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## **Religiosity of the future members of the Stańczycy group in their youth in comparison with their later religious views**

After the November Uprising, Poles in the country and in exile appeared "to have developed, on the basis of their feelings, Catholic beliefs and principles, a better understanding of the Church and the obedience owed to it, growing Catholic awareness based not on feeling alone, but on the harmony between belief and feeling, and the harmony between will and the two."<sup>1</sup> However, the Polish society was still dominated by "traditional religiousness mixed with dreamy patriotism in some; in others there was a great veneration for German books on philosophy and history; [...] there was a mixture of decent Josephinian indifference and carelessness; there was little spirit in the higher clergy, and insufficient knowledge and education at lower tiers."<sup>2</sup> At that time, institutional Church in Europe was being attacked from nearly all sides, with many Catholics unable to accept the Holy See's refusal to surrender the territories of the Papal States to unifying Italy or the rejection of almost all aspects of modern life by the Church.<sup>3</sup> It was in that period that Stanisław Tarnowski, Ludwik Wodzicki and Stanisław Koźmian, the future

1. S. Tarnowski, *Z doświadczeń i rozmyślań*, wstępem i przypisami opatrzył A. Rzegocki, Kraków 2002, p. 215.
2. S. Tarnowski, *Z doświadczeń i rozmyślań*, p. 217.
3. I. Scott, *The Roman question and the powers 1848–1865*, The Hague 1969, pp. 133–134; M.P. Gancewski, *Hotel Lambert a świecka władza papieża (przed powstaniem styczniowym)*, "Rocznik Przemyski" 56 (2020) z. 1 (25), p. 40; L.J. Rogier, et al., *Historia Kościoła*

founders of a Galician political group called "Stańczycy" grew up and shaped their religious views.<sup>4</sup>

All of them were born in deeply religious families, in which faith was treated not only as a crucial part of the Polish tradition but also something that gave meaning to life. Religious education played a prominent role in their early instruction (home schooling), in line with the then model of upbringing, in which Catholicism was considered a key element of patriotism.<sup>5</sup> This is best exemplified by Stanisław Tarnowski and his siblings.<sup>6</sup> In addition to lessons aimed at improved understanding of religious ideas, Stanisław and his brothers attended the Holy Mass, during which they served, on a daily basis.<sup>7</sup> In the Tarnowski family a priest was traditionally tasked with raising children; the boys' preceptor was Jan Gargaszyński, at that time a vicar in Miechocin, who paid special attention to diligent homework and religious education.<sup>8</sup> As for Stanisław Koźmian, for many years (also after his arrival in Kraków in 1852), he was taught by a French priest, Charles Maisonneuve.<sup>9</sup> From the surviving part of the instruction register kept for Stanisław and his sister Maria we learn that religious education played a significant role in their system of education.<sup>10</sup>

1715–1848, t. 4, Warszawa 1987, pp. 169–172; Z. Zieliński, *Papiestwo i papieże dwóch ostatnich wieków*, Warszawa 1983, pp. 234–236.

4. This article almost entirely omits Józef Szujski, an eminent historian, Stanisław Tarnowski and Ludwik Wodzicki's schoolmate from gymnasium (secondary school), and after the January Uprising the most intellectually mature founding member of the Stańczycy faction, who prior to the January Insurrection (as we shall see later on) came the closest to the "Reds," which almost put an end to the relations between him and the remaining future Stańczycy. His religious views also had immensely elaborate historiosophic and historiographic foundations, and this subject deserves to be discussed in a separate article.
5. K. Jakubiak, M. Nawrot Borowska, *Rodzina polska w XIX wieku jako środowisko wychowawcze i jej funkcja edukacyjna*, "Studia Paedagogica Ignatiana" 19 (2016) nr 2, p. 35.
6. Stanisław Tarnowski had four siblings: older sisters Waleria and Karolina, older brother Jan and younger brother Juliusz.
7. S. Tarnowski, *Domowa kronika dzikowska*, wstęp, oprac. i kom. G. Nieć, Kraków – Rudnik 2010, p. 77.
8. F. Hoesick, *Stanisław Tarnowski. Rys życia i prac*, t. 1, Warszawa – Kraków 1906, pp. 22–23; M. Gawlik, *Kształtowanie się postawy religijnej Stanisława Tarnowskiego*, in: *Stanisław Tarnowski 1837–1917. Materiały z Posiedzenia Naukowego PAU w dniu 14 listopada 1997 r.*, Kraków 1999, p. 32.
9. S. Koźmian, *Autobiografia*, do druku przygotował, wstępem i przypisami opatrzył M. Menz, "Galicja. Studia i materiały" (2015) nr 1, p. 411; Z. Jabłoński, Z. Zdrada, *Koźmian Stanisław*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, t. 15, Wrocław – Warszawa 1970, p. 61
10. Wojewódzka i Miejska Biblioteka im. Łopacińskiego [H. Łopaciński Voivodeship Library and Public Municipal Library in Lublin H. Łopaciński Voivodeship Library

However, we do not have any details on the method of instruction or the role of religious studies in Ludwik Wodzicki's home education. We may only assume that religious education was also highly valued in the case of Wodzicki, since his curriculum was created by Leonard Stawski, an erstwhile conspirator, patriot, a person who was "well-educated, particularly in all things Polish, and god-fearing," "exceptionally virtuous, like a monk."<sup>11</sup>

Nevertheless, family appears to have had the strongest impact on shaping the religious views of the future members of the Stańczycy group. In the Tarnowski family, an example of piety was provided by grandmother Waleria Tarnowska née Stroynowska, who "had inexhaustible reserves of goodness of heart and mercy," father Jan Bogdan, widely-read in religious literature, who pored over *The Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis on a daily basis, and followed its author's spiritual guidance in everyday life. However, the most salient model of piety was Tarnowski's mother, Gabriela née Małachowska, who was "the mercy of the household," "Did not break in tears during the mass or prayer like grandma but was at one with God no less than grandma, and God was always in her mind and in her heart. Every day she would say quite long prayers and read godly books and contemplations, never failing to attend vespers on Sundays or holidays, except if there were some obstacles. She accustomed and familiarised us with religious practices, with the laws of the Church, without making demands, putting pressure on us, or threatening us, but by the sheer force of her own example and her feeling."<sup>12</sup> In one of her letters, Gabriela gave her sons the following advice: "Study hard in the hope of becoming helpful not only to us when we are old but to the country which should have your love and sacrifice right after God."<sup>13</sup> This particular emphasis on moral and religious development of children

and Public Municipal Library in Lublin], ms. 1893 Stanisław and Marysia Koźmian's Instruction Register [from 1843 and 1844]. The diary contains meticulous annotations on the children's conduct and academic progress.

11. S. Koźmian, *Ludwik Wodzicki. Życiorys*, Kraków 1894, p. 10; S. Tarnowski, *Ludwik Wodzicki. Wspomnienie pośmiertne*, Kraków 1894, p. 8; S. Wnęk, *Ludwik Wodzicki, ziemianin z Tyczyna*, Tyczyn 1997, p. 25; L. Hayto, *Stawski Leonard*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, t. 43, Warszawa – Kraków 2004, pp. 23 – 24.
12. S. Tarnowski, *Domowa kronika*, pp. 80 – 81; A. Kosicka-Pajewska, *Společne znaczenie religii w myśli Tarnowskiego*, in: A. Kosicka-Pajewska, T. Sobieraj, *Stanisław Tarnowski. Szkice do portretu*, Poznań 2019, p. 80.
13. Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie – Oddział I (Wawel), Archiwum Dzikowskie Tarnowskich [National Archives in Kraków, Department I (Wawel), Tarnowski family's Dzików Archive], sign. 501, G. Tarnowska to her sons, Dzików 19.10.1847, p. 786.

is also confirmed in Gabriela Tarnowska's moral guidebook of 1858, written for Stanisław and Juliusz.<sup>14</sup> In her work, she exhorted her sons to never fail to attend masses on Sundays and holidays, attend confession at least once a quarter, show brotherly love and avoid reading books which may shake their faith.<sup>15</sup> It can thus be argued that the mother of a future Stańczyk was more than a perfect embodiment of the 19<sup>th</sup> century ideal of a Polish mother, who instilled national traditions and values in her children, filled them with patriotism and attachment to religion.<sup>16</sup>

