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PASTORAL CARE OF POLISH EMIGRATION IN AUSTRIA,
GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE IN THE 19TH CENTURY.
AN ATTEMPT AT COMPARISON*

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The purpose of this article is to present and compare the conditions of expatriate pastoral ministry in three Western European countries in the 19th century. The selected countries were characterized by different approaches to Polish emigration. They also presented different models of attitude towards Catholicism. In my research inquiries I took into account the pastoral base, places of worship, forms of influence and the specifics of Polish emigration. In Polish historiography, the pastoral care of emigrants in the 19th century has been the subject of several monographs by, among others, P. Taras, A. Nadolny, J. Plewko, B. Kołodziej, B. Micewski, A. Romejko, A. Zwiercan, D. Piątkowska, J. Reychman and J. Kuzicki. Many articles related to this topic have been published in "Studia Polonijne" (Diaspora Studies) by the Centre for Research on the Polish Diaspora and Pastoral Care at the Catholic University of Lublin. This research covers historical, pastoral and theological issues¹.

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¹ S. GAJEWSKI, *Organizowanie opieki nad wychodźcami przez duchowieństwo Królestwa Polskiego*, "Studia Polonijne" 1(1976), pp. 149-159; P. TARAS, *Udział Polonii w rozwoju Kościoła katolickiego w Stanach Zjednoczonych*, Lublin 1976; A. ZWIERNICAN, *Działalność franciszkanów wśród Polonii, 1772-1976*, "Studia Polonijne" 3(1979), pp. 81-201; D. PIĄTKOWSKA, *Polskie kościoły w Nowym Jorku*, Nowy Jork–Opole: Wydawnictwo Świętego Krzyża 2002; B. MICEWSKI, *Polska działalność zmartwychwstańców*, [in:] *Działalność męskich zgromadzeń zakonnych wśród Polonii*, ed. J. Bakalarz, Lublin: RW KUL 1982; A. NADOLNY, *Polskie duszpasterstwo*

National uprisings, starting with the Kościuszko Uprising, through the November Uprising, the Kraków Uprising, the Springtime of Nations, and the January Uprising in the Kingdom of Poland, led to the emigration of thousands of Polish political refugees. Generally, emigrants headed to Western European countries, and in the second half of the 19th century also to North America². The base of Polish emigration until 1863-1865 consisted of political exiles. In contrast, economic emigration dominated in the second half of the 19th century. Looking for factors stimulating the emergence and rapid growth of economic emigration, we should point to the economic compulsion resulting from the hunger for land in the overcrowded Polish countryside, which was unable to support the increasing population. At the same time, there was a lack of other work in the country. The poorly developing industry could absorb only a minority of those migrating from the countryside to the cities. The rest had to look for bread outside the homeland. A circumstance conducive to labor emigration from the Prussian partition was legislation allowing everyone, except men of draft age, to go abroad for work since 1853. Hence, the wave of emigration first covered the Prussian partition. In the 1880s, mass departures “for bread” reached the Kingdom of Poland and Galicia, which in the next decade became the main reservoir of emigrants. The mass exodus from the Austrian partition was determined by the fragmentation of peasant land and the notorious “Galician misery” associated with it³.

w Austrii 1801-1945, Lublin: Wydawnictwo Oddziału Lubelskiego Stowarzyszenia “Wspólnota Polska” 1994; J. PLEJKO, *Duszpasterstwo Polonii w procesie jej integracji ze społeczeństwem kanadyjskim 1875-1988*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 1995; B. KOŁODZIEJ, *Opieka duszpasterska nad wychodźcami polskimi do roku 1939*, Poznań: UAM 2003; A. ROMEJKO, *Duszpasterstwo polonijne w Wielkiej Brytanii*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek 2002; J. REYCHMAN, *Dzieje duszpasterstwa polskiego nad Bosforem*, “Nasza Przeszłość” 1970, vol. 3, pp. 167-189; J. KUZICKI, *Duchowieństwo Wielkiej Emigracji na Wyspach Brytyjskich (1831-1863)*, “*Studia Polonijne*” 32(2011), pp. 5-33; 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: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego 2014.

² M. WILLAUME, *Szlaki polskich emigrantów w środkowo-wschodniej Europie (XVIII-XX w.)*, [in:] *Wschodnie i zachodnie szlaki migracji Polaków. Ślady działalności kulturalnej*, eds. P. Kraszewski, M. Lachowicz, T. Nakoneczny, Poznań: Instytut Wschodni UAM 2017, pp. 13-14.

³ R.P. ŻURAWSKI VEL GRAJEWSKI, *Polskie emigracje 1831-1918*, [in:] *Historie Polski w XIX wieku*, ed. A. Nowak, vol. 4, Warszawa: DiG 2015, pp. 229-230.

AUSTRIA

Until the outbreak of World War I, Polish pastoral ministry in Austria was limited only to the capital, where the most numerous colony of Poles had settled. In indigenous Austria, in Vienna itself, already after the first partition, Emperor Joseph II established a Greek Catholic personal parish at St. Barbara's Church in 1784. It was intended to serve multilingual Greek Catholics, as well as Poles of the Latin rite⁴. Basilian Fr. Hieronim Strzelecki was the first parish priest. It should be noted here that there was no political emigration in Austria. Polish aristocrats with their families, civil servants and studying Galician youths came here making a career at the Habsburg court. In 1834 the Polish settlement numbered about 2,000, and by the end of the 19th century about 30,000. In February 1801, Prince Józef Poniatowski, together with Kazimierz Rzewuski and Antoni Lanckoroński, sent a request to the Emperor to organize a Polish pastoral ministry. These efforts were successful, and Fr. Józef (Amantius) Riemer, a Bernardine from Przeworsk, became the first administrator of the parish. He was also assisted in religious work by other priests studying in Vienna. In 1803, Fr. Riemer was appointed chaplain of the city hospital. This was a huge hospital complex established by Joseph II in the city's 9th district. Fr. Riemer exercised pastoral care there together with four other priests. He served as chaplain for 25 years, retired in January 1828, and died five years later. Undoubtedly, the hospital chaplaincy of Fr. Riemer had a negative impact on Polish pastoral care. However, there is no information from this period as to the forms of pastoral ministry, as well as in which church it took place. It can be assumed that it was located in the church of the Franciscan-Bernardine Fathers, at which the Polish clergyman initially resided. After his retirement, Fr. Riemer did not preach Polish sermons and did not appoint his replacement⁵.

