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Father Walerian Kalinka – Resurrectionist, Historian, Emigrant¹

Padre Walerian Kalinka – Resurrezionista, storico, emigrante

Quest'articolo è dedicato alla vita e alle opere di Walerian Kalinka, sulla base di materiali d'archivio. Kalinka nacque a Bolechowice nel 1826. Laureatosi alla Facoltà di Giurisprudenza dell'Università Jagellonica, dal 1849 partecipò al lavoro del comitato editoriale di „Czas”. In esilio a Parigi, iniziò a collaborare con il generale Władysław Zamojski, lavorando anche al completamento di un libro intitolato Galizia e Cracovia sotto il dominio austriaco. Tornato a Parigi dopo le guerre russo-istriane, Kalinka partecipò attivamente alla vita politica del campo dell'Hôtel Lambert. Dopo l'insurrezione di gennaio, Kalinka tornò a svolgere un intenso lavoro di ricerca, i cui frutti furono pubblicazioni ritenute il fondamento della scuola storiografica di Cracovia. Dopo aver consultato padre Semenkenko, Kalinka decise di unirsi alla congregazione. Allo stesso tempo, continuò a lavorare alla sua opera *Il Sejm quadriennale*, con una prospettiva molto ampia resa possibile dalle sue ricerche in molti archivi europei. Nell'ottobre del 1885 completò il secondo volume del *Sejm quadriennale*, ma il costante peggioramento della sua salute gli impedì di portare a termine l'opera. Padre Walerian Kalinka morì il 15 dicembre 1886. Il testo analizza la vita di Kalinka, le sue idee politiche e il suo rapporto con la Congregazione dei Resurrezionisti sulla base di fonti storiche e delle opere del protagonista.

1 This article is a much abridged and revised version of a previously published source edition, P. Biliński, *Nieznana korespondencja ks. Waleriana Kalinki z hrabią Stanisławem Tarnowskim*, „Arcana”, 2004, no 4–5, pp. 239–261.

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Walerian Kalinka was born in Bolechowice near Cracow on the 20th of November 1826 as the youngest son of Andrzej, the judge of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Cracow, and Marianna née Brzeska. At his baptism in the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul in Cracow, he was given the name of Klemens Walerian Andrzej. The first name was given to commemorate St. Clemens the martyr, with whom he shared the birthday. The middle name was given according to his mother's wish, who used to call him Walerian since an early age, while the third name was a tribute to his father Andrzej. His godparents were Jan Bogucki, Petronela Lisowska, Felicjan Dudrewicz and Ludwika Komorowska.²

In 1835 little Walerian was enrolled by his father in St. Anne's Gymnasium in Cracow. He graduated from the school in September 1840, passing the maturity examinations, receiving both a commendation and a prize from the school board. In the same year, he started his studies at the Philosophy Department of the Jagiellonian University. After two years he moved to the Department of Law, from which he graduated in 1845 with the so-called *first mark* being the equivalent of today's first-class degree. Following his studies in law, he joined the government service as an unpaid court trainee. Upon obtaining a law degree, he moved to a governmental unpaid court apprentice role.³ His first works, to mention only *Żywot i dzieła Piotra Szczerbicza* [*Life and works of Piotr*

2 J. Mrówczyński, *Ksiądz Walerian Kalinka. Życie i działalność*, Poznań–Warszawa–Lublin 1969, p. 36.

3 S. Kieniewicz, *Kalinka Walerian*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 11, ed. E. Rostrowski, Kraków 1964–1965, p. 449.

Szczerbicz] were published in the weekly “Przyjaciel Ludu” [“Friend of the People”]. Subsequently, under the pseudonym Józef Mączyński, he published a critical review of *Pamiątka z Krakowa* [Souvenir from Cracow] in “Orędownik Naukowy” [“Scientific Adviser”], *List z okolic Krakowa* [Letter from the Surroundings of Cracow] in “Gazeta Wielkiego Księstwa Poznańskiego” [“Gazette of the Grand Duchy of Poznan”], and *Wiadomości o najdawniejszych chrzcielnicach w kościołach krakowskich* [News on the most ancient baptismal fonts in the churches of Cracow] in “Przyjaciel Ludu” [“Friend of the People”].⁴

In 1846 he became involved in the Cracow Uprising and was one of the most active participants in the revolution. Shortly after the liberation of Cracow and the establishment of the National Government, he became the director of the government chancellery. His talents were highly valued by the insurrectionary dictator Jan Tyssowski and his secretary Edward Dembowski, who appointed him as a member of the Polish Revolutionary Club. Kalinka’s main line of work at the chancellery was the publication and editorial work on the “Dziennik Rządowy Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej” [“Government Gazette of the Republic of Poland”]. From its very first days, the journal led by Kalinka adopted a radical national and social tone, which did not please the amicable dictator. After the fail of the uprising, Kalinka left Cracow along with the conspirators in the direction of the Prussian border. In Krzeszowice, he encouraged Tyssowski to carry on fighting, and when his pleas and protests failed and the decision to surrender and face internment prevailed, he ordered the insurrectionary archives to be burnt. Upon crossing the Prussian border, he was arrested in Nowy Bieruń. However, he was soon released and left for Brussels via Wrocław. It is significant that the young and radical-minded Kalinka did not associate himself with the founders of the Cracow revolution during his time in exile. It seems that this attitude was fueled by disillusionment and distance from past events.⁵

In Belgium, Kalinka initially surrounded himself with democrats, and even got acquainted with Joachim Lelewel, who encouraged him to carry out historical research on the biography of Krzysztof Arciszewski. The result of this work was an article entitled *List gończy Zygmunta III za Krzysztofem Arciszewskim*

