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How to Love Poland in a "World of Disorder"? National Pedagogy of the Resurrectionists and Their Circle

Come amare la Polonia in un "mondo di disordine"?
Pedagogia nazionale dei Resurrezionisti e della loro comunità

Summary

The article presents an overview of the analysis of the principles of national pedagogy formulated by members of the Congregation of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the circle of people close to it ("external brothers"). The pedagogy was based on the conviction that since the Partitions, the Polish territories have been the site of "moral and spiritual battle" (Walerian Kalinka). The captivity of the partition period was not only a political enslavement, but also carried serious dangers for the Poles to preserve their national identity based on the Christian cultural code. The partitions – as claimed by the Resurrectionists and the "external brothers" – were a revolution of their own, but also encouraged the emergence of a revolutionary situation in the lands of divided Poland, either through the simplified reception of "Western-revolutionary currents" (Hieronim Kajsiewicz), or by revolutionizing Polish society through the destruction of its organic social ties. As a basic remedy for such a state of affairs, the Resurrectionists and "external brothers" indicated that the Poles needed to preserve the Catholic faith and the morality that flows from it. This is a basic condition for the Polish nation to maintain its prospects for political revival. This, in turn, also requires "forethought patriotism" and nurturing "organic works" (Jan Koźmian). According to the author of the article, the national pedagogy formulated that way, indicating life in accordance with the Christian faith and morality as a basic condition for the Polish nation to regain its freedom, was taken up and developed by the great teaching and pastoral programs of the Blessed Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński and St. John Paul II.

Keywords: Walerian Kalinka; Resurrectionists; pedagogy; Partitions of Poland; Great Polish Emigration

Summario

L'articolo presenta una panoramica dell'analisi dei principi della pedagogia nazionale formulata dai membri della Congregazione della Risurrezione di Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo e dalla cerchia di persone ad essa vicine ("fratelli esterni"). La pedagogia si basava sulla convinzione che, a partire dalle Spartizioni, i territori polacchi sono stati il luogo di una "battaglia morale e spirituale" (Walerian Kalinka). La prigionia del periodo delle spartizioni non è stata solo una schiavitù politica, ma ha comportato anche seri pericoli per i polacchi di preservare la loro identità nazionale basata sul codice culturale cristiano. Le partizioni – come sostengono i Resurrezionisti e i "fratelli esterni" – erano una rivoluzione a sé stante, ma incoraggiavano anche l'emergere di una situazione rivoluzionaria nelle terre della Polonia divisa, sia attraverso la ricezione semplificata di "correnti rivoluzionarie occidentali" (Hieronim Kajsiewicz), sia rivoluzionando la società polacca attraverso la distruzione dei suoi consolidati legami sociali. Come rimedio di base per questo stato di cose, i Resurrezionisti e i 'fratelli esterni' hanno indicato che i polacchi devono preservare la fede cattolica e la moralità che ne deriva. Questa è una condizione fondamentale affinché la nazione polacca mantenga le sue prospettive di rinascita politica. Per raggiungere questo obiettivo, è necessario anche un "patriottismo preveggente" e coltivare "opere organiche" (Jan Koźmian). Secondo l'autore dell'articolo, la pedagogia nazionale formulata in questo modo, che prevede una vita conforme alla fede e alla morale cristiana come condizione fondamentale per la nazione polacca per ritrovare la sua libertà, è stata ripresa e sviluppata dai grandi programmi didattici e pastorali del Beato Cardinale Stefan Wyszyński e di San Giovanni Paolo II.

Parole chiave: Walerian Kalinka; Resurrezionisti; pedagogia; Partizioni della Polonia; Grande Emigrazione Polacca

The subject of this article is an outline analysis of the reflection on patriotism that was undertaken by the founders of the Congregation of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ and among people gathered around it.¹ This circle was composed of both clerical "external brothers" (e.g., Father Jan Koźmian) and lay people who ultimately chose the path of pursuing their priestly calling within this congregation (the case of Walerian Kalinka).² This circle can also be extended to people who had never worn a cassock, but in terms of both spiritual and ideological views were always close to those preached by priests Jełowicki, Kajsiewicz, Semenenko (e.g., Zygmunt Krasiński).

