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From the Cold to Rome – a Short Account of the Life of the Resurrectionist Father Walerian Damazy Przewłocki

Dal freddo a Roma – breve resoconto della vita del Resurrezionista Padre Walerian Damazy Przewłocki

L'articolo è dedicato alla figura di Padre Walerian Przewłocki CR, nato nel 1828 nella regione di Lublino. Dopo aver conseguito il diploma di maturità presso il ginnasio di Lublino (1847), prestò servizio attivo nell'esercito ungherese durante la rivolta del 1848 e negli eserciti turco e francese durante la guerra di Crimea contro la Russia (1853–1856). Lavorò come ingegnere in Inghilterra e in Francia. Organizzò le truppe destinate a combattere nella Rivolta di Gennaio. Dopo il fallimento di quest'ultima, si stabilì a Góra, vicino a Śrem, nella casa di Cezary Plater, dove provò una profonda conversione. Si recò inaspettatamente a Roma e si unì ai Resurrezionisti nel 1865. Un anno dopo prese i primi voti e fu ordinato sacerdote nel 1867. Dopo aver completato il dottorato (1868), fu inviato in Galizia, alla ricerca di un luogo dove istituire la congregazione. Fu nominato cappellano dell'Immacolata nel loro convento di Jazłowiec (1869–1874). Al suo ritorno a Roma, divenne Procuratore Generale e nel 1883 fu nominato Superiore della missione

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bulgara ad Adrianopoli. Dopo la morte di Padre Semenenko, l'11° Consiglio Generale del gennaio 1887 lo elesse Superiore Generale della Congregazione per tutta la vita. Morì a Roma il 7 maggio 1895. Il suo ricco patrimonio epistolare e diaristico rimane nell'Archivio Generale.

Parole chiave: Walerian Przewłocki, Resurrezionisti, Roma, Chiesa Cattolica, Grande Emigrazione Polacca.

Słowa kluczowe: Walerian Przewłocki, zmartwychwstańcy, Rzym, Kościół katolicki, Wielka Emigracja.

Keywords: Walerian Przewłocki, Resurrectionists, Rome, Catholic Church, Great Polish Emigration.

On May 31st, 1887, Father Walerian Przewłocki, for several months the Superior General of the Resurrectionists, wrote these words in a letter to Father Leon Zbyszewski, his counter-candidate for this office and his fellow brother:

As for the common life nobody, I can safely say, desires it more than me. Thank God I have that family feeling, so much needed for this. And I love the Congregation like a mother, and each member like a brother and my own child.¹

Who was the one who declared such great love for the Resurrectionist Congregation, what kind of a man was he? Had those declarations been confirmed in reality? What had he experienced and gone through before he got to the renowned congregation in the second half of the 19th century and what once he finally established himself in it for good? Historians do not write extensively about Walerian Przewłocki.² He primarily appears in history as Father

1 Archives of the Congregation of the Resurrectionists in Rome (further as ACRR), ref. 29558, Letter from W. Przewłocki to L. Zbyszewski, Rome, 31 v 1887.

2 Przewłocki's two profiles, in the *Polski słownik biograficzny* [*Polish Biographical Dictionary*] (hereinafter: PSB) and the *Encyklopedia katolicka* [*Catholic Encyclo-*

Piotr Semenenko's successor to the office of the General. Perhaps this study will at least slightly change this situation. Especially since there is no shortage of materials for his biography.

A major part of Walerian Przewłocki's legacy is located in the General Archives of the Resurrectionists in Rome. It includes, among others, 1410 letters to various authors dated 1865–1894 (marked with the reference numbers 28202-29560), 11 circular letters to the Congregation from his time as Superior General (reference numbers 65378-65388), a diary of his work as the chaplain to the Immaculate Sisters (manuscript, ref. 29638), letters from his travels to the USA and Canada in 1890 (ref. 29641, issued in print) and the unquestionable highlight of this collection, a four-volume diary that he maintained between 1883 and 1894, with an autobiography attached to the first volume covering up to 1883 (manuscript, ref. 29642-29645). When this is added, for example, to the collection of 251 letters of Father Semenenko (from 1866–1885) and about 70 letters of Father Hieronim Kajsiewicz (from 1866–1873) written to Walerian Przewłocki, as well as correspondence scattered in several other domestic and foreign archives, it is necessary to state that there is a large amount of material that is overwhelmingly unexamined, but through which it is possible to provide many facts of Walerian Przewłocki's interesting life.

pedia] (hereinafter: EK), both feature numerous factual errors and inaccuracies. Only the one included in the *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich* [Dictionary of Polish Catholic Theologians] (hereinafter: SPTK) meets the correctness criteria, although it is not flawless. SPTK, vol. 3, ed. H. E. Wyczawski, Warszawa 1982, pp. 450–451 (author: B. Micewski); PSB, vol. 29, Wrocław [et al.] 1986, pp. 28–30 (author: F. German); EK, vol. 16, ed. E. Gigilewicz, Lublin 2012, col. 716 (author: R. Nir). Considerable attention is paid to him by J. Mrówczyński in his biographies of Father Walerian Kalinka (Poznań 1972) and Father Paweł Smolikowski (Kraków 2000). He is one of the main figures in the polemics conducted between Father Zdzisław Obertyński (*Zmartwychwstańcy a Niepokalanki Próba dokumentacji wzajemnej zależności*, vol. 1 and 2, 1949–1950) and Father Władysław Kwiatkowski (*Matka Marcelina Darowska w świetle swojej własnej korespondencji*, Wiedeń 1952). His entire life is covered in the histories of the Resurrectionist congregation by P. Smolikowski, W. Kwiatkowski and John Iwicki.