In 1829, a group of Polish aristocrats led by Ludwika Lanckorońska, Konstancja Tyszkiewiczowa, Julia Krasicka and Kordelia Potocka addressed a request to the archbishop of Vienna that one of the studying Polish priests or the vicar of the Uniate parish of St. Barbara be allowed to preach Lenten sermons. While the consistory approved the request, it set conditions that the Polish ladies search for one of Vienna's churches as a place to preach, and try to get a Polish priest with completed theological studies. For a while

⁴ S. NABYWANIEC, *Kształcenie i formacja alumnów-unitów archidiecezji kijowskiej i diecezji przemyskiej w XVIII wieku*, "Nasza Przeszłość" 2000, vol. 93, pp. 101-103.

⁵ A. NADOLNY, *Polskie duszpasterstwo w Austrii*, passim.

Polish services were held in St. Elisabeth's Church, later in the Church of the Savior, in the building of the old city hall. It should be known that special seminaries were established in the capital of the Habsburg monarchy, where alumni from various parts of the Austrian state, including Galicia, were educated. They operated there successively: The Royal Greek Catholic Seminary, known as the Barbareum (1775-1784), the Vienna Imperial and Royal Municipal Konvict (1802-1848), the Greek Catholic Central Seminary (1852-1893) and the elite Higher Scientific Institute for Diocesan Priests, known as the Augustineum, Frintaneum (1816-1919). The alumni of the latter clerical institution included 116 Galician priests in the 19th century. 215 Polish seminarians passed through the Vienna Imperial and Royal Municipal Konvict, including 77 from the Przemyśl diocese, 68 from the Tarnow diocese, 59 from the Lviv archdiocese and 11 from the Cracow diocese⁶.

In 1835, Archbishop Vincenz Eduard Milde forbade the superior of the Imperial-Royal Municipal Konvict in Vienna from allowing clerics who had not yet been ordained to preach in Polish. Later, the ban extended to clerics from other institutions, and as of Sunday, February 15 of that year, preaching in Polish was discontinued at the Church of the Savior. In 1841, the Ordinariate of Łąćut Alfred Potocki and Austrian Chamberlain Adolf Hussarzewski petitioned Emperor Ferdinand to establish a permanent parish priest for the Polish community in Vienna. The Emperor supported the initiative and authorized the establishment of a Polish-speaking confessor and preacher in Vienna with a salary of 600 zlotys of conventional coin. The pastoral care of Poles was organized in St. Ruprecht Church at Ruprechtsplatz, the oldest church in Vienna, belonging to St. Stephen's parish. The rector of the church during this period was Rev. Philip Antoni Gärtner (until May 1850). The consistory designated this temple for Polish pastoral ministry because it was too small for parish ministry. Despite its tiny size, the church provided sufficient room for Poles in the early days. After the imperial reforms of 1866-1867, and especially at the end of the 19th century, in view of the ever-increasing number of the Polish community in the capital, the temple did not accommodate the participants of services, who filled the church square and even the street. St. Ruprecht Church served Poles until 1900⁷.

⁶ J. KUZICKI, *Duchowni i duszpasterstwo polskiej emigracji w krajach Europy Zachodniej w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku. Przegląd problematyki badawczej*, "UR Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences" 11(2019), No. 2, pp. 12 -13.

⁷ A. NADOLNY, *Polskie duszpasterstwo w Wiedniu (1801-1900)*, "Collectanea Theologica" 1983, No. 53, fasc. 2, pp. 159-160.

Fr. Grzegorz Borczowski of the Lviv archdiocese was appointed chaplain to the Polish community in Vienna in the early 1840s, serving at St. Ruprecht's Church from 1842 to 1845. He was periodically replaced by two priests from the Higher Scientific Institute for Diocesan Priests, known as Frintaneum: Jan Rybarski from the Diocese of Tarnów and Ignacy Kornicki from the Archdiocese of Lviv. The latter priest became Fr. Borczowski's successor and served as chaplain to the Polish "Viennese" until 1854. During his vacations, he was replaced by priests from the Augustineum: Jan Staroniewicz of the Przemyśl diocese and Wawrzyniec Gwiazdoń of the Tarnów diocese. The next chaplain of the Polish "Viennese" was Father Konstanty Maniewski of the Tarnów diocese, who was the permanent parish priest of the Polish community in Vienna for 18 years. After this priest returned to Galicia, the position of Polish chaplain was vacant. From 1872 to 1874, Fr. Emilian Lamboy ministered at St. Ruprecht's Church in place of Fr. Maniewski. In 1829-1918, ad hoc pastoral assistance was provided to the emigrants by 23 priests from Frintaneum and an unknown number of Polish clerics from the Municipal Konvikt⁸. In May 1874, the Poles again received their own clergyman, who became Fr. Zygmunt Czerwiński of the Przemyśl diocese. He took care of the emigrants for 13 years, until his death in 1887. He was succeeded in 1888 by Fr. Antoni Krechowiecki of the Lviv diocese, a professor at the seminary in Zhytomyr and vice-rector of the Pontifical Polish College in Rome. In March 1892, Fr. Krechowiecki informed the superior of the Resurrectionists in Rome, Fr. Walerian Przewłocki, that he had left the post, at the same time proposing that priests from the congregation take over the pastoral care of emigrants. In July 1892, Fr. Przewłocki began efforts to get the Church of the Holy Cross, the former temple of the Polish Galician Guard, at Rennweg⁹. In July 1892, Fr. Przewłocki visited St. Ruprecht's

⁸ J. KUZICKI, *Duchowni i duszpasterstwo*, p. 13. The names and surnames of Galician priests of the Latin rite who graduated from the Higher Scientific Institute for Diocesan Priests (Frintaneum) involved in the pastoral care of the Viennese emigration in the years 1829-1918 are listed by the author of article. see S. PIECH, *Formacja księży polskich w wiedeńskich instytutach teologicznych i na stolicznym uniwersytecie oraz ich posługa duszpasterska wśród tamtejszej Polonii w okresie niewoli narodowej*, [in:] *W kręgu badań nad Polonią i duszpasterstwem polonijnym. Istota i metodologia*, eds. S. Zych, B. Walicki, Lublin–Sokołów Małopolski: Ośrodek Badań nad Polonią i Duszpasterstwem Polonijnym KUL, Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna w Sokołowie 2015, pp. 371-372.

⁹ A. NADOLNY, *Polskie duszpasterstwo w Wiedniu*, pp. 160-162. The Holy Cross Church in Vienna's 3rd district was originally a hospital church. The imperial or court hospital, which had been based on Ballhausplatz since the mid-16th century, was moved to Rennweg in 1754. The Holy Trinity Hospital, founded there by Emperor Charles IV, was moved to the suburb of Alser.

