

## **From Failure to Success: The Jesuit Mission in Zambia and the Sources for its History in the Jesuit Roman Archives**

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*Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*

Up to now (2019), only a few scholars from Africa have come to the Jesuit Roman Archives, if we compare their number with those coming from other countries and continents.<sup>1</sup> Few historians who study Africa come to consult this remarkable collection of Jesuit sources. Yet it contains abundant material about the missionary activities of the Society of Jesus in Africa-Madagascar.<sup>2</sup> The goal of the present article is to introduce these sources using the example of the Jesuit mission in the territory of present-day Zambia from its foundation in the nineteenth century.

### **A Forgotten Continent?**

William Bangert, the twentieth century American historian of the Society of Jesus, observed that, for the pre-Suppression Jesuits, Africa represented “perhaps their greatest mission failure. It remained for their followers of the nineteenth century to alter this discouraging record by their creation of some of the most vigorous bodies of the modern African Church”.<sup>3</sup> This assessment of the Jesuit presence in Africa appears to correspond well to the story of the Zambesi Mission<sup>4</sup> and indeed more broadly to the

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1 In 1995-2011, they were only 45, which represents 0,7% – a weak presence if compared not only to Europe (78%) or North America (9%), but also to Asia (6%) or South America (5%): Danieluk, “Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu”, 228.

2 For an overview, see: Lamalle, “Archivio Romano della Compagnia di Gesù”, 302–11.

3 Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 346–47.

4 The name “Zambesi” or “Zambesia” appears in the sources and in the literature treating about territories between the Limpopo River and the northern border of the Zambesi River basin (this area is also called the Upper Zambesi, cfr. de Saint Moulin, *Histoire des jésuites en Afrique*, 37), and between Angola and Mozambique (the Lower Zambesi was the name used for that part the of the Portuguese controlled territory close to the estuary of the Zambesi River).

history of Christianity in that part of the world.

For Europeans, Africa remained for centuries not only at the margins of their geographical maps, but also at the margins of their knowledge about their not-so-distant neighbours. Yet, already the ancient Greek-Roman world had contacts with Africa, the northern coasts of which were for hundreds of years an integral and very important part of the Roman Empire. Several events and many influential personalities – of great importance for Western civilisation – had their origins there; one may mention the successful development of Christianity in the African provinces of the Empire during the time preceding the Islamic invasions. The latter, as well as other vicissitudes of the following centuries, interrupted that commonwealth of the two coasts of the Mediterranean. Thus, the medieval and early modern eras prior to the period of European colonisation in Africa show that the reciprocal relations and knowledge of the two continents were very limited.

In terms of actual contact, prior to the nineteenth century the presence of Europeans was limited to the African coasts and was due largely to the need to maintain ways of communication and trade (including slavery) with India, East Asia, and the Americas. The African interior on the whole remained unexplored and mysterious for Europeans; in their popular imagination, for quite a long time Africa was seen as an unknown world. Two examples of these long-held European perceptions are Gian Lorenzo Bernini's famous fountain of 1651, located in the centre of Rome's Piazza Navona, with its representation of the Nile (the personification of that river has the eyes bended, which represented the fact that its sources were unknown), and the successful 1980 novel set in fourteenth-century Italy by the Italian writer Umberto Eco, entitled (in English translation) *The Name of the Rose*, where the most secret place in the library of the monks is called precisely "finis Africae".

One part of this centuries-long story of limited contact between two civilisations (African and Western) belongs also to the history of Christianity (the centuries of the ancient Roman and early Christian presence on the northern coast of Africa are not the only evidence of this contact); one chapter is also a part of the history of the Society of Jesus, because of the Jesuit presence there during the last five centuries.

### **Jesuits in Africa and the Beginning of the Zambesi Mission**

From the beginning of their existence, the Jesuits were undertaking missionary work in several parts of Africa, especially in Angola, Congo, Ethiopia, Guinea, Madagascar and Mozambique, as recalled in older and more recent historiography.<sup>5</sup> Yet the attempts at establishing regular missions in all these places were not particularly successful. In fact, with just a few exceptions, either their presence was of short duration, or it was limited in extent and in commitment (very few Jesuits were sent to Africa, especially if we compare their numbers with those sent to the Far East or to America). We can speak about the effective presence of the Society of Jesus in Africa only from the end of the nineteenth century, and that is why Bangert may have called the missionary attempts in Africa of previous centuries a “failure”.