Childhood, youth, soldiering and, wandering

Walerian Damazy Przewłocki (coat-of-arms Przechwał)³ was born on December 11th, 1828 in Zimno near Tomaszów Lubelski.⁴ He was the son of Dominik Przechwał (coat-of-arms Przechwał) (1792–1836) and Franciszka née Różańska (d. 1852), the youngest of their seven children.⁵ His father came to the Kingdom from Volhynia and leased the village of Zimno from Count Fredro. With time, the Przewłocki family moved to Wierzchowina, in Krasnystaw County, which they had purchased, and the Przewłocki brothers moved to Szczepieszyn, located nearby, where they lived in a rented apartment with servants. Walerian was just getting ready to start his school education. When he was less than 8 years old, he experienced the tragedy of his father's death. He started school in 1838. Later, however, he moved to Lublin with his mother and brothers, where he continued his education at the gymnasium, repeating the first grade. Three years later, he moved with his brothers for three more years to Warsaw (1843–1846), where his studies progressed with less success, but where he also “lost” two brothers, who were deported by force – one to Nerchinsk and the other to the Caucasus. Walerian had one year of education left. He finished it while

- 3 In the 19th century, the Przewłocki family, deriving their surname from the village of Przewłoka in the Podlasie region, received the Przechwał coat of arms, and their importance gradually grew. Over time, they became closely related to the families of the Czartoryski, Koźmian, Hutten-Czapski, Plater-Zyberk, Żółtowski and Ros-tworowski, to name a few. K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. 7, Lipsk 1841, pp. 545–547. More extensive coverage of the Przewłocki family and its colligations is provided by a storytelling piece by Professor Henryk Przewłocki posted on the website of the Mazovian “Radio Dla Ciebie”. Unfortunately, the section devoted to Walerian is full of misrepresentations: P. S. Łoś, *Rody i rodziny Mazowsza: Przewłoccy z Mor-dów*, part 2, https://www.rdc.pl/public/podcast/rody-i-rodziny-mazowska_ggLWm cihBmWfvcvhfAos?episode=UTrDDEf5sCC6ROWLi8CpP (DOA 13.11.2023).
- 4 The majority of the information on Walerian Przewłocki's early life provided here comes from his autobiography, written in 1892, which is stored in the ACRR. It has no reference of its own, as it is written by the author on the back of Volume 1 of his diary, ref. 29642.
- 5 Walerian's older brothers were Klemens, Jan, Kajetan, Seweryn and Wincenty. M. Minakowski, in his *Genealogy*, also provides the name of Przewłocki's only daughter, Justyna, whom Walerian Przewłocki does not mention once in his Auto-biography.

living on his own in a boarding house in Lublin, by obtaining a high school diploma in 1847.⁶

He spent the following year with his mother at the Wierzchowina estate. In May 1848, “upon hearing of the Constitution in Austria,”⁷ went to Lviv and enrolled in the equestrian National Guard. After Lviv was bombed by the Austrians (November 2nd, 1848), he followed others to Hungary. Arrested twice by the Austrians while still in Galicia, he escaped both times and eventually ended up in Hungary. There he immediately enrolled in the Second Uhlan Regiment of the Polish Legion⁸ under Lieutenant Colonel Władysław Tchórznicki.⁹ Within its ranks, specifically in a platoon commanded by Jan Fredro, the son

- 6 Przewłocki received one unsatisfactory grade at during that time (from the French course), which prevented him from winning an award for his school results.
- 7 On April 25th, 1848, Emperor Ferdinand I proclaimed the Pillersdorf Constitution, which ensured and brought freedom of assembly and association, free national development and autonomous institutions to all peoples of the Austrian Empire. As a result, Poles began to organize themselves politically based on the already existing National Council in Lviv. At the same time, on the same day, the fights in Cracow began. The Austrian authorities, wanting to prevent more riots, imposed the state of siege – first in Cracow (April 27th), and more than six months later in Lviv (November 9th). J. Zdrada, *Historia Polski 1795–1914*, Warszawa 2015, p. 378; Z. Fras, *Stowarzyszenia polityczne, paramilitarne, społeczno-zawodowe i edukacyjne w Galicji w 1848 roku*, in: *Rok 1848. Wiosna Ludów w Galicji. Zbiór studiów*, ed. W. Wic, Kraków 1999, p. 92.
- 8 The Polish Legions started to form in November 1848 alongside the Honvéd Army in Hungary under the command of Major (since 1849, General) Józef Wysocki as the nucleus of the Polish insurgent army. They counted about 3,500 infantry and lancer soldiers and consisted of three infantry battalions (the fourth in the stage of organization), two lancer regiments, one pioneer company and two half-battalions of infantry and horse artillery. They had their own banner, uniform and command. They traveled the battle route from Prešov, through Kosice, Eger, Szeged to Temesvár. After the surrender of Hungary, in August 1849, the unit was disbanded and most of the soldiers ended up in Turkey. J. Zdrada, *Historia Polski*, p. 402.
- 9 Władysław Tchórznicki (c. 1794–1862) served in the army of the Duchy of Warsaw, actively participating in the November Uprising, in 1848 the organizer and commander of the Second Uhlan Regiment within the Polish Legions in Hungary, with whom he fought a total of a dozen battles and combats. After the suppression of the uprising, he permanently emigrated to France. W. I. Oszczęda, *Ułani Tchórznickiego i ich udział w kampanii węgierskiej 1848–1849*, https://www.opoczno-top.pl/warto_wiedziec.php?ida=83 (DOA 28.11.2023).

of the famous writer, he took part in the uprising in Hungary. He crossed the trail through Serbia with his division and settled in Turkey. During this march, he met up with his brother Klemens.

After the defeat of the Hungarian uprising, he arrived in England, where for nearly three years (until 1852) he was employed by the architect Gregan in Manchester.¹⁰ In March 1852, he received the news of his mother's death. It was such a great shock to him that he left the welcoming England and its people to find himself in a completely unknown territory: France. He eventually settled in Paris, where he worked for a year and a half as a draftsman in the office of the iron railroad. There he may have met the Resurrectionists for the very first time in his life, and above all Father Aleksander Jełowicki, a renowned and active Polish priest. However, there are no reliable sources to confirm that.

Having heard of the outbreak of the Crimean War between Russia and Turkey and its allies (1853–1856), Walerian once again joined the army. He actively began to fight for the Turkish side in the First Regiment of the Sultan Cossacks,¹¹ and after a few months, at his request, he was transferred to the French army, where he was entrusted with a place on the General Headquarters. At that time, he reached the rank of lieutenant colonel and took part in the conquest of Sevastopol (1855). After the end of the war and the dissolution of the Polish division, Walerian began working in the cadastral office in Constantinople, and after a year he moved to Moldova to work as a teacher.

