On 28th September 2017, 10 years passed since Rev. Cardinal Adam Kozłowiecki SJ died. In his long life, he had worked for over 60 years in Zambia, for the locals becoming a Zambian to the core. He built the structures of local Catholic Church and left a lasting trace in the history of the young state.

Adam Kozłowiecki was born on 1st April 1911 in Huta Komorowska near Kolbuszowa, in what was then the Lviv voivodeship, which belonged to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. He had two brothers: the elder, Czesław, executed in 1940 by a German firing squad, and the younger, Jerzy, who settled in Canada after the war. The father of the future Cardinal (also Adam), a lawyer by profession, and a nature lover, managed an estate of several thousand hectares, at the same time running his business (trading wood, managing a sawmill and a brickyard). Adam's mother, Maria of Janoch, came from a religious family strongly associated with the Church, managed the upbringing of her three sons. They took home lessons and received well-rounded education from private tutors. Kozłowiecki's childhood and early youth coincided with the period of Poland's revival and newly regained freedom.1

In 1921 he began attending the Jesuit Institute of Instruction and Education in Chyrów, finishing grades 2 through 5. His brothers also went to the same school. He left school in 1926, to be further educated in St. Mary

Magdalene’s Middle School in Poznań, were he received his graduation diploma in 1929.²

Although his father was against the idea, not seeing his son fit for a monk, Adam entered the Society of Jesus on 30th July 1929. After 2 years in the novitiate in Stara Wieś near Brzozów, he took his first monastic vows in 31st July 1931. He continued his further formation in the order. The next step was admission to philosophical studies at the Department of Philosophy of the Society of Jesus (today Ignatianum University in Krakow³) in 1931.

In 1933, as a philosophy graduate, he commenced the so-called “master’s course.”⁴ The Provincial sent him to Chyrów, where he returned, this time as an educator.⁵ Having completed a year of teacher training, scholastic⁶ Adam Kozłowiecki went to Lublin to study theology at the Bobolanum Department of Theology of the Society of Jesus.⁷ He had already been after minor orders, which he had received from Bishop Stanisław Rospond on 6th and 7th April, and 2nd May 1933. Major orders were conferred upon him by Bishop Adolf Józef Jelowicki on 14th March 1937 (subdeaconship) and 19th March 1937 (deaconship). On 24th June 1937 he was ordained priest by


3. The Ignatianum University in Krakow — a higher school of the Society of Jesus in Krakow, established by the transformation of the Philosophical Department of the Society of Jesus, founded in 1926, and approved by the Vatican in 1934. The name itself is derived from the founder of the Jesuit order, St. Ignatius of Loyola. Cf. J. Kołacz, _Słownik języka i kultury jezuitów polskich_, Kraków 2006, p. 127; S. Cieślak, _Kardynał Adam Kozłowiecki..._, op. cit., pp. 21—22.

4. Master’s course — one of the stages of formation following philosophical studies. It is the first apostolic mission for every Jesuit, depending on the needs of a particular province. To this end, a Jesuit is sent to a community, in which he lives and works next to local confreres. This stage of formation requires initiative and responsibility, at the same time serving as a verification of certain aspects of life and mentality. It permits to correct any traits which have adverse impact on the Jesuit’s formation. Cf. J. Kołacz, _Słownik..._, op. cit., p. 164.

5. S. Cieślak, _Kardynał Adam Kozłowiecki..._, op. cit., p. 22.

6. A scholastic in the Jesuit order is a novice after his first vows, in the process of his further formation. Scholastics are yet to receive the holy orders; cf. J. Kołacz, _Słownik..._, op. cit., pp. 248—249.

7. Collegium Bobolanum — a Jesuit college opened in 1926 in Lublin. Its name comes from the name of a Jesuit martyr, St. Andrew Bobola. The Bobolanum building was taken over by Germans in 1939, and by communists after the Second World War. In 1952, the department was moved to Warsaw; cf. J. Kołacz, _Słownik..._ op. cit., pp. 63—64.
Bishop Karol Niemira, also in Lublin. In 1938 Adam Kozłowiecki, following the fourth year of theological studies, went to Lviv to complete the last stage of his formation in the order — the so-called ‘third probation’. It included a deeper study of religious law, the Jesuit spirituality, and its completion was a prerequisite for admission to final vows. 8

His probation being over, in 1939 he was re-sent by the provincial to Chyrów to work as a superior and spiritual guide of his protégés. 9 Sadly, he was unable to commence his work due to the fact that the German forces soon invaded the young state of Poland. The first days of September harrowed the country. On 9th September, when the conflict reached the Eastern borderlands, Kozłowiecki attended the injured, heard confessions and anointed the sick. 10 Most of his confreres, who came, among other places, from Krakow to escape the Nazis, had to flee again. Everyone was aware that there will be no teaching in the monastery school in 1939/1940. 11

After 17th September, when the invasion of the Red Army on the eastern lands of the Second Polish Republic took place, Adam Kozłowiecki decided to leave Chyrów and go to Krakow. His journey was very long and tiring. On route, he managed to reach his parents’ house in Huta Komorowska, where he could rest; he was exhausted and his leg was injured. Having recovered, Kozłowiecki continued his journey without hesitation, heading for Krakow. He arrived on 26th October and reported to the Provincial, who resided in Mały Rynek 8. The Provincial appointed him the minister of the house at the local Jesuit college in Kopernika 26. 12

His stay in the house did not last long. On 10th November, he was arrested by the Gestapo along with other Jesuits. This step had already been included in operation “Sonderaktion Krakau” planned by the Germans, which led to the extermination of the Polish intelligentsia and clergy.