Church in Vienna, where Mass was celebrated for Poles, but found that the conditions were not satisfactory. Fr. Franciszek Lutrzykowski, an aide to Papal Nuncio Lodovico Jacobini, assisted Przewłocki on this visit. He suggested that the Resurrectionists look at an old abandoned church (on Rennweg in the center of Vienna), which had once served Polish soldiers from the Imperial Guard. Fr. Przewłocki liked the church so much that the Resurrectionist general contacted local officials of the land registry department about the possibility of buying the building adjacent to the church. In the summer of 1895, the Austrian authorities approached the Resurrectionists with an offer to sell the destroyed buildings, but then Superior Fr. Smolikowski was unable to make such a purchase at the time¹⁰. In this situation, the consistory appointed Austrian priests as rector of the church again, first temporarily Fr. Kurtz, followed by Jan Scheller. After Fr. Krechowiecki left, the Poles again waited a long time for a permanent administrator. In the period from July to October 30, 1892, Rev. Jan Policki pastored here on a substitute basis, followed for five months by Rev. Paweł Ryłko, a doctoral student at the Augustineum. The situation of the prolonged vacancy prompted the Polish community to act more vigorously. In March 1893, the Polish confraternity at St. Ruprecht's Church convened a rally at which the Polish Church in Vienna Committee was established. It set itself the task of regulating the Polish pastoral ministry. Thanks to his interventions in the Episcopal Ordinariates of Vienna and Lviv, the issue was settled. As of June 1893, Fr. Policki was again "temporarily" appointed. He served in this capacity until the end of September 1894, and was succeeded by Rev. Piotr Pietrzycki. He began his work in late 1894 or early 1895 and stayed in Vienna until his death in 1900. He was also the last Polish preacher at St. Ruprecht Church. In the 19th century, Vienna's pastoral ministry was limited to preaching Polish sermons before Mass on Sundays and holidays. An enduring form of pastoral ministry in Vienna was hearing confessions and providing sacramental provision for the sick. The Polish community in Vienna did not have its own personal parish, so there was no regular parish ministry (baptisms, weddings, funerals). During Fr. Krechowiecki's tenure, additional services

Maria Theresa ordered the construction of a tract to the imperial hospital and also a new consecrated church. The architect of the rococo Holy Cross Church was Nicolas Pacassi. It took eight years (1755-1763) to build the church. On November 1, 1763, the church was dedicated to the honor of Holy Cross in memory of the first, hospital chapel of Holy Cross (later St. Catherine's Chapel). See <http://www.kosciol.at/kosciol-polski-2/> [accessed: 14.10.2022].

¹⁰ J. IWICKI, *Charyzmat zmartwychwstańców. Historia Zgromadzenia Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego*, vol. 2: 1887-1932, Krakow-Kielce: Jedność 2007, *passim*.

of their own were organized, for example, he led the Polish Corpus Christi procession. This period marks the beginning of the development of Polish organizations and institutions. In 1884, a Polish school was established, where Polish priests taught religion. Rev. Krechowiecki was a member of the “Polish Library” Society, and Rev. Pietrzycki of the “Thatch” association. Of the church organizations, among others, the Confraternity of Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament was formed¹¹. Finally, at the end of January 1897, the Ministry of Religious Affairs, with the approval of the Emperor, donated the church and rectorate to the Resurrectionists on the condition that the shrine would be open to all Catholics wishing to pray there. In the spring of 1897, Fr. Smolikowski sent Fr. Franciszek Lutrzykowski to Vienna to take over the Holy Cross Church, which opened on April 1, 1898. Mass was celebrated daily, and on Sundays it was with sermons in German and Polish. Rev. F. Lutrzykowski stayed in Vienna until March 1899, when Rev. Władysław Jeżewicz was appointed superior and rector of The Holy Cross Church¹².

The Polish Resurrectionists have been present on Vienna's Kahlenberg Hill since 1906. Kahlenberg, or “mountain of barking dogs”, has a long history. It was a hunting ground for the Viennese aristocracy, and in 1101 Margrave Leopold III had his residence here. From the 17th to the 18th century, there were Camaldolesian hermitages and St. Joseph's Church on Kahlenberg. On 12 September 1683, a mass was held here in front of a copy of the miraculous painting of Our Lady of Czestochowa, attended by John III Sobieski, who came to the relief of Vienna. Until the 20th century, there was no place at the church with any memorabilia of this event. The church was consecrated again in September 1852. On the occasion of the handing over of the church to the Resurrectionists in 1906, the then general of the Pauline Fathers of Jasna Góra donated a copy of the painting of Our Lady of Czestochowa to the Kahlenberg church, which became a “souvenir” particularly venerated by pilgrims and tourists¹³.

It should also be mentioned that in Austria, in addition to Vienna, pastoral ministry was carried out in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which became part of the Habsburg state in 1878. At the beginning of the 20th century, some

¹¹ A. NADOLNY, *Polskie duszpasterstwo w Wiedniu*, pp. 162-163; J. KUZICKI, *Duchowni i duszpasterstwo*, pp. 13-14. For more see, A. NADOLNY, *Polskie duszpasterstwo w Austrii*, *passim*. For more on the activities of the Resurrectionists in Vienna, see, B. MICEWSKI, *Polska działalność zmartwychwstańców*, pp. 444-445.

¹² J. IWICKI, *Charyzmat zmartwychwstańców*, vol. 2, pp. 170-172.

¹³ <https://zmartwychwstancy.pl/placowki/polish-sanktuarium-narodowe-na-kahlenbergu,76> [accessed: 15.10.2023].

14.000 Poles were settled there. The arrival of Jesuit Father Marcin Czermiński was crucial to the establishment of pastoral ministry in these areas at the end of the 19th century. Mass in Polish caused a huge stir. The Jesuit was in Bosnia for the first time in 1895. However, in 1898 he received an official letter from Bishop Jan Puzyna authorizing him to travel of a missionary nature to Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina. From then until 1908, the monk visited Poles in Bosnia and Herzegovina six times. During this time, he celebrated masses, services, preached and administered the sacraments. Fr. Czermiński was also the organizer of the mission of the Felician Sisters, who established the first outpost in Bosnia in 1903-1904. However, there was no permanent preacher. A tour of the forming Polish colonies was conducted by Rev. Walery Szymański, who found that the immigrants had formed 17 Polish settlements and were devoid of permanent pastoral care. Until the outbreak of World War I, Bishop Adam Sapieha of Cracow sent priests with ad hoc pastoral assistance, who supplied the believers with books, prayer books and devotional items. Then the mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina was taken over by the Resurrectionists, who stayed at the church in the Polish community in Bakincy until 1920. After World War I, most Poles returned to their country¹⁴.