The nineteenth century witnessed an impressive development of Catholic missions all over the world (in 1815, there were c.300 Catholic missionaries from Europe; in 1900, they were more than six thousand)<sup>6</sup> and the Jesuits actively participated in this movement. In contrast to the previous centuries, this time Africa was among the Jesuits’ privileged missionary destinations. Yet they entered that continent neither quickly nor easily, and only the second half of that century saw the beginning of their intense and systematic action there (the same was also true for the whole Catholic Church and its missions in Africa). Of course, several attempts had already been made earlier to penetrate Africa’s hitherto mysterious interior, where even some ecclesiastical structures were established, for example the Apostolic Vicariate of Southern Africa (1837) and the Apostolic Vicariate of Central Africa (1846). As for the Jesuits, they started their apostolate in the following chronological order:

1840 – Algeria,

1845 – Madagascar,

1848 – Sudan,

1858 – the island Fernando Poo (today Bioko, Equatorial Guinea),

1875 – South Africa,

5 Bangert, *A History*, 89–91, 161–63, 251–54, 346–47. José Vaz de Carvalho, “Angola”, *DHCJ I*, 171–74. Id., “Guinea-Bissau” and “Guinea-Conakry”, *DHCJ II*, 1844–845. Id., “Madagascar”, *DHCJ III*, 2459–460. Id., “Mozambique”, *DHCJ III*, 2756–758. Léon de Saint Moulin, “Congo”, *DHCJ I*, 902. Festo Mkenda, *Mission for Everyone* Hervé Pennec, “Les missions d’Afrique”. Mkenda, “Africa, East” and “Africa, Northwest”, Amoussou, “Africa, West”.

6 Chwalba, *Historia powszechna*, p. 599.

1879 – Zimbabwe and Egypt,

1881 – Mozambique,

1893 – Congo.

Other missions in Africa followed in the twentieth century.

From those listed here, the two first (Algeria and Madagascar) were entrusted to the French Jesuits from the Province of Lyon. The Jesuit presence in these countries continues up to the present time, with all the administrative, political and ecclesiastical changes which would be too long to discuss here.<sup>7</sup> By contrast, the third and the fourth initiatives (Sudan and Fernando Poo) were short and not successful.

An expedition, which began in 1847 in Alexandria and was led by the Polish Jesuit Maksymilian Ryłło, had as its goal to explore the territories south of Egypt and to establish new missions there. Sailing along the river Nile, the small team of travellers reached Khartoum in February 1848. However, only a few months later Ryłło died and his confreres eventually retired from that area in 1852, and were replaced by other missionaries.<sup>8</sup>

The mission on the island of Fernando Poo (west Africa), started by the Spanish Jesuits in 1858, did not last long. The deadly climate and the lack of success in evangelization as well as the political changes in Spain after 1868 left them no choice but to leave in 1872.<sup>9</sup>

All other missions indicated on the list above were definitely more successful. In fact, they all survive to the present, though not without interruptions and problems.

The Zambesi Mission started in 1875, when the English Jesuits arrived in South Africa, invited by the local bishop James David Ricards, who entrusted to them a school in Grahamstown.<sup>10</sup> Soon afterwards, they looked north towards the Zambesi River, encouraged by the same bishop, who was afraid of the possible progress of the Protestants in that area.

All Christian missions (not only Catholic) were not very much developed in that part of Africa until the end of nineteenth century. This situation changed after the Berlin Conference (1884-1885), but

7 Duclos, "Argelia", *DHCJ I*, 224–26. Peter, "Madagascar", *DHCJ I*, 2460–463.

8 Robert Danieluk, "Maksymilian Ryłło SJ", 7–21.

9 Santos, "Guinea Ecuatorial", *DHCJ II*, 1845–846.

10 Caraman, "Sudáfrica", *DHCJ I*, 3662–663. James David Ricards (1828-1893), Irish, ordained priest in 1850 and bishop in 1871, the same year he was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Cape of Good Hope in South Africa, and remained in charge until his death (Ritzler, Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica*, 481).

already the second half of that century saw important missionary initiatives exemplified in such outstanding missionary figures as David Livingstone – the first European to explore the southern part of Africa, and François Coillard from the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society.<sup>11</sup> The Jesuit and other Catholic missions were thus part of a larger movement, made possible thanks to several circumstances.

The political and economic context of Africa at that time was shaped by a rapid development of colonialism, which significantly changed the situation of that continent. In the middle of the nineteenth century, only a small percent of its territory were under the control of European powers (in 1876, it was c.10 %), but in 1914, only Liberia and Ethiopia were really independent, while all the rest of Africa was divided by the colonial empires of Britain, France, Portugal, Belgium, Germany, Spain and Italy.<sup>12</sup> As for the southern part of the continent, at the end of the nineteenth century, Cecil Rhodes and his British South Africa Company represented there a form of privatised British rule over huge territories between British South Africa and the Belgian Congo.<sup>13</sup> The presence of the Jesuits in southern Africa was therefore a component of this larger situation, which explains why it was possible to do at that time what was less possible earlier.