- 10 Przewłocki recalls that Gregan was a classy gentleman. Thanks to his kindness and patience, he was able to get a job in his architect's office, even though at first, he didn't even know how to hold a pencil properly.
- 11 The Sultan Cossacks Division – a Polish military formation established under the auspices of the Hôtel Lambert during the Crimean War of 1855, belonging to the Turkish army and maintained by the Brits. Its structure was based on the Second Regiment of the Sultan Cossacks formed in late 1854 by General Władysław Zamoyski, although for a year there had already been the First Regiment of the Sultan Cossacks under Sadyk Pasha (Michał Czajkowski), which had gone the combat route in Volhynia and Moldavia. Sadyk was entrusted with the authority of both regiments by the Turkish Command. However, the division, consisting of soldiers of several nationalities, was disbanded before it could even begin military operations against Russia. K. Karbownik, *Polskie formacje zbrojne w armii Tureckiej w wojnie krymskiej 1853–1856*, „Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy”, 13 (64) (2012) no. 4, pp. 215–233.

In 1859, he returned to Paris, where he met Ludwik Mierosławski and, upon his recommendation, began to form a Polish unit attached to the Italian commander Giuseppe Garibaldi in Naples. After the outbreak of the January Uprising, he went from Paris to Lviv. He became a war commissar in the unit of Zbigniew Miłkowski and organized insurgent units in Tulcea, located on the border of Moldavia and Romania. He crossed into Galicia with some of them and joined Gen. Artur Gołuchowski's group. The insurgent authorities sent Col. Aleksander Łaski and Przewłocki with another mission to take charge of the troops in Greater Poland. The arrest of Łaski on the border, and even more the defeat of the uprising, prevented Przewłocki from any activity in the area. Walerian Przewłocki moved to Greater Poland and settled with Cezary Plater in Góra.

Although he did not know it yet, his "time in the saddle", during which he experienced almost nothing but failures, was over. While staying with Plater, he had nothing and was a nobody – in the global sense of the word, which was the best moment for his conversion to begin, being an extraordinary transformation, which was marked by his confession after 14 years in the Jesuit monastery in Śrem on Easter of 1864. Later that year he spent a few months among the Polish community in Dresden, and then went to Rome.

Eventually and suddenly – the Resurrectionists

The decision to join the Resurrectionists came suddenly on an entirely unexpected trip to Rome, on a ship sailing from Genoa to Civitavecchia.¹² Walerian resided in the Eternal City, first in a private stateroom, and since the spring of 1865 already in the congregation's General House in Via Paolina, also

12 Walerian Przewłocki reminisced about the event as follows: "Although my life was still completely soldierly, emigrant, messy, Lord Jesus genuinely took me by the hair and in Rome – otherwise I cannot explain my trip to Rome – without any purpose or resolution. On the ship from Genoa to Civitavecchia I met with a Capuchin who told me about the Polish priests in Rome, about the Resurrectionists, and gave me their address. Having also arrived in Rome, I visited them on the following day." ACRR, n. ref., *Autobiografia*, p. 11. In the context of his earlier stay in the house of Cezary Plater, a long-time acquaintance of the first Resurrectionists, it may be slightly surprising that Przewłocki chose his path so unexpectedly (and not thanks to Plater or following his suggestion).

housing the novitiate. He was then thirty-seven years old which immediately drew the attention of his superiors, not necessarily solely because of his rather advanced age.

Superior General Father Hieronim Kajsiewicz informed his fellow brother in Paris in March of 1865:

Mr. Przewłocki (the brother of Father Jan's brother-in-law), for whom Cezary wants to pay (he was much loved and valued by both Platers), has also declared financial help. He is in fact a completely decent man – calm, hard-working, and so far made his living from engineering.¹³

At the same time, the co-founder of the congregation characterized him a bit more precisely:

Currently, three young men *bonae spei* have joined us. One is no longer in his early youth as he is 38 years old [sic!], Walerian Przewłocki. Formerly a captain in the Turkish army, he was delegated to the General Headquarters of the French Army, served in that rank at the side of the French marshals throughout the Crimean campaign, then under the government engineer in Constantinople in taking down the cadaster, finally he became a National Organizer, and this is how he was found in Poznań at the end of our unfortunate uprising, in Cezary's house. Cezary praised him highly when I was with him, while he had already been in Rome for several weeks at the time. Cezary has sent him to us himself and is even paying for his expenses. He is a decent man in all senses of the word and the grace of his vocation is evident.¹⁴

After five months, on September 8th, 1865, at the age of 36, he took the cassock and began the novitiate, with Father Piotr Semenenko as his master. He undertook his theological studies at the Collegium Gregorianum while still in the postulancy and continued them – with the permission of his superiors – also during his novitiate formation.¹⁵ His first vows were taken on Sep-

13 ACRR, ref. 6662, Letter from H. Kajsiewicz to A. Jełowicki, Rome, 11 III 1865.

14 ACRR, ref. 1027, Letter from P. Semenenko to A. Jełowicki, Rome, 14 IV 1865.

15 Later he recalled of that time: "My novitiate, therefore, passed on with study, prayer, and a rather external life. Having been so miraculously grabbed

tember 8th, 1866. Later that same month, Father Kajsiewicz appointed him economist of the Roman House and declared his admission to priestly ordination as soon as possible.¹⁶ He first took – in a rather unusual way – his solemn vows on October 29th, 1866, and a little over six months later was ordained a priest by Cardinal Constantino Patrizi¹⁷ on May 20th, 1867.¹⁸ A year later he obtained a doctorate in theology at the Sapienza University. He served – successfully – as procurator of the Roman House, putting its finances in considerable order.¹⁹

by the hair and thrown from the chaos of the world into the Order – understandably, I knew very little about internal things, and the help at home was rather ‘en bloc’. The principles of faith brought from my parental home, a sense of duty complemented by an almost two-year stay in England, helped me a little to recover myself slowly from the chaos and feces of corruption and passion.” ACRR, n. ref., Autobiography, p. 11.

