

THE POLISH COMMUNITY IN SCOTLAND

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PREFACE.

My reason for undertaking the research for this thesis was a very personal one: my father, the late Tadeusz Ziarski-Kernberg, was one of the Polish servicemen who settled in Scotland as a result of the Second World War. Since my childhood I have been closely associated with the Polish community in Edinburgh. When I decided to study an aspect of Polish history it was only natural that I should turn to 'my own people' for subject material.

As soon as I expressed an interest in this subject for a Ph.D. thesis, I received the support of my supervisor, Professor W.V. Wallace, the Director of the Institute of Soviet and East European Studies at the University of Glasgow. In addition to the unfailing encouragement and patient supervision of Professor Wallace, this thesis would not have been possible without the support of the Polish community and the access I received to Polish archive materials. In particular I would like to thank Mr. Władysław Bednarek, Mr. Jan Stepek and the Committee of the Polish Social and Educational Association (Glasgow), Mr. Józef Bełtowski, the late Mr. Zygmunt Tchórzewski and the Second Army Corps Association (Edinburgh), the late Mrs. Margaret Maurer, the late Mrs. Maria Rej and the late Mr. Józef Rej. Special thanks are owed to Mrs. Maria Koczy, the former Librarian at the

Polish Institute and General Sikorski Museum (Glasgow) for her advice regarding choice of and access to source materials. As this project moved into its final stages, two persons gave me additional assistance. Ms. Helena Scott gave me the benefit of a sociological perspective, while Mrs. Jane Gough expertly word-processed the text.

Regarding the text, the lengthy Background section is necessary in order to put the history of Polish settlement in Scotland into context. This applies equally to the knowledge of Poles about their own past contacts with Scotland and to the understanding of Scottish people that Poles had settled in Scotland before 1939. In addition, the Background is important with a view to the eventual publication of this thesis so that Polish people in the United Kingdom can see their settlement in a neutral historical context.

Many of the quotations are perhaps longer than is usual, but this was believed to be necessary to give both Polish and British readers the full flavour of especially revealing and informative statements.

During the course of this research I conducted several interviews. The material obtained produced confirmatory rather than fresh insights, which persuaded me to rely on documentary source materials, printed documents, unpublished correspondence, memoirs, periodicals, books

and articles. All the Polish materials were researched in Britain as it did not prove possible to travel to Poland and explore archives closed for many years to Western scholars. Before the publication of this thesis I will make a research trip to Poland.

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SUMMARY.

Before 1939 there had been some Polish settlement in Scotland, but the members were too few in number to organise themselves on a national basis. After the defeat of the 1830-31 'Powstanie Listopadowe' (the November Rising) some members of the 'Wielka Emigracja' decided to settle in Scotland. Next, following the defeat of the 1863-64 'Powstanie Styczniowe' (the January Rising), there was a migration to Scotland with both economic and political motivations. Most of the men found employment either in coal-mining or in the iron and steel industries mainly in Lanarkshire. These 'Poles' (who were mostly ethnic Lithuanians) had to overcome the opposition of the organised labour movement as well as anti-Catholicism and anti-alienism. By 1939 the members of the 'economic emigration' had become 'assimilated' into Scottish society.

The defeat of Poland in September, 1939, by Germany and the Soviet Union caused Poles to escape to France where a new Polish government in exile was formed led by President Władysław Raczkiewicz and Prime Minister General Władysław Sikorski. General Sikorski led the re-organisation of the Polish Armed Forces with the financial and material assistance of France and Britain.

Following the defeat of France, during June and July, 1940, the Polish government in exile, some 20,000 Polish servicemen and some 3,000 Polish civilian refugees were evacuated to Britain. General Sikorski received the support of Churchill and could reform Polish Army, Air Force and Navy units in the United Kingdom and the Near East.

The Polish First Army Corps was organised in Scotland. When the war in Europe ended in May, 1945, the Corps comprised the First Armoured Division, the First Independent Paratroop Brigade, the Fourth Infantry Division (incomplete), the Sixteenth Independent Armoured Brigade (also incomplete) and administrative and training centres. During the war many Polish servicemen and civilians were befriended by hospitable Scottish people. The British authorities and the Polish government in London created a 'support society' for Poles, including education and welfare facilities. Both the location of Polish units and institutions during wartime and the knowledge which Poles acquired of life in Scotland significantly influenced post-war settlement.

For Poland the outcome of the war was 'defeat in victory'. The decisions taken at the Teheran Conference (28 November to 1 December, 1943) and the Yalta Conference (4 to 11 February, 1945) prevented many Polish servicemen and civilians from returning to their

homeland. On 5 July, 1945, the governments of Britain and the U.S.A. ceased to recognise the Polish government in London and recognised the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity in Warsaw. Despite the participation of the former Prime Minister of the government in London, Stanisław Mikołajczyk, this new 'government' in Poland was dominated by Stalin's Communist agents and their allies.

Between 1945 and 1951 the Polish community in Scotland was formed against a background of increasing political terror in Poland. Initially, there was strong opposition in many parts of Scotland to the proposed settlement of Poles. Many people in Britain did not understand that Poland was under the control of the Soviet Union. The 'elections' of 19 January, 1947, by which the Communist 'Polska Partia Robotnicza' (Polish Workers' Party) and their allies seized power, finally made the position of the Polish settlers in Scotland secure.

After the victory of the Labour Party in the British General Election in July, 1945, the Labour government led by Clement Attlee 'inherited' the Interim Treasury Committee for Polish Questions which had been formed by the previous government led by Churchill with the aim of gradually closing down the institutions of the Polish government in exile. Instead, the machinery of the

Interim Treasury Committee was used for the welfare of Polish civilian refugees in Britain, the Middle East, British East Africa and other countries. As the relationship between Britain and the Soviet Union worsened, the British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin had to face the consequences of the failure of Stalin to honour the promises given at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam regarding Poland.

In order to place Poles in employment in Britain without serious opposition from the trades unions, the Labour government instituted a policy of controlled resettlement through the Polish Resettlement Corps, the Polish Resettlement Act of 27 March, 1947, and the European Volunteer Workers scheme. Above all, Polish servicemen under British command, their families, dependants and other civilian refugees were used to provide manpower for essential undermanned industries, such as agriculture, coal-mining, textiles and the building trades.

The War Office transferred the majority of Polish service personnel who refused to return to Poland from their service areas to England and Wales for service in the Polish Resettlement Corps and demobilisation into civilian life. By 1951 the basis for the Polish community in Scotland had been formed with many institutions and organisations to replace the wartime 'support society'. Most exiled Poles believed that the

Soviet Union would be defeated by the Western democracies and that in a few years they would return to their liberated homeland.

The majority of Poles in Scotland settled in areas with good employment opportunities. Between 1951 and 1961 the Polish community in Scotland became permanently established with major centres of settlement in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Falkirk and Kirkcaldy. After the removal of many of the worst features of 'Stalinism' in Poland after October, 1956, the defeat of the Hungarian Uprising convinced most exiled Poles that Poland would not be liberated either by a national revolt or by intervention by the Western democracies.

In addition, many Poles in Scotland lost interest in community life because of the disputes among the exile political and military leadership in London, which resulted in a major crisis during 1954 causing the creation of two factions, namely the 'Zamek' supporting President August Zaleski and the 'Zjednoczenie' whose aim was to remove him. These disputes contributed towards disunity in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Falkirk, leading to the creation of alternative social centres in opposition to the pro-'Zjednoczenie' Polish Ex-Combatants' Association ('Stowarzyszenie Polskich Kombatantów' or S.P.K.) and their 'Domy Kombatanta'. The S.P.K. also lost popularity because of their opposition to visits by

exiled Poles to Poland following the reforms after October, 1956.

Fortunately, these disputes proved short-lived. Władysław Gomułka and his successor, Edward Gierek, failed to give the Polish nation genuine political, economic or cultural freedom. Many exiled Poles in Scotland continued to support community institutions, such as the Polish Parish, and often returned to participate in organised community life after long absences. While many Poles became 'assimilated' into Scottish society (mainly through marriage to Scottish women and isolation from fellow-Poles), in 1990 there are active Polish communities in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Falkirk, Dundee and Kirkcaldy. With a larger number of members of the 'second generation' involved in community activities than in other Polish centres in Scotland, the Poles in Glasgow are probably the most active.

THE POLISH COMMUNITY IN SCOTLAND.INTRODUCTION.

When, during June and July, 1940, Polish service personnel evacuated from France were sent to camps in Scotland, both the Poles and their new Scottish hosts were bewildered by the situation. During the history of foreign settlement in Scotland the Scottish people had become accustomed to immigrants from Ireland and Italy. To the majority of Scots, however, the Poles were exotic voyagers from a strange and unknown land.

In his memoirs, entitled 'Od Podwody Do Czołga', General Stanisław Maczek recalls that he was astonished when asked, in all seriousness, by Field-Marshal Montgomery whether the Poles spoke German or Russian as their native language in Poland. (1) This ignorance as demonstrated by Montgomery was evidence of that notorious British 'insularity' which the Poles had to overcome in order to gain acceptance as settlers in the United Kingdom.

It was ironic, therefore, that this same 'insularity' acted as a factor assisting the successful 'adjustment' of many Poles to life in Britain. This operated in two ways. First, the opponents of Polish settlement could not attack a 'Polish stereotype' in racial or cultural terms. This was very important in view of the alleged 'characteristics' attributed to other immigrants to

Britain. The Irish were reputed to have been 'drunks and brawlers'. The Jews were accused of dishonesty (as in the image of Fagin), usury (as in Shylock) or of plotting world domination (according to the 'Protocols of the Elders of Zion'). Furthermore, the self-confidence acquired by the creation of the British Empire strengthened the belief that all foreigners were 'inferior'. (2)

Before the Second World War there were relatively few contacts between Poland and Britain. When the enemies of Polish settlement after 1945 wanted to vilify the Poles they could not use 'racial' or 'cultural' arguments. Unlike previous immigrants, such as Jews, Irishmen, Chinese, Africans or West Indians, the Poles could only be described as 'foreigners'. At worst they were Catholics in a mainly Anglican and Calvinist United Kingdom. (3)

The second effect of British 'insularity' (or physical and psychological isolation from the land-mass of Europe) as a factor assisting Polish settlement was described by Jerzy Zubrzycki in his work, entitled 'Polish Immigrants in Great Britain. A Study of Adjustment'. Zubrzycki states that the majority of Poles adapted very well to life in Britain. Most Poles could accept the values and way of life of Britain after 1945. In 'geo-political' terms Britain was an ideal country for Polish settlement. The onset of the 'Cold War' (and especially the Korean

War from 1950 to 1953) caused many exiled Poles to believe that the N.A.T.O. Powers would defeat the Soviet Union and liberate Poland. Britain was sufficiently close to Europe to enable the Polish government in London and other exiled Poles to return to Poland once independence had been restored. On the other hand, Britain was sufficiently far away from the Soviet Union to enable the exiled Poles to live without fear of the results of a Soviet invasion of Western Europe. (4)

According to Zubrzycki, 'accommodation' was the most effective response of the majority of Poles in Britain with regard to the host- or receiving-society. In this they were greatly helped by British official policy and 'insular' cultural attitudes. In 1945 the views of the Coalition Government led by Churchill, the major part of the media and most of the British people were that Poland had been liberated from German oppression and that it was the duty of all Poles to return and assist in the work of reconstruction.

Not surprisingly, most of the Poles serving in the Polish Armed Forces under British command or else working as civilians for the war-effort were offended by this cynical disregard for the reality of the Soviet occupation of Poland and the imposition of the Communist-dominated Provisional Government of National Unity. Their gradual disenchantment with Churchill had begun with the tragic Warsaw Rising (1 August to 2 October,

1944). Neither Churchill nor Roosevelt could persuade Stalin to support the Polish 'Armia Krajowa' (the resistance movement) against the Germans. (5) Ignorant of the decisions taken at the Teheran Conference regarding Poland, the Poles were convinced that they had been 'betrayed' by their Western allies by the outcome of the Yalta Conference (February, 1945) whereby the eastern provinces of Poland (as on 1 September, 1939) were given to the Soviet Union. (6)

This suspicion regarding the motives of the British authorities made the Poles determined to resist any scheme which they believed was intended to weaken their national solidarity, to persuade them to accept the Yalta decisions or to persuade them to return to Poland under Soviet control. The opposition of the majority of the some 250,000 Polish servicemen under British command to the Yalta and Potsdam decisions created a situation which could not be easily resolved by a democratic government. To its credit, the Labour government led by Clement Attlee proceeded very adroitly. The Interim Treasury Committee for Polish Questions (July, 1945 to March, 1947) and the Polish Resettlement Corps scheme (September, 1946 to September, 1949) effectively organised the three areas of policy regarding Poles, namely repatriation (usually to Poland), settlement in the United Kingdom or emigration to the British Dominions, the British colonies or to other countries. (7)

Despite the good intentions of the Labour government and the talent of the civilian and military personnel administering these complex schemes, the Poles who decided to settle in Britain did not forget that they had been 'betrayed'. Their disillusionment was strengthened by the disbandment of the Polish Armed Forces under British command. The most aggrieved servicemen, who formed the major part of the post-war Polish community in Britain, were the members of the Second Army Corps ('Drugi Korpus'). They had survived deportation to the Soviet Union, imprisonment and forced labour. During the liberation of Italy they had fought at Monte Cassino, Ancona and Bologna. Furthermore, most of them had lived in eastern Poland, including the historic cities of Lwów and Wilno. Due to the territorial cessions approved at Yalta and ratified at Potsdam the majority of former servicemen from the Second Corps could not return to their pre-war homes. (8)

Apart from the loss of the eastern provinces, the Poles were shocked by the decision of the British 'Caretaker' Government, which was led by Churchill, acting together with the Democratic American President Truman and his Administration, to withdraw recognition of the Polish government in London. On 5 July, 1945, the governments of Britain and the U.S.A. recognised the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity in Warsaw. Despite the participation of Stanisław Mikołajczyk of the

Peasant Party ('Stronnictwo Ludowe'), who had been the Prime Minister of the Polish government in London between July, 1943 and November, 1944, the Provisional Government was controlled by the Polish Workers' Party ('Polska Partia Robotnicza'). The P.P.R. was the Communist Party used by Stalin to govern Poland in the interests of the Soviet Union.

At Potsdam the Provisional Government promised to hold 'free and unfettered elections' as soon as possible. The exiled Poles who supported President Władysław Raczkiewicz and the government in London, led by Tomasz Arciszewski, were very suspicious regarding the guarantees given by the Provisional Government of fair treatment and a grant of land to all who returned to Poland. Far too much was known about the lawless activities of the Red Army in Poland. In addition, the Polish Security Bureau ('Urząd Bezpieki') and the Soviet N.K.V.D. arrested, deported and executed anti-Communists. (9)

With evidence of increasing political terror in Poland, the British government had to organise the resettlement of over 150,000 Polish men, women and children in Britain. Moreover, these Poles refused to become 'assimilated' into British society. This was due to three main factors. First, the Poles had become used to the hard, disciplined life in the barracks and camps in Britain, Italy, Palestine and the Middle East, throughout

liberated Western Europe, India, Uganda and other British East African colonies. They were embittered people who had been denied their reward. Since 1939 they had tried to maintain their sense of Polish national identity (known as 'polskość') and to ensure that their children would also remain 'Polish'. Despite the outcome of the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences, they believed that one day they would return to Poland with their families. For this reason, they were determined to resist the policy of the British authorities to 'absorb' them into British economic life and then into local society.

