</sup> It is worth considering, however, why it was precisely a series of works by Wyczółkowski that was chosen as a gift for the composer.

In 1929, Wyczółkowski left Krakow, to which he had strong ties since studying under Jan Matejko and especially since 1895, when he became a lecturer at the Academy of Fine Art after the school's reformation by Julian Fałat. Wyczółkowski had decided to relocate to an estate in Gościeradz, where he would spend the summer months. In winter, meanwhile, he would stay in a flat in Poznań. That decision opened up for the artist new opportunities for working *en plein air*. He travelled around Greater Poland and Pomerania, bringing back numerous sketches and drawings. His time in Poznań spawned a print series of views of the city's landmarks commissioned by the magistrate for the General National Exhibition. The strong transfer of the General National Exhibition.

- $^{24}\,$  ANR, Arch. IJP, sign. 2/100/o/5.9/1837/75 Letter of Cyryl Ratajski and Witold Hedinger dated 5 July 1931. In 1952, the portrait along with the collections of the Municipal Museum were transferred to the National Museum in Poznań (inv. no. MNP MP 963). It shows Paderewski making a speech on a dais with the Kościuszko Mound in the background.
- The dedication on the title page: To the Honourable Mr President | Ignacy Paderewski | on the unveiling day of the monument | to Woodrow Wilson | from the City of Poznań. | Ratajski | Mayor | Poznań. 4. July 1931.
  - <sup>26</sup> ANR, Arch. IJP, sign. 2/100/0/8/3810.
- The title of doctor honoris causa was bestowed on Paderewski (and on Edward M. House) by the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Poznań during a meeting on 6 October 1924. A ceremony was held on 23 November 1924.
- The portfolio, residing in the Prints and Drawings Room of the National Museum in Warsaw, was among the objects on display in the exhibition *Paderewski* held at the museum in 2018. See *Paderewski*, op. cit., exh. cat., II.13.1–10; il. pp. 119–127, inv. no. Gr.Pol.20693/1–10 MNW.
- $^{29}\,$  ANR, Arch. IJP, 2/100/0/5.7/1420/6–8 The University of Poznań's program for the welcome of its doctor honoris causa I.J. Paderewski on Monday, 6 July 1931.
- <sup>30</sup> In 1922, in gratitude for the rich collection of art donated to the Greater Poland Museum in Poznań, a plot of leftover land in Gościeradz (near the Tuchola Forest, north of Bydgoszcz) was purchased and given to the painter. The land, with its small manor house surrounded by a garden, became a beloved retreat and place of artistic inspiration for the artist. In Poznań, he lived on the first floor in a building at 27 Rzepeckiego street in the district of Łazarz, less than a kilometre from Wilson Park. The interwar period saw dynamic growth in Poznań, including as an artistic centre, with many Polish artists settling there. For Wyczółkowski, the move to Poznań may have been part of his artistic plans, in which Greater Poland and Pomerania figured prominently, and may have been connected with the city's growing prestige as the organiser of the general National Exhibition in 1929. See Jarosław Mulczyński, "Leon Wyczółkowski w środowisku poznańskim (1929–1934)" in W kręgu Wyczóła, Michał F. Woźniak, ed. (Bydgoszcz, 2013), pp. 70–91.
- <sup>31</sup> Zygmunt Zaleski, "Cykl Poznański Leona Wyczółkowskiego" in *Leon Wyczółkowski. Księga pamiątkowa wydana w 80 rocznicę urodzin* (Poznań, 1932), pp. 71–74. The series was commissioned from the artist by Poznań officials for the General National Exhibition of 1929. See Mulczyński, op. cit., p. 84.