¹ The most comprehensive study of the Resurrectionist political thought to date remains the monograph by B. Szlachta, *Ład, Kościół, Naród*, Kraków 1996.

² According to J. Koźmian's biographer, "the group of «external brothers», lay people bound by voluntary ties to the emerging Resurrectionist congregation" was characterized by the fact that "this bond was of a voluntary nature and did not entail any formal obligations expressed, for example, in vows, pledges, etc." (P. Matusik, *Religia i naród. Życie i myśl Jana Koźmiana 1814-1877*, Poznań 1998, p. 91).

1. Can the revolution do any good? / Can a revolution bring anything good?

The condition of the Polish nation among Christian and European peoples is so unusual, so exceptional, unprecedented in the history of the world, that it can be fully understood only by those who are part of it [...]. In the history of mankind there have often been conquered nations, enslaved, forced to serve foreign masters, but the nation torn into three peoples, forced to resist three hostile nationalities, there has not been such an example yet [...]. Whenever we happened to find ourselves in the company of three compatriots, coming from three Polish countries, and hearing their complaints, so many times we seemed to see three sick people, each of whom is affected by a different, severe misery, wondering about their sorrows, recounting them, indicating the symptoms of danger and claiming that their very illness is both more acute and faster threatening death.³

Two most important insights shine through these words written by Walerian Kalinka almost ten years before he joined the ranks of the Resurrectionists. The first emphasizes the uniqueness of the event that was the partitions of Poland. The second – is the conviction that the time of the partitions is something fundamentally bad, a "disease" affecting primarily the sphere of the national spirit (the last and most important manifestation of its unity), since its "body" (the state) ceased to exist.⁴

The destruction of the Polish state at the end of the eighteenth century was an exceptional event because it was a revolution of its own and prepared the ground for further revolutionary upheavals. In the words of Father Kajsiewicz in his *Sermon on the National Spirit and the Revolutionary Spirit [Kazanie o duchu narodowym i duchu rewolucyjnym, 1849*], the partition of Poland "clearly showed that there is no longer any law or justice in politics, and that force alone means everything," and this "lesson" "the nations learned all too well and all too quickly" (H. Kajsiewicz).⁵ The dreadful lesson was manifested as early as 1789 and in the following years, when "for the murder of the [Polish – G.K.] nation, the furious French people threw to the three monarchs of the north, as if a gauntlet, the bloody head of Louis XVI." The role of "our semi avenger" was later played by Napoleon, who

³ W. Kalinka, Polska pod trzema obcymi rządami, in: idem, Pisma pomniejsze, part 1, Kraków 1892, pp. 1-3.

⁴ As W. Kalinka wrote in the same text: "Our spirit, indeed, has remained whole and one, when the body has disintegrated into several parts, and when the suffering of each part with moral sorrow torments the whole national soul" (ibidem, p. 2).

⁵ H. Kajsiewicz, Kazanie o duchu narodowym i duchu rewolucyjnym, in: idem, O duchu rewolucyjnym. Wybór pism, introduction B. Szlachta, Kraków 2009, p. 110.

⁶ Ibidem, p. 112.

embodied the French Revolution, the state that firstly gave the idea of dividing Poland [Prussia], in one battle smashed, secondly reduced, tormented, humiliated, and ordered to give him a wife from a house proud of his old age and dignity, and thirdly burned the capital.⁷

The partitions revolutionized not only the countries of Western Europe. The captivity also contributed to revolutionizing Poles themselves. As Father Kajsiewicz wrote in his famous Open Letter to the Brothers of the Priests Sinfully Conspiring and to the Brothers of the Nobility Unwisely Moderate [List otwarty do braci księży grzesznie spiskujących i do braci szlachty niemądrze umiarkowanych, 1863],

since the partition of our country, enraged by the revolutionary sin of the monarchs, we have thrown ourselves into the arms of the godless French people's revolution [...] From then on, all opposition in our favor, all revolution [...] full of charm for us. A moderate Pole, conservative at home, revolutionary abroad and in politics.⁸

However, this implied the weakening (in the cultural and social sense) of the immune system with regard to revolutionary currents coming to us from the West – "Western revolutionary ideas, threaded with godlessness, had to enter Poland with full force, where they found no resistance, or weak and clumsy at best." But this was a consequence of the appearance and functioning in our lands the revolution – mother, that is, the partitions of Poland.