Second, in order to resist 'assimilation' policy, the Polish political and military authorities in London encouraged the creation of an 'alternative society' for the exiles. In this way individual Poles would not believe that they were isolated and left to survive in an alien environment. Instead of turning to British society for the security of 'belonging', these Poles would be provided with material and moral support by fellow-countrymen who understood their problems. This 'alternative society' was based on the network of education, welfare and leisure institutions established during the Second World War for Polish servicemen and civilians in Britain.

Third, the host-society itself contributed to the decision of many Poles in Britain to resist outright 'assimilation'. This did not mean that life in Britain

was not attractive to Polish settlers. The standard of living in Britain was often better than had been experienced by many Poles in pre-war Poland. On the other hand, few Polish servicemen were psychologically prepared for the abuse from people whose lives they had helped to defend. Such ingratitude often persuaded Poles in Britain to return to Poland or to emigrate to other countries. Poles who remained in Britain were often reminded that they were 'foreigners' and therefore were 'inferior'. As Zubrzycki points out regarding the relationship between Poles and their British hosts, 'assimilation' was also retarded by the resettlement process. The policy of integrating the Poles gradually into the British economy involved the physical separation of Polish servicemen, their families, dependants and other civilians from British society until they had acquired the basic linguistic and vocational skills required for employment. (10)

Although the Polish Resettlement Corps scheme and the European Volunteer Workers scheme were very successful, they received the approval of British trades unions on condition that the Poles, Ukrainians or other E.V.W.s would not be used by employers against the interests of British organised labour. Throughout the period from 1946 until 1950 the Ministry of Labour and National Service 'placed' Poles and E.V.W.s only in industries where there was no available and willing British labour. There had to be a local agreement governing the

employment of foreign labour in force between the employers and the unions concerned. Terms of employment included compulsory union membership, the same wages and conditions as for all other union members, and, in the event of redundancies, the foreigners would be paid off first. (11)

The attitude of organised labour towards the Poles and the E.V.W.s was that they were 'a necessary evil'. (12) It was not surprising, therefore, that many Poles did not reject British society but were not 'assimilated'. Such Poles chose to belong to two 'worlds'. One was the 'physical world' of work, education and leisure shared with British society. The other 'world' was of their own making but just as much 'real' and very often more rewarding in terms of advancement and self-esteem in their 'alternative Polish society'. (13)

Notes To The Introduction.

- (1) S Maczek, Od Podwody Do Czołga, Edinburgh, 1961, p 146.
- (2) For British attitudes towards Irish immigrants, see J Walvin, Passage To Britain, London, 1984, pp 48-60. For British attitudes towards Jews, Africans and others, see R C Thurlow, 'Satan and Sambo: The Image of the Immigrant in British Racial Populist Thought since the First World War', in K Lunn (ed.), Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities. Historical Responses to Newcomers in British Society, London, 1980, pp 39-63.
- (3) J Zubrzycki, Polish Immigrants in Great Britain. A Study of Adjustment, The Hague, 1956, pp 80-86.
- (4) Ibid, pp 156-175.
- (5) For the Warsaw Rising, see
 - (i) J M Ciechanowski, The Warsaw Rising of 1944, Cambridge, 1974,
 - (ii) J K Zawodny, Nothing But Honour. The Story of the Warsaw Uprising, 1944, London, 1978.
- (6) For the 'diplomatic defeat' of Poland, see E J Rożek, Allied Wartime Diplomacy: A Pattern in Poland, New York, 1958.
- (7) Zubrzycki, op cit, pp 51-71, 87-95.
- (8) Ibid, pp 54-57.
- (9) Rożek, op cit, pp 405-437.
- (10) Zubrzycki, op cit, pp 104-125, 134-138, 156-175.

- (11) B Czaykowski and B Sulik, Polacy w W. Brytanii, Paris, 1961, pp 375-396.
- (12) For the background to Polish settlement in Britain, see
- (i) K O Morgan, Labour in Power, 1945-1951, Oxford, 1984,
- (ii) A Marwick, British Society Since 1945, London, 1982, pp 22-111.
- (13) Zubrzycki, op cit, pp 165-175.

THE BACKGROUND:
POLES AND LITHUANIANS IN SCOTLAND
(1815 TO 1939).

There were two distinct phases comprising the historical background to the formation of the Polish community in Scotland after 1945. The first phase started in 1815 and ended in 1939. This was the 'pre-history' of the present day Polish community. The second phase started with the outbreak of the Second World War on 1 September, 1939. From 1939 until 1945 Polish service personnel and civilians were closely associated in large numbers for the first time with Britain, its authorities, officials and citizens. In Scotland, where the Polish First Army Corps was organised, contacts with the host-society greatly influenced post-war settlement. (1)

The Polish Army personnel who arrived in Lanarkshire during the summer of 1940 found themselves in a land where the local people were more 'foreign' than the Hungarians, Romanians or other nationalities encountered during 1939 and 1940. Poles and Scots alike were equally bewildered by the situation. This was due to the lack of knowledge on both sides regarding the culture and customs of the other. When, after the Poles had been assigned to defend the east coast of Scotland from Rosyth to Montrose, the necessity arose for close co-existence between Scots and Poles, organisations such as the very successful Scottish-Polish Society tried to

create better understanding but found their task very difficult. They had to find evidence of contacts between Scotland and Poland before 1939 in order to overcome the widely held belief that the two nations had nothing in common. (2)

The 'Wielka Emigracja'.

There were many contacts between Scotland and Poland before 1815. A collection of essays edited by Dr. Wiktor Tomaszewski, entitled 'The University of Edinburgh and Poland', is a very good introduction to Scottish-Polish academic and commercial links. In particular, there are essays describing contacts before 1795 when Poland had been an independent kingdom. (3)

After the partitions of Poland in 1772, 1792 and 1795, many Poles had served together with the armies of Revolutionary France and Napoleon against Austria, Prussia and Russia. As a result of the final defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815, the Congress of Vienna could reconvene and complete the restoration of 'order' in Europe. (4) From 1815 until 1918 Poland remained under foreign rule. (5)

Despite the decisions made at the Congress of Vienna, many Poles remembered the tradition of insurrection and especially the Rising of 1794 led by Tadeusz Kościuszko. In November, 1830, Poles living in the 'Congress Kingdom'

under Russian rule rose in revolt against the Grand Duke Konstantin and his brother, Tsar Nicholas I. (6) This Rising, known in Polish as the 'Powstanie Listopadowe' (the November Rising), was defeated by the Russians in August, 1831. One result of this defeat was the decision of some participants, mainly the leaders and officers, to choose voluntary exile and to continue to work for the liberation of Poland. These exiles became known as the 'Wielka Emigracja' because of their intellectual abilities and their generally distinguished social status.

Some of the members of the 'Wielka Emigracja' settled in Scotland. They were mainly inspired by the reputation of the 'Scottish Enlightenment' and the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow. (7) The 'Wielka Emigracja' was not an employment-seeking mass economic emigration. Its members believed that their exile was only temporary. They saw their duty as being not only to gain support for the liberation of Poland but also to learn from the 'enlightened' nations of Western Europe for the future benefit of their country. (8)

Among the Poles who settled in Edinburgh were Count Walerian Krasiński, an historian and literary critic, and Feliks Janiewicz, a composer and violinist. Both were buried at Warriston Cemetery. Another distinguished Polish exile was Andrzej Gregorowicz, a Doctor of Medicine and of Law, who was buried at New Calton

Cemetery. Other Polish settlers in Edinburgh included Dr. Adam Łyszczyński, a medical practitioner, who provided hospitality at his house at 10, Warriston Crescent for Chopin when he visited Scotland during 1848 and played public concerts in Edinburgh and Glasgow. (9)

By 1863, however, the optimism of the Polish exiles had been reduced by the failure of the 1848-49 attempted liberal revolutions in Austria and Prussia. Moreover, during the Crimean War against Russia (from 1854 until 1856) neither Britain nor France showed much interest in the 'Polish Question'. The Poles in Scotland became 'forgotten exiles'. (10)

Poles And Lithuanians As 'Economic Emigrants' To Scotland
(From 1863 Until 1939).

In January, 1863, Poles under Russian rule started another insurrection. Known as the 'Powstanie Styczniowe' (the January Rising in English), by 1864 it had been suppressed with great brutality. (11) Once again, the defeat of national aspirations led to émigrés leaving the Austrian, Prussian and Russian provinces of historic Poland. Unlike the aftermath of the 1830-31 Rising, however, this emigration was influenced as much by economic hardship as by politics and patriotic protest.

As Zubrzycki points out, there was a political background to the economic misery affecting Poles under the rule of the partitioning Powers. (12) In Prussia the anti-Polish 'colonisation' bodies, such as the 'Deutscher Ostmarkverein', were given official support and financial grants to purchase land owned by Poles in order to replace them with German settlers. This was part of the 'Germanisation' policy of the Second Reich. Similarly in Russia, following the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881, the authorities started a policy of 'Russification' which was especially brutal regarding the Jews and the 'Greek Catholic' Uniate Poles and Ukrainians. In Austrian Poland (known as the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria) the Poles had considerable political privileges but very many people lived in poverty. Whereas in Prussian Poland and in the provinces of the former 'Congress Kingdom' ruled by Russia the problem of rural over-population was alleviated by the development of urban centres and the coal, steel and textile industries, in Austrian Poland the situation was critical. The government in Vienna deliberately did not encourage industrial growth in the Polish provinces so as to prevent competition with the rising industries in Bohemia and Moravia. After 1863, therefore, Poles left Prussian and Russian Poland due to anti-Polish policies causing land-hunger and poverty. The emigration from Austrian Poland was mainly caused by rural over-population. (13)

The Polish 'Economic Emigration' To Britain.

This 'economic emigration' did not follow the example of migrants throughout history who had settled in the most prosperous countries in search of employment. Between 1863 and 1914 the United States, Germany and Britain developed into the three major industrial Powers. At least one million Poles settled in the U.S.A. between 1863 and 1914. (14) Comparatively few Poles settled in Germany. Oppressive Prussian rule deterred the settlement of Polish emigrants from the provinces of Silesia, Poznanian and Pomerania belonging to the Kingdom of Prussia. Other Poles who left Austrian or Russian Poland were mainly peasants or landless labourers seeking only seasonal labour in Germany. Before 1914 Britain was not well known as a country for Polish settlement. Polish, Lithuanian and Russian Jews settled in Britain, but there were very few Polish Catholic settlers. (15)

During the period between 1863 and 1914 the majority of Poles who emigrated had been influenced either by the experiences of earlier emigrants, especially family and friends, or by advice from local 'notables' such as priests. The fear of the 'unknown' made most Catholic Poles who emigrated prefer to settle in countries such as the U.S.A., Brazil or France where there was a tradition of Polish settlement and established Polish communities. (16)

The 'Wielka Emigracja' had not created a strong precedent for Polish settlement in Britain. Most of its members had been very similar in social origin, education and political beliefs to the land-owning, professional and intellectual 'ruling classes' of the United Kingdom and France. Zubrzycki estimates that before 1863 there were only some 5,000 Poles resident in France and not more than 1,000 in Britain. (17)

Before 1914, therefore, a relatively small number of Poles and Lithuanians settled in Scotland. In 1940, however, there was no organised community when the Polish servicemen arrived in Glasgow or Lanarkshire. Most probably, the pre-1914 immigrants had been totally 'assimilated' into Scottish society. Zubrzycki attributes this to the lack of national consciousness among the 'economic emigration'. (18) With regard to Scotland as a country of settlement, it was very difficult for Polish immigrants to maintain their sense of national identity without being present in sufficiently large numbers to enable them to organise themselves on a national basis.

The Ethnic Composition Of The Polish 'Economic Emigration'.

British official statistics, including Census Reports, enumerated people according to their 'place of birth'.

Regarding immigrants from Poland, this method of tabulation often caused inaccuracy. Between 1795 and 1919 there was no Polish state on the map of Europe. Immigrants from Poland would reply to a Census question in Britain that they had been born in 'Poland', but very often they were not ethnic Poles. In addition, with regard to the Aliens Lists compiled by the Board of Trade, British officials often were not interested whether Polish-speaking incomers claiming to having been born in 'Poland' were ethnic Poles, Lithuanians, Russians, Germans or Ukrainians. This ethnic confusion reduced the accuracy of Census statistics regarding the Polish nationals resident in Scotland before 1939. According to the List of Foreign-born Residents of Scotland in the Census Report for 1931, there were 971 persons enumerated as having been 'born in Poland'. (19) The ethnic Lithuanians, Ukrainians and Russians who had been born in 'Poland' before 1914 were also included in this total.

With relatively few ethnic Poles resident in Scotland before 1939, the Polish men became 'assimilated' very easily if married to Scottish women. The children born to these 'Polish-Scottish' marriages usually did not learn Polish and so became as 'Scottish' as their mothers.

In his brief survey of Polish-Scottish relations, entitled 'Kartki z dziejów polsko-szkockich', Professor

Leon Koczy does not include the 'economic emigration'.

(20) Despite their lack of national consciousness, most of these Poles described by Koczy who worked in the Lanarkshire coal, iron and steel industries did not cause harm to the reputation of Poland.

Anti-Alienism And Anti-Semitism In Britain (1863-1914).

According to the Census for Scotland of 1931, of the 971 persons 'born in Poland' the majority were resident in the industrialised West of Scotland. Of these, 483 were resident in Glasgow and 143 in Lanarkshire. (21) Many of the 'Poles' living in Glasgow were Polish Jews. Glasgow had a large Jewish population, who were usually employed in garment-making, bespoke tailoring, shoe-making, hat-making, glove-making, leather-working, cabinet-making and book-binding.

Between 1863 and 1914 the new Jewish immigrants from Eastern Poland and the western provinces of Russia found that many Jews who had settled earlier in Britain resented the newcomers. Their more 'assimilated' fellow-Jews were afraid that the mass immigration of impoverished Jews into Britain would encourage anti-semitism. In 1905 an Aliens Act was passed to restrict immigration. In particular, this measure was a reaction against unrestricted Jewish emigration from the 'Pale of Settlement' to Britain. (22)

Apart from anti-semitic and anti-alien publicists, the supporters of the 1905 Aliens Act included many trades unions. The unions opposed the immigration of Jews because of the strong possibility that they would be exploited by unscrupulous employers as 'sweated labour' intended to depress wage-levels, lengthen working hours and break strikes and negotiated agreements. (23) Between 1875 and 1914 Britain suffered cyclical economic depression which resulted in unemployment and poverty for many working-class people. Britain was 'threatened' by the emergence of the United States and Germany as rising industrial giants using high tariff barriers to protect their own interests against British exports. (24)

The British trades union movement contributed to anti-alienism because many people believed that unrestricted Jewish immigration was a 'threat'. There was little public awareness that the Jewish emigrants from the 'Pale of Settlement' were escaping from 'pogroms' organised by the Tsarist authorities.

Anti-Alienism And The 'Poles' In Lanarkshire (1880-1914).

