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## Religious issues in Galicia in the light of the correspondence of the founders of the Resurrectionists

The article examines the correspondence of Bogdan Jański, Hieronim Kajsiwicz, and Piotr Semenenko. The views of these early resurrectionists were related to the settlement plans in Galicia. They were appalled by the misconduct of the clergy and the rigid ecclesiastical etiquette that stemmed from the spirit of Josephinism. Through individual actions, preaching, religious retreats, and spiritual exercises, they aimed to overcome negative tendencies among the Galician clergy and the faithful. An important issue in the analyzed correspondence was the religious problems between the Latin and Uniate communities, as well as folk religiosity. The resurrectionists, through their influence on Greek Catholic hierarchs and their connections with the papal court, initiated a rapprochement between the two rites.

**Keywords:** Great Emigration, resurrectionists, religiosity, interfaith relations, correspondence.

Galicia, by virtue of its social structure, with its predominantly peasant population and the strong influence of the aristocracy and landed gentry, was an area where the dominant model of religiosity was folk religiosity. Research on this problem with regard to the Polish lands in the 19th century has a certain tradition: they constituted the subject of interest not only for historians, but also for ethnographers, theologians and sociologists. Despite the intensive development of research on folk religiosity, its definition still remains open. On the one hand, it concerns folklore, practices and mentality. On the other hand, it is a pastoral problem linked to different conceptions of religious relations as well as the work of priests among the faithful.<sup>1</sup> In the institutional-legal field and pastoral practice, the Catholic Church in the 19th century in the Polish lands was based

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<sup>1</sup> D. Olszewski, *Kultura i życie religijne społeczeństwa polskiego w XIX wieku*, Lublin 2014, p. 364.

on the provisions of the Council of Trent. The main elements of pastoral influence included parish worship, the administration of the sacraments and Sunday teaching.<sup>2</sup> Related issues also included hierarchical relations, administrative divisions, the intellectual level of the clergy and the internal functioning of the various denominations in the Austrian partition.

In the research armoury related to religious issues we have at our disposal, among other things, manuscripts, including the correspondence of the clergy. This article focuses on the letters of the founders of the Resurrectionists:<sup>3</sup> Bogdan Jański and the first two priests of this congregation: Hieronim Kajsiewicz and Peter Semenenko. Their legacy in the form of correspondence has been published in print.<sup>4</sup> The chronological framework of this article is limited to the activities of these first Resurrectionists.

The Resurrectionists originated from the post-November Insurrection emigration, from the circle of influence of Bogdan Jański, who died in Rome, on 2 July 1840. He found himself in exile in France by choice, as a scholarship holder of the government of the Kingdom of Poland. Jański, initially a saint-simonist, evolved towards Catholicism in his religious search. In religion he sought inspiration as well as ways of renewing contemporary society by uniting patriotism with faith.<sup>5</sup> He saw dangers for the “faith of the fathers”, among other things, in clinging to outdated external forms belonging to past eras. He was opposed to ignorance and religious shallowness. He wanted to embrace with religious revival not only the masses of emigrants in France, but also the clergy and the faithful in the Polish lands. Some elements of the future ultramontane programme were

<sup>2</sup> A. Barańska, *Kościół i przemiany religijności w historii Polski XIX wieku* [in:] *Historie Polski w XIX wieku*, red. A. Nowak, vol. IV, Warszawa 2015, pp. 35–36.

<sup>3</sup> The history of the Resurrectionist congregation has a rich historiography. See, among others: P. Smolikowski, *Historia Zgromadzenia Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego*, vol. I–IV, Kraków 1892–1896; W. Kwiatkowski, *Historia Zgromadzenia Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego*, Albano 1941; B. Micewski, *Bogdan Jański. Założyciel zmartwychwstańców 1807–1840*, Warszawa 1983; J. Iwicki, *Charyzmat zmartwychwstańców. Historia Zgromadzenia Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego*, vol. I, 1836–1886, Katowice 1990; vol. II (1887–1932), Kraków–Kielce 2007; idem, *Resurrectionist Charism. A History of the Congregation of the Resurrection*, vol. III (1932–1965), Rome 1992; *Zmartwychwstańcy w dziejach Kościoła i narodu*, ed. Z. Zieliński, Katowice 1990.

<sup>4</sup> B. Jański, *Dziennik 1830–1839*, read from the autograph and edited by A. Jastrzębski, Rome 2000; idem, *Letters 1828–1839*, Edition 1978–1980. Resurrection Studies Commission Fr. B. Micewski, C.R. Computer edition (2010–2011) Fr. W. Młeczko, C.R., R. Borowczyk, Rome 2011; H. Kajsiewicz, *Letters*, vols. I–XI, ed. T. Kaszuba, Rome 2004–2014; P. Semenenko, *Letters*, vols. I–XV, Rome 1988–2011.

<sup>5</sup> J. Kuzicki, *Koncepcja działalności laikatu według Bogdana Jańskiego w kontekście zadań świeckich w Kościele katolickim* [in:] *Dziedzictwo Bogdana Jańskiego. Służba Narodowa*, ed. S. Urbański, Warsaw 2007, pp. 109–133. On the notion of a Pole-Catholic functioning in the partition period, see Z. Zieliński, *Kościół i naród w niewoli*, Lublin 1995, pp. 23–29.

outlined in his *Bruliony* and “Pielgrzym Polski” [*Polish Pilgrim*], edited together with Adam Mickiewicz. From the beginning of 1832, Jański planned to establish a religious community to uphold the *faith of our fathers*. In 1834, he founded the United Brethren association, and a year later another congregation, the Brotherhood of National Service, was established, bringing together future Resurrectionists and émigré activists. The Brotherhood’s aim was to introduce Christian principles into public and private life in exile and in the Polish lands. A few years later, at the beginning of 1839, Jański’s congregation had five centres in Paris, Versailles and one in Rome. Not only clerics, but so-called external brothers, lay members of the congregation, stayed there. In a short time, more than 67 people passed through Jański’s centres, 11 of whom became priests, including eight Resurrectionists (including Hieronim Kajsiewicz, Piotr Semenenko, Edward Duński, Karol Kaczanowski, Aleksander Jełowicki, Hipolit Terlecki). In 1842, in Rome, the first priests from Bogdan Jański’s circle (H. Kajsiewicz, P. Semenenko, E. Duński) founded the Congregation of the Resurrection (commonly called Resurrectionists).<sup>6</sup> From then on, this congregation conducted pastoral ministry among the multitudes of Polish emigrants in France, England, Rome, Belgium and, from the 1860s, also in North America.<sup>7</sup>

Considering the fact that the charism of the congregation was pastoral work among Poles abroad, one can pose the question: why is the correspondence of the founders of the Resurrectionists useful for research into religiousness in Galicia? There are some facts behind the positive answer. From the very beginning of the congregation’s activity, attempts were made to establish an outpost and to penetrate the Polish lands. Initially, the ultramontane ideas preached from the pulpits of Paris and Rome were brought to Poland by laymen – the so-called external friars. They included Jan Koźmian (later to become a priest), who started to publish the *Poznań Review* in Wielkopolska from 1845, and Walery Wielogłowski, a well-known owner of a bookshop and publishing house for Catholic, scientific and agricultural works in Kraków, as well as the publisher of a number of magazines and books.<sup>8</sup> As early as the early 1840s, the first Resurrectionists appeared first

<sup>6</sup> B. Micewski, *Osobowy i terytorialny rozwój Zgromadzenia Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego* [in:] *Zmartwychwstańcy w dziejach Kościoła i narodu*, ed. Z. Zieliński, Katowice 1990, pp. 29–30; B. Szlachta, *Ład – Kościół – Naród*, Kraków 1996, pp. 33–42.

