



Elżbieta Pieróg
The Sejm Library, Warsaw, Poland
elzbieta.pierog@sejm.gov.pl

Henryk Kołodziejski – director of the Sejm Library (1919-1939)

Abstract

Henryk Kołodziejski (1884-1953), creator and long-term director of the Sejm Library in the interwar period, was known for his socialist passion and involvement in the cooperative movement. He also played a quite significant but implicit role on the political scene, participating in informal negotiations or other meetings on matters of the highest state rank. In the article, I try to show how his person influenced the functioning of the parliamentary library and its position in the structure of the Sejm Bureau. I also ask whether there was a connection between the strong position of the library and the lack of a legal office in the pre-war Polish Sejm. I show the change in the action strategy of H. Kołodziejski after the war. I present his activity on the basis of parliamentary documentation.

Key words: Kołodziejski Henryk – The Polish Sejm 1919-1939 – parliamentary library – freemasonry.

„Z Badań nad Książką i Księgozbiorami Historycznymi” – Udział zagranicznych recenzentów w ocenie publikacji; Stworzenie anglojęzycznej wersji wydawniczej publikacji; Digitalizacja tomów archiwalnych rocznika w celu zapewnienia otwartego dostępu do nich przez Internet oraz wdrożenie i utrzymanie cyfrowej platformy redakcyjnej – zadanie finansowane w ramach umowy nr 653/P-DUN/2019 ze środków Ministra Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego przeznaczonych na działalność upowszechniającą naukę.

The leading figure of the parliamentary library¹ in the interwar period was Henryk Kołodziejski, its creator and a long time director. He was a multidimensional person, active in different areas of the public life of that time. He left his mark in history as a revolutionist, independence supporter, freemason, social, state, and cooperation movement activist, economist, publicist, and parliamentary librarian.

Hereafter I focus on Kołodziejski as an organizer and director of the parliamentary library, and also a free mason and a grey eminence of the Polish political scene. I try to show how the secret aspect of his activity influenced the very strong position of the library in the structure of the Sejm Bureau before the war. After the war, the Sejm Library² has no longer played such an important role in the structure of the Sejm Chancellery. None of post-war library directors has reached such a high official rank as director Kołodziejski. Therefore I also ask the question if there was a relationship between a strong library position and a lack of legal office in pre-war Polish Sejm.

To explain these issues, I explored parliamentary documentation from the interwar period. Information concerning the library's functioning within the structure of the Sejm Bureau, and its director H. Kołodziejski, resulted from analysis of budget estimates of the pre-war Sejm. I referred to transcripts from the meetings of the State National Council (Krajowa Rada Narodowa, KRN), the Legislative Sejm (Sejm Ustawodawczy), and the 1st term of the Sejm of the People's Republic of Poland (Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa, PRL) to present changes of Kołodziejski's strategy after the war. As far as he was "a grey eminence" of the national political scene before the war, he had become a representative of a new Polish authorities since 1945. The post-war political career of Kołodziejski is beyond the subject and chronological scope of this text, therefore it is presented briefly, referring only to information coming from parliamentary documentation.

Information about Kołodziejski's engagement in freemasonry comes from a review of literature of renown Polish authors in that topic, or adequate memory publications.

Henryk Kołodziejski – the outline of biography

Born in Warszawa in 1884, he had been engaged from his early youth in a conspirational activity of circles, associations, and revolutionary and

¹ Depending on the time being described, I use different official names of the Polish parliamentary library of the interwar period: the Legislative Sejm Library, the Sejm and Senate Library, the Sejm and Senate Library and Archive, as well as the popular phrase "a parliamentary library", which had been used in the interwar period as its common name.

² The Sejm Library became a proper name of the Polish parliamentary library after the war.

socialist parties over time. He was related to the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (Socjaldemokratyczna Partia Robotnicza Rosji) during the revolution of 1905, a member of the war-revolutionary committee of that party in Warszawa³. Threatened with arrest, imprisoned twice by tsarist authorities, he continued studies of philosophy, started in 1903, at the Jagiellonian University, where he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1912⁴.

He returned permanently to Warszawa in 1915 and begun work in the Warsaw Public Library (Biblioteka Publiczna m.st. Warszawy), located in a new premise, built for its needs, at Koszykowa 26 str. The Library, active since 1907, was managed by Faustyn Czerwijowski⁵, a keen advocate of library education, and underground activist of the Polish Socialist Party (Polska Partia Socjalistyczna, PPS). Kołodziejski became the head of the Institute of Bibliography, newly established within the library structure. He had been managing the organization of bibliographic materials collected in the library for two years, and took part in training for war-displaced persons, directed there by social organizations to work⁶.

He was also engaged in establishing an underground organization “444”, called also “Czysta ręka” (Clean hand). It was a so-called sub-circle of freemasonry, i.e. a preliminary structure before the actual revival of the Polish national lodge. Together with director Czerwijowski he organized regular meetings at Koszykowa 26, inviting those independence activists whose biography and merits entitled them to join freemasonry. The members of “444” were guided by independence ideas, they tried to develop a common, nationwide platform for action⁷.

In 1917 Kołodziejski informally joined works of the Provisional Council of State (Tymczasowa Rada Stanu w Królestwie Polskim). He committed to complete a specialist book collection for the needs of the Parliamentary and Constitutional Commission (Komisja Sejmowo-Konstytucyjna)⁸. The collection of 3000 works in the field of state law, helpful in developing fundamental legal acts for the nascent state, became soon the germ of the parliamentary library.

³ T. Głowacki, *Kołodziejski Henryk (1884-1953)*, [in:] PSB, Wrocław 1967-1968, vol. 13, p. 358.

⁴ Ibidem, p. 358.

⁵ P. Maślankiewicz, *Faustyn Czerwijowski (1873-1944)*, [in:] *Z dziejów książki i bibliotek w Warszawie*, Warszawa 1961, pp. 696-697; *Żyją w naszej pamięci. Wspomnienia o pracownikach Biblioteki Publicznej m. st. Warszawy*, [forewords and content edition J. Jagielska, T. Jedynak], Warszawa 2017, pp. 22-23, 32-33.

⁶ J. Kramm, “Zabytek archiwalny” o sobie. (*Pamiętnik*), “Bibliotekarz” 1966, no 3, pp. 83-84.

⁷ T. Świącicki, “444” czyli “Czysta ręka”, “Zeszyty Historyczne” 1963, no 4, pp. 167-169; L. Chajna, *Polskie wolnomularstwo 1920-1938*, Warszawa 1984, pp. 119-123.

⁸ H. Kołodziejski's name was not listed within “Współpracownicy i personel Tymczasowej Rady Stanu”, see W. Suleja, *Tymczasowa Rada Stanu*, Warszawa 1998, pp. 219-227.

Kołodziejski was initiated and accepted to the Warsaw lodge related to the Grand Orient de France in 1918⁹. Since 1920 he was just a member of one of the Warszawa lodges – the National Grand Lodge of Poland¹⁰. He achieved the rank of Knight Kadosh in the Masonic hierarchy¹¹.

Kołodziejski played a modest public role in the conditions of the organizing independent state. He received the task of organizing the Legislative Sejm Library, in consequence, he took over a hardly exposed position of a head, later director of this institution¹². This doctor of philosophy, at his age of 35, had the necessary intellectual predispositions and experience to fulfil this task.

Works concerning library organization were interrupted by approaching front of the Polish-Soviet war. Kołodziejski signed up for a volunteer infantry regiment, which did not go to a battle. Volunteer regiments were demobilized in November 1920.