UNITED KINGDOM

At the beginning of the 19th century there was a small number of Poles in Britain¹⁵. Between 1820 and 1822, the Jesuit Father Bonifacy Krukowiecki from Vilnius stayed here. Larger groups of emigrants from across the Vistula arrived in the British Isles after the defeat of the November Uprising. According to historians' calculations, between 1831 and 1861 about 2, 600 – 2, 700 Poles passed through the country on the Thames. The migrants here were not covered by pastoral care, which resulted in denationalization, assimilation into the local community and abandonment of Catholicism in favor of Protestantism. The Catholic English bishops looked with concern at the religious problems of the Poles. Unlike Austria or France, until 1850

¹⁴ T.J. LIS, *Polskie osadnictwo i duchowieństwo w Bośni i Hercegowinie od 1894 do 1920*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Maria 2021, pp. 127, 165-268; B. KOŁODZIEJ, *Opieka duszpasterska*, pp. 41-42. For more on the activities of the Resurrectionists in Bosnia and Herzegovina, see: B. MICEWSKI, *Polska działalność zmartwychwstańców*, p. 447.

¹⁵ Z. LIBISZOWSKA, *Życie polskie w Londynie w XVIII wieku*, Warszawa: PAX 1972.

England, with its 826 priests, was itself considered a missionary country. In 1840, there were 26 Catholic places of worship in the growing city of London, and they were mostly small buildings and premises, mostly in the nature of private chapels. The British capital at the time was home to more than 75,000 emigrants from Catholic countries, Ireland, quite a few Germans, Italians, Poles and a not inconsiderable number of English Catholics¹⁶.

During the period of the Great Emigration in England, mainly in London, there were more than 20 Polish chaplains (former insurgent chaplains) who used English temples made available for services. Since 1839, efforts and fundraising were underway among the Polish community to organize a chapel for Polish emigrants in London. A prominent figure among them was the Bernardine friar Stanisław Poncjan Brzeziński from the Kingdom of Poland, who, as a participant in the partisanship of Józef Zaliwski, had to emigrate to England¹⁷. He is considered the first chaplain of the Polish "Londoners". In the Archives of the Province of the Bernardine Fathers in Cracow, the correspondence of Fr. Brzeziński is preserved, containing numerous letters with emigrants and Polish and English clergy. This is a hitherto undervalued source for research on the Polish diaspora in the British Isles¹⁸.

Resurrectionists from Paris and Rome were involved in the establishment of an organized pastoral ministry along the Thames. In 1840, the Resurrectionist Edward Duński made efforts to get Fr. Brzeziński to start services for the wandering people. He did so through the external brothers Jan and Stanisław Koźmian¹⁹. As for the location, the Belgian chapel on London Road in Southwark and the German chapel on Bow Lane were considered. There was also the idea of adapting the headquarters of the Literary Society of Polish Friends at Sussex Chambers for Polish masses. After lengthy solicitations, on Pentecost, May 15, 1842, Fr. Brzeziński held the first of a series of weekly services for compatriots at the Belgian chapel. Fr. Brzeziński's ministry in London lasted from May 1842 to September 1847, during which time he was assisted by Parisian Resurrectionists: Hieronim Kajsiewicz in

¹⁶ K. MARCHLEWICZ, *Wielka Emigracja na Wyspach Brytyjskich (1831-1863)*, Poznań: Instytut Historii UAM 2008, pp. 26, 173; IDEM, *Warunek egzystencji narodowej? O religijnym doświadczeniu Wielkiej Emigracji w Anglii*, Poznań: Księgarnia św. Wojciecha 2005, *passim*.

¹⁷ The description of the insurrectionary fate of Fr. S. P. Brzezinski is contained in the letters of one of the emigrants in England Leonard Niedźwiecki, see L. NIEDŹWIECKI, *Listy wybrane z lat 1832-1839*, ed. S. Makowski, Warszawa: Czytelnik 2009, pp. 155, 453.

¹⁸ Archives of the Province of the Bernardine Fathers in Cracow (APB), sign. R. G. P. - k - 85-87 – Correspondence of Stanisław Poncjan Brzezinski.

¹⁹ B. MICEWSKI, *Polska działalność zmartwychwstańców*, p. 443.

1844 and Wincenty Kraiński in 1846-1848. Priests Grzegorz Stasiewicz and Wincenty Otto Zienkiewicz also temporarily performed religious services. Pastoral ministry in this form survived until the Spring of Nations, and on more important church holidays or national anniversaries gathered about 100 emigrants. After 1848, its activity died down for a while, as both Fr. Brzeziński and Fr. W. Kraiński left for the continent. A new period in the pastoral ministry's activity was connected with the arrival in England of the reformist Fr. Stanisław Emeryk Podolski in 1853. This priest was very popular with the Poles, as chaplain of the Sultan's Cossacks Division in the Crimean War. Upon his return to London, he continued his pastoral work, but his other duties as chaplain of Pentonville Prison meant that he was unable to meet all the spiritual needs of the wandering²⁰.

Returning to the thread of the Resurrectionists' participation in the London pastoral ministry, it should be noted that the Resurrectionist archives in Rome have preserved the correspondence of both Fr. Kajsiewicz and Fr. Kraiński, which abound in source materials concerning the pastoral ministry in London²¹. The Resurrectionists even planned to establish an outpost of the congregation in London, as 200 to 300 emigrants lived there, the Polish community was relatively wealthy and had good relations with the influential English aristocracy. However, the then superior of the congregation, Fr. Piotr Semenenko, did not support the establishment of a permanent Catholic Polish mission on the Thames. Outside London, Mass for 150 emigrants in Portsmouth was celebrated by Fr. W. O. Zienkiewicz, and periodic missions were conducted here by Fr. Brzeziński. For the simple soldiers who constituted the "Portsmouth" emigration, periodic confessions and sacramental ministry among the sick and abandoned were very important. In Fr. Brzeziński's papers there are references testifying to the sacraments administered, especially penance. In 1845, the London chaplain, on his way to France, stopped on the island of Jersey, where he heard confessions from Poles there. Later, an Irish priest named Cunningham celebrated masses on the island of Jersey for Polish exiles. There are also references to the religious activities of Polish priests in Edinburgh. During Fr. Brzeziński's chaplaincy, there were signs of religious neglect in London, where it was reported that

²⁰ K. MARCHLEWICZ, *Wielka Emigracja*, pp. 173, 177-178.