<sup>7</sup> For more see: J. Iwicki, *Zmartwychwstańcy za Oceanem* [in:] *Zmartwychwstańcy w dziejach Kościoła i narodu*, ed. Z. Zieliński, Katowice 1990, pp. 115–117; idem, *The First One Hundred Years. A study of the Apostolate of the Congregation of the Resurrection in the United States 1866–1966*, Rome 1966; J. J. Parot, *Polish Catholics in Chicago, 1850–1920* [in:] *A Religious History*, Dekalb, Northern Illinois 1981; E. T. Janas, J. Wahl, *Dictionary of American Resurrectionists 1865–1990*, Chicago, Illinois 1991.

<sup>8</sup> For more on the activities of Jan Koźmian and Walery Wielogłowski, see P. Matusik, *Religia i naród. Życie i myśl Jana Koźmiana 1814–1877*, Poznań 1998; J. Kuzicki, *Oreżem i pracą. Życie i działalność Walerego Wielogłowskiego (1805–1865)*, Rzeszów 2005.

in Greater Poland, Silesia and then in Galicia.<sup>9</sup> Throughout their priestly life, the founders of the Resurrectionists maintained contact by letter with representatives of the Galician clergy and the faithful. From the 1870s, the congregation succeeded in gaining contacts and anchoring itself in the Austrian partition. The problems of the Catholic Church there, of the three rites, finally appeared in reports submitted by the Resurrectionists to the Holy See.

Mentions of Galicia and the Free City of Krakow are found in Bogdan Jański's diary. From Kraków, he received monetary allowances for the purposes of his congregation and corresponded with the persecuted Bishop of Kraków Karol Skórkowski.<sup>10</sup> In 1837, he even thought about going to the Austrian partition. In his "Diary" he wrote down: "And would it not be possible and proper to go to Dresden now, while Cezary [Plater] is there. There would seem to be many advantages from there. From there one could go to Prague, to Kraków, to Galicia (perhaps to Obożno)".<sup>11</sup> Although not ordained as a priest himself, Jański knew that in order to work effectively on the religious and moral revival of his own nation, one needed priests living the faith. He believed that the place of the clergy should be in front of the tabernacle and among the people. In the Archives of the Congregation of the Resurrectionists in Rome, a card with Jański's notes on the role of religion in the life of old Poles has been preserved. He looked to the Middle Ages and modern history for moral models for his contemporaries.<sup>12</sup>

In the surviving correspondence of P. Semenko and H. Kajsiewicz there are many more references to religious matters in the Austrian partition. During their theological studies in Rome, the future priests maintained contacts with Galician Jesuits, from whom they obtained various kinds of information. In addition, they came into contact with other representatives of the Galician clergy (religious and secular) who were visiting the Holy See. Finally, they came into contact with Galician landowners travelling around Europe. In one of his letters to B. Jański,

<sup>9</sup> J. Iwicki, *Charyzmat...*, vol. I, pp. 118–121, 462–471.

<sup>10</sup> B. Micewski, *Bogdan Jański*, pp. 340–341, 374; J. Kuzicki, *Koncepcja działalności...*, p. 113.

<sup>11</sup> B. Jański, *Dziennik...*, pp. 509, 624. In a note of 2 December 1837 ("Dodatek"), Jański considered returning to the Polish lands. He thought of "returning even with a considerable number of us to the country to devote ourselves there to the service of God, with an open abandonment of all earthly and national intentions". He abandoned this idea, as it "could have given cause for patriots to schism, to react furiously against religion. How much harm this would have done to the Church! When, on the contrary, by judiciously taking advantage of the indignation against the persecution of Catholicism by our enemies, the whole nation could be drawn under the sweet yoke of Christ" (transl. mine), quoted after J. Styk, *Myśli o ojczyźnie i narodzie w "Dzienniku" Bogdana Jańskiego [Thoughts on the homeland and nation in Bogdan Jański's "Diary"]* [in:] *Dziedzictwo Bogdana Jańskiego. Służba Narodowa*, ed. S. Urbański, Warszawa 2007, p. 160.

<sup>12</sup> A. Kardaś, *Kajsiewicz w Krakowie. W 200. rocznicę urodzin Hieronima Kajsiewicza (1812 – 7 XII – 2012)*, Kraków 2012, pp. 57–58; J. Kuzicki, *Koncepcja działalności...*, p. 113.

Fr. P. Semenenko in 1837 described the condition of the Galician Jesuit province, where, in “addition to Ternopil and Lviv, they are still there in Stara Wieś, where the novitiate is, and in Sącz, where the Hungarian novitiate is, and somewhere else, at least as it seems, because I do not know exactly. By the way, there are several of them in Kraków”.<sup>13</sup> A few months later B. Jański learned from the Roman clerics that they had made acquaintances with representatives of several Galician families, and that they were planning to found a Society of Good Books in Lviv for the propagation of religious literature. There were also reports of Greek Catholic clerics being sent to Rome and of restrictions on the activities of the Jesuits by the Austrian government.<sup>14</sup> “Novitiate in Galicia not recruiting, influence deadened, etc. But what are they supposed to do? They expect and pray. Once upon a time a Jesuit Father, yes, even a member of the Holy Inquisition, was expressing big grievances against Austria. They are not friends among themselves, they suffer one another for lack of better company”.<sup>15</sup> Semenenko was well aware of the influence of Josephinism, “the spirit of which infected clergy in Galicia”.<sup>16</sup> Similar judgements were made by Fr. H. Kajsiewicz, who stressed that in the Austrian seminaries “Josephinism reigned supreme”, which caused some of the clergy of both Roman and Greek Catholics “to become lukewarm to the Holy See”.<sup>17</sup> The state of religiosity in Galicia was summarised by Fr. P. Semenenko in another letter. He wrote: “The canon and chancellor of the Consistory, Fr. Gałdecki, about whom we wrote to the Zaleski family, came here from Lviv. He reports sad things. The nobility is dissolute, Frenchified, in disbelief, cold, cold; the Austrian reason eats away at many of them. The Jesuits do well in their own way, but also in their own way, etc. We have also seen a letter from Kraków. The youth believe in nothing, the priests are cold, just poverty”.<sup>18</sup> In the summer of 1842, Fr. P. Semenenko went on a long journey to the province of Poznań to get an idea of the possibilities of settling in that area. Despite the kindness of the Archbishop of Poznań and Gniezno, Martin Dunin, the Prussian authorities did not agree to accept Polish priests from emigration.<sup>19</sup>

Fr. Kajsiewicz was disturbed by reports of Galician conspiracies: “Letters from Galicia report the discovery of a communist conspiracy – they say with two priests at the head, with a list of citizens to be posted. After these new

<sup>13</sup> P. Semenenko to B. Jański, 17 IX 1837 [in:] P. Semenenko, *Listy*, vol. I, Rzym 1980, p. 83.

<sup>14</sup> P. Semenenko to B. Jański, 29 II; 1 IV 1838 [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 180–182, 210.

<sup>15</sup> P. Semenenko to B. Jański, 3 IV 1838 [in:] *ibidem*, p. 215.

<sup>16</sup> P. Semenenko to B. Jański, 21 VII 1838 [in:] P. Semenenko, *Listy*, vol. II, Rzym 1986, p. 27.

<sup>17</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to Rev. Cardinal [Alessandro] Barnabo, Rome, 25 II 1867 [in:] H. Kajsiewicz, *Listy 1865–1867*, vol. IX, Rzym 2010, p. 214.

<sup>18</sup> P. Semenenko to B. Jański, 22 XI 1838 [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 88–89.