Establishment of the parliamentary library

The library at Wiejska street was established at the end of 1920, along with Kołodziejski's appearance in the Sejm after his "war" episode. It had two rooms on the ground floor of the Sejm building at that time¹³. Janina Kramm, a qualified librarian, who worked as a head of Scientific Lending Services in the Warsaw Public Library in the years 1914-1920, joined Kołodziejski at the beginning of 1921¹⁴. Together they developed inventories and catalogues for the collections. They also found a place for reading newspapers and national parliamentary documents, and soon the foreign ones as well¹⁵.

H. Kołodziejski was active in different fields in the country and abroad, aiming at acquisition of a legal depot of official documents, an obligation of national publishers to deliver a copy of publications in the field of the Sejm and Senate

⁹ L. Hass, *Masoneria polska XX wieku. Losy, loże, ludzie*, Warszawa 1996, p. 49.

¹⁰ L. Hass, *Kołodziejski Henryk*, [in:] idem, *Wolnomularze polscy w kraju i na świecie 1821-1999. Słownik biograficzny*, Warszawa 1999, pp. 226-227; T. Świącicki states that Kołodziejski was one of the following grand masters of the National Grand Lodge of Poland. See T. Świącicki, *List do Redakcji Zeszytów*, "Zeszyty Historyczne" 1963, no 4, p. 174.

¹¹ L. Chajm, op. cit., p. 228; This information is not confirmed by L. Hass, see idem, *Kołodziejski Henryk* ..., p. 227.

¹² H. Kołodziejski was mentioned as "the Library director" for the first time in the publication: T. Rzepecki, W. Rzepecki, *Sejm i Senat 1922-1927. Podręcznik zawierający wyniki wyborów w powiatach, okręgach województwach, podobizny senatorów i posłów sejmowych oraz mapy poglądowe*, Poznań 1923, p. 475.

¹³ J. Kramm, *Henryk Kołodziejski jako bibliotekarz*, "Przegląd Biblioteczny" 1955, no 2, p. 160.

¹⁴ J. Kramm, "Zabytek archiwalny" ..., p. 83; Z. Szymanowska, *Kramm Janina (1882-1964)*, [in:] PSB, Wrocław 1970, vol. 15, p. 132.

¹⁵ J. Kramm, *Henryk Kołodziejski* ..., p. 158.

Library, establishing of exchange of parliamentary publications with the member states of the Interparliamentary Union, or recognition of the Library by significant international organizations as a depositary of their publications in Poland¹⁶.

On the initiative of Maciej Rataj, Marshal of the Sejm, the editorial office of the Review of Legislative Works of Sejm and Senate (Biuro Redakcji Przeglądu Prac Ustawodawczych Sejmu i Senatu) was established at the library in 1925¹⁷. The editing committee consisted of outstanding lawyers and director Kołodziejski. The review was published in French as “Exposé sommaire des Travaux Législatifs de la Diète et du Sénat polonais”¹⁸. The following issues included texts of official French translations of Polish legislation and President’s regulations¹⁹. This publication had been used for the exchange of parliamentary documentation with other states. It had been sent to the parliaments abroad, as well as to scientific and economic institutions, government agendas, international organizations, and universities²⁰. Poland proved that after several years of hard work it acted as the state of the coherent political system.

Kołodziejski attached great importance to developing a social and economic department in the Library. He was particularly fascinated by changes taking place in this area in communist Russia. Therefore he put attention to the collection of materials and literature concerning plans and achievements of Soviet Russia, he imported literature and journals on this topic. There was a large selection of not only Soviet legislation and official publications but also communist journals in the Library²¹.

Works concerning improvement and development of the catalogues had been realized since their establishment in 1921, to make reference information complete and easily accessible. The Library offered three catalogues: alphabetical and systematic ones of monographs, and alphabetical one of journals. The systematic catalogue was particularly noteworthy, with its scheme developed together by Kołodziejski and Leon Zieleniewski²². They divided three main domains of the collection, i.e. legal sciences, social and economic

¹⁶ Ibidem, p. 158; Z. Szymanowska, *Działalność Biblioteki Sejmowej w latach 1919-1939*, “Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej” 1981, vol. 16, p. 244.

¹⁷ *Parlament Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 1919-1927*, ed. by H. Mościcki, W. Dzwonkowski, Warszawa 1928, p. 58.

¹⁸ Ibidem, p. 58; S. Car, *Przegląd prac ustawodawczych Sejmu i Senatu Rzplitej Polskiej*, “Pa-lestra” 1925, no 4, pp. 758-759.

¹⁹ 13 issues of “Exposé sommaire des Travaux Législatifs de la Diète et du Sénat polonais” were published in the years 1925-1932, and 7 issues of “Exposé sommaire des Travaux Législatifs” in the years 1934-1938.

²⁰ Sprawozdanie Komisji o preliminarzach budżetowych Sejmu i Senatu na rok budżetowy 1930/31, Sejm RP, period II, print 700, parts 2a and 2b, January 1930, p. 3.

²¹ *Parlament Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 1919-1927...*, p. 57; J. Kramm, *Henryk Kołodziejski...*, p. 159.

²² J. Wasiak, *Zieleniewski Leon*, [in:] SPKP, p. 1020.

sciences, and historical and political sciences, into 24 main sections. Therefore legal sciences included (among others) state, administrative and international law, social and economic sciences – farming, industry, commerce, and the others, historical and political sciences – political doctrines, history of political parties, internal and foreign policy of individual countries, etc. More than 320 subsections were also determined within sections²³. Sections and subsections were marked with figures and letters. Reference cards to the journals catalogue were also placed in this catalogue²⁴.

Meetings in the Library director's cabinet

Kołodziejski had unlimited access to the most important politicians of all political factions in the parliament building. He could meet them individually or organize larger meetings. Under the guise of holding office in the library, he got engaged in many initiatives of the highest state rank, such as forming a government, developing an economic program for Poland, or mediations among parties of the political scene. Due to his extraordinary mediation talents, required goals or a political consensus were achieved²⁵.

Only a few knew about Kołodziejski's engagement in freemasonry. The rest were surprised with his extensive connections and respect among the politicians. Bernard Singer²⁶, parliamentary commentator, wrote in 1929 as follows:

P. Henryk Kołodziejski miał do niedawna w hierarchii urzędniczej rangę nieznaczną. Był naczelnikiem wydziału na stanowisku bibliotekarza sejmowego. Cichy, skromny człowiek, był i jest jednak centralną figurą w życiu politycznym Polski. Nie przemija, mimo zmiany kursu w Polsce. Pokój jego na parterze odegrał rolę historyczną i zna więcej tajemnic niż niejeden konfesjonał.

P. Henryk jest bowiem spowiednikiem mężów stanu różnych odcieni. W jego pokoiku zwierzał się niejednokrotnie marszałek sejmu Rataj, próg ten często przekraczał premier Bartel, bywa tam marszałek sejmu Daszyński. Zajrzy przywódca kadetów poseł Chaciński, znajduje się tam częstokroć i młódź: posłowie Niedziałkowski i Czapiński.

Przychodzą strapieni, pełni trosk, żalą się na brak kontaktu, opowiadają o bólach parlamentu, a wychodzą uśmiechnięci, roz pogodzeni. Zna bowiem Kołodziejski leki na ich niedole, ma mir po drugiej stronie barykady, ma wszędzie przyjaciół, druhów, kolegów.

Złośliwi endecy nazywali go przywódcą masonów, a pokój jego domem schadzek

²³ *Parlament Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej...*, p. 57.