4 S. Walasek, *Działalność pedagogiczna Waleriana Kalinki*, Wrocław 1993, p. 7.

5 J. Mrówczyński, *Ksiądz Walerian Kalinka*, pp. 64–68.

i *Piotrem Kochlewskim o zbrodnię stanu obwinionymi* [Zygmunt III's Arrest Warrant issued for Krzysztof Arciszewski and Piotr Kochlewski, accused of a state crime], published in "Przyjaciel Ludu". However, having soon quarreled with his master, Kalinka aligned himself with the ex-dictator of the November Insurrection, General Jan Skrzynecki and Lucjan Siemieński. Lelewel was so outraged by his former pupil's behavior that he publicly described him as a "political nuisance and a cute little viper capable of anything."⁶ Particularly close relations bonded Kalinka with the Siemieński family. After many years, Mrs. Siemieńska recalled that he used to come to their house almost every evening and confide about his personal problems, "she would often scold him, but he would accept her advice submissively and, trusting her, he would go so far as to call her Mum, at first jokingly and later out of habit."⁷

Throughout the entire 1847 and the beginning of the following year, the young historian traveled around Belgium and the Netherlands, searching the archives and libraries for research material on the politics of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 17th century. What survives from this period is his diary of the research trip, which he published after returning to Poland in 1849 in "Przyjaciel Ludu". The Springtime of Nations and the outbreak of the revolt in Cracow allowed him to return to Galicia. He arrived in Cracow in the spring of 1848, after the battles had already ended and the city had capitulated. His delayed arrival was caused by a long waiting period for permission from the Austrian authorities.⁸

As a publicist at that time, he underwent a distinct transformation – from a committed revolutionary to a conservative. The shift in his worldview could presumably have been influenced by Lucjan Siemieński, with whom he had many discussions on the matter. During this period, he was a newspaper journalist and published, under the pseudonym *Włościanin znad Wisły* [Peasant from the Vistula], a pamphlet entitled *Jaką była dawniej Polska* [What Poland used to be like]. His work aimed to make the people of Lesser Poland under-

6 S. Kieniewicz, *Kalinka Walerian*, p. 449.

7 S. Tarnowski, *O „Czasie” i jego redaktorach*, in: *Jubileusz „Czasu”*, Kraków 1899, p. 14.

8 W. Bernacki, *Wstęp*, in: W. Kalinka, *Galicja i Kraków pod panowaniem austriackim, wybór pism*, Kraków 2001, pp. VIII–IX.

stand in a simple way that the current state of Poland was accidental, abnormal and, compared with the past, terrible.⁹

Whilst living in Cracow, he supported himself by working at the Jagiellonian Library. His duties included sorting out library files and cataloguing the book collection. Kalinka constantly rebelled against these tedious tasks, publicly criticizing his superior, Józef Muczkowski. The criticism, which may have been too severe and intrusive, was nonetheless justified, as similar complaints about Muczkowski's malicious behavior were received by the university authorities and the Rector himself had to intervene several times.¹⁰ Kalinka, bored with his tasks at the library, simultaneously worked at the court and began to increasingly neglect his duties. It got to the point where he was doing other things during working hours, carrying out the instructions he received negligently, coming to work late or skipping it entirely without permission. The library director Muczkowski tolerated this for a while, but when, as he himself wrote, "[Kalinka's P. B.] arrogance and mischief increasingly intoxicated him during working hours at the library", he terminated his employment in a letter dated January 29th, 1850.¹¹

Wanting to rebound from defeat, Kalinka published, under the pseudonym Pęclawski, *Listy o Krakowie* [*Letters on Cracow*], in which he poured out all his anger at the Cracow community, pointing out the laziness of its youth, the ignorance of the professors, the backwardness of the bourgeoisie and the snobbery of the aristocracy. The publication caused a real storm in the city, which, instead of forcing the citizens of Cracow to reflect, resulted in a campaign against the author. Press attacks on Kalinka multiplied and he quickly realized that the method he had adopted not only was ineffective, but actually harmful.

His search for a permanent workplace in Cracow was not successful until he joined the editorial board of "Czas" ["Time"] magazine in the spring of 1849. The periodical of Cracow's conservatives was then edited by prominent publicists and politicians, such as Paweł Popiel, Maurycy Mann, Konstanty Sobolewski, Lucjan Siemieński and Adam Potocki. The first in particular had

9 J. Bieniarzówna, *Z dziejów liberalnego i konspiracyjnego Krakowa (1833–1848)*, Kraków 1948, p. 161.

10 J. Mrówczyński, *Ksiądz Walerian Kalinka*, p. 104.

11 The Jagiellonian Library, ms. 4175, Letter from J. Muczkowski to W. Kalinka, Cracow 29 I 1850.

an overwhelming influence on Kalinka, to the point that the young, angry, headstrong and feisty journalist began to obediently participate in team editorial works. While working for “Czas”, he also published extensively, including a series of articles describing the fire of 1850 in Cracow. He also worked as a correspondent at the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations in London.¹²

Since 1851, the situation in Galicia had become increasingly tense. The co-founder of “Czas”, Adam Potocki, had been sent to prison, and the police conducted a thorough search of Kalinka’s apartment. On top of this was the conflict over Kalinka’s refusal to write a welcoming article in honor of Emperor Franz Joseph I, who was due to visit the city. Finally, Paweł Popiel, stepping down from the editorial board, told him prophetically:

You won’t survive here in such hard times, you won’t hold back, you’ll talk nonsense, pity you.