12. Minister — here: a member of a religious community responsible for financial matters. He was also entrusted with many other duties related with day-to-day functioning of the House. Kozłowiecki cooperates closely with the superior of the community, taking over the duties of the superior when latter is absent. In principle, each community has its own minister appointed by the provincial; cf. J. Kołacz, Słownik..., op. cit., p. 170, S. Cieślak, Kardynał Adam Kozłowiecki..., op. cit., pp. 27–29.
Kozłowiecki and 24 other Jesuits were imprisoned in the Krakow prison at Montelupich street, from which he was transported to the prison in Wiśnicz. On 20th June 1940, he was one of the first prisoners in Auschwitz and received camp number 1006. On 12th December of the same year he was transferred to the concentration camp in Dachau (camp no. 22187) north of Munich. It was the place where German political prisoners, member of the anti-Nazi opposition (communists, socialists, Christian democrats) were held. In the later period, the Germans placed Jews, Romanies, Jehovah's Witnesses and homosexuals in the camp.

The camp became the main place where Christian (Protestant, Orthodox or Catholic) clergy were held and exterminated. For Kozłowiecki and the entire Society of Jesus in Poland, it later transpired that the war period, with its unprecedented brutality, had both profound and painful consequences. Over eighty Jesuits died, including some prominent figures of the Second Polish Republic. Because of shifted borders (annexation of the Eastern Borderlands to the USSR), the order lost many of its institutions located in this area (including the monastery school in Chyrów).

In the course of five and a half years in the camps, Adam Kozłowiecki worked as a shoemaker, bricklayer, carpenter or even a weaver. He gave an account of his imprisonment is his post-war book *Ucisk i strapienie. Pamiętnik więźnia* (*Oppression and distress. A prisoner's diary*). Written in the form of a diary, it contains valuable information about the activities of the Nazi invaders on the Polish land: first days of the war, Poles' reaction, their experience, emotional states. The reader sees all of this through Kozłowiecki’s eyes. The book is an extremely accurate and objective study describing that period. The passages describing imprisonment in concentration camps are shocking. Rev. Kozłowiecki reveals the mechanisms by which the camps functioned. He presents the daily life of prisoners (sometimes with broken moral backbones), their tortuous work, hunger, cases of

mental breakdown as a result of various repressions. He also witnesses the deaths of many clerics, including his confreres — martyrs.

On 29th April 1945, the Dachau Concentration Camp was liberated by the 7th US Army. On 12th June of that year, Adam Kozłowiecki arrived in the monastic house of German Jesuits — St. John Berchmans’s College in Pullach near Munich. He did not stay there long and without permission of American soldiers he set off for Rome, which he reached in mid-July. There, at the Jesuit church of Il Gesù on August 15th he took his last monastic vows. Like during his imprisonment in concentration camps, he dreamed of returning to his beloved homeland and seeing his loved ones after so many years of separation.

The Society of Jesus ran, among other things, the mission in Northern Rhodesia (today Zambia) for which the Galician Province, which in 1918 changed its name to the Province of Poland, was originally responsible until 1912. After the Province of Poland split into two new provinces, the mission was assigned to the province of Lesser Poland. Immediately after the war, it was threatened with closure due to numerous deaths of missionaries who worked there. Staff shortages had to be quickly replenished. Father Władysław Zabdyr, the mission’s superior, particularly insisted on recruiting new missionaries. Adam Kozłowiecki, although initially reluctant,

15. S. Cieślak, Kardynał Adam Kozłowiecki..., op. cit., pp. 89, 93, 97.
17. Władysław Zabdyr SJ (1890–1968), dispatched on a mission to Northern Rhodesia in 1927, and from 1928 onwards worked mostly in Chikuni. From the beginning he developed education. By quickly learning the language of the local population, he was able to compile school and religious books for pupils. He organized 48 schools in the surrounding villages, on a very good level, with staff trained in a special teachers’ seminar. From 1939 to 1950 he served as the superior of the entire mission. Later, he became a superior in Mpima, where, under his administration, buildings for future seminars were erected. Next, he spent 2 years in Kasisi. From 1958 he worked at the Karenda post, in which a church, vocational school and novitiate for black sisters were set up. Then he returned to Kasisi, where he worked until his death. Cf. T. Bzowski, K. Drzymała, Wspomnienia naszych zmarłych 1820–1982, t. 3, Kraków 1982, pp. 35–36; Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy 1564–1995, opr. L. Grzebień, Kraków 1996, p. 775.
18. Superior — leads the local community. Appointed by the Provincial or General, his responsibilities include making decisions concerning the life of the community. He ensures that his subordinates, other Jesuits, fulfil their duties. He may use advisers, but the final decision is only up to him. Today, this term is often replaced with ‘local superior’; cf. J. Kołacz, Słownik..., op. cit., p. 265.
accepted the offer to join the mission that was made to him by Father Norbert de Boynes, Vicar General of the Society of Jesus. In a letter to Teofil Bzowski SJ of 16th November 1945, sent from Rome, Kozłowiecki explained why was willing go on a mission and what concerns he had: “Soon I will go to Africa, for such is clearly the will of God, revealed in the will of my superiors. I have no doubt about it. After our liberation (29th April), we moved to Pullach on 12th June 1945. Here we received a letter from the Rev. Vicar General of the Jesuits, who made a suggestion that we should come to the aid of our fathers, who are at the end of their tether in America and Africa. In the latter, they had to relinquish one of the schools they ran to the Protestants... Although Most Reverend Father Vicar emphasised in his letter that he did not want to exert any pressure, I agreed primarily because I did not see it as an order, but rather signum voluntatis (a sign of will) on part of my superiors — and in this case, according to the principles of St. Ignatius, one should see the will of God in this. Secondly, I considered it my duty because of the needs of the mission in Rhodesia and the prospect of more schools being handed over to the Protestants. Thirdly, I thought it would be a scandal if none of the liberated were to undertake this work; it would be blatant thanklessness towards God who let us survive the hell of the camps […].”

