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FAMILY AND EDUCATION AS VALUES IN THE BIOGRAPHY OF A WARTIME HERO LIEUTENANT COLONEL STEFAN MUSIAŁEK-ŁOWICKI (1896-1986)



Stefan Musiałek-Łowicki

Source: Family Archives of Zdzisława (daughter) and Mariusz (grandson) Ostański

Despite changes occurring in the surrounding reality, family remains one of these timeless values which are very important for the development and formation of human personality.

Parents are those who pass on to their children the values and moral standards to be observed, bringing into focus the creation of a proper hierarchy of values, the respect for the dignity of every human being, the readiness to fight for your motherland and to bring help to other people among others.

Such values were passed on to children in the family of Florentyna née Hamerlik and Jan Musiałek. They lived in Marciszów, Poręba commune nearby Kamienna Góra in Piotrków governorate in the territory of the Russian Partition at the time. The basic means of support for the family was the farm they managed. They owned vast arable land with further woodlands and meadows. The farm was quite profitable, so the whole family was relatively prosperous. The Musiałek family had four children, two sons Józef and Stefan, as well as two daughters Maria and Hele-

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na. The eldest son Józef was born on 7th December 1882 in Marciszów, the younger son Stefan was born fourteen years later, then Maria and the youngest Helena. It is Stefan Musiałek-Łowicki that deserves special notice¹. One can come across this individual in the history of Poland and the Tarnów region on many occasions. His own personal history is particularly interesting. It is interwoven with the history of the Polish state and reveals an image of a man who cherished values acquired at home such as God, honour and motherland as crucial. He also remained faithful to these values throughout his lifetime.

1. Childhood and early life in Marciszów, Lviv, Cracow

Stefan Musiałek-Łowicki was born on 4th August 1896 in Marciszów² and was baptised in Kromolów parish. He was a lively, joyful and extremely vigorous child. He spent his childhood in Marciszów located in the

¹ Up till now, the name of S. Musiałek-Łowicki has only been mentioned, on many occasions in descriptions of the events he participated in. These mentions however, are encyclopaedic in their character and refer mainly to basic facts (e.g. dates of birth or death) and are limited to itemising selected events in his life. A. Pietrzykowa, *Region tarnowski w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej. Polityka okupanta i ruch oporu*, Kraków 1984, passim; G. Ostasz, *Podziemna Armia. Podokrąg AK Rzeszów*, Rzeszów 2010, p. 300; E. Kabat, *Zapomniana "operacja III Most" i niezłomny dowódca płk Władysław Kabat, sine loco 2007*, p. 5-103; *Krakowski Okręg Armii Krajowej w dokumentach*, vol. I: *Działalność konspiracyjnej zewnętrznej (1943-1945)*, ed. A. Potyra, A. Zagórski, Kraków 1998, pp. 265-266; T. Balbus, *Struktura, obsada personalna i likwidacja Okręgu Katowice WiN (1945-1948)*, "Zeszyty Historyczne WiN-u" 2001, no. 15, pp. 7-52; T. Balbus, *Zrzeszenie WiN na Dolnym i Górnym Śląsku (struktury okręgowe)*, "Zeszyty Historyczne WiN-u" 2002, no. 17, pp. 111-146; T. Balbus, *O Polskę Wolną i Niezawistą (1945-1948). WiN w południowo-zachodniej Polsce (geneza – struktury – działalność – likwidacja – represje)*, Kraków – Wrocław 2004, pp. 405-472; A. Dziuba, *Podziemie poakowskie w województwie śląsko-dąbrowskim w latach 1945-1947*, Kraków 2005, pp. 145-173; W. Frazik, *Rozbicie II Zarządu Głównego WiN*, "Zeszyty Historyczne WiN-u" 2001, no. 18, pp. 123-162; T. Balbus, *Stefan Musiałek-Łowicki*, [in:] *Konspiracja i opór społeczny w Polsce 1944-1956. Słownik biograficzny*, vol. I, Kraków – Warszawa – Wrocław 2002, pp. 299-302; A. Zagórski, *Stefan Musiałek-Łowicki*, [in:] *Małopolski Słownik Biograficzny Uczestników działań Niepodległościowych 1939-1956*, vol. I, Kraków 1997, pp. 107-109; A. Pachowicz, *Musiątek-Łowicki Stefan, ps. Bożymir, Dobrogost, Mirosław, Mucha, Poręba, Włodzimierz*, [in:] *Encyklopedia Tarnowa*, EIC A. Niedojadło, Tarnów 2010, p. 270; A. Pachowicz, *Małopole – bohaterowie nieznanego. O wzorach osobowych w edukacji historycznej*, [in:] *Pedagogika międzykulturowa i regionalna – aspekty dydaktyczne*, manuscript editor M. Chrost, Kraków 2013, p. 204; *Informator o nielegalnych i antypaństwowych organizacjach i bandach zbrojnych działających w Polsce Ludowej w latach 1944-1956*, Warszawa 1964, p. 115; *1944-1947: w walce o utrwalenie władzy ludowej w Polsce*, editorial board red. J. Czaplą et al., copy ed. W. Góra i R. Halaba; preface W. Machejek, Warszawa 1967, p. 71; *Atlas polskiego podziemia niepodległościowego 1944-1956*, EIC R. Wnuk, ed. T. Balbus, Londyn 2007, pp. 420-421.

