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THE IDEA OF *SOLI DEO ET STUDIIS* IN THE SEMINARY
FORMATION OF POLISH REDEMPTORISTS
IN THE YEARS 1939-1945

The turbulent history of the last century powerfully confirmed Cicero's well-known saying: «Inter arma silent leges». The death of civilization came closest in the 20th century during the period of the Second World War. Yet amid the extremes of wickedness and the denial of all moral norms and ethical values, when the right of nations to self-determination and independence had to remain merely a silent cry and the dignity of the human person was locked behind the barbed wire of concentration camps, one of the very few enclaves of faithfulness to the truth could be found behind the walls of a monastery. The paradox of those tragic years of war and its horrors is the fact that the more brutal the occupier was in disobeying any and every rule, the more faithful the monks were in observing their own rules and constitutions.

The Redemptorist monastery in Tuchów was such a special place in Poland under the Nazi occupation. The monastery was also the seat of the Major Seminary of the Polish Province of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer from 1921. The wartime vicissitudes of the seminary community in Tuchów reflect the persecution and suffering of the entire Polish nation and Church. However, in spite of the tragedy of the long night of occupation the students and their educators tried to follow faithfully the Redemptorist imperative *Soli Deo et studiis*, written in the *Constitution* 1267:

«Toto studiorum curriculo alumni nostri, etiam Sacerdotes, magnopere ac religiose caveant, ... unice atque impense attendant soli Deo et studiis, soli Deo et studiis»¹.

The importance of the fulfilment of this principle was confirmed by sources from those times², which were accessible to the Author, and indi-

¹ *Constitutiones et regulae congregationis sacerdotum sub titulo Sanctissimi Redemptoris*, Romae 1936, c. 1267; cf. A. DESURMONT, *Regula nasza w odniesieniu do celu naszego Zgromadzenia. Niebezpieczeństwa i trudności do zwalczania (Rapports de notre Règle avec la fin de notre Institut. Dangers et difficultés à surmonter)*, Poznań 1913, 398.

² The archives of the Redemptorist Province of Warsaw in Tuchów (APWR),

rectly in the already published monographic works on the subject under discussion as well as in other smaller historiographical contributions³. The present study is far from being an exhaustive compendium of all aspects of the life and activities of the Tuchów Seminary during World War II, but it is an attempt to answer some important questions about the motives and effects of priestly formation in the Redemptorist Congregation. The Author also wants to show some characteristic attitudes of the seminarians and their superiors as well as some outstanding personalities, who left an indelible impression on the pattern of seminary life in those difficult years of war. The Author's interviews with eyewitnesses and heroes of the events described are particularly valuable sources of information⁴.

OBLATI ET IMITATORES CHRISTI

The summer months of 1939 were full of the normal student troubles and joys. The chronicler called the examination session in June «a time characterised by a green table at which the Reverend Father Professors condescended to share their knowledge to us throughout the whole year and now

Kronika Studentatu w Tuchowie (The Chronicle of the Studentate), vol. 8-9; *Conferentiae lectorum*, vol. 1-2, Maksymówka-Tuchów, 1906-1954; personal files of Father Karol Winiarski, manuscript copy by K. WINIARSKI, *Książka kleryków (The Book of Seminarians)*, Tuchów 1938-1945. The archives of the Redemptorist Monastery in Kraków (AKRK), *Kronika Ligi Serca Eucharystycznego i Marji Niepokalanej (The Cronicle of the League of the Eucharistic Heart and Mary Immaculate)*, volumes: 1937-1943 and 1943-1960, [without pagination]. The archives of the Redemptorist Monastery in Tuchów (AKT), *Kronika Klasztoru Tuchowskiego (The Chronicle of the Tuchów Monastery)*, vol. 4-5; *Catalogus Congregationis Ss. Redemptoris Provinciae Polonicae* 1940.

³ W. SZOLDRSKI, *Redemptoryści w Polsce (Redemptorists in Poland)*, vol. 2, *Klasztory. Młodzież. Materiały 1883-1953 (Monasteries. Youth. Materials 1883-1953)*, Wrocław 1953; J. WOJNOWSKI, *Redemptoryści na ziemiach polskich (Redemptorists on the Polish Lands)*, in: *Homo Dei* 28 (1959) 812-824; 29 (1960) 36-50; W. GAWŁOWSKI, *Zarys dziejów Polskiego Studentatu OO. Redemptorystów (A Historical Outline of the Polish Studentate of the Redemptorists)*, in: *Nasze Wiadomości. Kwartalnik Polskiej Prowincji Redemptorystów (Our Newsletter. A Quarterly of the Polish Redemptorist Province)* 22 (1967) n. 2, 68-100; M. BRUDZISZ, *Losy Seminarium Duchownego OO. Redemptorystów w latach 1939-1945. Zarys (The History of the Major Redemptorist Seminary in the Years 1939-1945. Outline)*, in: *Kościół Katolicki na ziemiach polskich w czasie drugiej wojny światowej. Materiały i studia (The Catholic Church in the Polish Lands in World War II. Materials and Studies)*, F. Stopniak (ed.), Warszawa 1978, vol. 7, issue 3, pp. 32-52; ID., *Redemptoryści (Redemptorists)*, in: *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939-1945 (Religious Life in Poland under the Nazi Occupation 1939-1945)*, Z. Zieliński (ed.), Warszawa 1982, 709-721.

⁴ Author's interviews with Father Antoni Bazieliuch, Tuchów, 7 July 2001; with Father Stanisław Podgórski, Tuchów, 4 February 2001; with Father Stefan Ryznar, Lubaszowa, 22 February 1997; with Father Tadeusz Sitko, Warszawa, 17 March 2001; with Father Stefan Zaharkiw, Lviv [the present Ukrainian name of Lwów], 5 January 2001; with Father Stefan Zalewski, Tuchów, 20 January 2001.

demanded: “Reverend Brother, ‘redde quod debes’”». The oldest students – new priests – were waiting especially for the exam in Moral Theology, after which, according to student tradition, the lucky fellows were given watches, something mentioned with a slight but obvious note of jealousy by the chronicler⁵. The traditional place to spend a holiday was a villa in Lubaszowa, which became the rest and recuperation base, after the hardship of studies, for Polish and for a couple of Canadian Redemptorists, Father Victor Crean and Bro. Neill Corbett, a second year student of theology⁶. The latter joined the eight Polish brothers and was professed in the Redemptorist Seminary of Tuchów on 2 August 1939⁷. A sign of the danger brought on by the impending war was the rather sudden and immediate departure of both these resident Canadians (22 August)⁸. At the end of July or the beginning of August Father Kazimierz Smoroński left for Lublijana, Yugoslavia, in order to take part in the ceremonies of the Eucharistic Congress as a representative of the Polish Redemptorist Province⁹.

One testimony to the dynamism of the Tuchów Seminary on the threshold of war was the so-called Alphonsian Triduum. This congress, held in the last days of the summer holidays and presided over by Monsignor Antoni Borowski, professor of Moral Theology at the Theological Faculty of the Warsaw University, was to add splendour to the 100th anniversary of the canonization of St Alphonsus. However, due to the inevitable disruption of war, as everybody already suspected, only a few priests arrived in Tuchów¹⁰.

⁵ AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 7, p. 180.

⁶ Both arrived in Tuchów from the Province of Toronto on 24 August 1938 in order to finish their religious formation at the Polish seminary. According to the house chronicler, they arrived in Poland with the aim to stay here permanently. However, the real purpose of their stay in Poland was to prepare for pastoral work among the Polish Diaspora in Canada (AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 4, pp. 255, 293, 295, 358).

⁷ In those days the professed religious in the Redemptorist Province of Warsaw were: Mieczysław Dzikowski, Leon Dzwonkowski, Mieczysław Fąfara, Józef Krok, Marian Kieniarski, Jan Igielski, Stanisław Szczurek and Jan Świerczek (*ibid.*, 350).

⁸ AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 4, p. 358; As early as 30 August 1939 Crean and Corbett sent a message from London concerning the plans for their trip to Ireland, where they were to wait for further decisions of their superiors (*ibid.*, 360).

⁹ The archives of the Curia of the Redemptorist Province of Warsaw (AKP), callnumber 34; the passport of Father Kazimierz Smoroński and his transit visas through Hungary, Slovakia and the Third Reich and entry visa to Yugoslavia, 26 July - 2 August 1939; AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 4, pp. 345-346, 350.

¹⁰ Father A. Borowski (1884-1968), former Rector of the Major Seminary in Włocławek (1918-1925), from 1927-1949, lecturer of Moral Theology at the University of Warsaw (Professor from 1930), imprisoned by the Gestapo (1939-1940). After his release he conducted clandestine courses in the territory of the General Government. Besides Father Borowski, there were other University colleagues of Father Świtalski: Father Walenty Prokulski – a Jesuit from Lublin, Father Szychtowski from Łódź, a Franciscan from Lvov – Father Legowicz, Father Kazimierz Balczewski and Father Bazak, (AWPR, file *Akta*

Therefore, on 29 August there was a solemn Alphonsian meeting for the guests of the seminary¹¹. The fathers and seminarians, on vacation in Lubaszowa, heard rumours of a possible extension of their holidays till 15 September. A visible sign of the hard times ahead was the sudden return of the seminarians, who attended a grammar school, together with their superior, Father Kazimierz Hołda and Father Socius Józef Kaczewski, from Toruń. «They spoke about a great concentration of military forces and the seizure of the buildings of the [Toruń] juvenate by the army»¹².

Despite the announcement of a general mobilization and the first ominous radio notifications, the inauguration of the new academic year was held on Friday morning of 1 September 1939¹³. After the *Veni Creator* had been solemnly sung, the Rector of the monastery, Father Edward Górski, spoke to the whole community using these powerful words, which clearly echo the fundamental *solī Deo et studiis*:

«Despite the fact that bombs are heard, despite the fact that we can breathe our last at any moment ... we must continue fulfilling our duties. The superiors want us to study, so we will study»¹⁴.

The studies did not last long because on 5 September the situation got so explosive that at a stormy meeting of the fathers it was decided that the seminary would be moved to the monastery located in the eastern lands of Poland¹⁵. The 'removal', which was actually an escape, took place on 6 September¹⁶. That day at 8.00 a.m. Father Górski, the Rector, closed the studentate of Tuchów and 28 seminarians and 14 grammar school students were

Studentatu (Acts of the Studentate): manuscript copy by F. KACZEWSKI, *Wojenna trasa grupy Kaczor – Kaczewski. Ostatnie dni przed wybuchem wojny (The War Route of the Kaczor – Kaczewski Group. The Last Days Before the Outbreak of the War)*, p. 1; *Kronika Klasztoru Tuchowskiego (The Chronicle of the Tuchów Monastery)*, vol. 4, pp. 360-361; cf. W. SZOLDRSKI, *Redemptoryści w Polsce*, vol. 2, p. 97; M. BRUDZISZ, *Losy Seminarium...*, 34).

¹¹ AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 4, pp. 360-361.

¹² They arrived in Tuchów on 26 August 1939 and in the face of difficulties they were incorporated into the structures of the Tuchów Seminary (*ibid.*, 360; AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, pp. 1-2).

¹³ *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 7; cf. W. GAWŁOWSKI, *op. cit.*, 79-80.

¹⁴ AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, p. 8; file *Akta Studentatu*: manuscript copy by F. KACZEWSKI, *Wojenna trasa...*, 2.

¹⁵ The superiors clearly defined the reasons to move the seminarians to Mościska and Zamość – «in order to ensure greater safety of studies. And the house chronicler added that it was to protect the seminarians and young fathers so that the Nazis, as the rumours spread, could not make them serve in the German army against their own fatherland» (AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 4, p. 365). The important aim of this war exodus was also to protect the miraculous icon of our Lady of Tuchów from profanation (AWPR, *Conferentiae lectorum*, vol. 1, p. 118).