²⁴ J. Kramm, *Henryk Kołodziejski...*, p. 160.

²⁵ T. Głowacki, op. cit., pp. 358-359; L. Chajm, op. cit., pp. 188-189.

²⁶ Bernard Singer (1983-1966), was a Polish political publicist during the interwar period. He worked for a ministry of the Polish Government in Exile. In the second half of the 40s he secretly collaborated with the Ministry of Public Safety. He wrote for the Polish press, the Economist and Observer.

politycznych. Ochrzcili go tak, bo bywa często w towarzystwie senatora Posnera i p. Thugutta, bo w pokoju jego spotykały się i rozmawiały różne pary polityczne.

Zawzięci wrogowie, unikający nawzajem spojrzeń, przestępując próg pokoiku Kołodziejskiego, wymieniają rozmowy między sobą, łagodzą swary, ubijają punkty polityczne. W gabinecie tym rodził się rząd koalicyjny od Jędrzeja Moraczewskiego do Stanisława Grabskiego²⁷.

[Mr. Henryk Kołodziejski has had an unimportant rank in the official hierarchy so far. He was head of a department, holding a position of the Sejm librarian. A quiet, modest man, however, he was and is a central figure of the political life in Poland. He has not passed by, despite the change of course in Poland. His room at the ground floor played a historical role and knows more secrets than many confessionals.

Mr. Henryk is a confessor of statesmen of different shades. Marshal of Sejm Maciej Rataj repeatedly made confessions in his room, its doorstep was often passed by Prime Minister Bartel. It is visited by Marshal of Sejm Daszyński or deputy Chaciński, leader of cadets. Young people often can be found there as well: deputies Niedziałkowski and Czapiński. They come distressed, full of worries, they complain about the lack of contact, talk about the parliament's pains, and they come out smiling, cheerful. Kołodziejski knows medicines for their misery, for achieving respect at the opposite side of a barricade. He has friends, mates, and colleagues everywhere.

Malicious national democrats have called him a masons' leader, and his room – a place of political dates. They named him like that because he often meets senator Posner and Mr. Thugutt, and different political pairs met and talked in his room.

Determined enemies, who avoided looking at each other, stepping by a doorstep of the Kołodziejski's room, talk to each other, alleviate quarrels, make political points. A coalition government from Jędrzej Moraczewski to Stanisław Grabski was born in this cabinet.]

B. Singer was mistaken when he wrote about the „unimportant rank of Kołodziejski in the official hierarchy”, as he acted officially as a library director just at the beginning of the 1st term of the Sejm, in November 1922. Only two directors were in the still simple structure of the Sejm Bureau: “Jerzy Pomykański, Vice-Minister, director of the Sejm Bureau, and Henryk Kołodziejski Ph.D., director of the Library”²⁸.

In the years 1930-1939 H. Kołodziejski participated in the secret meetings of the nine-persons group of “friends”, where current problems of the state politics were discussed²⁹. Zygmunt Nagórski, a member of this group, remembered these meetings as follows:

²⁷ B. Singer, *Od Witosa do Ślawka*, Paryż 1962, pp. 39-40.

²⁸ T. Rzepecki, W. Rzepecki, op. cit., p. 475; Jerzy Pomykański was a director of both offices: the Sejm and Senate Bureau, since the 1st ordinary term of the 2nd PR parliament, see *Sprawozdanie Komisji Budżetowej o preliminarzu budżetowym Sejmu i Senatu na rok budżetowy 1929/1930*, Sejm RP, period II, print 400, part 2, styczeń 1929, p. 1.

²⁹ T. Głowacki, op. cit., p. 359.

postawiła sobie za zadanie [grupa] wspólne czuwanie nad biegiem spraw państwowych, ich stałe dyskutowanie na podstawie danych ścisłych, obiektywnie sprawdzonych, w świetle zarówno potrzeb chwili jak i planów na dalszą lepszą przyszłość. Nie miała ta grupa innych celów ani innych zamiarów jak tylko trzymanie ręki na pulsie życia, zachowanie świadomości bieżących wydarzeń, stałe wreszcie uczenie się zagadnień polskiej państwowości. Prawie przez dziesięć lat aż do wybuchu wojny grupa ta zbierała się stale w odstępach czasu kilkutygodniowych i odbywała w nieprzymuszonej przyjacielskiej atmosferze poważne, nieraz bardzo gruntowne dyskusje na tematy ze wszelkich dziedzin życia narodowego. Każdy z uczestników miał obowiązek systematycznego studiowania pewnej dziedziny zjawisk i informowania pozostałych. Dzięki takiemu podziałowi pracy cały zespół miał wszechstronne a źródłowe i rzetelne informacje o całokształcie życia Rzeczypospolitej a wzajemna wymiana poglądów, dociekliwa ocena zdarzeń i zjawisk stwarzała coś w rodzaju seminarium o bardzo wysokim poziomie³⁰.

[(the group) aimed at common observation of the course of state matters, permanent discussion on them, referring to precise, objectively verified data, in the light of either current needs or the plans for a better future. The group had no other aims or goals, as only to monitor the pulse of life, to maintain awareness of current events, and finally to learn the Polish state permanently. For almost ten years, until the war outbreak, the group had been gathering regularly at intervals of several weeks and had serious, often very deep discussions concerning all aspects of the national life in an unconstrained, friendly atmosphere. Each of the participants was obliged to systematically study a selected domain and to inform the rest. Thanks to such division of work the whole team had a comprehensive yet reliable information about the entire life of the People's Republic, and mutual exchange of opinions, inquiring evaluation of events and phenomena, offered a kind of seminar of a very high level.]

Kołodziejski presented social issues at the meetings. Like no other among nine extraordinary "friends" (Leon Wasilewski, M. Rataj, Stanisław Thugutt and others), he was suitable to do this. He had spent a lot of time and energy on social and economic activities from his youth. He initiated and supported many actions and organizations, e.g. the Institute of Social Economy (Instytut Gospodarstwa Społecznego), the Institute for Social Affairs (Instytut Spraw Społecznych), the Social Policy Society (Towarzystwo Polityki Społecznej), and many others³¹. He belonged to their founders, was a member of their executives, scientific councils, management boards, chief authorities. He extensively worked in their commissions and sections. He wrote articles, published brochures concerning current problems of Polish social and economic life.

³⁰ Z. Nagórski, *Ludzie mego czasu. Sylwetki*, Paryż 1964, p. 232.

³¹ T. Głowacki, op. cit., p. 359.

Director of the Sejm Library

Stanisław Wojciechowski, President of Poland, „awarded Henryk Kołodziejski, director of the Sejm and Senate Library, the Order of Polonia Restituta, Third Class, for his merits for the Republic of Poland in organizing the Sejm and Senate Library” in 1924³².

Deputy director and librarian J. Kramm believed that most of the time Kołodziejski spent in his cabinet at Wiejska street he devoted to library issues. According to her, he was visited by many readers, and he gave them bits of advice and bibliographic instructions. At night, in the quiet of the director’s cabinet, he thought about improving information techniques used in the library:

Każdy mógł w razie potrzeby zasięgnąć także porady naukowej czy wskazówek bibliograficznych u dyrektora Kołodziejskiego, który – mimo pochłaniających go różnorodnych spraw publicznych – nie szczędził czasu i życzliwej pomocy. Toteż pokój dyrektora bywał formalnie oblegany przez osoby, które częstokroć nadużywały jego wielkiej uczynności. Działo się to z uszczerbkiem dla własnych zajęć Kołodziejskiego, przeciągających się do późnych godzin nocnych, gdy po zamknięciu Biblioteki nic już nie mąciło niezbędnego pokoju i ciszy. Wówczas to powstawały projekty usprawnienia prac bibliotecznych i doskonalenia środków szybkiego, wyczerpującego informowania czytelników³³.