Stanisław Koźmian could have had his role model in his grandfather Kajetan, a person strongly attached to religion as an indispensable element of patriotism, leader of the Classicists, opponent of Romanticism and loyalist,<sup>17</sup> as well as his father's paternal cousins Stanisław Egbert and Jan Koźmian, both of whom underwent ideological transformation during Stanisław's childhood, rejected liberalism and became fervent Catholics with ultramontane views which they disseminated in Greater Poland in "Przegląd Poznański."<sup>18</sup> Also Andrzej Edward Koźmian, father of a future "Stańczyk" was strongly loyal to Catholic religion, with ultramontane leanings.<sup>19</sup> Stanisław's mother died when he was barely 15, so she was not as vital in shaping his religiosity as Gabriela Tarnowska for Stanisław Tarnowski. Perhaps this fact, coupled

14. S. Tarnowski, *Domowa kronika*, p. 145; L. Siemieński, *Dwaj Juliusze. Kartki z ostatnich dni ich żywota*, Kraków 1869, p. 131; Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie — Oddział I (Wawel), Archiwum Dzikowskie Tarnowskich, sign. 402, G. Tarnowska, O czym proszę moich kochanych synów, żeby zawsze pamiętali, 9.10.1858, pp. 15–17. In the future Stanisław Tarnowski offered a similar spiritual guidebook to his son Hieronim Jan — M. Gawlik, *Kształtowanie się postawy*, p. 44.
15. Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie — Oddział I (Wawel), Archiwum Dzikowskie Tarnowskich, sign. 402, G. Tarnowska, O czym proszę moich kochanych synów, żeby zawsze pamiętali, 9.10.1858, pp. 15–17.
16. K. Jakubiak, M. Nawrot Borowska, *Rodzina polska w XIX wieku*, pp. 26–28, 33–34; K. Jakubiak, *XIX-wieczne wzorce polskiej rodziny i wychowania rodzinnego dziecka oraz ich oświeceniowe inspiracje*, "Biblioteka Współczesnej Myśli Pedagogicznej" 3 (2014), pp. 363–366.
17. R. Przybylski, *Klasycyzm, czyli prawdziwy koniec Królestwa Polskiego*, Gdańsk 1996, p. 117; P. Żbikowski, *Kajetan Koźmian*, t. 1: *Poeta i obywatel (1797–1814)*, Wrocław 1972, p. 5; M. Mysiński, *W "naszym pogrobowym położeniu". Kajetan Koźmian po powstaniu listopadowym*, Toruń 2019, p. 53.
18. A. Buderewicz-Beratan, *Stanisław Egbert Koźmian. Tłumacz Szekspira*, Kraków 2009, pp. 24–40; P. Matusik, *Religia i naród. Życie i myśl Jana Koźmiana 1814–1877*, Poznań 1998, pp. 34–37, 42–53, 57, 60–67, 80–89, 113–117.
19. M.P. Gancewski, *Hotel Lambert a świecka władza papieża*, pp. 43–46; A. Chamera-Nowak, *Biblioteka, której nie ma... Andrzej Edward Koźmian i jego książki*, Warszawa 2015, p. 36.

with the separation with his father, who left the country for Paris, negatively affected Koźmian's piety, which was rather lukewarm; even though he declared himself as a believer and held that religion was immensely valuable to the nation, he had problems with practicing regularly.<sup>20</sup>

Little information is available on the effect of Ludwik Wodzicki's relatives on his later religious life. However, it seems that Jędrzejowiczowie, his uncle's family, who raised him and compensated for his mother's premature death and his father's disability, instilled in him quite ardent faith and observance of religious practices, which we shall witness later on when discussing Wodzicki and Tarnowski's visit to the Holy Land.<sup>21</sup> Still, it could have been his mentor who played a greater role in this aspect than Wodzicki's family.<sup>22</sup>

As they became young adults, the observance of religious practices by the future members of the group took a slightly different level. Nevertheless, all of those conservative individuals – albeit, as we shall see later on, with strong liberal leanings – were firmly attached to religion as a vital part of the Polish heritage and the most significant component of historical processes as well as a factor which made the bond connecting the society transcendent rather than contractual.<sup>23</sup> However, as they grew up, future members of the Stańczycy group had to confront their views on religion with the Catholic Church's activity in the world. As intelligent people, very well-educated at such an early age, they did not look at reality (even one of transcendent provenance) thoughtlessly like casual observers.

A wealth of information on their personal faith and perception of various Christian denominations can be found in the memoirs and letters by Stanisław Tarnowski and Ludwik Wodzicki about their visit to the Holy Land. Namely, in 1857 Ero and Lulo – as they would call each other – went on an exquisite and romantic tour of Spain and the Near East, culminated by a visit to the

20. M.P. Gancewski, *Młodzi konserwatyści krakowscy (przyszli stańczycy) w politycznej „szkole” Hotelu Lambert*, Kraków 2018 (niepublikowana rozprawa doktorska, napisana pod kierunkiem dr. hab. Krzysztofa K. Daszyka, prof. UJ), pp. 21, 39.

W. Dutka, *Zapomniany stańczyk. Rzecz o Stanisławie Koźmianie (1836–1922)*, Toruń 2015, pp. 52–53.

21. Archiwum Państwowe w Rzeszowie, Archiwum Podworskie Mierów-Jędrzejowiczów w Staromieściu [State Archive in Rzeszów, Mier and Jędrzejowicz families' Archive in Staromieście], sign. 292, L. Wodzicki to J. Jędrzejowicz, Jerusalem 30.03.1858, p. 5.

22. S. Tarnowski, *Ludwik Wodzicki*, p. 10.

23. A. Kosicka-Pajewska, *Společne znaczenie religii*, p. 79; R. Scruton, *Co znaczy konserwatyizm*, Poznań 2014, pp. 294–295. The time for a more elaborate consideration of the subject came after the January Uprising.

Holy Land.<sup>24</sup> Letters and memoirs written by Stanisław Tarnowski and Ludwik Wodzicki reveal a picture of the two young men as ardent Catholics, sensitive to the symbolic beauty of the locations marked with Christ's presence but at the same time critical of what they saw in the Near East.

They experienced their first disillusionment already upon their arrival in Jerusalem. Tarnowski vents his irritation: "Hardly had I entered the church, and seen the holiest place on earth, when a state of unpleasant annoyance and the chasm between what is and what should be, between the Jerusalem I saw and the one I wanted, only grew. This materialistic side to the Church, so removed from the greatness [salesmen in the square in front of the church – M.P.G.] I had expected, the crowd of people, numerous acts of desecration, desecration by devotion, desecration by indifference, gaudy decorations [...] made my heart sink [...]. On top of that, stories of incessant fighting between the schismatics and the Armenians, of the growing Russian influence, of the Holy Land's affairs neglected by Catholic France and apostolic Austria, to make matters worse, rumours of the clash between the patriarch and the Franciscans, the consultants with the patriarchs; all of this only aggravated my sadness, not to mention the gossip, quibbling and petty scandals."<sup>25</sup>

The above opinion should not come as a surprise, especially with regard to the unseemly disputes between Catholics and other Christian denominations. After the Crimean War, the official cause of which was the refusal to satisfy Russian demands to ensure the Eastern Orthodox clergy's custody of the Holy Places in Palestine, as well as to offer Russia's protection to the Orthodox Christians in Turkey, the Congress of Paris did not remedy the problem, and

24. M.P. Gancewski, *Młodzi konserwatyści krakowscy*, pp. 36–38; M. Płatek, *Z listów Stanisława Tarnowskiego z podróży do Ziemi Świętej*, in: *Stanisław Tarnowski 1837–1917*, p. 51.