<sup>19</sup> M. Perzyński, *Zmartwychwstańcy w Polsce* [in:] *Zmartwychwstańcy w dziejach...*, pp. 92–93.

enticements, so bad-natured, smothered, we seem to wait much longer in our exile. The merciful God will find some means of restraining the religious persecution in Russia, but politically it will become a burden, and a heavier one, everywhere, than before”.<sup>20</sup> Many reflections on the situation in Galicia are contained in Fr. Kajsiewicz’s correspondence from his journey to the Wawel castle. His stay in Kraków and its surroundings lasted nine months (from 14 August 1848 to 1 May 1849). The figure of Fr. H. Kajsiewicz made his mark in the consciousness of the inhabitants of that time. They founded a bust of him in St Mary’s Church, in the chapel of St John of Nepomuk, made of white sandstone. Above the beam is a cartouche bearing a sabre and a cross intersected with each other – symbols of the fate of this insurgent and monk.<sup>21</sup> Prior to his arrival in Kraków, Fr. Kajsiewicz, as the general of the Resurrectionists, stayed in Greater Poland, where he explored the possibility of starting pastoral work. However, the Resurrectionists believed that it was in Galicia that they would be able to put down roots on their native soil most quickly. In his first letter from Kraków, in August, Fr. Kajsiewicz wrote to Fr. Kaczanowski: “There is a whole clique of priests who are politicians, democrats. I heard it myself from the lips of one who praised the assassin Zajączkowski and claimed ‘that things will not be good until the weed (aristocrats) is uprooted’. [...] Monastic orders, generally speaking, are asleep”. In the same letter he concludes: “I have, however, already met some good religious monks and some secular priests. I will get them together at some point for the sake of understanding. They also feel the need to do so, only no one dares to put themselves forward. I got to know the Daughters of St Euphemia [...] and the Visitation Sisters, who act piously”.<sup>22</sup> From the beginning of his stay, he met with the reluctance of Bishop Ludwik Łętowski, then administrator of the Kraków diocese. In their correspondence and diaries, the two judged each other harshly. Fr. Kajsiewicz wrote: “There is no spiritual governance. Łętowski inelastic”.<sup>23</sup> In another letter, in October 1848, he concluded: “I have been to see the Reverend Administrator: he is a witty man, but unstable. Read not properly and not in ecclesiastical things”. Once again, Kajsiewicz was negative about the bishop’s candidature when he was being considered for the Archbishopric of Lviv after the death of Franciszek de Pauli Pisztek and the turbulence surrounding the would-be Archbishop of Lviv, Waław Wilhelm Waławiczek. During the period of the so-called ‘stock market of names’, in the early spring of 1849, Fr. Kajsiewicz

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<sup>20</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to P. Semenenko, Paris, 17 IV 1845 [in:] H. Kajsiewicz, *Listy 1845–1847*, vol. III, Rome 2005, p. 25.

<sup>21</sup> A. Kardaś, *Kajsiewicz w Krakowie...*, p. 8.

<sup>22</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 20–27.

wrote to his confreres in Paris: “To Lviv presented Łętowski and Konopka (Galician), canon of Olomouc. I do not know the latter, so I do not know what it means. The appointment of the first was a good fortune for Kraków. In Lviv, the diocese, which had been well arranged by Pisztek, was rather disrupted by Łętowski’s misrule”. In the end, the Lviv archbishop’s seat was taken by Łukasz Baraniecki. Bishop Łętowski, by the way, repaid in kind, describing Fr. Kajsiewicz as “a great devotee hunter and a soothsayer for stupid people”. He also criticised the entire Resurrectionist congregation, writing: “it was a ragbag bunch from the beginning and they had some priest Jański (sic!), whom they deem to be a miracle-worker”. The distancing of the Bishop of Kraków from Fr. H. Kajsiewicz hampered several important initiatives at Wawel.<sup>24</sup>

During his stay in Krakow, Fr Kajsiewicz preached at St Mary’s Church, where, if his words are to be believed, “several thousand people filled the beautiful church”. The preacher’s speech was criticised by progressives, and several clergymen accused Fr Kajsiewicz of heresy because he called Mary the co-redeemer of man. However, Fr. Wieland, in consultation with other Krakow preachers, calmed the outraged, stating that “St Bernard had used such and even stronger expressions”. Another homily was delivered by Kajsiewicz on 3 September 1848 at the Kraków Dominicans, in honour of Saint Jacek Odrowąż. To Jan Koźmian he reported: “My last teaching on St. Jacek made an electrifying impression. I myself was pleased, I had 5000 listeners. The people cried out loudly as I descended from the pulpit: ‘oh, may God repay you, God bless’.” Again, on 10 October, I was invited to the Dominicans for the closing octave in honour of Our Lady of the Rosary. “The weeping and roaring was immense”, the preacher reported. “Without exaggeration, according to the locals, there must have been at least 10,000 people”. Outside Kraków, the Resurrectionist visited nearby Krzeszowice, the estate of Adam Potocki. This town, then a health resort, hosted many visitors. In his correspondence, Fr. Kajsiewicz boasted that the Krzeszowice church was full at his sermon, with many still standing outside the door: there were a thousand people. Pious listeners even came by train from Kraków. The priest also visited other monasteries and churches in the diocese of Krakow. He visited, among others, the Norbertines in Zwierzyniec, the Camaldolese monks in Bielany, the monastery in Tyniec, the Cistercians in Mogiła, and the Benedictines in Staniątki. He also visited parishes in Szczepanów and Liszki. It is impossible to determine all the churches or parishes in the Diocese of Kraków where Kajsiewicz preached the word of God. In fact, he did not record this in his letters very scrupulously. His visits to the Diocese of Kraków led Fr. Kajsiewicz to say: “Let the whole world know, and let the angels from above see for themselves how the pious Pol-

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, pp. 27–28.

ish people, the people of Kraków, love and honour their Mother and Queen. The more I preached”, the priest concluded, “the more the people of Kraków clung to me and became attached to me”. Fr. Kajsiewicz was delighted with his stay in Olszanica, near Kraków. He wrote, among other things: “The peasants from the vicinity of Krakow brought me a dozen or so zlotys for a votive service for the Holy Father. After Mass they took it ceremoniously to their village and asked for the consecration of the chamber where they come together to recite the chaplet and for the consecration of the houses”.<sup>25</sup> This priest looked with delight at the devotion to religion of the Polish peasants. In the “Church Review” he recalled: “Up to a hundred men, women and children of both sexes sang piously. They listened to the teaching with great attention and received the priestly blessing with guilty gratitude. Several other farmers took the opportunity to ask for their huts to be consecrated. It was a beautiful day for us. Here is an example of the tender piety of our old Polish people”.<sup>26</sup> Fr. Kajsiewicz was appalled to hear of the neglect of the monks towards the faithful and of their yielding to political influence. During the church fair of 1850 at Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, 80,000 pilgrims and 135 priests gathered, but “none preached the Passion of Christ to them at the stations, but they preached to themselves and helped as much as they could”.<sup>27</sup>

As Fr. Artur Kardaś rightly pointed out, “Hieronim Kajsiewicz judged the Kraków clergy in the mid-19th century harshly, perhaps too harshly, but he did not stop at a bad evaluation. He got down to concrete work. He was well aware of how much damage the spirit of Josephinism was doing to the priests in Galicia. The Church was completely subordinated to the state and paralysed in its activities, both in purely administrative and pastoral matters, as well as in the formation of priests, the admission of candidates to seminaries, the conferral of orders, the holding of synods, the organisation of missions, retreats, the formation of associations or even the publication of pastoral letters in line with the political and religious correctness of the state”. During his stay in the diocese of Krakow, Fr. Kajsiewicz founded, among other things, the charitable brotherhood of the Parish Sisters of St Elizabeth of Turin, which was concerned with the maintenance of churches, the establishment of parish libraries and the care of the poor. At St Mark’s Church, Fr. Hieronim undertook the catechisation of adults, as well as pioneering teaching for priests. He hoped that the small circles of enlightened clergy attending the conference would be the beginning of a religious renewal in Galicia.<sup>28</sup> Among other things, he wrote: “Thank God, the

<sup>25</sup> Quoted by A. Kardaś, *Kajsiewicz w Krakowie...*, pp. 41–45, 50, 54.