Father Semenenko convinced his compatriots "not to expect anything from the foreign social revolutions, much less their own, one greater evil." Father Kajsiewicz, on the other hand, repeated more than once that the partitions of Poland, although they were a "revolutionary sin" and prepared the ground for further "sins" of this type, were at the same time "God's whipping", "marked by punishment", which "must be executed." Revival in spirit, renewal, rebirth", the symptoms of which Father Kajsiewicz saw in the "moral revolution" happening in Polish territories at the dawn of the 1860s, "could

⁷ Ibidem.

⁸ Ibidem, p. 270.

⁹ Ibidem, p. 271.

¹⁰ Cit. per M. Król, Konserwatyści a niepodległość. Studia nad polską myślą konserwatywną XIX wieku, Warszawa 1985, p. 168.

¹¹ H. Kajsiewicz, Kazanie o posiadaniu się (1861), in: idem, O duchu rewolucyjnym, p. 222-223. A year later, Father Kajsiewicz emphasized that the national "resurrection needs to be redeemed with longer and more beneficial suffering than before" (idem, Domówione kazania o przeciwnikach Chrystusowych powiedzianego w Paryżu w dzień Nowego Roku (1862), in: ibidem, p. 238).

only be achieved through the path of purifying suffering."¹² The revolution that was the partitions of Poland was therefore God's tribute, and the good experienced by the Polish people after the destruction of their state happens not thanks to, but in spite of the partitions.

The geography of the revolutionary danger mentioned by Father Kajsiewicz was reminiscent of that drawn by Zygmunt Krasiński, who saw the Polish lands as threatened by "Moscow-Soviet absolutism" coming from the East and "mob-radical absolutism" from the West. 13 They were both fundamentally revolutionary. "The world of today has left the order of God, therefore it loves the disorder"14 – wrote Father Kajsiewicz in 1849. The exodus from God's order began with the upheaval caused by the Protestant Reformation, that "religious revolt from the pride of reason." It continued in the Age of Enlightenment, when "mature disbelief incarnated itself within secret societies," headed by the Freemasons – "common agitators against Catholicism." The culmination of this trend toward disorder was the French Revolution, which "declared the laws of man against or in disregard of the divine law and preached to idolize human reason" and finally "flooded France with blood, flooded Europe with victorious hordes."15 Despite the fact that for over three hundred years the spiritual and cultural history of the West has been a record of "ripening unbelief," nobody among the Resurrectionists and within their circle doubted that Poland's place is in the West. Jan Koźmian can exemplify such a position. "The condition for the survival of the Polish nation," he wrote in 1848, "is loyalty to the education [of] the Latin civilization of the West, from where all distinct features of our national selfhood come," and at the time of the "inevitable clash between Russia and Europe [...] under no circumstances may we betray the Western cause."16 Father Kajsiewicz, who so accurately described the history of the development of the "love of disorder" in Western Europe, and warned his compatriots against importing revolutionary "Italianisms," ¹⁷

¹² Idem, List otwarty do braci księży..., in: ibidem, p. 222.

¹³ Letter from Z. Krasiński to A. Jełowicki, 26/12/1848. Z. Krasiński, Listy do różnych adresatów, ed. Z. Sudolski, vol. 2, Warszawa 1991, p. 226.

¹⁴ H. Kajsiewicz, List otwarty do wydawcy "Przeglądu Poznańskiego" o stanowisku kaplana względem sprawy narodowej polityki (1849), in: idem, O duchu rewolucyjnym, p. 97.

¹⁵ Idem, Kazanie o niespożytości Kościoła (1862), in: ibidem, pp. 252-253.

¹⁶ J. Koźmian, Stan rzeczy w Wielkim Księstwie Poznańskim (1848), in: idem, Dwa bałwochwalstwa. Wybór pism, the selection was made, with an introduction and footnotes by B. Szlachta, E. Hajdasz, Kraków 2007, pp. 199-200.