At the same time, he gave him an interesting piece of advice:

Go abroad, devote yourself to history. In Salamanca, there are the archives of the Spanish kings, until now none of the Polish historians have studied them. You need to learn about the correspondence of Charles V with Sigismund the Old, and Philip II with Sigismund Augustus and Batory.¹³

In January 1852, without a passport, Kalinka left Cracow and traveled to Paris. The second, much longer emigration in his life was about to begin.

The beginnings of his stay in Paris were very difficult as he was not accepted by most of the expatriate parties. He plunged into poverty and it was only thanks to the letter recommendation of Paweł Popiel that he managed to establish a close relationship with General Władysław Zamoyski, of whom he became the personal secretary. Thanks to the financial support of the wealthy patron, he was able to devote himself wholeheartedly to archival queries at the Polish Library in Paris, and to repeat his Dutch voyages. Throughout 1852, he worked intensely to complete his book *Galicia and Cracow under Austrian rule*. The piece, based on an impressive amount of statistical data, gener-

12 W. Bernacki, *Wstęp*, p. x.

13 L. Dębicki, *Z pięćdziesięcioletnich roczników „Czasu”*, in: *Jubileusz „Czasu”*, pp. 161–162.

ated a vivid response in Galicia not only because of the picture of the Austrian Partition presented in it, but also as a work demonstrating the need to study the history of the other Partitions in a similar way.¹⁴

Kalinka's prolific historical work was interrupted by the outbreak of the Crimean War. After the beginning of the Russian-Turkish battles in January 1854, Kalinka traveled with General Zamoyski to Istanbul and later to Bucharest. As a lieutenant, he first participated in the formation of the 2nd Cossack regiment and later the Polish division of the Sultan's Cossacks. Despite the great efforts Kalinka and Zamoyski put into the creation of Polish military formations against Russia, the whole operation failed. After the Treaty of Paris concluded in 1856, the Polish divisions had to be disbanded. On Turkish soil, conflicts arose between Poles, including Kalinka's contributing factor in fueling General Zamoyski's conflicts with Michał Czajkowski and Józef Wysocki.

When Kalinka returned to Paris, he became involved in the editorial works of a revived expatriate periodical entitled "Wiadomości Polskie" ["Polish News"] published by the Hôtel Lambert and aimed at Polish soldiers in the East. The first issue of the magazine was published in January 1857, and the editorial board, besides Kalinka, included Julian Klaczko, Antoni Wrotnowski and Horacy Delaroche. As Stanisław Tarnowski rightly noted,

the running of the magazine depended to a great extent on Kalinka. He composed the issues, he identified the matters that should be worked on, he selected the right people for each topic, he made sure each author was ready on time.¹⁵

The magazine was only published for four years, and the last issue came out on February 2nd, 1861, when the Prussian authorities prohibited its distribution across the country.

Simultaneously with his editorial work, Kalinka was actively involved in the functioning of the Office of Polish Interests, organized by the Hôtel Lambert. Thanks to his work in the office he became close to Adam Czartoryski, fulfilling the role of his personal secretary in the last years of the prince's life.

14 Z. Zielińska, *Przedmowa do obecnego wydania*, in: W. Kalinka, *Sejm Czteroletni*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1991, p. 6.

15 S. Tarnowski, *Ksiądz Walerian Kalinka*, Kraków 1902, p. 69.

He single-handedly edited the dying aristocrat's political testament. In the will, the prince passed the ruling power over the camp to his younger son Władysław Czartoryski.¹⁶ His older brother Witold and cousin Konstanty, along with General Władysław Zamoyski, were supposed to provide him only with help. The old prince's arbitrary decision caused reasonable dissatisfaction among other members of the family, who believed that he should not give the palm of precedence to his younger son over his first-born descendant.

While working at the bureau, he edited the secret correspondence with Warsaw in 1862, and was engaged in the activities of the Eastern Commission, which focused on Balkan issues, and the Rome Commission, established upon his initiative. As part of the latter, Kalinka was responsible for conducting correspondence with representatives of the Eternal City. In these works, he was supported financially only by General Władysław Zamoyski. Commitment to the Roman commission quickly led to Kalinka's conflict with the Hôtel Lambert authorities. This was because Prince Władysław Czartoryski accused him of not consulting all his steps taken in Rome with the entire office. Faced with these accusations, in November 1862 Kalinka resigned from all his positions and went, thanks to a financial allowance from General Zamoyski, to Rome. He was close to terminating all relations with the camp of the Hôtel Lambert at that time. However, the January Uprising broke out and Kalinka returned to Paris, from where he was delegated to Sweden as personal secretary to Prince Konstanty Czartoryski. From Stockholm he was writing urging letters to Paweł Popiel, demanding the Polish nobility to support the uprising and join the fight. He participated in personal talks with Swedish King Charles XV and met with Teofil Łapinski and Michał Bakunin.¹⁷

After a several-month stay in Sweden, Kalinka returned to Paris, where he started working as a secretary at the Insurgent General Agency. During this period, he edited much of Władysław Czartoryski's correspondence with Warsaw, London, Rome, and Vienna. When he realized that France would not provide assistance to the uprising, he resigned in January 1864, handing over the function to Bronisław Zaleski. From that moment on, he tried to persuade Czartoryski

16 Archives of the Austrian Historical Institute of Culture in (further as AHIC), ms. I-22, fasc. 4, Political Testament of Prince Adam Czartoryski, Paris 14 VII 1861.