- 16 ACRR, ref. 6777, Letter from H. Kajsiewicz to A. Jełowicki, Rome, 17 IX 1866.
- 17 Constantino Patrizi Naro (1798–1876), curial cardinal since 1836, prefect of the Congregation for Rites and Ceremonies (1852–1876), since 1860 bishop of Porto-Santa Rufina. S. Miranda, *The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church*, <https://cardinals.fiu.edu/bios1834-ii.htm#Patrizi>, DOA 28.11.2023.
- 18 The ordination to the priesthood for Walerian Przewłocki took place in the Basilica of St. John Lateran. Previous higher ordinations: subdeacon on March 16th, 1867, and deacon on April 6th, 1867. In total, only five months passed from the first lower (tonsure) to the last (priestly) ordination! *Klerycy z ziemi polskich, litewskich i pruskich święceni w Rzymie (XVI – pocz. XX w.)*, ed. S. Jujecka, Wrocław 2019, pp. 160–161. He acknowledged years after these events: “Maybe it was too soon for a wild boar like me. But the Lord in His mercy helped even here. His kindness and grace for me in particular I did not overuse either.” ACRR, n. ref., Autobiografia, p. 13.
- 19 Father Kajsiewicz was extremely fond of Przewłocki in this position, even refusing to send Father Jełowicki to see him in Paris: “Do not fool yourself, Brother Przewłocki will not be given to you, because our poor finances cannot be exposed to robbery.” ACRR, ref. 6740, Letter from H. Kajsiewicz to A. Jełowicki, Rome 18/01/1867. During Father Semenenko’s or Father Kajsiewicz’s absence in Rome, he was also the guardian (prefect) of novices and clerics in 1867–1869. J. Iwicki, *Charyzmat zmartwychwstańców: historia Zgromadzenia Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego*, vol. 1: 1836–1886, translated by J. Zagórski, vol. 1, Katowice 1990, pp. 229–230.

Galicia – fittings and chaplaincy

In 1869, Father Przewłocki was assigned by his superiors to Galicia, where he was supposed to organize the congregation's first house on Polish territory.²⁰ Before he got there, he had observed the activities of small seminaries in Paris for a few months. In May 1869 he arrived in Cracow, where he settled in the chaplaincy of the Visitation Nuns, hosted by Father Albin Dunajewski.²¹ His first attempt to stay there for longer – as a chaplain to these nuns – failed for a simple reason: Father Dunajewski was not granted the parish to which he intended to go and remained in the monastery.²² Shortly thereafter, he went to Lviv to live in the home of the missionaries of St. Vincent. There he explored the possibility of taking over the so-called “small seminary” by the congregation. With no real chance of immediate implementation of this project (primarily for political reasons²³), after receiving permission from the Austrian authorities for permanent residence in Galicia and with the consent of Metropolitan Arch-

20 Working in his home country had already been a dream of the founder of the Resurrectionists Bogdan Jański (1807–1840). After many unsuccessful attempts and efforts (mainly due to political reasons), resulting in settling just a few confreres in the south-eastern part of the Austrian Empire, only the year 1879 brought a breakthrough in this matter. J. Iwicki, *Charyzmat zmartwychwstańców*, pp. 448–449; M. Perzyński, *Zmartwychwstańcy w Polsce*, in: *Zmartwychwstańcy w dziejach Kościoła i narodu*, ed. Z. Zieliński, Katowice 1990, pp. 92–95; P. Semenenko, *Listy*, vol. V (*Listy dotyczące fundacji na ziemiach polskich*), ed. M. Traczyński, Rzym 1988.

21 ACRR 5166/64, P. Semenenko, *Dziennik*, vol. 3, 14 VI 1869.

22 Father Semenenko made no secret of his satisfaction at this prospect: “Maybe the Lord Jesus arranged these things in such a way that we will be at the Visitation nuns in Cracow at first? It would be the simplest thing and as if given to us by the Lord Jesus Himself. It comes to my mind that if Father Albin accepted the parish and wished to come to Rome in October, you would replace him at the Visitation nuns in the meantime. Here in Rome, he would stay with us for the time that would be left before taking over, and would consult with us and join our efforts, and if the Lord Jesus inspired him, then he could also join us completely; even though we all consider him sicut unum ex nobis even now. It would appear that we have been looking for a long time for the solution of the riddle of our settlement in Galicia, and the Lord Jesus has kept it for a long time ready to give at this time.” ACRR, ref. 170, Letter from P. Semenenko to W. Przewłocki, Rome 24 VI 1869.

23 The Lviv metropolitan, Franciszek Ksawery Wierzychlejski, loyal to the Austrian authorities, did not want to receive the Resurrectionists on a permanent basis because of a circular by the Austrian Prime Minister Antoni von Schmerling

bishop Franciszek Wierchleyski, he settled at the convent of the Immaculates in Jazłowiec upon invitation of Mother Marcelina Darowska²⁴, as their chaplain and later also confessor from the end of November 1869.²⁵ The cooperation with the Immaculates was initially excellent, but later became extremely turbulent and dramatic. W. Przewłocki gradually became an antagonist of Mother Marcelina's bold endeavors, the only such voice at the time, since both co-founders of the congregation (Fathers Kajsiewicz and Father Semenenko) were under her spell to such an extent that they allowed her to interfere in the personnel matters of the congregation, as well as to write the Resurrectionists Rule, which the Chapter of 1872 accepted.

From Jazłowiec he came to Rome twice to attend General Chapters (1871–2, 1873). At the latter, he was appointed a member of the General Council, which was a sign of the great trust that Father Semenenko and most of the confreres had in him from the very beginning. At the General Chapter of 1873 – as superior of the Galician mission – he encouraged the delegates to support as strongly as possible the idea of establishing a house in Poland, which, he believed, was likely to happen already with the donation of a former Piarist church in Cracow to the congregation.²⁶

in 1860–1861, which categorically forbade it in dioceses located within the Empire. ACRR, ref. 172, Letter from, P. Semenenko to W. Przewłocki, Rome, 2 VII 1869.

- 24 Marcelina Darowska née Kotowicz (1827–1911), wife of Karol, mother of two children. Following the death of her husband (1852), she arrived in Rome, becoming the spiritual daughter of Father Kajsiewicz. Feeling a vocation to religious life she joined Józefa Karska and her sisters there, who would become known as the Immaculates. After Józefa's death, she accepted the leadership of the young congregation she co-founded. In 1863 she moved the convent from Rome to Jazłowiec, where she opened an educational institution for upper-class girls and worked on the formation of numerous sisters entering the congregation. Until the mid-1870s, she was closely associated with the Resurrectionists. She opened convents in Jarosław, Nizniów, Nowy Sącz, Szymanów and Słonim. Beatified in 1996. EK, vol. 3, Lublin 1979, col. 1028–1029 (by E. Jabłońska-Deptuła).
- 25 M. Marcelina had already sought Father Przewłocki's assignment to Jazłowiec in July 1869, and he received permission to settle there from the Governor's Office on November 15th, 1869. Archives of the Lviv Archdiocese in Cracow, n. ref., Akta konsystorskie, 1869, no. 2944.
- 26 W. Kwiatkowski, *Historia Zgromadzenia Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego 1842–1942*, Albano 1942, p. 295.