25. S. Tarnowski, *Wspomnienia z podróży do Hiszpanii, Egiptu, Syrii, Ziemi Świętej i Konstantynopola z lat 1857–1858*, in: S. Tarnowski, *Z Dzikowa do Ziemi Świętej*, wstęp i oprac. G. Nieć, Kraków – Rudnik 2008, pp. 199–200. Ludwik Wodzicki felt similarly on the subject: "Sadly, like in Rome, in Jerusalem you do not find everything the way you think it should be and the way you expect it to be. The contention between the schismatics, the Armenians and the Copts with the Catholics in the very Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Muslim guards, who had to call people to order, the crescent moons raised proudly atop the minarets while the Cross has to hide in the most distant corners, all of this is an unpleasant sight; you must grow well-accustomed to this before you start to think that you are in a place where the infinite divine mercy was revealed to people" – Archiwum Państwowe w Rzeszowie, Archiwum Podworskie Mierów-Jędrzejowiczów w Staromieściu, sign. 292, L. Wodzicki to J. Jędrzejowicz, Jerusalem 30.03.1858, p. 6.

only gave international warranties and legal protection to Christians and Christian institutions. Naturally, this did not put an end to conflicts between various churches fiercely competing for influence, especially in 1858, when Russia established its permanent Eastern Orthodox mission in Jerusalem.<sup>26</sup>

The attitude of the future Stańczycy faction to the Eastern Orthodox Church and Protestantism was typical of the ideas held by Poles at that time, which was obviously affected by non-religious matters related to the situation of the Polish nation. Accordingly, Protestants were called "heretics," and Eastern Orthodox Christians "schismatics,"<sup>27</sup> and the Catholic faith was held superior to other denominations; this even went as far as the conclusion that "Turks smoking pipes in doorways are less harmful than those loathsome schismatics as they at least do not want to be considered Christians."<sup>28</sup>

However, this did not mean that in the Holy Land it was only the presence of the Protestants and the Eastern Orthodox Christians, the priests of the Armenian Apostolic Church and the Coptic Church – their "outrageous" behaviour and "sacrilegious" services – that profaned sacred Christian places. Our protagonists were not uncritical towards the Catholic clergy, either. Thus, they denounced a "carnavalesque" Franciscan ceremony of the removal of a wooden figure of Christ from a wooden cross.<sup>29</sup> At the same time, they were able, despite their bias, to respect "poor Muscovite peasants, who scrim and save all their lives to visit holy places, in all their hardship,

26. R. Aubert et al., *Historia Kościoła*, t. 5: *1848 do czasów współczesnych*, Warszawa 1985, pp. 329, 334 – 335; L. Bazyłow, P. Wieczorkiewicz, *Historia Rosji*, Wrocław 2010, p. 236.

27. S. Tarnowski, *Wspomnienia z podróży*, p. 228. The term "heretics" was obviously more pejorative, since "schismatics" merely referred to brothers separated in faith – T. Stegner, *Na styku wyznań, narodów, kultur. Ewangelicy i katolicy na ziemiach polskich w XIX wieku i na początku XX wieku*, "Rocznik Teologiczny" 40 (2018) z. 3, p. 305.

28. S. Tarnowski to G. Tarnowska, Jerusalem 21.03.1858, in: S. Tarnowski, *Z Dzikowa*, p. 356. Naturally, Eastern Orthodox Christians frequently thought in a comparable manner. Let us compare Prince Myshkin's view on Catholicism in Fyodor Dostoyevsky's *The Idiot*: „[Catholicism] Is an unchristian religion in the first place [...] and secondly, Catholicism is even worse than atheism [...]. Atheism merely preaches a negation but Catholicism goes further: it preaches a distorted Christ, a Christ calumniated and defamed, the opposite of Christ! It preaches Antichrist [...]!” – F. Dostojewski, *Idiota*, London 1992, pp. 571 – 572.

29. S. Tarnowski, *Wspomnienia z podróży*, p. 232. This did not mean lack of respect for the Franciscans. "Probably lacking in education, yet simple-minded like children, cordial, sweet, free among all the paucity and persecution, they keep the evangelical spirit on this evangelical soil" – wrote Stanisław Tarnowski – S. Tarnowski, *Wspomnienia z podróży*, p. 202.

sacrifice, and probably without the curiosity unique to civilised people,"<sup>30</sup> and – in spite of clear religious (but not racial) prejudice – sympathize with the Jews weeping in front of the Wailing Wall, whose "fate appears much more deplorable than elsewhere, and their lamentations are heart-rending."<sup>31</sup>

Their visit to the Holy Land also gives some insight into the piety of the two protagonists. Particularly in Stanisław Tarnowski we notice sensitivity to the sight of holy places, which – in spite of his initial disappointment – as he claimed later on, gradually grew on him; he wrote "Slowly [...] one learns to understand its [Jerusalem's – M.P.G.] unique charm, consisting of the city's poverty, its derelict surroundings, and grows accustomed to the country, finding its history reflected in sorrowful images, and reads into past adversities just as if we can discern them in someone's face."<sup>32</sup> First, it was a formidable spiritual experience, which for Wodzicki was expressed in fear of accidental desecration of the places of crucial importance to a Christian: "from the moment I stepped through the gates of the Holy City, my only incessant fear and preoccupation is that the soul is not sufficiently prepared for such moments, to capture those memories, those mementoes. I have not yet dared pray for others, for I feel the amount of prayer I would need from other people, and I only ask God that I may not profane holy places with an irreverent thought or a ridiculous doubt but rather be given the strength of profound humility and focussed spirit, the only way in which my pilgrimage may be a true elevation and a lifelong foothold."<sup>33</sup> The religious zeal of the future Stańczycy was also proved by their participation in all services during the Holy Week and their confession with Father Alfons-Marie Ratisbonne, a Jew converted to Christianity, whom they highly respected. Ludwik Wodzicki was even selected as one of the twelve representatives of various nations, whose feet were washed by the patriarch during a solemn Holy Thursday ceremony.<sup>34</sup>

30. S. Tarnowski to G. Tarnowska, Jerusalem 21.03.1858, in: S. Tarnowski, *Z Dzikowa*, p. 357.

31. S. Tarnowski to the Chorzelowski family, Jerusalem 30.03.1858, in: S. Tarnowski, *Z Dzikowa*, p. 360.

32. S. Tarnowski, *Wspomnienia z podróży*, p. 207.

33. S. Tarnowski to G. Tarnowska (postscript by L. Wodzicki), Jerusalem 21.03.1858, in: S. Tarnowski, *Z Dzikowa*, p. 359.

34. Archiwum Państwowe w Rzeszowie, Archiwum Podworskie Mierów-Jędrzejowiczów w Staromieściu, sign. 292, L. Wodzicki to J. Jędrzejowicz, Jerusalem 30.03.1858, pp. 7–8; S. Tarnowski to G. Tarnowska, Jerusalem 21.03.1858, in: S. Tarnowski, *Z Dzikowa*, p. 358; G. Nieć, *Stanisław Tarnowski jako podróżnik i podróżopisarz*, in: *Stanisław Tarnowski 1837–1917*, red. T. Zych, Tarnobrzeg 2017, p. 97; M. Gawlik, *Kształtowanie się postawy*, p. 34.



Their ardent yet critical attitude towards the Catholic Church was shaped by reading "Wiadomości Polskie," Hotel Lambert's unofficial periodical published in 1857–1861 by eminent Polish cultural, scientific and political figures such as Julian Klaczka and Walerian Kalinka, which offered "a radiant light of reason, fiery love of fatherland and a humbling lesson of how to love your country and how to serve it," and which the future Stańczycy admired, being able to recite "the whole passages from those brief writings."<sup>35</sup> "Wiadomości" was a publication firmly committed to Catholicism, seeing it both as a key part of Polish heritage and the most crucial component of the Western civilisation, with which Poland had to remain closely connected in order to survive. Nonetheless, while being appreciative of the Church's multiple social initiatives and arguing that many priests performed their duties conscientiously, the periodical was critical of the intellectual and moral condition of the clergy as well as their attachment to earthly possessions.<sup>36</sup> In 1860 the future members of the Stańczycy group became Galician correspondents and members of the Bureau of Polish Affairs and the impact of the Hotel Lambert circles, including the influence of Kalinka and Klaczka, started to be even more evident.<sup>37</sup> However, the Czartoryski princely faction was far from homogeneous with regard to its attitude towards the Catholic Church. Although its members included people firmly attached to Catholicism, some of them held nearly ultramontane beliefs, while some valued the Italian struggle for independence more highly than the rights and even the safety of the Holy Father.<sup>38</sup>

The future members of the Stańczycy faction corresponded with the members of the Polish patriotic association Hotel Lambert, that was promoting the Polish affairs among the West European governments, and their

35. S. Tarnowski, *Julian Klaczko*, t. 1, Kraków 1909, p. 110; M.P. Gancewski, *Polskie życie narodowe w kraju w latach 1857–1861 w ocenie "Wiadomości Polskich" (część I)*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne" 142 (2015) z. 1, p. 114.
36. M.P. Gancewski, *Polskie życie narodowe w kraju w latach 1857–1861 w ocenie "Wiadomości Polskich" (część I)*, pp. 120–121. The priests in the Prussian partition were held in the highest esteem in terms of their service – M.P. Gancewski, *Polskie życie narodowe w kraju w latach 1857–1861 w ocenie "Wiadomości Polskich" (część II)*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne" 142 (2015) z. 3, p. 434.
37. On the collaboration between Stanisław Tarnowski, Jan Tarnowski, Ludwik Wodzicki, Stanisław Koźmian and the Bureau of Polish Affairs – see M.P. Gancewski, *Młodzi konserwatyści krakowscy*.
38. On this subject see: M.P. Gancewski, *Hotel Lambert a świecka władza papieża*, pp. 37–57.