<sup>26</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 55.

<sup>27</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to J. Koźmian, Rome, 19 X 1850 [in:] H. Kajsiewicz, *Listy 1848–1851*, vol. IV, Rome 2006, p. 211.

<sup>28</sup> A. Kardaś, *Droga charyzmatyczna Hieronima Kajsiewicza*, Kraków 2006, p. 121.



Clergy Conference was established yesterday on the octave of St John Cantius. First of all we took care of the schools for the people”.<sup>29</sup> In another letter, he humorously described the attitude of the local clergy to the conference: “The conference must also be summoned, otherwise they won’t come, and if they do, they sit and keep quiet. But thank God, there has already been one deanery conference in Galicia (...) The Przemyśl clergy kept their ears closed, but it seems that the bishop was not very pleased that I sounded the alarm. He must have already got his nose out of the nunciature”.<sup>30</sup> Together with the painter, Piotr Michałowski, Fr. H. Kajsiewicz opened a home for abandoned children, began to publish the “Church Weekly”, and initiated the creation of a reading room for Catholic books and periodicals.<sup>31</sup>

In Kraków, he met Father Julian Leszczyński, a deputy from Krosno to the Viennese Sejm, whom he described as “a pious priest with a monastic spirit”, who tried to join the Bernardines, but as he said himself, “our monasteries in Galicia are a travesty”.<sup>32</sup> Another example of Fr. Kajsiewicz’s stance towards the clergy was the publication in 1849 of an open letter to the publisher of the Poznań Review about the priest’s stance towards the national cause and politics. He admitted that priests in Greater Poland and Galicia enjoyed the respect of the faithful, which proved that secularising influences from the West had not spread to Polish lands. Priests owed their election to representative bodies during the Spring of Nations to the trust of the people. Clergymen were elected to the parliament in Frankfurt am Main or district national councils in Galicia. However, the political involvement of priests often led to their neglect of parish work and loss of pastoral zeal: “If he neglects reading spiritual things and meditation, his word will be without content, without anointing, without strength”. Between 1846 and 1849, young Galician priests were associated with liberal and revolutionary groupings, which in turn led to “a misunderstood patriotism”. Fr. Kajsiewicz also indicated areas of pastoral ministry in Galicia where priests should be concerned with combating drunkenness and debauchery among the people, as well as divorce and marital infidelity among the landed gentry. They should also combat idleness, disorder and mismanagement, spread popular education, and carry out charitable activities.<sup>33</sup> Fr. Kajsiewicz was critical of the knowledge of

<sup>29</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to K. Kaczanowski, Kraków, 30 X 1848 [in:] *ibidem*, p. 68.

<sup>30</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to K. Kaczanowski, Kraków, 9 I 1849 [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 82–83.

<sup>31</sup> A. Kardaś, *Droga charyzmatyczna...*, pp. 121, 261.

<sup>32</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to E. Duński, Bobrek (on the Silesian border), 13 X 1848 [in:] H. Kajsiewicz, *Listy...*, vol. IV, p. 64.

<sup>33</sup> J. Kuzicki, *Nieść wiarę i nadzieję na obcej ziemi. Polskie duchowieństwo katolickie w życiu religijnym i polityczno-społecznym Wielkiej Emigracji we Francji (1831–1863)*, Rzeszów 2014, pp. 532–533.

Poznań and Galician priests acquired from the seminaries. In one of his letters he wrote: "In both provinces the clergy learnt bad canon law, so also the good ones have false presbyterian, constitutional ideas about church government and the power of bishops".<sup>34</sup> Fr. Kajsiewicz also drew his knowledge of popular religiosity from the Galician press. In one of his letters to Maurycy Dzieduszycki, he praised the publication of a periodical for the people, "Wieśniak" [Countryman], published by Fr. Leopold Górnicki.<sup>35</sup>

The Resurrectionists were informers for the Holy See about the conditions of the Church in Galicia. The correspondence of the members of the congregation with Fr. Alfons Skórkowski of the Diocese of Kraków was one of the sources for the formulation of proper evaluations.<sup>36</sup> On 19 August 1846, Fr. Kajsiewicz was received during a special audience by Pius IX. At that time, he presented the Pope with *Memorial on the conditions of the Catholic Church in Russia and Poland*, in which he suggested several postulates concerning, among others, the Galician Uniates. Among other things, he demanded the completion of the process of canonisation of Jozafat Kuncewicz; the elevation and development of the Greek college in Rome, which had to be transformed into a Greek-Slavic college. According to Fr. Kajsiewicz closer links between the Uniate clergy and the Holy See should be taken care of. A few months later, he submitted a memorandum to Pius IX on 8 December 1846, in which he indicated the candidatures of honest and capable priests to assume the bishoprics of Polish dioceses, and wrote about priests imprisoned and deported to Siberia. This document included details about the Galician massacre that were unknown to the Roman Curia.<sup>37</sup> The first Resurrectionists lobbied the Holy See for Galician candidates with the appropriate moral and intellectual level for ecclesiastical positions, such as Bishop Gałęcki and Fr. Ignacy Łobos, later Bishop of Tarnów. As the correspondence indicates, the appointment of Fr. Łobos as canon of Przemyśl should be attributed to the efforts of Polish monks in Rome.<sup>38</sup> Some influence on episcopal appointments in the Austrian partition was held by the Resurrectionists in the later period. After the death of Bishop Antoni Manastyrski in 1869 and the preparations for the assumption of the Lviv metropolitan see

<sup>34</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to A. Jełowicki, Rome 24 X 1850 [in:] H. Kajsiewicz, *Listy...*, vol. IV, p. 214.

<sup>35</sup> Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv (CPAH), fond 45, H. Kajsiewicz to M. Dzieduszycki, Rome, 31 August 1859.

<sup>36</sup> The historiography of the papacy's attitude to the Polish cause in the 19th century is presented by Z. Zieliński, *L'historiographie d'après-guerre de la papauté et des relations polono-vaticanes* [in:] *La science historique polonaise dans l'historiographie mondiale*, par. M. Leczyk, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow–Gdańsk 1990, pp. 113–133.

<sup>37</sup> J. Iwicki, *Charyzmat...*, vol. I, pp. 129–131; A. Kardaś, *Droga charyzmatyczna...*, p. 117.

<sup>38</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to I. Łobos, Rome, 7 II 1873 [in:] H. Kajsiewicz, *Listy 1870–1873*, vol. XI, Rome 2014, p. 243.

by Józef Sembratowicz, Fr. Kajsiewicz wrote: "It is now necessary to take care of a successor. I have written to Mr. Adam Potocki that he himself, and through Mr. Alfred, should take care of appointing proper candidates to vacant capitals of both rites. Rev. Włodzimierz, I have no doubt, will ensure that the nuncio receives good instructions".<sup>39</sup>

One of the dominant themes of his correspondence was the question of religious and political relations between the three Galician Catholic rites. Throughout his priestly life, Fr. H. Kajsiewicz was interested in the Greek Catholic rite in Galicia. In one of his letters he wrote, among other things, "Unites in the Kingdom will hold out, but Galicians are terribly irritated at Latinists".<sup>40</sup> The Austrian authorities, unlike the Russian tsars, favoured the Unitarian clergy and faithful. However, the rite was slow to take hold in Galicia. Its position was much weaker than that of the Roman Catholic rite. The Greek Catholics had an intellectually and materially poorer clergy, and in part the faithful and their priests gravitated towards Russian Orthodoxy.<sup>41</sup> Over the years, the Uniate Church in the Austrian partition became divided, with some priests, together with the emerging intelligentsia, cooperating with Vienna in an effort to deepen Ukrainian national consciousness. There were also Uniates who succumbed to Polonisation.<sup>42</sup> Thanks to the efforts of the Resurrectionists, a Greek Catholic seminary was opened in the Eternal City and the canonisation process of the first martyr for the work of the Union, Blessed Josaphat Kuncewicz was completed. Fr. H. Kajsiewicz was one of the initiators of the canonisation of St Jozafat. The would-be postulator of the process of the blessed bishop remained his ardent advocate both before and after his elevation to the altars. In his homilies and correspondence, he chastised the negligence of Poles towards the matters of the Union and shared his extensive reflections on the history of Greek Catholics in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Fr. Kajsiewicz considered negligence towards the Uniates to be one of the manifestations of Polish historical errors. He expressed these thoughts at a time when the global ideological-worldview clash between liberal circles and Catholicism was reaching its climax and the Universal Council was being prepared. Having witnessed the progressive anti-Polish repression of the Tsarist regime after

<sup>39</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to I. Łobos, Rome, 22 XII 1869 [in:] H. Kajsiewicz, *Listy 1868–1869*, vol. X, Rzym 2012, pp. 314–315.