Finances and representation

Released, at his own request, after less than five years as chaplain to the sisters, he was appointed Procurator General based in Rome in 1874. In this position, he represented the congregation before Vatican congregations and supervised the congregation's finances. At the 1880 General Chapter, he reported on his procuratorial activities, limited to the financial situation of the Roman house. In his speech he provided possible solutions to the difficult economic situation. He raised the annual income of the House of St. Claudius in Rome from 3150 to 8350 lire. The solution to improve finances was the reduction of some facilities, austerity in spending and the need to establish financial records in each house, which would be kept by the house procurator, something that has not been done in the past.²⁷

It was important at the time to establish a closer relationship with Father Piotr Semenenko, who recognized his great talents and gradually began to see him as his successor. Nevertheless, this was never a harmonious cooperation. Father Walerian's stubbornness in his desire to leave Rome (due to the disastrous – in his opinion – state of the congregation's finances) and vague declarations about his work in Bulgaria led the very considerate Father Semenenko to distrust him. In addition, Przewłocki more and more strongly criticized his General for slow decision-making, the impracticality of his choices, a certain greed for power, and for insincerity in relations with him and his confreres. And at the same time, he valued his attitude more and more.²⁸ Semenenko did not

27 *Idem*, pp. 310–311.

28 On the day of his departure from Rome for the mission to Adrianople, Father Przewłocki declared: "It should be confessed that Father G[enera]l, from the very beginning of the matter of my leadership in Adrianople, has always proved to be very friendly, kind. Perhaps for the first time he began to look at me from a different angle? And it seems to be in my favor. In the beginning there had always been some sourness between us because the whole relationship of theor[et]ical life in Rome must necessarily have been a bit sour. May this also be to the glory of God." ACRR, ref. 29642, *Diariusz*, vol. 1, p. 20 (entry dated 14 II 1882). The longer Father Przewłocki was alive, the more frequently he spoke favorably of his General, although it should be admitted that this occurred mainly after his death. When he was Superior General himself, he recommended the entire congregation and his office to Father Piotr's inter-

stop appreciating him either and, while visiting the mission in Adrianople, he wrote back to Rome:

Your entire letter is a constant reproach that I am dishonest with you. It seemed that way to you, so I can't take it against you that you reproach me, on the contrary, your letter in its kind was rather pleasing to me, because essentially it shows love for me and a real desire for understanding and unity. With such a mindset on your side, and with such an understanding of it on mine, there can be no difficulties between us.²⁹

Since late 1882 Father Przewłocki began preparations to fulfill a new task, no less difficult than the previous ones.

Among the Uniates

In 1883, at Father Semenenko's request (inspired by Father Kalinka), Father Przewłocki became – the third in a row – superior of the Bulgarian mission working among the local Uniates, which was undergoing enormous financial and personal difficulties at the time. The Resurrectionists conducted there mainly educational and parochial work.³⁰ By the end of his tenure, the mission consisted of 24 priests and brothers – the largest mission of the congregation at the time regarding the number of Resurrectionists working there.

To the attentive reader of his diary, the description of the preparations he made long before his departure, once he had accepted the appointment, comes as a surprise. There were dozens of visits, conversations with politicians and clergymen concerned with the “Uniate cause” in Rome, efforts to obtain financial aid at home and abroad, letters to fellow brothers and diocesan priests located in Bulgaria. Today one would call it a professional approach to the matter.

cession, which occasionally brought tangible benefits. This was the case, for example, in the conflict with the Congregation for Propaganda over the Greek College in 1890. Moreover, he considered him the first and main initiator (founder) of the congregation. ACRR, ref. 29643, Diary, vol. 2, p. 67 (entry dated May 20th, 1889).

29 ACRR, ref. 2044, Letter from P. Semenenko to W. Przewłocki, Rome, 16 VIII 1882.

30 The Uniate seminary in Adrianople had three deacons and ten clerics. J. Iwicki, *Charyzmat Zmartwychwstańców*, vol. 1, p. 478.

Father Przewłocki introduced a more economical approach to the entire mission from the beginning (i.e., May 1883), through which he significantly reduced the debt weighing on the mission. He tried to introduce strictness and soldierly discipline among his fellow brothers.³¹ He constantly criticized them, while feeling alone among them, and yet he still hoped for their improvement. With sadness, he observed the increasingly low pedagogical level at the Adrianople Gymnasium, caused by the lack of good educators and teachers. He cooperated well with local authorities, both secular and ecclesiastical. He opened a mission in Malko Tarnovo and a Uniate seminary. He was preparing for ordination and taking vows from clerics. He would not forget about the formation of religious brothers. He took care of raising funds, which also came from the country (including from the Brotherhood of St. Josaphat).³² He opted for the best possible education of Uniate priests and teachers, who could later convert Orthodox Christians. However, since the congregation prioritized students' education, he tried to put the gymnasium in Adrianople at the highest possible level.³³ This is only part of his Bulgarian duties, which he fulfilled to the best of his ability. The dedication to the mission was unquestionable, although one thing was lacking – the acceptance and cordiality between him and his subordinates.

- 31 Father Przewłocki's tough and soldierly manner offended all his Bulgarian subordinates. In addition, as they claimed, he did not show them enough paternal kindness. Idem, pp. 475–479. The superior observed it with understanding: "The nature of the good-hearted Fathers gasps somewhat at the order I wish to introduce. I think that they feel, however, the entire rightness of it and understand the significance. Having been accustomed for many years to do as they pleased, it seems to them that this order is too strict. They submit to it and do what they can. Deo gratias and for that." ACRR, ref. 29642, *Diariusz*, vol. 1, p. 53 (entry dated June 7, 1883).
- 32 The broader aspect of his Bulgarian activities is described in a conclusion of the year 1884, ending with a pious expression: "Let everything be turned to the greater glory of God, and to the benefit of the Church and the Congregation. Amen." Ibid., pp. 107–108 (entry dated Dec. 21–31, 1884).
- 33 The Adrianople Gymnasium had almost 160 students during Father Przewłocki's leadership. W. Kwiatkowski, *Historia Zgromadzenia*, pp. 336–337; J. Iwicki, *Charyzmat zmartwychwstańców*, vol. 1, p. 478.