letters did not spare criticism of the Polish clergy. They also argued that the shepherds of the Church, i.e. the bishops, should not be followed blindly. This opinion was put forward by Stanisław Tarnowski in his polemic with Hieronim Kajsiewicz, superior of the ultramontane Resurrectionist Congregation, a vehement opponent of the revolutionary movement.<sup>39</sup> In his conversation with Tarnowski in November 1862, Kajsiewicz tried to prove that patriotic chants in Galicia should be put to an end simply because the Church hierarchs prohibited them. However, the future professor of Jagiellonian University, while claiming that the chants had lost all their significance and should cease, did not agree that the bishops should be thoughtlessly followed in everything: "If a bishop told us to kill others, would anyone who did not follow him stop being Catholic [?] It seems that the same can be said when bishops lead people astray."<sup>40</sup>

Even though the criticism of the Catholic Church grew less harsh over time, Stańczycy did not look naively at the activity of the Catholic clergy, which was noticeable in 1869, when the story of Barbara Ubryk, a mentally ill Carmelite nun held captive by her fellow nuns in inhumane conditions, was exposed. The scandal appalled public opinion in Poland and abroad, it also triggered anti-Church incidents;<sup>41</sup> even the periodical of the Stańczycy group concluded that "We will never defend fanaticism, ignorance or cruelty; on the contrary, we condemn them fiercely, utterly and vehemently."<sup>42</sup> Their stance was met with a strong opposition of the ultramontane "Przegląd Lwowski," which accused the Stańczycy group of extremely harmful moderation in faith, i.e. "moderantism" – in this case manifested by their insufficient defence of the Catholic Church.<sup>43</sup>

39. S. Kieniewicz, *Kajsiewicz (Kajsiewicz) Hieronim*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, t. 11, Wrocław – Warszawa 1964 – 1965, pp. 424 – 426.

40. Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie – Oddział I (Wawel), Archiwum Chorzelowskie Tarnowskich [National Archives in Kraków, Department I (Wawel), Tarnowski family's Chorzelów Archive], sign. 36, S. Tarnowski to K. Tarnowska, Rome 8.11.1862, pp. 163 – 164. In the same letter, however, he claimed that "We all know that Rev. Kajsiewicz [is] the best Pole and the most enlightened man" – Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie – Oddział I (Wawel), Archiwum Chorzelowskie Tarnowskich, sign. 36, p. 163.

41. On this matter see N. Budzyńska, *Ja nie mam duszy. Sprawa Barbary Ubryk, uwięzionej zakonnicy, której historię żyła cała Polska*, Kraków 2020.

42. S. Koźmian, *Przegląd polityczny*, "Przegląd Polski" 4 (1869) z. 2, p. 356.

43. "Where was compassion for the Kraków Carmelite nuns, treated like murderers in our city? If Ms Wężyk [Carmelite superior – M.P.G.] were put in Carmelite prisons for similar reasons, not as St. Theresa's daughter, not as a nun, but as a daughter of a man distinguished in his country, would it spark the same outrage as it did only because

Years later, Tarnowski pointed to the sources of his scepticism towards the Church as an institution: "As a consequence of Protestant leanings and instruction [...], which abounds in nearly all historical books that we knew, perhaps as a consequence of reading 'Kursy' by Mickiewicz, a work not entirely trustworthy, yet to a point effectively persuasive, maybe due to the innate urge and the inevitable illusion of youth, which is drawn to everything that beguiles with illusions of freedom; others, while being unaware, made those subtle distinctions between faith and the Church, the former being entirely unquestionable, while the latter subject to student-like criticism."<sup>44</sup> Hence the impact of Protestantism, with its negative attitude towards the Catholic Church, which – as Tarnowski wrote – motivated "the human reason to claim its right and authority to make judgements and argue about religion"<sup>45</sup> as well as mystical and messianic theories of Andrzej Towiański propagated by Adam Mickiewicz at Collège de France, which discriminated between personal creed and institutional Church.<sup>46</sup>

Ms Wężyk was a nun? Was there any voice from patriotic intellectuals that proved not even some feeling of religious respect for the virgins sacrificed to God but only that a monastic habit which the persecuted nuns wore did not motivate such intellectuals to treat them with something as simple as justice?" – asked Zygmunt Golian – X.Z.G., *Moderantyzm*, "Przegląd Lwowski" 1 (1871) t. 1, posz. 7, p. 333. Without going into detail, the early 1870s saw a polemic between Stańczycy and the ultramontane circles of "Przegląd Lwowski," with the latter accusing the former of the lack of sufficiently ardent support of the Catholic church, which was allegedly expressed e.g. in the critique of the clergy, even of the Pope, as well as using the Church to further their own private political agenda, or preaching independence of science from religion. Stańczycy were regarded first and foremost as Poles, and then as Catholics (and this order should be reversed, since the interest of being Polish and being Catholic is identical – the welfare of the Church guarantees the welfare of Polish affairs, and the Church, rather than history, is an epistemic authority). Meanwhile, Stańczycy argued that the ultramontanists' adamant standpoint, and their personal attacks on any deviations from orthodoxy launched in their press, may only stimulate the popularity of anti-Church publications, and to put the society at variance rather than lead to a consensus between Catholicism and patriotic intellectuals. In contrast, the creation of a faction based solely on Catholicism may prove dangerous to a nation devoid of its own country, since (for example in the Austrian parliament) the interest of Catholic parties is not always identical with Polish interests – J. Szujski, *Odpowiedź "Przeglądowi Lwowskiemu"* (2, 3 i 4 z.), "Przegląd Polski" 5 (1871) t. 3, z. 9, pp. 458, 462 – 466; B. Szlachta, *Ład, Kościół, naród*, Kraków 1996, pp. 289, 292 – 296; R. Szczurowski, *Ultramontanizm w Galicji w latach 1860–1870*, "Nasza Przeszłość" 89 (1998), pp. 236 – 240.

44. Qtd. in F. Hoesick, *Stanisław Tarnowski*, t. 1, p. 131.

45. S. Tarnowski, *Z doświadczeń i rozmyślań*, p. 13.

46. S. Kalemka, *Wielka Emigracja 1831–1863*, Toruń 2003, pp. 280 – 281, 283 – 284; M. Kuziak, *Mickiewicz w Collège de France: wykład, humanistyka, polityka*, "Teksty Drugie" (2019) nr 3, p. 41, 48; A. Walicki, *Millenaryzm i mesjanizm religijny a romantyczny mesjanizm*

Furthermore, ideological and political views of the future *Stańczycy* at that time could have put some distance between them and the Church, which struggled to maintain its position in the world and rejected all the novelty. Such beliefs had a strongly liberal tinge, and the key mottoes of the French Revolution were considered a foundation for the socio-political framework. As Stanisław Koźmian wrote in 1861, "The Polish idea has its future only if it develops in accordance with these rules of the French Revolution — the great creator of the modern democracy — which have recently become the social cornerstone of a great nation, once we reject all its filth and scum, all its deviations; in a word, on democratic rather than demagogic principles. For Poland's mission has been and will always be to show to this part of Europe progressive ideas cleansed of all the dregs."<sup>47</sup> In his words he meant the acknowledgement of the ideas of the revolution: freedom, equality, fraternity as the basis of the socio-political system, a consequence of which was equality before the law, raising the moral and financial status of the peasantry so that they become on par with aristocracy,<sup>48</sup> the idea of the nation's participation in government as well as legislation. While condemning all the perversions of the revolution, not only did Koźmian denounce the Reign of Terror, which trampled upon human rights, but also the very concept of the revolution in contradiction of the organic vision of the society, which required changes, albeit of evolutionary rather than revolutionary nature.<sup>49</sup>

*polski: zarys problematyki*, "Pamiętnik Literacki: czasopismo poświęcone historii i krytyce literatury polskiej" 62 (1971) z. 4, pp. 30 – 31, 36.

47. [S. Koźmian], *Kilka słów o naszych stosunkach*, Rzeszów 1861, pp. 32 – 33.

48. Koźmian wrote that: "The simple folk who could read has in many respects been made equal, or rather raised to our level [to the aristocracy – M.P.G.]" – [S. Koźmian], *Kilka słów o naszych stosunkach*, p. 19.