In the same letter, he wrote about what he had lost, what he missed most and how he sees his work as a missionary. “[…] Sometimes I do feel resentment towards our Lord for treading on everything that has been dear to me, and making me tread on this, too. Reverend knows how much I loved my country. I was uprooted in the moment that was most difficult for me, but those long years in the camps my thoughts were in Poland, I dreamed about her, I literally dreamed about Poland constantly, and I was allowed to. Every night I moved to the most beloved places: Chyrowa, Stara Wieś, Lviv, Zakopane, Krakow, Lublin, Poznań... My work was often monotonous and thoughtless. At that time I could pray and dream all day long. In my thoughts I travelled to Stara Wieś, to Chyrów... and today? […] So far, I am wholeheartedly determined to fulfil the will of God, but I am afraid that moments of weakness may come upon me, when I can totally break down. I am also afraid that, in my current disposition, I will not fall in love with this new job, even if I do not even feel disgusted with it... Hilarem datorem (God

loveth a cheerful giver) — and me? In any case, I am not the cheerful giver, and although I fulfil the will of God, it is as if out of necessity, reluctantly, with a grudge towards God. I will not be able to work among the beloved walls of the Chyrów school with the youth I did love so much. All that I held so dear on earth is irretrievably lost and, in fact, I must not even dream of it. Yes, I surrender it to God, but I am ashamed that I give it up with a heavy heart [...]”

Having obtained the appropriate travel permits, on 26th January 1946 Father Kozłowiecki sailed from Naples to Durban in southern Africa. After nearly three months of travel he arrived in Rhodesia on 29th April and was directed to St. Peter Claver missionary post in Kasisi. He taught religion, prepared teachers of religious education, served as director of the Apostolate of Prayer and moderator of the Marian Sodalities. He travelled extensively, visiting various parts of the country. At the same time he tended to setting up new schools and chapels, preached retreats for monks and nuns. He quickly learned local languages so that he could preach to the local population with ease. The work he performed was extremely difficult, as there were numerous attacks aimed at representatives of the Catholic Church. Thanks to his tenacity and determination, he managed to visit almost 150 villages in two years. In the meantime, his attitude towards work, life and especially to Kozłowiecki’s beloved Poland had changed. He began to write letters presenting the situation in the mission. As it turns out later, this correspondence, developed on an unprecedented scale by a single person, will become a trademark and a distinctive feature of the future cardinal. This can be seen in the letter of 1st June 1947 addressed to Father Wojciech Krupa SJ, Provincial of Lesser Poland: “We look forward to receiving help from the provinces that have taken responsibility for the development of the Kingdom of God in this region. I never thought of missionary work in Rhodesia before, and I never wanted it, but now I understand how serious duties we have undertaken and how immense our responsibility is. We may expect help from others, but only help. Responsibility still lies with the Polish provinces. May we receive this help! [...] Work in my own

country is necessary, but this is also necessary here, no less necessary than working back in Poland.”

The superiors of the monastery, seeing how hard and persistently Father Kozłowiecki worked, and that his work bore fruit, appointed him superior of the Kasisi mission.

In 1950 the Holy See elevated the Lusaka prefecture to the rank of vicariate (in entire Rhodesia there were a total of 5 vicariates and 1 apostolic prefecture). It was an inevitable process, especially when all the neighbouring missions which originated from Lusaka had already been awarded the rank. There were new and complex problems facing the mission, such as attracting new people to work, as well as rapid changes in social and cultural relations in Rhodesia.

On 15th July 1950 Adam Kozłowiecki was appointed apostolic administrator by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. It was a great honour and promotion for Kozłowiecki, although he made it clear that this was a temporary situation, refusing to use any titles due to his appointment as the administrator: “Please refrain yourself from writing some nonsense, let me put it clearly: I am not any ‘Right Reverend Monsignor’, I have no insignia of an apostolic prefect or a vicar. I am a temporary apostolic administrator of the Vicariate of Lusaka, the appointment of the Vicar being postponed for 2–3 years. I emphasize this so that you do not commit any blunder in the Messenger […]” — he pointed out in a letter to Stanisław Czapiewski SJ. The mission included seven posts (Lusaka, Chikuni, Broken Hill, Chingombe, Katondwe, Kasisi and Kapoche). There were 43 Jesuits in this area, including 17 Poles. Despite the low number of staff, Father

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28. Stanisław Czapiewski SJ (1911–2013), Procurator of the mission in Northern Rhodesia (later Zambia). Since 1950 he was the editor of the magazine “Polonia dla Misji Rodezyjskiej”, which in 1953 was renamed to “Pionierski Trud” and then in 1966 to “Wśród Ludu Zambii”. In 1973 he established an institution dedicated to Jan Beyzym (Lusaka Mission Service). He also made three documentaries about missions, Encyklopedia…, op. cit., p. 105.
Kozłowiecki took to work vigorously without regard to the problems he faced. A team of the most experienced Jesuit were of assistance to him.  