¹⁷ H. Kajsiewicz, *List do braci księży...*, in: idem, *O duchu rewolucyjnym*, p. 269. Kajsiewicz was in this way referring to the process of the unification of Germany, the faces of which were the liberal-ruled (freemason) Piedmont and the revolutionary movement of Garibaldi's "red shirts" (a high-profile Freemason who made no secret of his anti-Catholicism).

simultaneously observed that "in France, in Germany, they chatter about communism, in Russia they put it into practice." ¹⁸

The place of Poland in terms of spirit and culture is in the West. However, it cannot be the Occident of "mob-radical absolutisms." The West must find its Christian (Catholic) roots and break with the disastrous "love of disorder." Thus, the sine qua non condition is to "stand with the highest, purest, the only envisioner of true conservatism of historical rights today, with the Pope." The Resurrectionists and their circle spoke in a single voice: Poland will have no friends in the de-Christianized West. No one there will understand and effectively support the Polish struggle for freedom.

2. Moral life – the requirement of patriotism

The first step in developing a national pedagogy appropriate to the time of captivity was the awareness, as Walerian Kalinka wrote shortly before the outbreak of the January Uprising, that "our whole country should be considered as a battlefield of constant moral combat, spiritual combat," and "for moral and spiritual combat, one needs moral upbringing as well as spiritual strength and purification."²⁰ On the other hand, "moral decay" is "the most significant denationalization."²¹ Father Kajsiewicz addressed this question in a similar way, writing in 1849 that "every soul formed, and developed for God, is at the same time a dear asset for the nation."²²

The partitions of Poland not only brought political captivity, but also led to moral devastation in many forms. It happened not only through the preparation of the ground for the absorption of revolutionary ideologies within Polish society (see above). The partition governments, through the foreign schooling and educational system imposed on Poles, cultivated a kind of anti-pedagogy. Walerian Kalinka wrote long before the "Apukhtin night" that the result of the work of Russified schooling in the Kingdom of Poland is the "shallowness of education" of Polish youth, who leave the school walls as "premature old men", accustomed to "skillful slipping", because "no important grain of learning has ever entered their minds, no convictions have been formed."²³

¹⁸ Idem, Papiestwo i sprawa rzymska z punktu widzenia petersburskiego przez dyplomatę rosyjskiego, in: idem, O duchu rewolucyjnym, pp. 145-146.

¹⁹ Idem, List do braci księży..., in: ibidem, p. 272.

²⁰ W. Kalinka, Polska pod trzema obcymi rządami, pp. 75-76.

²¹ Ibidem, s. 53.

²² H. Kajsiewicz, List otwarty do wydawcy "Przeglądu Poznańskiego", p. 98.

²³ W. Kalinka, Polska pod trzema obcymi rządami, pp. 44-45.

At the same time, shortly before the outbreak of the January Uprising, things were not much better in the Grand Duchy of Posen. Even before Bismarck's rule, the "Prussian riots," the Kulturkampf and the Colonization Commission, the future Resurrectionist observed that the Prussian government

in the open war [against Poles in Greater Poland – G.K.], public education is used as the main weapon. Schools are exclusively German; Polish language, the study of the national past, find no place in them: their purpose is to create and educate Prussian citizens.²⁴

Berlin has already achieved its first successes on this path. In 1858, Kalinka remarked that "the education and mental formation of Greater Poland are rather Germanic, because acquired in German schools, than Western." As a result, the people of Greater Poland are unfavorably differentiated by "sophistication" from their compatriots in the other two partitions. They have a "compromised" "sense of poetry and artistic beauty," and in addition there is "a kind of arrogance, unintentionally elevated from German schools, whose teaching is saturated with the pride of Protestantism." ²⁵

The Pole only turns into a *Moskal* when he becomes mischievous. The sacraments that wipe the original sin of Polishness from us and bring us into the bosom of All-Russia are wastefulness, passionate gambling, traitorship and all kinds of debauchery.²⁶

This statement by W. Kalinka can be applied to the other two partitions as well. But since the struggle for the survival of the nation will be determined in the spiritual and moral field, the primary task of the nation is to make efforts to ensure that the Polish Church does not lack an "eager, exemplary and enlightened clergy." Without it, it will be impossible to "raise the nation," and thus to undertake an effective struggle against the national anti-pedagogy oozing from the partitioners.²⁷

²⁴ Ibidem, p. 33.