The response of British organised labour against the perceived 'threat' to their interests was not only directed against Jewish immigration. Between 1880 and 1914 there was strong trade union opposition to the employment of Polish and Lithuanian immigrants in the

coal-fields of Lanarkshire, especially in the districts of Motherwell and Hamilton.

According to the 1901 Census of Scotland there were 3,215 alien nationals resident in the county of Lanarkshire, of whom 1,203 were employed. Of these, some 600 were probably ethnic Poles. Zubrzycki estimates that, including dependants, the total number of Poles might have been as high as 1,500. (25)

Most of the Poles and Lithuanians had been hired as single men. Polish emigration to other countries, including the U.S.A. or Brazil, often took the form of a male member of the household settling overseas, finding accommodation and employment (if possible together with other Poles), then working to earn enough money to send to Poland to enable his family to join him. As there was not a large Polish community in Scotland able to support new arrivals, most of the Poles who settled between 1880 and 1914 were unmarried men who sent part of their wages to help their families in Poland. (26)

In the article by Kenneth Lunn, entitled 'Reactions to Lithuanian and Polish Immigrants in the Lanarkshire Coalfield, 1880-1914', Lunn associates the opposition to foreign labour in the Scottish coal-mining industry with the anti-alien agitation resulting in the 1905 Aliens Act. (27) Lunn also refutes the assertion by John Garrard, in Garrard's work 'The English and Immigration,

1880-1910', that the opposition of the trades unions was directed only against Jewish immigration and that no anti-alien resolutions were received by the Trades Union Congress after 1895. (28)

The opposition to the 'Poles' (who were mostly ethnic Lithuanians) continued into the twentieth century and resulted in official resolutions to the Trades Union Congress. As Lunn states, much of the union opposition was motivated by the fact that the 'Poles' were mainly peasants or agricultural labourers from Russian Poland. In consequence, the majority of the new miners lacked industrial skills. As a difficult and dangerous industry, coal-mining has always needed workers with high levels of skill and experience so as not to endanger the lives of other miners. Miners usually formed a closely-knit community where very often skills were handed down from father to son. A working 'team' often comprised a father, his sons and, in some cases, an orphaned nephew. In an age of economic 'laissez faire' encouraged by both Liberal and Conservative governments, the miners developed a tradition of solidarity and industrial militancy. (29)

The opposition to the Poles was not influenced by the national origin of the immigrants. Religion was the issue because most of the 'Poles' were Catholics. Before 1914 anti-Catholicism in Scotland was very strong in the industrialised West, the Lothians, Fife and

Central Scotland. It had been aggravated by the 'Irish Question' which, during the agitation regarding Home Rule for Ireland, had encouraged the foundation of lodges of the Orange Order to 'defend the Protestant Supremacy' against 'the Papist threat'. (30)

From the 1840s onwards, economic hardship had caused the mass emigration of Irish people to Britain. (31) Due to poverty and desperation many Irish men and women worked for very low wages. In Lanarkshire some Protestant Scots regarded the 'Poles' as similar to the Irish. As in the case of the Irish, the 'Poles' were disliked for being Catholics, for an alleged fondness for drunkenness and violence, and for apparently being willing to serve the mine-owners as cheap, unskilled labour and strike-breakers.

By 1914, however, the 'Poles' had been accepted as miners. One reason was the relatively small number of 'Poles' concerned. The opponents of the 'Poles' could not claim that Scottish jobs were being threatened. According to the 1891 Census for Scotland, in terms of 'foreign born' persons resident, there was a total of 323 male Russian Poles and 63 naturalised British subjects who had been born in Russian Poland. Lunn states that these 323 male Russian Poles had been recent immigrants. 36 were recorded as employed in iron manufacturing, 2 in steel manufacturing and only 8 in coal-mining. The settlement-pattern reveals that 198 (or 61 per cent) of

the men were resident in Lanarkshire. Of the 153 women born in Russian Poland, 73 (or 48 per cent) were resident in Lanarkshire. (32)

Despite the small number of 'Poles', the apparent influx of unskilled miners caused concern. Lunn quotes from a speech by David Gilmour for the Scottish miners at the Annual Conference of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain in 1897:

'In Scotland, 25 per cent of the working miners are Russian Poles who had never seen a coal mine in their lives until they arrived in Scotland. These men have been allowed to work two, three and four together at the coal face, who have never been working in a mine before, and they are endangering all the lives at the colliery.' (33)

This protest by Gilmour was against the employment of foreign unskilled labour on the grounds of safety. He tried to strengthen his case by using the exaggerated figure of '25 per cent'. Some Scottish miners thought that their jobs were at risk when they saw significant numbers of 'Poles' in certain districts of Lanarkshire. Gilmour wanted the mine-owners not to use unskilled, cheaper labour.

According to the 1901 Census for Scotland, of the total male population born in Russia (including Poles and

Lithuanians) and resident in Scotland, which numbered 4,929, 1,135 were enumerated as coal-miners and a further 624 as employed in the iron and steel industries. (34) In 1901 there were 52,682 persons employed in the coal-mining industry in Lanarkshire alone.

The opposition to the employment of unskilled foreign miners was expressed between 1900 and 1906 by motions calling for the banning or the regulation of such labour, which were carried at the Annual Conferences of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, usually proposed by the Scottish Miners' Federation. In 1904, at the Trades Union Congress, the president of the S.M.F. branch in Lanarkshire, Robert Smillie, proposed a motion urging the government to take such steps as should prevent the influx of foreign and unskilled labour from entering the mines of Britain. The motion was carried with no votes against. (35)

By 1911, however, the opposition had not reduced the number of 'Poles' employed in coal-mining in Scotland. According to the 1911 Census for Scotland, 2,611 'Poles and Russians' were employed in the coal-mining industry. (36) This was more than twice the 1901 figure.

Among the problems which the 'Poles' had to overcome was contempt for their alleged drunken and violent conduct together with their poor living conditions. In the poverty-stricken mining villages of Lanarkshire the

Lithuanians and Poles were often very unhappy. As in the case of Scottish miners, some of the immigrants did indulge in drinking excessively and fighting. Their alleged poor living conditions were due to their low wages and to discrimination on the part of some landlords. In mining areas in Scotland before 1914 living conditions were especially bad. Lunn quotes from the Report produced by the Royal Commission on Housing in Scotland in 1918:

'The last census showed that thousands of one-room houses continued to be occupied by families: that overcrowding reckoned even by the most moderate standard is practically universal in the one- and two-room houses: that, in spite of protest and administrative superintendance, domestic overcrowding of houses and overbuilding of areas have not been prevented.' (37)

Before the hostility directed against the 'Poles' was overcome, they had to learn sufficient English to be able to communicate and to understand the technical language of the coal-mining industry. Those 'Poles' who married Scottish women were more readily accepted by their neighbours and fellow-miners. (38)

In addition, the Scottish miners did not oppose immigrants who wanted to join the S.M.F.. At the Annual Conference of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain in

1903, Gilmour stated that Poles were not banned from union membership. Some had even served on union committees since 1893. Officials of the Lanarkshire Miners' Union agreed in 1907 that the union rules should be printed in the Lithuanian or the Polish language. (39)

The immigrants quickly showed that they supported solidarity in industrial disputes. In 1905 at Loganlea, a pit where a significant number of 'Polish' miners were employed, a strike against low rates of pay was successful. Lunn quotes from the half-yearly report of the L.M.U. for the six months ending on the 6th of June, 1905:

'This is the first dispute in the County in which we have had such a majority of Polish miners engaged, and it is satisfactory to find that those workmen are quite as determined fighters for justice as the British themselves.' (40)

The L.M.U. also decided to provide practical support for the strikers at Loganlea. At the meeting of the L.M.U. executive committee on 4 October, 1905, the 'Polish' strikers were supported:

'The Secretary gave a report of the trial in which a number of Lithuanians had been fined for assault in connection with picketing during the pending strike at that colliery.

After discussion, it was decided to pay the fines.'

(41)

The anti-'Polish' sentiment expressed in the resolution approved by the Trades Union Congress in 1904 proved short-lived. Once the 'Poles' had shown that they were ready and willing to support their Scottish fellow-miners, then hostility was replaced by respect and support in turn.

This was consolidated by the 1912 national miners' strike. In February, 1912, the dispute regarding a minimum wage for miners in Britain escalated to a national strike called by the M.F.G.B. to start on 1 March. The Lithuanian and Polish miners contributed to the picketing of pits where the strike call had been ignored. According to newspaper reports, such as the 'Bellshill Speaker' of 8 March and 10 May, 1912, immigrants were the leaders of an arson attack on Tarbrax Colliery near West Calder. (42)

The harsh sentences imposed on Lithuanian and Polish strikers found guilty of arson, breach of the peace and even assault on the police became the subject of questions in the House of Commons addressed by J. Ramsay MacDonald to the Home Secretary, Reginald McKenna. Despite the intervention of the L.M.U. through J.D. Millar, the Labour M.P. for North-East Lanarkshire, three

immigrants involved in disturbances at Bellshill were deported on completion of their sentences. Of another five, arrested during picketing at Hamilton Palace Colliery and Rosehall, two were deported but McKenna decided to overrule the recommendation of the magistrate in the cases of the other three and the deportation orders were not served. (43)

By suffering imprisonment and deportation the once unpopular 'Poles' had earned the respect of the Lanarkshire miners. Two of the leaders of the S.M.F. expressed their sympathy and regard for the 'Poles'. Speaking at the Scottish Trades Union Congress on 1 May, 1912, David Gilmour claimed that the 'foreigners' had been treated unfairly during the strike by receiving harsher sentences than those imposed on Scottish miners. John Robertson, the vice-president of the S.M.F., speaking at Bellshill on 1 April, 1912, stated that the experience of the strike had welded together the miners irrespective of nationality and religion. (44)

Conclusion.

As there is no evidence available that many Poles emigrated to Scotland between 1919 and 1939, when there was an independent Polish state, it must be concluded that the 971 persons 'born in Poland' enumerated at the 1931 Census of Scotland had nearly all settled in Scotland before 1914. Neither the 'Wielka Emigracja'

after 1830-31 nor the 'economic emigration' after 1863-64 produced large-scale settlement of Poles in Scotland.

The 'Wielka Emigracja' was the emigration of Poles united by the struggle to regain independence for Poland. Despite the abilities of many of its members, there were too few emigrants to create a Polish community in Scotland. The evidence regarding the Poles in Scotland between 1863 and 1939 is so scant, due to the absence of an organised community with both national and historical awareness, that general conclusions must be drawn from the article by Lunn.

Between 1880 and 1914 the Poles and Lithuanians who emigrated to Scotland arrived when immigrants were unpopular in Britain. The large-scale immigration of mainly impoverished Jews escaping from persecution in the 'Pale of Settlement' contributed to the creation of the 'anti-alienism' expressed by the 1905 Aliens Act. In addition, this Jewish immigration caused the British organised labour movement to oppose the employment of immigrants, including the Poles and Lithuanians, as cheap, unskilled labour during the economically difficult years between 1875 and 1914. Employment of the mainly Catholic Poles and Lithuanians in the coal-mining industry in Lanarkshire was also opposed by extreme Scottish Protestants, who were often organised as lodges of the Orange Order opposed to previous immigrants from Ireland.

In order to become accepted into Scottish society, the Poles and Lithuanians adapted so successfully that they lost their own sense of national identity. The pressure to adapt and the advantages to be gained from becoming 'Scottish' were too persuasive to be resisted.

Notes To The Background.

- (1) For Scottish-Polish contacts between 1939 and 1945, see L Koczy, The Scottish-Polish Society. Activities in the Second World War. An Historical Review, Edinburgh, 1980, pp 5-24.
- (2) Ibid, pp 13-16.
- (3) For Scottish-Polish contacts before 1939, see
- (i) S Seliga, 'The Scots in Old Poland', in W Tomaszewski (ed.), The University of Edinburgh and Poland, Edinburgh, 1968, pp 1-15,
- (ii) L Koczy, 'Edinburgh University and Scottish-Polish Cultural Relations', in Tomaszewski (ed.), op cit, pp 17-40.
- (4) O Halecki, Historia Polski, London, 1958, pp 201-210.
- (5) Ibid, pp 211-249.
- For the period between 1863 and 1918, see
- (i) R F Leslie, 'Triloyalism and the national revival', in R F Leslie (ed.), The History of Poland since 1863, Cambridge, 1980, pp 1-64,
- (ii) R F Leslie, 'Poland and the crisis of 1900-7', in Leslie (ed.), op cit, pp 65-96,
- (iii) R F Leslie, 'Poland on the eve of the First World War', in Leslie (ed.), op cit, pp 97-111,
- (iv) A Polonsky, 'The emergence of an independent Polish state', in Leslie (ed.), op cit, pp 112-138.
- (6) Halecki, op cit, pp 213-216.

- (7) Koczy, 'Edinburgh University and Scottish-Polish Cultural Relations', pp 33-36.
- (8) J Zubrzycki, Polish Immigrants in Great Britain. A Study of Adjustment, The Hague, 1956, pp 5-9.
- (9) Koczy, 'Edinburgh University and Scottish-Polish Cultural Relations', pp 33-36.
- (10) Zubrzycki, op cit, pp 7-8.
- (11) Halecki, op cit, pp 220-221.
- (12) Zubrzycki, op cit, pp 11-22.
- (13) R F Leslie, 'Triloyalism and the national revival', pp 8-61.
- (14) Zubrzycki, op cit, pp 197-198.
- (15) Ibid, pp 22-25, 38-47.
- (16) For emigration from Prussian, Russian and Austrian Poland between 1850 and 1918, see
 - (i) A Brożek, 'Ruchy migracyjne z ziem polskich pod panowaniem pruskim w latach 1850-1918', in A Pilch (ed.), Emigracja z ziem polskich w czasach nowożytnych i najnowszych (XVIII-XX w.), Warsaw, 1984, pp 141-195,
 - (ii) K Groniowski, 'Emigracja z ziem zaboru rosyjskiego (1864-1918)', in Pilch (ed.), op cit, pp 196-251,
 - (iii) A Pilch, 'Emigracja z ziem zaboru austriackiego (od połowy XIX w. do 1918 r.)', in Pilch (ed.), op cit, pp 252-325.
- (17) Zubrzycki, op cit, p 8.
- (18) Ibid, p 10.

- (19) Census 1951 Scotland. Volume III General Volume,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1954, Birthplaces and
Nationality of the Foreign-Born Population. Table
N. Persons born in Principal Foreign Countries, pp
xlvi-xlvii.
- (20) L Koczy, Kartki z dziejów polsko-szkockich, London,
1980, p 10.
- (21) See the following:
- (i) Census of Scotland 1951 Volume 1, Part 2. City
of Glasgow, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1952, Table 16, p
32,
- (ii) Census of Scotland 1951 Volume 1, Part 21.
County of Lanark, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1954, Table
16, p 34.
- (22) J Walvin, Passage To Britain, London, 1984, pp 61-
67.
- (23) A Lee, 'Aspects of the Working-Class Response to the
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Newcomers in British Society, London, 1980, pp 107-
133.
- (24) For a detailed study of the Aliens Act of 1905, see
B Gainer, The Alien Invasion, London, 1972.
- (25) Zubrzycki, op cit, p 40.
- (26) K Lunn, 'Reactions to Lithuanian and Polish
Immigrants in the Lanarkshire Coalfield, 1880-1914',
in Lunn (ed.), op cit, pp 308-311.
- (27) Ibid, pp 308-342.