²¹ Fr. H. Kajsiewicz's correspondence has been published in print, see H. KAJSIEWICZ, *Listy 1842-1844*, vol. 2, ed. T. Kaszuba, Rome 2004. While Fr. Krainski's letters describing disputes with Fr. Brzeziński and difficulties of pastoral ministry in London remain in manuscript in the Archives of the Congregation of the Resurrection in Rome (Archivum Congregationis a Resurrectione, Romae; ACRR), sign. 43275-43283, Letters of W. Kraiński to H. Kajsiewicz.

many children of emigrants died without being baptized, many marriages of Poles took place in Protestant churches, and more than 200 emigrants did not attend Sunday Mass. In the middle of 1847, Rev. Kraiński founded the Benevolent Society, which also dealt with the education of the children of the exiles. Thanks to Rev. Podolsky's activity, funds were raised, with which a house at 110 Gower Street was leased in 1867, where a chapel, library and Polish reading room were set up. Masses were celebrated in the 1860s in a chapel on Sutton Street in Soho Square. In May 1862, a group of Poles in London made a request to the Archbishop of Gniezno-Poznan Leon Przyłuski to delegate a priest to London, as Fr. Podolski's many duties related to prison work and among English and Irish laborers did not allow him to meet the religious needs of the exiles. In response to these petitions Rev. Marcin Chwaliszewski, who had been on the Thames from 1862 to 1864, was sent. He celebrated Mass for the Poles at St. Peter's Italian Church on Little Saffron Hill (today's Clerkenwell Road), where a Polish chapel had been arranged under the chancel, and from December 1862 at Our Lady of Częstochowa Chapel on Back Hill, Hatton Garden in Clerkenwell. Due to the small number of Poles attending services, Fr. Chwaliszewski was engaged in religious work among the French, Italians and Germans, and but later was recalled to Greater Poland²². In his place, Archbishop L. Przyłuski sent Rev. Ludwik Jaźdżewski. His mission in London was not only to meet spiritual needs, but also to help emigrants find their way in everyday life. The chaplain helped former participants in the January Uprising, several thousand of whom came to England, find jobs or continue their journey to North America. Rev. Jaźdżewski's stay lasted only a few months, as he returned to the country in 1864. After his departure, Poles in England were deprived of a Polish pastor for twelve years. In 1878, thanks to the efforts of Redemptorist Father Bernard Lubieński, Resurrectionist Fr. Adolf Bakanowski arrived in England from France, but after two years he was recalled by his superiors²³. Fr. A. Bakanowski left his memoirs, where he wrote about the London mission: *The Poles, residing there, consist mostly of people working in factories; they themselves were not able to support a priest among them; therefore, I was supported materially by the Paris house, and in London I was looked after by Lord Derby, a great friend of the Poles. I lived with an English family, as I could not find a Polish home suitable for me[...] In London*

²² J. KUZICKI, *Duchowieństwo Wielkiej Emigracji*, pp. 7-27; A. ROMEJKO, *Duszpasterstwo polonijne*, pp. 234-240.

²³ B. KOŁODZIEJ, *Opieka duszpasterska*, pp. 54-55.

I had little work among the Poles. After being busy for weeks at a time in various factories, only on Sundays did they gather for services; during the week I never saw any, nor could I. So all parish duties, such as baptisms, weddings, etc., were held on Sunday, unless someone fell ill and the sacraments had to be rushed immediately. On weekdays I usually celebrated Mass in the Italian church, and on Sundays and holidays there were services for Poles in the basement of the same church²⁴.

After Fr. Bakanowski's departure, Poles in the British Isles benefited from the services of itinerant priests. Polish clusters were visited by Father B. Lubieński and German Jesuits, who came from Silesia and Pomerania, and who spoke Polish. Chronicles mention visiting priests, including Fr.: Wincenty Bronikowski, Stanisław Królikowski, Antoni Lechert, Władysław Bajerowicz, Alojzy Foltin and Henryk Cichocki. Much concern for the Poles was shown by a German, Rev. Joseph Von Larsberg²⁵. The thought of establishing a Catholic Mission for Poles and Lithuanians in Great Britain was constantly maturing. In 1894 there was a chapel of St. Joseph in a rented house, and the parish priest was Father Wincenty Bronikowski, considered by some to be the first rector of the Polish Catholic Mission in London. At the time, Cardinal Herbert Vaughan, who understood that through Poles and Lithuanians the Catholic potential was being strengthened, became the Archbishop of Westminster. Thanks to him, in 1894 the London Polish community received a permanent priest, and a year later Cardinal H. Vaughan erected the Polish-Lithuanian Catholic Mission. The first rector of the mission was missionary Fr. Anthony Lechert, who served in this capacity from 1894 to 1902. In 1901, the Lithuanians separated from the Poles and formed the Lithuanian Catholic Mission, and since then the name Polish Catholic Mission in London has also been used. From then on, Polish services were held regularly in a chapel on Globe Road, later on Cambridge Heath Road, in the east London neighborhood of Bethnal Green. In the 20th century, the Salesians took charge of the London mission²⁶.

²⁴ A. BAKANOWSKI, *Moje wspomnienia 1840-1863-1913*, Lwów: Nakł. XX. Zmartwychwstańców 1913, pp. 99-100.

²⁵ J. KOWALSKA, *Polska Misja Katolicka w Anglii i Walii. Historia, rola i znaczenie polskiej opieki duszpasterskiej na Wyspach Brytyjskich w latach 1894-2023*, "Studia Polonijne" 45(2024), pp. 45-59, <https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:uJ81-Ui-usYJ:https://www.pcmew.org/pages/o-nas/historia/&cd=1&hl=pl&ct=clnk&gl=pl> [accessed: 15.10.2023].

²⁶ Ibidem; B. KOŁODZIEJ, *Opieka duszpasterska*, pp. 55-56.

FRANCE

After the fall and final partition, many Poles found refuge in France, which along with Venice, was becoming a center of Polish emigration. During the French Revolution, Poles fought for the freedom of their homeland and France. Polish soldiers in Napoleon's army, along with others, formed part of the French Grand Army. After his defeat, only a few chose to settle in France, most returned to the Kingdom of Poland. In France, in the early 19th century, except for the aforementioned soldiers of Napoleon's Army, Poles settled sporadically. For many, it was related to duties that forced them to make such a decision. An example is the fate of Leonard Chodźko. He settled permanently in Paris in 1826, where he arrived as a secretary to Prince Michał Kleofas Ogiński. Another case of emigrant fate is the well-known philosopher and mathematician Józef Maria Hoene-Wroński. He settled in France in 1800, after selling all his property in Poland. These few resided mainly in Paris, which has always attracted the most emigrants²⁷.

The largest waves of emigration to France took place after the November and January Uprisings. During the period of the Great Emigration, about 15,000 emigrants passed through the country on the Seine and Loire²⁸. The defeat of the January Uprising caused an influx of about 3,400 Poles. The Franco-Prussian War brought significant changes. The alleged numerous participation of Poles in the Paris Commune provoked resentment from parts of the French community. On top of this, the rapprochement with Russia meant the omission of the Polish cause from French politics. In the 1880s, a new wave of Polish emigration arrived in France – artists, students and intellectuals, including Maria Skłodowska. Also, appearing in this period is a labor emigration estimated at about 25,000-30,000, primarily in northern France and the area of Nancy and Dijon. The beginnings of organized pastoral care took place when the Polish emigrants arrived on French soil. In the centers of the so-called establishments for emigrants in Avignon, Besançon, Bourges, Bergerac, Chateauroux and others, priests organized the religious life for the exiles. In Avignon, the center of religious service for the exiles was the Church on the Rock dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. The emigrants were cared for by former insurgent chaplains headed by Father Tomasz Puchalski. In Besançon, St. James Church was given to Polish emigrants. In Nancy and Orléans, schools for Polish children were organized on

²⁷ J. PEZDA, *Introduction*, <https://heritage.bnf.fr/france-pologne/pl/wstep> [accessed: 27.11.2022].