Time of command

In January 1887, two months after Father Semenenko's sudden death, the delegates of the General Assembly elected Father Walerian Przewłocki – not unanimously and not immediately – as Superior General in Rome.³⁴ This choice seemed, from one perspective, to confirm the line of the Founders, whom Przewłocki knew personally and to whom he was devoted; from the other, given his ascetic lifestyle and strict assessments of human behavior, it brought hope for putting in order a congregation caught up in chaos and lawlessness.

This began a period of “commanding” the Resurrectionists that lasted more than eight years, for which Przewłocki seemed to have been prepared both by the military record of his life and by being responsible for nine years for the finances of the entire congregation as well as for the – not easy to manage – Bulgarian mission. He was also one of the spiritual and loyal disciples of Father Semenenko, who passed on to him the charism of the congregation he founded. He was the author of 11 circular letters to fellow members, in which he encouraged confreres to faithfully keep their vows, obey the congregation's Constitution, devote themselves to the service of the Lord God and people, and to serve the Head of the Church.³⁵

Looking at the sources regarding this time, one dominant feature of the period must be distinguished: Father Przewłocki was a superior concerned about the congregation. This is evident just from the number of visitations he made at the time. They occupied him for an average of 2–3 months each year.³⁶ During his visits he met with each of his confreres, including

34 Father Przewłocki at the time of his election had “under him” 105 fathers, brothers, clerics, and juniors and 17 novices. At the time of his death, there were 179 Resurrectionists who had taken their vows, and 15 novices. J. Iwicki, *Charyzmat zmartwychwstańców*, vol. 2, Kraków–Kielce 2007, p. 4; B. Micewski, *Osobowy i terytorialny rozwój zgromadzenia Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego*, in: *Zmartwychwstańcy w dziejach Kościoła i narodu*, ed. Z. Zieliński, Katowice 1990, p. 45.

35 W. Kwiatkowski, *Historia Zgromadzenia*, p. 354; ACRR, ref. 65378-65388, W. Przewłocki, *Listy okólne do współbraci z lat 1888–1894*.

36 Father General's visitation diary presented the following: IX–X 1887: Cracow, Tarnów, Lviv, Przemyśl (additionally at the Sapieha family in Krasiczyn); VI 1888: Paris (Polish mission); VII–IX 1889: Cracow, Tarnów, Lviv (additionally at the Popiel family

postulants and novices. He was not scared of bold, personal, and unpopular decisions.³⁷ He bravely faced various obstacles and opponents, which he had no shortage of, especially at the beginning of his general term. He brought to completion – despite financial difficulties – the construction of churches in Cracow (1887), Rome (1889) and Lviv (1889). He was capable of arguing for the interests of the congregation with, for example, the Congregation for Propaganda and the bishops of the dioceses in which the Resurrectionists worked. He supported American and Canadian outposts distant from Europe with his attention, thanks to which they were able to dynamically develop.³⁸

While defending the congregation, he clearly saw the weaknesses of individual fathers and brothers.³⁹ His main objection to them was their irreligious lifestyle, full of frivolity and egoism. Hence, everywhere – both in America, Bulgaria, Polish domains and at the General House – he tried to introduce dis-

in Ruszczy); VI-X 1890: USA, Canada; V-IX 1891: Cracow, Lviv, Bulgaria; VII-IX 1892: Cracow, Lviv, Kęty (Resurrectionist nuns); VIII-X 1893: Cracow, Lviv (additionally at the Stadnicki family in Wielka Wieś); VII-IX 1894: Kęty, Cracow, Lviv, Bulgaria (but not Adrianopol, due to the cholera epidemic there). To this can be added regular visits to Vienna combined since 1892 with plans for the Resurrectionists to take up a mission there for the Polish community. From the above compilation, it can be seen that father Walerian did not undertake visitation trips only in 1895 (due to increasing illness). ACRR, ref. 29643-29645, W. Przewłocki, *Diariusz*, vol. II-IV.

- 37 Such decisions included, for example, the congregation leaving the Greek College (after only 4 years of running it), the change of the Novitiate Magistrate in Cracow, combined with the resignation of the founder of the it, the transfer of clerics from Cracow to Lviv, etc.
- 38 In addition to the above-mentioned letters of Father Przewłocki from his 1890 trip to America, interesting records of this visitation can also be found in his diary (volume II). It is worth noting that during his tenure the “Chicago Daily” [Dziennik Chicagoski] was established, the Resurrectionists took over more parishes, schools and colleges run in Chicago. B. Micewski, *Osobowy i terytorialny rozwój...*, pp. 42–43.
- 39 In the Diary [Diariusz], the main odium of criticism was constantly falling on two confreres, members of the General Council: Father Karol Grabowski CR, and above all on Father Leon Zbyszewski CR, his main opponent. Fr. Przewłocki did not spare bitter words of criticism exclusively to the Resurrectionists (although he had the most of them from them), but also to cardinals, bishops, diocesan priests, politicians and people from the ruling spheres, landowners, but also those from poorer social classes.

cipline, reprimanding those who disobeyed it.⁴⁰ He was also as demanding of himself⁴¹ and equally eager to take care of the finances of each house, urging austerity, while confidently awaiting the support of benefactors.

By far the greatest achievement of Father Walerian Przewłocki and the congregation under his leadership was his approval by a decree of commendation by the Holy See, which officially took place on March 10th, 1888, in the second year of his presidency.⁴²

Two more characteristics of Father General are worth noting. The first was his piety. Even a casual reading of his “Diary” reveals quite a few references to the Lord God, whom he served. They are expressed in short, “soldierly”