- (28) J Garrard, The English and Immigration, 1880-1910, Oxford, 1971, pp 174, 176.
- (29) Lunn, op cit, pp 317-319.
- (30) S Bruce, No Pope of Rome: anti-Catholicism in Modern Scotland, Edinburgh, 1985.
- (31) Walvin, op cit, pp 48-60.
- (32) Quoted by Lunn, op cit, p 312.
- (33) Quoted by Lunn, op cit, pp 312-313.
- (34) Quoted by Lunn, op cit, p 313.
- (35) Lunn, op cit, p 313.
- (36) Quoted by Lunn, op cit, p 314.
- (37) Lunn, op cit, pp 314-317.
- Quote from the Report and other information cited by R Page Arnot, A History of the Scottish Miners, Glasgow, 1955, pp 134, 136-137.
- (38) Lunn, op cit, pp 325-329.
- (39) Ibid, pp 325-326.
- (40) Quoted by Lunn, op cit, p 325.
- (41) Quoted by Lunn, op cit, p 326.
- (42) Lunn, op cit, pp 327-328.
- (43) Ibid, p 328.
- (44) Ibid, pp 328-329.

CHAPTER ONE.THE SECOND WORLD WAR
AND THE 'POLISH INVASION' OF SCOTLAND
(1939-45).The British People And Poland Before 1939.

Before 1939 Scotland was not a favoured country for large-scale Polish settlement. This was due to two main factors. First, the relative scarcity of economic contacts between Poland and Britain before 1939 prevented the establishment of closer understanding.

Following the Union of the Crowns of Scotland and England in 1603 in the person of James VI and I, Scottish economic activity was directed towards England as a market for exports and a source of raw materials and finished goods. By the time of the Union of the Parliaments of Scotland and England in 1707 the reputation of Poland had been irreparably damaged by a long series of expensive wars waged by successive elected monarchs. After 1648, when the Cossacks led by Bohdan Chmielnitsky rebelled against King Władysław IV Waza, Poland became notorious for misgovernment and financial mismanagement. In 1795 the Third Partition ended independent Polish economic activity. Between 1648 and 1795 the prudent business circles of London, Edinburgh

and Glasgow would not risk ruin by buying from, selling to and lending to Polish clients. (1)

Throughout the years between 1795 and 1919 there were relatively few economic transactions between Scottish and Polish companies and individuals. After 1919 the restored Polish state did not regard Britain as a major trading partner.

This was due to the second factor estranging Poland from Britain before 1939, namely official British dislike of Poland as a 'trouble maker' in Europe. At the Paris Peace Conference which produced the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 Lloyd George opposed the claims of the Polish delegation led by Roman Dmowski to the historic Polish frontiers of 1772. British fears were not calmed by Polish behaviour after 1919. (2)

In Poznania, Pomerania, West Prussia and Silesia the German resistance to Polish claims was supported by Lloyd George and the Foreign Office. Britain regarded Poland as a French client. For this reason Poland was weakened economically by not being allowed to regain total control of the mineral-rich province of Silesia or of the Baltic port of Danzig (Gdańsk). Instead, there was the compromise of the 'Polish Corridor' with Gdańsk as a Free City administered by the League of Nations.

The Treaty of Versailles appeased neither the Poles nor the Germans. Both protested bitterly against the 'oppression' of either Germans in Poland or Poles in Germany. The Polish representatives to the League of Nations at Geneva became alarmed by the success achieved by the German Foreign Minister, Gustav Stresemann, in his campaign to 'revise' the Treaty of Versailles in favour of Germany. Both the British Foreign Secretary, Austen Chamberlain, and the French Foreign Minister, Aristide Briand, appeared to support the aims of Stresemann. The Poles were shocked by the Locarno Treaties of 1925 which did not guarantee the eastern frontier of Germany against 'revision'. In 1926 Germany was accepted as a member of the League of Nations. (3)

The policy of British Conservative politicians, financiers and industrialists, represented by Austen Chamberlain, Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain, was to re-integrate Germany into the world economic system. Britain needed to have Germany as a stable, prosperous trading partner. On the other hand, many British Conservatives disliked Poland for being an alleged French client, economically backward and the implacable enemy of Germany.

British Liberals, typified by Lloyd George and Sir John Simon, shared the Conservatives' admiration for 'progressive' Germany with a long tradition of efficient industrial and financial management together with many

contributions to the arts and sciences. This made them ignore Polish arguments that the real threat to peace was posed by German 'revisionism' and not by alleged Polish 'militarism'.

British Socialist attitudes towards Poland were more complex. Poland was disliked for three reasons. First, the Polish victory over the Red Army during 1920-21 was regarded as a defeat for the 'Socialist world revolution' started in 1917 by the Bolsheviks. Second, the Poles were accused of oppressing their national minorities, including Jews, Germans and Ukrainians. Third, after the 'coup' led by Marshal Józef Piłsudski in May, 1926, Poland was alleged to have become a 'dictatorship' ruled for the benefit of landowners and capitalists at the expense of the rural and urban workers. (4)

Britain, France, Poland And The Road To War (1938-39).

On 3 September, 1939, Britain declared war on Germany in fulfilment of the Anglo-Polish Agreement of Mutual Assistance of 25 August, 1939. Anti-Polish feeling did not prevent Britain from supporting Poland against Hitler.

The Polish Foreign Minister, Colonel Józef Beck, had been regarded as a friend of Germany. When Czechoslovakia was dismembered by the Munich Agreement of 29 September,

1938, Beck took advantage by issuing an ultimatum on the following day to the Czechs demanding the cession of the Trans-Olza region. The demoralised Czechs accepted on 1 October. (5)

Despite his admiration for 'strong men' like Piłsudski, Mussolini and Hitler, the much-maligned Beck was not subservient to Germany or France. The foreign policy of Piłsudski and his successors ('the Colonels') was of enabling Poland to remain independent without adopting Liberal Democracy or any form of totalitarian system. The three guarantees of Polish independence were the Military Treaty of Mutual Assistance with France of 1921, the Treaty of Non-Aggression with the Soviet Union of 1932 and the Treaty of Non-Aggression with Germany of 1934.

After Munich, however, Beck was forced to decide between resisting Germany or becoming an ally of Hitler in return for the cession to the Reich of Gdańsk and an extra-territorial road and rail link across the 'Polish Corridor' from the main body of the Reich to East Prussia. Poland could not accept Hitler's demands. Beck shared Piłsudski's lack of confidence in the willingness of France to defend her ally. Despite his dislike of Britain's pro-German policy after 1919, Beck accepted the British unilateral guarantee of Polish independence as announced by Neville Chamberlain to the House of Commons on 31 March, 1939.

The British government decided to support Poland because of the failure of 'appeasement'. On 15 March, 1939, Germany incorporated Bohemia and Moravia into the Reich as 'protectorates' and 'eliminated' the Czech problem. Chamberlain had abandoned Czechoslovakia to Hitler because he believed that he knew how best to keep the peace in Europe. (6)

Meanwhile France had withdrawn into a mood of sullen defeatism. During the Czech crisis the French Premier, Edmond Daladier, and the Foreign Minister, Georges Bonnet, had supinely followed the initiatives of Chamberlain and Foreign Secretary Lord Halifax.

France had not yet recovered from the terrible losses in manpower suffered during 1914-18. The collapse of the left-wing Popular Front government of Léon Blum had alienated organised labour from the right-wing government of Daladier. Strikes mainly led by the C.G.T. pro-Communist unions paralysed the vital railway network and armaments industries. The 'Depression' of the 1930s reduced the living standards of industrial workers, small farmers and agricultural labourers. The middle classes feared the spectre of Communism and the rule of the masses. In this poisonous climate French party strife and class conflict undermined patriotism.

Hitler was regarded by an increasing number of Frenchmen as their best defence against the Communist menace. Other French resentments were rekindled by the leadership of Chamberlain at Munich. During the visit of German Foreign Minister Ribbentrop to Paris on 6 December, 1938, a Franco-German declaration was signed stating

'the conviction that pacific neighbourly relations between France and Germany constitute one of the essential elements of the consolidation of the situation in Europe and of the preservation of general peace.'

Poland, already alarmed by reports from France of strikes and defeatism, realised that the British guarantee was the last diplomatic card to play against Hitler. (7)

In contrast to France, Britain was prepared to threaten Hitler with war in defence of Poland and to fight if necessary. French defeatism and a cynical disregard for treaties was crudely shown by the right-wing journalist, Marcel Déat, in his article 'Mourir pour Dantzig?'. A more sophisticated British equivalent (possibly 'inspired' by the Foreign Office) was a passage in 'The Times'' leading article of Saturday, 1 April, 1939, entitled 'A stand for ordered diplomacy', which attempted to qualify the guarantee given to Poland as follows:

'... The new obligation which this country yesterday assumed does not bind Great Britain to defend every inch of the present frontiers of Poland. The key word in the declaration is not integrity but "independence". The independence of every negotiating state is what matters. ...' (8)

This enraged Churchill. With the policy of 'appeasement' discredited, Churchill stated the sober British policy of resistance to evil in a speech to the House of Commons on 3 April, 1939, as follows:

'... Having begun this new policy there can be no turning back. There is no halting place. ... To stop here with a guarantee to Poland would be to halt in No-man's land under fire of both trench lines and without the shelter of either. This is why it seems to me that announcement of the Prime Minister on Friday, which is explained and emphasised by his statement today, constitutes a milestone in our history. We must go forward now until a conclusion is reached. Having begun to create a Grand Alliance against aggression, we cannot afford to fail. ... It has become a matter of life and death. The policy now proclaimed must be carried to success - to lasting success - if war is to be averted, and if British safety is to be secured.

'... But surely the position of the French and British Governments is perfectly clear. We are not concerned at this moment with particular rights or places, but to resist by force of arms further acts of violence, of pressure or of intrigue. Moreover, this is not the time for negotiation. After the crime and treachery committed against Czechoslovakia, our first duty is to establish respect for law and public faith in Europe. ...' (9)

The Diplomatic And Military Defeat Of Poland (August - September, 1939).

When Lord Halifax and the Polish Ambassador, Count Edward Raczyński, signed the Anglo-Polish Agreement of Mutual Assistance on 25 August, 1939, the future of Poland was in deadly peril. Stalin had lost patience with the refusal of the Polish government, led by Prime Minister General Felicjan Sławoj-Skłodkowski, to allow Soviet troops to cross Polish territory if the U.S.S.R. agreed to join Britain and France in a 'Grand Alliance against aggression'. In parallel with the Soviet negotiations with Britain and France another set of secret discussions were taking place between Soviet and German representatives. Stalin did not want to fight Germany until the U.S.S.R. was ready. He distrusted Britain and knew, through his agents, that France was reluctant to go to war. The outcome was the decision taken by Stalin and Hitler to undertake the fourth partition of Poland.

Berlin and Moscow announced that, in Moscow on 23 August, 1939, a Treaty of Non-Aggression between Germany and the U.S.S.R. had been signed by Molotov and Ribbentrop. On the same day the two Powers also signed a Secret Additional Protocol to the Treaty. The death sentence on Poland was spelled out. (10)

On 1 September, 1939, Germany invaded Poland. Two days later, after Germany had rejected an ultimatum calling for the immediate cessation of hostilities and withdrawal of all armed forces from the territory of Poland, Britain and France declared war on Germany.

The Poles believed that their allies would attack Germany. By 17 September, however, the Polish Army had been outflanked and reduced to scattered units. The Commander-in-Chief, Marshal Edward Śmigły-Rydz, had lost control of the situation. Meanwhile, the French Ambassador, Léon Noël, organised the escape of the Polish government, General Staff, civilian refugees and the foreign diplomatic corps to Romania, the ally of Poland and France. On 17 September, Soviet troops invaded and began to occupy Eastern Poland.

The military defeat of Poland was 'cemented' by the partition of her territory between Germany and the U.S.S.R.. This was expressed by a demarcation line brought into operation by a secret additional protocol to

the German-Soviet Boundary and Friendship Treaty of 28 September, 1939. (11)

Military Defeat And Polish Emigration.

Without the disaster of losing independence it is unlikely that Poles would have left the country in large numbers. While the form of government created by Piłsudski and his followers was disliked by many Poles, the methods of the 'Sanacja' were not repressive. Only a few individuals, such as the Peasant Party leader Wincenty Witos, believed that they could not live safely in Poland.

Between 1918 and 1939 the opportunities for emigration had been reduced. The U.S.A. introduced a quota system to restrict immigration from impoverished Central and Eastern Europe. The 'Wall Street Crash' of 1929 affected all countries in debt to American banks who demanded repayment to cover their losses at home. This general crisis of confidence caused a disastrous slump in the price of raw materials, agricultural products and finished goods. Mainly agricultural states such as Poland suffered from the twin evils of urban unemployment and rural over-population. Unlike the years before 1914, however, the 'safety-valve' of emigration did not operate. As Zubrzycki states, Polish emigrants to France were deported by the French authorities in response to protests against the alleged 'unfair

competition' threatened by Poles who were willing to work for lower wages. (12)

The military defeat of Poland caused a 'diaspora' with some of the features of the 'Wielka Emigracja' and some of the 'economic emigration'. Defeat and enslavement by Germans and Russians produced an upsurge of patriotism. Every serviceman or able-bodied civilian wanted to enlist in the Polish Armed Forces in France. After the defeat of France in June, 1940, Poles tried to escape to Britain or to the Middle East.

As well as the patriotism of the 'Wielka Emigracja', the new emigration shared the heterogeneous nature of the 'economic emigrants'. The Polish servicemen who arrived in Scotland during June and July, 1940, were from all social classes, including supporters of the discredited 'Sanacja'.

Some pro-'Sanacja' officers were bitterly opposed to the Polish Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief, General Władysław Sikorski. Sikorski had been a target for abuse in Poland after the 'coup' of May, 1926, had brought Piłsudski to power. The Marshal and his devoted supporters (the 'Legioniści' or 'Legionnaires') despised academic professional soldiers like Sikorski and General Marian Kukiel.

On the other hand, Sikorski had the support of the great majority of servicemen and civilians, whether politically active or indifferent. Scotland became the training centre for the modern Army which had not been created before 1939. Sikorski wanted to use the lessons of defeat in September in the hope that he could emulate Piłsudski during 1918 to 1921 and so lead the Polish nation to regain independence. (13)

The Arrival Of The First Polish Servicemen In Scotland.