<sup>40</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to Congregation of the Resurrection in Rome, Paris, 14 I 1843 [in:] H. Kajsiewicz, *Listy 1842–1845*, vol. II, Rzym 2004, pp. 64–65.

<sup>41</sup> For more on the influence of Orthodoxy, see W. Osadczy, *Święta Ruś. Rozwój i oddziaływanie idei prawosławia w Galicji*, Lublin 2007, passim.

<sup>42</sup> S. Nabywaniec, *Kościół greckokatolicki w Galicji w latach 1772–1848. Wybrane zagadnienia* [in:] *Polska i jej wschodni sąsiedzi*, ed. A. Andrusiewicz, vol. IV, Rzeszów 2004, pp. 26–47.

the January Uprising, the Resurrectionist feared that an organised Ukrainian national community emerging alongside the Poles could become a tool of Polish-Russian confrontation in the future. Hence, he presented the figure of St Jozafat to the Ruthenians as a role model. In his view, Ruthenia could distinguish itself from Russia if it rooted its identity in Catholicism. He stressed that the Poles without Ruthenia and the Uniates were losing the tools for civilisational progress in the East.<sup>43</sup> Blessed Jozafat, as a martyr who suffered death at the hands of the Orthodox, fulfilled the needs of the age. At the time of Jozafat's canonisation in 1867, the Resurrectionist Church of St Claudius in Rome, was decorated in honour of the martyr. It is possible to guess that, thanks to the contacts of the Resurrectionists, the work of canonisation reverberated in the Austrian partition. The Archbishop of Lviv, Franciszek Wierchlejski, in 1865 encouraged the clergy and the faithful to collect donations for the canonisation. He, together with the Latin Ordinary of Przemyśl, Antoni Manastyrski, also participated in the Roman celebrations of the proclamation of Jozafat Kuncewicz as a saint.<sup>44</sup> In the post-Uprising period, when there were attempts to subordinate the Uniate diocese of Chelm to Orthodoxy, Fr. Kajsiewicz indicated that they were instigated by Russian intrigues in Galicia. In one of his letters he wrote: "The Russian government, which for a long time has kept its agents in Galicia and given money there, has encouraged the Ruthenians to adopt the Russian alphabet and learn this language as their own, so that they declare themselves members of the great Russian family separated from their homeland by the perfidy of the Latin Poles. Things (affairs) went so far that the Russian government, in order to schismatise the Chelm diocese, pulled priests and teachers en masse from Galicia".<sup>45</sup> Fr. Kajsiewicz, as General of the Resurrectionists, included Galicians in his plans for the Polish College in Rome. He informed Maurycy Dzieduszycki about it: "Wishing to open, or rather having already started, a Polish Seminary in Rome, we would be advised to have students from Galicia, inasmuch as there is no academic institution in Rome for Galicians (Latin). For this I would need to communicate with the provincial bishops, and in particular with His Majesty the Governor".<sup>46</sup> Fr. P. Semenenko, from 1876 was again the General of the congregation and provided the Holy

<sup>43</sup> W. Osadczy, A. Gieniusz, *Unii i Polski ozdoba i chwala. Księża zmartwychwstańcy wobec kultu i kanonizacji św. Jozafata*, Warszawa–Rzym 2020, pp. 117–126.

<sup>44</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to J. Koźmian, H. Kajsiewicz to W. Kalinka, Rome, 6 VII and 5 XI 1867 [in:] H. Kajsiewicz, *Listy...*, vol. IX, pp. 257, 300–301; W. Osadczy, *Unia Triplex. Unia Brzeska w tradycji polskiej, rosyjskiej i ukraińskiej*, Radzymin–Warszawa 2019, p. 91.

<sup>45</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to Rev. Cardinal [Alessandro] Barnabo, Rome, 25 II 1867 [in:] H. Kajsiewicz, *Listy...*, vol. IX, p. 214.

<sup>46</sup> CPAH, fond 45, H. Kajsiewicz to M. Dzieduszycki, Paris, 3 IX 1857.

See with information on the persecuted Uniates of the Chełm diocese. In 1874, in collaboration with a Unitarian, Fr. Bojarski interceded with the Pope for the persecuted Unitarians and asked the Holy See to oblige the Greek Catholic Archbishop of Lviv to help the priests exiled from the Chełm region.<sup>47</sup> In 1883, Fr. Semenenko proposed, the Resurrectionist, Fr Tomasz Brzeska, superior of the Bulgarian Uniate mission, for the post of Greek Catholic Archbishop of Lviv. However, this candidature was scuttled. Together with the Jesuit Fr. Henryk Jackowski, he prepared the reform of the Basilians in 1881. According to Fr. Semenenko, the Basilians, as a religious congregation and not a missionary congregation, should be to the Eastern Church what the Benedictines were to the Western Church.<sup>48</sup> Fr. Semenenko, during an audience with Pope Leo XIII, 23 May 1882, expressed his conviction that “no other city, even in the East, could produce missionaries for the East, neither such nor in such numbers as the Ruthenian population in Galicia, and especially the sons of priests”.<sup>49</sup>

The Resurrectionists’ contribution to the formation of the Ruthenian elite was the establishment of the Ruthenian boarding school in Lviv in January 1881. The boarding school was to serve as accommodation for students arriving in Lviv from various parts of the province. Particular attention was paid to the sons of Greek Catholic priests, from whom the Ukrainian intelligentsia was formed. The Ruthenian boarding school formed the youth in the Catholic spirit, cutting itself off from the philo-Orthodox sentiments of the Russophile organisations.<sup>50</sup> Even before the creation of the Ruthenian boarding school while planning the establishment of a small Unitarian seminary in Wołkowce, Fr. Semenenko expressed his conviction that “the Ruthenian priests would be happiest if we received their children for upbringing, (we will do it according to measure, weight and number) and from these children we can have more than one candidate already tested in advance for the congregation, and remaining in their rite. These monks of ours, the local Ruthenians, will have the right to be used here locally in parish ministries, and most importantly in the seminary”.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>47</sup> W. Osadczy, *Zmartwychwstańcy wobec „kwestii ruskiej” w Galicji* [in:] *Zmartwychwstańcy: ku duchowemu odrodzeniu społeczeństwa; resurrectionists: towards the spiritual rebirth of society*, ed. ks. Wojciech Mleczo CR, Kraków 2015, pp. 161–181.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 161–181.

<sup>50</sup> W. Osadczy *Zmartwychwstańcy wobec „kwestii ruskiej”...*, pp. 161–181. For more on the Ruski Internat (the Ruthenian boarding school) see: W. Kalinka, *Internat ruski XX. Zmartwychwstańców we Lwowie*, Lvov 1881; W. Mleczo CR, *Instytucje edukacyjne zmartwychwstańców Zarys historii i działalności*, „Zeszyty Historyczno-Teologiczne”, Year XII, Issue 12/2006, pp. 173–176.