49. Liberalism is quite strongly accentuated in the opinions expressed by the *Stańczycy* faction in the pre-uprising period and about a dozen years after insurrection. It should be noted, however, that the basis for their views was conservative, both as a consequence of their background and the influence of the circles of Hotel Lambert, especially of "Wiadomości Polskie" as its semi-official medium, which promoted an organic model of society led by aristocracy and nobility (although the inclusion of persons from other social classes was also deemed acceptable). For this reason they were opposed to abrupt changes typical of a social revolution, believed that the society should develop in an evolutionary manner and that the Catholic religion constituted a key element of Polishness, one without which the latter was doomed to become extinct – M.P. Gancewski, *Polskie życie narodowe w kraju w latach 1857–1861 w ocenie "Wiadomości Polskich" (część I)*, pp. 114 – 115; M.P. Gancewski, *Młodzi konserwatyści krakowscy*, pp. 54, 65. As the future *Stańczycy* reported in their memoirs, what they had in common with people from Hotel Lambert was "[their] identical beliefs, yet

Accordingly, some rules of the Revolution were most commendable, but its very idea was evil and dangerous.<sup>50</sup> Besides, not all solutions of 1789 should be copied, since the situation in Poland differed from that in France, so following them blindly would be contrary to the organic vision of the society rooted in the evolutionary tradition.<sup>51</sup>

Even several years after the January Uprising, *Staiczyacy* still defended the above-defined idea of the French Revolution, which was noticeable e.g. in the debate between Stanisław Tarnowski and Walerian Kalinka. In *Przeigrana Francji i przyszłość Europy* Kalinka rejected the liberal definition of freedom, inextricably linked with equality and fraternity, as a non-viable combination, arguing that freedom requires order, which precludes equality; besides, in his opinion, such combination went against the need to cultivate the organic structure of society, reinforced individualism, led to the atomisation of the society, aroused jealousy and envy, removed human activity from the framework of positive law — the divine law — to which he attributed

perhaps not always identical opinions” — S. Koźmian, *Rzecz o roku 1863*, t. 1, Kraków 1896, p. 5.

50. Please note that the conservatives, due to their opposition to violent, revolutionary changes, had often quite an ambivalent attitude to the revolutions that had already taken place. For example, Paweł Popiel, a representative of the “conservatism of absolute values,” claimed that the French Revolution in a sense had a positive role, since it broke down old and outdated social structures, thanks to which the humanity was able to develop new structures, more suited to its needs. His claim was later used by *Staiczyacy* in their interpretation of the January Uprising, which, while being a necessary evil, led to the enfranchisement of peasants, and as a result it tore down obsolete social forms — K.K. Daszyk, *Józef Szujski jako twórca politycznego credo krakowskich stańczyków*, in: *Józef Szujski 1835–1883. Materiały z posiedzenia naukowego w dniu 25 listopada 2013 roku*, Kraków 2015, p. 63; M. Król, *Konserwatyści a niepodległość. Studia nad polską myślą konserwatywną XIX wieku*, Warszawa 1985, pp. 186–187.
51. This is what Koźmian likely had in mind, although it is not explicitly stated in his brochure. In 1873 Stanisław Tarnowski wrote as follows: “We have only superficial knowledge of the history of the French Revolution and yet we wish to copy it in entirety, oblivious that our situation is completely different, frivolously picturing that we will save Poland with the same means that the Revolution failed to save France” — S. Tarnowski, *Hieronim Kajsiowicz*, “Przegląd Polski” 8 (1873) z. 3, p. 364 (the same reprinted in: S. Tarnowski, *Hieronim Kajsiowicz*, pp. 123–124). The conservatives were generally against a ruler’s constructivist attempts to impose solutions which entirely disregarded tradition and history or to copy such solutions from another socio-political reality; however, they also condemned ignorance of the need for changes in a constantly evolving society — B. Szlachta, *Polscy konserwatyści wobec ustroju politycznego do 1939 roku*, Kraków 2000, pp. 44–50.

the decline of France in 1870.<sup>52</sup> In response, Tarnowski objected to the demoralisation of the principles that formed the foundation of the parliamentary system and constitutional freedoms, since "knowing all the shortcomings of liberalism [of the parliamentary system, of constitutional freedom, rather than a coherent liberal doctrine — M.P.G.] in today's forms and conditions, mindful of all the disappointment that it has caused in the world, what is the option for those who are not attached to today's forms but are still attached to freedom?" He was also of the opinion that faith must go hand in hand with freedom, and that the Church should not reject those signs of modernity that do not go against the dogmas of faith. He also pointed out, more pessimistically than Koźmian did 10 years before, that although the existing system is wrong, no-one had devised anything better.<sup>53</sup> A certain sentiment to the principles of 1789 survived in the views expressed by the Stańcycy group till the end of their lives.<sup>54</sup>

52. W. Biernacki, *O wolności w czasach niewoli. Myśl polityczna polskich elit intelektualnych i politycznych XIX i XX wieku*, Kraków 2020, pp. 135–136; M. Król, *Konserwatyści a niepodległość*, pp. 203–205; W. Kalinka, *Przegrana Francji i przyszłość Europy*, Kraków 1871, pp. 6–9.
53. S. Tarnowski, *Przegląd literacki*. "Przegrana Francji i przyszłość Europy" (napisał ks. Walerian Kalinka — Kraków — druk Jaworskiego 1871), "Przegląd Polski" 5 (1871) t. 4, z. 11, pp. 303–304. Again, this was met with opposition from "Przegląd Lwowski" — F.J., *Dwutygodnik krakowski*, "Przegląd Lwowski" 1 (1871) t. 1, posz. 10, p. 558.
54. "The French Revolution misconceived the rights of man in many respects, and negated and violated of all human rights — not to mention divine rights — still, man did have his rights after the Revolution" — wrote Tarnowski at the end of the century, being of a view similar to that of Paweł Popiel (S. Tarnowski, *Z doświadczeń i rozmyślań*, p. 13). One must also add, however, that at that time he thought that the French Revolution had done more harm than good in the world by putting man instead of God in the centre of the universe, making *raison d'état* the highest law and the society and the state the highest judge which determined the hierarchy of values — M. Król, *Konserwatyści a niepodległość*, p. 220; A. Kosicka-Pajewska, *Szlachta i włościanie*, in: A. Kosicka-Pajewska, T. Sobieraj, *Stanisław Tarnowski*, pp. 74–75. Theories on the democratization of society did not always translate into practice. Although the idea of the nation as proposed by Stańcycy was more open than the ideas of previous conservative thinkers, and the "forehead stratum" of the nation (Szujski's concept) did not mean nobility but rather an elite composed of representatives of various social strata, in reality the protagonists were never able to come to terms with growing political aspirations of other social groups, noticeable in the elections to the National Sejm in 1889, when several peasants won parliamentary seats. In practice, the conservatives wanted to reinforce their influence and maintain power in Western Galicia. On the other hand, for a decade after the uprising, in the initially "liberal" period, they demanded equal rights for Jews and abolishing the so-called propination, which they thought was an unjust privilege; they went as far as to criticise the curial election system. They abandoned those views later on — W. Feldman, *Stronictwa i programy*

Obviously, the future Stańcyzy emphasized that democratic forms must be filled with Christian content. In 1861 Stanisław Koźmian naively postulated that the difference between ancient and 19<sup>th</sup> century democracy is as follows: "Being for the most part flexible, paganism strove to attain a system of form, whereas Christianity, being spiritual, is aimed at becoming a system of the whole society. Consequently, whilst paganism was mainly about creating a suitable form of government, Christianity intends to rearrange the entire society according to this rule. [...] it seeks to democratise the whole society."<sup>55</sup>

Nonetheless, even their peculiar understanding of the slogans of the French Revolution and partial acceptance of liberal solutions put Stańcyzy somewhat in opposition to the Church, which fought against nearly all residue of 1789 as well as against modern liberalism, which was condemned by Pius IX in his *Quanta Cura* encyclical of 1864 and *Syllabus*, an attachment to the document.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, as early as in 1871, in the aforementioned dispute with Kalinka, Stanisław Tarnowski wondered if the separation of church and state is beneficial to both institutions, an idea strongly criticised in the papal encyclical and the attachment.<sup>57</sup>

If after the January Uprising Stańcyzy were accused of "moderantism" or of putting the duty towards Poland before the duty towards the Catholic Church, this accusation must have been even more valid in the pre-insurrection period. Coming from families with a well-established, albeit conservative tradition of independence, patriotism, where nearly everyone had had some episode of insurgency, having been influenced by the literature of Romanticism, they saw "patriotism [...] in the form of an uhlan from the Duchy of Warsaw or the year 1830."<sup>58</sup> An illustration of this attitude is the opinion about the clergy of the period, based mostly on the criterion of attachment to Polish values, declared and practised patriotism. Therefore, the nomination of Antoni Gałęcki for the administrator of the Diocese of Kraków was

*polityczne w Galicji*, Kraków 1907, pp. 130 – 134, 178 – 179, 182, 200 – 201; M. Jaskólski, *Kaduceus polski. Myśl polityczna konserwatystów krakowskich 1866–1934*, Kraków 2014, pp. 134 – 139.