At that time, Wyczółkowski concentrated mainly on drawings and prints, in the latter achieving an undeniable mastery. In order to make it easier for the artist to work in his beloved medium of lithography, <sup>32</sup> Adam Kleczkowski, a linguist, art lover and then-professor and dean of the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Poznań, undertook to help set up a printmaking studio. Kleczkowski turned to Jan Kuglin, a printer, typographer and print collector working since 1920 at the Agricultural Printing House and Bookshop in Poznań, with a request to use his lithography press, which had stood idle for years. <sup>33</sup> With the help of the professional lithographer Kuglin, he was able to get the press running once again and to transfer Wyczółkowski's earlier plein air compositions onto stone. In Poznań, this had been the first strictly-artistic lithography undertaking in decades.

Wyczółkowski chose drawings which he made in the summer of 1930 while touring Pomerania and the Tuchola Forest to be the cornerstone of five planned print portfolios titled *Impressions of Pomerania*. These drawings depicted both architectural landmarks and natural ones, including a Dominican church, a parish church, an estate, the gate and town hall in Chełmno, the church in Świecie, an oak tree in Ostromeck, the towns of Chojnice, Gniew, Grudziądz, Toruń, Nowe, Koronowo, Wierzchlas, Gościeradz, Kartuzy, Gdynia, Hel, and Pelpin, and various fishing villages along the coast.

Preparatory work on the lithographs for the portfolio began on 27 November 1930. The process of transposing the drawings from paper specially prepared by the artist via a technique of printing onto the stone started with a composition showing the market square in Gniew. After several impressions were made, however, the effect proved unsatisfactory to the master, who sanded the stone clean and proceeded to work on subsequent compositions. As Kuglin writes, this was arduous and time-consuming work, taking up many weeks of Wyczółkowski's time.<sup>34</sup> Ultimately, the work was completed in the spring of 1931, resulting in 40 copies of the first (and only) series of *Impressions of Pomerania*. Each contained 8 prints: *The Parish Church in Chełmno, The Entrance to the Grove, The Town Hall in Chełmno, The Vistula at Gniew* (fig. 8), *Toruń* (general view), Morning in the Forest, Yew (in Tuchola Forest) (fig. 9), and Interior of the Church of the Virgin Mary in Toruń (fig. 10).

The portfolios, or at least some of them, were bound in a cardboard cover inscribed by the master with the contents. As it turned out, this would be the final print portfolio in Wyczółkowski's oeuvre, though not his last lithographs. <sup>35</sup> Plans to release the other four portfolios had to be called off on account of the aging master's poor health.

Leading up to the July ceremony in honour of Paderewski at the University of Poznań, Kleczkowski contacted Wyczółkowski in June with the following request: "Rector Kasznica<sup>36</sup> and the Senate request from you, Mr. Professor, a copy of the 'Pomerania Portfolio' for Paderewski. We intend to outfit it with a splendid cover. What ought it look like? What type of leather, in

Wyczółkowski did not purchase his own lithography press until 1932.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Jan Kuglin, "Jak powstała Teka Pomorska"?" in *Leon Wyczółkowski...*, op. cit., pp. 53–60. Provided therein is also the precise date when work began on the portfolio.

 $<sup>^{34}</sup>$  For a detailed account of the laborious and difficult months-long work on the portfolio, see Kuglin, op. cit., pp. 55–60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> In addition to *Impressions of Pomerania*, Wyczółkowski entertained a desire to produce a portfolio of landscapes and landmarks along the length of the Vistula. The river, as he was known to say, was the backbone of Poland.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>bf 36}$  Stanisław Wincenty Antoni Kasznica (1874–1958), attorney, University of Poznań professor and rector in 1929–1931.

what colour, and with what inscription? Is there a way to receive a copy by 4 July? Perhaps at the TPSP [Society of Friends of the Fine Arts] exhibition from Ms. Zielińska? Or perchance you will be in Poznań before then? I suggested a price of 500 zł, which the rector authorised. We invite you to all of the university's ceremonies connected with Paderewski's visit."<sup>37</sup>