<sup>51</sup> P. Semenenko to W. Przewłocki, 9 IX 1879 [in:] P. Semenenko, *Listy dotyczące fundacji...*, p. 104.

Later, several times the Resurrectionists sought the possibility of settling in Galicia. As late as 1852, in one of his letters, Fr. Kajsiewicz informed Fr. Aleksander Jełowicki that “it would be possible to get to Prussia, but for how long is another matter. To try to go to Galicia always seems to me an impractical thing”.<sup>52</sup> However, a few weeks later he reportedly wrote that “under Nicholas’ influence the disposition of the Prussian government towards Catholics had completely changed, and the Austrian Emperor had again given new evidence of his good intentions for the Church. Perhaps our intentions will fail in Silesia, and succeed in Galicia. As God wills!”<sup>53</sup> A year later this priest expressed the conviction that “Maybe we could try our luck in Galicia”.<sup>54</sup> New hopes for the settlement of the congregation in the Austrian partition appeared with the conclusion of the Concordat between Austria and the Holy See in 1855. Fr. Kajsiewicz wrote then: “But I would gladly go to Galicia, because, although the concordat will not come into force immediately there either, it will come into force slowly.<sup>55</sup> At the same time he expected support for it from a part of the clergy, who would knock on the bishops’ doors to demand from the government and from the nuncio to carry it out”.<sup>56</sup>

Kajsiewicz stayed again in the Austrian partition in March 1860, and at that time he wrote about the provincial capital: “I found Lviv as I had imagined it – sleepy for a long time, but not worn out, and today already awakened religiously and nationally, and with a disposition of good reception”. He met several trustworthy Galician hierarchs, including Bishop Jan Marcelli Gutkowski, Fr. Jasiniski, rector of the seminary, Fr. Antoni Puszet, Armenian Rite Bishop Grzegorz Michał Szymonowicz and Uniate Archbishop Spirydion Litwinowicz. However, the meeting with the Greek Catholics did not inspire optimism. “There is a generally bad spirit in the Ruthenian clergy, and ours do not have the virtue to approach them. Where there are Armenians they mediate, but not enough of them, and all good”. He also contacted representatives of the local aristocracy: Jadwiga Sapieha, her daughter-in-law Jadwiga nee Sanguszko, Władysława Dzieduszycka, Julia Kownacka, Helena Koziębrodzka, Katarzyna Potocka, Ewelina Sobańska, Wanda Caboga and the lady Badeni and lady Maria of the Łoś family. He also stayed in Przemyśl, where he was received by Archbishop F. Wierchlejski.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>52</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to A. Jełowicki, Rome, 14 VI 1852 [in:] H. Kajsiewicz, *Listy 1852–1854*, vol. V, Rzym 2006, p. 21.

<sup>53</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to A. Jełowicki, Rome, 29 VIII 1852 [in:] *ibidem*, p. 54.

<sup>54</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to J. Koźmian, Rome, 21 VI 1853 [in:] *ibidem*, p. 153.

<sup>55</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to A. Jełowicki, Rome, 3 IV 1856 [in:] H. Kajsiewicz, *Listy 1855–1856*, vol. VI, Rome 2007, p. 181.

<sup>56</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to A. Jełowicki, Rome, 24 V 1856 [in:] *ibidem*, p. 195.

<sup>57</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to J. Koźmian, Kreütznach, 18 III 1860 [in:] H. Kajsiewicz, *Listy...*, vol. VII, pp. 157–158.

In the correspondence of the first Resurrectionists, there is no lack of threads related to the observation of the religiosity of the province. Fr. Semenenko wrote in a letter to Fr. H. Kajsiewicz: “You will not believe, Father, how the young clergy favoured us. I had personal evidence in Lviv”.<sup>58</sup> On the other hand, Fr. P. Semenenko was critical of the state of religion in the Galician capital: “Lviv is a completely un-Christian city in its intelligence and representation: they expel the Sisters of Mercy, demand examinations where they still leave them, etc. – all because the poor sisters have public establishments dependent on these sirs”.<sup>59</sup> In another letter, reporting on a lecture by Fr. W. Kalinka in Lviv, he stated: “The entire local aristocracy, from the governor and the governor’s wife to the marshal etc., attended them in the great hall in the town hall, which was full (...); only the area of souls, or rather of inner prayer and supernatural life, was perhaps somewhat neglected”.<sup>60</sup> As he reported, in the capital of the diocese of Przemyśl, “I found with uncommon consolation a seminary staffed by four excellent priests, Fr. Skwierczyński the regent, a highly saintly man, with Fr. Mazurkiewicz by his side, Fr. Szedziro (from the Czechów family), and the smug Fr. Łobos.” In this diocese of Przemyśl, Fr. Kajsiewicz considered Henryk Skrzyński, Julian Leszczyński and Praszalowicz to be the outstanding priests. In 1860, he was in contact with the clergy of the Kraków chapter and the Galician ultramontane community in connection with the drafting of an address to Pope Pius IX on the unification of Italy and attempts to deplete the territory of the papal state.<sup>61</sup>

In March 1863, Mother Marcelina Darowska, working with the Resurrectionists, came to Jazłowiec, a small village in Galicia, where she opened the first convent of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception in the renovated Potocki residence.<sup>62</sup> In his correspondence, Fr. Kajsiewicz stressed that in the early days of autonomy “through emigration it was not possible to act for the country today”, so he believed it was important to get to “the country, now to Galicia, where the future was”.<sup>63</sup> The Resurrectionists, through Fr. Jełowicki, gave Mother Darowska’s a loan of 20,000 francs to purchase property in the Austrian partition. Thanks to this, a few months later Darowska first opened an elementary school for girls at the monastery, and later a secondary school for landowning children. In October 1864, Fr Semenenko visited the convent

<sup>58</sup> P. Semenenko to H. Kajsiewicz, 5 I 1865 [in:] *Listy dotyczące fundacji...*, pp. 14–15.

<sup>59</sup> P. Semenenko to A. Jełowicki, 25 IV 1868 [in:] *ibidem*, p. 23.

<sup>60</sup> P. Semenenko to A. Lechert, 19 X 1884 [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 227–228.

<sup>61</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to J. Koźmian, Kreuznach, 18 III 1860 [in:] H. Kajsiewicz, *Listy...*, vol. VII, p. 157–158.

<sup>62</sup> The relations between the nascent congregation of the Immaculate Conception Sisters and the Resurrectionists have been described in detail, see: Z. Obertyński, *Zmartwychwstańcy a Niepokalanki. Próba dokumentacji wzajemnej zależności*, vol. I–II, Warsaw 1950.

<sup>63</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to A. Jełowicki, Rome 21 I 1865 [in:] H. Kajsiewicz, *Listy...*, vol. IX, p. 9.

school in Jazłowiec for three weeks. Fr. Semenko's second Galician visit was in the spring of 1868, during which he collected money for the Polish College in Rome. In the autumn of that year, Fr. Kajsiewicz also came to the Galician monastery.<sup>64</sup> In Lviv, as this priest informed the then chancellor of the curia of the Przemyśl diocese, Ignacy Łobos, "I had seven sermons here day after day, I have enough listeners, on holidays the church is packed, they listen attentively, shower me with compliments. But I have not yet touched the local intelligentsia and aristocracy".<sup>65</sup> In addition to the landed gentry, pastoral care was to be extended to Galician secondary school and university students. Fr. Kajsiewicz formulated these plans as follows: "I was of the opinion that in Lviv, ordinary, evangelical preaching would have an effect on young people! It would be necessary to give a series of philosophical conferences, and only Father Piotr was capable of that. We spoke with Rev. Canon Morawski, who feels the same need, but the university is closed in summer – recruitment is in winter, so it will happen one day, God willing, or not".<sup>66</sup> Staying among the nuns led the Resurrectionist to make the statement: "What built me up and consoled me most were the assistant sisters. In them you can see how much you can get out of our people by faithful work with grace".<sup>67</sup> Father Hieronim intended to extend his pastoral care also to the Galician aristocracy. As he himself declared: "I have met enough of the Wolyns and Podolaks".<sup>68</sup> Fr. Kajsiewicz's stay in Lviv was a time of intensive consultations with the ultramontane community: Maurice Dzieduszycki, Fr. Seweryn Morawski, Fr Antoni Puszet, Jadwiga and Leon Sapieha, Jerzy Czartoryski. Apart from Lviv and Jazłowiec, Fr. Kajsiewicz also stayed in Stanisławów, Żółkiew, Kochwin, Narol, Oleszyce and Przemyśl.<sup>69</sup> He proposed to the Archbishop of Przemyśl that the Resurrectionists should staff the Seminarium puerorum [seminary for boys].<sup>70</sup>

At the end of September 1868, Fr. Kajsiewicz visited the castle near Wawel once again, where he was kindly received by Bishop Antoni Gałęcki. He met

<sup>64</sup> J. Iwicki, *Charyzmat...*, vol. I, pp. 184–193.