The first acts of the new administrator were frequent visits to posts, visits to neighbouring missions, for example Congo, in order to better understand the problems of the mission in Rhodesia compared to missions in other countries. A significant change and novelty was the appointment of Father Stanisław Czapiewski, based in Chicago, as the mission procurator. Having become a prefecture, the mission began to attract attention and interest. By 1960, the mission was also joined by other Jesuits of different nationalities (Poles, Czechs, Slovaks and Croats). The Irish Jesuits enjoyed considerable autonomy, leading their own Little Seminary in Mpima near Broken Hill. By 1955, the mission tried to make up for lost time, building as much as they could in towns and in the wilderness. New schools, orphanages and hospitals were set up. The work of the missionaries was hard, often done under great pressure, causing conflicts and generating unfriendly atmosphere around the mission.

On 4th June 1955, Adam Kozłowiecki was appointed bishop and apostolic vicar. The consecration that took place on 11th September 1955 was performed by the then apostolic delegate to Central Africa, Archbishop James Robert Knox. Other consecrators included Archbishop of Salisbury Aston Ignatius Chichester SJ and Bishop Joost Van den Biesen, apostolic vicar of Abercorn. In his bishop’s coat of arms (featuring the monogram of the Society of Jesus 'IHS', the Northern Star and the Cross of the South), Bishop Kozłowiecki adopted the motto "In nomine Domini", suggested by Pope Pius XII during private audience.

29. L. Grzebień, Pionierski trud..., op. cit., p. 266.
30. A procurator administers property belonging to a particular community or work. He supervises financial matters and is a representative of the order in its external affairs; cf. J. Kolacz, Słownik..., op. cit., p. 213.
31. Little Seminary — a general secondary school for candidates to priesthood. Back then it was customary for monasteries to accept boys without a high school diploma, so the idea of creating a 'little seminary' was born to supplement their education. Cf. J. Kolacz, Słownik..., op. cit., p. 165.
33. Encyklopedia..., op. cit., p. 784.
34. L. Grzebień, Pionierski trud..., op. cit., p. 278.
The consecration involved a great responsibility for all Polish missionaries. Kozłowiecki was aware of the fact, as he pointed out in a letter to Wojciech Krupa SJ: "The decision of the Holy See is, above all, a proof of great love for Polish missionaries and for this we are obliged to be immensely grateful. On the other hand, this decision imposes on our missionaries, and particularly on me, a grave responsibility that would terrify me were it not for the trust in the goodness of God and the help of His almighty grace. Yet this is why I kindly request your ardent prayers for our mission so that we can perform our duties in really the most difficult conditions. I am very happy that the missionary zeal is flourishing among our Polish clerics. May this zeal find its outlet in the fervent prayers for the mission, for our Polish missionaries and for the Africans in our care and custody. God will reveal how much we owe to your prayers. For my part, I assure you that I never fail to pray for our Motherland, and especially for both our provinces. Every day at the Holy Mass I make a long 'Memento' for this special intention. God help us to receive reinforcements from Poland again! [...]" 36 The Irish Jesuits wanted one of their men to take the office. This would provide easier access to the prominent posts of the various mission centres in Lusaka. Ordaining a Jesuit a bishop and, at the same time, making him an apostolic vicar was one of the main reasons for mission becoming split into two parts: Irish and Slavic. This happened on 1st January 1957. 37

Bishop Kozłowiecki cared for the proper development of the Church and its mission of evangelization, in 1956 issuing instructions for preparing adults to be christened. In his pastoral letter of 6th January 1958, the bishop defended racial and social equality. Thanks to his decision, a Hindu girl was admitted to the Dominican Sisters' school. 38

In 1959, the development of church structures was finally completed, resulting in the establishment of the first diocese. On 25th April, Pope John XXIII established an metropolitan archdiocese with capital in Lusaka. Adam Kozłowiecki became its Metropolitan Archbishop. Prior to his appointment, he wrote about this to Stanisław Czapiewski SJ of Lusaka: "First and foremost, I ask all of you to pray for me, because in the first place it is not a new dignity, but above all a new duty and a grave responsibility before

37. Encyklopedia..., op. cit., p. 784.
which I tremble. At the Final Judgment I will have to report how I performed my duties and expect a reward... or punishment! The announcement of the subsidy greatly comforted me, and assuming the new position, I thank you not only for that, but for all that you are doing for us with so much dedication and zeal. At least you will be able to say at the Final Judgment: 'I did everything I could'. Pray for me so that I too could give such an answer. We will face great expenses as a result of my installation. I received a letter from the Apostolic delegate in which he informed me that he had invited Rev. Cardinal Agagianian and proposed the date of 12th July. I have not received the final confirmation of the arrival of Rev. Cardinal yet, but I expect a telegram at any time. So far we are arranging everything on 12th July: the Pontifical High Mass at the Dominican sisters', followed by a party (tea, Cola, etc. in the same place), an evening banquet at the Ridgeway Hotel, plus a few receptions in my house. On 14th July we will all go together by plane to Fort Jameson (all bishops will be in Lusaka), to participate a conference in Kachbere together with the bishops of Nyasaland and from there to Blantyre (Nyasaland) for the introduction of the hierarchy at 7pm. All of this will cost us about £1000 [...].”