¹⁶ AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 4, pp. 365-366; AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, p. 12.

divided into seven groups which set out to the East¹⁷. The students of philosophy were to go to Zamość under the guidance of Father Józef Puchalik and the remaining seminarians and their professors were to go to Mościska or Lvov (the Polish “Lwów”). The remaining six ‘parties’ of the seminary refugees were headed by Fathers Teodor Kaczewski, Karol Winiarski, Kazimierz Hołda, Brunon Świtalski, Józef Kaczewski and Jan Jakubowski¹⁸. The history of the escape of the Tuchów philosophers under the command of – as the seminarians themselves described him – *major-general* Father Puchalik was extraordinary since they took with them a most precious treasure: the miraculous icon of our Lady of Tuchów. In a brief description of their vicissitudes, which the participants, seminarians Stanisław Derus and Antoni Skoczeń, provided to the then Provincial, we read:

«We left at half past nine in the morning [Wednesday, 6 September 1939]. We headed towards Pilzno, hiding from the aircraft. We took turns in carrying the miraculous icon and it was quite heavy to carry, ... everything was running away from somebody. We fled to Dębica. We were there at 11 p.m. With difficulty we reached the Servants’ convent. The nuns took us for

¹⁷ Roman Kozłowski, the student chronicler in the academic year 1939/1940, mentioned six groups of refugees (*ibid.*, vol. 8 p. 12), whereas in his memoirs Father Marian Kieniarski wrote about four groups of evacuation (AWPR, file *Akta Studentatu*; manuscript copy by M. KIENIARSKI, *Opis podróży grupy O. Świtalskiego z Tuchowa do Rzymu (Description of the Journey of Father Świtalski’s Group from Tuchów to Rome)*, Resistencia, 5 February 1987). It is important to notice that there are no detailed data on this subject in the typed copy of a very valuable and reliable monograph on the fate of Polish Redemptorists by Father Władysław Szoldrski (W. SZOLDRSKI, *Redemptoryści w Polsce*, vol. 2, pp. 98-102). However, we find an extremely important history of all the individual groups of refugees in the manuscript copy of the above-mentioned work. This fragment was, for reasons unknown, not included in the typed edition of the work (AWPR, manuscript copy [without callnumber] by W. SZOLDRSKI, *Redemptoryści w Polsce*, vol. 2, [Wrocław 1953], 203-245). Szoldrski himself also made a list of the various members of the escaping ‘parties’, which, together with the memoirs of the participants, is to be found in the archives of the Redemptorist Province of Warsaw in Tuchów (AWPR, file *Akta Studentatu*; manuscript copy: *Spis grup uciekinierów z klasztoru tuchowskiego we wrześniu 1939 (A List of The Refugees’ Groups from the Tuchów Monastery in September 1939)*). Moreover, the credibility of the student chronicler’s notes taken in the first months of the war, is to be seen through the prism of R. Kozłowski’s critical evaluation: *Two whole months, so full of interesting events and incidents, have gone and my memory grew dim and because of bomb explosions, my imagination sank into my boots* (AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, pp. 2, 12).

¹⁸ AWPR, manuscript copy by W. SZOLDRSKI, *Redemptoryści w Polsce*, vol. 2, pp. 203, 217, 219, 223, 233; file *Akta Studentatu*; manuscript copy: *Spis grup uciekinierów z klasztoru tuchowskiego we wrześniu 1939*; *ibid.*, S. RYZNAR, *List do Prowincjała. Opis ucieczki grupy O. Hołdy (A Letter to the Provincial. Description of the Escape of Father Hołda’s Group)*, Tuchów, 30 September 1939; *ibid.*, D. STAWARZ, *Relacja z wojennej tułaczki grupy O. J. Kaczewskiego (A Report of the War Wandering of Father J. Kaczewski’s Group)*, Tuchów, 29 September 1939; *ibid.*, A. KLAMAN, *Wspomnienia z ucieczki (Recollections of the Escape)*, [Tuchów 1940].

some hooligans and began questioning us before letting us in. After midnight Father Puchalik celebrated Holy Mass. We were given coffee and immediately left for Mielec»¹⁹.

On the way to Zamość the refugees in habits were offered invaluable help from chance companions in distress as well as from the presbyteries and monasteries they encountered. Father Puchalik, together with his charges, knocked at the gate of the Zamość monastery on 11 September.

In keeping with the plans for evacuation, the house in Zamość was to be a target point for the group of seminarians – students of philosophy – who, being far from the terror of war could continue their studies under the supervision of their lecturer. However, the Nazi *Blitzkrieg* forced them to revise these plans. The eight air raids which occurred on the very next day hastened the further exile of the seminarians. They carried the miraculous icon from Zamość, which had been bombed, and set out to Włodzimierz and Łuck. The seminarians reported to the Provincial:

«15 September. Fifty kilometres to Łuck ...a Ms. Malczewska²⁰, a relative of the famous painter [Jacek Malczewski] drove us in her horse-drawn carriage right into Łuck itself... We stayed in the local seminary for four days. We intended to flee towards Równy but we learned that the Bolsheviks had already taken that place. Faced with this situation we decided to return».

Father Puchalik, following the advice of Bishop Karol Niemira, decided to deposit the precious frame, dress and crowns from the Tuchów icon in a secret recess in the cathedral in Łuck, where other local precious objects had already been hidden. The refugees buried the two guns they had had

¹⁹ The General Archives of the Little Sister Servants of the Immaculate Conception in Dębica, *Kronika Zgromadzenia Sióstr Służebniczek Bogarodzicy Dziewicy Niepokalanego Poczęcia w Dębicy (The Chronicle of the Little Sister Servants of the Immaculate Conception in Dębica)*, [without callnumber], vol. 1, 1903-1940, p. 604. The chronicler [sister] wrote: «From 6 to 7 September [1939] during the night the Redemptorist Fathers came to us, they had to escape from Tuchów and carried the miraculous icon of our Lady. There were: Father Józef Puchalik, six seminarians, one brother [sic!] there were seven seminarians in the group: Stanisław Derus, Alfons Klaman, Roman Kozłowski, Jan Kurzeja, Józef Ortyl, Władysław Rogowski i Antoni Skoczeń] and a helper [Władysław Patyk]. The Reverend Father celebrated Mass at 1.30 a.m, by the light of the sanctuary lamp; at that hour there had to be a complete blackout of any light visible from outside. After Mass the sisters received general absolution. Afterwards the guests had to leave the convent and set out on their journey, and we were left with a pleasant recollection of the stay of the miraculous icon». Cf. AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 5, pp. 1-2; AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, pp. 25-27; *Catalogus...*, 19-20; S. DERUS, *Diariusz ucieczki z obrazem M. B. Tuchowskiej do Łucka na Wołyniu w 1939 r. (Diary of the Escape with the Icon of Our Lady of Tuchów from Łuck in Volhynia in 1939)*, in: *Kalendarz Tuchowski*, 1992, 113.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 117. The Malczewskis and Ms. Meisnerowa, writer, escaped from their estate in Domosławice for fear of the Nazis.

with them in the seminary garden. They had carried the guns uselessly from Tuchów only as a military precaution and quite pointlessly: none of the young seminarians knew how to use them. The decision was a blessing, which became clear when the seminarians were held just outside the town by a platoon of the Bolshevik army and forced to fill up a bomb crater. One of the Bolsheviks remarked significantly: «I have waited to see a priest with a spade for twenty years but now I've seen one at last». In those days the whole group under the command of their 'major-general' experienced for themselves how powerful the Soviet indoctrination was when the NKVD captain explained to the gathered group «что такое советская система хозяйства означает», (what the soviet economic system was.) When the seminarians dared to ask about religion he replied ironically: «Мы и религию ушануем». (We will respect religion too). The seminarians read in a propaganda leaflet about the evacuation of President Ignacy Mościcki and Marshal Edward Rydz-Śmigły to Romania. Their reaction was unanimous: «This is the end of the Second Republic of Poland!»²¹

Despite the fact that the seminary fraternity, under the careful supervision of their lecturer, did not succumb to the ideology which goes under the sign of a sickle and hammer, the Bolshevik threat, which was nonetheless real, prompted them to put on civilian clothes. However, this change did not protect them against danger, as one refugee recollected:

«In Zwierzyniec we hid from the rain in a lofty porch of a private house. Then gunfire began in the forest nearby. A German car drove towards us, and a soldier got out, took out his gun and pointing it at us he began shouting: Heraus! Von! In the end we got the message, and we understood that we had to get out of the porch to keep us from seeing too much. The group of refugees luckily reached Tuchów on 2 October, reciting 'Te Deum' at the sight of the church and monastery. Commenting later on this forced 'translation' the wartime custodians of the miraculous icon admitted that in the hour of danger it was not they who protected the icon but they themselves who ran towards it so that the Mother of God could shelter them»²².

In the group of returning 'philosophers' only the seminarian Alfons Klaman remained missing. He lost his way while crossing the Bug River and then continued his wanderings on his own carrying a precious relic in his rucksack – the pectoral cross of Archbishop Leon Wałęga. During his exile Klaman reached the Ukrainian Redemptorist monastery in Kowle where his

²¹ *Ibid.*, 118.

²² АКТ, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 5, pp. 1-2; AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, p. 28; file *Akta Studentatu*: manuscript copy by S. DERUS and A. SKOCZEŃ, *Relacja o ucieczce grupy o. Puchalika dla Prowincjała o. F. Marcinka (Report to the Provincial, Father F. Marcinek, about the Escape of Father Puchalik's Group)*, Tuchów, 3 October 1939; cf. W. SZOLDRSKI, *Redemptoryści w Polsce...*, vol. 2, pp. 98-101.

habit aroused a strong reaction among the crowd: *Look, a pope is coming, a pope!* He alone managed to reach the far north, to Brześć on the Bug River and finally ended his wandering in the occupied city of Warsaw on 4 October 1939²³.

Among the remaining groups of refugees the history of the 'party' commanded by the teacher of Moral Theology, Father Świtalski, was very special. In the face of Poland's hopeless situation after the Soviet invasion on 17 September, the group had gone over the bridge in Zaleszczyki on the border with Romania only three hours before the border was closed. They saw among others the Red Cross cars carrying 'the Polish treasury' i.e. the reserves of gold from the central bank and the most valuable works of art including the famous Wawel tapestries. They managed to avoid being interned in the Polish refugees' camps and after having received the order of Father General Patrick Murray, they reached the seminary of the Roman Province in Cortona via Bucharest and Zagreb. The group was then split up. Kazimierz Kalemba, Marian Kieniarski and Kazimierz Rutkowski went by turns to work on missions in Argentina whereas Józef Grochot and Leon Dzwonkowski remained in Italy (the latter died of tuberculosis in Scifelli on 13 October 1940), and the young and talented lecturer Świtalski migrated via France and England to Canada and the USA and never returned²⁴.

Other groups also reached the furthest corners of Poland overrun by the occupying armies: 'the party' of Franciszek Kaczewski returned from the vicinity of Kochawina on the Stryj River, the group of Hołda reached Pniatyń behind Lvov, and the refugees under the command of Józef Kaczewski arrived near Dubno in Volhynia. The Socius Winiarski and his twelve companions found shelter among other places in the monastery of the Ukrainian Redemptorists in Tarnopol. Because of the closure of the demarcation line between the Nazi and the Soviet occupants they lived in the monastery in Mościska until the spring of the following year. They returned to

²³ Brother Klamán returned to Tuchów only on 1 November 1939, after having received the order of the Provincial (AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 5, p. 18; AWPR, file *Akta Studentatu*: A. KLAMAN, *Wspomnienia...*).

²⁴ Archivio Generale Storico della Congregazione del Santissimo Redentore a Roma (AGHR), callnumber 30170001.0440: General P. Murray to Provincial F. Marcinek, Rome, 20 October 1939; callnumber 30170001.0444: Provincial F. Marcinek to General P. Murray, Kraków, 8 December 1939; callnumber 30170001.0462: General P. Murray to Provincial F. Marcinek, Rome, 24 October 1939; callnumber 30170101.0011: General P. Murray to Father R. Vetter, Rome, 1 January 1940; callnumber 30170101.0012: General P. Murray to Father R. Vetter, Rome, 10 May 1940; AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 5, pp. 16, 56 (the letter of Father B. Świtalski from Zagreb, 28 September 1939), 137; AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, pp. 41, 176, 252, 338, 359, 373-374, 399, 405; file *Akta Studentatu*: manuscript copy by M. KIENIARSKI, *Opis podróży grupy...*, Resistencia, 5 February 1987.