17 J. S. Łątka, *Romantyczny kondotier*, Katowice 1988, pp. 158–174.

to withdraw his support for the ongoing uprising in the country.¹⁸ Kalinka was able to convince him to write an open letter to Prince Adam Sapieha, in which he refused participation in further battle, motivating his decision as follows:

As a result of the various news that has spread regarding my last audience with the Emperor [Napoleon III Bonaparte P.B.] and your inquiry on this subject, I feel obliged to answer you that I did indeed have a hearing with the Emperor this week, and from this conversation I have gained the painful conviction that our uprising cannot count on any external support.¹⁹

With the fall of the January Uprising, Kalinka returned to his abandoned historical works. Among the materials he collected, a special role was played by documents from the reign of Stanisław August, hence the idea of their critical study and publication. The aftermath of this prominent scientific work resulted in the publication of a two-volume book entitled *Ostatnie lata panowania Stanisława Augusta* [*The Last Years of the Reign of Stanisław August*] in 1868. In the first tome, contrary to the title, he provided a monographic study of the period 1764–1787, and in the second a selection of sources, mainly on the king's relations with St. Petersburg between 1788 and 1795.²⁰ The work was supposed to serve as an introduction to the forthcoming political biography of Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski. Discussions on the merits of compiling a biography were held at the Hôtel Lambert from the moment of the old prince's death in 1861, but no one wanted to undertake this difficult task. Only after much deliberation on April 22nd, 1864, a preliminary agreement “between Prince Władysław Czartoryski and Mr. Walerian Kalinka” was reached on the subject of writing a monograph on Prince Adam Czartoryski. The specific paragraphs stated that

Prince Czartoryski invites Mr. Kalinka to prepare documents related to the history of Princes August and Michał Czartoryski, located at the Hôtel Lambert or at the French and English Foreign Ministries, as well as to prepare for publication the works and political correspondence of Prince Adam Czartoryski.²¹

18 S. Kieniewicz, *Kalinka Walerian*, p. 450.

19 AHIC, ms. I-22, fasc. 4, Letter from W. Czartoryski to A. Sapieha, Paris 22 IV 1864.

20 S. Kieniewicz, *Kalinka Walerian*, p. 451.

21 AHIC, ms. I-21, fasc. 4, Agreement of 22 IV 1864.

According to the agreement, it was clear that this was meant to be a critical scholarly biography preceded by the publication of primary sources. Kalinka was supposed to receive five thousand francs a year for four years in return for his work. The project was expected to last until the end of 1868, when the dissertation was due to be printed. Moreover, all costs of transcription and the purchase of necessary books were to be covered by the prince.

After closing the economically beneficial deal, Kalinka quickly began working, meticulously compiling a substantial amount of source material. A year into his intensive work, its fruit was so abundant that the enthusiastic historian sent a notice from Paris to several editors of prominent Polish newspapers that he was “preparing for printing the writings and correspondence of the late Prince Adam Czartoryski,” and thus desiring, “if possible, to make it the most complete, he requests all who have the prince’s letters to kindly send such in the original or in a certified copy to the address of the signatory”²². On January 1st, 1866, the previous agreement was terminated and replaced by another, in which the financial terms changed. This was because Władysław Czartoryski committed to pay Kalinka fifteen thousand francs, and in addition, if the size of the work, including documents, were to exceed three volumes, to pay an additional three thousand francs. Both the first and second agreements were written by Kalinka’s hand.²³

However, it quickly became evident that the archival documents collected in Paris and London were insufficient, and therefore, already in the winter of 1867, Kalinka asked for help from the director of the Czartoryski Museum, Józef Łepkowski, to conduct research in the Galician archives. In response, Łepkowski wrote:

You are complaining that there are no materials to write down the history of the Czartoryski family. I understand that this only applies to the earliest times – until the first half of the 15th century when Prince Jan appears in Troki against Zygmunt Kiejstutowicz, which as you know is mentioned by Długosz and Strykowski. However, for the 17th and 18th centuries (on which you are working) there must be rich documentation stored

22 Ibid., ms. I-22, fasc. 4, Letter to the Editors.

23 The Czartoryski Library (further as Czart. Lib.), ms. 1390. Agreement of 1 I 1866.

in the Parisian archives of this family. Schmitt was familiar with them, and used them with bad faith, for the book published by Trzeciński; and against which Szujski has now spoken in the eighth issue of the “Przegląd Polski” [“Polish Review”], having just raised the issues of the Czartoryski family.

Referring to Kalinka’s requests regarding the Czartoryskis’ of Sieniawa archive, Łepkowski informed him that it was being organized by “one librarian and torn down by another, supposedly systematizing it” and also

in chaos, from which I want to bring it out. One sorts the letters alphabetically according to the names of the correspondents, and again one prepares the letters of each of correspondent chronologically. This is incredibly difficult as many letters have decayed when envelopes indicating who wrote to whom have been tossed or carelessly placed while there are nearly 60,000 of them!

In the end, however, he admitted that, despite the overload of work, he would try to send him a copy of the correspondence index to Paris, and remarked that out of

1,000 letters, there are 950 concerning sowing, plowing, and propagation – and only a small percentage relates to public affairs; although it is difficult to deny that in this impressive collection, there are also documents of great interest.²⁴

In reply to this letter, Kalinka wrote to Łepkowski that Czartoryski was no longer interested in publishing his book, and the agreement was canceled.²⁵ In order to provide an answer to the question of why this happened, it is necessary to go back to the autumn of 1866, when unexpected difficulties emerged. In November of that year, in order not to surprise anyone with his conclusions and formulations, and at the same time to be loyal to his employers, Kalinka read certain parts of the work to the prince’s sister, Izabela Działyńska. The duchess, upon hearing unflattering opinions about her father and

24 AHIC, ms. I-21, fasc. 4, Letter from J. Łepkowski to W. Kalinka, Cracow 23 II 1867.

25 Ibid., Letter from W. Kalinka to J. Łepkowski, Versailles 12 III 1867.

grandfather, started a fierce discussion with Kalinka and demanded a thorough revision of the text or the termination of further works.²⁶