Wyczółkowski granted his friend's request and sent the university copy number two of the Pomerania portfolio. The prints were mounted in passe-partout and placed in a box bound in burgundy leather with gilded decoration and inscription. The choice of Wyczółkowski's print portfolio as a gift for Paderewski seems like an obvious one. It would have been difficult to find another present which in such a direct manner could convey Paderewski's contribution to Greater Poland and Pomerania being amalgamated into the country of Poland, or one that could match the exceptional artistic quality of the portfolio in question. Another point in its favour was the place of its production and the artist's position in the art scene of Poznań. Welcomed with esteem by Ratajkowski, Wyczółkowski had a good reputation among the city's intellectuals. Through the family of the attorney Ludwik Cichowicz, he had made the acquaintance of many of Poznań's elites, including university professors, and would produce portraits of the rector, Prof. Stanisław Kasznica, of his friend Prof. Adam Kleczkowski (1931), and of Edward Lubicz-Niezabitowski (1931), Jan Sajdak and Romuald Paczkowski (1934). 38

The portfolio was ready on 6 July but never made it into the hands of the recipient. On 18 July, the university's rector sent a letter to the composer in which on behalf of the entire academic staff he expressed regret of the master's absence at the planned ceremony. "During the Homage, the Rector was to present you with a gift from the University: *The Pomerania Portfolio* by Leon Wyczółkowski. In selecting this token, our line of thinking was that Pomeria lies within the influence of our University and that you specifically embody the sentiment for these lands more than any of our lands and it is to You that Poland owes its gratitude for them. Dr. Orłowski³ has kindly undertaken the trouble to transport the portfolio and has promised to deliver it to You, Mr. President. It is inscribed with the date of the ceremony which... was not to be. May that date – we ardently ask of You – never cease to remind You that the ceremony was merely postponed and that we impatiently await the moment when we can welcome our Dear Doctor within the walls of the University."

Wyczółkowski too stressed Paderewski's political contributions in his letter to the composer: "I am greatly moved by your words, Honourable Sir, as this praise comes from one of Poland's greatest sons, who so ardently loves our Fatherland and dedicates all his grand artistry to it. The watercolour of Poznań and the 'Pomerania Album,' my final print work, will remind you, Dear Sir, of Poznań and Pomerania, for whose reinstatement to Poland you have done so much." 41

<sup>37</sup> Cited after: Leon Wyczółkowski. Listy i wspomnienia, Maria Twarowska, ed. (Wrocław, 1960), p. 262, n. 16.

<sup>38</sup> Mulczyński, op. cit., p. 83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Józef Kazimierz Orłowski (1862–1943), journalist and author, political activist affiliated with Polish organisations in the United States, Paderewski's plenipotentiary.

<sup>40</sup> ANR, Arch. IJP, sign. 2/100/0/5.7/1420/6-8.

<sup>41</sup> Cited after: Leon Wyczółkowski. Listy..., op. cit., p. 263 (Wyczółkowski's letter to Paderewski dated 1.10.1931). The landscapes of Polish Pomerania fascinated not only Wyczółkowski. The agitation campaign by the Germans for the annexation of these lands (and Silesia) to the Reich compelled other artists to undertake this subject as well, which resulted in a travelling exhibition which included works from the portfolio in question. See Przegląd wystawy Ziemia Pomorska i morze w sztuce polskiej, exh. cat., Związek Polskich Artystów Plastyków, 2 May – 21 May 1933 (Warsaw, [1933]).

Like Poznań, Warsaw too was preparing for Paderewski's visit. In the capital, in addition to meeting with the country's leaders, the composer was to take part in a ceremony bestowing him with an honorary doctorate from the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Warsaw (the title was granted on 20 June 1931). Possibly also planned was a visit to the Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts (TZSP), who had prepared a special gift for its honorary member – a set of oil sketches, drawings and prints by 48 of its affiliate artists. The "hastily compiled tribute consisting of our work" was bound in a marvellous portfolio decorated with a bronze plate made by Zygmunt Otto commemorating the centenary of the November Uprising. The selection of works was very diverse and rather haphazard. Most of the pieces were made in 1931, likely for that very purpose. Standing out in the portfolio are the compositions relating to the personage of the recipient: The Inauguration of the 1st Polish Sejm (a watercolour by Feliks Szewczyk, fig. 11), At the Piano – a Girl Playing a Fragment from the Opera "Manru" (a watercolour by Apoloniusz Kędzierski, fig. 12), and The Town Hall in Poznań (a watercolour by Tadeusz Cieślewski Sr.).