Tuchów, together with the novices, only at the end of April 1940. This prayer invoking Our Lady was on many lips:

«O Blessed Virgin, you who defend Jasna Góra of Częstochowa/ and who are famous for miracles in Tuchów,/ make them all return healthy – even by a miracle-/ to the footstool of your throne...»²⁵.

The decision to scatter the seminarians in the first weeks of the war met with strong criticism from certain fathers and students even during their escape²⁶. In retrospect, the whole enterprise was a failure. Its main motive was certainly fear of the occupier whose cruelty was widely rumoured. One of the refugees gave the following testimony to this mood: «exile, it was a risky thing but the fear of the enemy gave us more strength so that one just rushed into it»²⁷. There was another reason, which led to the decision to flee, namely a misreading of the intentions of the Provincial, Father Marcinek, by the superiors in Tuchów. Marcinek advised them «not to leave the place but in case you have to leave with the students, you should discuss the situation and take the most suitable action»²⁸. However, on the basis of the available archival sources and the recollections of those who participated in those events, I think, we should view in a decidedly positive way the course of action taken by the seminary lecturers who attempted to save the integrity of the seminary community, paradoxically at the price of temporary dispersion. The risky and courageous decision, with its weighty consequences, was evidently an expression of a very great concern for the future of the province and formation, which were at a turning point in the history of the Polish Redemptorists. Was not this anxious and sacrificial care for young religious during the September campaign a dramatic attempt to realise in that context the seminary principle *soli Deo et studiis*?

As a result of the September campaign and of the seminarians' dispersion during their escape to the East only 17 out of 28 students of philosophy and theology began their studies on 6 October²⁹. On the day of the outbreak of World War II the seminary community in Tuchów consisted of three formational groups: students of theology, students of philosophy and the youngest professed – students of the last two years of grammar school. During the first days of October 1939 another group of refugees headed by Father Włodzimierz Małańczok joined the seminary community in Tuchów. It

²⁵ AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 4, pp. 382-384; vol. 5, p. 62; AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, pp. 15, 17, 19-23, 25-29.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 30; AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 4, pp. 365-368; vol. 5, pp. 2-3.

²⁷ Author's interview with Father Stefan Ryznar, Lubaszowa, 22 February 1997.

²⁸ «For me, to this day it has remained a mystery why that happened» (AWPR, personal files of Father Franciszek Marcinek, manuscript copy by F. Marcinek, *Wspomnienie z mojego życia (Recollections of My Life)*, [Bardo Śląskie] 1950, 251-252); *I was very much surprised that the seminarians left the monastery* (AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 4, pp. 366-367).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 381; vol. 5, pp. 4-5.

included 16 seminarians from the Greek Catholic Redemptorist Vice-Province of Lvov³⁰. The Ukrainian Redemptorists fled from the Bolshevik onslaught, which swept the eastern borderlands of Poland. At first, Tuchów was intended as a stop on their way to Rome or to the mother province in Belgium but in the face of the danger of war they formally joined the local seminary community and its studies on 16 October³¹. The duties of the Socius to the Ukrainian students were taken by Father Roman Bachtałowski, who also lectured them on theological treatises, e.g. Moral Theology and Eastern liturgies³². Father Bachtałowski also conducted an optional course of Ukrainian for Polish seminarians³³. In his recollections Bachtałowski stressed equality in treating Ukrainian and Polish brothers by Provincial Marcinek and the superiors in Tuchów:

«Two Sociuses have been appointed: a Polish one [at that time Father Józef Kaczewski], and myself as the second one. The Polish Socius has authority over the Polish students and I have authority over the Ukrainians»³⁴.

During their exile in the years 1939-1942 the Lvov Redemptorists were under the jurisdiction of Fr. Provincial Marcinek and the superiors of the seminary in Tuchów. This was a decision of Fr. General Murray³⁵.

The Ukrainians shared the hardships and war problems of the Tuchów community. However, they were received with openness, in a spirit of brotherly solidarity, which was impressively confirmed by the Chapter on 10 December 1939, during which the Rector, Father Górski, appealed to the Polish seminarians to give up their spare pairs of boots for their Ukrainian fellow

³⁰ The first Ukrainians reached Tuchów on 24 September 1939. The reports of the Tuchów Rector, Father E. Górski, and of the participant (and guide) of the main group of the refugees from Hołosk, Father R. Bachtałowski agree in stating that they left Lvov on 21 September (The Archives of the Redemptorist Province of Lvov in Lviv [ALPR], [without callnumber] P. БАХТАЛОВСЬКИЙ, *Отець Йосиф Схрїверс із солодкої долини*, Львів [s.a.], 27-28; AGHR, callnumber VI-B-Le: *I studenti di Ukraina che negli anni 1939-1941 hanno studiato nello Studentato di Tuchow in Polonia. Secondo le notizie di P. F. Kowalczyk* [s.l.]; AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, p. 15; author's interview with Father Stefan Zaharkiw, Lviv, 5 January 2001).

³¹ AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 5, pp. 3-4; AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, p. 55.

³² *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 43; *Conferentiae lectorum*, vol. 1, p. 119; AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 5, pp. 9, 13, 28.

³³ AWPR, *Conferentiae lectorum*, vol. 1, p. 119.

³⁴ ALPR, P. БАХТАЛОВСЬКИЙ, *Отець Йосиф Схрїверс...*, 28.

³⁵ «Wir sind Ihnen alle sehr dankbar für Ihre Gastfreundschaft und Ihre Großmut gegen die Fremden die Sie besuchen [Fremden = 'strangers' – because of the censor the General used this enigmatic term in order to describe the Ukrainian seminarians]. Sie haben jedoch volle Autorität über alle Fremden in Ihrem Bezirke und können, was dienste betrifft, alle Anordnungen treffen die Ihnen die besten scheinen» (AGHR, callnumber 30170001.0445: General P. Murray to Provincial F. Marcinek, Rome, 9 December 1939).

brothers. The chronicler recorded the reply to this appeal: «We did this very eagerly because our Dear Guests needed shoes ... After tea the shoes were collectively given to the Ukrainian brothers»³⁶. During the two-year of joint formation the students of the two nationalities had many opportunities to show their solidarity in face of the tragedy of war, something which was by no means standard in the relations between Poles and Ukrainians during that period. This spiritual fellowship was fully expressed in prayer. Although the Ukrainians had their own chapel, where they celebrated liturgical services in their rite, they also participated in Latin Catholic services, which they often enriched with their characteristic polyphonic singing³⁷. Similarly, the Polish seminarians prayed together with the Greek Catholic brothers although it was not easy for them to understand the meaning of some liturgical actions and their intensity:

«Today the brothers from Ruthenia celebrate Holy Thursday. Holy Mass lasted from 5.30 till 8.00. O Hosподy! [Lord, have mercy!]... In the afternoon they sang the Passion for over three hours. Some of us were at the Passion. A little boring – constant repetitions!»³⁸

The differences were not so important, what was more important was the solidarity in fulfilling the Redemptorist vocation, especially under the conditions of war. Every year the number of Ukrainian seminarians grew smaller as each student was ordained and moved on. The last of them left Tuchów at the turn of 1941 and 1942³⁹. The words of Father Jozef de Vocht, Lvov Vice-Provincial, clearly confirmed the meaning of the solidarity of the Tuchów monastery and seminary towards the Ukrainian brothers:

«The whole [Lvov] Vice-Province feels obliged to the monastery in Tuchów for thanks to [its hospitality] the Ukrainian students could continue their vocation. Their stay in the Polish Province will contribute to strengthening and making common brotherly love and generosity in the future»⁴⁰.

In the context of the hostile atmosphere between Poles and Ukrainians in those days, which was also inspired and fanned on the grounds of different rites, this attitude of mutual solidarity was unique at the level of one reli-

³⁶ Author's interview with Father Stefan Zaharkiw, Lviv, 5 January 2001; AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, p. 58.

³⁷ Author's interview with Father Stefan Zalewski, Tuchów, 20 January 2001; author's interview with Father Stanisław Podgórski, Tuchów, 4 February 2001.

³⁸ AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, p. 100. The chronicler noted in another place: «In order to show the unity of both Churches [sic!] we took the Holy Communion in the Eastern rite ... The Ukrainians sang – very nicely» (*ibid.*, 58).

³⁹ The State Archives in Kraków – the Tarnów Branch, callnumber M–Tuch.14: *Księga biorcza "Daniny od mieszkańców" (1940-1941)*; callnumber M–Tuch.22: *Rejestr mieszkańców 1885-1941*.

⁴⁰ AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru ...*, vol. 5, p. 194.

gious congregation alone, the Redemptorists. Its sources are to be found in the spiritual fellowship aiming at the ideal *solī Deo et studiis*⁴¹.

Despite the dangers of war, the priorities of the Polish Redemptorist Seminary were spiritual and intellectual formation, which were conducted in unity. The first element effectively resisted the turmoil of war whereas the study and the standard of philosophy and theology were in constant danger from the occupiers. Despite those unfavourable circumstances the students in habits spent most of their time studying. An attempt had been made to keep the pre-war schedule. In the course on philosophy the seminarians studied three hours of Church History and seven hours of Philosophy for four semesters, Introduction to the Scriptures (three hours), Hebrew (two hours), and one hour per week of Biblical Archaeology, Patrology and Homiletics for two semesters. In the course on theology there were four hours per week of Dogmatic Theology, three hours of Moral Theology, two hours of Canon Law and three hours of the Scriptures for eight semesters. Moreover, there were three introductory courses of theology given, one hour of Homiletics, Catechesis and Pedagogy and one hour of Liturgics for one and a half years. There were also practical courses: half an hour for preaching every week, Gregorian and polyphonic singing three times a week, and during the third year of theology there was a semester on the Mass rubrics⁴².

Special examples of the intellectual dynamism of the seminarians during the war 1939-1945 were the philosophical-theological disputations, which continued to be carried out in the scholastic manner. The disputations, conducted in Latin, were a school of logical reasoning, formulating questions, constructing correct arguments and drawing proper conclusions. The disputes were carried out irregularly with the exception of the eve and feast of St Thomas Aquinas on 6 and 7 March. In 1942 the chronicler recorded under these dates:

«Philosophical disputation was held today at 5.30 p.m. ... Special attention was given to defendens – Brother Krawiec Antoni, who tried to convince the audience by classical and very energetic gestures rather than by eloquence and posture alone since he was trembling terribly. The disputation

⁴¹ AGHR, callnumber 30170001.0440: General P. Murray to Provincial F. Marcinek, Rome, 20 October 1939; AWPR, file *Akta Studentatu*: manuscript copy by Father J. Schrijvers to Provincial F. Marcinek, Rome, 27 January 1942; *ibid.*, manuscript copy by Vice-Provincial J. de Vocht to Provincial F. Marcinek, Leopoldis, 9 January 1942. The Belgian Provincial, whose attitude towards the Redemptorists of the Eastern Rite was special because of the initiative role of the Province of Brussels in erecting a new branch of the Congregation, wrote the following: *Meas gratias multas et optimas pro generositate et magnanimitate, quibusqum hospitalitatem nostris Studentibus exulantibus* (*ibid.*, Provincial A. Vergontes to Provincial F. Marcinek, Brussels, 11 January 1942).

⁴² AWPR, *Księga ocen (Books of Marks)*, vol. 1: 1903-1972, [without pagination]; cf. W. SZOLDRSKI, *Redemptoryści w Polsce...*, vol. 2, pp. 401-402.

went well because Father Puchalik was satisfied...»

The diocesan seminarians [students from the Łuck diocese who were in retreats in Tuchów],

«who were present at those two disputations, gaped when they heard Latin being used so commonly here. Naturally, at morning recreation their astonishment was even bigger when they heard everyone speaking Latin so fluently»⁴³.