The participation of the Catholic Church in that larger missionary movement was organized according to a new strategy, introduced by Pope Gregory XVI (1765-1846, r. since 1831) and valid until Vatican II, according to which a particular territory was assigned to a single religious order. Thus, when the Holy See's missionary section *Propaganda Fide* established the new Zambesi Mission, it entrusted it to the Society of Jesus (later, other congregations would collaborate with the Jesuits there). This was possible thanks to the support of Father General Pieter Beckx, who was in favour of that new mission, which was placed under his direct authority instead of that of any particular province of the Society of Jesus.<sup>14</sup>

11 On David Livingstone (1813-1873), Scottish medical doctor, missionary of the London Missionary Society, explorer and British colonial employee, see Roberts, "David Livingstone", 73–82 and Henderson "David Livingstone", 510–12. On François Coillard (1834-1904), French protestant missionary in Africa since 1857, see Etherington, "François Coillard", 439–41.

12 Chwalba, *Historia powszechna*, 574.

13 On Cecil Rhodes (1853-1902), English colonial entrepreneur and politician, see Marks and Trapido, "Cecil Rhodes", 592–603, and Rotberg, "Cecil Rhodes", 197–98.

14 Pieter Beckx (1795-1887), Belgian, Jesuit from 1819, he was elected Superior

### **“In the deepest parts of Africa...” – Jesuits on the Way towards Zambia**

After the borders of the Mission were established and all official documents were issued in Rome, in 1879 an international team of eleven Jesuits gathered in South Africa from where they were about to launch an exploratory expedition, in the hope of establishing some missionary stations in the territory assigned to them and not yet well known. “You have heard, Reverend Fathers and dear Brothers” – Father General Beckx wrote to them on 27 December 1878 – “that in the deepest parts of Africa there are many hundreds of thousands of people, who had not yet been enlightened with the light of the Gospel, and thus remain miserable slaves of the devil, destined for eternal death unless somebody shows them the way to eternal salvation and leads them to know Jesus Christ”.<sup>15</sup> This letter was addressed to the head of the group, who was a Belgian, Henri Depelchin, already a missionary in India.<sup>16</sup>

On 16 April 1879, the missionaries left Grahamstown travelling north, arriving on 7 July at the Limpopo river, which was the southern limit of the territory assigned to them by Rome. Entering then these “deepest parts of Africa”, they reached Tati (Zimbabwe) on 17 August of the same year. There Fr. Depelchin established his headquarters, the starting point for further expeditions. Here the group split: three of its members remained there while the others moved north arriving in Bulawayo (Zimbabwe) in November. Thanks to the fact that local chiefs were reasonably well disposed, the Jesuits started their missionary work in both places.

When in spring 1880 the other seven missionaries arrived, the reinforced group was reorganized once again. This time they divided into four teams: four Jesuits remained in Bulawayo, three

General in 1853 (*DHCJ* II, 1671–675). The Jesuit General was directly responsible for that mission only at its first stage, already in the 1890s it was under two Provinces of the Society: the English and the Portuguese. The former took care of the territories of today’s South Africa and Zimbabwe, the latter of Mozambique.

15 “Audistis enim RR. PP. et FF. CC. in penitioribus Africae partibus multa centena hominum millia existere nulla adhuc evangelii luce collustrata, misera daemonis mancipia, aeternae scilicet morti reservata, nisi quis eius aeternae salutis viam demonstret, et ad agnitionem Jesu Christi eos adducat” (*ARSI, Reg. Miss. Angl. I, 180–81*; the translation is mine).

16 Henri Depelchin (1822–1900), Jesuit in 1842, missionary in India in 1859–1877 (Calcutta, Midnapore, Pune and Bombay), after his work in Africa, he left for Europe in 1883 and spent five years as a teacher in Belgium, before coming back to India in 1888, where he worked in Calcutta, Darjeeling and Ranchi (*DHCJ* II, 1082–083).

in Tati, while six others guided by Depelchin moved north towards the Zambesi River, and four others went east, towards Mozambique.

Depelchin's team set out on 17 May 1880, and on 25 June arrived in Pandamatenga (Botswana, on the border with Zimbabwe) where a new station was established. In July, some of the missionaries crossed the Zambesi river and continued north passing the territories of several local chiefs who treated them with reserve and not always in a friendly manner. These Jesuits as well as the men who went east had to face several adventures and difficulties, including the death of some companions. For these reasons, they were able to establish a regular mission in the territories of today's Zambia only later, although these first attempts were made in 1882 and 1883. While this first missionary expedition was not particularly successful, the Jesuits managed to settle in what is now Zimbabwe.