With the emergence of the archdiocese of Lusaka, 5 bishops ordinary and 2 apostolic prelates appeared. Metropolitan Archbishop Adam Kozłowiecki made himself known as one of the creators of the Memorandum of the Episcopate of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland on 31st October 1959, which defended the rights of native Africans to the choice of their political system and participation in its government. A year later he announced a pastoral letter to local Catholics, reminding them of their duties which stemmed from that fact. In 1964, he introduced liturgical reforms by issuing further instructions.

He founded the Handmaids of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a new religious congregation of diocesan sisters servant whose task was to educate women and girls. He participated in the ceremonies of the proclamation of an independent state, the Republic of Zambia in 1964. In the meantime, he was granted Zambian citizenship. In the following years, he brought other Jesuits from Oregon (US) and Poland to work in the mission. In 1961 he became the first president of the Conference of Bishops of East African

40. SPPSJK, Kozłowiecki Adam..., op. cit.
Countries. Kozłowiecki was also an active participant in the Second Vatican Council, where in subsequent sessions he discussed the involvement of the Church in missionary activity.  

In 1965, Zambia established diplomatic relations with the Holy See. Under the influence of the Council the policy of the Archbishop changed as well, striving in accordance with the spirit of the Council to move away from the paternalistic vision of the missionary Church, entrusting its fate to the Zambians instead. At the same time, he began to send regular letters to the Holy See in which he submitted his resignation from the office. The resignation was accepted in 1969. Emmanuel Milingo became the next Archbishop of Lusaka.  

Archbishop Adam Kozłowiecki in August 1969 wrote about his resignation, addressing friends and benefactors of the mission: “Having submitted my resignation from the office of the Metropolitan Archbishop of Lusaka to the Holy Father, I wish to express my genuine gratitude for your great, generous and dedicated help through which the Archdiocese of Lusaka attained such a level that it could be handed over to the national spiritual leader in the person of Rev. Archbishop Milingo. [...] Your assistance in spreading the holy faith in this country is written in gold letters in heaven, in the Heart of God, to which prayers, requests and thanksgiving are sent by those whom you have given the opportunity to learn about Jesus, love him and serve him. [...] Thank you once again for all the acts of goodness and kindness, I assure you of my great gratitude, as well as of my constant prayers for you — may Jesus reward you hundredfold with his constant care and blessing. My resignation was necessary, since finally came the time when in the whole Africa, including Zambia, national church hierarchy is slowly being formed. Rev. Archbishop Emmanuel Milingo knows his people, he will be able to reach their hearts and minds better. I call upon your noble hearts for further assistance to him, but above all, for your prayers he will need so much...”  

1969 was also an important year for the Jesuits working in Zambia. The Lusaka missions — both Slavic and Irish/Chikuni — were merged to form

42. Emmanuel Milingo (1930—) became the first black metropolitan archbishop of Lusaka in 1969, and in the years 1983—1999 worked in the Vatican as Special Delegate in the Pontifical Council for the Ministry to Migrants and Travellers.
43. SPPSJK, Kozłowiecki Adam..., op. cit. p. 645.
a monastic vice-province. ‘The resigned bishop’, as Adam Kozłowiecki used to call himself, remained in the newly formed vice-province and undertook ordinary work in the Chingombe mission. In 1973–1974 he worked in a mission in Mumbwa, and from 1975 to 1976 in the oldest Jesuit mission in Zambia, i.e. in Chikuni. Since 1970 he was a member of the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples. One year later, he began to manage the Papal Missionary Work in Zambia, for which he was responsible until 1991.

In 1970, he came to Poland for the first time since the Second World War, accompanied by Archbishop Milingo. They both met the Polish Primate, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński. On this occasion Archbishop Kozłowiecki also took part in the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of clergy from the Dachau concentration camp.

In 1976, he returned to work in Chingombe. It was no different from the work of other missionaries, and involved preaching, teaching religion in schools, taking care of the Catholic Action, and teaching premarital courses. At the same time, he fulfilled all the other duties that were incumbent upon him as an archbishop. These included participation in synods of bishops, conferences of the episcopate of Africa, conducting the Pontifical Mission Works. Therefore, Archbishop Kozłowiecki travelled extensively overseas, mostly to Rome.

The mission in Chingombe was particularly close to the cardinal’s heart, as he wrote in his already well-established and distinctive style on 21st April 1980: “I was 69 years old on April Fool’s Day — I started my seventh decade — and gravediggers already look at me with a certain amount of reproof in their eyes [...] Rev. Archbishop Milingo paid us a visit. He handed me a letter signed by him and two curial officials. He thanked me for the great financial help I give to the archdiocese, but above all to the mission in Chingombe. He points out, however, that if I do not have enough resources, the archdiocese will not be able to maintain it. So I got a rose with a tough thorn, but apparently a rose without thorns has not been bred.