She told me that she would be willing to make any effort to stop this publication, that she would comprehend if it was done by enemies, but she does not understand the purpose for which we should do it.²⁷

Kalinka, in his letter to the prince, described the entire incident from his point of view. He explained that for the sake of historical truth, he could not change the facts, at most he could soften certain verbal formulations and his excessively critical assessments. Nevertheless, Czartoryski, absent in Paris at the time, was concerned about Działyńska's information and ordered the publication of the work to be suspended. Kalinka's work was defended by his friends Eustachy Januskiewicz and Bronisław Zaleski, who interceded with the prince on the matter.²⁸ Unintimidated by this situation, Kalinka continued to work on finalizing the book. Wishing to stop him, the prince commanded:

I strongly believe that this publication will do harm today, instead of helping, and is definitely ill-timed. There is no doubt that we still lack a serious history book and that it is essential that we know the truth, but today it will not restrain the nobility, on the contrary, it will make them angrier, and it will give strength and courage to all elements of disorder. The initial unification will forever tear apart, at least for now. As for myself, it will prevent all my further action in the country.²⁹

Finally, Czartoryski, unable to force Kalinka to cease his work, sent him a letter in which he categorically forbade the publication of the work, and demanded the return of "the manuscripts and copies you have from my library for this publication, as I cannot allow them to come out in this book."³⁰

26 J. Mrówczyński, *Ksiądz Walerian Kalinka*, p. 289.

27 Czart. Lib., ms. 1165, Letter from W. Kalinka to W. Czartoryski, Versailles 11 XI 1866.

28 Ibid., ms. 1167, Letter from W. Kalinka to H. Wyziński, Versailles 23 IV 1867.

29 AHIC, ms. I-21, fasc. 4, Letter from W. Czartoryski to W. Kalinka, Vienna 17 II 1867.

30 Ibid., Letter from W. Czartoryski to W. Kalinka, 5 III 1867.

In his response, Kalinka emphasized:

I was hurt by this unexpected announcement. From the very beginning of our agreement, I have continuously repeated (and the prince himself is a witness to this) that before publishing the biography of Prince Adam, a book providing a portrayal of Poland at the end of the 18th century must come out. Without it, it would be impossible to either combat the prejudices that still exist regarding the path that Prince Father followed, or expose the difficulties he had to deal with, or finally give an understanding of the favor he gave to the country where others brought only calamities upon the nation. My opinion was understood and accepted by the prince. Today I can part from it even less since I have been working in this direction for a year and a half. [...] The prince is concerned about the impression that my preliminary publication would make. Precisely for this reason, I wished to take all the responsibility of it entirely on myself, and only thus, so to speak, having put the ground in order and erect on it, together with the prince, a monument to the Prince Father.

Further in the letter, he challenged Czartoryski's fears that the book would make a bad impression on the readers. "In my opinion," he wrote,

our nation already has nerves strong enough to withstand the truth; more than that, it needs it and will be grateful for it. The impact of the book will prove to be neither as bad nor as dangerous as the Prince presumes. The Prince will soon see this himself, and then, I hope, will return to the arrangement he is breaking today, although, as far as I can judge in this matter, after all that has been agreed between us, neither before the law nor before our conscience he will be able to justify the breaking of this agreement.³¹

Under the assumption that the prince's decision raised several contentious issues that the parties involved couldn't adjudicate, he proposed electing arbitrators to decide on an honorable termination.

31 Ibid., Copy of the Letter from W. Kalinka to W. Czartoryski, Versailles 12 III 1867.

Czartoryski argued in reply:

Should you want an amicable court, I agree, although I consider it useless and unnecessary. Be that as it may, for the moment, since you force me to do so, I demand the immediate return of all my manuscripts loaned from the library for the publication of the documents.³²

Several weeks later, the Prince, through the arbitrator Henryk Wzyński, informed Kalinka that he wanted to handle the whole thing fairly and for the parting to take place in an honorable manner. In return for the breach of the agreement, he offered financial compensation.³³ In a letter to one of the founders of the Congregation of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Father Hieronim Kajsiewicz, Kalinka wrote:

Prince Władysław and Mrs. Działyńska were so scared of my publication on the final years of the reign of Stanisław August, that when I did not want to withdraw from it, they broke the contract with me.³⁴

The entire course of this unpleasant incident resulted in Kalinka's removal from Paris and his departure for Rome.

The above-presented case of collaboration with Prince Władysław Czartoryski clarifies precisely the genesis, circumstances, and reasons of Kalinka's work entitled *Ostatnie lata panowania Stanisława Augusta* [*The Last Years of the Reign of Stanislaw Augustus*]. It is worth noting that in the final stage, he did not write the piece as a "court writer of the Hôtel Lambert," but as an independent researcher, thus emphasizing even more the objectivity of his judgments. In the last sentence of the introduction, he noted: "that we sought the truth everywhere and for everyone." The key principle of Kalinka's work was the conviction that "the Poles themselves are the perpetrators of their downfall, the partitions are the nation's deserved atonement." He did not blame the king for the fall of Poland, he apologetically praised his work of "reasona-

32 Ibid., Letter from W. Czartoryski to W. Kalinka, Rome 16 III 1867.

33 Czart. Lib., ms. 1167.

34 Cit. per J. Mrówczyński, *Książdz Walerian Kalinka*, p. 291.

ble policy, calculated to outlast Catherine,” while condemning the opposition, which thwarted the monarch’s plans.³⁵