Contrary to what happened to Depelchin's expedition, in the territories of the Portuguese Mozambique, which also were part of the same new Zambesi Mission according to what had been decided in Rome, the Portuguese Jesuits made a start, and were successful. In February 1881, four of them arrived in Quelimane – a town located at one of the branches of the Zambesi river close to its estuary. The other man followed later, and in a few years, several missionary stations were established and developed, thanks also to some Jesuits from other countries, who joined their confreres from Portugal.

If these missionaries in Mozambique had less problems establishing themselves than those who were members of Depelchin's group, quickly enough they too faced the adversity represented by the climate of the area. Already in 1881, two of the Mozambique missionaries died (several others died later).<sup>17</sup>

When the anti-Jesuit policy of Portugal obliged the members of the Society of Jesus to leave the territory of Mozambique after 1910, several of them crossed the border with the British-controlled area of Northern-Rhodesia in order to continue their missionary activity. At the same time, in Rome the Jesuit General Fr. Wernz decided that one part of that mission's territory would be entrusted to the Polish Jesuits from the Province of Galicia (some of them were already in that area working in Mozambique

17 In 1880-1883, thirteen Jesuits died in the territories of the Zambesi Mission (Białek, *Jezuici polscy*, 28. All together, 67 Jesuits died in that mission down to 1927 (see a list of their names in ARSI, *Provincia Zimbabweensis* 1403).



and South Africa).<sup>18</sup> The formal letter was signed 11 February 1912, but already in July 1911 the first Pole, Jan Lazarewicz arrived from Mozambique to Katondwe (c.200 km east of Lusaka).<sup>19</sup>

At that time however, there were already two Jesuit missionary stations in the territory of what is today Zambia: Chikuni (c.140 km south-west of Lusaka) and Kasisi (c.20 km north-east of Lusaka) started by the French Jesuits Joseph Moreau and Jules Torrend, who arrived in the present Zambian territory in 1905 coming from the south.<sup>20</sup>

In fact, the Jesuits based in today's Zimbabwe since the time of the first expedition led by Depelchin never forgot the sacrifice of these men, who did not succeed in their attempt to establish the mission north of the Zambesi River. Thus, in 1902, Peter Prestage, the last survivor of the first missionary group from 1880, left Bulawayo (Zimbabwe) accompanied by his young French confrere Moreau, and moved north crossing the Zambesi and choosing a convenient place for a future station.<sup>21</sup> Coming back south, they took with them a few local boys to give them an education. That proved to be quite providential for, three years later when Moreau returned there with Torrend accompanied by the young pupils, the boys' reappearance gave much credibility to the missionaries in the eyes of the local population. This facilitated the opening of the first two mission stations in Zambia, which were in existence when the Jesuits expelled from Mozambique arrived there.

In conclusion, the origins of the Society of Jesus' presence in Zambia are two-fold: some Jesuits reached there from the south (in 1880-1883, they did not succeed, but those arriving in 1905 did);

18 Franz Xaver Wernz (1842-1914), German, Jesuit from 1857, he was elected General in 1906 (*DHCJ* II, p. 1682-687). Until 1912, fifteen Polish Jesuits worked in the Zambezi Mission; see their names, as well as those of the others working in that mission up to the 1970s, in: Grzebień and Kozłowiecki, *Wśród ludu Zambii*, t. 1, 361-63.

19 Jan Lazarewicz (1865-1930), Jesuit from 1881, he left for Mozambique in 1910, but shortly after had to move to the territory of present Zambia (*Encyklopedia wiedzy*, 357).

20 Joseph Moreau (1864-1949), Jesuit from 1883, in Africa since 1886, he worked in the Zambezi Mission from 1898, mostly in Chikuni - a station that he founded and directed until 1939 (*DHCJ* III, 2742). Jules Torrend (1861-1936), Jesuit from 1879; he was in South Africa in 1882-1889; from 1893 he worked in the Zambezi Mission; he was a distinguished linguist and specialist of local African languages (*DHCJ* IV, 3816-817).

21 Peter Prestage (1842-1907), English, Jesuit from 1860, missionary in Africa since 1882 (*DHCJ* IV, 3229).



the others travelled from the east. The most important events in the institutional development of this mission are as follows:

- 1875: English Jesuits start their mission in South Africa;
- 1879: the beginning of the Zambesi Mission under the direct responsibility of the Superior General;
- 1881: Portuguese Jesuits start their missionary work in Mozambique as a part of the Zambesi Mission;
- 1890: the Portuguese part of the Mission was placed under the authority of the Portuguese Province (*Provincia Lusitana*) as the Lower Zambesi Mission (*Missio Zambesiae Inferioris*);
- 1893: the rest of the Zambesi Mission was placed under the authority of the English Province (*Provincia Angliae*) as the Upper Zambesi Mission (*Missio Zambesiae Superioris*);
- 1912: one part of the latter was entrusted to Polish Jesuits from the Province of Galicia (*Provincia Galiciana*);
- 1927: *Missio Zambesiae Superioris* was divided into the Salisbury Mission (today Harare, Zimbabwe; *Missio Salisburiensis*) and Broken Hill Mission (today Kabwe, Zambia; *Missio Brokenhillensis*);
- 1936-1938: parts of the latter were given to Irish Capuchins (south-west) and to Italian Conventual Franciscans (north);
- 1957: Broken Hill Mission was divided into Lusaka Mission (*Missio Lusakensis*) under the responsibility of the Southern Poland Province (*Provincia Poloniae Minoris*), and Chikuni Mission (*Missio Chikunensis*) under the responsibility of the Irish Province (*Provincia Hiberniae*);
- 1969: both Zambian Missions were merged in a new Vice-Province of Zambia (*Viceprovincia Zambiana*);
- 1983: it became the Province of Zambia (*Provincia Zambiana*);
- 1992: after including in this Province the territory of Malawi, it became the Province of Zambia-Malawi (*Provincia Zambia-Malawiensis*).<sup>22</sup>

These dates not only represent elements for a possible “genealogical tree” of the Jesuits in Zambia (as given in Appendix 1), but they also are points of orientation and an example of the research about the history of the Jesuits in other African countries, that could be successfully undertaken in the Society’s Roman Archives.

22 See the official documents concerning these institutional changes, in: *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu* V/4 (1927), p. 696–97, 728–29; VIII/2 (1936), 419–20; IX/2 (1938), 101–02; XIII/1 (1956), 123–25, 261–62; XV/3 (1969), 467–71; XVIII/4 (1983), 1087; XX/5 (1992), 775–76.

### Roman Sources for the History of Jesuit Mission in Zambia

In 1973, Adam Kozłowiecki SJ, then already retired archbishop of Lusaka, suggested to his confrere Ludwik Grzebień, the historian of the Polish Jesuit mission in Zambia, to explore the Roman archives of the *Propaganda* and those of the Society of Jesus, as particularly interesting for a study that Grzebień was planning. "In my opinion, the biggest achievement would be for you somehow to wriggle your way into two Roman archives: in the General Curia, and in the Congregation for the Evangelization" – wrote the future cardinal and co-author of the already quoted two-volume publication *Wśród ludu Zambii* (Among the People of Zambia), edited four years later in Cracow, which after forty-two years still remains the most extensive history of the Jesuits in Zambia down to 1969.<sup>23</sup>

Kozłowiecki's advice proved accurate and remains valid up to the present, especially in view of the recent decision of Pope Francis to open the archives of the Holy See relative to the pontificate of Pius XII (1839-1958); the same extension of the limits of access will occur in the Jesuit Roman Archives.<sup>24</sup>

Writing in 1983, Edmond Lamalle, the long-serving and outstanding archivist of the Jesuit Roman Archives (ARSI), argued that their material relating to the missions in that part of Africa was quite abundant.<sup>25</sup> It includes copies of the letters sent by the

23 "Uważam, że największym osiągnięciem byłoby, gdyby się ojcu udało wkręcić jakoś do dwóch archiwów rzymskich: w Kurii Generalskiej oraz w Kongregacji dla Ewangelizacji Ludów". Kozłowiecki, *Moja Afryka, moje Chingombe*, 278 (the translation is mine). The book *Wśród ludu Zambii* was published by the Jesuit publishing house Wydawnictwo Apostolstwa Modlitwy in 1977. Its first volume is the monograph study under the title *Pionierski trud misjonarzy słowiańskich 1881-1969* (Pioneering Effort of the Slavic Missionaries 1881-1969; see its summary in English at 371-89), while the second volume contains a selected correspondence of Kozłowiecki under the title *Listy z misyjnego frontu* (Letters from Missionary Front). The English-speaking reader will appreciate also the more recent publications: Murphy, *A History of the Jesuits in Zambia*; Kielbasa, *Katondwe, The Polish Mission of Luangua in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia)*; Maryks and Mkenda, *Encounters between Jesuits and Protestants in Africa*; Mkenda, "Mission Context and the Jesuit Visitor". Adam Kozłowiecki (1911-2007), Pole, Jesuit from 1929, arrested with many confreres in autumn 1939, imprisoned in the German prisons in Cracow and Wiśnicz as well as in Auschwitz and Dachau concentration camps until 1945; immediately after the war he became a missionary in Zambia where he arrived in 1946; ordained bishop in 1955, four years later he was appointed the first archbishop of the new metropole of Lusaka (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, 315).