² Comes from German Merzdorf im Riesengebirge, a village located on the river Warta, in Będzin district, Poręba Mrzygłodzka commune B. Chlebowski, *Marciszów*, [in:] *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, ed. F. Sulimierski, B. Chlebowski, W. Walewski, v. VI, Warszawa 1885, p. 109.

Polish Jurassic Highland. From the very early years his mother Florentyna Hamrerlink took good care of his education³. She taught Stefan to speak German before he started attending school as she could read, write and count. She also took the decision to start his education two years later than his year group. The decision was mainly influenced by the russification policy executed at school⁴. In order to avoid it, Stefan was not sent to school despite binding educational sanction. In this period, he was educated at home so that he could take his exams extramurally. At that time, the school authorities consented to parents' requests and did not cause any problems to parents for that reason. Florentyna Musiałek prepared her son for examinations and his examination results allowed him to start his education at school in the third grade.

From the very early years he was keen to learn, and above all to read since it made him happy. His passion for reading started at home. Stefan Musiałek travelled to school on his own, he walked from Marciszów to Zawiercie. He was invariably interested in the works of Adam Mickiewicz and one of the books he read first was 'Pan Tadeusz'. He remained immensely fond of A. Mickiewicz's works all his life. Publications of Polish poets were difficult to obtain in the Russian Partition at that time. Therefore their copies were brought from Lviv into the territory of the Russian Partition by his elder brother Józef Musiałek.

In 1906 when Stefan was in the third grade of elementary school in Zawiercie his parents decided that he should continue his education in Lviv and stay with his brother Józef. The parents, Florentyna and Jan Musiał, regarded Lviv, a big city in the Austrian partition at the time, as a better place for Stefan to study than Marciszów. The different political situation that had developed in Galicia was supposed to ensure higher, Polish educational level, more convenient living conditions, and in the future, better perspectives for development. Thus he joined his brother Józef, who took him into care.

It proved, soon, though that Stefan felt uneasy in Lviv, could not acclimatise himself and therefore after a few months he decided to leave school, to go back to Marciszów and by the same token to the school in Zawiercie. However, this decision had unpleasant consequences for him. The school authorities decided that they could not credit the time Stefan

³ She came from a family of German settlers.

⁴ The process of Russification in schools covered all levels of education. It goes back to 1866 when secondary schools with obligatory Russian were launched. At that time some of the Polish *gymnasiums* were replaced with the Russian ones, in which all subjects were taught in Russian. In *gymnasiums* that were still tolerated as the Polish ones, Russian was imposed as the teaching language for the humanities and from 1866 for teaching science as well. In 1869 all subjects apart from religion were taught in Russian, inclusive of the Polish language taught from Russian textbooks. J. Wołyński, *Wspomnienia z czasów szkolnictwa rosyjskiego w byłym Królestwie Polskim 1868-1915 r.*, Warszawa 1936, passim; P. Frączykowski, *Rusyfikacja polskiego narodu*, Kraków 2001, passim.

spent at school in Lviv due to a different curriculum and pointed to significant curricular discrepancies. Therefore Stefan lost a year of his education and had to resume his study in the grade he had earlier left. After he had finished elementary school in the year 1907/1908, his parents decided that he would continue his study at a grammar school (*gymnasium*) in Cracow to ensure a first-class education.