- 40 Father Paweł Smolikowski – a direct witness of Father Przewłocki’s life and his closest colleague, now the venerable servant of God, seems to be right when he noted several years after his death: “With Father Przewłocki it is different. He does not have a fixed, firm judgment, and it is known that he was immensely sensitive and under the impression of the moment his judgment changed: once he elevates someone, the other time he has them for nothing, but the note that dominates his whole Journal is unfavorable to those about whom he writes. [...] This severity combined with his changeability, made him feared and avoided. And there was another reason for this as well. Father Przewłocki did not believe anyone, he suspected almost everyone of the worst things: he was a pessimist. Being a superior, he always had someone who was instructed to report everything to him. Often it was a brother or even a layperson. Such things can never be hidden. Hence, he alienated everyone from himself. If he saw that there was harmony and unity among the members of a house, he, being the General, instead of rejoicing in this, was restless.” Archives of the Polish Province of the Resurrectionists, n. ref., P. Smolikowski, *Historia Zgromadzenia Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego*, no. 28, p. 2.
- 41 This is one of his self-criticisms, written a year before his death: “I am becoming worse, at least more and more impatient, nervous, I take things too personally, or perhaps humanly. I do not lean on God as I should, hence I can contribute to disorder myself. Words fail me – I wish I could remove myself. There is much that is wrong with me, but it must also be confessed that we have no people, I have no one to lean on.” ACRR, ref. 29645, *Diariusz*, vol. 4, p. 4 (entry dated 12 v 1894).
- 42 ACRR, ref. 65362, *Decretum Approbationis, Documenta S. Cong. Episcoporum et Regularium*, die 10 Martii 1888; J. Iwicki, *Charyzmat zmartwychwstańców*, vol. 2, pp. 5–7, 17–18. In his second request for approval, Father Przewłocki stated that the congregation should be recognized from 1836, when it was founded in Paris. This is what the decree of the Holy See proclaimed at the time. This was a novelty, since until then the Resurrectionists had given as their beginning the year 1842 and the taking of their first vows in the Roman catacombs.

poignant acts, which are often a response to the problems he constantly experienced with people.⁴³ Second: he often reminded his subordinates of what was most important, the main principles they should follow. In 1889 on his way from Cracow to Rome, shortly after making a visitation in Galicia, he wrote in his diary:

That very day, a letter to Father Adolf summarizing the shortcomings of the Cracow house and recommending attention, first of all, to religiousness, to the church, then that everything in it should follow the Roman rite. Finally, the boarding school. Not to change the system of our upbringing, even if criticized, shouted at, threatened to take the children away.⁴⁴

Being specific in words and actions was his motto. Father Przewłocki loathed gossip and convenience. He tried to be a practical, sober man, and at the same time attached to the rules of religious life – which is how he raised the next, third generation of Resurrectionists.

Father Przewłocki had yet another skill. He was able to overcome his inherent distrust, and over time he became devoted and dedicated to those whom he initially resented. Celina Borzecka (now blessed)⁴⁵ and her companions, who from 1891 took the name of the Resurrectionist nuns, were among those who experienced it. Initially, Father General treated them with awkwardness and a harsh attitude. He criticized Celina's intentions and disrespected her. Thus, for example, he suggested that they should join another already existing women's

43 Prayer invocations recorded in the Diary include "Lord, please rescue," "Lord, have mercy on us," or the slightly longer: "Lord, You see, after all, my intention and desires. Strengthen me in them. Lift, save, for we are perishing!"

44 ACRR, ref. 29643, Diariusz, vol. II, p. 81 (entry dated 30 IX 1889).

45 Celina Borzecka, née Chludzińska (1833–1913) – wife of Józef, mother of four children, after his death (1874) lived in Rome with her daughters Jadwiga and Celina. Spiritual daughter of Father Piotr Semenenko, whose instructions and charism she followed throughout her life. She led, after her heroic efforts, to the establishment of the Resurrectionist nuns in Rome (1891). She founded centers in Kęty, Warsaw and Częstochowa, and sent sisters to perform missionary work in Bulgaria and the United States. She emphasized trust in young people, respect for their talents and the fulfillment of God's will in lives. She was beatified in 2007. EK, vol. 2, Lublin 1976, col. 832 (by J. Markowska).

congregation,⁴⁶ or adopt a different name for the order.⁴⁷ However, when he saw the consistent attitude of Celina and her daughter Jadwiga, their unshakeable belief that the Lord God had given them the task of forming a new Polish congregation based on the charism of the Resurrectionists, when he saw how religiously they lived – he gradually helped them and trusted them more and more.⁴⁸ He helped to organize the ceremony of the first vows of the Resurrectionists (January 6th, 1891),⁴⁹ and when Celina relocated with some of the sisters to Kęty, he donated various church equipment for the new chapel under construction and personally consecrated first the cornerstone (September 22nd, 1892) and then the already erected monastery and chapel (September 23rd, 1894).⁵⁰

- 46 One example includes his proposal to merge Borzęcka's nuns with the Carmelite Sisters of Mother Jadwiga Wielhorska, which he pursued in February and March 1888. ACRR, ref. 29643, *Diariusz*, vol. 2, pp. 30, 33 (entries from February and March 1888).
- 47 In late 1890, less than two weeks before her first vows, Borzęcka was suggested by Father Przewłocki that they should be named Sisters of the Annunciation. This and many other examples show the high degree of suspicion held by the Resurrectionists for Celina Borzęcka's congregation. This continued even in the following years when they opened their home in Kęty. C. Borzęcka, *Zapiski i notatki 1881–1913*, Rzym 1984, p. 200.
- 48 Celina Borzęcka wrote from Kęty to her daughter Jadwiga: "I send you a letter from Father General, it seems that he is satisfied with us. He liked our devotion and mortification." C. Borzęcka, *Listy do Jadwigi. Listy do córki Jadwigi Współzałożycielki Zgromadzenia Sióstr Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego z lat 1891–1892*, vol. 2, ed. L. Mistecka, Rzym 1995, p. 309; L. Mistecka, *Zwychwychwstanki. Charyzmat i historia*, vol. 1, Lublin 1999, pp. 309–310.
- 49 "Father General, with incomparable kindness, watched over and did not deviate from the ceremony." C. Borzęcka, *Zapiski i notatki*, p. 202 (entry from 6 I 1891).
- 50 Father Przewłocki's transcript of the speech from this ceremony has been preserved. At the end he said: "May God bless you good sisters in every field of your work. Tomorrow, at the first Mass here, I will beg for these graces for you, as well as for all who with their sacrifice and work have contributed to the erection of this shrine to the Lord of Hosts, I will ask that the benevolent Lord reward their benevolence by preparing for them a haven of eternal glory in his kingdom. Which I wish you from my heart. Amen." Two days later, on September 25th, 1894, Father General spoke again – on the occasion of the First Holy Communion of two children of Celina Haller, daughter of Celina Borzęcka. Main Archive of the Resurrectionist Sisters in Kęty, ref. KK 78101/1, *Kronika domu w Kętach*, vol. 1: 1893–1900, p. 65–66, 69–71.