[Everyone could ask director Kołodziejski for scientific advice or bibliographic instruction if needed. Despite diversified public matters absorbing him, Kołodziejski offered his time and kind support. Therefore the director’s office was formally besieged by people who often abused his great helpfulness. This happened to the detriment of Kołodziejski’s own work, which lasted until late night when after closing the library nothing disturbed the necessary peace and silence. Projects to improve library work and means of quick, efficient information for the readers were developed at that time.]

Kołodziejski, as the Library director, focused mostly on answering the substantial needs of members of the Parliament. He developed a specific scientific book collection concerning state law and other law domains, as well as the economy, politics, and social sciences. He also took care of the completion and acquisition of current parliamentary and official documentation dozens of countries. As he was not a professional librarian, he passed the tasks of acquisition and indexing to J. Kramm’s supervision³⁴.

As time passed he established two departments: legal and social-economical, where the library staff was preparing materials for members of the parliament, needed for works on drafts of submissions and legislation³⁵. Each request

³² M.P. 1924, no 299, item 979.

³³ J. Kramm, *Henryk Kołodziejski...*, p. 160.

³⁴ Ibidem, p. 159, 161.

³⁵ *Sprawozdanie Komisji Budżetowej o preliminarzach budżetowych Sejmu i Senatu na rok budżetowy 1930/31*, Sejm RP, period II, print 700, parts 2a and 2b, January 1930, pp. 2-3;

of a deputy or senator had to be consulted with him before realization. Then, according to his instructions, statistics were gathered, budget extracts listed or foreign legislation concerning a given domain, etc.³⁶

H. Kołodziejski, as the director of the Sejm and Senate Library, possessed the 5th official grade, according to the government regulation³⁷. The Sejm Budget Commission changed his grade from 5th to 4th *ad personam* on May 1928³⁸. Therefore the Library's director received an official grade equal to the director of the Sejm Bureau.

Appreciated by the highest state and legislative authorities, Kołodziejski had not received recognition of a parliamentary journalist. Singer commented ironically on the change of official grade:

Ma przeto długi poczet wdzięcznych p. Kołodziejski i nie dziw, że na posiedzeniu komisji budżetowej, na wniosek posła Czapińskiego przyjęto jednomyślnie, że bibliotekarz sejmowy korzysta z uprawnień dyrektora, z tytułu swoich zasług. Milczeli nawet niechętni decydy. Klub sprawozdawców skwapliwie doniósł o nowej nominacji skromnego bibliotekarza, który nieraz odrzucał ponętne propozycje przyjaciół. Mógł zostać ministrem jakiegoś rządu. Pojmuje widocznie wagę i doniosłość swego stanowiska³⁹.

[Kołodziejski has a long rank of the grateful, no wonder that deputy Czapiński's request was unanimously accepted at the meeting of the budget commission, that the Sejm librarian uses director's rights for his merits. Even reluctant national democrats stayed silent.

The commentators' club eagerly informed about a new nomination of a modest librarian, who often rejected attractive proposals of the friends. He could have become a minister of any cabinet. He apparently understands the importance and significance of his position.]

A library or a legal office

The rapporteurs of the Budget Commission placed notices or descriptions concerning the library in the annual budget estimates of the Sejm and Senate. They evaluated positively both the library and the librarians' work. The most extensive description of the library's activity was prepared by the rapporteur Jan Dąbski in the budget estimate for the year 1930/1931⁴⁰. It was him who took the initiative of establishing a parliamentary library at the beginning of the

J. Kramm, *Henryk Kołodziejski...*, p. 160.

³⁶ J. Kramm, "Zabytek archiwalny"..., p. 85.

³⁷ Rozporządzenie Rady Ministrów o ustanowieniu tabeli stanowisk we władzach i urzędach państwowych, Dz. U. 1924, no 64, item 631.

³⁸ *Sprawozdanie Komisji Budżetowej o preliminarzu budżetowym Sejmu i Senatu na rok budżetowy 1928/1929*, Sejm RP, period II, print 80, part 2, May 1928, p. 2.

³⁹ B. Singer, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

⁴⁰ Deputy J. Dąbski went to history as a chair of the Polish peace delegation and one of the signatories of the Riga Treaty on March 1921. He was Vice-Marshall of the Polish Sejm in the years 1928-1930.

Legislative Sejm⁴¹. He summarized a decade of the library's work in the budget estimate of the Sejm and Senate for the year 1930/1931 in January 1930, and presented the draft of its development:

Biblioteka Sejmu i Senatu nie jest tylko martwym księgozbiorem. Personel jej wykonywa pracę, która wykracza znacznie poza zakres prac bibliotekarskich; wyszukuje i przygotowuje materiały i dane na życzenie posłów, dokonywa zawiłych nieraz obliczeń statystycznych, udziela różnych informacji, zwłaszcza z zakresu obcego ustawodawstwa, życzącym sobie tego posłom itd.

Oczywiście jest to dopiero skromny początek przyszłego Biura prac przygotowawczych dla posłów i senatorów, które z czasem – mam nadzieję, – powstanie przy Bibliotece naszej. Obecnie mamy już zawiązek takiego biura w postaci referatu prawnego przy Bibliotece, który powinien być jak najprędzej uzupełniony przez analogiczny referat statystyczno-ekonomiczny. Referat prawny w ubiegłym roku – poza normalną swą funkcją informacyjną – zgromadził i zestawiał na podstawie sprawozdań stenograficznych naszego parlamentu – cały materiał dotyczący precedensów i wypadków, mających znaczenie proceduralne. W ten sposób zapoczątkowane zostało porządkowanie polskiego, obyczajowego prawa parlamentarnego⁴².

[The Sejm and Senate Library is not only a dead book collection. The work of its Staff extends significantly the scope of library works; they search and prepare materials and data for the deputies' requests, they make complicated statistical calculations, provide various information, in particular concerning foreign legislation, to the deputies expecting that, etc. Obviously, this is just a modest beginning of a future office of preliminary works for the deputies and senators, which – I do hope – will be established at our Library. Currently, we have a germ of such an office, which is a legislative department in the Library, which should be complemented by an analogous department of statistics and economy as soon as possible. The legislative department – despite its normal information function – by referring to transcriptions from our parliament, collected and listed the whole material concerning precedents and events of procedural meaning in the last year. Organization of Polish customary, parliamentary law was begun in that way.]

Deputy Dąbski presented a draft vision of establishing “an office of preliminary works for the deputies and senators” at the library. He estimated that “this gradual transformation of the Sejm and Senate Library into an auxiliary and scientific workshop of the parliament should be perceived as reasonable, or even indispensable”⁴³.

Half a year earlier, in mid-1929, the first draft of the organizational statute of the Sejm Bureau was developed. The role of the library was marginalized in this document:

⁴¹ *Wniosek posła Jana Dąbskiego i tow. z klubu P.S.L. “Piastowców” w sprawie utworzenia biblioteki Sejmowej*, Sejm Ustawodawczy RP, [print] 229, [March 1919].

⁴² *Sprawozdanie Komisji Budżetowej o preliminarzach budżetowych Sejmu i Senatu na rok budżetowy 1930/31...*, pp. 2-3.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 3.