55. [S. Koźmian], *Kilka słów o naszych stosunkach*, pp. 34 – 35.

56. Z. Zieliński, *Papiestwo i papież*, pp. 234 – 236. Liberalism and parliamentarism was condemned also by ultramontanists – B. Szlachta, *Ład, Kościół, naród*, p. 300.

57. S. Tarnowski, *Przegląd literacki. "Przeigrana Francji i przyszłość Europy"*, pp. 298 – 299; Z. Zieliński, *Papiestwo i papież*, p. 236.

58. S. Koźmian, *Ludwik Wodzicki*, p. 21.

received with dismay, as Gałęcki thought of himself as a German. „[Antoni Gałęcki – M.P.G.] is a government figure in the strict sense, and if the news which is circulating about the incorporation of the bishopric of Tarnów into the Diocese of Kraków proves true, and [Józef Alojzy's – M.P.G.] Pukalski will be appointed Bishop of Przemyśl, then our entire episcopate will be sadly single-minded in its feelings and intentions. In this situation, can the lower clergy, on which we depend so much, keep its noble beliefs intact [?]”<sup>59</sup>

Stańcyzy were also concerned with attempts by some of the Greek Catholic clergy to purge the liturgy of Latin elements and make it similar to the Eastern Orthodox liturgy. Not only did the future Stańcyzy write in the letters about tendencies dangerous to the Polish nation, believing Ruthenians i.a. were also part of it, but Stanisław Tarnowski himself went to Rome with a memorial (drafted in Adam Sapieha's circles) on that issue. The memorial was presumably received as intended, and from Rome came a “regulation [...] obliging the clergy to monitor any schismatic germs or tendencies, which are increasingly noticeable among Ruthenian priests.”<sup>60</sup> Obviously, in the context of the partitions and the Polish struggle for the right to develop freely as well as the inextricable link between being Catholic and being Polish, such criterion was understandable. The order of values of the future Stańcyzy is best exemplified by their attitude towards the Roman question.

The war fought by Piedmont and France against Austria broke out in 1859; not only did it bring about the defeat of the Habsburg monarchy but it also sparked revolution across Italy, forcing the rulers of the Italian states to flee. Pope Pius IX rapidly lost most of his lands (Romagna, Marche,

59. Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie [The Princes Czartoryski Library], ms. 5688, L. Wodzicki to Hotel Lambert, 20.12.1862, p. 696; Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie, ms. 5688, [S. Koźmian] to Hotel Lambert, 1.11.1862, pp. 690 – 691; S. Koźmian to Hotel Lambert, 10.01.1863, in: *Galicja w powstaniu styczniowym*, pod red. S. Kieniewicz, I. Millera, Wrocław – Warszawa 1980, p. 14; *Gałęcki Antoni*, in: *Encyklopedia Krakowa*, pod red. A.H. Stachowskiego, Warszawa – Kraków 2000, p. 227.
60. Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie, ms. 5688, L. Wodzicki to Hotel Lambert, 20.11.1862, pp. 695 – 696; S. Tarnowski, *Domowa kronika*, p. 170; A. Świątek, *Gente Rutheni, natione Poloni. Z dziejów Rusinów narodowości polskiej w Galicji*, Kraków 2014, p. 270. This was presumably the memorial a copy of which is found in the Bureau's files; it concerns the Orthodoxophile reform of the Uniate Church, propagated in the “Słowo” periodical, as well as implemented by Russia's supporter, a proponent of unity in matters relating to the Ruthenian nation and Orthodox church – Rev. Iwan Naumowicz – Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie, ms. 5688, pp. 473 – 490; W. Osadczy, *Święta Rus. Rozwój i oddziaływanie idei prawosławia w Galicji*, Lublin 2007, pp. 122 – 123.



Umbria), and was left only with a tiny piece of the Papal States, i.e. Rome with adjacent territories, which was only thanks to the presence of the Napoleonic army. The French leader initially wanted to preserve the Papal States in their entirety but when it proved impossible, he changed his mind and in his brochure *Le Pape et le Congrès*, officially under the name of Arthur de La Guéronnière, pointed out that although the Pope must have secular power in order to be independent from others, his power should be as restricted as possible, i.e. limited to Rome itself, since the Holy Father cannot provide his subjects with liberal laws that they rightly claim. The partition of the Papal States provoked a strong response on part of the Holy Father, who excommunicated everyone that contributed to it.<sup>61</sup>

"This subject fuelled heated debate between the young and the old, even in very close and most genuinely Catholic families," reminisced Stanisław Tarnowski.<sup>62</sup> Likewise, in the families of our protagonists, the future Stańczycy had a different point of view on the matter to their parents,<sup>63</sup> the partition of the Papal States was also a strongly contentious matter in Hotel Lambert; it put an end to "Wiadomości Polskie," and led to the temporary departure of Walerian Kalinka from the Bureau of Polish Affairs.<sup>64</sup> The views of the future Stańczycy are best reflected in the following words: "With a small exception, more or less openly, more or less expressly, we were all against temporal power and in favour of a unified Italy. Whoever did not see [Giuseppe] Garibaldi as a hero, whoever read his loud yet empty platitudes with laughter and disgust, whoever was indignant at his blasphemies, found another hero, more reasonable and serious [Camillo di] Cavour, who at that time did not display any similarities to Bismarck. The Pope, we argued, should back down. Temporal power is neither a dogma nor a prerequisite of spiritual authority or the unity of the Church: rather, it is a secondary phenomenon, which did more harm than good to the Church and religion, and which not only fails

61. R. Aubert et al., *Historia Kościoła*, p. 32; M.P. Gancewski, *Hotel Lambert a świecka władza papieża*, pp. 3–39, 44; H. Wereszycki, *Franciszek Józef I*, Wrocław 1978, pp. 84–88; A. de La Guéronnière, *Le Pape et le Congrès*, Paris 1859.

62. S. Tarnowski, *O "Czasie" i jego redaktorach. Wspomnienie półwiekowego czytelnika*, in: *Jubileusz "Czasu"*, Kraków 1899, p. 53.

63. Both Andrzej Edward Koźmian and Gabriela Tarnowska were staunch supporters of temporal papal power — M.P. Gancewski, *Hotel Lambert a świecka władza papieża*, p. 44; Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie — Oddział I (Wawel), Archiwum Dziękowskie Tarnowskich, sign. 402, G. Tarnowska to J. Tarnowski [after 15.10.1861], p. 221.

64. M.P. Gancewski, *Hotel Lambert a świecka władza papieża*, p. 37–57.

to make it independent but also demands that the Church maintains a variety of humiliating diplomatic relations and favours. Furthermore, the Romans have the right to be a secular society, a political one, and the existence of such a society requires the fulfilment of some mandatory conditions to which clerical authority cannot consent. After all, is it not a shameful and degrading thing that the Pope, the Supreme Pontiff and Vicar of Christ, in his addresses and protests is on par with all little Italian dukes; that he acts as a friend and ally of those Neapolitan kings."<sup>65</sup>

Such views were typical of the generation to which the future Stańczycy belonged. In their nearest circle, only Józef Kasznica, future professor of law encyclopaedia and canon law at the Warsaw Main School, Imperial University of Warsaw and University of Lviv, supported temporal papal authority.<sup>66</sup> Remarkably, secular papal power was also supported by Józef Szujski, a close friend of Ludwik Wodzicki and Stanisław Tarnowski at the time of their education in a gymnasium, an outstanding historian, and later on also a prominent member of the Stańczycy faction, who parted ways with the protagonists of this article when he became involved with the community of more radical bourgeois democrats preparing ground for the outbreak of another insurrection. He was indignant at the opinions expressed in the brochure *Le Pape et le Congrès*, arguing that it is "pure villainy, like the plan and process of partitioning Poland."<sup>67</sup>