In 1911 Stefan Musiałek finished his three-year grammar school in Cracow⁵. His elder brother persuaded him to continue his education at the Higher School of Trade. It was not a random choice. Józef Musiałek, already a renowned and respected trader, wanted Stefan to enter a good profession in future so that he could, just like himself, go into trading. His plan was to employ his brother in his company. In the year 1911/1912 Stefan Musiałek started his education in the first grade of the Complementary School of Trade at the Cracow Academy of Trade. He was very content with the choice of this school.

His stay in Cracow enabled him to actively participate in the work of emerging and operating independence-oriented organisations⁶. He turned his special attention to issues raised in the training scheme of the 'Riflemen'. These were among others topography, tactics, weapons training and fencing⁷.

⁵ On many occasions published biographies of Stefan Musiałek-Łowicki present information that he finished his gymnasium in Lviv. He was there for a short while earlier – in the year 1906. Family Archives of Zdzisława (daughter) and Mariusz (grandson) Ostański, The Biography of S. Musiałek-Łowicki; State Archives (Archiwum Państwowe further quoted as: AP) in Cracow, Tarnów Branch, the Files of Lt Col Stefan Musiałek-Łowicki (further as: TPSML) 33/504, v. 18 Własnoręczny zyciorys S. Musiałka-Łowickiego, Card 1; A. Zagórski, Stefan Musiałek-Łowicki, [in:] *Małopolski Słownik Biograficzny...*, v. 1, pp. 107-109; T. Balbus, Stefan Musiałek-Łowicki, [in:] *Konspiracja i opór społeczny w Polsce 1944-1956*. Słownik biograficzny. v. 1..., pp. 299-302.

⁶ Paramilitary units were launched at the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1910 in the territory of the Austrian Partition the Union of Active Struggle, a secret organization active since 1908, originated the Riflemen's Association in Lviv and the Riflemen's Society in Cracow. Their target was to prepare young people to take up the fight for independence when the war breaks up the partitioning powers. J. Stachiewicz, *Początki Związku Walki Czynnej, "Niepodległość" 1930*, v. II, pp. 43-60; K. Zamorski, *Polskie organizacje wojskowe przed wojną światową*. Związek Strzelecki, [in:] *Księga Chwały Piechoty*, ed. B. Prugar-Ketling, Warszawa 1937-1939, pp. 67-76; H. Bagiński, *Polskie Drużyny Strzeleckie i inne organizacje wojskowe*, [in:] *Księga Chwały Piechoty*, ed. B. Prugar-Ketling, Warszawa 1937-1939, pp. 77-88; A. Zakrzewska, *Związek Strzelecki 1919-1939*. Wychowanie obywatelskie młodzieży, Kraków 2007, pp. 16-55; M. Wiśniewska, *Związek Strzelecki (1910-1939)*, Warszawa 2010, pp. 24-35; A. Garlicki, *Geneza legionów: zarys dziejów Komisji Tymczasowej Skonfederowanych Stronnictw Niepodległościowych*, Warszawa 1964, pp. 26-30; W. Lipiński, *Historia Związku Strzeleckiego*, Warszawa 1930, passim; W. Sieroszewski, Józef Piłsudski, Piotrków 1915, p. 49.

⁷ W. Lipiński, *Walka zbrojna o niepodległość Polski w latach 1905-1918*, Warszawa 1990, p. 38.

Stefan, a former scout⁸, was increasingly interested in paramilitary riflemen's organisations. Józef Musiałek strongly objected to this decision. He presented his standpoint to his younger brother clearly and strictly forbade him to participate in any of such meetings or courses, as well as to belong to any of the pro-independence organisations. Although Stefan Musiałek had always taken his elder brother's opinion into account, in this case he did not do it. He decided to join the Polish Rifle Squads in January 1914⁹. His constant absence from home arouse no suspicion in his family. He was always present at any meetings and trainings organised by the Polish Rifle Squads. As a rule their times were not in conflict with his trade school classes. If the two overlapped though, he was sure to choose the training sessions in the Squads. As a member of the organisation, Stefan Musiałek was delegated to take up a course for lower rank commanders – non-commissioned officers¹⁰.

In June 1914 he finished the Complementary School of Trade and then he decided to begin work for the Agricultural Syndicate in Cracow. This was where his brother worked as well¹¹.