44. Encyklopedia..., op. cit., p. 784.
45. S. Cieślak, Kardynał Adam Kozłowiecki..., op. cit., p. 130.
46. S. Cieślak, Kardynał Adam Kozłowiecki..., op. cit., p. 136.
47. S. Cieślak, Kardynał Adam Kozłowiecki..., op. cit., p. 127.
yet [...].”50 His letters were often saturated with sense of humour, which Cardinal Kozłowiecki undoubtedly had. In a letter to Bogusław Steczek SJ, the then Provincial of Krakow Jesuits in the year of the 50th anniversary of his priesthood he wrote: “[... ] People learned that I celebrated the 50th anniversary of the priesthood with revelry and welcomed me very cordially. The parish council gave me 10 kwacha, Catholic Action 4, Legion of Mary 2, some man 1 kwacha, another 3 pineapples, besides, I got 6 hens, 7 eggs and some rice. Others applauded and said they were terribly happy that I came back. I was glad, too. It was brought to may attention, however, that four perpetrators had stolen cabbage from the garden I had established. I sacked them. There was weeping and gnashing of teeth; and I was reminded of the duty of mercy. One even handed me a homily about the Prodigal Son that he had written. I know I must be merciful but not stupid. I know that Jesus forgave an adulterer and rogues on the cross, but it is not yet clear to me what he would do if they stole boards from St. Joseph’s workshop or cabbage from Mary’s garden. I wonder what I should do to be merciful, but prevent them from stealing my cabbage...”51

Archbishop Kozłowiecki’s thirteen year-long stay in Chingombe (1976—1989) came to an end when Kozłowiecki, at the express request of the new Archbishop of Lusaka Adrian Mungandu, settled in Mulungushi. He assumed the function of a chaplain in the high school run by Marist Brothers, the clinic of sisters servant working there, the parish, and another place a dozen or so miles away.52

At the end of 1992 he changed his place of residence once more. This time he moved to a mission in Mpunde. He again became the assistant of the parish priest, canon Jan Krzysztoń (who died in Poland in 2014), a missionary who came to Zambia from the diocese of Lublin.53 He announced his next move in a letter to Franciszek Bargieł SJ published in periodical “Nasze Sprawy”: “I’ve been on a mission in Mpunde since 18th December. I got a little sick (pneumonia), 'but it went away'. There’s shortage of people here, lots of gaps to be filled and even no stopgaps. They say I have

51. A. Kozłowiecki, Moja Afryka, moje Chingombe..., op. cit., p. 320.
53. S. Cieśliak, Kardynał Adam Kozłowiecki..., op. cit., p. 139.
a charisma of filling gaps, which I’m proud of. It’s the fourth gap I’m filling over the past 4 years.”

Taking up a job at another institution (which meant a change of environment and new challenges) in a short period of time did not change the archbishop’s attitude: “[...] Our task is to help so that there as many wise and honest people as possible. We do what we can, sometimes we succeed, and sometimes fail. My parish priest, Father Jan Krzysztoń from the Archdiocese of Lublin thunders, begs, encourages, and now is awfully busy with helping the hungry due to last year’s catastrophic drought. I help with the ministry work, I celebrate the mass, I bore people with sermons, I sit in the confessional, mostly idle, as ‘novelties’ are brought here from ‘progressive’ countries, saying one does not commit sins, and that God is more intelligent than that stupid priest who sits there ‘quibbling’ [...]”.

In 1997, the archbishop celebrated the 60th anniversary of his priesthood. In the same year he planned to pay another visit to his homeland. During his stay, he invariably promoted and pleaded with others to promote the Zambian mission. He celebrated the Holy Mass with Pope John Paul II in Legnica and several other cities. At the departure from Zambia this time the archbishop was accompanied by Rev. Canon Jan Krzysztoń. Before his visit he wrote to his confreres in Poland: “I’m writing this in a bit of a hurry, as I’m terribly busy, and I don’t want you to wait long for my thanks for never forgetting about our mission; your kindness I treasure even more so that in late May I’m leaving for Rome... and for Poland! I’m flying [to Europe] with my heart in my mouth, as on April Fool’s Day I started the the 87th year of my somewhat turbulent life and I must confess that I can really feel this. But when I got the invitation, our father provincial (an American Japanese) encouraged me to go, while others told me that I still had 13 years to a hundred [...]”.


Years of work for the Church in Zambia were appreciated by Pope John Paul II. At the age of 87, Archbishop Adam Kozłowiecki was ordained
cardinal by Pope John Paul II at the Consistory in 1998. It was a sign of gratitude for years of work and an honour for Kozłowiecki. This fact was widely described both in Polish and foreign press.\(^{57}\) “The cardinal nomination must therefore be seen as a recognition of the extremely wise and prudent attitude of the Archbishop, who, for the love of the African people, in extremely challenging and complex periods of change, was able to be both a good manager, a zealous, simple missionary, and even, as he calls himself, a ‘stopgap’ in every need”\(^{58}\) – wrote Ludwik Grzebień SJ.

Cardinal Kozłowiecki received many honours and distinctions. In 1985 he was decorated as the Great Commander of the Order of Freedom in by President of Zambia Kenneth D. Kaunda. In 1995 President Lech Wałęsa honoured him with the Commander’s Cross of the Order of Merit of the Republic of Poland for his outstanding achievements in missionary work and activities among the Polish diaspora. The Catholic University of Eastern Africa in Nairobi in 2005 awarded Kozłowiecki a honorary doctorate. In late 2006 the French government awarded him the Order of the Legion of Honour. In 2007, for his missionary work, helping the needy and promoting Poland in the world, he received the Order of Polonia Restituta from president Lech Kaczyński. In the same year, the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw awarded him a honorary doctorate for his missionary work in Africa.\(^{59}\) Cardinal Adam Kozłowiecki died on 28th September 2007 in Lusaka, where he was buried near the Baby Jesus Cathedral.