65. S. Tarnowski, *Ksiądz Hieronim Kajsiewicz*, "Przegląd Polski" 8 (1873) t. 2, z. 4, p. 18 (later reprinted in: S. Tarnowski, *Ksiądz Hieronim Kajsiewicz*, Kraków 1897, pp. 152–153).
66. B. Leśnodorski, *Kasznica Józef (1834–1887)*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, t. 12, Wrocław – Warszawa 1966, pp. 204–206; F. Hoesick, *Stanisław Tarnowski*, t. 1, p. 131.
67. Qtd. in S. Tarnowski, *Szujskiego młodość*, Kraków 1892, p. 172; M.P. Gancewski, *Młodzi konserwatyści krakowscy*, pp. 93–94; H.S. Michalak, *Józef Szujski. Światopogląd i działanie*, Łódź 1987, pp. 45, 50, 114–115; K.K. Daszyk, *Józef Szujski jako twórca*, pp. 62–63. It seems that at that time Szujski, influenced by his fiancée, confessed and probably returned to regular religious practices, though he had previously been strongly attached to Catholicism. As for his political views, he was closer to the centre than to the left wing of the insurgency movement. Even in the community of "Dziennik Literacki," which published his writings, he was characterised by quite "conservative" views, claiming e.g. that in their future struggle for independence Poles should rely on the "nerve centre of the nation," i.e. nobility, which was not welcome by his colleagues. Prior to the insurrection, he did not exhort people to starting it early; after its outbreak he quickly joined the uprising, although he remained opposed to transforming it into a social revolution – S. Tarnowski, *Szujskiego młodość*, pp. 166–167; M.P. Gancewski, *Młodzi konserwatyści krakowscy*, pp. 93–94; K.K. Daszyk, *Józef Szujski jako twórca*, p. 63; H.S. Michalak, *Józef Szujski*, p. 29, 54–55; M. Janeczek, *Józef Szujski wobec powstania styczniowego*, "Wieki Stare i Nowe" 1 (2009) nr 6, pp. 161–164.

The most important reason why the future Stańcyzy were against temporal papal authority was that Italians aspired for independence, and most Poles with some national awareness sympathised with them. The Italian unification was meant to be the start of the implementation of Napoleon III's principle of nationality, which was expected to bring about the restitution of the Polish statehood. "Year 1859," wrote Stanisław Koźmian, "with its Italian war and the elaboration of the principle of nationality by Napoleon III was a breakthrough in spiritual and patriotic life [...] of the Tyczyn youth [future Stańcyzy and their friends, all of whom would meet on Ludwik Wodzicki's estate in Tyczyn – M.P.G.]. It bled into discussions and debates on politics; everyone was charmed and taken by Napoleon III's influence, all were spell-bound by the prospects arising from the principle of nationality."<sup>68</sup> The war drove the future Stańcyzy and their friends into such a euphoria that in spite of their not fully formed counter-revolutionary beliefs they were thinking about going to Italy and joining Giuseppe Garibaldi, a revolutionary and staunch opponent of papacy.<sup>69</sup>

Another important argument in favour of depriving the Pope of his country was the civilisational backwardness of the State of the Church, absence of constitutional freedoms for the Holy Father's subjects, which e.g. prevented the growth of the increasingly powerful bourgeoisie with political aspirations. Medieval theocratic absolutism of the Papal States, restored in 1849 with the use of French bayonets, the rejection of all signs of modernity was even criticised at the congress of superpowers in Paris in 1856, where their representatives concluded that the papal government and administration were the most backward ones globally.<sup>70</sup>

This situation could not escape our protagonists' attention. In 1862, during his visit in Rome, Stanisław Tarnowski judged the situation in the Papal States harshly yet insightfully: "As regards the government, it [...] indeed seems unbearable for our times and expectations. If you are not a priest, you cannot be anyone – there is a single path that leads to everything. I mean, you can be a wigmaker, a stagecoach conductor, a Swiss [member of the Swiss

68. S. Koźmian, *Ludwik Wodzicki*, p. 25.

69. S. Koźmian, *Ludwik Wodzicki*, p. 27; A.E. Koźmian to his family, Paris 24.01.1860, in: A.E. Koźmian, *Listy*, t. 4, Lviv 1896, p. 101; Z. Zieliński, *Papiestwo i papież*, p. 193.

70. Z. Zieliński, *Papiestwo i papież*, pp. 223 – 224; J. Kania, *Pius IX a walka Polaków z Rosją. Powstanie styczniowe 1863–1864* Kraków 2000, p. 38; R. Aubert et al., *Historia Kościoła*, p. 23.

Guard – M.P.G.] or a rich slacker, but you are still nobody. [...] this may cause exasperation among the active, thinking class, who seek to be someone in this world. The measures used by this government are characterised by incredible narrow-mindedness [...]. Here, [customs] chambers and censures reign in full glare of its political majesty, and a fact which describes them well is that they do not launch the services of the Neapolitan rail, which was ready three months ago, to prevent revolution from coming to Rome. Everything that is spoken and written abroad is administered to Rome [...] with extreme delicacy and in homeopathic doses. A government like this, which has remained in power for many years, led to a conviction so harmful to religion, namely that religion is irreconcilable with freedom of thought and political freedom. I firmly believe that this is not the case, but little wonder that people think otherwise when they look at the system to which they have held onto for centuries."<sup>71</sup> Stanisław Tarnowski was partly able to understand Pius IX, who early on in his pontificate tried to reform the Papal States by lay governmental appointments, granting amnesty to prisoners and announcing freedom of the press. However, after the Revolutions of 1848, during which he had to flee to Gaeta from Rome, where an anticlerical republic was proclaimed, the Holy Father abandoned all reforms and restored the *status quo ante*. The condition of the Papal States, Tarnowski admitted, was to some extent an effect of Pius IX's experience of "revolution, the enemy of all freedom."<sup>72</sup>

All protagonists of this article must have agreed with the above judgement, as with the statement that the Pope did not need the Papal States, since without all politics the Pope would be better at dealing with heavenly matters. Yet it appears that Stanisław Tarnowski's (perhaps also Ludwik Wodzicki's) stance towards the institutional Church and towards the Pope was different than that of Stanisław Koźmian. Stanisław Tarnowski, pointed to fundamental flaws in the system of the Papal States, irreconcilable with modern civilisation, in a balanced manner, without unnecessary emotion, he also spoke with great esteem of the Pope, who "enjoys the respect and even sympathy of everyone,

71. Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie – Oddział I (Wawel), Archiwum Chorzelowskie Tarnowskich, sign. 36, S. Tarnowski to K. Tarnowska, Rome 30.10.1862, pp. 154 – 155.

72. Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie – Oddział I (Wawel), Archiwum Chorzelowskie Tarnowskich, sign. 36, S. Tarnowski to K. Tarnowska, Rome 30.10.1862, p. 156; Ch. Schaller, *Pius IX*, Warszawa 2009, pp. 26 – 28, 31 – 37; B. Kumor, *Historia Kościoła*, cz. 7, Lublin 1991, pp. 208 – 209.

except for people who know no moderation in anything."<sup>73</sup> On other occasions he asserted that: "The Pope is adorable, his head is expressive, and his whole figure solemn."<sup>74</sup> At the same time, Stanisław Koźmian was merciless in his attacks on the institutional Church, and perhaps even on the Pope himself, which deeply saddened his father, who in Hotel Lambert defended temporal papal power: "just a word of strong objection. Staś says: 'que Rome s'en va.' Rome is not pagan gods; it will not vanish. If he means administration, Roman government, that is secondary. If he means the supreme vicarious power, based on earthly regal authority, he is wrong. It won't be long before he is bitterly disappointed."<sup>75</sup>

At this point, one should ask: what remained of those views after the January Uprising? As previously mentioned, for over a dozen years after the insurrection Stańczycy held on to certain liberal ideas, and some traces of their youthful beliefs may still be noticed in a later period (e.g. their stance on the French Revolution). After the January Uprising, which itself was a shock that caused them to radically revise their attitudes,<sup>76</sup> they had to change their opinions on secular papal power quite rapidly if they wished to call themselves a faction of order, opposed to the idea of "unremitting insurgency and organization," and seek cooperation with Catholic Austria, which in their view was a shield against pan-Slavist Russia.<sup>77</sup> For this reason it should not come as a surprise that immediately after the Italians seized Rome in 1870, Stanisław Koźmian thus expressed his opinion in "Przegląd Polski": "Or has the Roman question been solved by the violent capture of Rome? Not in the least. It has been solved neither materially nor morally; the Catholic world, Italy itself must strive to find a solution. Our sentiment in this respect is well-known; as a Catholic nation, and in the face of changes taking place in the world, we should care more than ever for the spiritual independence and sovereignty of the head of the church; **this sovereignty**

73. Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie — Oddział I (Wawel), Archiwum Chorzeliwskie Tarnowskich, sign. 36, S. Tarnowski to K. Tarnowska, Rome 30.10.1862, p. 154.

74. Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie — Oddział I (Wawel), Archiwum Chorzeliwskie Tarnowskich, sign. 36, S. Tarnowski to K. Tarnowska, Rome 1.11.1862, p. 165.