On September 28th, 1894, Father Walerian gave a speech to all the fathers and brothers in the Cracow house. In the evening he took the train to Vienna and then continued (with changes) to Rome. It was the last day in his earthly life that he spent in his homeland.⁵¹ He was already feeling weak, exhausted by traveling. But even then, he did not stop thinking about his congregation and the changes that could improve it. Soon after – in December 1894 – he finished writing his diary. In January 1895, he contracted severe influenza, which, combined with heart disease, caused his death after four months.⁵² In the last hours of his life, a characteristic situation occurred, which was described and commented on by Celina Borzęcka:

The patient's agitation was evident, he cried and kissed Father Assistant's hand – the latter also kissed his hand, held his head and they parted in this loving emotion. Father Czorba, wanting to stop Father's tears, proposed a spiritual reading as usual at 11.30, to which the sick refused, feeling unfit. One can admire how he managed until the last moment the smallest details that surrounded him, as well as how anyone was supposed to behave.⁵³

Priest Walerian Przewłocki died, having received the sacraments on May 7th, 1895, among his confreres. He was buried in Rome, in the congregation's tomb in the Campo Verano cemetery, on May 9th, 1895.

“Godly, yet incomprehensible”

Walerian Przewłocki has been the subject of various memoirs and studies by those who witnessed his life. However, these statements are at times completely divergent. For instance, Father Paweł Smolikowski, one of his closest associates, wrote of Father Przewłocki as an extremely demanding man:

51 ACRR, ref. 29645, *Diariusz*, vol. 4, p. 22.

52 *Śp. o. Walerian Przewłocki*, „Tygodnik Katolicki”, 33 (1895) no 21 from 23 V, pp. 333–334.

53 ACRR, ref. 29640, C. Borzęcka, *Szczegóły ostatnich chwil ojca Waleriana Przewłockiego*, Generała Głównego Zgromadzenia Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego, p. 2.

Father Przewłocki was a very hard-working, well-organized and disciplined man, which were qualities he had developed as an officer. He brought much of this military vigor and discipline to his religious life. He was also a man who trusted no one and suspected everyone. His judgments about people were always very negative.⁵⁴

Immediately after Father Przewłocki's death, Celina Borzęcka emphasized that he "eagerly and with great love followed the footsteps of the Founding Fathers and who left within the Congregation a lasting monument of his work and wise leadership."⁵⁵ The now-blessed Celina, while going through "difficult" times with him (she was constantly remarking on how judgmental he was toward her), wrote to her daughter before one of Father General's visits in 1887:

I bought candy for as much as 4 francs to have something to welcome Father Walerian with, as I expected he would come to say goodbye to me – he is so sour with me that I really don't know how to deal with him, maybe candy will expel the jaundice of this godly and yet incomprehensible man. Eight [o'clock.] He came with a farewell, but sick to his stomach.⁵⁶

As profuse as insightful is Father Walerian Przewłocki's obituary by Ludwik Dębicki, which was published in the Cracow "Czas" only five months after his death. One can read about his spiritual similarity to the founders:

The successor of Kajsiwicz and Semenenko belonged to a different generation already. He does not have a scar over his forehead like Fr. Hieronim, nor that panache which the era of our great poetry gave – but he had a military past and a military attitude; he did not have Father Piotr's wide knowledge, but he knew how to maintain the solemnity, reverence and influence in the Vatican spheres which those men had acquired.⁵⁷

54 J. Iwicki, *Charyzmat zmartwychwstańców*, vol. 2, p. 3.

55 ACRR, ref. 29640, *ibidem*.

56 C. Borzęcka, *Listy do Jadwigi. Listy do córki Jadwigi Współzałożycielki Zgromadzenia Sióstr Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego z lat 1883–1890*, vol. 1, ed. L. Mistecka, Rzym 1990, p. 186 (letter from 26 VIII 1887).

57 ACRR, ref. 29640, C. Borzęcka, *Szczegóły ostatnich chwil ojca Waleriana Przewłockiego*.

The words of Father Jan Gnatowski are an accurate addition to the understanding of Father Walerian's character:

It was not easy to find a man as gifted and dedicated as he was to leading others. The same practical and organizational sense, the sense of order and common sense that he brought to all his undertakings and intents, he exemplified it to an almost higher degree in his relationship with people, especially in their spiritual guidance. He was an excellent judge of people's hearts, he knew how to seize them for the glory of God, and how to moulded them into the kind of people that the Church and society always, and especially today, most need – practical, very sober, but reasonably eager, deeply loving God, but loving him simply, without mysticism or ecstasy.⁵⁸

Looking at this complex, multidimensional figure, it would be fitting at the end to simply sigh along with Father Przewłocki: "Lord, do not remember my sins, and You, oh Most Holy Virgin, do not abandon me."⁵⁹

Abstract: The article is dedicated to the figure of Father Walerian Przewłocki CR, who was born in 1828 in the Lublin region. After obtaining his high school diploma at the Lublin gymnasium (1847), he actively served in the Hungarian army during the 1848 uprising and in the Turkish and French armies during the Crimean War against Russia (1853–1856). He worked as an engineer in England and France. He organized troops intended to fight in the January Uprising. After its failure, he settled in Góra near Śrem in the house of Cezary Plater, where he experienced a profound conversion. He unexpectedly traveled to Rome and joined the Resurrectionists in 1865. He took his first vows a year later and was ordained a priest in 1867. After completing his doctorate (1868), he was sent to Galicia, where he looked for a place to establish the congregation. He was appointed as chaplain to the Immaculata at their convent in Jazłowiec (1869–1874). Upon his return to Rome, he became Procurator General and in 1883 he was appointed Superior of the Bulgarian mission in Adrianople. After Father Semenenko's death, the 11th General Council in January 1887 elected him Superior General of the con-

58 J. Gnatowski, *Ks. Waleryan Przewłocki*, „Przegląd Polityczny, Społeczny i Literacki”, 11 (1895) no 181 z 8 VIII, p. 1. This is an excerpt from a lengthier obituary included in three consecutive issues of this magazine (179–181).

59 ACRR, ref. 26943, *Diariusz*, vol. II, p. 95 (entry from 10 V 1890).

gregation for his lifetime. He died in Rome on May 7th, 1895. His rich epistolographic and diary heritage remains in the General Archives.

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