Władysław Smoleński regarded Kalinka as a precursor and co-creator of the ideas and views of the Cracow school of history.³⁶ Following the prominent Warsaw historian, this view was repeated by Marxist historiography during the communist era, additionally accusing Kalinka of being an opponent of efforts for state independence and an advocate of settlement with the partitioners or even tri-loyalism. It was thought that his writings were an expression of the pessimism characteristic of a generation fighting with the partitioners for independence and disappointed by this struggle. This opinion, however, does not seem valid since Kalinka developed his ideas completely autonomously when the Cracow school of history did not exist. Moreover, he supported all his conclusions and judgments with carefully selected primary sources, which authenticated his thoughts. What others referred to as pessimism, Piotr Chmielowski described as the integrity of the scientific endeavor.³⁷ That is why Włodzimierz Bernacki’s statement that seems accurate

Kalinka’s views were contrary to the ambitions of the Romantics and not always in line with the self-satisfaction of the positivists, aimed at a thorough examination of the foundations of the nation’s state, because only this could enable him to find the right ways of recovery.³⁸

Pleased with the publication of *Ostatnie lata panowania Stanisława Augusta*, Aleksander Przezdziecki informed Kalinka that:

at the last meeting of the Historical Society a prize was awarded to you for the best historical work published in recent times. Undoubtedly, the general public shares this recognition.³⁹

35 S. Kieniewicz, *Kalinka Walerian*, p. 451.

36 W. Smoleński, *Szkoły historyczne w Polsce (Główne kierunki poglądów na przeszłość)*, Warszawa 1986, p. 128; *Spór o historyczną szkołę krakowską*, eds. C. Bobińska, J. Wyrozumski, Kraków 1972.

37 P. Chmielowski, *Zarys najnowszej literatury polskiej (1864–1897)*, Kraków 1898, p. 384.

38 W. Bernacki, *Wstęp*, p. XIX.

39 AHIC, ms. I-22, fasc. 4, Letter from A. Przezdziecki to W. Kalinka, Paris 16 v 1869.

The authorities of the Historical and Literary Society in Paris, in justifying their decision, emphasized that the work reveals all the historical truth that the Polish people should know so that they can embark on *the arduous task of building the future*.⁴⁰

The doyen of Polish historians, Ksawery Liske, voiced a similar appreciation of Kalinka's work:

It has been a long time since I read a single work with such pleasure as *Ostatnie lata panowania Stanisława Augusta* published last year by honorable Mr. Kalinka. For a long time I had wished with all my heart that for once, there would be a fair judgment, based on a thorough knowledge of sources, about the recent years of our history. Such a judgment, on which I am writing, has been found to the fullest extent in the work of Mr. Kalinka. After reading it, I rushed to report on it not only in Polish but also in German, because I wanted to make Kalinka's name known in the widest possible circles. I published the Polish review in "Dziennik Literacki" ["Literary Journal"].⁴¹

It is worth mentioning that in the same Lviv-based periodical appeared a note about Kalinka being awarded the prize of the Historical and Literary Society in Paris.

The book, for which Kalinka received a prestigious award, was in high demand. However, this did not change the fact that not only had he not made any profit from it, but he also had to contribute to the publication from his private budget. In a letter to one of his creditors, he wrote:

Under these circumstances, lacking the funds to pay for the printing, I am forced to make the only proposal that remains available to me, that is waiving all income from this book, all reimbursement of outlays made for the manuscript, I propose that you Dear Sir take the entire thousand copies for the printing costs alone. You must admit, Dear Sir, that I cannot

40 J. Mrówczyński, *Książdź Walerian Kalinka*, p. 293; A. F. Grabski, *Historiografia i polityka, dzieje konkursu historycznego im. Juliana Ursyna Niemcewicza 1867–1922*, Warszawa 1979.

41 AHIC, ms. I-22, fasc 4, Letter from K. Liske to W. Kalinka, Lviv 14 VII 1869.

make a more favorable proposal for the buyer. For half a third of a year of hard work, I demand nothing!⁴²

The publication caused outrage in the Hôtel Lambert circles. In correspondence with his friend Bronisław Zaleski, Kalinka stated:

There is such anger against me at the Hôtel Lambert that my name cannot be mentioned. And for what do I ask? I have no hard feelings towards them, and yes, I would always and everywhere take their side, and without any coercion.⁴³

Based on the content of the letter, it is easy to conclude that Kalinka had nothing more to look for in Paris, moreover, the death of his long-time protector, Władysław Zamoyski, precipitated his decision to abandon the French soil. General Zamoyski had bequeathed him 5,000 francs in his will, with the stipulation, however, that the sum above was to be “used only as an aid to my Polish works.” Regardless of this restriction, Kalinka was very grateful for such a generous gift, which he accepted

with gratitude and delight, as the last help from a man to whom I owe more than to anyone else in my lifetime, in every way. This sum offered to me today, with the caveat that Zaleski writes about, seems to me like a blessing from the general, for my minor activities from that world sent.⁴⁴

Kalinka wanted to return to Poland, but all his efforts to get a position at the Jagiellonian Library, the National Department in Lviv, or any district council were met with refusal. Galician conservatives, with only a few exceptions, did not want him to return.