It is worth mentioning that in spite of the hardships of the occupation the level of philosophical-theological education of the Polish Redemptorists kept the high pre-war standards, which was clearly confirmed in the reports of Father Tomasz Włoch, who presided over the commission during the jurisdiction exam at the Tuchów Seminary⁴⁴.

The spiritual formation of alumni, in its fundamental framework worked out by St Alphonsus, was based on intellectual education strongly linked with personal growth and a sincere desire to follow Christ the Redeemer. *Oblatio* – devotion to Jesus Christ and *imitatio Christi* – being like him, constitute the structure of the concept of spiritual Redemptorist formation⁴⁵. Even under the conditions of war the seminary order was kept constantly and eagerly. The daily order embraced – according to the instructions of the Founder – Holy Mass, daily meditation for half an hour in the morning and fifteen minutes in the afternoon, spiritual reading, visitation of the Blessed Sacrament, rosary, self-examination, confession every week, or fortnightly, a day of reflection every week and annual eight-day retreats.

⁴³ According to the information written on the seminary poster, this year the role of ‘defendens’ in the philosophical dispute was given to one of the seminarians, Stanisław Podgórski. The theme of the defended thesis was: «Intellectus agens et possibilis qua ad intellectionem in hoc statu unionis animae cum corpore necessario requiruntur, sunt facultates non solum virtualiter sed realiter distinctae. The invitation to the theological dispute was formulated as: Festo S. Thomae studiorum ducis ac patroni hora 10-ma in aula theologica sequens thesis ex theologia dogmatica defendetur: Christus Dominus, omnium Sacramentorum immediatus Institutor, materias et formas aliquorum sacramentorum solum in genere instituit, ultiores determinationes Apostolis et Ecclesiae reliquendo. Defendens: Father Antonius Skoczeń, obiicientes: Father Ladislaus Rogowski et Fr. Joannes Krawiec» (AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, p. 424; author’s interview with Father Stanisław Podgórski, Tuchów, 4 February 2001).

⁴⁴ The Diocesan Archives in Tarnów (ADT), callnumbers AEp 2256/1942, 3148/1943, 3601/1944, 2374/1945: manuscript copy by Father T. WŁOCH, PhD, *Sprawozdania z egzaminu jurysdykcyjnego z lat 1942-1945 (Minutes of the Jurisdiction Examinations in the years 1942-1945)*.

⁴⁵ *Constitutiones et regulae...*, c. 1285; *Regula i ustawy Zgromadzenia Kapłanów pod wezwaniem Najświętszego Odkupiciela (Rules and Constitutions of the Priests’ Congregation of the Most Blessed Redeemer)*, Kraków 1923, 3; *Programme de vie pour les jeunes profès choristes de la Congrègation du Très Saint Rédempteur*, Braine le Comte 1929, 15-27; cf. A. DESURMONT, *op. cit.*, 396-397.

Even during the war the superiors made sure there were the means and materials for spiritual exercises to meet the needs of seminary formation⁴⁶. The place of the communal revision of life was the weekly chapter during which the appointed confrere called *zelator* confessed his sins kneeling and then he accused the seminarians⁴⁷. Another form of mortification was the discipline, although it was not regularly practised because of the soldiers who were stationed in the seminary and the hospital, set up here in 1943⁴⁸. Following St Alphonsus the seminarians had a special devotion to the Mother of God, visited the miraculous icon, eagerly celebrated Marian feasts and attributed to her intercession the fact that the Tuchów community avoided the tragic horrors of war⁴⁹.

The dynamics of the seminary reality, marked by the fundamental condition *solī Deo et studiis*, penetrated all dimensions of every Redemptorist seminarian's life. The organisation of studies and an effective functioning under difficult war conditions made the seminarians assume many duties and activities, which taught them to be responsible for one another and gave them the feeling of their own place and significance in the community. The liaison between the superiors and students was a senior student chosen from the oldest theologians, who had already been ordained. In the academic year 1939/

1940 it was Franciszek Kaczewski, and in 1941/1942 Józef Jarosz⁵⁰. At the beginning of semester the Socius gave the alumni various offices, which embraced all aspects of seminary life and houswork. In 1942 the chronicler listed the following functions of seminarians: *zelator*, master of ceremonies, tutor of alumni, photographer, holy water minder, bell-ringer, clock winder, property-master, bookbinder, archivist (stamp-collector), custodian of the garden summer house, cantor, note-taker, guardian of rosaries, printer, duplicator supervisor, barbers, hairdressers, secretaries, guardians of chapels,

⁴⁶ *Ankieta o naśladowaniu P. Jezusa w życiu codziennym kleryka i kapłana redemptorysty (Survey of Following Lord Jesus in Everyday Life of a Seminarian and Redemptorist Priest)*, Tuchów 1940; A. ŻÓŁTOWSKI, *Rachunek sumienia szczegółowy redemptorysty (Detailed Examination of a Redemptorist's Conscience)*, Tuchów 1941, *Katalog – wybór lektury duchownej dla Studentów Prow.[wincji] Pol.[skiej] CSsR (Catalogue – A Selection of Spiritual Readings for Students of the Polish Province CSsR)*, Tuchów 1941; *Rubryki do Mszy św. i innych uroczystych ceremonii dla niższej asysty (The Rubrics of Mass and Other Solemn Ceremonies for Altar Servers)*, Tuchów 1941.

⁴⁷ *Regula i ustawy...*, 197-198.

⁴⁸ On 13 March 1940, the student chronicler wrote: «The first discipline after so many days! It is assumed that some only hit lightly instead of battering themselves with full force to thank God for freedom» (AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, pp. 88-89).

⁴⁹ [21 June 1940] «Te Deum! It seems that in the whole of Poland only we had time and conditions in which to study. Thank you, Mother of Tuchów» (*ibid.*, 120).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 367; AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 5, p. 28.

persons in charge of bedrooms, helpers in the library⁵¹.

Despite the war there were homiletic and *savoir-vivre* circles as well as *Liga Eucharistici Cordis et Mariae Immaculate*⁵². The activities of the League were a special form of Eucharistic cult in the students' studentate. In 1942 its members initiated the so-called liturgical days, which «were to show the life of the Church in her higher form and what the future servants of the altar should know and how they should live»⁵³. The organ of the League was the periodical 'Sacerdos', published as a quarterly continuously, but irregularly for obvious reasons. The task of 'Sacerdos' was to invoke an inner reflection on preparation of alumni for priesthood in the spirit of *solī Deo et studiis*. Despite the obstacles and limitations of war the writing activities of students were a sign of their involvement and of seminary dynamism. It was made possible due to the superiors' providence. «Today the League received a type-writer from Kraków from Reverend Father Procurator [Błażej] Hop. On that day Rev. Father Hop brought a duplicator ['Ormig' type] – wonderful thing. We will be able to publish *Sacerdos* in beautiful way», reported the chronicler of the League on 23 April 1940⁵⁴. The students copied the appeals of the Provincial, summaries of theological-ascetic books, posters of missions and retreats, 'leaflets' to the subscribers of the quarterly *Homo Dei*, questionnaires of the League and its decrees as well as numerous notations of their own compositions. The statement of 'impartial observers' seems to be significant: «Despite the war the League is now in its golden age»⁵⁵. Evidence of this dynamism was the publishing of the second student periodical entitled *Bunt Młodych (Revolt of the Youth)* during the summer of 1940, which was to be a place where «youth could give vent to their surplus spiritual energy»⁵⁶. After a lively discussion and public polemics among students the superiors made a decision to close the periodical when the second and last issue was published on 19 September 1941.

In the field of artistic and cultural activities students could use the occasions of their superiors' name-days as well as anniversaries celebrated in the Congregation in order to organise numerous musical performances and solemn meetings, which would show their talents. During an occasional meeting on 3 November 1942, the day before the name-day of the Rector, Father Karol Legutko, the alumni performed excerpts from the Fifth Sym-

⁵¹ AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, pp. 331-332.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 356.

⁵³ ARKR, *Kronika Ligi...*, 1943-1960, 23 February 1944.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 1937-1943, 23 April 1940.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 26 September 1940.

⁵⁶ AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, pp. 339, 346. The problems with the occupier's censorship were solved by ensuring that official documents were in the pre-war forms, so that it was not necessary to ask for the Gestapo's 'imprimatur', cf. *ibid.*, 407.

phony of Ludwig van Beethoven and 'a drama of the soul' entitled *Da capo al fine – blood and tears* by Tadeusz Sitko, based on the background of the Symphony. The drama was performed by Alfons Klamann. And on the occasion of the feast of the Immaculate Conception in the same year they staged the so-called Ephesus mystery entitled *Χαρπε*, in the monastery refectory. It was the story of the Christian community in Ephesus with the purpose, as the chronicler put it, *to comfort hearts*. The degree of involvement of the seminary community was attested by the fact that three-quarters of the students took part in this performance⁵⁷. Both the superiors and students admitted that it was very troublesome to organise a meeting under the conditions of war but they did not give up and «what the head or the hand could not do was completed by the heart»⁵⁸. The general conviction prevalent among the students was that «in spite of the war ... the work in the cultural field was in full swing»⁵⁹.

At that time the alumni did not lack for physical labour. The economic situation of the seminary in the discussed period reflected the wartime impoverishment of all of society. The basic source of income for the brethren was a farm near the monastery where the seminarians often spent the whole day cultivating the soil. For example, in October 1942:

«The activity of the last year was resumed: digging, cleaning and loading beetroots on carriages ... Today they invited us for tea as a snack. Afterwards we could expect there would be no more teatime. We will waste all our autumn walks on fields of beetroots. Only beetroots will be left and ... an empty stomach. The chronicle will sing in a very monotonous way...»⁶⁰.

However, the same work was often a kind of an alibi employed by the seminarians who thus proved to the occupier that they were useful and were not solely occupied with studies. From time to time, there were, therefore, ostentatious marches towards the villa in Lubaszowa, with spades and willow seedlings on the shoulders of the seminarians⁶¹. Yet, such «shows were not frequent since it was dangerous in case some Fritz saw such a large group of unemployed people and denounced them to 'Arbeitsdienst' or to another sub-hell»⁶². Towards the end of the war, in August and September

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 9, pp. 59-63, 80-99.

⁵⁸ AWPR, *Conferentiae lectorum*, vol. 2, p. 7; AKRK, *Kronika Ligi...*, 1943-1960, 1.09.1943.

⁵⁹ AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, p. 358.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 9, pp. 31-32. In another place the chronicler wrote about the mood prevailing during this work: «It is with jealousy that we recall those days when a seminarian had no other interest except his books. It is a waste of time to write about this... the hand is sore from the spade...» (*ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 294).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 275.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 303.

1944, twenty seminarians and some local people were forced to dig trenches and build shelters for the Wehrmacht and after their release on 12 September 1944 the students had to assume the duties of monastery workers at Gadówka⁶³. Despite the superiors' efforts and providence, the alumni often suffered from hunger and cold: «The war is reaping its harvest! Some did not endure the hard conditions of the German regime and began to resemble Gothic spires...»⁶⁴. And it was a rarity when with their tea the students also received bread from Kraków, «black as a raven, and fusty, but one had to admit that it was tasty...»⁶⁵. From September 1943 bread was rationed, 300 grams per person, and this minimum was not always provided⁶⁶. Despite the hardships of life the seminarians were astonished to hear about very few cases of men leaving the seminary community, for example in the winter of 1942 «a postulant, who had just arrived, left the seminary because he could not pray all day and was always hungry»⁶⁷. The seminarians managed to endure the hardships first of all thanks to Father Stanisław Wójcik, who was the main purveyor of the Tuchów community. However, the common conviction of all seminarians was that they overcame the horrors of war thanks to God's Providence and the care of Our Lady of Tuchów⁶⁸. The above-mentioned facts clearly visualize the way the seminary imperative of the formation *solī Deo et studiis* was put into practice in the concrete conditions of the Nazi occupation.