²⁸ J. KUZICKI, *Nieść wiarę i nadzieję*, passim.

the initiative of the Scientific Aid Society. The posts of teachers and school managers were given here to Polish priests who had arrived in France with the insurgent army. In addition to their educational duties, they dealt with the pastoral care of the exiles. These included priest such as Józef Cyprian Niezabitowski, Józef Kalasanty Maliszewski and Jan Paweł Dabrowski. It should be noted that after the defeat of the November Uprising, more than 70 former chaplains arrived in France. In the period 1831-1863, about 150 Polish priests passed through the country. Services for Poles were also conducted by French clergymen. Sunday masses were organized in churches: Saint-Louis-en-l'Île, Saint-Germain-des-Prés and Notre-Dame-des-Victoires in Paris²⁹. A separate issue is the work of Polish clergy in French parish structures. It was omitted from this study due to the fact that priests from the country on the Vistula River mainly worked among French Catholics³⁰.

The need to organize a regular pastoral ministry came from the political circles of Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski and the emigrants associated with the “apostle of the Great Emigration” – Bogdan Jański. In March 1840, funds were applied for from the French government to maintain a Polish chaplain in Paris. The first chaplain of the Parisian emigration was Rev. Franciszek Avertyn Korycki, who stayed among his compatriots until the spring of 1841. He celebrated masses and services in the Notre-Dame-des-Victoires church, which the French church authorities had designated for the emigrants. In June 1842, Bogdan Jański’s “spiritual sons” – the first Resurrectionists – took up pastoral ministry in Paris. It was Fr. Edward Duński who came first to the Seine, followed by Fr. Hieronim Kajsiewicz, Piotr Semenenko, Józef Hube and Karol Kaczanowski. Pastoral work was then carried out in the Chapelle du Calvaire (Calvary Chapel) in the Church of St. Roch. This Parisian temple was the pastoral center for the emigration from 1842 to 1849. The Resurrectionists held regular masses with sermons, patriotic services and administered the Holy Sacraments, etc. here. In addition, the priests conducted temporary religious missions in provincial French centers in Poitiers, Angers, Bordeaux, Agen, Nantes, Châteauroux, Tulle,

²⁹ Ibidem, *passim*.

³⁰ I wrote more about this in a separate article, see J. KUZICKI, *Kapelani i inni duchowni uczestniczący w polskich powstaniach narodowych, obecni w strukturach Kościoła lokalnego we Francji w XIX wieku*, “Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.” Prace Historyczne 144, (2017), No. 1, pp. 137-156. As for the Archdiocese of Paris, the archives of this institution preserve lists of Polish clergy working in French parishes, see Archives of the Archdiocese of Paris, 4^o r D 29 I-II, Diocèse de Paris. *Registre du personnel*, vol. 1-2; AAP, 4^o r D 26, *Liste générale alphaabétique des Curés du Diocèse*, 1802-1914.

Limoges, Clermont, Marseille, Cassis, Beauvais, Amiens, among others. In 1849, the Polish Mission was headed by the Resurrectionist Fr. Aleksander Jełowicki, who agreed on the transfer by the Archbishop of Paris of the church of l'Assomption, belonging to the parish of St. Magdalene. In addition to daily and Sunday masses, paraliturgical services were organized, such as the Bitter Lamentations, the Stations of the Cross, May and June services, in honor of Polish saints, St. John Kante, St. Stanisław from Szczepionow. In 1851-1854 there was a Greek Catholic church of St. Cyril and Methodius in Paris, where services were conducted by former Resurrectionist Fr. Hipolit Terlecki, who in addition to weekly liturgy in the Eastern rite, preached in Ukrainian³¹.

During and after the Crimean War, Fr. A. Jełowicki participated in missions on the Île-d'Aix, to prisoners of war from Polish lands who found themselves in French captivity. Missions among emigrants were also carried out in the provinces, for example, in Tours, Poitiers, Nancy, or for Polish captives in Toulon, Corsica, Turkish Tessaly. Fr. A. Jełowicki served as treasurer general and, thanks to his wide contacts, was able to raise funds for various purposes, including the Resurrectionists' Roman house, collecting contributions for the construction of the Queen of All Saints Church in Paris. Separately, he collected and sent the Pope the so-called "holy-penny". At the same time he helped the Vilnius Visitation Sisters settle in Versailles and the Bulgarian Mission³². He supported the congregation's confreres in their activities among Poles in North America (in the United States and Canada)³³.

³¹ J. KUZICKI, *Nieść wiare i nadzieję*, passim; IDEM, *Duchowni i duszpasterstwo*, pp. 14-17. Of other studies on the Polish Mission in Paris, the following should be mentioned: Archive of the Resurrectionists in Cracow, M. TRACZYŃSKI, *Działalność Misji Polskiej w Paryżu w latach 1842-1904*, Kraków 1948, mps, pp. 1-54; B. MICEWSKI, *Geneza i działalność Misji Polskiej w Paryżu na rzecz emigracji i kraju w latach 1836-1922*, "Studia Polonijne" 11(1987), pp. 175-203, pp. 183-201; B. MICEWSKI, *Polska działalność zmartwychwstańców*, pp. 411-417; J. ZIÓŁEK, *Ze studiów nad życiem religijnym Wielkiej Emigracji*, "Studia Polonijne" 16 (1994), pp. 99-120; J. ZIÓŁEK, *La vie religieuse de l'émigration polonaise en France après la fin de l'insurrection de 1830-1831*, [in:] *Dyplomacja, Polityka, Prawo. Księga pamiątkowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Henrykowi Kocójowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. I. Panic, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego 2001, pp. 169-174.

³² B. MICEWSKI, *Geneza i działalność Misji Polskiej*, pp. 189-191.

³³ For more on the pastoral work of the Resurrectionists across the Atlantic Ocean, see J. IWICKI, *Zmartwychwstańcy za Oceanem*, [in:] *Zmartwychwstańcy w dziejach Kościoła i narodu*, ed. Z. Zieliński, Katowice: Inne 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.