²⁵ Ibidem, pp. 26, 30. Although Kalinka perceived in the people of Wielkopolska the ability of "organized hospitality," in the same breath he added that "Wielkopolska has not yet gotten rid of the flaws in which lies the root of the greatest danger to its existence and nationality [...]: the love of lavishness and magnificence resulting in the wastefulness" (ibidem, pp. 30-31).

²⁶ Ibidem, p. 70.

²⁷ Ibidem, p. 76. As Jan Koźmian wrote in 1848: "A country is what enlightened people make it [...]. In this respect the priests' influence is immense. Priests can do even more than the citizens. They should excel in all sacrifices and in all virtues that belong to their state" (idem, *Stan rzeczy w Wielkim Księstwie Poznańskim*, in: idem, *Dwa bałwochwalstwa*, p. 206).

On the verge of the 1860s, according to the future Resurrectionist, Greater Poland advanced most on this path. Even before the entire generation of priests-socialists appeared by the Warta River, W. Kalinka, while writing in 1858 about the Grand Duchy of Poznań, stated that "no other Polish province has so many enlightened priests, and in none do they undertake so much work on the people." However, the commitment of priests in social affairs brings danger of "weakening and losing the priestly spirit" and "straining the conscience" (after all, politics is often a "transaction" requiring "concessions to each other as to principles and persons") as Father Kajsiewicz wrote a few years earlier. 29

Who should the priest-patriot be, then? Primarily a man who remembers that "he is first a man of prayer, a sacrifice-maker, a intermediary between God and the people." This allows him to avoid falling into the trap of "ill-conceived patriotism", which feeds on the theology of liberation avant la lettre. It makes priests "swing the crucifix, demonstrating that Christ was a democrat." This theology makes priests of Christ, "priests of Poland idolized." Poland idolized."

Should therefore a Catholic priest renounce the cause of the enslaved Homeland? By no means. A priest, Father Kajsiewicz wrote in 1849, is supposed to be "a national man, but in a priestly, divine way." He is to be "a national man, but primarily a supernatural man." As such, he is supposed to be concerned with "the whole of theoretical politics," that is, "the religious philosophy of politics," which is "an integral part of theology." Following the author of "Sejm Sermons" Father Kajsiewicz repeated that "the priest is supposed to interfere in politics not to play with it and enjoy himself in it, but to expel sin from politics."

3. To nationalize modernization, or the need for "prudent patriotism"

The danger associated with the long years of captivity was also threatening because denationalization could take place gradually, unnoticed. The policy of the partitioners, which converted seemingly apolitical modernization processes into an instrument of their

²⁸ W. Kalinka, Polska pod trzema obcymi rządami, p. 28.

²⁹ H. Kajsiewicz, List otwarty do wydawcy "Przeglądu Poznańskiego", pp. 94-95.

³⁰ Ibidem, p. 97.

³¹ Ibidem, p. 96.

³² The phrase used by Father Kajsiewicz in his *Open Letter to Brother Priests Sinfully Conspiring*, in: ibidem, p. 266.

³³ H. Kajsiewicz, List otwarty do wydawcy "Przeglądu Poznańskiego", p. 99.

³⁴ Ibidem, p. 100.