The ideal of formation to live and work only for God and studies within the walls of the Redemptorist monastery and seminary was not contrary to the upbringing of religious youth in a spirit of deep patriotism and love for the fatherland. Having taken necessary precautions due to the frequent housing of German troops in the monastery, the seminarians met in a common hall in order to sing national songs to the accompaniment of a piano and recite verses 'to strengthen the heart', for example on 3 May 1940 the chronicler recorded: «After tea we arranged a clandestine patriotic evening because it was the Third of May! Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła!» [words from the national anthem]⁶⁹. The students treated both occupants with equal disgust: «'The Conquerors' cock their Nordic noses, filling their blustering

⁶³ AWPR, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 5, pp. 367-369; *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 10, pp. 16-17; *Conferentiae lectorum*, vol. 2, pp. 11-12; cf. T. OZGA, *A nasi chłopcy w okopach siedzą (And Our Boys Are Sitting in the Trenches)*, in: *Nasze Wiadomości (Our News)* 3 (1948), No. 1, pp. 300-306.

⁶⁴ AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, p. 109.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 9, p. 13; cf. author's interview with Father Stefan Ryznar, Lubaszowa, 22 February 1997.

⁶⁷ AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, p. 420.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 368.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 105.

stomachs with beer (stolen from Okocim) and yelling out 'Heil Hitler'»⁷⁰. Whereas in the face of the Soviet expansion the chronicler spontaneously wrote a special invocation:

«It is rumoured that the Germans leave Poland up to the Vistula and their place is to be taken by the Bolsheviks. So we could experience a 'paradise'. A cholera et Bolchevicis libera nos Domine!»⁷¹.

The seminarians received the news about the outbreak of the German-Soviet war with genuine joy, which was expressed by the contemporary chronicler, Stanisław Podgórski, an alumnus of the first year of philosophy:

«We do not wish victory to either the Germans or the Bolsheviks ... We do long for both parties totally to destroy themselves, weakened and exhausted. Only then can we think of Poland in more realistic terms»⁷².

The seminarians were also aware of the fact that the degree of their politicising could not meet their superiors' approval, which they acknowledged with sincerity: «nowadays you think more about war than studies», and in another place the chronicler admitted: «our every condition was saturated with the atmosphere of war»⁷³. In January 1940, after the meeting of the Chapter, during which the rector rebuked the students for their political exuberance, there were voices saying: «It was the truth, but today who does not politicise!»⁷⁴

The seminarians in Tuchów also experienced direct repressions by the occupier. On 17 December 1942 seminarian Henryk Piszkałski was arrested (and put in the prison located at 2 Pomorska Street in Kraków, very well known for the cruel methods used by the Gestapo). Then he was sent to work in Steg, a place on the Dutch border. In the same year half of the remaining seminarians in Tuchów were forced to sign *Volklist* and sixteen of the youngest alumni had to leave the seminary on 8-9 May 1942 on account of the Gestapo's decree on the secularisation of all religious who had joined the order after 1 September 1939. Five of them made the greatest sacrifice for being faithful to their calling when they together with the members of the Warsaw community died a martyr's death during the Warsaw Uprising on 6 August 1944⁷⁵. Facing constant danger and never sure of what the next day

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 307.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 114.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁷⁵ These were the alumni: Franciszek Doleżał, Marian Dzierzgwa, Bolesław Motyka, Jan Nowakowski and Franciszek Zasadni. (AGHR, callnumber 30170009.0053: J. GROCHOT, *Der Fest der Verklärung Christi im Redemptoristenkloster in Warschau am 6. August 1944*; callnumber 30170009.0054: *Patres, clerici studentes et fratres laici necati et combusti die 6 Augusti 1944 Varsaviae*; AKP, file 'Martyrologium': *Martyrologium*

might bring during those hard years of World War II, the Redemptorist seminarians were characterised by faithfulness in fulfilling the duties of their state. This is proved by the fact that 28 students of the Tuchów Seminary were ordained in the years 1940-1945 (including one ordained in Cortona, Italy, and four Ukrainians)⁷⁶. On the way to profession and priesthood it was the tutors and seminary professors who played a fundamental role.

DOCTI ET OBSERVANTES

The Constitutions of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer defined in a precise way the tasks of seminary lecturers in the studentate. They should fulfil for the alumni the role of scholarly guides through the intricate paths of the two sister disciplines of Philosophy and Theology. The lecturers were to educate seminarians «in litteris et scientiis» and support, «with patience and kindness», the process of discerning the Redemptorist vocation⁷⁷. On the other hand, lecturers and tutors were the guardians of pure religious observance, especially of the subjects and organization of the seminary studies. Moreover, lecturers themselves were obliged to give a faithful and strict example of observing the Statutes⁷⁸.

This programme, worked out by St Alphonsus de Liguori, put a special emphasis on the strict relationship between the contents of the lectures

Redemptorystów Prowincji Warszawskiej – II wojna światowa (Martyrology of the Redemptorists of the Warsaw Province – World War II); AWPR, Kronika Studentatu..., vol. 10, pp. 18-19; cf. W. SZOLDRSKI, *Martyrologium duchowieństwa polskiego pod okupacją niemiecką w latach 1939-1945 (Martyrology of Polish Clergy under the German Occupation in the Years 1939-1945)*, in: *Sacrum Poloniae Millennium*, vol. 11, Rome 1965, 293, 302-303; M. BRUDZISZ, *Przemienienie Pańskie. W 40-lecie mordu redemptorystów w Warszawie (The Configuration of the Lord. The 40th Anniversary of the Redemptorists' Murder in Warsaw)*, in: *Katolik (Catholic)* 31 (1984) 13; *Pamiętamy o Was... Pamięci 30 redemptorystów zamordowanych w Powstaniu Warszawskim (We Remember You... In Honour of 30 Redemptorists Murdered in the Warsaw Uprising)*, J. Dołbakowski and M. Sojka (eds.), Pelplin 2000, 66-71).

⁷⁶ AWPR, *Dziennik Urzędowy Zarządu Polskiej Prowincji C.Ss.R. (Register of the Board of the Polish Province)*, No. 4/1940, 6/1941, 7/1941, 10/1941, 8/1944; *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, pp. 310-311, p. 457; vol. 9, p. 161; vol. 10, pp. 15, 49; AKT, *Kronika klasztoru...*, vol. 5, pp. 128, 210, 281, 361, 392. ADT, callnumber AEp 2547/1941, *Litterae dimissoriae*, Tuchów, 25 June 1941; callnumber 2142/1942, *Litterae dimissoriae*, Tuchów, 9 June 1942; callnumber 3111/1943, *Litterae dimissoriae*, Tuchów, 24 June 1943; callnumber 1244/1945, *Litterae dimissoriae*, Tuchów, 19 April 1944; The Archives of the Metropolitan Curia in Kraków, file *Redemptoryści: Litterae dimissoriae*, Kraków, 14 March 1944.

⁷⁷ *Constitutiones et regulae...*, c. 1236, 1292, 1297.

⁷⁸ «Omnes studentes etiam Sacerdotes, Lectores summa veneratione colant observantiaque; atque prorsus ipsis se ducendos dedant, ac ne 'iota' quidem ex iis negligant, quae de studiis praeceperint» (*ibid.*, c. 1262); «Quare eis etiam exemplo virtutis et regularis observantiae praeceat» (*ibid.*, c. 1296).

and the spiritual life as well as the future missionary work of the Redemptorists. The Founder forcibly argued that true knowledge is authentic love and following Christ and only on the basis of such knowledge can one effectively proclaim the Gospel message of abundant Redemption. The Most Zealous Doctor, in his plan of intellectual growth of a Redemptorist, regarded the studies of moral theology and logic as a priority because these two branches of knowledge were – according to him – most necessary for a confessor and missionary. St Alphonsus also ordered that one should not forget two fundamental elements in scholarly formation: students' spirituality and their physical health⁷⁹.

On the basis of these patterns, the Polish Province had worked out the organisational framework and structure of its own formational institute within the first thirty years of its existence. However, the greatest success of the then young province was to create a strong and dynamic staff of well-educated specialists – seminary teachers. Studies in Poland and abroad contributed to that success, for example the double Doctor's Degree in Philosophy and Theology from the Roman *Angelicum* obtained by Father Józef Puchalik in 1923, doctorate in Dogmatic Theology of Teodor Kaczewski (the *Angelicum*, 1929), doctorate in Canon Law of Stanisław Wójcik (the *Angelicum*, 1931) and the doctorate in Moral Theology from the Warsaw University obtained by Brunon Świtalski in 1937⁸⁰.

The following fathers took part in the inauguration of the academic year 1939/1940: Karol Legutko (who lectured on Church History, and previously on Patrology), Teodor Kaczewski, the prefect of studies (Dogmatic Theology, Apologetics and Liturgy), Marian Pirożyński (Church History and Patrology), Józef Puchalik (Philosophy and Theology of the Spiritual Life), Kazimierz Smoroński (Introduction to the Bible, Biblical Exegesis, Hebrew, History of Israel, Gregorian chant), Brunon Świtalski (Moral Theology), the Socius, Karol Winiarski, (Biblical Theology and Hebrew), and Stanisław Wójcik (Pastoral Theology, Moral Theology, Canon Law and Homiletics)⁸¹. Besides the students of philosophy and theology, in the Tuchów Seminary there was also a group of 14 junior students of grammar school, the so-called humanists, and their teachers. At first there were the following fathers: Franciszek Nowakowski, headmaster and teacher of classical languages, Kazimierz Hołda, prefect and teacher of mathematics and physics, and Józef Kac-

⁷⁹ A. DESURMONT, *op. cit.*, 338-340, 396-397; cf. J. OPPITZ, *Historia i duchowość alfonsjańska (Alphonsian History and Spirituality)*, Kraków 1987, 70.

⁸⁰ AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 5, p. 159; vol. 7, p. 52; cf. J. WOJNOWSKI, *Redemptoryści...*, 822-823.

⁸¹ AWPR, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 4, p. 293; *Conferentiae lectorum*, vol. 1, pp. 119, 131; *Catalogus...*, 6.

zewski, teacher of Polish⁸².

The horrors of war caused changes of teachers in the following years. The first reason was the decision of the council of the house to disperse students and 'remove' them to the East. Father Kazimierz Smoroński was the only staff member who advised against the seminarians' risky escape. Undoubtedly, he was an outstanding personality among the local lecturers. He received a thorough education at the Pontifical Biblical Institute (Licence in 1924), was the national director of the League for Priestly Holiness [local organization in the Diocese of Tarnów], founder and editor of the quarterly 'Homo Dei' for many years, author of numerous articles about biblical studies, homiletics, ascetics and Mariology, active participant in theological symposia, regional director of the Pontifical Society for the Propagation of the Faith and the Pontifical Society of the Holy Childhood, director of the seminary library, founder of the boys' choir in the Tuchów sanctuary, tutor of physically and mentally handicapped people as well as a known preacher and retreat giver. Last but not least everyone liked and valued him – a versatile lecturer in the seminary⁸³.

After the return of the refugees Smoroński spared no effort in conducting the intellectual formation of young Redemptorists. The lack of professors (Brunon Świtalski and especially the second biblical scholar Karol Winiarski) made the organization of studies difficult⁸⁴. In those hard war conditions Smoroński had to lecture on the introduction to the Bible, Hebrew, history of Israel and biblical exegesis and for some time he taught Gregorian chant. The 25th anniversary of his teaching in the seminary was a testimony of relationships between the lecturer and his students. On this occasion, 24 September 1940, there was a solemn meeting in honour of this widely appreciated professor. In his speech Provincial Marcinek «thanked the professor whose scholarly output was celebrated for the first time in the history of the Polish Province». The students expressed their gratitude for *his kindness and smile*. Brother Klaman played the piano and there flowed the sounds of the *Funeral March* by Frederic Chopin, which in the war atmosphere of dignity and silence was to be a form of dedication for Smoroński, and it occurred as an ominous memento. This date in the seminary chronicle has a special recollection: «Father Smoroński enjoys great popularity in our seminary. He has the great virtue of never really getting angry, and his mo-

⁸² AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, p. 5.

⁸³ W. SZOŁDRSKI, *Redemptoryści w Polsce...*, vol. 3, pp. 181-187; M. BRUDZISZ, *Smoroński Kazimierz (1889-1942)*, in: *Słownik Polskich Teologów Katolickich (Dictionary of Polish Catholic Theologians) (SPTK)*, vol. 7, pp. 125-128; S. PIECH, *Smoroński Kazimierz (1889-1942)*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny (Polish Biographical Dictionary) (PSB)*, vol. 39, pp. 345-346.