The first Polish servicemen to arrive in Scotland during the Second World War were the crews of the three destroyers 'Grom', 'Błyskawica' and 'Burza'. On the basis of an agreement between the British and Polish General Staffs in May, 1939, followed by an executive agreement between the British Admiralty and the 'Kierownictwo Marynarki Wojennej' (Polish Naval Directorate) in August, the destroyers left Gdynia on 30 August in order to join the Royal Navy. (14) After evading German surface vessels and submarines, the Polish ships docked at Rosyth on the Firth of Forth on 1 September. (15) Following a refit, the three destroyers became part of a detachment of the Polish Navy in Great Britain. This was verified by the Agreement signed in London on 18 November, 1939, by Raczynski and Sir Alexander Cadogan, the Permanent Under Secretary of State in the Foreign Office. (16)

The next group of Polish servicemen to arrive in Scotland were from the 'Samodzielna Brygada Strzelców Podhalańskich' (Autonomous Podhale Rifle Brigade) who had served gallantly as part of the Allied Expeditionary Corps in Norway during May and June, 1940. (17) Under the command of Brigadier-General Zygmunt Szyszko-Bohusz, the Poles participated in the attack on German-held positions and contributed to the capture of Narvik. Despite their success, the Corps were informed that the Allied Forces were to be withdrawn from Norway. Between 3 and 8 June the Brigade were evacuated in good order with most of their equipment. They sailed as part of several convoys to Greenock from where most of the Brigade were sent to Brest to assist the Allies in Brittany. The wounded were transported to hospitals in the Glasgow area. (18)

The Escape Of Poles To Romania, Hungary And The Baltic States.

The September campaign in Poland was effectively ended by the decision of President Ignacy Mościcki, the government, Marshal Śmigły-Rydz and the diplomatic corps to take the advice of French Ambassador Noël and to try to secure safe passage through Romania before sailing to France or travelling by train. On the night of 17-18 September, 1939, the civilian and military leadership of Poland crossed the frontier into Romania. (19) Following the defeat of Poland, servicemen and civilians

who wanted to escape from German or Soviet rule sought refuge in Hungary, Romania and the Baltic states.

To the surprise of the Polish refugees, their hosts refused to allow them to proceed to France. The Romanian government was under intense diplomatic pressure from Germany and the U.S.S.R.. Despite the traditional friendship between Poland and Hungary, the pro-Nazi Arrow Cross movement was used by Hitler to threaten the Hungarian Regent Admiral Horthy. Unlike Romania or Hungary, since the Polish seizure of Wilno in 1920 Lithuania had been hostile to Poland. The two other Baltic states, Latvia and Estonia, were too small and weak to defy German or Soviet pressure. (20)

The result of this pressure was the internment of the Polish civilian and military authorities in Romania. (21) Servicemen were disarmed and interned in camps such as Nagykanizsa and Parkany in Hungary, Carabia in Romania and Kalwaria in Lithuania. Civilians were treated less correctly than servicemen because they were deprived of the status of 'protected persons' by the insistence of Germany and the U.S.S.R. that they should be returned to Poland. (22)

The numbers involved were significant. According to a report from the Polish Embassy in Budapest, until the first week of October, 1939, nearly 40,000 servicemen, including some 5,400 officers, crossed into Hungary. (23)

The Embassy in Bucharest reported that during September, 1939, about 30,000 servicemen, including many experienced staff officers from the General Staff and the Ministry of Defence, left Poland for Romania. (24) There were also nearly 20,000 civilians who escaped to Hungary and Romania. They included many who had served with the Reserve and were of military service age. (25) In the Baltic states there were about 15,000 interned servicemen. The great majority were in Lithuania comprising some 13,800 men, including about 2,500 officers. Of the remainder in the Baltic states, 1,315 were in Latvia, including 176 officers. (26)

The New Polish Civilian And Military Authorities.

The servicemen and civilians who escaped to France did so with the help of the Polish civilian and military authorities in exile. On 29 September President Mościcki resigned after having nominated Władysław Raczkiewicz as his successor. The new President had been a supporter of Piłsudski but he was acceptable equally to Poles as well as to France and Britain. (27) Mościcki acted according to the Constitution of 23 April, 1935, by which the President was able in time of war to nominate his successor. This was stated in Article 13. (28) His prerogatives formed the legal basis for the Polish state and its civilian and military authorities in exile. Mościcki used his powers, as stated in Article 24, to transfer his authority to Raczkiewicz. (29)

On 30 September, 1939, in Paris President Raczkiewicz appointed General Władysław Sikorski as Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence. The President accepted Sikorski's choice of Ministers. Also on 30 September Raczkiewicz declared that he would use his prerogative powers only with the agreement of the Prime Minister. (30)

Both Raczkiewicz and August Zaleski, who was appointed Foreign Minister, were jealous of Sikorski's authority and intrigued against him in partnership with 'Sanacja' officials and soldiers. They resented the accusation that the leadership of the 'Sanacja' had caused the defeat of Poland. The anti-Sikorski faction were greatly strengthened by the arrival from Poland of General Kazimierz Sosnkowski, regarded as the closest companion of Piłsudski from the 'Legiony' of the 1914-18 War. On 16 October, without consulting Sikorski, Raczkiewicz nominated Sosnkowski as his successor. In order to appease the 'Sanacja' faction, Sikorski appointed Sosnkowski to be Minister for Home Affairs with responsibility for directing resistance in Poland. (31)

In the often vague political theories of Piłsudski, the Armed Forces were the best sons of the nation. The President was Supreme Commander (Article 12 (d) of the 1935 Constitution). Second in importance was the Commander-in-Chief and the Inspector-General of the Armed

Forces. (32) In September, 1939, both Mościcki and Śmigły-Rydz (his nominated successor) were discredited by defeat. On 7 November Raczewicz appointed Sikorski as Commander-in-Chief. As Prime Minister, Minister of National Defence and Commander-in-Chief, Sikorski could direct Polish policy as he thought best. (33)

The Organisation Of The Polish Armed Forces In Exile
(September 1939 - June, 1940).

As a leader in exile, Sikorski was dependent on the support of the French government. He knew that his allies wanted him to create a Polish Army and Air Force to serve under French command. The diplomatic background had been guaranteed by the signature in Paris on 4 September, 1939, by the French Foreign Minister, Georges Bonnet, and the Polish Ambassador, Juliusz Łukasiewicz, of a Protocol defining the Franco-Polish Treaty of Mutual Assistance of 1921. The fourth and final Article of the Protocol contained the significant clause that neither party would sign a separate peace without the consent of the other. On 9 September an Agreement was signed by the French and Polish governments regarding the creation in France of a division of Polish citizens resident in France in order to fight in Poland. (34) This plan was overtaken by events. On 21 September a Protocol was signed by Łukasiewicz and Daladier, placing the Polish division under French operational command. The Polish volunteers

were directed to a large camp at Cöetquidan, near Rennes in Brittany, where the Polish Army in France was to be formed in order to fight alongside their French ally. (35)

The statistics reveal the triumph of organisation achieved by the Polish people. With the assistance of the French authorities, Sikorski and his two Vice-Ministers of National Defence, General Marian Kukiel and General Izydor Modelski, directed the recruitment of a new Army and Air Force.

By 15 June, 1940, there were some 82,500 servicemen in Army, Air Force and Navy units. In Britain there were 138 officers and 1,286 men in the Naval Detachment and 165 officers and 1,999 other ranks serving in the Royal Air Force Volunteer Reserve. In the Near East there were some 4,000 men in the 'Samodzielna Brygada Strzelców Karpackich' (Autonomous Carpathian Rifle Brigade) which had not yet been organised. (36) In France there were 1,451 officers and 40,541 N.C.O.s and other ranks in Army units ready for action and 111 Air Force officers and 444 N.C.O.s and other ranks fully trained and equipped. In reserve and still in training were 4,127 officers and 21,174 N.C.O.s and other ranks for the Army, while the Air Force reserves numbered 1,380 officers and 5,305 N.C.O.s and other ranks. The recruitment of volunteers was still continuing. (37)

The formal basis for the formation of Polish Army and Air Force units in France was provided by three Agreements signed by Sikorski. On 4 January, 1940, he signed an Army Agreement and an Air Force Agreement with Daladier.

(38) The details of the Air Force Agreement were clarified by a Technical Agreement signed by Sikorski and the French Minister for Air, Guy La Chambre, on 17 February, 1940. (39)

Sikorski used four main sources of manpower for the new units. First, escapers from occupied Poland provided some 900 men (or nearly 1 per cent of the total). Second, recruitment from Polish citizens in Britain provided another 910 men (another 1 per cent). Third, volunteers and recruits from the pre-war emigration to France and Belgium produced a total of about 44,700 men (or 53 per cent). Finally, the most difficult and dangerous recruitment from among the men evacuated from internment in Hungary, Romania and the Baltic states brought some 38,000 men (or approximately 45 per cent). (40)

The Defeat Of France And Evacuation To Britain.

Although it is outwith the scope of this study to include details of military campaigns, the collapse of France caused great harm to Sikorski's prestige. According to a report by General Modelski, presented to a meeting of the Polish National Council in London on 30 August, 1940,

the total number of Polish servicemen evacuated from France to Britain up to and including 15 July was 19,451. This total comprised 4,306 officers and 10,942 N.C.O.s and other ranks from Army units, with a further 986 officers and 3,217 N.C.O.s and other ranks from the Air Force. Expressed in percentage terms, only 23.5 per cent of the Polish Armed Forces in France escaped from the catastrophe. Excluding the First Infantry Division (some 16,000 men), the Second Infantry Division (also nearly 16,000 men) and smaller units sent to the front before they were fully trained and equipped, of units not engaged at the front 45 per cent of their total manpower escaped. The loss of the two best units in terms of equipment and training was the most tragic feature of the entire French disaster. (41)

The evacuation of Poles to Britain during June and July, 1940, represented the fourth phase of the war. After the horror of September, 1939, there followed inactivity and despair in internment before their daring escape to France and a brief period of hope that the German attack could be defeated.

According to Zubrzycki, whose source is the usually reliable Andrzej Liebich's 'Na Obcej Ziemi. Polskie Siły Zbrojne 1939-1945', a total of 30,500 men were evacuated from France. Zubrzycki is confusing the number of Poles evacuated with the total number of Polish servicemen

serving under Allied command. (42) From the figures provided by Liebich, a more accurate picture emerges.

Starting with the number of Poles evacuated from France, up to and including 18 July, 1940, the total was 4,299 Army officers and 12,526 N.C.O.s and other ranks, together with 1,332 Air Force officers and 4,511 N.C.O.s and other ranks. On 18 July, 1940, the total number of Polish Air Force personnel in Britain was 1,575 officers and 6,584 N.C.O.s and other ranks. Also on the same date there were 144 officers and 1,397 N.C.O.s and other ranks serving in the Polish Naval Detachment. In Palestine the 'Samodzielna Brygada Strzelców Karpackich', together with a Reserve Base, numbered 485 officers and 3,437 N.C.O.s and other ranks. The overall total of Polish service personnel under Allied command was 30,447, with 6,503 officers and 23,944 N.C.O.s and other ranks. (43)

Of these 30,447 Poles it is impossible to state exactly how many served in Scotland or settled there after the war. The only observation that can be made is that the majority of Poles who settled in Scotland had arrived during June and July, 1940, from France. Their experience of life among the Scottish people had convinced them that they had little to fear from settlement. In Chapter Two the organisation of the First Polish Army Corps in Scotland will be studied with

reference to whether service in certain areas influenced the post-war settlement pattern.

Circumstances Of Arrival In Scotland.

Until the end of the war in Europe on 7 May, 1945, the First Army Corps received recruits from several sources. Each will be studied with reference to later settlement in Scotland.

(1) Polish Citizens In Britain And Polish Civilian Refugees.

Following Zubrzycki (whose source is Liebich), after the capitulation of France on 22 June, 1940, the Polish government moved to London and wanted to continue the registration and recruitment of Polish citizens resident in Britain. The poor results obtained confirmed that few Poles settled in Britain before 1939. Only 965 Poles were recruited before the end of the war. (44) Assuming that there were some who had served in Scotland, when the surviving servicemen returned home only very few could have settled in Scotland.

Zubrzycki states that, in addition to servicemen, some 3,000 civilians were evacuated from France to Britain. (45) They included members of the Polish government, civil servants and wives and children of officials and military personnel.

Polish civilians moved to Scotland either as evacuees from the 'Blitz' or in the service of the Polish government. Officials were sent to organise and staff welfare, medical and educational facilities for the First Army Corps.

Some Polish civilians chose to work in Scotland. A few were academics such as Dr. Bronisław Śliżyński and his wife Dr. Helena Śliżyńska who were geneticists at Edinburgh University. Another civilian was Mrs. Jadwiga Harasowska who organised a small magazine entitled the 'Kurjer Glasgowski' for wounded Polish servicemen in hospitals in the Glasgow area. (46)

Life in Scotland, therefore, influenced some Polish civilians to settle after 1945 if they could find employment.

(2) Escapers From Occupied Europe And Switzerland.

Liebich states the following figures for escapers from Occupied Europe: during 1940 (from 18 July to 31 December) 4,500, from 1941 to 1944 inclusive 6,910 and during 1945 (from 1 January to 30 June) 300. The total was 11,710. (47) They escaped in the most daring ways from Occupied France and even from Poland using several routes.

During the second half of 1940 and early 1941, a total of 4,787 escaped from internment in Hungary and Romania, via Belgrade or Istanbul to Cyprus or Haifa. (48) Following the German conquest of Yugoslavia and Greece, this route was abandoned as too dangerous.

The next source of manpower was Vichy France, where many Polish servicemen unable to escape after France had capitulated on 22 June, 1940, had sought refuge. The routes used were varied. Some chose to escape via Spain to Lisbon. Others sailed from Southern France to North Africa on their way to Gibraltar. Many were helped by local people, sympathetic officials and Polish and British diplomatic staff. The main danger was arrest by the Spanish authorities and internment in the camp at Miranda del Ebro. (49)

Another potential source of manpower was the Second Infantry Division which had escaped the fate of the First Grenadier Division by crossing the frontier from France into Switzerland on 20 June, 1940. (50) Some 11,000 men were interned by the Swiss authorities. During late 1944 and early 1945, however, the Swiss 'allowed' about 2,500 officers, N.C.O.s and other ranks to 'escape' to the Allies. (51)

This brought the overall total of escapers to 14,210. The contingent from Switzerland provided experienced soldiers for the Fourth Infantry Division in Scotland.

As in the case of escapers from Occupied Europe, some decided to settle in Scotland after only a brief period of service. (52).

(3) Poles From North And South America.

General Sikorski believed that another source of manpower for the Polish Armed Forces would be the Polish emigrants who had settled in North and South America. As Liebich shows, however, the results were disappointing.

The governments of the U.S.A., Canada, Argentina and Brazil regarded the Poles as potential recruits for their own armed forces. Undeterred, Sikorski sent recruiting missions to Canada, supported by personal diplomacy in the form of talks with the Canadian Prime Minister Mackenzie King and President Roosevelt during official visits to North America in April, 1941 and March, 1942. (53) Only 722 volunteers were recruited from the Poles of the U.S.A. and Canada. (54)

Recruiting missions to Argentina and Brazil produced better results. Argentina (including Chile, Bolivia and Uruguay) provided 1,252 men. Brazil proved less helpful for reasons of domestic policy expressed in a campaign to assimilate national minorities and provided 345 recruits. (55)

Of the total of 2,319 volunteers from North and South America, 392 joined Polish squadrons serving with the R.A.F. and 92 joined the Polish Naval Detachment. (56) Some of the recruits were sent to serve with the First Army Corps in Scotland. Despite the age and low level of fitness of some men, the Poles from South America provided the First Armoured Division with drivers and maintenance staff whose invaluable services earned high praise from General Maczek. (57)

Once hostilities had ended and the Polish Armed Forces under British command were being demobilised, the surviving volunteers from North and South America returned home.