³⁵ Ibidem.

anti-Polish policy, contributed significantly to this. Just as was done by the Prussian government in Greater Poland, where, as W. Kalinka wrote ten years after the Spring of Nations,

all measures of civilization, all material improvements, which the government in the whole country willingly supports, and introduces to this province, if they improve the material welfare of the country, they turn to the damage of its spirit, they contribute to denationalization.³⁶

In this situation, the more pressing need for Poles was the development of "prudent patriotism," of which Jan Koźmian, the "external brother" of the Resurrectionists, wrote. Even before entering the clergy, as the editor of "Poznan Review" [Przegląd Poznański], he stressed the need to avoid "patriotic noise", and concentrate on "everyday, commonplace Polish work."³⁷ This one is supposed to be primarily based on "moral strength". "The only things that make us invincible are religious, moral and historical tradition, education, prosperity, and a serious maturity of political spirit."³⁸ All these characteristics should be developed in anticipation of "the moment of military exertion", "and fidelity to the homeland and the old customs should be maintained by following the example of the Scots or Belgians in the household."³⁹

Jan Koźmian was the first to speak of the need for Poles to undertake "organic works" while observing in the article *The state of affairs in the Grand Duchy of Poznan* published in 1848 in the "Poznań Review" that

the path of all virtues, love for all things national, the path of decent manners, togetherness, sacrifice and organic works, activities and perseverance leads to Poland. 40

³⁶ W. Kalinka, *Polska pod trzema obcymi rządami*, p. 35. Interestingly, Kalinka saw the threat of Germanization not only in Prussian schools ("If higher and lower school establishments multiply, it is for the purpose of Germanic wisdom in the higher ones, and German language and ideas to expand in the lower ones"). Similarly, the danger lay in the Prussians' expansion of communications infrastructure in the Grand Duchy of Posen: "If communication facilities, beaten tracks, and iron railroads become denser, foreigners will crowdly arrive with them and enlarge the German population, finding jobs on these roads and railroads, settling in manor houses and inns" (ibidem). In exactly the same way this question was addressed a dozen years later... by Otto von Bismarck, who, as Prime Minister of Prussia and Chancellor of the German Reich (from 1871), stated that "the railroads that will be built in Posen are the fastest and surest way leading to the establishment of German culture and the German spirit there" (cit. per: C. Łuczak, *Dzieje gospodarcze Wielkopolski w okresie zaborów (1815-1918)*, Poznań 2001, p. 283).

³⁷ J. Koźmian, Stan rzeczy w Wielkim Księstwie Poznańskim (1848), p. 205.

³⁸ Idem, Czem dla Polski sojusz z rewolucją moskiewską, a czem sojusz z radykalizmem europejskim (1862), in: idem, Dwa bałwochwalstwa, p. 145.

³⁹ Cit. per P. Matusik, Religia i naród, pp. 143-144.

⁴⁰ J. Koźmian, Stan rzeczy w Wielkim Księstwie Poznańskim (1848), p. 207.

Ten years later, Walerian Kalinka similarly described the tasks facing the Polish nation. He addressed his words directly to the Polish inhabitants of the Grand Duchy of Posen, writing:

should you not have physical strength, intensify your moral and political strength. Against foreign influence of education, civilization and corruption, arm yourselves with strong faith, national virtues, science, decorum. Not with continuous and petty annoyance of yourselves and of the authorities, but with this moral power, with civil fortitude, in times of need build up a resistance worthy of you, where necessary.⁴¹

The "civic fortitude" postulated by Kalinka also included overcoming reluctance to undertake service in the administrative apparatus operating in the Polish territories and controlled by the partitioning authorities. "The highest level of civic patriotism in Poland would be to overcome one's repulsion to the public profession in its current state." However, the condition for this is to maintain "the right balance in submission," that is, an equal distance from "imprudence and from viciousness."⁴² Thus, political realism ("prudent patriotism") does not mean surrendering national dignity (both on a social and individual scale), quite the contrary. "Solidarity of civic life" of Poles under partition authorities needs to be correlated with "walking straight."⁴³ This last point is precisely an expression of prudence, which empowers one to recognize that "between swinging and crawling there is still a middle ground, only a natural and dignified middle ground."⁴⁴

Through "determination to do good" one should multiply the "acquisitions of the Polish spirit" under the partitions. ⁴⁵ The denial of such a state of affairs would be the cultivation of "provincial patriotism," that is, the acquaintance – to use the language of Polish politics of the early twentieth century – of an omni-Polish, beyond-partition perspective. ⁴⁶ The homeland cannot be just a dream, or a bardic poetic vision. Because if this

⁴¹ W. Kalinka, Polska pod trzema obcymi rządami, p. 37.