Projekt ten, oparty na zasadach organizacji i urzędowania biura Sejmu, głosi, iż biuro dzieli się na wydziały: ogólny, finansowo-gospodarczy, biuro prawnicze i biuro stenograficzne. Na czele biura stoi dyrektor, na czele wydziałów zaś naczelnicy wydziałów, podlegli dyrektorowi biura⁴⁴.

[This project, based on the rules of organization and work of the Sejm office, states that the office is divided into departments: general, financial-economic, legislative office and transcripts office. The office is managed by a director, the departments – by heads, reporting to a director.]

The project not only reflected an actual status of the office after decade of work but it also met actual needs of legislative work. It assumed establishment of a legislative office in the rank of department, lack of which within the structure of the Sejm Bureau was experienced particularly when adopting the laws. The library not only was not given a rank of the department in the project, on which rights it actually functioned, but it was omitted completely.

The need for a genuine legal office, supporting the legislative process, had been recognized just from the beginning of the Legislative Sejm. Deputy Witold Kamieniecki requested establishment of the Sejm Legal Office in 1919, published in the Document No 176⁴⁵. Kamieniecki included there three paragraphs of reasoning, and added an annex with a draft law on establishing the Sejm Legal Office, consisting of 4 paragraphs. In the reasoning section he mentioned (among others) the need of legal support for the deputies in standardisation of regulations of legislative systems of three partitions:

Przygotowanie projektów prawodawczych wobec różnorodności przepisów prawnych w poszczególnych dzielnicach Państwa przekracza przeciętną możność Referenta Komisji i aby w tych warunkach zapewnić pracom sejmowym konieczną jednolitość, gruntowność i ścisłość, należy dostarczyć zarówno Referentom Komisji, jak i poszczególnym posłom fachowej prawniczej pomocy. Organy rządowe przeciążone pracą i niejednokrotnie same niedostatecznie przygotowane, nie byłyby w stanie tej potrzebie podołać i jedynie celem rozwiązaniem sprawy będzie utworzenie własnego Sejmowego Biura Prawniczego, składającego się z kilku referentów, mianowanych przez Marszałka Sejmu.

Referenci wybrani spośród wybitnych znawców różnych dziedzin prawa (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem prawa polskiego) muszą reprezentować znajomość prawa, obowiązującego na wszystkich ziemiach polskich. Będą oni mogli na żądanie Komisji brać udział w ich posiedzeniach i udzielać zarówno Komisjom jak i posłom fachowych opinii⁴⁶.

[Preparation of legislative drafts, in the light of diversification of legal rules in particular regions of the State, exceeds an average ability of the Commission Rapporteur. Therefore,

⁴⁴ *Sprawozdanie Komisji Budżetowej o preliminarzach budżetowych Sejmu i Senatu na rok budżetowy 1936/1937*, Sejm RP, cadenza IV, print no 55, parts 2a and 2b, February 1936, p. 4.

⁴⁵ *Wniosek posła W. Kamienieckiego i tow. w sprawie utworzenia Sejmowego Biura Prawniczego*, Sejm Ustawodawczy RP, print 176, [March 15, 1919].

⁴⁶ *Wniosek posła W. Kamienieckiego*, op. cit.

in order to assure required uniformity, thoroughness and precision of parliamentary works, either the Commission Rapporteurs or individual deputies should receive professional legal assistance. Government bodies, overloaded with work and often inadequately prepared, would not be able to answer this need, therefore the only purposeful solution would be the establishment of their own Sejm Legal Office, consisting of several officials nominated by the Marshal of Sejm.

These officials, elected from among outstanding experts in different domains of the law (with particular emphasis on the Polish law), must know the law binding in all Polish territories. They would be allowed – at the Commission’s request – to participate in their meetings and support either the Commission or the deputies with expert opinions.]

The request published in Document No 176 was sent to the Legislative Commission⁴⁷. The case proceeded no further. The Commission’s report from the examination of the application was not published. No steps towards establishing the legislative office were undertaken.

To compare – the Document No 229 with deputy J. Dąbski’s request for establishing a library consisted of one sentence: “The High Sejm deigns to pass establishment of the parliamentary library, supplied with the most needed works for the present, and its gradual development”⁴⁸. This concise application was immediately acted upon, and the Sejm Library was established for the Legislative Sejm and the following ordinary terms⁴⁹.

Requests for ensuring legal support of the legislative process had been included annually in budget estimates since January 1936⁵⁰.

The library’s role in the Sejm Bureau

The first legislation regulating the activity of the offices working for the Polish Parliament was published on September 29, 1931, by the Marshal of the

⁴⁷ *Skorowidz druków sejmowych od nou 1 do nou 800*, Sejm Ustawodawczy RP, print 1508, [February 20], p. 18.

⁴⁸ *Wniosek posła Jana Dąbskiego*, op. cit.

⁴⁹ The failure of organization of a Sejm legal office at the beginning of Polish statehood was partially compensated by establishment of the Codification Commission. It was the Sejm supportive organ, established for developing drafts of legislation within civil and criminal law unified for the whole territory of the state, and for developing any other legal drafts commissioned by the Sejm or the ministry for justice. It consisted of 44 outstanding lawyers. The Commission put invaluable merits in developing the Polish legislative system. Its activity was interrupted by the war outbreak.

⁵⁰ See *Sprawozdanie Komisji Budżetowej o preliminarzach budżetowych Sejmu i Senatu na rok budżetowy 1936/1937...*, p. 2, 4; *Sprawozdanie Komisji Budżetowej o preliminarzach budżetowych Sejmu i Senatu na rok budżetowy 1937/1938*, Sejm RP, kad. IV, druk no 300, parts 2a and 2b, February 1937, p. 3; *Sprawozdanie Komisji Budżetowej o preliminarzach budżetowych Sejmu i Senatu na rok budżetowy 1938/1939*, Sejm RP, cadenza IV, print 700, parts 2a and 2b, February 1938, pp. 1-2; *Sprawozdanie Komisji Budżetowej o preliminarzach budżetowych Sejmu (część 2a) i Senatu (część 2b) na rok 1939/40*, Sejm RP, cadenza V, print 100, February 1939, p. 2.

Sejm Kazimierz Świtalski⁵¹ and the Marshal of the Senate Władysław Raczkiewicz⁵². Organizational statutes of the Polish Sejm Bureau and the Polish Senate Bureau unambiguously defined their structure and nomenclature.

Both acts confirmed the strong position of the library's director within the official hierarchy of both offices and gave the library a particular status within their structure.

The Sejm and Senate Library and Archive, as this extended name was given in the regulations, worked within the Sejm Bureau. Therefore fundamental regulation for it was the one issued by the Marshal of the Sejm. It was also the very first legal act regulating its activity. The statute underlined particular position of the library and its director within the structure of the Sejm Bureau. It listed the library as one of the three Bureau departments. However, as far as the other two departments were managed by the heads "directly supervised by the Bureau's Director" and responsible before him for execution of department's tasks, the Sejm and Senate Library and Archive Director "receives official orders in administrative matters from the Marshal of the Sejm directly, and in regard of the book collection and the archive – from both the Marshals of the Sejm and the Senate"⁵³. Therefore the library's director was not under the Sejm Bureau director. He received official orders directly from the Marshals of the Sejm and the Senate, which placed him on equal level with the Bureau director.

The Marshal of the Senate regulation repeated three paragraphs from the Sejm document concerning the library, except the one on library staff employed and remunerated within the Sejm budget⁵⁴.