<sup>65</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to I. Łobos, Lviv, 28 XII 1868 [in:] H. Kajsiewicz, *Listy...*, vol. X, p. 166.

<sup>66</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to A. Jełowicki, Rome, 4 V 1869 [in:] *ibidem*, p. 212.

<sup>67</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to Fathers Superior and the congregation of the Resurrectionists in Rome, Jazłowiec, 20 VIII 1868 [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 91–92.

<sup>68</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to A. Jełowicki, Lviv, 28 XII 1868 [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 167–169.

<sup>69</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to the congregation of the Resurrectionists in Rome, Lviv, 4, 17 IX 1868 [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 100–107; H. Kajsiewicz to A. Jełowicki, Lviv, 19 IX 1868 [in:] *ibidem*, p. 108. For more on the ultramontane milieu, see: B. Szlachta, *Ład...*; idem, *Historiozofia polskich ultramontanów*, „Historyka” 1994, vol. XXIV, pp. 41–56; idem, *Myśl polityczna polskich ultramontanów XIX w.*, „Zeszyty Historyczno-Teologiczne Zmartwychwstańców” [Kraków] 1996, no. 2, pp. 31–57.

<sup>70</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to W. Witkowski, Przemyśl, 22 IX 1868 [in:] H. Kajsiewicz, *Listy...*, vol. X, pp. 114–115.



with the influential priests in the Kraków archdiocese, Zygmunt Golian and the later Cardinal Albin Dunajewski.<sup>71</sup> In the capital of Galicia, Fr. Kajsiewicz reported in one of his letters, in a “sermon at the end of the old year [1868; the author’s note – J.K.] under the title “Examination of Conscience”, the good Jesus blessed the people, and there were mostly men and youth. I hear that they made a good impression, so this heavy dough could also be stirred up”.<sup>72</sup> Throughout his stay in Galicia and after his return, a recurring theme in Fr. Kajsiewicz’s correspondence was that of imminent settlement in the Austrian partition. Towards the end of 1869, the Resurrectionists began to send young newly ordained members of the congregation to Jazłowiec for a longer period of formation under the guidance of Mother Darowska. The next visits of the Resurrectionist founders to Galicia took place in the early 1870s. First, in 1871, Fr. Semenenko, then at the end of August 1872, Fr. H. Kajsiewicz. Fr. Walerian Przewłocki settled in Jazłowiec at that time, as chaplain to the Immaculate Sisters.<sup>73</sup> Reporting on his conversation with the provincial governor, Filip Zaleski, Fr. Semenenko emphasised, “the government’s favour for us, was that we could have Ruthenian monks, having the Uniate rite at our place, and thus act on the whole Ruthenian clergy with the intention of eradicating the spirit of schism”.<sup>74</sup> Fr. Semenenko wrote: “It seems that for our congregation in the Przemyśl diocese the gates are opening to enter the country and there we will find the best friends [...]. The Lviv [bishop] has not shown himself favourable to us in these recent times: he refused Mother Marcelina to give us the parish of Niżniów, donated by the Lanckoroński family...”<sup>75</sup> The idea in this case was to establish a congregation house in the village of Niżniów. These plans, however, encountered obstacles, Fr. Kajsiewicz wrote: “Should both this and Niżniów fail, I would prefer to establish a convent boarding school, however small, in a rented house in Lviv”.<sup>76</sup> Fr. Kajsiewicz’s last trip to Galicia took place in September 1872, a few months before his death. At that time he arrived in Jazłowiec, where it turned out that the plans to take over the management of the Przemyśl seminary were unrealistic, “We should not think about seminaries, the government, the bishops and

<sup>71</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to A. Jełowicki, Kraków, 3 X 1868 [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 119–121.

<sup>72</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to A. Jełowicki, Lviv, 2 I 1869 [in:] *ibidem*, p. 172.

<sup>73</sup> J. Iwicki, *Charyzmat...*, vol. I, pp. 184–193; A. Kardaś, *Droga charyzmatyczna...*, pp. 127–128, 135.

<sup>74</sup> P. Semenenko to W. Przewłocki, 9 IX 1879 [in:] P. Semenenko, *Listy dotyczące fundacji na ziemiach polskich*, collected and edited by M. Traczyński, Rzym 1988, pp. 103–104.

<sup>75</sup> P. Semenenko to A. Jełowicki, 14 VI 1871 [in:] P. Semenenko, *Listy dotyczące fundacji...*, p. 57.

<sup>76</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to W. Przewłocki, Rome, 15 II 1870 [in:] H. Kajsiewicz, *Listy 1870–1873*, vol. XI, Rome 2014, p. 7.

the clergy are against it”.<sup>77</sup> From Jazłowiec he went to Kraków, Przemyśl and Lviv. In Galicia, Fr. Hieronim became convinced of the reluctance of some hierarchs towards the Resurrectionists. Moreover, as he learnt from Fr. Łobos, “Prelate Hoppe was against the new confraternities in general”. In the diocese of Kraków, one could count on Ordinary Antoni Gałęcki and Katarzyna Potocka, née Branicka. The latter, in Krzeszowice, wanted to settle Polish priests from Rome.<sup>78</sup> Fr. Kajsiewicz’s death in 1873 did not interrupt his plans to settle in Galicia. In 1875 a second Resurrectionist chaplaincy was established in Jarosław, headed by Fr. Walerian Kalinka.<sup>79</sup>

The Resurrectionists’ plans to settle in Galicia caused a stir among the local community. “There, even more than the Jesuits themselves, they have their hooks in us and even sharpen the teeth of religious people and the pious public for not being with the Jesuits enough: they fear our arrival for this reason and even work against us quietly for fear that we might bring a split in the Catholic camp, as much as they respect us here in Rome or in Paris from afar, they are against our moving into Galicia”.<sup>80</sup> Hostile to the congregation were the Galician Uniate bishops of Lviv, Józef Sembratowicz, and Przemyśl, Jan Saturnin Stupnicki.<sup>81</sup>

Rev. Eustachy Skrochowski’s plans to establish an educational institution in 1879 in Wołkowce on the Dniester and Zbruch rivers, and to settle in nearby Dźwiniaczka, proved unsuccessful. In Fr. P. Semenenko’s correspondence, descriptions of these estates have been preserved, where “in Dźwiniaczka there are four rooms and a few corners, a chapel or rather a church for two to three hundred people, and maintenance [...]. Dźwiniaczka, even after we move, we will be able to keep (they ask for it) for parish services for Latin-speaking people, of whom there are about 150 here, while in Wołkowce there are barely a few. The parish priest for parish services would give us also Mielnica, where there are six hundred”.<sup>82</sup> A permanent Resurrectionist foundation became possible only after

<sup>77</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to A. Jełowicki, Jazłowiec, 8 IX 1872 [in:] H. Kajsiewicz, *ibidem*, p. 181.