24 See the Pope's speech from 4 March 2019 announcing the opening of these archives, in *L'Osservatore Romano* (4-5 March 2019), 6.

25 Lamalle, "Archivio Romano", 311.

Generals to the Provinces involved in the missionary activity there, as well as to the ecclesiastical authorities concerned. The researcher has to examine the series of the “Registri” of the English Province (ARSI, *Reg. Angl.*), those series relating to the missions of the English Assistancy (ARSI, *Reg. Miss. Angl.*), and those containing the letters to the Roman *Propaganda* (ARSI, *Reg. Praelati*).

Since these “Registri” contain copies of the letters sent from the Jesuit Curia, letters arriving there are to be sought in other series of the same archives. Lamalle quotes only two folders: “Zambesi I (1878-1893)” and “Zambesi II (1894-1922)” (which correspond to the present archival collocations ARSI, *Provincia Zimbabwensis* 1001 and *Provincia Zimbabwensis* 1002), noting that many documents touching the beginning of the Zambesi Mission have already been published (he references vols. 16 and 17 of the *Bibliotheca Missionum*).<sup>26</sup>

The valuable indications of Lamalle might be completed taking in consideration materials referring to the *Missio Lusakensis* of the Southern Polish Province (*Provincia Galiciana*, then *Provincia Poloniae*, eventually *Provincia Poloniae Minoris*), which since 1912 was responsible for the mission in Zambian territories, as well as documents relative to other Jesuit provinces involved in the evangelization of the same part of Africa from the end of nineteenth century. They are numerous, if we take in consideration that already the first missionary group of Fr. Depelchin was composed of Belgians, Dutch, English and Germans. Consequently, one may speculate that in addition archival materials concerning all other Provinces, which were sending members to Zambia, might be relevant and as such should be examined. The historical development of the Zambian mission as presented in Appendix 1 supports the same approach. Thus, besides the already mentioned Province of Southern Poland, of particular interest are the ARSI series of the following Provinces: Province of England (*Provincia Angliae*), Province of Ireland (*Provincia Hiberniae*), Vice-Province of Slovakia (*Viceprovincia Slovaciae*) and – for the more recent decades – Province of Oregon (*Provincia Oregonensis*) and Province of Croatia (*Provincia Croatiae*).

26 Actually, from the point of view of the present article’s theme, the following volumes of these bibliography are of interest: vol. 17: *Afrikanische Missionsliteratur 1700-1879*; vol. 18: *Afrikanische Missionsliteratur 1880-1909*; vol. 19: *Afrikanische Missionsliteratur 1910-1940*. This bibliographical query should be completed by consulting also Polgár, *Bibliographie sur l’histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus, 1901-1980*, and – for the time after 1980 – its appendix published in the periodical *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*.

Only a long and meticulous research – within the limits of the ARSI access policy (soon to be the year 1958) – would throw light on the research possibilities available there regarding the Jesuit mission in Zambia (Appendix 2 offers merely a summary list of the main archival units that should be studied). The starting point for such research could be each Province's catalogues containing the names of the Jesuits sent to that mission.<sup>27</sup>

Another section of the archives that represents a possible direction of complementary research is the series "Santa Sede" containing correspondence between the Jesuit General Curia and the Holy See; already a quick look at some of its boxes and volumes shows the existence of documents about the Zambian mission.<sup>28</sup>

Apparently, all these sources could hardly correspond to the desire expressed by some of the more recent historiographies that look for a more African perspective of this history, which up to now has been mostly written from the European perspective.<sup>29</sup> One may object that the Jesuit documents from the time arriving up to the second half of the last century are not the best place to hear the voice of the local people and to know their point of view of their own past. After all, what the Roman archives contain from that time is mostly a documentation produced by the Europeans, sent to Europe and used by the Europeans, first for the government and administration, then for writing history! Yet, could we not read these sources also "between the lines"? One of the challenges of the renewal of the Jesuit history that we witness during last decades was precisely to read the same (and known) sources from other points of view, i.e. asking new questions. The number of publications about the Society's history or at least based on Jesuit sources, that come each year, confirm that such readings are possible. An example of such a possibility concerning Zambia would be the correspondence

27 See the names of those from the then Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia in: Grzebień and Kozłowiecki, *Wśród ludu Zambii*, t. 1, 363. However, as Grzebień notices (268), in addition Jesuits from other nationalities arrived in Zambia after 1945: these included English, Belgians, Germans and Italians.

28 See, for example, ARSI, *Santa Sede* 1007-II, 43–4; 1007-IV, p.1, 12–3; 1013-III, p. 50, 70; 1013-IV, 2, 4, 56, 134–35, 194–200; 1015-X, 14, 17, 46–8, 128; 1016-IXA, 44, 51; 1017-V, 25, 31, 36–7; 1017-X, 36, 41; 1018-IV, 2, 4–6, 9–10, 16; 1019-VII, 29; 1020-V, 28, 43.