The Senators used the library's collections and services under the same rules as the deputies.

Deputy Jan Henryk Jedynak described the organization of the parliament's work, as well as the history and current status of the Sejm Bureau in the Sejm budget estimate for the year 1936/1937. He referred to (among others) the organizational statute, passed a couple of years before. He underlined expediency and adequacy of its regulations:

Biuro Sejmu funkcjonuje na podstawach statutu organizacyjnego, obowiązującego od 1 października 1931 r. Statut ten w całości wytrzymał próbę życia, podział kompetencji między wydziały okazał się najzupełniej celowy⁵⁵.

⁵¹ Zarządzenie Marszałka Sejmu z dnia 29 września 1931 r. Statut organizacyjny Biura Sejmu Rzeczypospolitej, M.P. 1931, no 234, item 318.

⁵² Zarządzenie Marszałka Senatu z dnia 29 września 1931 r. Statut organizacyjny Biura Senatu Rzeczypospolitej, M.P. 1931, no 234, item 319.

⁵³ Zarządzenie Marszałka Sejmu..., op. cit.

⁵⁴ Zarządzenie Marszałka Senatu..., op. cit.

⁵⁵ *Sprawozdanie Komisji Budżetowej o preliminarzach budżetowych Sejmu i Senatu na rok budżetowy 1936/1937...*, pp. 7-8.

[The Sejm Bureau operates on the basis of the organizational statute, binding since October 1, 1931. This statute fully withstood a trial of life, division of competences among departments seemed perfectly purposeful.]

In the part concerning the library, he evaluated positively its role in the total works of the parliament, as an information office specialized to support state offices. He considered that a well-qualified staff:

pozwala Bibliotece Sejmu i Senatowi odgrywać rolę niejako biura informacyjnego nie tylko w stosunku do członków izb ustawodawczych, ale i innych instytucyj państwowych i społecznych i – co się coraz częściej zdarza – zagranicznych.

[enables the Sejm and the Senate Library playing the role of a kind of an information office not only for the members of parliament, but also other public and social institutions, and – as it happens more and more often – the foreign ones as well.]

He also noticed that:

Jako specjalną cechę Biblioteki Sejmu i Senatowi podkreślić należy jej aktualny charakter: dokumentacja przemian, zachodzących w życiu prawnopublicznym, gospodarczym i społecznym wszystkich ważniejszych państw, doprowadzona jest do chwili bieżącej. Pod tym względem wielką pomoc stanowią czasopisma⁵⁶.

[Currentness should be underlined as a special feature of the Sejm and the Senate Library: up-to-date documentation of changes in the legal and political, economic and social life of all important states. Journals are great contribution in this regard.]

Deputy Jedynak indicated also places requiring immediate changes and improvements. He applied for:

utworzenie dla każdej komisji osobnego lokalu wspólnie z Senatami, gdzie posłowie winni mieć możliwość zetknięcia się między sobą oraz wymiany poglądów, zaś dla ułatwienia pracy winna być podręczna fachowa biblioteka oraz czasopisma⁵⁷.

[opening an individual place for each commission and the Senate, where the deputies would have a possibility of meeting each other and exchanging opinions; a special reference library and journals should be available for better work.]

A special reference library was opened only at the of the Budget Commission's room, at the beginning of 1937. It was requested by deputy Jan Hołyński, as proved by the remark in the Sejm budget estimate for 1937/1938: “on deputy Hołyński's request concerning opening a reference library of the Budget Commission, director Kołodziejski declared that he was ready to organize such a collection”⁵⁸.

⁵⁶ Ibidem, p. 7.

⁵⁷ Ibidem, p. 2.

⁵⁸ *Sprawozdanie Komisji Budżetowej o preliminarzach budżetowych Sejmu i Senatowi na rok budżetowy 1937/1938...*, p. 4.

The war

Persistent bombing raids together with artillery fire accompanied a group of Sejm librarians led by director Kołodziejski, strived to protect the collection against destruction in September 1939. Catalogues and inventories were moved to library depots in the basement of the main Sejm building⁵⁹. “The most modern metal shelves, perfectly protected against fire”⁶⁰ were installed in these depots.

The main building of the parliament, where the library was located, was seriously damaged on September 17, as the result of artillery fire. The fire burned the ground floor of the building, together with the library hall and a reference collection of 2000 volumes. It was extinguished not until the next day. Depots with book collections, as well as the catalogues and inventories survived thanks to a reinforced concrete ceiling⁶¹. Due to uncertainty in regard to the future of the survived collections, director Kołodziejski decided to move the library collection to the grand building of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce⁶² located nearby, at the corner of Senacka and Wiejska streets. This action was interrupted by the Germans, who took over parliamentary buildings and forbade librarians to enter them⁶³.

Director Kołodziejski was arrested by the Germans on November 10, 1939, and soon released⁶⁴. Bereft of his book collection by the occupant, he took care of the survived library nearby, in the Chamber of Industry and Commerce building. There were several thousand of works on society and economy at the end of 1939, including probably a part of the Sejm collection, which the Sejm staff did move before Warsaw was taken by the Germans. According to J. Kramm, Kołodziejski took up an everyday librarian’s work in occupation conditions:

Bez żadnej pomocy (poza przygodnymi siłami spośród personelu Izby) dr Kołodziejski sam pełnił funkcje bibliotekarza i magazyniera w warunkach rujnujących zdrowie wobec zupełnego braku opału w ciągu długich miesięcy zimowych. Nie poprzestając na zwykłych zajęciach bibliotecznych wiele czasu poświęcał też nowemu pomysłowi układu katalogu systematycznego dla księgozbiorów ekonomicznych. Obszerna ta praca była pod koniec okupacji prawie ukończona, dalsze jej losy nie są mi jednak znane⁶⁵.

⁵⁹ Z. Szymanowska, *Działalność Biblioteki...*, p. 249; A. Mężyński, *Biblioteki Warszawy w latach 1939-1945*, Warszawa 2010, p. 54.

⁶⁰ J. Kramm, *Henryk Kołodziejski...*, p. 159.

⁶¹ A. Mężyński, *Okupacyjne dzieje...*, p. 190.

⁶² The building of interesting design, bordering with the Sejm area, had been constructed since 1933 for the needs of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce; it survived bombing and artillery fire. Currently it’s a seat of the President of Poland Chancellery. See A. Szmitkowska, *Gmach Izby Przemysłowo-Handlowej w Warszawie*, “Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki” 2011, no 1, pp. 70-81.

⁶³ Z. Szymanowska, *Działalność Biblioteki...*, p. 249.

⁶⁴ T. Głowacki, op. cit., p. 359.

⁶⁵ J. Kramm, *Henryk Kołodziejski...*, p. 162.

[With no support (except incidental help of the Chamber staff) Dr. Kołodziejski himself worked as librarian and stock keeper in harmful conditions, with no heating in long, winter months. He not only performed ordinary library work but sacrificed a lot of time to a new idea of systematic catalogue for economic collection. This large work was almost ready at the end of the occupation, but I am not aware of its further fate.]

Kołodziejski maintained contacts with the many representatives of different political sides of the Polish underground during the occupation. He actively participated in the works of institutions and cooperatives active in conspiracy⁶⁶.

Henryk Kołodziejski's engagement after the war

Just after the war H. Kołodziejski openly joined the construction of the new Polish reality. He took part in the Moscow consultations on June 17-21, 1945⁶⁷, which had led to the establishment of the Provisional Government of National Unity, in accordance with the Yalta formula. The demonstration trial of 16 leaders of the Polish Underground State took place in Moscow at that time. After returning from Moscow Kołodziejski, together with other participants of the Moscow consultations, was “co-opted” to the National Council⁶⁸.