⁴² Ibidem, p. 54. To all those "approaching the ruling power, not for personal prospects, not for the sake of titles, orders, honors," Kalinka had one piece of advice: "Do not regard salon courtesies and social pleasures as national relief, as a universal benefit; do not let them obliterate in your memory the constant injustice suffered by Poland and that dignity in misfortune which is the shield of the disarmed" (ibidem, p. 14).

⁴³ Idem, Polska w roku 1860, in: idem, Pisma pomniejsze, part 1, pp. 437-438.

⁴⁴ Ibidem, p. 437.

⁴⁵ On the verge of 1860, W. Kalinka saw the greatest progress in this regard in the Grand Duchy of Posen. Ibidem, p. 446.

⁴⁶ Idem, Polska pod trzema obcymi rządami, p. 77.

were to happen, "while still remaining Poles, we will no longer work for Poland and we will not be able to raise her." ⁴⁷

4. Undertaken legacy

To conclude these reflections on the principles of national pedagogy emerging among the Resurrectionists and in their circle, the question should be asked: were they undertaken? According to me, it would not be an overstatement to say that the most essential aspects of national pedagogy that have been mentioned so far (Christian morality in the life of individuals and society as a whole, the most certain path to freedom, the requirement of prudence in identifying political goals and the means of achieving them, the affirmation of Poland's civilizational connection with the Christian West) have been undertaken and developed to the great benefit of the Church (not only in Poland) and the nation by two "supernatural men, national in the priestly way": blessed Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, Primate of Poland and St. John Paul II.

The program written in the Jasna Góra Vows of the Nation (1956), and further developed during the years of the Great Novena (1957-1965) and during the Millennium celebrations (1966), was based on the conviction, which Father Kajsiewicz or Father Semenenko could just as well have expressed, that

we lack some consistency, a link between our strong faith and our daily life. [...] What an undefeated power we would have been if we had not only been strong in faith, but also in life, in customs, in every deed, in work, in the everyday difficulties and fulfillment of our personal, family and national duties.⁴⁸

The Primate of the Millennium's teaching on the fact that the path to true freedom leads through the right formation of the "individual conscience," the "family conscience," and the "national conscience," was in harmony with what Jan Koźmian had written almost a century and a half earlier about our "general public duties, especially civic duties, and finally domestic duties." ⁴⁹

The rules of national pedagogy developed in the circle of the Resurrectionists have found their great continuation in the Pope John Paul II's teaching regarding patriotism;

⁴⁷ Ibidem.

⁴⁸ Homilia Prymasa Wyszyńskiego w Gnieźnie, 23 kwietnia 1957, in: idem, Dziela zebrane, vol. 3: 1956-1957, Warszawa 1999, p. 204.

⁴⁹ J. Koźmian, Stan rzeczy w Wielkim Księstwie Poznańskim, p. 202.

united with high moral demands, because one should not "desire a Poland that costs nothing." In such love of the Fatherland is inscribed the "Westerplatte motif," i.e.,

some aspect of the tasks that must be undertaken and fulfilled. Some right cause for which it is impossible not to fight. Some duty, obligation from which one cannot escape, cannot 'desert'. So

On the other hand, "the climate of relativism, the disruption of principles and truths on the basis of which human dignity and development are built" and "the oozing of opinions that serve this disruption," is a denial of the moral imperative to love the Fatherland in truth. The general principle about which St. John Paul II wrote in his encyclical *Fides et ratio* (1998) also applies to Polish patriotism: "truth and freedom either exist together, or they perish together miserably" 52.

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⁵⁰ John Paul II's speech to the youth at Westerplatte, 12.06.1987. John Paul II's third pilgrimage to the homeland June 8-14, 1987. Trwajcie... Trzecia pielgrzymka Jana Pawła II do Ojczyzny 8-14 czerwca 1987. Przemówienia i homilie, ed. A. Szafrańska, Warszawa 1988, p. 196.

⁵¹ Ibidem, p. 193.

⁵² Jan Paweł II, Encyklika Fides et ratio, 14 września 1998, Poznań 1998, no. 90.