(4) Poles From The Soviet Union.

To his credit, Sikorski did not share the opinion of his rivals, led by Sosnkowski and Zaleski, that both Germany and the Soviet Union were equally enemies of Poland. His view was that it would be possible to detach the U.S.S.R. from Germany.

On 19 June, 1940, Sikorski and Ambassador Raczyński met Churchill, who had succeeded Chamberlain as Prime Minister on 11 May, 1940, following the German invasion of the Netherlands. At this conference two fundamental decisions were taken. First, Churchill agreed that his government would provide assistance for the evacuation to

Britain of as many Polish servicemen as possible. (58) On 17 June, following the announcement by Marshal Pétain that the French government had decided to commence negotiations with Germany regarding a cease-fire, the British government had invited President Raczkiewicz and the Polish government to Britain. (59) Sikorski could now exercise his authority over the Polish government and armed forces in the United Kingdom with the full support of Churchill.

The second decision taken concerned the attitude of Sikorski towards relations between Britain and the Soviet Union. As Britain and the U.S.S.R. were not at war, Sikorski believed that Britain could use her diplomatic good offices to establish the basis for an eventual Polish-Soviet understanding. This assessment was expressed in a memorandum presented to the British government after the conference. (60)

For the enemies of Sikorski, the memorandum provided evidence that he wanted an agreement with Stalin by abandoning some Polish rights. On 18 July, 1940, Sikorski was subjected to fierce criticism at the first meeting in London of the Polish National Council (a nominated one-chamber 'parliament'). The 'Sanacja' faction wanted revenge. In addition to the memorandum, Sikorski was attacked for the failure to evacuate more servicemen from France and for the loss of the Polish gold reserves. (61)

On 18 July, therefore, Raczkiewicz dismissed Sikorski and appointed Zaleski as Prime Minister. The 'Sanacja' faction were thwarted by a 'mutiny' of senior officers loyal to Sikorski. Led by General Marian Kukiel and Colonel Tadeusz Klimecki, they forced Zaleski to reconsider. On the same day the National Council voted to support Sikorski. On 19 July, taking the advice of Sosnkowski, Raczkiewicz reinstated Sikorski. Sikorski withdrew the memorandum. Kukiel resigned as First Vice-Minister of National Defence. (62)

The significance of this drama was the extent of controversy aroused by Sikorski considering an agreement with the U.S.S.R.. He was correct in his assessment but premature in action. The opportunity was provided by the German attack on the U.S.S.R. on 22 June, 1941. With the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour on 7 December, 1941, which ended American 'isolationism', followed by the declaration of war on the U.S.A. by Germany and Italy on 11 December, the prospects improved for the development of the Polish Armed Forces. (63)

The Poles under Soviet rule formed a vital source of manpower. As Liebich states, the exact number of Poles deported from the eastern provinces annexed by the Soviet Union in November, 1939, is difficult to estimate. Regarding civilians, one source gives the total deported before 22 June, 1941, as 1,450,000, of whom 990,000 were

simply deported from their homes, 250,000 were arrested and imprisoned in the U.S.S.R. and 210,000 were forcibly conscripted into the Red Army. (64)

Regarding Polish prisoners of war, according to a report in 'Krasnaya Zvezda' of 17 September, 1940, there were in Soviet captivity 181,000 servicemen (N.C.O.s and other ranks), as well as 12 generals, 58 colonels, 72 lieutenant-colonels and 9,227 officers of other rank. (65) This information was from a report by Marshal Voroshilov regarding the Soviet conquest of the eastern provinces of Poland.

In June, 1940, the Red Army occupied the Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. In August, the three states were 'accepted' as republics of the U.S.S.R.. (66) This annexation brought into Soviet captivity a further 2,500 officers and 11,000 N.C.O.s and other ranks from the interned Polish servicemen. (67)

General Sikorski obtained the support of the British government in negotiations with Stalin. On 30 July, 1941, after hard bargaining, Sikorski and the Soviet Ambassador in London, Ivan Maisky, signed the Soviet-Polish Agreement. (68) The terms were that the 1939 Soviet-German Treaties regarding territorial changes in Poland lost their validity, that diplomatic relations were to be restored, that the two governments agreed to assist each other against Germany, and that a Polish Army

was to be formed in the Soviet Union. This Army was to be under Soviet operational command.

The controversial part of the Agreement was the absence of a clear Soviet recognition of the validity of the frontier between Poland and the U.S.S.R. as established by the Treaty of Riga signed on 18 March, 1921. (69) In addition, the Protocol offended the Poles who did not require an 'amnesty' because they had not committed a crime. The Protocol reads as follows:

'The Soviet Government grants an amnesty to all Polish citizens now detained on Soviet territory, either as prisoners of war or on other sufficient grounds, as from the resumption of diplomatic relations.' (70)

The Agreement caused another crisis. President Raczkiewicz withheld his consent so, according to Article 12 (g) of the 1935 Constitution, Sikorski did not have authority to sign. (71) He ignored the President.

Moreover, Sikorski had not been hindered by the split in the Cabinet on 25 July when Sosnkowski, Zaleski and Marian Seyda, the Minister for Justice, had voted not to approve the Agreement and had resigned from the government. Sikorski had the firm support of the rest of the Cabinet. General Józef Haller, Jan Stańczyk, Professor Stanisław Kot, Professor Stanisław Stroński and

Henryk Strasburger all approved the draft text. (72) Also in favour were Stanisław Mikołajczyk, Chairman of the Polish National Council, and a majority of the Council. (73)

Despite the good intentions of Sikorski and his supporters, the Agreement had many defects. With the lives of Polish citizens at stake, however, there was not time for protracted debate. Sikorski could not risk not signing. (74)

The period of co-operation with the Soviet Union was not a success. The Soviet government did not fulfil either the Agreement of 30 July, 1941, or the Polish-Soviet Military Agreement of 14 August, 1941. (75)

It will always be debatable whether Stalin and the Soviet government sincerely wanted to form a Polish Army in the U.S.S.R.. For their part, the Poles under the command of General Władysław Anders could not forget deportation, imprisonment, forced labour, starvation and humiliation. Not even the personal diplomacy of Sikorski improved the situation when he travelled to the Soviet Union and signed a Declaration of Friendship and Mutual Assistance with Stalin on 4 December, 1941. (76)

The only solution was evacuation of some Polish servicemen and civilians (often in the guise of servicemen's families) to Iran. The first evacuation

took place from 25 March to 5 April, 1942. A total of 43,858 persons were evacuated. They comprised 33,069 servicemen (1,603 officers, 28,427 N.C.O.s and other ranks, 1,159 women volunteers and 1,880 junior soldiers) and 10,789 civilians (including some 3,100 children). (77)

The second evacuation was much more numerous because it was the last chance to join the British. General Anders and his staff organised the details with Soviet and British officers then left the U.S.S.R. forever. (78)

The second evacuation lasted from 9 August to 1 September, 1942. A total of 69,247 persons were evacuated. They comprised 43,746 servicemen (2,430 officers, 36,701 N.C.O.s and other ranks, 112 military clerical staff, 1,765 women volunteers and 2,738 junior soldiers) and 25,501 civilians (including 9,633 children). (79)

Of the 76,815 servicemen, the majority were suffering from the effects of forced labour, starvation and various illnesses. Under British command they were sent to Iraq then to Palestine and Egypt for reorganisation and training. Together with the 'Samodzielna Brygada Strzelców Karpackich' (who had served with distinction at Tobruk and Gazala from 22 August, 1941 to 17 March, 1942), they comprised the Second Army Corps who served in Italy. (80)

During 1942 and 1943 some of the evacuated servicemen were transferred to other services and units. According to Liebich, about 7,000 were sent to the First Army Corps in Scotland, while some 1,000 joined the Polish Naval Detachment and around 3,800 served with Polish squadrons of the R.A.F.. (81)

Some of the Poles sent to Scotland decided to settle there after the war. The transfer of the Second Corps during late 1946 from occupation duties in Italy for demobilisation in Britain brought more who could not return to Poland. Their experience of life in Scotland proved disappointing. Unlike the servicemen of the First Army Corps, they were not made welcome. (82)

(5) Poles From The 'Wehrmacht' And The 'Todt Organisation'.

Another source of recruits for the First Army Corps had to suffer frequent abuse for having fought for the Germans. After the war the policy of recruiting Poles who had served with the 'Wehrmacht' caused many problems. British people hostile to Polish resettlement resented expenditure on former enemy servicemen. (83)

These unhappy Poles were the innocent victims of the German shortage of manpower. They had been forcibly enrolled onto the 'Volksliste' in the Polish provinces of Pomorze, Poznań and Śląsk, which had been directly

incorporated into the Reich. As 'Volksdeutscher' they were usually in the third and fourth categories which included untrustworthy 'honorary Germans' who often did not speak German. As such they were liable to be conscripted into the 'Wehrmacht' or the forced labour brigades of the 'Todt Organisation'.

Evasion of service or desertion incurred the harshest penalties on the family of a recruit, including incarceration in a concentration camp. While serving in 'Wehrmacht' units or labour brigades, the reluctant 'Volksdeutscher' were subjected to brutal discipline, constant humiliation and close surveillance to deter escape. In such circumstances, therefore, a Polish deserter did so at great risk to himself and his family. (84)

Until the Allied landings in Normandy on 6 June, 1944, only around 4,500 Poles had joined the Polish Armed Forces from the 'Wehrmacht'. Of these, some 2,000 had been taken prisoner or had deserted from Rommel's 'Afrika Korps' in North Africa, while the remainder had enlisted in the Second Corps in Italy. (85) The Allies knew that some Germans spoke perfect Polish so the interrogation and segregation of all who claimed to be Polish had to be very rigorous. The Polish Armed Forces in Britain and Italy provided specially trained men to assist their Allies. (86)

With the Allied victories in France, Belgium, Holland, Italy and Germany, Poles were recruited in large numbers. The majority were sent to the First Corps in Scotland. From 6 June, 1944, to 30 June, 1945, the total reached 52,631. (87) Liebich gives the following figures: from 6 June, 1944, to 31 December, 1944, 33,192, from 1 January, 1945, to 30 April, 1945, 15,439, and from 1 May, 1945, to 30 June, 1945, about 4,000. (88)

These statistics were very significant for post-war settlement in Scotland. Apart from the 2,000 from the North African campaign, the remainder arrived too late to be fully trained, equipped and organised into active service units. Instead they provided manpower for reserve units. When the war in Europe ended, neither the Fourth Infantry Division nor the Sixteenth Independent Armoured Brigade was ready for action. (89)

As these units were not used for occupation duties in Germany, the Poles from the 'Wehrmacht' and the 'Todt Organisation' remained in Scotland. Their alleged 'idleness' and 'enemy origins' made them an easy target for anti-Polish agitation. (90) It is probably true to state that the Poles from the 'Wehrmacht' were less likely to settle in Scotland than the Poles who had been stationed there from the summer of 1940 onwards. The Poles from Occupied Europe and Switzerland, as well as those from the Second Corps, were also more likely to settle in Scotland than the ex-'Wehrmacht' Poles.

(6) Polish Ex-prisoners Of War.

The final category comprised ex-prisoners of war liberated by the Allies. Figures are not available for the number sent to the First Army Corps in Scotland but only very few joined units.

As Liebich states, until 4 August, 1945, the significant total of 180,188 Polish prisoners of war were registered in the territory liberated by the Western Allies. (91) The administrative problems involved excluded any large-scale recruitment into military units.

According to Zubrzycki, some 21,000 ex-prisoners of war joined Polish units in Germany and Italy. During 1946 and 1947 they were transported with their units to Britain. (92) Later some settled in Scotland.

Notes To Chapter One.

(1) For the decline in trade between Poland and Scotland between 1648 and 1795, see L Koczy, 'Edinburgh University and Scottish-Polish Cultural Relations', in W Tomaszewski (ed.), The University of Edinburgh and Poland, Edinburgh, 1968, pp 24-25.

(2) For the lack of good relations between Britain and Poland between 1919 and 1939, see A Polonsky, Politics in Independent Poland, 1921-1939, Oxford, 1972, pp 136-139, 379, 477.

For the dispute between Britain and Poland over the frontiers of Poland, see A Polonsky, 'The emergence of an independent Polish state', in R F Leslie (ed.), The History of Poland since 1863, Cambridge, 1980, pp 133-138.

(3) For the dispute between Britain and Poland over the 'revision' of the Treaty of Versailles, see Polonsky, Politics in Independent Poland, 1921-1939, pp 136-139.

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CHAPTER TWO.POLISH LIFE IN SCOTLAND
DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR
(1939-1945).Introduction.

In Chapter One two main topics were studied. First, the background to the Second World War was studied in terms of the relationship between Poland and Britain. Second, the conflict itself was studied in terms of its significance for the emigration of Poles to Scotland.

In Chapter Two three main topics are studied. First, the organisation of Polish military units in Scotland is surveyed in order to ascertain whether the location of units influenced the post-war settlement pattern. Second, a brief study is made of the 'support society' created by the British and Polish authorities with the co-operation of private individuals in order to assess the influence of organised life in Scotland upon post-war settlement. Third, there is a study of the diplomatic defeat of Poland between 1941 and 1945. The decisions taken at Teheran and Yalta caused Poles to suffer 'defeat in victory' and influenced their attitudes towards Britain and post-war settlement. (1)

The Organisation Of Polish Military Units In Scotland.

The decision to transport the Polish servicemen evacuated from France to Scotland was taken by the War Office after due consultation with other British government departments and with General Sikorski at a conference on 19 June, 1940. (2) There was probably little special significance in the choice of Central Lowland Scotland between Glasgow and Edinburgh. The War Office were influenced by technical and administrative considerations. Their assessment was that the Poles should be sent to an area where camps could be set up in open land but sufficiently near larger centres of population to permit the easy transport of supplies.

From 24 June, 1940, transports of Polish servicemen began to arrive at British ports. After disembarkation and registration, they were sent by train to their first destination in Glasgow then by road to their camps.