The relatively rapid course of events progressing in Europe influenced his later life. The growth of antagonisms increasing between the European countries could already be observed at the end of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century. The situation kept deteriorating and Stefan Musiałek had to cease the work he had just started¹².

⁸ He liked acquiring various skills, he participated in outings and the so-called outdoor exercise in the fresh air. J. Wojtycz, *Skauting polski w Galicji i na Śląsku Cieszyńskim w latach 1910-1919*, Kraków 2000, p. 41.

⁹ ARO, *Życiorys S. Musiałka-Łowickiego*; AP in Cracow, Tarnów Branch, TPSMŁ 33/504, v. 18 *Własnoręczny życiorys S. Musiałka-Łowickiego*, Card. 1; A. Garlicki, *Geneza legionów. Zarys dziejów Komisji Tymczasowej Skonfederowanych Stronnictw Niepodległościowych...*, pp. 157-158; K. Srokowski, NKN, *Zarys historii Naczelnego Komitetu Narodowego*, Kraków 1923, pp. 52-68; M. Klimecki, *Organizacja i działania oddziałów strzeleckich*. Lipiec – sierpień 1914, "Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości" 1988, t. 30, pp. 247-263; Verbal account of Zdzisława Ostańska i Mariusz Ostański.

¹⁰ He did not manage to finish it since World War I broke up. AP in Cracow, Tarnów Branch, TPSMŁ 33/504, v. 18 *Własnoręczny życiorys S. Musiałka-Łowickiego*, Card. 1.

¹¹ T. Balbus, Stefan Musiałek-Łowicki, [in:] *Konspiracja i opór społeczny w Polsce 1944-1956 Słownik biograficzny*, v. I..., p. 299; A. Pachowicz, *Zapomniany żołnierz*. Ppłk Stefan Musiałek-Łowicki 1896-1986, Tarnów 2016, p. 19-41.

¹² European countries started forming political and military blocs. Although Russia, Austria-Hungary and Germany had cooperated with one another they did not land in the same bloc, but in two opposite ones. On 7th September 1879 in Vienna an alliance was forged between Germany and Austria-Hungary. Later on 20th May 1882, also in Vienna, Italy joined the alliance. Thus the Central Powers, the Triple Alliance, was formed. These countries committed themselves to provide military support in case one of the allies gets attacked. Italy, however, made a reservation that they would not meet their commitment if Great Britain became one of attackers (the Triple Alliance fell apart in 1915 when Italy joined the WWI operations against Austria-Hungary). On the other hand, Russia joined an understanding called the Triple Entente. It was an alliance formed as

2. Years 1914-1918

Stefan Musiałek joined the Polish Legions in August 1914 but he kept it secret from his family. No one was informed about his decision and he sent no word not even to his brother¹³.

He fought in the battles of Łowczówek, Konary, Kamionka, Kostunichówka among others. He was wounded several times but he disliked being treated in hospital, so he used to leave, or rather, escape, when he felt somewhat better. He was also interned in the Szczypiorno camp. In November 1918 he joined the Polish Army as a volunteer. He participated in the Polish-Soviet War.

Beyond any doubt the years 1914-1939 were a difficult period of pro-independence fighting for Stefan Musiałek. However, this was also the time when he met, and then on 6th February 1923, married Helena Baszcz. They were blessed with two children, the son Bogusław (born on 19th November 1923) and the daughter Zdzisława (born on 21st November 1925). Henceforth the family was of utmost importance to him. He disliked parting with his loved ones and therefore in the years 1924-39 his wife and children followed him to his consecutive posts. During the inter-war period he rendered service in Rzeszów (as a company junior officer, then from 14th February 1924 he took the position of platoon commander in the Non-Commissioned Officers' School of the 17th Infantry Regiment), Osowiec (in the Non-Commissioned Officers' Training Centre of the Border Protection Corps in Osowiec) and Wadowice (in the Regional Replenishment Command). Then from May 1939 he stayed in Kowel (in the position of the Commanding Officer in the Regional Replenishment Command)¹⁴.