⁸⁴ AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 4, p. 381, vol. 5, pp. 4-5.

ments of pretending to be angry, that he restrained with us, were totally unsuccessful». In all truth, the seminarians had only one thing against him, namely that «as a lover of ‘blind recreation’ he often started a storm, loaded with words, arguing against letting students skip lectures». Therefore, Smoroński was portrayed as a guardian of religious observance, faithful to the ideal *solī Deo et studiis*. Such an attitude aroused even greater respect among the seminary youth and «did not weaken his popularity and favour. As a sign of recognition in the field of education of students» he received a new skull cap from the grateful community, for «the old one» – as the chronicler eagerly noted – «had already become red from the rays of the sun, which could lead to a clash with the bishop»⁸⁵.

Although Smoroński criticised the September ‘removal’ of students he was not a cowardly monk, hiding himself behind his habit. At the very beginning of the Nazi occupation he made himself known as a courageous patriot and priest. On 7 September 1939 the first units of the Fourth Light Motorized Division of the Wehrmacht entered Tuchów and on 9 September the headquarters of the division headed by a general settled in a detached part of the monastery and a temporary field hospital was organised (*Feldlazaret Nr. 7*)⁸⁶. Father Smoroński, who was then the prefect of the church, hung a warning note on his monastery cell: «Eintritt verboten! Cholera!» As it turned out at that moment it was enough to ensure himself, at any rate minimally, religious enclosure⁸⁷. Besides his clandestine work of teaching in the seminary Smoroński continued his passion for research as the editor of ‘Homo Dei’. Among others things, he worked on a manual ‘History of Israel’ and helped the Jews from nearby Siedliska⁸⁸. Smoroński, together with his comrades, was very much interested in the political situation, secretly listened to the radio, and furthermore, he used his numerous contacts to inform his confreres in Poland and abroad about the situation of the Redemptorists in the General Government (German-occupied Poland). This specific carelessness or rather a naive faith that the Nazis would keep the right to privacy of correspondence, led at first to a warning search of the monastery on 10 June 1941 and then to his arrest by the Gestapo in the Feb-

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 85; AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, pp. 167-168; AKRK, *Kronika Ligi...*, 1937-1943, 24 September 1940.

⁸⁶ S. DERUS, *Tuchów – miasto i gmina do roku 1945 (Tuchów – Town and County till 1945)*, Tuchów 1992, 121-122.

⁸⁷ AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 4, pp. 373-375; AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, p. 14.

⁸⁸ Smoroński managed to release the Tuchów monastery from the obligation of requisition for the benefit of the German army in November 1939 (AWPR, *Conferentiae lectorum*, vol. 1, p. 131; *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, p. 48; cf. M. BRUDZISZ, *Redemptoryści...*, 717; S. PIECH, *op. cit.*, 346).

ruary of the following year⁸⁹. After a two month stay in the Tarnów prison on Urszulańska Street, he was transported to KL Auschwitz on 6 April 1942. In his two prison postcards dated 3 and 10 May 1942 and written in camp block 21a, he wrote to the Tuchów rector that his health was improving, he thanked him for the money, which had been sent to him (60 and 45 DM) and replied with greetings to «Mr. Marcinek [the provincial] and all friends»⁹⁰. He died in the camp hospital after having been severely beaten during the night of 21-22 May, which was to be the day before his transport to Dachau. The number 297006 was impressed on his arm. The province mourned the loss of their outstanding confrere, but a gloomy depression and sorrow was prevalent among the seminarians and only the still nearly-new skull cap of their beloved professor remained as a visible sign of his faithfulness to *solī Deo et studiis*⁹¹.

During the war all of the seminary lecturers faced the challenge of not letting the occupier realize his plans, which were distinctly expressed by the Governor Hans Frank: «You should leave Poles only such possibilities of education which will show them the hopelessness of their national condition»⁹². It was as early as the end of October 1939 when the authorities of the General Government issued a number of restrictions and bans referring to education, including the functioning of religious seminaries. These bans did not remain only on paper⁹³. On 28 January 1940 the Tarnów authorities asked the monastery many questions such as: Is the seminary still function-

⁸⁹ Author's interview with Father Stefan Zalewski, Tuchów, 20 January 2001.

⁹⁰ AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 5, p. 205; AKP, callnumber 34, postcards from KL Auschwitz from Father K. Smoroński to Rector K. Legutko, Auschwitz, 3 and 10 May 1942; J. IGIELSKI, *Wspomnienie o O. Kazimierzu Smorońskim (Recollections about Father Kazimierz Smoroński)*, [Gliwice 1999].

⁹¹ AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 5, pp. 85, 123, 181, 196, 205, 209, 215; the telegram of the commander of KL Auschwitz to K. Legutko concerning the death of K. Smoroński, Auschwitz, 22 May 1942; AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, pp. 301, 304, 413, 434, 437, 445.

⁹² S. PIOTROWSKI, *Dziennik Hansa Franka (Hans Frank's Diary)*, Warszawa 1950, 396; cf. *Ausbildung von polnischen Jugendlichen für die gewerbliche Wirtschaft. Verfügungen II 577*, in: *Vertrauliche Informationen. Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei*, No. 3/6, 9 October 1940; J. KRASUSKI, *Tajne szkolnictwo polskie w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej 1939-1945 (Polish Clandestine Education in the Period of the Nazi Occupation 1939-1945)*, Warszawa 1977, 37.

⁹³ *Verordnungsblatt des Generalgouverneurs für die besetzten polnischen Gebiete*, 3 (1939) 18; cf. F. STOPNIAK, *Materiały do historii seminariów duchownych w Polsce w latach II wojny światowej (Materials of the History of Major Seminaries in Poland during the World War II)*, in: *Kościół Katolicki na ziemiach polskich w czasie drugiej wojny światowej. Materiały i studia*, F. Stopniak (ed.), Warszawa 1978, vol. 7, issue 3, pp. 53-86; J. ZIÓLEK, *Losy seminariów duchownych i wydziałów teologicznych w latach okupacji hitlerowskiej w Polsce (History of the Major Seminaries and Theological Faculties in Poland in the Period of the Nazi Occupation)*, in: *Studia Płockie (Plock Studies)* 13 (1985) 72-90.

ing? What is the legal basis of the seminary and its attitude to the Polish state? How many priests of foreign nationality have left the seminary? (This referred to the Ukrainian seminarians). The Rector, Father Górski, and Father Jan Biłko explained that it was a private institution, which educated the youth of the Congregation, acted legally on the concordat and did not receive any subventions from the state⁹⁴.

At the beginning of 1941 the seminary grew more and more wary of a revision. When in April of that year they learned about a series of arrests in the Kraków monasteries of the Franciscans and of the Missionaries, the professors' council together with the Provincial, Father Marcinek, agreed to suspend lectures⁹⁵. The lecturers began burning compromising documents, hid all objects that might prove scientific activities (books, maps, blackboards, teachers' desks, etc.) and the seminarians began studying in private.

«The work, although in secret, is being done even more intensively – wrote the seminary chronicler – brothers are swatting up as if they were racing. Professors explained difficult themes in their own rooms»⁹⁶.

With time this private study became limited. After having taken such precautions it was evident that the lecturers were afraid of repressions and arrests because they realized the danger of organizing clandestine secondary school education, which was conducted under the umbrella of the seminary. After a few weeks the situation improved and the lectures were resumed⁹⁷.

However, the lectures were conducted in extremely difficult conditions since the monastery building, located on a small hill, was an object of interest to the Germans throughout almost the entire occupation. During the whole war period, groups of German soldiers came to the monastery and their religious hosts had to accommodate them immediately. Therefore, the monastery was terribly overpopulated. Suffice it to say that the second floor was occupied by almost all the members of the community, i.e. 75 people⁹⁸.

⁹⁴ AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 5, pp. 49-50; cf. W. SZOLDRSKI, *Redemptoryści w Polsce...*, vol. 2, p. 101.

⁹⁵ AWPR, *Conferentiae lectorum*, vol. 1, pp. 132-133; cf. D. SYNOWIEC, *Franciszkanie konwentualni (Franciscan Conventuals)*, in: *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939 - 1945*, Z. Zieliński (ed.), Warszawa 1982, 504-505.

⁹⁶ AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, p. 257.

⁹⁷ The news about the lot of the Tarnów seminary reached Tuchów, too. The arrest of the Tarnów seminarians and their superiors on 22 May 1942 was an obvious warning to the Redemptorists «so that they were on alert because those worthy men from the Gestapo mentioned us as well... We are waiting...» (AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 5, pp. 110-111). Cf. AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, pp.164, 242-243, 257, 292-293, 296, 458; B. KUMOR, *Diecezja tarnowska (The Diocese of Tarnów)*, in: *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939-1945*, Z. Zieliński (ed.), Warszawa 1982, 256; M. BRUDZISZ, *Losy Seminarium...*, 38.

⁹⁸ AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 5, pp. 6, 22, 30-31, 87, 131, 191, 367-368, 383;

The lectures were held in places adapted for this purpose *ad hoc* – theologians studied in the former common hall, philosophers in the infirmary, students of the grammar school in dormitories⁹⁹. Towards the end of 1943 the living conditions got worse to such an extent that it was decided to change the seminary chapel into a common bedroom¹⁰⁰. That was caused by the fact that the southern wing of the monastery was transformed into a hospital, which began functioning on 18 November 1943. The hospital was moved out only in 1947¹⁰¹.

In the years 1942-1945 the staff of the Tuchów Seminary remained unchanged except for Father Dominik Stawarz who joined the teachers after the loss of Smoroński. He began lecturing on Church history, patrology and Gregorian chant¹⁰². The school faculty was enlarged with Father Witold Czapliński as teacher of German, and Father Marian Kural, teacher of classical languages¹⁰³. The language courses were very popular with students. Fluency in Latin, as the language of the Church, was a *conditio sine qua non* in the intellectual formation of a seminarian. Similarly, special attention was given to biblical languages: Greek and Hebrew¹⁰⁴. Modern languages were objects of much interest as well, which was attested by the chronicler:

«Several enthusiasts swat on Italian with Father Socius [Winiarski]. It is rumored that he had already taught them French. Generally speaking, there is quite a rush for languages, which has overwhelmed the seminary. Every seminarian speaks several modern and ancient languages. What dynamism!»¹⁰⁵.

AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, pp. 75-76, 82, 254-255, 266, 279, 286.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 81; author's interviews with Father Stanisław Podgórski, Tuchów, 4 February 2001; with Father Tadeusz Sitko, Warszawa, 17 March 2001.

¹⁰⁰ AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, pp. 458-459; AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 5, pp. 211, 239, 316, 347, 367, 369, 371, 380.

¹⁰¹ S. GROCHMAL, *Epizody z okupacyjnych przeżyć lekarza w tarnowskim (Episodes of a Medical Doctor's Experience under the Occupation in the Tarnów County)*, in: *Przegląd Lekarski. Organ Krakowskiego Oddziału Towarzystwa Lekarskiego (Medical Review. Unit of the Kraków Branch of the Medical Society)* 29 (1972), No. 1, pp. 177-181.

¹⁰² AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 5, p. 219; *Conferentiae lectorum*, vol. 2, p. 3.

¹⁰³ AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 5, p. 141; *Conferentiae lectorum*, vol. 1, p. 131.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 119, 121, 131.

¹⁰⁵ AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, p. 438.

In the face of the approaching German-Bolshevik front, at a meeting held on 11 October 1943, the professors decided to organize a course in Russian¹⁰⁶. The morning recreation also served to master foreign languages because following the superiors' order, the conversations there had to be conducted only in Latin, Italian or German.