There were three main groups of camps in Lanarkshire. These were in the districts of Biggar, Douglas and Crawford. In addition, there was a group of camps in the vicinity of Peebles. A number of special camps were set up for officers, of which the largest were at Rachan near Broughton (to the east of Biggar) and in the vicinity of Rothesay on the island of Bute. (3) The camp at Rothesay was used by Sikorski to keep his most bitter enemies (members of the pro-'Sanacja' faction)

among the officer corps under surveillance and unable to foment disorder among the soldiers. (4)

On 5 July, 1940, Sikorski created the command structure for the camps and units of the Polish Army in Scotland. He appointed General Stanisław Burchardt-Bukacki as General-Officer-Commanding. From 1 August, 1940, the G.O.C. was General Marian Kukiel the former First Vice-Minister of National Defence. (5)

In the opinion of Churchill and Sikorski, the Poles were well trained and experienced soldiers. The threat of German invasion caused the rapid reorganisation, training and equipment of the Polish units. From 20 October, 1940, the Polish First Army Corps were assigned the defence of the east coast of Scotland from Rosyth on the Firth of Forth to Montrose. This sector included Fife, Dundee and Angus. The headquarters of General Kukiel was at Moncrieffe House near Bridge of Earn (south of Perth). (6)

The Corps comprised a total of 14,382 men, including 3,498 officers and 10,884 N.C.O.s and other ranks. (7) Owing to the circumstances of the evacuation, there were insufficient N.C.O.s and other ranks to create units according to British regulations. The Poles formed 'cadre brigades', in which officers predominated and there were sufficient N.C.O.s and other ranks for the most essential service duties such as artillery and

communications. In this way, the two regular infantry brigades were reinforced by five 'cadre brigades'. (8)

With the German attack on the Soviet Union on 22 June, 1941, the threat of a German invasion of Britain ceased to trouble Churchill, Field-Marshal Brooke and the Imperial General Staff. For Sikorski the main problem was of persuading the British that valuable equipment sent to Britain by the U.S.A. should be used to equip the Polish Army. The shortage of N.C.O.s and other ranks persisted until after the Allied landings in Normandy. (9)

Sikorski had already succeeded in obtaining the legal recognition of the Polish Army and Air Force in Britain. On 5 August, 1940, the Anglo-Polish Military Agreement was signed by Sikorski, Zaleski, Churchill and Halifax. (10) The consent of Parliament was granted by the Allied Forces Act of 22 August, 1940, which extended to the Polish Armed Forces the same status as applicable to the Armed Forces of the Commonwealth by the Visiting Forces (British Commonwealth) Act of 1933. (11)

Between 22 June, 1941, and 6 June, 1944, the First Army Corps received reinforcements from North and South America, from Occupied Europe, from the Soviet Union and from the 'Wehrmacht'. Sikorski used this manpower to create the First Independent Paratroop Brigade and the basis for the First Armoured Division. (12)

The Paratroop Brigade was created from the Fourth Cadre Brigade, under the command of Colonel Stanisław Sosabowski, on 23 September, 1941. (13) Although formally a Paratroop Brigade from 9 October, 1941, the unit continued to defend a sector of the Fife coast from Buckhaven to Crail. The British authorities approved of the paratroop training at Lundin Links, Leven and Lower Largo, sending groups of fifty men every two weeks to the training centre at Ringway, Manchester. (14)

After receiving volunteers from other Polish units and from the Second Corps, on 1 July, 1944, the Brigade (together with the reserve base in Scotland) comprised 304 officers and 2,368 N.C.O.s and other ranks. (15) The Brigade was formed in order to support the Allied liberation of Poland. (16) Instead, at the request of the Imperial General Staff, the Brigade participated in the air-borne operation at Arnhem-Driel. From 18 to 26 September, 1944, units of the Brigade contributed significantly during this heroic but ultimately unsuccessful mission. (17)

Under the command of General Stanisław Maczek, the First Armoured Division participated in the victorious progress of the Allies from Caen in Normandy to Wilhelmshaven. (18)

The Armoured Division was formed after numerous conferences and changes in the organisation of Polish Army units in Scotland. Most difficult to overcome was the constant shortage of N.C.O.s, other ranks and technical staff. (19) Following the conferences at the War Office, the British and Polish General Staffs agreed on 31 August, 1942, to reorganise the First Armoured-Motorised Corps, comprising the First Armoured Division, the Independent Infantry Brigade and several incomplete units. (20) A total of 23,787 N.C.O.s and other ranks was required, of whom 14,415 were to be for the Armoured Division. (21) General Sikorski and his successor, General Sosnkowski, were ready to make further changes. In order to have an Armoured Division with reserves, the infantry unit was reduced to cadre form. Reinforced with N.C.O.s and other ranks, the new Armoured Division was approved by the British Army authorities as suitable for employment in the liberation of Western Europe. (22)

On 1 July, 1944, the Division comprised 941 officers and 14,701 N.C.O.s and other ranks. (23)

The majority of the personnel of the Armoured Division and the Paratroop Brigade had served in Scotland since 1940. They had become familiar with the counties of Lanarkshire, Fife, Angus, Perthshire, the Borders and the West of Scotland while many had also visited Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dundee on leave. (24)

Both the Armoured Division and the Paratroop Brigade had reserve bases and training centres in Scotland. From 6 June, 1944, to 7 May, 1945, the First Corps received reinforcements from Polish escapers from Switzerland and other European states as well as from the 'Wehrmacht' and the 'Todt Organisation'. These men either provided reserves for units in action or joined recently formed units.

In November, 1944, the Fourth Infantry Division and the Sixteenth Independent Armoured Brigade were formed. Neither was fully trained or equipped when the war in Europe ended. The Fourth Infantry Division numbered 12,800 men, while the Sixteenth Independent Armoured Brigade numbered 3,096 men. (25) There were also 8,391 men serving with the First Corps in staff, training and administrative capacities. (26) Of this total of 24,287 men, the majority did not have long experience of life in Scotland. The Fourth Infantry Division and the Sixteenth Independent Armoured Brigade were stationed mainly in Aberdeenshire, Perthshire and Stirlingshire. (27)

The Poles who served with Army units in Scotland often settled in localities which they had known during wartime or during service with the Polish Resettlement Corps before demobilisation. They settled in these localities if they could find employment. The Poles who served with Navy or Air Force units and later settled in

Scotland were less familiar with the country because their service involved constant transfer throughout Britain. If they settled in a particular area of Scotland, they also were mainly influenced by employment opportunities.

The Polish 'Support Society' In Scotland (1939-45).

Apart from their military duties, the Polish Armed Forces in Scotland required facilities to complement their work and to improve their lives. These facilities were provided by British and Polish government agencies and individuals. There were two main fields of activity. First, the Polish service personnel were provided with welfare facilities, including canteens and entertainment. Second, in order to continue the education of Polish servicemen and civilians, courses and publications were organised. Of the organisations founded to assist the Poles, the most active was the Scottish-Polish Society.

(28)

Regarding welfare facilities, from the arrival of the Polish servicemen during June and July, 1940, the British and Polish authorities co-operated to create a 'support society' for them. The Lord Provost of Glasgow, Patrick Dollan, inspired the people of the city with the belief that they could contribute to the war effort by inviting Poles into their homes and making them feel welcome. (29) He was greatly helped by the Polish Consulate and the

Polish Military Office whose staff provided information and advice for Poles as well as organising public meetings and lectures where Scottish people could learn about their Polish visitors. (30)

The most active Polish publicist in Glasgow (if not all of Scotland) was Mrs. Jadwiga Harasowska. She continued the work of the 'Kurjer Glasgowski' by publishing, with funding from the Polish Ministry of Information, the 'Ogniwo Przyjaźni - The Clasp O' Frien'ship'. This was a bi-lingual weekly published from 11 January, 1941, to 28 March, 1942. Encouraged by the response, she published a fortnightly magazine in English entitled 'The Voice Of Poland' from 3 April, 1942, to 7 October, 1947. (31)

Mrs. Harasowska was also a leading member of the Scottish-Polish Society. The foundation of the Society was very closely associated with the foundation on 24 February, 1941, of the Polish School of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh. (32) This was a unique institution which was staffed by Polish professors and lecturers and had the authority to award Polish degrees of M.B., Ch.B. (a total of 227 were awarded between 1941 and 1949) and degrees of M.D. (in total 19 were awarded). (33) The School was finally closed in March, 1949.

Edinburgh became the leading city in Scotland for providing educational courses for Polish servicemen and

civilians. Apart from the School of Medicine, at the University there were courses in Administrative Law and Practice (a total of 60 Diplomas were awarded between 1942 and 1945), Education and Pedagogic Study (not a degree course but one preparing Polish students for further studies associated with the teaching profession) and Veterinary Studies (a total of 23 Degrees were awarded between 1943 and 1948). (34)

Glasgow was next in importance for education. The courses available were in agricultural studies at the 'Polska Szkoła Rolnicza' (Polish School of Agriculture), business studies at the 'Gimnazjum Kupieckie' and the 'Liceum Handlowe' (both equivalent to Commercial Colleges) or the 'Korespondencyjny Kurs Handlowy' (Business Studies by Correspondence Course) run by the 'Ośrodek Kształcenia Handlowego' (Polish Commercial College), electrical engineering at the 'Ośrodek Szkolenia Elektrotechnicznego' (Electrical Engineering College) or various correspondence courses at the 'Ośrodek Nauczania Korespondencyjnego' (Centre for Teaching by Correspondence). (35)

At the University of Glasgow there were short courses for Polish servicemen on aspects of life in Britain. In addition, there were courses in Polish language and literature taught by Major Dr. J.A. Teslar. Similar courses were taught at the University of St. Andrews by Major E. Ligocki and Dr. S. Seliga. (36)

All the above courses were taught by professional lecturers and instructors released from the Polish Armed Forces. (37) There were also boarding schools for Polish boys and girls taught by Polish staff. For girls the 'Gimnazjum i Liceum Żeńskie im. Marii Skłodowskiej-Curie w Szkocji' (Marie Curie-Skłodowska Secondary Grammar School for Girls in Scotland) was based at Scone Palace (Perthshire) from 1941 to 1942 then from 1942 to 1947 at Dunalastair House near Pitlochry (Perthshire). (38) For boys the 'Państwowe Liceum i Gimnazjum Męskie im. Juliusza Słowackiego' (Juliusz Słowacki Secondary Grammar School for Boys) was based between 1941 and 1947 at Dunalastair House, Glasgow, Crieff (Perthshire), Bridge of Allan (Stirlingshire) and Garelochhead (Dunbartonshire). (39)

Regarding the Scottish-Polish Society, its functions included providing for the material welfare of Polish servicemen and civilians, providing entertainment and organising educational facilities. Above all, its purpose was to encourage mutual understanding between Scots and Poles.

The Society was founded at a meeting in the City Chambers in Edinburgh on 28 April, 1941. Its Chairman was the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine. (40) Following the creation of the Edinburgh Branch, with Lord Provost Sir William Y. Darling elected as Honorary President, on 30

September, 1941, the second Branch was founded in Glasgow. The Honorary President was Lord Provost John M. Biggar. Two of the most active members of the Glasgow Branch were Sir Patrick Dollan (knighted in 1941), who was one of the Vice-Presidents, and Mrs. Harasowska. (41)

By the end of the war, there were nearly fifty Branches. The membership numbered 9,800, of whom over 3,000 were in Fife. (42) There was a very close association between the location of Polish servicemen and the towns and cities where Branches were founded. Professor Leon Koczy in his brochure 'The Scottish-Polish Society' compiled a list of 33 Branches. 12 were in Fife, 6 in Perthshire, 5 in Angus, 3 in the Lothians, and one apiece in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Stirling, Galashiels, Peebles and Biggar. (43) The post-war settlement pattern in Scotland would suggest that wartime service in certain areas was improved by the local members (and, in particular, the ladies) of the Scottish-Polish Society.

As well as welfare and education, the Society taught its members about Poland and organised entertainment. In various towns the Society would hire a church hall or the local British Legion or miners' welfare club in order to show films, give lectures or organise dances or concerts. Invited Polish guest speakers would teach local people about the Polish language, history, culture and way of life. In return, the Society would teach courses to

Poles about the English language, British history and the Scottish way of life. Poles would be taken on visits to historic churches, places of interest, municipal buildings and factories and work-shops.

Most important of all, Poles were invited into the homes of Scottish people. They were shown that even in wartime, despite rationing and 'points', it was still possible to be hospitable towards gallant allies. For many of the Poles, the hospitality received left lasting favourable impressions. Unlike the better paid American servicemen, the Poles could only give small presents to their hosts and hostesses. Their politeness and charming good manners made them very popular guests. (44)

In Edinburgh and Glasgow the Scottish-Polish Society was very well organised. At first the Edinburgh Branch held its meetings in various locations with most at the 'Dom Polski' which had been organised in 1941 by Harvey Wood, the local Chairman of the British Council. The 'Dom Polski' was based at 10, Greenhill Gardens. Then, on 31 July, 1942, Professor Stanisław Stroński, the Polish Minister of Information, opened the 'Ognisko' club for the Scottish-Polish Society at 11, Castle Street. (45)

The Glasgow Branch also held meetings in various locations. Among them was the Scottish-Polish V-Club at 242, Hope Street, which was opened on 10 September, 1941. This was also the address of the editorial offices of the

'Ogniwo Przyjaźni - The Clasp O' Frien'ship' and later 'The Voice Of Poland', as well as the Polish Library and the Polish Shop. All were run by Mrs. Harasowska and a small group of Polish and Scottish volunteers. (46) On 12 June, 1942, the V-Club was relocated at 129, Renfrew Street. (47)

The Polish military institutions in Scotland included Military Offices in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee and Perth. For wounded servicemen there were hospitals such as Taymouth Castle (near Aberfeldy, Perthshire) and convalescent homes such as Luffness House (near Aberlady, East Lothian). (48) To provide more amenities for servicemen on leave, the Polish military authorities, British organisations and individuals often worked in co-operation. One example was the 'Dom Żołnierza' opened at 9, Moray Place in Edinburgh on 25 July, 1942, thanks to the Command of the Polish First Army Corps, the Soldiers' Welfare Office, the Association of Polish Soldiers' Families, and Mrs. Patricia Washington and Lord James Stewart Murray. (49)

In all these activities more was organised in Edinburgh and Glasgow than elsewhere in Scotland. Many Polish civilians and service personnel either lived in the two cities during wartime or else were frequent visitors. They were attracted by the welfare facilities, educational opportunities and the proximity of the cities

to service camps such as Johnstone in Renfrewshire and Duddingston and Dalmeny in the Edinburgh area. (50)

Finally, regarding the Polish-language Press in Scotland, a significant part was played in influencing post-war settlement by providing information regarding events in Poland. Probably the best newspaper published in Scotland in the Polish language between 1940 and 1945 was the 'Dziennik Żołnierza' (Soldiers' Daily). It first appeared in duplicated form on 14 July, 1940. On 20 December, 1940, it was first printed in Forfar. (51) In 1943 it was taken over by the 'Dziennik Polski' (Polish Daily) in London. The first copies of the present day 'Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza' appeared on 1 January, 1944. (52)

The Diplomatic Defeat Of Poland (1941-45).

Some British officials, including Sir Alexander Cadogan of the Foreign Office, expressed concern that the Polish Armed Forces under British command would not accept the Yalta decisions. (53) The resignation shown by the Poles, however, confirmed that many had foreseen the loss of independence.