When following the story of Cardinal Kozłowiecki’s life, one must again mention his extensive correspondence. It was conducted throughout his stay in Africa, i.e. for more than 60 years. It consists of thousands of letters, with several thousand addressees from all over the world — another

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legacy left behind by the cardinal. Some of them were edited and released.60 The cardinal presented the current situation of the mission, plans for the future, advised and helped the requesters. He raised money for missionary activities. Whenever possible, he tried to respond to every letter he had received, scrupulously observing this self-imposed principle. When he failed to do so in time, he put off his response and apologized to the addressee for the delay. He always tried to understand another human being, their situation and problems. By becoming friendly with his correspondents, he was able to stay in touch with them for many years. Being over 90, he still wrote letters, keeping a good sense of humour and staying objective towards his himself. When he was no longer able to reply, he tried at least to read all of the incoming mail.

It is also worth mentioning that throughout all these years the cardinal tried to keep the letters he received. Even with the change of his place of residence in Zambia, he always took with him his entire (constantly growing) archive. Consequently, it remained well-preserved and stored in a single location. At present, the whole collection is kept in the Archives of the Southern Poland Province of the Society of Jesus in Krakow at Maly Rynek 8. It consists of personal documents, diaries, outgoing and incoming correspondence, the most numerous category. Most of the letters were sent by lay people, benefactors of the mission, but also friends of the family. The correspondence also includes letters that the cardinal received from popes: John Paul II and Benedict XVI, as well as church hierarchs working in the Roman Curia. It also contains letters from Adam Kozłowiecki’s mother Mary of Janoch Kozłowiecka, brother Jerzy and other members of the family. A separate group within the incoming correspondence includes letters which the cardinal received from the Superior General of the Order, Father Peter Hans Kolvenbach and the Jesuits living in the General Curia of the Society of Jesus in Rome. There are also letters from other Jesuits, mostly the ones in Poland. The rest of the legacy consists of various materials relating to the cardinal’s activities since his arrival in Northern Rhodesia until his death. These are his official letters, speeches, articles, reports, papers, press interviews, invitations and medals received by Cardinal Adam

Kozłowiecki. The archive also contains record of cardinal's participation in the Second Vatican Council, synods and consistories of bishops in Rome, as well as visits to Poland. The legacy is complemented by a rich collection of photographs depicting the life and activities of the cardinal from his youth to the end of his life. The resources may serve a number of researchers examining cardinal’s relationship with family members, inhabitants of his home village and its vicinity, church leaders, missionaries, nuns working in missions, friends, schoolmates and concentration camp inmates, benefactors of the mission in Zambia and, obviously, with Jesuits themselves.\(^{61}\)

On 26th March 2008, thanks to the founders such as Bishop of SANDO-MIENZ Andrzej Dzięga, Bishop Edward Frankowski, Rev. Prelate Władysław Włodarczyk, Rev. Marek Dzioła, Rev. Marek Flis, Dariusz Bzdzikot and Bogdan Romaniuk, The Reverend Cardinal Adam Kozłowiecki Foundation “Heart Without Borders” (Polish “Serce bez granic”) was established. Its purpose is not only to present and promote the person of Cardinal Adam Kozłowiecki, but also his family, which played a special part in the history of Sandomierz and its region. The foundation managed to renovate an old outbuilding — the only surviving part of the Kozłowiecki family manor today — and a part of the manor/part complex which the family had intended to create in Huta Komorowska.\(^{62}\)

The work was completed in 2011 and the building was commissioned, which coincided with the opening of Cardinal Adam Kozłowiecki’s Museum. The ceremony was graced by the late Cardinal Medardo Joseph Mazombwe, the retired Archbishop Metropolitan of Lusaka.\(^{63}\) The idea behind the establishment is to organise of seasonal exhibitions, competitions, classes for children and teenagers, and formation meetings. The institution also intermediates the charity sponsorship of Zambian children. The museum’s permanent offer includes: “May Outings in the Museum”, “Nights in the Museum”, “Holidays and Winter Breaks in the Museum”. Since 2013 the

\(^{61}\). Cf. SPPJSK, the legacy of Cardinal Adam Kozłowiecki, ref. 4986; L. Grzebień, Genealogia rodu Kozłowieckich herbu Ostoja oraz Rodu Dolaniskich, Fedorowiczów i Janochów, Majdan Królewski 2014, pp. 90—91; S. Cieślak, Ks. Arcybiskup Adam Kozłowiecki SJ w obozie koncentracyjnym w Dachau w 1972 roku, „Nasza Przeszłość” 127 (2017), pp. 221—240.


\(^{63}\). SPPJSJK, Cardinal M. J. Mazombwe’s speech in Huta Komorowska after the Holy Mass, Huta Komorowska, 25th September 2011, no ref. no.
Museum features a multimedia exhibition made of holographic pyramids, along with touch screens and LCDs. Due to such a modern, up-to-date style, the Museum lives up to the highest standards which are currently expected from such facilities. Obviously, the permanent exhibition, presented every day, focusing mainly on the history of the cardinal’s life and his family, is a must see for visitors. 