Despite the underground conditions of studying, the lecturers did not lower their high required standards in the learning and behaviour of their charges. Examinations, organized during two sessions in January and June¹⁰⁷, as in pre-war days, served this purpose. The testing of knowledge was conducted by a commission, which was often presided over by the provincial himself. He also made several visitations in a year and participated in faculty meetings. Such visits were also occasions for review of one's life in the light of the religious rules and quite often – as the chronicler wrote:

«...everyone was rebuked: Brothers, Seminarians and Fathers. It is true, even the Fathers... When we had to leave they stayed in the chapel for quite a long time... The careful seminary observer commented on this: It is obvious, he who holds a more responsible office has more occasions of sin»¹⁰⁸.

Teachers conducting the clandestine education on the level of a classical grammar school organized 'matura' [graduation] exams as well. The chairman of the commission was usually Dr. Jan Sajdak, the director of the clandestine courses in the Tuchów district and professor of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań¹⁰⁹. He was a frequent visitor to the Tuchów monastery. He brought the latest political news and used the seminary library for his translations of the Church Fathers¹¹⁰. He examined the oldest students of the underground grammar school in the villa in Lubaszowa in 1944¹¹¹. Mutual co-operation in the field of clandestine courses is testified

¹⁰⁶ AWPR, *Conferentiae lectorum*, vol. 2, p. 7.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 127.

¹⁰⁸ AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 9, p. 29.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 115. In December 1940 Professor Jan Sajdak settled in his birthplace called Burzyn. In the same year he organised high school clandestine courses in Tuchów. From 1942-1944, he was active in the Regional Commission on Education and Culture of the Folk Movement. From January 1945, he worked on changing the underground courses into high schools. Cf. R. SKRĘT, *Sajdak Jan*, in: *PSB*, vol. 34, pp. 332-334; B. CHRZAN, *Tajne władze oświatowe w powiatach podziemnego Okręgu Szkolnego Krakowskiego w latach okupacji hitlerowskiej 1939-1945 (Underground Educational Authorities in the Counties of the Kraków Education District during the Occupation 1939-1945)*, in: *Rocznik Komisji Nauk Pedagogicznych (Yearbook of the Commission of Pedagogical Sciences)* 11 (1970) 62; J. KRASUSKI, *op. cit.*, 53.

¹¹⁰ AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, p. 83.

¹¹¹ Author's interview with Father Stanisław Kwiatkowski on 10 March 2003; certificate of graduation of Stanisław Kwiatkowski, State Verification Commission, the

by the fact that in the years 1942-1945, the following fathers: Hołda, Puchalik, Nowakowski, Kural, Czapliński and Józef Kaczewski, participated in courses carried out in the town and nearby villages. They were also present during the graduation examinations¹¹². The youngest seminary lecturers undertook the tasks of individual teaching, using frequent contacts between the monastery and the university professors, who lived in the neighborhood, such as Jan Sajdak and Gustaw Przychodzki, who held the Chair of Classical Philology at the Jagiellonian University. During the war, under their supervision, Marian Kural and Fryderyk Kowalczyk began university studies of philosophy, while Stefan Ryznar studied botany at the Jagiellonian University¹¹³. Thus the seminary community, in spite of particularly unfavorable circumstances, was not deprived of a supply of new professors. On the contrary it developed scientifically, and did so consistently in the spirit of the ideal *solī Deo et studiis*.

Tutors played a special role in the process of the spiritual-intellectual formation of seminarians of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. The function of tutors at in that time was performed by the Prefect and the Socius of the studentate. St Alphonsus defined in detail the virtues the seminary tutors should have. They should be characterized by: profound spiritual life, priestly enthusiasm, courage and strength to correct errors. The prefect of students had to be, most of all, their spiritual moderator and he should encourage them, by word and example, to study diligently as well as to show

Regional Educational Authority, Tarnów, 9 June 1945 (in private collections of Father S. Kwiatkowski).

¹¹² The Archives of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Polish Academy of Sciences and Letters in Kraków (AN), callnumber K II-17, j. II/44/Tarn: manuscript copy by Z. RUTA – C. STERKOWICZ, *Wykaz nauczycieli prześladowanych przez okupanta i biorących udział w tajnym nauczaniu na terenie Tarnowa i powiatu tarnowskiego (List of Teachers Persecuted by the Occupier, Who Participated in the Clandestine Courses in Tarnów and the County of Tarnów)*; cf. Z. RUTA – C. STERKOWICZ, *Tajne nauczanie w Tarnowie i powiecie tarnowskim w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej. Szkic historyczny (Clandestine Education in Tarnów and the County of Tarnów under the Nazi Occupation. A Historical Outline)*, in: *Rocznik Komisji Nauk Pedagogicznych. Materiały do dziejów oświaty w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej (1939-1945) na terenie dystryktu krakowskiego (Materials of the History of Education in the Period the Nazi Occupation (1939-1945) in the Kraków District)*, 19 (1976), part 10, pp. 165-166; S. DERUS, *Tuchów – miasto i gmina...*, 166; C. STERKOWICZ, *Szkolnictwo jawne i tajne w powiecie tarnowskim w latach 1939-1945 (Legal and Underground Education in the County of Tarnów in the Years 1939-1945)*, Tarnów 2001, 134-136.

¹¹³ AN, callnumber K II-17, j. II/25/Tarn: manuscript copy by J. DUTKA, *Jan Sajdak*, 1; the Archives of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, callnumber KHUW-12: manuscript copy by G. PRZYCHODZKI, *Biografia wojenna (1.IX.1939-18.I.1945) (War Biography)*; AWPR, personal files of Father Stefan Ryznar: manuscript copy by S. RYZNAR, *Moje wspomnienia (My Memoirs)*, [Lubaszowa] 1990-1991, 98-99.

them the ideal to follow Jesus Christ and to have contempt for oneself¹¹⁴. Father Teodor Kaczewski assumed that office in 1930. He was the fifth prefect in the history of the Polish Redemptorist studentate, but the first to be so profoundly prepared, intellectually and pedagogically, for the tasks of formation. It is clearly confirmed by the fact that he held this office for 26 years continuously¹¹⁵. Prefect Kaczewski was at the same time a seminary lecturer on dogmatics, apologetics and liturgy. The Statutes of the Congregation gave him a difficult task to organize formation in such a way that his charges managed to match their studies with an attitude of prayerful attention¹¹⁶. The prefect had wide authority in this respect, among others he could introduce a subject of the formation talk, prepare and conduct Sunday retreats, give talks on ascetic cases and on monthly virtues¹¹⁷. Despite the upsets of war, his activities were controlled by the Provincial, to whom he was obliged to present reports on seminary life during visitations.

The Prefect enjoyed sincere respect and sympathy among the brothers, proved by the solemn gatherings organized on his name-days¹¹⁸. Furthermore, the charges were carefully observing their superiors, something reflected in their bold but always respectful texts, e.g. in *The pastoral visitation of the student-monastery life, Anno Domini 1940*. Prefect Kaczewski himself was in turn the author of the seminary hymn entitled *Hej bracia wraz* (Hey, brothers together)¹¹⁹. Besides spiritual formation, the Prefect spoke about contemporary social and religious problems, e.g. in November and December 1944 he gave several talks on the Polish national character. Together with the seminarians he analyzed positive and negative features of Poles, thus preparing the young Redemptorists for their missionary work¹²⁰. Kaczewski himself was actively involved in the pastoral work of the Tuchów monastery in spite of the fact that he had his own duties. He gave seven se-

¹¹⁴ «Illos et ad virtutis studium et ad imitationem Jesu Christi sui que contemptum magis magisque hortetur» (*Constitutiones et regulae...*, c. 1285); cf. A. DESURMONT, *op. cit.*, 396-397; J. OPPITZ, *op. cit.*, 68.

¹¹⁵ AGHR, callnumber 30170001.0426a: *Nominationes pro Provincia Polonica*, Rome, 30 May 1939; callnumber 30170001.0426b: *Elenchus nominationum pro Provincia Polonica*, Rome, 19 March 1942; cf. J. WOJNOWSKI, *Redemptoryści...*, 224; E. NOCUŃ, *Kaczewski Teodor*, in: *SPTK*, vol. 8, pp. 257-258.

¹¹⁶ A. DESURMONT, *op. cit.*, 398.

¹¹⁷ *Constitutiones et regulae...*, c. 1285; AKRK, *Kronika Ligi...*, 1943-1960, 1 October 1940.

¹¹⁸ AKRK, *Kronika Ligi...*, 1943-1960, 8 November 1944.

¹¹⁹ The melody was composed by an American Redemptorist, Father Gredler (AKRK, manuscript copy by J. WOJNOWSKI [without callnumber], *O. Prefekt jako Opiekun Ligi Eucharystycznego Serca i Marji Niepokalanej w latach 1937-1939* (*Father Prefect as Tutor of the League of Eucharistic Heart and Mary Immaculate in the Years 1937-1939*), [without callnumber] Toruń, 25 March 1955).

¹²⁰ AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 10, p. 20.

ries of parish retreats in the dioceses Tarnów and Kielce in the years 1939-1945¹²¹. Both the notes of the chronicler and recollections of the grateful charges give a clear and evident picture of the person of Prefect Teodor Kaczewski as an authentic spiritual moderator in the seminary, who was faithful to the idea *solī Deo et studiis*.

The statutes and constitutions of the Congregation had not assigned any special authority to the Socius in the seminary. He played a secondary role and his function was limited to the organization of seminary life and to being an advisory voice to the Prefect¹²². This changed greatly in 1936, during the 20th session of the 13th General Chapter of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. As a result of a considerable modification, which was made at that time, it was the Socius alongside the Rector of the formation house who fulfilled most of the tasks previously assigned to the Prefect. He took care of the functioning of the seminary community as a whole, including both financial and *stricte* pedagogical matters. On the other hand, the Prefect fulfilled the role of spiritual father of seminarians and their ordinary confessor¹²³. In 1938 the office of the Socius was assumed by a biblical scholar, Father Karol Winiarski. He held that function in the years of the war, except the period from October 1939 till April of 1940¹²⁴. The consequence of the decision of the last pre-war chapter was the application of the decree of Provincial Marcinek concerning the division of power in the seminary between Rector and Socius on 2 December 1941. It is the function of the rector to: 1) appoint a *zelator*, 2) allow students to have personal and communal things for longer use, 3) allow them to visit a doctor and dentist,

¹²¹ The parish of Krzęcice (Diocese of Kielce), 3-10 March 1940; parishes in the Diocese of Tarnów: Siedliska Tuchowskie, 7-9 March 1943; Kryg, 2-6 June 1943; Czchów, 20-24 October 1943; Gumniska, 17-21 November 1943; Olesno, 18-22 March 1944; Janowice, 20-24 May 1944 (AKT, *Liber Contionum et Laborum Apostolicorum CSsR Tuchoviae 1939-1950*; AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 9, p. 158).

¹²² *Constitutiones et regulae...* c. 1227.

¹²³ «Praefectus Studentium sit moderator spiritus a Rectore Majore deputandus, ita ut ipsi tantum competat officium formationis hominis interioris et educationis religiosae in Studentatu; et hoc quidem conferetiis asceticis, colloquis spiritualibus, monitis et etiam ministerio confessionis ... Ad forum externum, diciplinam et studia unice spectat ad Rectorem domus, cui a Provinciali adjungetur Socius..., qui in disciplina et ordine externo vices Rectoris apud Studentes gerat» (*Acta integra Capituli Generalis XIII Congregationis Ss. Redemptoris Romae celebrati anno MCMXXXVI*, Romae 1936, No. 1625).

¹²⁴ AWPR, personal files of Father Karol Winiarski, manuscript copy by Ferdynand Doleżał, seminarian, to Father Karol Winiarski, Warszawa, 10 January 1943 – 24 April 1944; *ibid.*, manuscript copy by K. WINIARSKI, *Analiza nowego wychowania. Referat na zjazd pedagogiczny w Toruniu 31.08-1.09.1956 (Analysis of the New Upbringing. Presentaion on the Pedagogical Congress in Toruń, 31 August – 1 September 1956)*. Cf. author's interviews with Father Antoni Bazielić, Tuchów, 31 May 2003; with Father Stefan Ryznar, Lubaszowa, 22 February 1997.

4) grant dispensations from common acts, 5) give his blessing for an extended night's rest or "sleep-in." On the other hand, «the rest belongs to Father Socius», which the chronicler stressed¹²⁵.