3. World War II 1939-1945

The outbreak of World War II found him in Kowel. At the time, his duty was first of all the mobilization in the area, yet, in addition, it was reserves replenishment for the fighting units and safeguarding the rear. Executing the resolutions of the agreement concluded on 23rd August 1939 the Red Army entered the territory of the Polish state on 17th September 1939. This news reached Stefan Musiałek in Kowel before eight o'clock in the

a system of agreements between France, Russia and Great Britain. The French-Russian alliance was formed in 1893, the British-French one in 1904 and the British-Russian one in 1907. During the Great War the entente joined 25 countries in the fight against the Central Powers. J. Pajewski, *Pierwsza wojna światowa 1914-1918*, Warszawa 2005, passim; P. Hart, *I wojna światowa 1914-1918: historia militarna*, Poznań 2014, passim; M. Zgórnjak, *1914-1918. Studia i szkice z I wojny światowej*, Kraków 1987, passim.

¹³ Verbal account of Zdzisława Ostańska i Mariusz Ostański; A. Pachowicz, *Zapomniany żołnierz. Ppłk Stefan Musiałek-Łowicki 1896-1986...*, p. 44-49.

¹⁴ A. Pachowicz, *Zapomniany żołnierz. Ppłk Stefan Musiałek-Łowicki 1896-1986...*, p. 43-102.

morning. The preparations for the city defence action were in progress at that time. After the evening officers' meeting and after many other meetings throughout the day S. Musiałek-Łowicki considered leaving for Romania together with his son Bogusław or staying in Kowel in anticipation of further developments. He took a relatively long time to ponder the final decision. Eventually he decided that he would not leave. In the course of the meetings in the officer corps it was decided that Major Stefan Musiałek should stay and launch the discussions with the Red Army coming its way. The negotiations were supposed to raise the question of the consent for the soldiers to leave the garrisons for Romania or Hungary. The major concern was to move away the Polish units to an adequate distance from the city. Major Stefan Musiałek was appointed to conduct the negotiations as his command of the Russian language was very good. The aim was to hold the talks in order to buy time, and through this, to delay the progress of the Soviet units.

After the Red Army encroachment Major Musiałek-Łowicki was first imprisoned in Kowel, and then, together with hundreds of Polish soldiers and officers, he was transported eastwards by rail. The name of Stefan Musiałek-Łowicki¹⁵ was on the list of Polish officers meant for the internment camp in Shepetivka¹⁶. However, when after about a hundred and fifty kilometers the train stopped for a short while, at Rivne, Stefan Musiałek-Łowicki managed to abandon it. He also managed to return to his wife Helena's home town Rzeszów. In 1939 he started work at Rzeszów Inspectorate of the Union for Armed Struggle as the Deputy Inspector to Inspector Major Stanisław Ruśkiewicz 'Florian'. After that the Major was arrested in March 1941, and then executed in prison in Katowice, S. Musiałek-Łowicki retreated from conspiracy for a couple of months.

¹⁵ *Załącznik: IV a. Obóz jeńców wojennych Szepietówka*, Card 1, [in:] C. Madajczyk, *Dramat katyński*, Warszawa 1989, p. 116.

¹⁶ It operated from September to November 1939. Although the detention period was relatively short there, the conditions in the camp located in the Soviet barracks were difficult. Fifty to sixty prisoners were packed into 60 sq.m. rooms, few of them, only a small group of officers on bunk beds, three people per one bed, others on bunks, concrete floors, in corridors and staircases. The prisoners received ca 200-300 grams of bread and a litre of soup per day. Thirty thousand prisoners went through the camp in September and October 1939. Having arrived at the camp they were sorted, army and police officers were selected, registered and transported to other camps in groups. The army officers were transported to Kozelsk and Pavlishev Bor, the police and the Border Protection Corps officers to Ostashkov on the Kola Peninsula and privates to Kryvyi Rih. P. Żaroń, *Agresja Związku Radzieckiego na Polskę 17 września 1939 r.: los jeńców polskich*, Toruń 1998, pp. 226-227; The Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum in London, col. 138/277 the account of Col E. Gorczyński; S. Kalbarczyk, *Wykaz łagrów sowieckich, miejsc przymusowej pracy obywateli polskich w latach 1939-1943*, part II, Warszawa 1997, passim; P. Żaroń, *Obozy jeńców wojennych w ZSRR w latach 1939-1941*, Warszawa - Londyn 1994, passim; C. Madajczyk, *Dramat katyński...*, p. 116.