All activities of the Foundation and the Museum can be followed on the website www.cardinalekozlowiecki.pl. Thanks to obtaining additional funds, the Foundation has created an online platform www.czasnamisje.pl, where you can take a virtual tour of the Museum and learn more about missionary establishments by contacting them. The projects are very diverse in purpose and broad in scope, ranging from promotional and informational to educational, cultural and religious. In 2011, to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Cardinal’s birth, the Polish Post released a special catalogue of stamps and envelopes, and the Polish mint issued a special medal. From the same year onwards the Foundation has striven to organize regular exhibitions dedicated to Cardinal Kozłowiecki, entitled “With Open Hands”. So far they have taken place in e.g. the Polish Parliament, Krakowskie Przedmieście street (Warsaw), Kolbuszowa, Dębica, Wrocław, Sandomierz, Rzeszów, Kamieniec near Poznań, Kańczuga. They were also presented abroad: in the European Parliament in Brussels, at the former concentration camp in Dachau, at the Caritas-Pirckheimer Haus Academy in Nuremberg, in the Polish Museum in Rapperswil (Switzerland). In October 2013, an exhibition was opened in Lusaka. It had a special setting, since apart from many representatives of the Zambian authorities, the Catholic Church, male and female missionaries, its presence was honoured.

64. J. Draus, Działalność..., op. cit., p. 111.
66. J. Draus, Działalność..., op. cit., p. 111.
68. SPPSKJ, folders informing about the Dachau exhibition “With open hands... in search of reconciliation”, dedicated to Cardinal Adam Kozłowiecki SJ, 25th October 2011, no ref. no.
69. J. Draus, Działalność..., op. cit., p. 111.
70. J. Draus, Działalność..., op. cit.
71. J. Draus, Działalność..., op. cit.
by the Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk. Every year the Foundation also organizes Days of Cardinal Adam Kozłowiecki, a series of scientific conferences, as well as the Subcarpathian Festival of Missionary Songs. During the Days Cardinal Adam Kozłowiecki, “Hearts Without Borders” trophies are awarded to people in recognition of their special achievement in one of the areas of the Catholic Church's missionary activity.\footnote{J. Draus, \textit{Działalność...}, op. cit., p. 112.}

In 2017, ten years passed since the death of Cardinal Adam Kozłowiecki, and his person is still unforgettable for the people of Zambia. His monastic brothers also remember him, reminding us of his very long and remarkable life, in which he was a Jesuit, a prisoner of German concentration camps, a missionary, a cardinal, and, above all, a human being. Cardinal Adam Kozłowiecki is still more famous in Africa than in his country of birth. For Poles, his character deserves a closer look. Indeed, it is Poles who should see Cardinal Adam Kozłowiecki as another reason to feel proud.
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Abstrakt

Stanisław Augustynnek

Kardynał Adam Kozłowiecki SJ (1911–2007) — pierwszy arcybiskup metropolita Lusaki

Kardynał Adam Kozłowiecki zmarł w 2007 roku i został pochowany w Lusace. Był znaczącą postacią w historii Kościoła afrykańskiego, a w szczególności zambijskiego. Dożył 96 lat, z czego ponad 60 spędził pracując na jezuickich misjach w Rodezji Północnej — późniejszej Zambii.


W referacie omówiono poszczególne etapy życia kardynała, a wraz z nimi nieoczekiwane zwroty, jakie zaprowadziły go aż do Afryki. Autor starał się odpowiedzieć na pytanie, ile ich było, jakie miały znaczenie, które były najważniejsze w życiu kardynała i jak wpływały na życie Kościoła zambijskiego oraz misji, prowadzonych przez jezuitów na terenie Zambii.
Abstract

Stanisław Augustyniek

Cardinal Adam Kozłowiecki SJ (1911–2007),
the first Metropolitan Archbishop of Lusaka

Cardinal Adam Kozłowiecki died in 2007 and was buried in Lusaka. He was a prominent figure in the history of the African Church, especially in Zambia. He lived to the age of 96, having spent more than 60 years working for the Jesuit missions in Northern Rhodesia, later Zambia.

This paper will discuss the various stages of the cardinal’s life: his origins, childhood, early upbringing at home under the supervision of his parents. Then we will look at his education in the renowned schools of the Second Republic, his joining the Society of Jesus and his desire to become a Jesuit educator of youth; next, World War II, his arrest and five-year ordeal as a prisoner in German concentration camps; and after that, his trip to Africa where his work with the local people was apparently extremely difficult, but fruitful. We will then examine the gradual development of the mission and the formation of the church administration that took place in Zambia. All these efforts resulted in Kozłowiecki’s appointment as apostolic administrator and apostolic vicar. Later, the Holy See created a new metropolitan see in Lusaka and Adam Kozłowiecki was appointed the first metropolitan archbishop of that city. We will review his participation in the Second Vatican Council, his becoming the first president of the Episcopal Conference of Zambia, his activity as a member of the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples and as director of the Pontifical Mission Societies in Zambia. In 1998, he was the first Polish Jesuit to receive a cardinal’s hat.

In this paper we focused on Cardinal Adam Kozłowiecki’s life, mostly on the unexpected turn of events which led him to Africa. The author will investigated and tried to determine which of them were most significant in the life of the Cardinal and how they affected the growth of the Zambian Church and the missions run by the Jesuits in that part of Africa.

Keywords:
World War II, Dachau, Jesuits, Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia, Zambia.