The vow of these “co-opted” persons took place on July 21, 1945, at the 8th session of the State National Council⁶⁹. Kołodziejski did not vow, because he was in London at that time. Together with Edward Droźniak they infiltrated Polish emigration diaspora. They reported to the State National Council Praesidium from their mission and results of meetings concerning Polish debts and assets in Great Britain after return, on August 24⁷⁰. H. Kołodziejski vowed at the 9th session of the State National Council, on December 29, 1945⁷¹. He also applied for a welcome note of the State National Council at the first UN General Assembly during the same session, on January 3, 1946⁷². He took part in this meeting as the Polish delegate.

Thus Kołodziejski represented Poland internationally and realized assigned tasks at the national political scene.

⁶⁶ T. Głowacki, op. cit. p. 359.

⁶⁷ *Protokoły posiedzeń Prezydium Krajowej Rady Narodowej*, selection, introduction and compilation by J. Kochanowski, Warszawa 1995, p. 80.

⁶⁸ Ibidem, pp. 79-80, 83.

⁶⁹ “Sprawozdanie Stenograficzne z Posiedzeń Krajowej Rady Narodowej w dn. 21, 22 i 23 lipca 1945 r.” 1945, pp. 5-7.

⁷⁰ J. Kochanowski, op. cit., p. 104.

⁷¹ “Sprawozdanie Stenograficzne z Posiedzeń Krajowej Rady Narodowej w dn. 29, 30 i 31 grudnia 1945 r. oraz 2 i 3 stycznia 1946 r.” 1946, pp. 16-18.

⁷² Ibidem, pp. 603-605.

As a deputy to the Legislative Sejm, he was elected on February 8, 1947, to two commissions settling new political rules⁷³. On February 21 the deputies elected him unanimously as the president of the Supreme Audit Office⁷⁴. He resigned from this function after two years, due to poor health status. The Sejm, accepting his resignation, at the same time, upon the request of “citizen President Bierut” entrusted him with the honorable membership of the Council of State⁷⁵.

President Bierut awarded him the Commander’s Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta a few months later, “for outstanding merits in state and social work in the first period of reconstruction of the reborn People’s Republic of Poland”⁷⁶.

Kołodziejski still had been working in cooperatives, on its highest levels, as a president of the Superior Council of Cooperative, and Chair of the Scientific Council of the Cooperative Scientific Institute⁷⁷.

At the end of the Legislative Sejm, he was elected to the Constitutional Commission⁷⁸, and at one of the last meetings of this chamber, on July 10, 1952 – to the Electoral Code Committee⁷⁹. At the first meeting of the new parliament, on December 20, 1952, he was re-elected as a member of the Council of State⁸⁰.

The communist authority generously granted H. Kołodziejski with dignities and honors. He accepted them at the times when most of the Poles refused to agree surrounding terror and spreading repressions, whose victims were, among others, numerous friends of Kołodziejski from the cooperative or PPS communities.

The trial of 16 leaders of the Polish Underground State was in front of his eyes, with whom he cooperated or sought cooperation during occupation.

⁷³ These were: the Special Commission to develop the rules of the Sejm sessions, and the Special Commission to develop the draft legislation on the system of supreme authorities of the Republic of Poland, see “Sprawozdanie Stenograficzne z 4 Posiedzenia Sejmu Ustawodawczego w dniu 8 lutego 1947 r.” 1947, pp. 15-17, pp. 77-78.

⁷⁴ “Sprawozdanie Stenograficzne z 7 Posiedzenia Sejmu Ustawodawczego w dniu 21 lutego 1947 r.” 1947, p. 99.

⁷⁵ “Sprawozdanie Stenograficzne z 57 Posiedzenia Sejmu Ustawodawczego w dniu 9 marca 1949 r.” 1949, pp. 57-58.

⁷⁶ Postanowienie o odznaczeniu z dnia 22 lipca 1947 r. za wybitne zasługi w pracy państwowej i społecznej w pierwszym okresie odbudowy Odrodzonej Rzeczypospolitej, M.P. 1948, no 17, item 59.

⁷⁷ T. Głowacki, op. cit., p. 360.

⁷⁸ “Sprawozdanie Stenograficzne z 96 Posiedzenia Sejmu Ustawodawczego w dniu 26 maja 1951 r.” 1951, pp. 19-25.

⁷⁹ “Sprawozdanie Stenograficzne z 106 Posiedzenia Sejmu Ustawodawczego w dniu 10 lipca 1952 r.” 1952, pp. 37-38.

⁸⁰ “Sprawozdanie Stenograficzne z 1 Posiedzenia Sejmu Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej w dniu 20 listopada 1952 r.” 1952, pp. 11-14.

Despite that, the pre-war librarian participated actively in introducing new political order and firming it abroad.

Maria Dąbrowska, a writer, was one of his friends. She came from the same cultural and philosophical circles. Both her husband Marian Dąbrowski, as well as a long time life partner Stanisław Stempowski, were outstanding figures of the Polish masonry. M. Dąbrowska had been the nearest neighbor of the Kołodziejski for years. They lived in Warsaw, at Polna 40 street, in the apartments sharing a common wall, in the interwar period and during the occupation⁸¹. Facing escalating arrests of PPS-WRN activists⁸², her assessment of the recent neighbor became sharp. She reported her conversation with Dr. Hanna Kołodziejska, Henryk's niece:

Opowiadała o Henryku Kołodziejskim, swoim stryju, jako człowieku, co przez całe życie zdradzał wszystkich swoich przyjaciół i zawsze był dobrze z wszystkimi, kto miał władzę. W czasie okupacji utrzymywał na wszelki wypadek stosunki ze wszystkimi odcieniami konspiracji, a do końca powstania współpracował z delegaturą rządu londyńskiego. Tak jak przed wojną mówił «Kieć kochany» do różnych sanacyjnych dygnitarzy, tak teraz mówi «Kieć kochany» do Minca i Borejszy. Ja zawsze się dziwiłam, co ludzie widzą w tym wykrętnym człowieku, radcy złej rady, oportuniście, który potrafił uchodzić za geniusza niezależności, i z którym naradzał się nawet Jerzy Stempowski. Ale za krańcowego lewicowca uchodził zawsze, prócz może w czasach okupacji kiedy w istocie był dobrze i Londyńczykami, i z innymi odłamami raczej anty-rosyjskimi⁸³.

[She talked about her uncle Henryk Kołodziejski as a man who had been betraying all his friends during all his life and stayed in good relations with all those who had power. He maintained relations with the conspiracy of any kind just in case during the occupation, and cooperated with the Government Delegation for Poland until the end of the Warsaw Uprising. As he was talking “my dear” to different dignitaries of sanation before the war, he does the same to Minc and Borejsza. I have always been surprised, what people see in this evasive man, the counsel of wrong advice, opportunist, who was considered as a genius of independence, and whom even Jerzy Stempowski consulted. However, he has always been perceived as a radical leftist, except maybe the time of occupation, when he actually stayed in good relations with both London people, and others, rather anti-Russian factions.]

H. Kołodziejski, an influential man of the pre-war political scene, became one of both developers and dignitaries of PRL, against national and community loyalty, after the war.

He died of pulmonary cancer in June 1953.