After the defeat of the January Uprising, many Polish emigrants arrived in France, including a significant number of Polish clergy. The center of assistance was the Church of l'Assomption, where Fr. Jełowicki carried aid to those in need. All – priests and laymen who came to the French capital received material aid, were clothed, fed and were provided with a shelter. The Paris diocesan chancellery relied on the recommendations of the Polish chaplain to provide benefits to post-war priests and place them in diocesan structures³⁴. Despite these efforts, a group of clergymen – former chaplains of the January Uprising, led by Father Kacper Kotkowski, formed the Association of Polish Chaplains. These priests tried to accept the management of the Polish Mission in Paris. A number of émigré organizations such as the Tax Association – Institution of Worship and Bread and the Polish Conference of St. Vincent a Paulo were associated with the Paris pastoral ministry. Members of the conference visited the poor migrants and attended Mass with them, rushing to spiritual and material assistance together. For his work in Paris, Fr. Jełowicki enlisted an assistant in the person of Fr. Władysław Witkowski. During the Franco-Prussian War and the siege of the capital, Polish clergymen remained in the city. During the blockade of Paris, Rev. Witkowski served as a volunteer in the sanitary unit, where he provided assistance to the wounded from both sides of the war. During the Paris Commune, the tabernacle in l'Assomption was destroyed and the interior plundered³⁵. After the conclusion of peace, priests Jełowicki and Witkowski organized pilgrimages to Parayle-Monial and Lourdes. They spread the cult of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. In 1875, Fr. Adolf Bakanowski was assigned to Paris, who in addition to pastoral work in l'Assomption, was involved in the work of Polish schools, run by Polish Daughters of Charity, and in giving conferences to the Visitation Sisters in Versailles. After Fr. Jełowicki's death in 1877, Fr. W. Witkowski became the mission's rector assisted by Priests Bakanowski and periodically by Leon Zbyszewski. After Fr. Bakanowski left for London, the rector managed the pastoral ministry in Paris with the help of laymen Teodor Stodołkiewicz, Ildefons Kossiłowski and Leokadia Stryjeńska. Of the priests, he was assisted by Fr. Semenenko during extended stops in 1884 and 1886, and for several months in

³⁴ For more on post-January emigration priests in the structures of French dioceses, see J. KUZICKI, *Księża – uczestnicy powstania styczniowego i emigracji w świetle materiałów Archiwum Archidiecezji Paryskiej*, [in:] *Powstanie styczniowe w pamięci zbiorowej*, eds. A. Kawalec, J. Kuzicki, Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego 2017, pp. 509-525.

³⁵ J. IWICKI, *Charyzmat zmartwychwstańców. Historia Zgromadzenia Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego*, vol. 1: 1836-1886, transl. J. Zagórski, Katowice: Inne 1990, pp. 202-209, 425-427.

1889/1890 by Fr. Władysław Orpiszewski. A change in the mission's supervisor did not occur until 1892, when the ailing Rev. W. Witkowski was replaced by Rev. Karol Grabowski. Together with Fr. Orpiszewski, Fr. Grabowski led the pastoral ministry for three years until 1895, until his sudden death. During this time there was a decline in the attendance of the faithful. In July 1895, Fr. W. Orpiszewski became the superior of the Polish Mission, and was assisted for a short time by a Breton Fr. Emanuel Beaudru, as well as Fr. Władysław Marszalkiewicz and Fr. Stefan Ofierzyński. In addition to the usual work, such as masses with sermons, baptisms, confessions, and visiting the sick, the emigrants were persuaded to take church weddings and the poor were supported. Annual visits were made to Poles' homes with wafers and caroling (220 families), pictures of the Risen Savior with the order of Mass were distributed around Paris, which increased the participation of Poles in Sunday Mass. Fr. Orpiszewski also organized anniversary services. He made an effort to have girls from the Sisters' School at St. Casimir's Institution grace the services with singing. From the early years of the 20th century, the negative attitude of the French government could be felt, which involved depriving the Polish Mission of government benefits. In this situation, the chapter of the Resurrectionists opted for the liquidation of the mission in Paris. Only a vigorous protest by the Archbishop of Paris prolonged the Resurrectionists' stay in Paris. In December 1903, Fr. W. Orpiszewski handed over the expatriate pastoral ministry to Fr. Leon Postawka. The situation of the mission was materially good. Konstanty Radziwiłł provided 6000 francs a year. One could count on the help of prominent emigrants: Teodor Jełowicki, Andrzej Mniszek and Benedykt Tyszkiewicz. Favorable was the prefect of Paris Lozé, who protected the pastoral ministry from governmental temptations. All Polish institutions such as the St. Casimir's Institution with its Juvisa branch, the Worship and Bread Tax Association, the Circle of Polish Students, etc. promised continued vitality³⁶.

COMPARISON OF THE PASTORAL SITUATION IN AUSTRIA, ENGLAND AND FRANCE SIMILARITIES

In the three countries where emigrants from Polish lands arrived, there was a need for Catholic pastoral care. In the first years of their stay in a for-

³⁶ B. MICEWSKI, *Geneza i działalność Misji Polskiej*, pp. 195-201.

eign land, not all emigrants knew the language of the country to which they had arrived. They were not fluent in German, English or French. Because of the language barrier, they were reluctant to attend French, Austrian or English Catholic churches. Although Latin was the language of the liturgy in the universal Catholic Church, in order to understand sermons, the content of extra-liturgical services or to go to confession, knowledge of the language of the country where they arrived was needed. Another important issue was the fact that, to a greater or lesser extent, the pastoral care of Polish exiles was provided by Resurrectionist priests. At the same time, it should be remembered that one of the great charisms of the Resurrectionists was religious work among the exile³⁷. The center of religious life of Polish emigration was concentrated in the capitals of the countries. This is understandable, given that the political, economic and cultural activity of the exile was also integrated in Vienna, London and Paris. In all of these centers, efforts were underway in the 19th century to take over or build a church that would perform the central pastoral and religious function of the Vistula arrivals. In all efforts to organize a Polish religious mission and maintain its chaplains, the leading role belonged to the aristocracy and emigrants who professed Catholicism. Pastoral programs emphasized the celebration of religious holidays typical of Polish religiousness. In addition to the established liturgical books and other regulations in force throughout the Catholic Church, the Church in the Polish lands had separate services and customs developed over the centuries. These included a peculiarly lived Christmas Eve with a wafer, singing of carols, traditional foods, the blessing of food on Holy Saturday, the celebration of additional services during the liturgical year, the experi-