75. A.E. Koźmian to his family, Paris 22.11.1860, in: A.E. Koźmian, *Listy*, t. 4, p. 186; M.P. Gancewski, *Hotel Lambert a świecka władza papieża*, p. 45–46

76. On the subject of the shock and its consequences (growth in the piety of S. Tarnowski, who was imprisoned for participation in the insurrection) see M.P. Gancewski, *Młodzi konserwatyści krakowscy*, pp. 283–300.

77. M. Król, *Konserwatyści a niepodległość*, p. 199; K.K. Daszyk, *Józef Szujski jako twórca*, pp. 73–74.

**must be warranted only by financial, yet complete independence. Its details and scope are unimportant; what matters is its nature** [emphasis by M.P.G.]. We do know that the Pope will not step down, and that there will be no compromise; but a *Modus Vivendi* has to be found, and it is not only up to the Italian government but the entire Catholic world, the governments who represent it, to find such measure. We believe that the *Modus Vivendi*, and the solution of the Roman issue, may only be determined by the congress."<sup>78</sup>

The underlined passage above to some extent reflects the ideas expressed in the aforementioned brochure *Le Pape et le Congrès*. Admittedly, Stanisław Koźmian changed his views but he did not desire the restitution of Romagna, Marche and Umbria as a part of the Church State; at that point it was non-viable anyway. What was important was that the Pope should enjoy financial independence, which guaranteed his sovereignty, since at that time he was "like some amphibious creature, half a monarch, half a slave."<sup>79</sup> Still, the partition of the Papal States was seen as evil — also by Stanisław Tarnowski, who spoke even more strongly in favour of the temporal authority of the Pope — an evil that materialised both in 1870 as well as back in 1859, an evil that was hardly reversible. The Italian ambitions for unification were no longer seen as something unequivocally positive, all the more that the unity of Italy entailed, as the future Stańczycy believed, the unity of Germany, extremely dangerous for Poles.<sup>80</sup>

Time changed Koźmian, Tarnowski and Wodzicki; they gradually lost their youthful "liberalism;" they also changed their religious ideas. It is worth noting that they did not approach the condition of the Catholic clergy in an apologetic manner; instead, they criticised it whenever it failed to fulfil its duties, and this behaviour had been shaped in their formative years,

78. S. Koźmian, *Przegląd polityczny. Kraków, 30 września*, "Przegląd Polski" 5 (1870) t. 2, z. 4, pp. 187–188.

79. S. Koźmian, *Przegląd polityczny*, "Przegląd Polski" 5 (1870) t. 2, z. 5, p. 382. S. Koźmian, *Autobiografia*, p. 426.

80. He cites arguments for temporal papal authority expressed in the pre-insurrection sermons of Hieronim Kajsiwicz: "Pleading with the reader to peruse them [H. Kajsiwicz's sermons], only to acquaint himself with Rev. Kajsiwicz's arguments, let us appreciate the preacher's keen and sharp eye in political matters. We do not know if the future confirms his expectations of the impermanence of Italian unity. Nonetheless, the present has already corroborated his prediction that a unified Italy will be followed by a unified Germany" — S. Tarnowski, *Książdz Hieronim Kajsiwicz*, "Przegląd Polski" 8 (1873) t. 2, z. 4, pp. 19–20 (later reprinted in: S. Tarnowski, *Książdz Hieronim Kajsiwicz*, Kraków 1897, pp. 153–154).

inspired e.g. by reading "Wiadomości Polskie." Even though they remained partly attached to the principles of the French Revolution (with their own idiosyncratic interpretation), they were increasingly disapproving of it. Faith became more and more important to them on a personal level: even Stanisław Koźmian returned to regular religious practices at an old age.<sup>81</sup> Stańcyzy also demonstrated increasingly stronger attachment to the institutional Catholic Church and the Holy Father, as noticeable in Tarnowski's and Jan Matejko's donation of the painting *Jan Sobieski at Vienna* to Leon XIII on the 200th anniversary of the Battle of Vienna in 1881 as well as in the address read out by Tarnowski at his audience with the Pope, in which he expressed his loyalty to the Supreme Pontiff. Moreover, later in his life Stanisław Koźmian on many occasions argued that the divine law takes priority over the law made by people.<sup>82</sup> Therefore, Stanczyzy ultimately abandoned a substantial portion of their former religious ideas, though the process took some time; with time they also sided with those they had previously opposed on religious matters, e.g. with Reverend Kajsiwicz on the question of temporal papal power.<sup>83</sup>

81. S. Koźmian, *Autobiografia*, p. 426.

82. W. Dutka, *Zapomniany stańczyk*, p. 53; M. Gawlik, *Kształtowanie postawy religijnej Stanisława Tarnowskiego*, p. 43.

83. S. Tarnowski, *O "Czasie" i jego redaktorach*, p. 53.

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# Abstract

Mateusz Piotr Gancewski

## *Religiosity of the future members of the Stańczycy group in their youth in comparison with their later religious views*

This article discusses the religious views of Stanisław Koźmian, Ludwik Wodzicki and Stanisław Tarnowski, as well as the shape of their piety before the January Uprising. The religiousness of their youth was confronted and compared with their later religious views, which allowed for a change in their views over the years.

This work begins with a discussion of the spiritual formation of the heroes of this article, which was greatly influenced by the family environment in which they were brought up – an environment of patriotic nobility and aristocracy, sincerely devoted to Catholicism (for personal and national reasons). However, despite their attachment to religion and fulfilment of religious practices (especially in the case of Stanisław Tarnowski and Ludwik Wodzicki), the future Stańczycy were not uncritically inclined towards the Catholic Church. On the contrary – just like the majority of the generation to which they belonged – they often expressed negative opinions about the moral condition of the clergy, and were opposed to the secular power of the Pope, which put them in opposition to ultramontane members of their families and some members of the Hotel Lambert – the organisation with which they were ideologically and politically associated.

After the January Uprising there was a gradual evolution of their views towards almost complete obedience to the institutional Church. Nevertheless, for several more years their religious outlook was marked by a certain liberalism, and their views on the behaviour of the Catholic Church were often critical, which resulted in accusations of moderantism being levelled at them by the ultramontane milieu of the "Przegląd Lwowski."

**Keywords:**

history of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, religiosity, Stanisław Koźmian, Ludwik Wodzicki, Stanisław Tarnowski

# Abstrakt

Mateusz Piotr Gancewski

## *Religijność przyszlých stańczyków w okresie młodości a ich późniejsze wyobrażenia religijne*

**Słowa kluczowe:**  
historia XIX  
wieku, religijność,  
Stanisław Koźmian,  
Ludwik Wodzicki,  
Stanisław  
Tarnowski

W artykule omówione zostały poglądy religijne Stanisława Koźmiana, Ludwika Wodzickiego oraz Stanisława Tarnowskiego, a także kształt ich pobożności przed powstaniem styczniowym. Religijność ich młodzieńczych lat skonfrontowana i porównana została z ich późniejszymi zapatrywaniami religijnymi, co pozwoliło ukazać zmianę ich poglądów na przestrzeni lat.

Pracę rozpoczyna omówienie formacji duchowej bohaterów tego artykułu, na którą olbrzymi wpływ miało środowisko rodzinne, w którym zostali wychowani – środowisko patriotycznej szlachty i arystokracji, szczerze oddanej katolicyzmowi (z osobistego i narodowego powodu). Mimo przywiązania do religii oraz wypełniania praktyk religijnych (zwłaszcza w przypadku Stanisława Tarnowskiego i Ludwika Wodzickiego) przyszli stańczycy nie byli jednak bezkrytycznie nastawieni do Kościoła katolickiego. Wprost przeciwnie – podobnie jak większość generacji, do której należeli – niejednokrotnie negatywnie wypowiadali się na temat kondycji moralnej kleru, a także byli przeciwnikami świeckiej władzy papieża, co stawiało ich w opozycji do ultramontańsko nastawionych członków ich rodzin oraz niektórych członków Hotelu Lambert – organizacji, z którą byli ideowo-politycznie związani.

Po powstaniu styczniowym następowała stopniowa ewolucja ich poglądów w kierunku niemal całkowitego posłuszeństwa Kościołowi instytucjonalnemu. Niemniej jeszcze przez kilkanaście lat ich zapatrywania religijne naczynowane były pewnym liberalizmem, a spojrzenie na postępowanie Kościoła katolickiego było niejednokrotnie krytyczne, co skutkowało oskarżeniami o moderantyzm, kierowanymi w ich stronę przez ultramontańskie środowisko „Przeglądu Lwowskiego”.