Translated by Małgorzata Kisilowska

⁸¹ A. Kmita-Piorunowa, *Polna 40*, “Poezja” 1981, no 1, pp. 100-104.

⁸² Dąbrowska deplored arrests of Tadeusz Szturm de Sztrem and the widow of Konstanty Krzeczowski, see M. Dąbrowska, *Dzienniki powojenne*. Vol. 1: 1945-1949, selection, introduction and footnotes T. Drewnowski, Warszawa 1996, pp. 145-148.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 227.

References

Legislation

Rozporządzenie Rady Ministrów o ustanowieniu tabeli stanowisk we władzach i urzędach państwowych, Dz. U. 1924, no 64, item 631.

Zarządzenie Marszałka Sejmu z dnia 29 września 1931 r. Statut organizacyjny Biura Sejmu Rzeczypospolitej, M.P. 1931, no 234, item 318.

Zarządzenie Marszałka Senatu z dnia 29 września 1931 r. Statut organizacyjny Biura Senatu Rzeczypospolitej, M.P. 1931, no 234, item 319.

Parliamentary documents

Sejm documents

Skorowidz druków sejmowych od nru 1 do nru 800, Sejm Ustawodawczy RP, print 1508, [luty 1920].

Sprawozdanie Komisji Budżetowej o preliminarzu budżetowym Sejmu i Senatu na rok budżetowy 1928/1929, Sejm RP, period II, print 80, cz. 2, maj 1928.

Sprawozdanie Komisji Budżetowej o preliminarzach budżetowych Sejmu i Senatu na rok budżetowy 1930/31, Sejm RP, period II, print 700, cz. 2a i 2b, styczeń 1930.

Sprawozdanie Komisji Budżetowej o preliminarzach budżetowych Sejmu i Senatu na rok budżetowy 1936/1937, Sejm RP, cadenza IV, print 55, cz. 2a i 2b, luty 1936.

Sprawozdanie Komisji Budżetowej o preliminarzach budżetowych Sejmu i Senatu na rok budżetowy 1937/1938, Sejm RP, cadenza IV, print 300, cz. 2a i 2b, luty 1937.

Sprawozdanie Komisji Budżetowej o preliminarzach budżetowych Sejmu i Senatu na rok budżetowy 1938/1939, Sejm RP, cadenza IV, print 700, cz. 2a i 2b, luty 1938.

Sprawozdanie Komisji Budżetowej o preliminarzach budżetowych Sejmu (część 2a) i Senatu (część 2b) na rok 1939/40, Sejm RP, cadenza V, print 100, luty 1939.

Wniosek posła W. Kamienieckiego i tow. w sprawie utworzenia Sejmowego Biura Prawniczego, Sejm Ustawodawczy RP, print 176, [1919].

Wniosek posła Jana Dąbskiego i tow. z klubu P.S.L. "Piastowców" w sprawie utworzenia biblioteki Sejmowej, Sejm Ustawodawczy RP, [print] 229, [marzec 1919].

Transcripts of the Sejm sessions

"Sprawozdanie Stenograficzne z 4 Posiedzenia Sejmu Ustawodawczego w dniu 8 lutego 1947 r." 1947.

"Sprawozdanie Stenograficzne z 7 Posiedzenia Sejmu Ustawodawczego w dniu 21 lutego 1947 r." 1947.

"Sprawozdanie Stenograficzne z 57 Posiedzenia Sejmu Ustawodawczego w dniu 9 marca 1949 r." 1949.

"Sprawozdanie Stenograficzne z 96 Posiedzenia Sejmu Ustawodawczego w dniu 26 maja 1951 r." 1951.

“Sprawozdanie Stenograficzne ze 106 Posiedzenia Sejmu Ustawodawczego w dniu 10 lipca 1952 r.” 1952.

“Sprawozdanie Stenograficzne z 1 Posiedzenia Sejmu Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej w dniu 20 listopada 1952 r.” 1952.

“Sprawozdanie Stenograficzne z Posiedzeń Krajowej Rady Narodowej w dn. 21, 22 i 23 lipca 1945 r.” 1945.

Literature

Car S., *Przegląd prac ustawodawczych Sejmu i Senatu Rzplitej Polskiej*, “Palestra” 1925, no 4, pp. 758-759.

Chajn L., *Polskie wolnomularstwo 1920-1938*, Warszawa 1984.

Dąbrowska M., *Dzienniki powojenne*, vol. 1: 1945-1949, selection, introduction and footnotes by T. Drewnowski, Warszawa 1996.

“Exposé sommaire des Travaux Législatifs de la Diète et du Sénat polonais”, 1925-1932, vol. 1-5.

“Exposé sommaire des Travaux Législatifs”, 1934-1938, vol. 6-7.

Głowacki T., *Kołodziejski Henryk (1884-1953)*, [in:] PSB, Wrocław 1967-1968, vol. 13, pp. 358-360.

Hass L., *Masoneria polska XX wieku. Losy, loże, ludzie*, Warszawa 1996.

Hass L., *Wolnomularze polscy w kraju i na świecie 1821-1999. Słownik biograficzny*, Warszawa 1999.

Kmita-Piorunowa A., *Polna 40*, “Poezja” 1981, no 1, pp. 100-104.

Kramm J., “Zabytek archiwalny” o sobie. (*Pamiętnik*), “Bibliotekarz” 1966, no 3, pp. 82-85.

Kramm J., *Henryk Kołodziejski jako bibliotekarz*, “Przegląd Biblioteczny” 1955, no 2, pp. 157-162.

Maślankiewicz P., *Faustyn Czerwijowski (1873-1944)*, [in:] *Z dziejów książki i bibliotek w Warszawie*, Warszawa 1961, pp. 696-697.

Mężyński A., *Biblioteki Warszawy w latach 1939-1945*, Warszawa 2010.

Nagórski Z., *Ludzie mego czasu. Sylwetki*, Paryż 1964.

Parlament Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 1919-1927, ed. by H. Mościcki, W. Dzwonkowski, Warszawa 1928.

Protokoły posiedzeń Prezydium Krajowej Rady Narodowej, selection, introduction and compilation by J. Kochanowski, Warszawa 1995.

Rzepecki T., Rzepecki W., *Sejm i Senat 1922-1927. Podręcznik dla wyborców zawierający wyniki wyborów w powiatach, okręgach, województwach, podobizny senatorów i posłów sejmowych oraz mapy poglądowe*, Poznań 1923.

Singer B., *Od Witosa do Sławka*, Paryż 1962.

Suleja W., *Tymczasowa Rada Stanu*, Warszawa 1998.

- Szmitkowska A., *Gmach Izby Przemysłowo-Handlowej w Warszawie*, "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki" 2011, no 1, pp. 70-81.
- Szymanowska Z., *Działalność Biblioteki Sejmowej w latach 1919-1939*, "Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej" 1981, vol. 16, pp. 241-250.
- Szymanowska Z., *Kramm Janina (1882-1964)*, [in:] PSB, Wrocław 1970, vol. 15, p. 132.
- Święcicki T., *List do Redakcji "Zeszytów"*, "Zeszyty Historyczne" 1963, no 4, pp. 173-175.
- Święcicki T., „444” czyli "Czysta Ręka", "Zeszyty Historyczne" 1963, no 4, pp. 167-173.
- Wasiak J., *Zieleniewski Leon*, [in:] SKPK, p. 1020.
- Żyją w naszej pamięci. Wspomnienia o pracownikach Biblioteki Publicznej m.st. Warszawy*, [forewords and content edition by J. Jagielska, T. Jedynek], Warszawa 2017.