After conversations he held in Paris in January 1868 with Father Piotr Semenenko, the superior general of the Resurrectionist Order, Kalinka made the decision to leave the secular state and join the congregation. He disclosed the motives of his momentous decision in a letter to Stanisław Tarnowski,

42 Ibid., ms. I-21, fasc. 4, Letter from W. Kalinka to NN, Versailles 17 II 1868.

43 Czart. Lib., ms. 1620, Letter from W. Kalinka to B. Zaleski, Rome 27 VI 1868.

44 AHIC, ms. I-22, fasc. 4, Letter from W. Kalinka to J. Zamoyska, Rome 30 XII 1868.

quoted in this paper. Moreover, years later he confessed that “whoever receives the Holy Communion every day and does an hour of meditation must end up in a monastery”⁴⁵. Summoned by a letter from Father Hieronim Kajsiwicz from April 26th, 1868, Kalinka arrived in Rome, where he entered the novitiate. After a year, on May 7th, 1869, he took his first vows at the hands of Father Semenenko. In the fall of that year, he began his theological studies at the Roman College. On October 22nd, 1870, having completed a closed spiritual retreat, he took his Solemn Vows. On December 8th he received ordination of the subdeaconate, December 11th of the diaconate, while on December 17th Archbishop Alessandro Franchi ordained him to the priesthood. In this way, he became a priest even before completing his theological studies and passing the final jurisdictional examinations, authorizing him to hear confessions.⁴⁶

In this period, he did not stop his research work. At the time he prepared a work entitled *Przegrana Francji i przyszłość Europy* [*The Loss of France and the Future of Europe*], written in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War and the collapse of the Paris Commune. In May 1872 he embarked on a scientific journey, during which he stayed for several months in Vienna, from there he traveled to Cracow, where he investigated the private archive of Paweł Popiel, currently housed at the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw. Later he moved to Lviv, where he browsed the Dzieduszycki and Ossolinski Libraries. He left Galicia for the Benedictine Abbey in Solesmes in France. At the same time, he supervised the publishing of the works of Father Hieronim Kajsiwicz.⁴⁷

Upon his return to Rome, he became involved in the work of the congregation. In July 1873, he was elected as a member of the order's chapter, which, after the death of Father Kajsiwicz, appointed Father Semenenko as the new general. In May 1874 he departed again for Cracow, where he worked at the Jagiellonian Library. He was also trying to reorganize the editorial board of the “Przegląd Polski” [“Polish Review”] “in a Catholic manner”. In November of the same year, he traveled to Adrianople to inspect the Bulgarian mission of the congregation. During his stay in Bulgaria, he reformed the middle school and dormi-

45 J. Mrówczyński, *Ksiądz Walerian Kalinka*, p. 325.

46 Ibid., pp. 348–349.

47 W. Bernacki, *Wstęp*, p. XVI.

tory existing there under the care of the Resurrectionists. When he returned to Rome, he was offered several times to undertake new inspection activities, but he refused, under the pretense of the need to continue the scientific work he had begun. The general of the order, Father Semenenko gave his consent and transferred him to an establishment in Jarosław, where he was to serve as chaplain to the Immaculate Sisters. His work in Jarosław, which lasted until September 1880, was not well received, and he was often criticized by the Superior of the Immaculate Sisters, Mother Marcelina Darowska, who used to say about him: “No friar, but the sharpest mind in the congregation.”⁴⁸

In his time in Jarosław, Kalinka was able to devote a large amount of time to his previously neglected historical studies. In his research on the Four-Year Sejm, he felt a severe lack of access to the Berlin archives. Therefore, he was pleased to learn that director Heinrich Sybel agreed to provide him with the records he needed. After receiving permission from his superiors in July 1876, Kalinka traveled to Berlin, where he spent two months in the archives, studying the correspondence of Girolamo Lucchesini and Ludwig Heinrich Buchholtz. The fruits of the research were very rich and brought completely new findings. After returning to the country, he began to write his lifework entitled *Sejm Czteroletni* [*The Four-Year Sejm*]. Three years of hard work resulted in a manuscript that was to consist of four volumes. The dissertation aimed to be a continuation of *Ostatnie lata panowania Stanisława Augusta*. Kalinka significantly expanded the source foundation by analyzing Polish, Roman, Viennese and Berlin political correspondence hitherto unused by scholars. These sources included sections of Stanisław August’s archives and the king’s letters to the Polish envoy in Russia, Augustyn Deboli, which to this day are considered by historians the most valuable commentary on the events unfolding on the Polish political scene. Of major importance was also the citation of the unknown correspondence of Ignacy Potocki, Szczęsny Potocki, Seweryn Rzewuski and Józef Kossakowski. The only deficiency of the work was the marginal use of Russian archival materials, compared to the Berlin sources.⁴⁹

48 S. Kieniewicz, *Kalinka Walerian*, p. 451.

49 Z. Zielińska, *Przedmowa do obecnego wydania*, pp. 9–10; W. Smoleński, *Stanowisko Waleriana Kalinki w historiografii polskiej*, Warszawa 1887.

Kalinka gained access to the private archives of the landed gentry due to the patronage of influential people from the circle of the Hôtel Lambert. In a letter to Count Stanisław Kossakowski, heir to the fortune and archives of the famous Targowica Confederation's members, he wrote:

You will not blame me of this, dear Count, that having heard that there are diaries and correspondences in the Count's hand, I earnestly beg you to grant them.

He also controversially portrayed the profiles of the Targowica Confederation's members:

About Bishop and Hetman Kossakowski, it is my conviction that they were far from wishing for the collapse of the state or its division, and if they had predicted that the Targowica Confederation would lead to this, they, along with many of its participants, would have preferred not to be part of it. They can be accused of having taken the wrong path in serving the country, but one cannot deny their patriotism entirely, as has been done before. Given the abilities, knowledge and energy they held, under different circumstances, the very same people would have rendered great services to the nation.⁵⁰

In *Sejm Czteroletni*, Kalinka supported the narrative to the time of the enactment of the May 3rd Constitution, proportionally distributing the burden of responsibility for the partition among the entire current political class. He saw the blame equally in the actions of the magnates, grouped in the Branicki camp, and the Czartoryski family. Evaluating the situation of the Republic during its downfall, he wrote:

Without the Master and the common head, everything in the sickly body was coming out of its notches. The main arteries which were supposed to conduct blood to the heart and animate the whole organism were carrying it away, forming disastrous polyps.⁵¹

50 AHIC, ms. I-23, fasc. 1, Letter from W. Kalinka to S. Kossakowski, Rome 30 IV 1869.

51 W. Kalinka, *Sejm Czteroletni*, p. 269.

This fatal state of Polish statehood resulted, in his opinion, from the individualism of the noble masses, from the lack of respect for the law and from the state authorities' ignorance of it. All this combined led to the collapse of the state.