29 For an overview of the historiography of the Jesuits in Africa see: Mkenda, "Jesuit Historiography in Africa", in Jesuit Historiography Online. Consulted online on 24 May 2019 [https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/jesuit-historiography-online/jesuit-historiography-in-africa-COM\\_192529](https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/jesuit-historiography-online/jesuit-historiography-in-africa-COM_192529)

and publications of already quoted Adam Kozłowiecki relative to the issue of Zambia's political and ecclesiastical independence (the Zambianisation of the Church) or the racial and social emancipation of the Africans. Even if such themes are not the leading in what the Cardinal wrote, his literary heritage offers such possibility. It is up to historians to pick up the challenge...

What the present article indicates about using the Jesuit Roman Archives as a source for studying the history of the Jesuit mission in the territories of today's Zambia could be taken, *mutatis mutandis*, as a paradigm for similar studies of missions in other African countries or areas. Once such archival studies are available, the Jesuit contribution to Africa's history will be better known, and that is what it certainly deserves.

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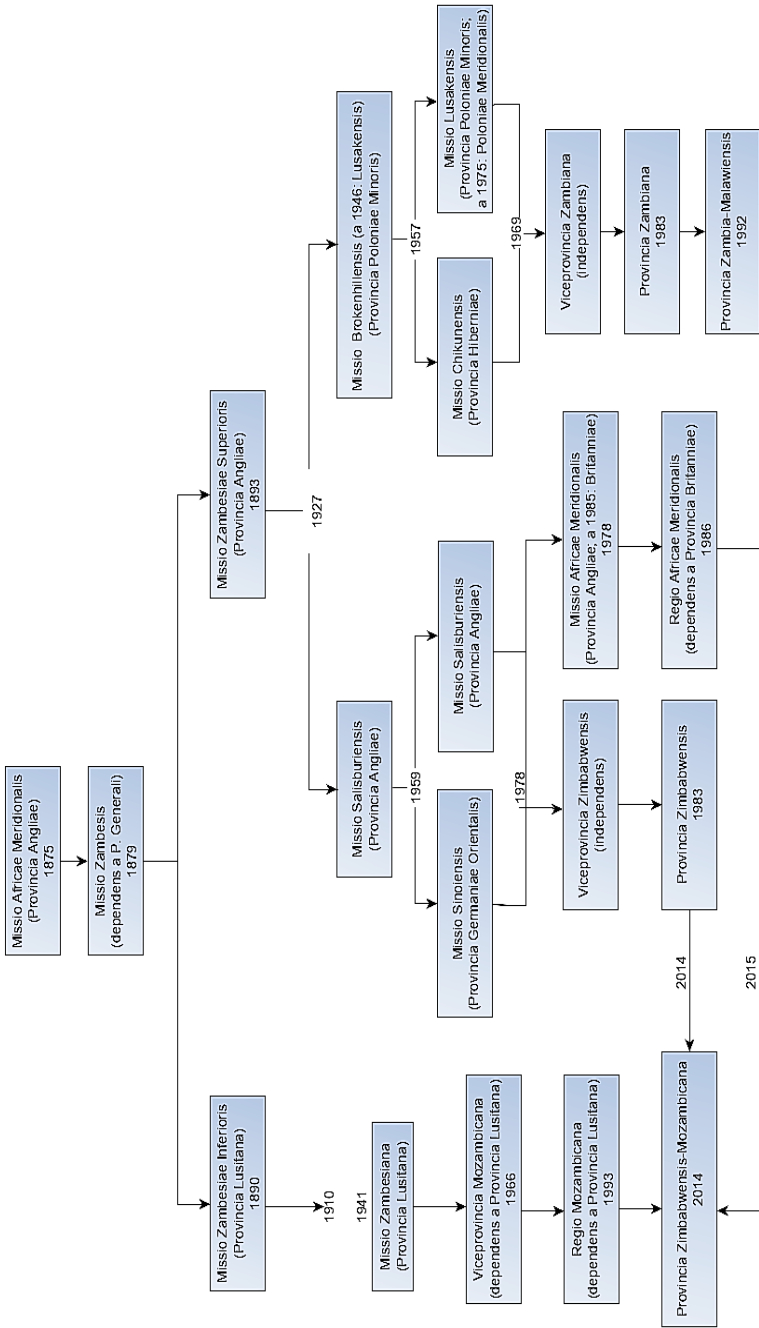
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## **Appendix 1: Development of Jesuit Structures in the Southern Part of Africa**

Up to recent times, the official names of all Jesuit missions and provinces were always in Latin. Thus, I decided to keep these names in the graphic here below; further, scholars using the Jesuit Roman Archives will find the Latin versions occur more frequently in the documents than the English versions.