<sup>78</sup> H. Kajsiewicz to [J. Feliński and W. Kalinka], Przemyśl, 2 X 1872, H. Kajsiewicz to W. Przewłocki, Przemyśl 4 X 1872 [in:] H. Kajsiewicz, *ibidem*, p. 185.

<sup>79</sup> J. Iwicki, *Charyzmat...*, vol. I, pp. 448–450.

<sup>80</sup> P. Semenenko to A. Jełowicki, 8 XII 1875 [in:] P. Semenenko, *Listy dotyczące fundacji...*, pp. 86–87.

<sup>81</sup> P. Semenenko to L. Dębicki, 12 XII 1880 [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 155–156. In one of his letters, Fr. H. Kajsiewicz wrote: “You already know the good news that the Holy See protested against the election of a vicar capitular on the grounds that Fr. Sembratowicz was appointed from the *beneficium Apostolicum*. I joked in ‘Propaganda’ about the devotion of the beloved Ruthenians, but finally they had everything their own way” (transl. mine), see H. Kajsiewicz to I. Łobos, Rome, 2 XII 1869 [in:] H. Kajsiewicz, *Listy...*, vol. X, p. 309.

<sup>82</sup> P. Semenenko to W. Przewłocki, 23 VII 1879 [in:] P. Semenenko, *Listy dotyczące fundacji...*, pp. 101–102.

the general of the congregation, Fr. Semenenko, had an audience with Emperor Franz Joseph II in 1879. As a consequence of that visit, Fr. W. Kalinka founded the first congregation house in Galicia in October 1880, in Lviv, at 45 Piekarska Street (later 67 and 57–59). A few years later, in 1884, a house was established in Kraków, at Łobzowska Street, and Fr Peter Semenenko died in 1886.<sup>83</sup>

As already noted, this article uses the letters and diaries of B. Jański and priests H. Kajsiewicz and P. Semenenko. Presentation of the correspondence of the other first Resurrectionists, priests Edward Duński, Józef Hube, Karol Kaczanowski, Aleksander Jełowicki; Hipolit Terlecki and others, preserved in manuscripts in the Roman Resurrectionist archives, would exceed the volume of this article.<sup>84</sup> In my opinion, an examination of these materials regarding the religious question in Galicia would enrich our knowledge. Letters from Galician ultramontanists addressed to the Resurrectionists, including Maurycy Mann, Maurycy Dzieduszycki, Paweł, Waclaw and Wincenty Popiel, Leon Sapieha and Walery Wielogłowski, also attract attention. In addition, there is the correspondence of the Galician clergy, including Father Edward Podolski, Father Walerian Serwatowski, Bishop Ignacy Łobos, Bishop Franciszek Ksawery Wierchlejski.<sup>85</sup> Correspondence of the Resurrectionists is also kept in by the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv, where 45 fonds concern this congregation.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>83</sup> J. Iwicki, *Charyzmat...*, vol. I, pp. 462–472; B. Micewski CR, *Zmartwychwstańcy. Zarys historii od powstania do 1984 roku*. Computer compilation of the typescript held in the Archives of the Congregation of the Resurrectionists in Rome (ACRR) – Piotr Gastoł CR, Rome 2009. <http://biblioteka.xcr.pl/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Micewski-Zmartwychwstancy1836-1984.pdf> [access: 19.09.2022]. For the further history of the Resurrectionist houses in Lviv and Kraków, see J. Iwicki, *Charyzmat...*, vol. II, pp. 7–21.

<sup>84</sup> Only part of Fr Edward Duński's correspondence has been published in print, see: E. Duński, *Listy (1848–1856)*, edited and prefaced by A. Begey and J. Komenda, Turin 1915. Begey and J. Komenda, Turin 1915. The rest of the letters and notes are in the Archives of the Resurrectionists in Rome (Archivum Congregationis a Resurrectione, Romae, ACRR), see ACRR, refs. 35309–35702, correspondence of Fr E. Duński; refs. 15466–16358, correspondence of Fr J. Hube; refs. 21093, 20363–21382, 21383–21385, 21386–21399, 21400–21402, 21402.a, 21402B – 21417, 21417.6–21417.7, 21417.8–21417.9; correspondence of Rev. A. Jełowicki, refs. 17137–19146; correspondence of Rev. H. Terlecki, refs. 38043, 38046, 38050–38051, 38055–38056, 38059, 38060–38062, 38064–38065, 38084.

<sup>85</sup> J. Kuzicki, *Ruch ultramontański w Galicji w polskiej historiografii – stan i potrzeby badań* [in:] *Galicja 1772–1918. Problemy metodologiczne stan i potrzeby badań*, ed. A. Kawalec, W. Wierzbieniec, L. Zaskilniak, Rzeszów 2011, pp. 195–217. See e.g. ACRR, sign. 49039–49062, correspondence of Maurycy Mann; ref. 44155 –44196, correspondence of Rev. E. Podolski; ref. 40816–40817, correspondence of Abp. Franciszek Wierchlejski; Ref. 40357–40390, correspondence of Bp. S. Morawski.

<sup>86</sup> I would like to thank Dr Agnieszka Kawalec for her help in accessing sources on the Resurrectionists in Lviv.

The views of the first Resurrectionists presented above were related to their plans for settlement in Galicia. They looked at local religious relations from the point of view of priests educated in Rome, conducting pastoral work in exile and having contact with Western European theological thought. As the correspondence shows, they spoke from critical positions on some issues. They were offended by the reprehensible behaviour of the clergy and the rigid ecclesiastical etiquette that grew out of the Josephine spirit. In addition, they accused the Galician clergy of formalism and an aversion to new forms of pastoral influence. Such bluntly expressed criticism often exposed both Fr. Kajsiewicz and Fr. Semenenko to attacks from the local hierarchy. They did, however, find support from some enlightened Galician priests and landowners. Their work was to integrate zealous priests, male and female religious congregations around them. Through individual activities, preaching speeches, retreats and spiritual exercises, they aimed to overcome negative tendencies among the clergy and the Galician faithful.

One of the dominant issues in the correspondence analysed was the confessional problems between Latins and Uniates. Through their influence on the Greek Catholic hierarchy and their influence at the papal court, the Resurrectionists initiated a rapprochement between the two rites, thus opposing the aspirations of some Galician Uniates towards the Orthodox Church in Russia. Aware of the complex religious problems, the early Resurrectionists emphasised the attachment of broad masses of the peasant population to religion and the Catholic Church. However, they saw that popular religiosity was superficial, characterised by numerous gaps in evangelical knowledge. Finally, it is worth noting that judgements on other faiths, such as Galician Protestants or various strands of Judaism, were missing from the source material.

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## Problematyka religijna w Galicji w świetle korespondencji założycieli zmartwychwstańców

### Streszczenie

W artykule podjęto analizę korespondencji Bogdana Jańskiego, Hieronima Kajsiewicza i Piotra Semeneni. Poglądy pierwszych zmartwychwstańców związane były z ich planami osiedleńczymi w Galicji. Razily ich naganne zachowania duchownych, sztywna etykieta kościelna

wyrośla z ducha józefińskiego. Poprzez indywidualne działania, wystąpienia kaznodziejskie, rekolekcje, ćwiczenia duchowe dążyli do przezwyciężania negatywnych tendencji wśród duchowieństwa i wiernych galicyjskich. Ważną kwestią w analizowanej korespondencji były problemy wyznaniowe pomiędzy łacinnikami a unitami oraz religijność ludowa. Zmartwychwstańcy poprzez oddziaływanie na hierarchów greckokatolickich, wpływy na dworze papieskim inicjowali zbliżenie obu obrządków.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Wielka Emigracja, zmartwychwstańcy, religijność, stosunki wyznaniowe, korespondencja