The details of the methods of formation carried out by Father Socius Winiarski during the war were found in the so-called *Book of seminarians*, which he wrote scrupulously¹²⁶. His notes attest to his great care of the spiritual, intellectual and personal growth of every seminarian. A significant thing is his individual about remarks and evaluations of particular alumni and his sincerity, shown in the conversations about formation, which he regularly held with them. In his remarks concerning Brother Stanisław Szczurek he wrote on 20 May 1940:

«Towards the end of the [school] year there is greater fatigue. He speaks to the point – and at considerable length. In his behavior – pleasant. I do not like his frequent use of the familiar forms of speech. Talents: more than average. Has strangely shining eyes: perhaps it is fatigue? He is fully involved in merry-making. Examinations 1940. Dogmatic theology: – 1 (more calm, attention in grasping the subject); the Scripture: +2 (he mixes what is more important with what is less important). 20 August 1940 – I directed his attention to all these things»¹²⁷.

The role of Winiarski in the functioning and style of the seminary formation in the period under discussion seems to have been a leading one. He mobilized students to greater efforts and in-depth studies and at the same time he was himself open to constructive criticism, making a survey about his lectures and talks. An anonymous participant of such an investigation wrote with sincerity:

«I heard from seminarians themselves that the lectures on the Scripture and Patrology were very good; on history – excellent. But they were less satisfied with his leading of the singing, especially the Gregorian chant»¹²⁸.

The Socius was the main liaison between the students and the external world, bringing the seminarians desired news about the course of the war¹²⁹. He was well informed on these matters because he was involved, using the nickname 'Misery', in the underground movement as chaplain of the underground Polish Home Army¹³⁰. Risking his life he used his underground con-

¹²⁵ AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, p. 387.

¹²⁶ AWPR, personal files of Father Karol Winiarski, manuscript copy by K. WINIARSKI, *Książka kleryków*, Tuchów 1938-1945.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 111.

¹²⁸ AWPR, personal files of Father Karol Winiarski, manuscript copy: *Anonimowa odpowiedź na ankietę ogłoszoną przez o. Socjusza Karola Winiarskiego (Anonymous Answer to the Survey of Father Socius Karol Winiarski)* [s.l.]; *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, p. 438.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 169; vol. 9, p. 156.

¹³⁰ M. BRUDZISZ, *Redemptoryści...*, 716.

tacts to protect the monastery and seminary against the occupier's oppression. Winiarski turned out to be a man of the moment when the Germans took the action of Germanization in the seminary at the turn of 1942 and 1943. It is true that he did not succeed in protecting the seminarian Henryk Piszkański from Germanization. Piszkański was arrested on 17 December 1942. However, Winiarski managed to have Piszkański's sentence changed: from deportation to KL Auschwitz to compulsory work in the Reich and then in February 1944 Winiarski succeeded in having obtained Piszkański's release, which amazed everyone¹³¹. Yet Winiarski showed even greater courage when he forbade seminarians to sign *Volkslist* and he stole the documents of two seminarians, who in the atmosphere of Nazi Germanization campaign, by the Rector's order, signed *Antrag auf Ausweises für Deutschstammige*, from the office of the district administrator in Tarnów. Thus he protected the seminary from repressions of the communist regime in the People's Republic of Poland¹³². He also succeeded in obtaining a release from the obligatory draft into *Baudienst* (April-June 1942)¹³³. Furthermore, Winiarski ensured that 16 of the youngest seminarians of philosophy and grammar school had a direct contact with the seminary when they were forced to leave the Tuchów monastery in May 1942¹³⁴. The chronicler was eager to write about his efforts: «Father Socius is riding a bicycle all the time; it seems that he visits our 'displaced'»¹³⁵.

The statutes of the Congregation state that seminary superiors must also make provisions for the physical health of the seminarians, which, due to the scarcity of food in the seminary, was very important during the war. Under the war conditions Winiarski did his best to take care of seminarians' meals and heating communal cells, which made him subject to older confreres' criticism that he sometimes overshot the mark «in his care for the well being of the students, pleasing them, and demands a far too great sacrifice from people»¹³⁶. The Socius accompanied his charges in their most difficult moments, for example «when he stayed for entire days, on a straw mattress», with the seminarian Józef Heleniak, who was dying of tuberculo-

¹³¹ He went to Warsaw and Krakow trying to settle this matter (AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 9, pp. 65, 102-103, 106, 109, 117; vol. 10, p. 8; AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 5, pp. 221-225, 246-247).

¹³² *Ibid.*, 240, 265; AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 9, pp. 118-120, 122, 125, 128; vol. 10, pp. 55, 129; K. WINIARSKI, *Analiza nowego wychowania...*, 9.

¹³³ AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, pp. 436, 446-448; AKT, *Kronika Klasztoru...*, vol. 5, p. 241.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 201-202.

¹³⁵ AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 8, p. 443; author's interview with Father Stefan Zalewski, Tuchów, 20 January 2001.

¹³⁶ AWPR, personal files of Father Karol Winiarski, manuscript copy: *Anonimowa odpowiedź na ankietę...*

sis (d. 27 May 1944)¹³⁷. A special sign of his solidarity was a trip to Warsaw with Kazimierz Maciejewski, who in May 1943, after having completed his second year of philosophy, left the religious life. Winarski helped him find accommodation and employment¹³⁸. The most difficult moments for Winiarski were the months of unsuccessful exile in the East in 1939, which ended only in April 1940. During his absence the function of Socius was assumed by Father Józef Kaczewski and the Superior of the Ukrainian Diaspora, Father Roman Bachtałowski¹³⁹. The fiasco of the escape during the September campaign was one of the reasons why Winiarski gave up the idea of the seminarians' dispersion in the face of the Eastern front, although the lists dividing students into evacuation groups were ready in November 1944¹⁴⁰. On the basis of available sources, Father Socius Karol Winiarski is shown as an educator of great courage and dedication for his charges. He was wholeheartedly dedicated to the cause, which was of fundamental significance to the Polish Redemptorist Province in the difficult period of the war, the cause of rescuing the seminary from extermination and ensuring that it functioned in good conditions. The methods of his formative activity, which were at that time innovatory and not always acceptable, were the results of the constitutive imperative *solī Deo et studiis*.

«Although times of war have brought many changes and will certainly bring more, a monk must remain a monk all the same and climb higher and higher to perfection»¹⁴¹.

The chronicler's words recorded at the beginning of the war are some kind of a summary of the Redemptorist seminary formation in the years 1939-1945. The lecturers, educators and their charges passed a difficult examination in being faithful to the rules of the Congregation although the external conditions of functioning of the Tuchów community were undoubtedly the most difficult ones in the one hundred year history of the seminary. The teachers did not lack courage and the determination to provide formation to seminarians *in litteris et scientiis* under war conditions. The tutors watched over the spiritual growth of the alumni with great dedication and

¹³⁷ AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 9, p. 164.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 153.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 104; «Господарі показали дуже гідні і тактовні: устанавляється двох соціїв - один поляк, а другий я. Польський Соцій має власть над поляком и укїнцями і я також маю власть над полякама и укїнцями» (ALPR, P. Бахталовський, *Отець Йосиф Схрїверс...*, 28).

¹⁴⁰ AWPR, *Kronika Studentatu...*, vol. 10, p. 20.

¹⁴¹ Note made after the visitation, 8 November 1939, (*ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 49).

their main intention was

«to create in our youth this noble desire so that they will rise high and lower themselves as deeply as the Son of God demands ... so as to become men living according to the Gospel, with knowledge equally thorough and humble and sober, in expression equally powerful and popular, with life equally serious as unpretentious»¹⁴².

The seminarians, with all their richness and diversity of gifts and talents as well as youthful zeal, constitute one solid community, its sole aim being not only to survive the night of the occupation but to fulfill faithfully and irrefutably the formative stipulation and challenge *solī Deo et studiis*.

SUMMARY

The war vicissitudes of the Major Seminary of the Redemptorist Province of Warsaw in Tuchów reflect the persecution and suffering of the entire Polish Church in the tragic years 1939-1945. It is important to notice the fact that in spite of the tragedy of the war, the teachers, students and their educators tried to follow faithfully the Redemptorist vocation in the spirit of *solī Deo et studiis*. The first weeks of the Nazi occupation brought about the escape of the seminarians and professors of the Tuchów Seminary in face of the German aggressor. During the war exodus in the eastern lands of Poland the young Redemptorists had to face the terror of Bolshevik atheism. After the return, in spite of the atmosphere of terror and constant threat of the Nazi occupier, underground priestly and religious formation of the Polish Redemptorists, together with Greek Catholic Ukrainian students from Lvov, who found shelter in Tuchów, was carried out under the protection of our Lady of Tuchów. The dynamics of the seminary reality, marked by the fundamental condition *solī Deo et studiis*, penetrated all dimensions of every Redemptorist seminarian's life. The lecturers, educators and their charges passed a difficult examination in being faithful to the rules of the Congregation although the external conditions of functioning of the Tuchów community were undoubtedly the most difficult ones in the one hundred year history of the seminary. The Servant of God, Father Kazimierz Smoroński (d. in 1942 in Auschwitz), a lecturer on the Bible and editor of the popular periodical 'Homo Dei', as well as five seminarians, cruelly murdered during the Warsaw Uprising in 1944, died a martyr's death. Despite persecutions and difficult living conditions the Tuchów Redemptorists were characterised by faithfulness in fulfilling the duties of their seminary formation and by extraordinary dynamism and zeal amidst the challenges and realities of war. This is proved by the fact that 28 students of the Tuchów Seminary were ordained in the years 1940-1945. During World War II the seminarians and their educators fulfilled truly and faithfully the Redemptorist imperative: *solī Deo et studiis*.

SOMMARIO

Le vicissitudini belliche del Seminario Maggiore della Provincia Redentorista di Var-

¹⁴² A. DESURMONT, *op. cit.*, 6-7.

savia a Tuchów riflettono la persecuzione e la sofferenza dell'intera Chiesa polacca nei tragici anni 1939-1945. E' importante notare il fatto che malgrado la tragedia bellica, gli insegnanti, gli studenti e i loro educatori cercarono di seguire fedelmente la vocazione Redentorista nello spirito del *Soli Deo et studiis*. Le prime settimane dell'occupazione nazista determinarono la fuga dei seminaristi e dei professori del Seminario di Tuchów di fronte all'invasore tedesco. Durante l'esodo bellico verso le regioni polacche orientali i giovani Redentoristi dovettero affrontare il terrore dell'ateismo bolscevico. Dopo il ritorno, nonostante l'atmosfera di terrore e la minaccia dell'occupante nazista, la formazione clandestina religiosa e presbiterale dei Redentoristi Polacchi, insieme con gli studenti Greco Cattolici Ucraini da Lviv, che trovarono riparo in Tuchów, fu gestita sotto la protezione della Madonna di Tuchów. La dinamica della realtà di seminario, segnata dalla fondamentale condizione del *Soli Deo et studiis*, compenetrò tutte le dimensioni di tutta la vita dei seminaristi Redentoristi. I docenti, gli educatori e i loro impegni sostennero un difficile esame circa la loro fedeltà alle regole della Congregazione anche se le condizioni esterne del funzionamento della comunità di Tuchów erano indubbiamente le più difficili della centenaria storia del seminario. Il Servo di Dio, P. Kazimierz Smoroński (morto nel 1942 in Auschwitz), docente di Bibbia ed editore del periodico culturale *Homo Dei*, come tra l'altro cinque seminaristi, uccisi crudelmente durante l'insurrezione di Varsavia nel 1944, morì da martire. A dispetto delle persecuzioni e delle difficili condizioni di vita, i Redentoristi di Tuchów si distinsero per la fedeltà nell'adempimento dei doveri della formazione seminaristica e per il dinamismo e lo zelo straordinari tra le sfide della realtà bellica, il che fu provato dall'ordinazione di 28 studenti del Seminario di Tuchów negli anni 1940-1945. Durante la Seconda Guerra Mondiale i seminaristi e i loro educatori adempirono fedelmente all'imperativo Redentorista *Soli Deo et studiis*.