The entire system of the Republic was thus based purely and wholly on the goodwill of the citizen. This goodwill was never dammed, and this had a positive side, but it was also not forced upon it, and this was already morbid optimism. Goodwill as a stimulus, conscience as a caretaker, reward as an incentive – these are all *instrumenta regni*. Based on such an ideal the state cannot be sustained; the nation is not made of angels. A goodwill that does not accept the brake, that is resentful of coercion, is a presumptuousness, and this one must eventually reach the point where it places itself above all individuals and the entire Republic. Just as there are evil outgrowths in a man that must be cut down so that the good ones are not drowned out, so in every society there are members who, without brakes and coercion, will take the upper hand in it and destroy it. A state cannot exist if there is no one in it to supervise and punish. Only in obedience that can be forced does goodwill find its necessary fulfilment. In the meantime, in the dictionary of Polish public virtues may have been all the virtues, but obedience is not found in it, and without it how to form a government? Similarly, a nation that wished to govern only by incentive and reward, which would not feel obliged to obey the command of its authority, must spoil and degenerate. Without coercion the good will cease, without punishment the evil will not. Vanity and greed will always demand praise and rewards, and fantastic selfishness and frolic will prevail in place of goodwill.⁵²

Kalinka, while working on *Sejm Czteroletni*, embraced a much broader perspective, even though in a formal sense his opus magnum was concerned with the last years of the reign of Stanisław August. He perceived and treated the changes taking place in the Republic at the same time as the completion of the process of the general decay of European societies. This was not the temporary weakness of Poland and the rise of the military power of its neighbors that led to the downfall of independence. It was Polish society as a nation that suffered internal disintegration, which was confirmed by the partitions.⁵³

52 Ibid., p. 266.

53 W. Bernacki, *Wstęp*, pp. XXIII–XXIV.

The book was published in Cracow between 1880 and 1886 by the editors of "Czas" ["Time"]. The publication indirectly linked Kalinka to the Cracow community. It was not, however, his only form of cooperation with Cracow. In 1873 he became a correspondent member of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, and in 1878 its active member. He also delivered numerous readings and speeches as part of the Historical Commission. Particularly controversial was his paper delivered on May 3rd, 1879, entitled *The Martyrdom of St. Stanisław and its significance in the history of the nation*. The gathered professors, mostly natural scientists, did not hide their words of indignation against him when he spoke about the miracle performed by St. Stanisław. They accused him of "preaching like a priest, not like a historian and an academic". According to Kalinka's own testimony, "Zyblikiewicz was shaking with anger that I was talking about Jadwiga, Kunegunda, and other holy women". Even chairman Józef Majer, who was present at the lecture, showed signs of dissatisfaction and, during the reading, called out for Kalinka to finish sooner.⁵⁴

In October 1880, Kalinka took over the leadership of a boarding school recently established in Lviv by the Resurrectionists for the youth of the Uniate rite. The boarding school was intended to educate the elite of the Ukrainian intelligence, especially future priests, in a spirit of devotion to the Holy See. The effort he put into arranging the boarding school and religious house took a bad toll on his health. Despite his body being overburdened by illness, he did not stop his monastic and scientific work. In October 1885 he finalized the second volume of the Four-Year Sejm, but his steadily deteriorating health prevented him from completing the work. On November 22nd, 1886, he developed meningitis, which resulted in his death three weeks later on the morning of December 16th, 1886. He was buried in the cemetery in Lviv. The funeral was attended by the archbishops of three rites: Latin – Severyn Moravsky, Greek – Sylvester Sembratovich, and Armenian – Izaak Isakowicz. Furthermore, the bishop of Przemyśl, Łukasz Solecki, the suffragan bishop of Lviv, Jan Puzyna, and representatives of the secular authorities: Governor Filip Zaleski, national marshal Jan Tarnowski, president of the Academy of Arts and Sciences Stanisław Tarnowski and the Lviv City Council took part in the ceremony. Funeral speeches were delivered by Stanisław Tarnowski and Oswald Balzer.⁵⁵

54 J. Mrówczyński, *Ksiądz Walerian Kalinka*, pp. 460–461.

55 Ibid., p. 652.

Abstract: This article addresses the life and works of Walerian Kalinka, based on archival materials. Kalinka was born in Bolechowice in 1826. After graduating from the Faculty of Law of the Jagiellonian University, he participated in the editorial board works of “Czas” from 1849. During his exile in Paris, he began to collaborate with General Władysław Zamojski, while also working on the completion of a book entitled Galicia and Cracow under Austrian rule. Returning to Paris after the Crimean Wars, Kalinka actively participated in the political life of the Hôtel Lambert camp. After the January Uprising, Kalinka returned to extensive research work, the fruits of which were publications considered the foundation of the Cracow school of history. Following the advice of Father Semenenko, Kalinka decided to join the congregation. At the same time, he continued to work on his opus *The Four-Year Sejm*, with a very broad perspective enabled by his research in many European archives. In October 1885 he completed the second volume of *The Four-Year Sejm*, but the steady decline in his health prevented him from completing the work. Father Walerian Kalinka died on December 15th, 1886. The text analyzes Kalinka’s life, his political views and his relationship with the Congregation of Resurrectionists based on historical records and the protagonist’s works.

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