The Wilson Memorial was not the last monument funded by Paderewski. Exactly one year after the Poznań ceremony, Warsaw saw the unveiling of a monument by Franciszek Black (1881–1959), a Polish sculptor working in Switzerland and France, showing the figure of Gen. Edward Mandell House, an adviser to President Wilson and advocate for an independent Poland. That sculpture was erected in a park named after Paderewski. <sup>44</sup> The ceremony was a considerably more modest one, of local rather than national character. Glaringly absent, like in Poznań, was the main benefactor. The form of the Warsaw sculpture, a figure realistically depicting the American general standing atop a tall plinth, reinforces Paderewski's very traditional attitude on art, especially sculpture. The Grunwald Memorial, two decades younger, seems modern by comparison. It was thus likely Paderewski's own taste that stood behind the rejection of Trzcińska-Kamińska's proposal for the Wilson Memorial, a project reflective of the national style crystallising in Polish sculpture in the 1920s.

The gifts received by Paderewski in connection with the unveiling of the Wilson Monument must have pleased the composer. Traditional in form, Wyczółkowski's lithography portfolio contained compositions inspired by Japanese prints (e.g., *The Vistula at Gniew*) and may have appealed to the composer's love of Far Eastern art, which filled his Swiss residence. The portfolio of works by artists of the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts, meanwhile, did not boast tremendous originality. It can be seen as evidence of the greatly traditional nature of the work being done by members of the Warsaw society, perhaps with the exceptions of the drawing by Jan Zamoyski or the prints by Konstanty Maria Sopocki and Tadeusz Cieślewski Jr. (fig. 13). Overall, the pieces by Stefan Popowski (fig. 14), Adam Grabowski, Stanisław Zawadzki and Wojciech Kossak render it decidedly conservative in nature.

This set of works by artists of the Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts, residing in the Prints and Drawings Room of the National Museum in Warsaw, was shown it its entirety in the exhibition *Paderewski* held at the museum in 2018. See *Paderewski*, op. cit., pp. 225–227, cat. no. II.14.1–49, fig. p. 128–147. During Paderewski's visit to Poland, the Society was hosting the monumental exhibition *Wojciech Gerson i jego uczniowie* [Wojciech Gerson and his students].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> From a letter from Konstanty Wróblewski, Stefan Popowski, Franciszek Roth and Zygmunt Otto to Paderewski dated 8 July 1931 (ANR, Arch. IJP, sign. 2/100/0/5.10/2083/1).

This particular statue survived the Second World War. It was demolished in 1951, to be reconstructed in 1991 by Marian Konieczny.

The passage of time was kind to the gifts prepared for the composer in connection with the Poznań ceremony. The portfolio by Wyczółkowski, the album of works by the Society of Friends of the Fine Arts artists, the album of photographs by Roman Ulatowski and the painting by Jan Styka all survive to this day. The sculpture by Gutzon Borglum, though much heftier and made of a more permanent material, has perished. The competition entry by Zofia Trzcińska-Kamińska, despite the widescale opposition, today stands in Poznań's Wilson Park, albeit in a reduced form, while the Paderewski Collection at the National Museum in Warsaw continues to be shown to the public in various exhibitions and to bring delight, inspire scholarship and invite new interpretations. The composer himself lived to see his own monument be erected in Poznań, produced by the sculptor Rafał Nowak. It was unveiled in May 2015 in front of the New Auditorium of the music academy bearing his name.

Translated by Szymon Włoch