## Appendix 2: Main Archival Units of ARSI Containing Documents about the Jesuit Mission in Zambia

This appendix is not a complete list of documents concerning Jesuit activities in Zambia. It lists only archival units up to the limit of access (1958); \* indicates those available only in part. The units not available (i.e. from the time after 1958) are not listed here.

*Missio Lusakensis* 1001: Correspondence between the General Curia and the Mission of Broken Hill: incoming letters from the Mission, 1915-1937 (320 documents).

*Missio Lusakensis* 1002: Correspondence between the General Curia and the Mission of Broken Hill (from 1946: Mission of Lusaka): incoming letters from the Mission, 1938-1951 (399 documents).

*Missio Lusakensis* 1003: Correspondence between the General Curia and the Mission of Broken Hill: incoming letters from the Mission, 1952-1956 (420 documents).

\**Missio Lusakensis* 1004: Correspondence between the General Curia and the Mission of Broken Hill: incoming letters from the Mission, 1957-1965 (439 documents).

\**Missio Lusakensis* 1501: Litterae annuae, 1943-1964 (136 ff).

\**Missio Lusakensis* 1601: Historia domus, 1943-1965 (106 ff).

*Missio Lusakensis* 1701: Summaria vitae (27 ff and 2 photographs).

\**Missio Lusakensis* 1901: Elenchi vari, 1950-1965 (16 ff).

*Missio Lusakensis* 2001: Varia historica, 1949-1955 (81 ff).

*Provincia Galiciana* 1010-VI: File containing letters of the candidates for foreign missions, 1897-1911.

*Provincia Galiciana* 1012-XIV: Correspondence concerning the mission in Africa, 1911-1918.

*Provincia Poloniae* 1017-III: File containing ex-officio letters from 1925 (docs. 28-30 and 53 contain information about the candidates for the Zambesi Mission).

\**Provincia Poloniae Minoris* 1001-1003 and 1006-1010: Correspondence from the Province, 1926-1930 and 1933-1964 (among the letters some concern the mission in Zambia, see docs. 1001-VII-50, 1001-X-18, 1002-I-22, 1002-I-23, 1002-I-24, 1002-IV-21, 1002-V-6, 1003-VII-43, 1003-VII-44, 1003-VII-45, 1006-VII-26, 1006-IX-41, 1006-IX-42, 1007-I-10, 1007-I-27, 1008-VI-10, 1009-XVI-36, 1009-XVI-45, 1009-XVI-49, 1009-XXI-7, 1009-XXIV-47, 1010-I-22, 1010-I-23).

*Registri, Curia Romana* II-VI; VIII; X: Copies of General's letters to the Holy See, 1855-1930, 1935-1937 and 1945-1947 (among them a few letters concerning the Zambesi Mission, see vol. II, pp. 618-619; vol. III, pp. 232, 240, 278-279; vol. IV, pp. 37, 65, 71-74, 162-163, 173, 261, 309-310, 330; vol. V, pp. 77-78, 85, 170, 175-176; vol. VI, pp. 143-144, 154-155, 173, 180-181, 183-184; vol. VIII, pp. 163, 233-234, 369; vol. X, pp. 13, 16, 23, 61).

*Registri, Externi: Cardinales, Praelati* IV-V: Copies of General's letters to cardinals, bishops and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, 1890-1922 (among them a few concerning the Zambesi Mission; see vol. IV, pp. 280-281, 303-304; vol. V, pp. 101, 121, 139-140, 155-156).

*Registri, Missio Broken Hill* I: Correspondence between the General Curia and the Mission of Broken Hill: copies of the letters sent from the Curia to the Mission, 1929-1946 (75 pp.).

\**Registri, Missiones Assistentiae Slavicae* I: continuation of the previous volume; years 1947-1964 (ff. 77-431).

*Registri, Missiones Assistentiae Angliae* I-III: Copies of General's letters to the missionaries of the English Assistency, 1861-1922 (some of them concerning the Zambesi Mission).

*Registri, Provincia Galiciana/Poloniae* IV-VIII: Copies of General's letters to the Galicia Province (after 1918 Province of Poland), 1869-1929.

\**Provincia Zambiana* 1301: *Schedae vicariae*, 1953-1970 (summaries of the letters sent from Zambia to the General Curia; sometimes with notes of Fr. General or his Assistants).

\**Provincia Zambiana* 1401-1405: *Negotia specialia*, 1949-1975  
(documents concerning diverse issues of the Mission discussed  
with the Roman General Curia).

*Provincia Zimbabweensis* 1001-1002: Zambesi Mission, 1875-1922.