³⁷ “Bogdan Janski and his several companions began living together, in the shape of a congregation, taking up residence in one of the Parisian tenements. [...].the sending of several brothers to study theology in Rome and the death of the saintly Jański (July 2, 1840), the first seven Resurrectionists took their first vows on Easter Sunday, March 27, 1842, in the catacombs of St. Sebastian in Rome. [...] Since 1842, they were present among Poles in France. In 1857, Pope Pius XII gave the Resurrectionists the shrine of Our Lady of Grace at Mentorelli near Rome, and at the same time they began missionary work in the state of Ontario, Canada, which marked the beginning of the congregation’s ‘going out into the world.’ [...] Six years later (1863), the congregation received another mission that gave them the chance to work according to the founders’ instructions: work in Bulgaria, which was under Turkish rule. The next challenge came soon – work in the United States, in the state of Texas, starting in 1866. It was there, in the settlement of Panna Maria, in November 1866, that Father Adolf Bakanowski established the first ever elementary school in a Polish parish in the United States. The most important pastoral center in the area became Chicago, where the congregation took up its first post (St. Stanislaus Kostka Parish) four years later.” Quoted from <https://zmartwychwstancy.pl/historia> [accessed: 04.11.2022].

ence of Polish missions and retreats. All these customs Poles wanted to continue in the country of settlement. There was a need for the functioning of a well-organized Polish pastoral ministry, which had specific forms of influence. The worship of Polish émigrés, when it came to its forms of expression, differed from the religiousness typical of French or Austrian Catholicism. The latter, in the eyes of the exiles, was impoverished by a wide variety of traditions and customs remembered from home. The aforementioned Polish devotions and customs in the emigrant clusters took on national significance³⁸. In all of these centers, the priests' concern for preserving the Polish heritage went together with evangelization efforts.

DIFFERENCES

In these three countries, the pastoral work was carried out by priests – Poles, usually participants in the emigration. The exception was Austria, where emigration chaplains were priests sent by bishops from Galicia or studying at Viennese universities. Polish émigré chaplaincy was distinguished from domestic chaplaincy by its territorial location. There were no territorial parishes here, as in the Polish territories under the partitions. The peculiarities of Polish-American work were religious missions, which today are referred to as personal parishes. In this type of structure, there are no territorial and numerical restrictions on the faithful. These factors made pastoral work and personal contact with the migrants much more difficult. Another difference was the nature of emigration. Austria, unlike England and France, was not a country open to Polish political exile. Austria participated in the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and cooperated with Russia. Apart from the period after the November Uprising, when emigrants travelled through the Habsburg countries to France, there were no Poles here who had been forced to leave their country. Polish concentrations along the Danube differed significantly from emigrants living along the Seine and Thames. In the Habsburg capital, pastoral endeavors were mainly driven by the spiritual needs of the aristocracy and the studying youth. This distinguishes the wanderers in Britain and France, where pastoral care had national and identity characteristics. Polish missions and pastoral centers provided a point of reference for the exiles in Paris and London, which inte-

³⁸ J. KUZICKI, *Nieść wiary i nadzieję*, p. 201.

grated the Polish community and made efforts of not only religious, but also cultural nature. Fraternities, charitable and cultural organizations were established at Catholic missions in the British and French capitals. Some of these institutions have survived to this day. However, this cannot be said of the Habsburg capital, where broader social activities were feared. It should also be noted that Polish pastoral ministry in the 19th century adapted to local political and ecclesiastical conditions. These, however, were characterized by differences, both in terms of the attitude of state authorities toward religion and local customs. In Austria, especially in the first half of the 19th century, the shadow was cast by the spirit of Josephinism and the subordination of the Catholic Church to the state. Great Britain was considered a missionary country. In France, Louis-Philippe by his actions brought the clergy under police control. The process of de-Christianization was deepening in French society. These factors undoubtedly influenced Polish exiles and their attitudes toward the faith. Priests had to take these differences into account and prevent the secularization of Poles. Despite unfavorable circumstances in the nineteenth century, models of pastoral work were developed that are used by contemporary Polish émigré pastoral work, as illustrated by the words of Msgr. Wiesław Lechowicz, the current field bishop and former Delegate of the Polish Episcopal Commission for the Pastoral Care of Polish *Emigrants: a priest or nun is for many Polish émigrés not only a clerical or consecrated person, but in the face of the many difficulties that the life of an émigré brings, he or she becomes a confidant, the only trusted person. Thus, pastoral duties also include those generally assigned to parents, teachers, educators and psychologists, legal advisors and even sometimes they are financial ones*³⁹.

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³⁹ Quoted from On the Pastoral Care of Polonia – a conversation with Msgr. Wiesław Lechowicz, Delegate of the Polish Episcopal Commission for the Pastoral Care of Polish Emigrants; <https://polishexpress.com.au/o-duszpasterstwie-polonijnym/> [accessed: 04.11.2022].

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PASTORAL CARE OF POLISH EMIGRATION IN AUSTRIA, GREAT BRITAIN
AND FRANCE IN THE 19TH CENTURY. AN ATTEMPT AT COMPARISON

Summary

This article aims to present and compare the conditions of the Polish emigrant pastoral ministry in three Western European countries in the 19th century (Austria, France and Great Britain). Such a choice was dictated by source research related to this geographical and national area, which I have conducted over the last fifteen years. The selected countries were characterised by different approaches to Polish emigration. They also presented different models of attitude towards Catholicism. The Polish concentrations on the Danube differ significantly from the emigrants living on the Seine and Thames. In the Habsburg capital, pastoral endeavours were mainly driven by the spiritual needs of the aristocracy and the young people studying. This distinguishes the wanderers in Britain and France, where pastoral care had national and identity characteristics. Polish missions and pastoral centres were a point of reference for the émigrés in Paris and London, which integrated the Polish community and made efforts of not only a religious but also a cultural nature.

Keywords: pastoral ministry in exile; Great Emigration; Poles in Great Britain – France – Austria

DUSZPASTERSTWO EMIGRACJI POLSKIEJ W AUSTRII, WIELKIEJ BRYTANII
I FRANCJI W XIX WIEKU. PRÓBA PORÓWNANIA

Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie i porównanie uwarunkowań duszpasterstwa emigracyjnego w trzech krajach Europy Zachodniej w XIX wieku (Austrii, Wielkiej Brytanii i Francji). Wybrane kraje charakteryzowały się różnym podejściem do polskiej emigracji. W Wiedniu duszpasterstwo polskie zorganizowano na początku XIX wieku, zaś w Londynie i Paryżu na początku lat czterdziestych XIX wieku. W trzech krajach, do których przybywali emigranci z ziem polskich, istniało zapotrzebowanie na duszpasterstwo katolickie. Opiekę duszpasterską, poza księżmi wywodzącymi się z polskich diecezji, sprawowali księża zmartwychwstańcy pochodzący z Wielkiej Emigracji. Austria, w przeciwieństwie do pozostałych analizowanych państw, nie była krajem otwartym na polską emigrację polityczną, co wynikało z faktu uczestnictwa w rozbiorach i współpracy z Rosją. W Wielkiej Brytanii i Francji opieka duszpasterska miała cechy narodowe i tożsamościowe.

Slowa kluczowe: duszpasterstwo emigracji polskiej; Wielka Emigracja; Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii; Polacy we Francji; Polacy w Austrii