He resumed his active conspiracy work at Tarnów Inspectorate in April 1942 in line with the decision made by the District Commanding Officer. First, from April to June 1942, he became the Deputy Inspector to Lieutenant Colonel Piotr Kaczała 'Korab', 'Zrąb'. Then on 1st July 1942 he was appointed to the position of Inspector and he worked in the position until 18th January 1945.

The Inspectorate in Tarnów belonged to the subdistrict 'West' which constituted a part of the Home Army in the Cracow District¹⁷. It was one of eight regional Inspectorates (these were Mielec, Tarnów, Nowy Sącz, Nowy Targ, Jasło, Rzeszów, Przemyśl) and covered three regions: Brzesko, Dąbrowa Tarnowska and Tarnów¹⁸.

The regions corresponded to 'powiat' districts in the administrative division of the country before 1939 and, in line with the pre-war military division, they were parts of one regimental district: the 16th infantry regiment of the Tarnów region. S. Musiałek-Łowicki tried to intensify the work in the Inspectorate's regions and posts. He was mainly involved in staff development, improvements in the organisation of work, the coordination of sabotage activities and the execution of the 'II (second) Bridge', 'III (third) Bridge' and 'the Tempest' operations¹⁹. The Inspectorate in Tarnów developed vigorously under the leadership of S. Musiałek-Łowicki. He managed to involve many people in the conspiracy work (they also contributed to the second conspiracy after the war finished)²⁰. Thereby it was possible to carry out various sabotage activities but above all to foster the spirit of resistance in the community plagued with constant arrests and pogroms²¹. After the Home Army disbandment and after 19th January 1945 the situation changed in the Polish territory as it was gradually liberated from the Nazi occupation and the power was assumed by the Polish Committee of National Liberation (PKWN).

4. The second conspiracy – WiN

After World War II finished, from September 1945 to November 1946 S. Musiałek-Łowicki acted as the Chairman of Śląsko-Dąbrowski region of the Freedom and Independence Association (the full name was The

¹⁷ J. Kijewska, A. Sanojca, *Schemat organizacyjny SZP-ZWZ-AK 1939-1945*, "Dzieje Najnowsze" 1980, z. III, s. 89-203.

¹⁸ A. Pietrzykowska, *Region tarnowski w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej*. Polityka okupanta i ruch oporu..., passim.

¹⁹ ARO, Życiorys S. Musiałka-Łowickiego.

²⁰ In 1944 r. the Tarnów district numbered 4209 soldiers of the Home Army divided into 30 firing (complete) platoons, 12 platoons of the Army Service for Uprising Protection and 11 'skeletal' (smaller) platoons, division patrols, assistant services, communication services and medical services.

²¹ The Archives of Modern Records, the Home Army – Cracow District Headquarters, 203/XI, v. 43, Internal Study, 11 VII 1942, Cards 16-19.

Resistance Movement without War and Sabotage 'Freedom and Independence'), which covered the Katowice voivodeship and the eastern part of the Opole voivodeship. However, he was arrested by the Office of Public Security in November 1945. He was in prison until February 1947 and once he left it, until his dying day, he never got involved in any underground activities. He lived with his wife in Rzeszów and took care of his family. He died on 13th July 1986 and was laid to rest in the cemetery in Pobitno. S. Musiałek-Łowicki received the Silver Cross of the War Order of Virtuti Militari V Class, the Cross of Independence and the Cross of Valour, which was appointed to him four times.

His subordinates always judged him as strong-minded, full of energy, a legionary, 'a great commander, tough and domineering [...] a man of high esteem', brave, far-sighted, demanding, although 'this officer was by no means any of my friends'²².

At age 18, Lieutenant Colonel Stefan Musiałek-Łowicki got involved in military activity and he remained faithful to this choice as long as he lived. He was a soldier and he devoted all his life to the army. His skills, talent, courage and persistence at times all contributed to the successful completion of operations he engaged in. Family played a very important role in Lieutenant Colonel S. Musiałek-Łowicki's life and he put the greatest value to it. He remained faithful to this value all his life – the life that was bound to the military service.

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²² E. Kabat, *Zapomniana "operacja III Most"...*, p. 28.

- Atlas polskiego podziemia niepodległościowego 1944-1956*, EIC, eds. R. Wnuk, T. Balbus, Londyn 2007.
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