Zubrzycki is probably correct when he associates the entry of the Soviet Union into the war against Germany with the start of the breakdown of good relations between Britain and Poland. (54) The Soviet-Polish Agreement of

30 July, 1941, did not improve relations between the signatories. Instead, the period of alleged 'co-operation' ended acrimoniously with the evacuation during 1942 of some 77,000 service personnel and 37,000 civilians from the U.S.S.R. to Iran. (55)

Despite frequent appeals by Sikorski to Stalin, the Polish recruitment and welfare network in the Soviet Union was closed down. (56) A further 2,637 Polish citizens were transported by road from Aszczabad to Iran between September and November, 1942. (57) With the closure of the Polish Military Mission in Jangi Jul, the Poles in the U.S.S.R. were abandoned. (58)

Sikorski also had to counter the Soviet claim that the frontier between Poland and the U.S.S.R. should be a subject for negotiation. Another problem was the apparent 'disappearance' of some 15,500 Poles last seen alive in May, 1940, in Soviet prisoner of war camps. (59)

The frontier question was of particular gravity. Despite the Soviet-Polish Agreement, the Soviet government did not change its attitude that Poland would have to cede some territory to the U.S.S.R.. (60) As early as 3 August, 1941, a leading article in 'Izvestia' defended the Soviet invasion of eastern Poland on the grounds that the alleged 'collapse' of the Polish state was a valid excuse for intervention in order to protect the security of the Soviet Union and to save the

Ukrainian and Byelorussian people from the 'danger of German occupation'. (61)

This was a clear statement of the desire of the Soviet leaders to negotiate. As the military successes of the Red Army and Air Force strengthened the position of Stalin, Sikorski realised that his refusal to negotiate would not be supported by Churchill and Roosevelt. Sikorski was willing to compromise but he would not discuss the frontier question until after the end of the war. (62)

The diplomatic defeat of Poland began in earnest with the evacuation of Polish servicemen and civilians from the U.S.S.R. to Iran. Without a Polish Army to serve alongside the Red Army, Sikorski had lost his final bargaining counter. (63)

During 1942 the British government continued to support Polish interests. In a Note to Ambassador Raczyński on 17 April, 1942, Anthony Eden assured him that the forthcoming Anglo-Soviet Treaty (signed on 26 May, 1942) would not affect the vital interests of Poland. There would not be, wrote Eden, any change in the policy of Britain as expressed in the Anglo-Polish Agreement of 25 August, 1939, or in the statement by Churchill in the House of Commons on 5 September, 1940. (64)

This statement by Churchill, however, had not been a clear and unequivocal guarantee of frontiers:

'... We have not at any time adopted, since the war broke out, the line that nothing could be changed in the territorial structure of various countries. On the other hand, we do not propose to recognise any territorial changes which take place during the war, unless they take place with the free consent and good will of the parties concerned.' (65)

The events of 1943 effectively removed the influence of the Polish government regarding the future of Poland. On 25 April, 1943, the Soviet government severed diplomatic relations with the Polish government. The pretext was the reluctance of the Polish Cabinet to state publicly that the Germans had murdered the Polish officers allegedly discovered by the Germans buried in the Katyń woods near Smolensk. The Germans had accused the Soviet authorities. (66) Stalin was cynically exploiting the confusion of the Polish government in order to create his own 'Polish authorities' ready to rule Poland in the interests of the Soviet Union. (67) He knew that the Sikorski government was trapped. Sikorski knew that the murders had probably been committed by the Soviet N.K.V.D. but political expediency prevented an open denunciation. (68)

With the tragic death of General Sikorski in an aircraft crash on 4 July, 1943, the Polish cause suffered a serious setback. (69) His successor as Prime Minister was Stanisław Mikołajczyk, the leader of the Peasant Party. He lacked Sikorski's unrivalled authority and good relationship with Churchill and Roosevelt. In addition, President Raczkiewicz appointed his ally, General Sosnkowski, as Commander-in-Chief. This was intended to restrict the authority of Mikołajczyk. (70)

The 'dualism' of authority caused Churchill to lose patience. He wanted the Poles to behave in a 'realistic' manner and come to an agreement with Stalin. (71)

Stalin, however, was not willing to talk to the 'London Poles'. At the conference at Teheran from 28 November to 1 December, 1943, he received the consent of Churchill and Roosevelt to the proposed post-war frontier between the U.S.S.R. and Poland, which was based on the so-called 'Curzon Line' of 11 July, 1920. (72) In return for the cession to the Soviet Union of the eastern provinces annexed in November, 1939, while the U.S.S.R. and Germany had been allies, Poland would receive compensation at the expense of Germany in Silesia, East Prussia and the Baltic sea-board, including Gdańsk. (73) The Teheran decisions were secret. Roosevelt did not want to risk losing the 'Polish vote' at the 1944 Presidential

election. (74) Churchill, however, was confident of the support of the War Cabinet and Parliament.

On 22 February, 1944, Churchill made his statement to the House of Commons. There was only a vague reference to the 'Curzon Line':

'... Here I may remind the House that we ourselves have never in the past guaranteed, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, any particular frontier line to Poland. We did not approve of the Polish occupation of Wilno in 1920. The British view in 1919 stands expressed in the so-called "Curzon Line" which attempted to deal, at any rate partially, with the problem. ...' (75)

Churchill and Eden did not persuade the Mikołajczyk government to accept the proposals devised at Teheran. Meanwhile, Polish opinion became alarmed at the prospect of betrayal. On 6 February, 1944, the newspaper 'Wiadomości Polskie' in London published an article by Zygmunt Nowakowski, entitled 'O Drugie nie' ('Regarding the second "No"'). Nowakowski stated that Poland had said 'No' to Hitler in 1939 and should now say 'No' to those British officials who would not allow Polish journalists to mention Lwów and Wilno for fear of offending the Soviet Union. Brendan Bracken, the British Minister of Information, did not confiscate the offending newspaper and allowed the article to be

published. On 7 February, 1944, however, the Ministry revoked the supply of paper to 'Wiadomości Polskie', forcing it to cease publication. (76)

Despite such blatant censorship, the majority of Poles in Britain and overseas understood that they were being forced to capitulate. Mikołajczyk could not persuade Churchill to reconsider. (77) He visited Moscow at the same time as the heroic but doomed Rising was taking place in Warsaw (1 August to 2 October, 1944). After a meeting with Stalin on 3 August, Mikołajczyk attended meetings on 6 and 7 August with members of the Polish Committee of National Liberation ('Polski Komitet Wyzwolenia Narodowego'), which had been formed in the Soviet Union with the declared intention of ruling liberated Poland in the name of friendship with the Soviet Union. In other words, this would be the pro-Communist puppet government of Poland. (78)

Mikołajczyk was so shocked by the brutal reality of Stalin's proposed policy regarding Poland that he began to be ready to compromise regarding the frontier in order to obtain better terms. During his second visit to Moscow, at a meeting with Stalin and Churchill on 13 October, 1944, Mikołajczyk was informed by Molotov that Britain, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. had all accepted the 'Curzon Line' at Teheran. (79) Furthermore, on 14 October, Churchill asked Mikołajczyk to accept the

'Curzon Line' or else the British government would no longer support him. Churchill was brutally frank:

'You are no Government if you are incapable of taking any decision. You are callous people who want to wreck Europe. I shall leave you to your own troubles. You have no sense of responsibility when you want to abandon your people at home, to whose sufferings you are indifferent. You do not care about the future of Europe, you have only your own miserable selfish interests in mind. I will have to call on the other Poles and this Lublin Government may function very well. It will be the Government. It is a criminal attempt on your part to wreck, by your "Liberum Veto", agreement between the Allies. It is cowardice on your part.' (80)

Mikołajczyk returned to London, but he failed to win over a majority of the Polish government to the need to compromise. On 24 November, 1944, he resigned. The new government was formed on 29 November, 1944, led by Tomasz Arciszewski, a veteran Socialist. (81) This was bitterly resented by Churchill. He believed that only Mikołajczyk could obtain an agreement so he simply ignored the Arciszewski government. (82)

The conference at Yalta from 4 to 11 February, 1945, confirmed that Stalin would control Poland. A new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity was to be

formed. It was to hold 'free and unfettered elections' as soon as possible. The eastern frontier of Poland was to follow the 'Curzon Line', while Poland was to receive compensation in the north and west from Germany. (83)

The news of Yalta did not unduly surprise the Poles. After the resignation of Mikołajczyk, they had nothing more to hope for from Churchill. At the same time, however, there was the sorrow of 'defeat in victory'. (84)

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- For the reaction of some British M.P.s, see
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 - H.C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 379, col. 473-474 (12 April, 1942),
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- (10) Polskie Siły Zbrojne w Drugiej Wojnie Światowej, Volume Two, Part One, pp 226-230.
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- (11) See 3 and 4 Geo. 6, ch. 51, Allied Forces Act, 1940. Chapter 51 (22 August, 1940).
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- (ii) Polskie Siły Zbrojne w Drugiej Wojnie Światowej, Volume Two, Part Two, pp 121-122.
- For the First Armoured Division, see
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- (13) Polskie Siły Zbrojne w Drugiej Wojnie Światowej, Volume Two, Part Two, pp 121-122.
- (14) Ibid, p 122.

- (15) A Liebich, Na obcej ziemi. Polskie Siły Zbrojne 1939-1945, London, 1947, p 76.
- (16) Ibid, pp 115-116.
- (17) J Garliński, Poland in the Second World War, London, 1985, pp 301-304.
- (18) l. Dywizja Pancerna w walce, Brussels, 1947.
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- (20) Ibid, p 127.
- (21) Ibid, p 127.
- (22) Maczek, op cit, pp 135-147.
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- (ii) The Voice Of Poland, No. 1 (263) (3 April, 1942), p 6,
- (iii) The Voice Of Poland, No. 6 (268) (12 June, 1942), pp 6-7,
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(iii) W Tomaszewski, 'Polish Veterinary Study in
Edinburgh', in ibid, pp 61-62.

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128/90, ED 128/91, ED 128/92.

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(i) Public Record Office (Kew): ED 128/10, ED
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(ii) Przewodnik i Informator dla Żołnierzy Polskich
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117.

For the 'Ośrodek Nauczania Korespondencyjnego', see
Public Record Office (Kew): ED 128/10.

For the 'Ośrodek Szkolenia Elektrotechnicznego', see
Przewodnik i Informator, p 117.

For other educational institutions and courses for
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163.

- (36) For courses at the University of Glasgow, see

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(ii) Faculty of Law Report on Classes for Polish
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- (40) Koczy, The Scottish-Polish Society, p 8.
- (41) Ibid, pp 9-10.
- (42) Ibid, pp 11-12.
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- (55) Polskie Siły Zbrojne w Drugiej Wojnie Światowej. Volume Two, Part Two, pp 266-298.
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- (i) J K Zawodny, Death in the Forest. The Story of the Katyń Forest Massacre, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1962,
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- (63) For the diplomatic background to the evacuation, see Polskie Siły Zbrojne w Drugiej Wojnie Światowej. Volume Two, Part Two, pp 63-70.
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- (69) Polskie Siły Zbrojne w Drugiej Wojnie Światowej, Volume Two, Part Two, pp 85-87.
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(81) For the negotiations between Mikołajczyk and the Polish government in London and between Mikołajczyk and Churchill (October - November, 1944), see Rożek, op cit, pp 294-313.

For the resignation of Mikołajczyk and the formation of the Arciszewski government, see Rożek, op cit, pp 314-319.

- (82) For the diplomatic prelude to the Yalta Conference, see Rožek, op cit, pp 326-338.
- (83) For the 'Polish Question' at the Yalta Conference, see Polonsky (ed.), The Great Powers and the Polish Question, 1941-1945, pp 242-251.
- (84) See Chapter Six, Part One.

CHAPTER THREE.'DEFEAT IN VICTORY' -YALTA, POTSDAM AND THE POLISH ARMED FORCESUNDER BRITISH COMMAND (1945).The End Of The War In Europe And The General Election In Britain.

On 7 May, 1945, the capitulation of Germany ended the war in Europe. For the British government, the problem of the Polish Armed Forces could not easily be resolved. With the enlistment of Poles from the 'Wehrmacht' and the 'Todt Organisation', recruitment of Polish citizens in France and recruitment of ex-prisoners of war, on 1 May, 1945, the Polish Armed Forces under British command numbered 194,460. (1) Of these, 171,220 were in the Army, 19,400 served in Polish units of the Royal Air Force (fifteen squadrons and several training centres) and 3,840 were serving with the Polish Naval Detachment of the Royal Navy. (2) By 1 July, 1945, the total stood at some 228,000. (3) The recruitment of a further 21,000 former prisoners of war brought the total to some 249,000 on 1 December, 1945. (4)

On 23 May, 1945, the Coalition Government led by Churchill was dissolved. Churchill continued to lead a 'Caretaker' government, with Labour as the Opposition, until the General Election. The dissolution of

Parliament took place on 15 June. The General Election resulted in a victory for the Labour Party. On 26 July, after the votes cast by the British Armed Forces had been counted, Labour had won 393 seats. The Conservatives and their National Liberal allies had won 213 seats. Of the other seats, the Liberals had won 12, the Communists 2, the Common Wealth Party 1, and Independents and others 19. (5)

Yalta, The 'Provisional Government Of National Unity' And Soviet Control Of Poland.

On 11 February, 1945, at the end of the Yalta Conference the statement regarding Poland had been a triumph for Stalin. (6) Most Poles regarded the proposed 'Provisional Government of National Unity' as the successor to the 'Lublin government', which had been recognised by the Soviet government on 31 December, 1944, as a puppet administration. This pro-Soviet creation acted with the Red Army and the N.K.V.D. in suppressing anti-Soviet and anti-Communist Polish opinion. (7)

At Yalta the Polish government in London had been ignored by Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin. The new Provisional Government of National Unity was assembled by a Commission in Moscow comprising Molotov, W. Averell Harriman and Sir Archibald Clark Kerr. Formally announced on 28 June, 1945, of the twenty-one members of the Provisional Government fourteen had been members of

the 'Lublin government'. The Prime Minister was Edward Osóbka-Morawski, a pro-Communist 'Socialist'. In reality, Stalin ruled Poland through Bolesław Bierut, a former 'Comintern' agent, who was Head of State as the President of the National Council for the Homeland ('Krajowa Rada Narodowa'). The key portfolios were taken by Communists and their allies. They included Władysław Gomułka (First Deputy Premier), Michał Rola-Żymierski (Minister of National Defence), Stanisław Radkiewicz (Minister of Public Security) and Hilary Minc (Minister for Industry).

Of the non-Communist Ministers, two had been members of the Polish government in London. Stanisław Mikołajczyk, who had been Prime Minister in London, was appointed Second Deputy Premier and Minister for Agriculture and Land Reform. Jan Stańczyk was appointed Minister for Labour and Social Welfare. Anti-Communist Poles believed that Mikołajczyk had the support of Britain and the U.S.A.. (8)

Political Terror In Poland.

At the same time as Molotov, Harriman and Clark Kerr were discussing the composition of the Provisional Government, the N.K.V.D. and the Polish Communist 'Urząd Bezpieczeństwa' (Security Bureau) were arresting, deporting and murdering opponents. (9) Their victims included supporters of the London government, anti-

Communists and members of the non-Communist resistance movement ('Armia Krajowa'). On 19 January, 1945, the 'Armia Krajowa' had been disbanded by order of its Commander, General Leopold Okulicki. This prudent action did not protect members from reprisals. (10)

On 22 February the leadership of the 'Armia Krajowa' stated that the Yalta decisions would be accepted. In addition, the leaders of the non-Communist political parties in Poland stated their desire to restore relations with the Soviet Union. They wanted to enter into open negotiations. On 27-28 March, however, the Soviet military authorities arrested sixteen Polish leaders, including Jan Stanisław Jankowski (the Delegate of the London government), General Okulicki and members of the 'Rada Jedności Narodowej' (Council of National Unity). All were tried in Moscow by a Military Collegium of the U.S.S.R.. The charges of supporting an illegal organisation, collaboration with the Germans and endangering the security of the Red Army were intended to discredit the non-Communist resistance movement. At the same time, the arrests and show trials removed several leaders from possible consideration by Harriman and Clark Kerr. In addition, Mikołajczyk and his supporters were given a warning that anti-Communist activities would not be tolerated.

On 21 June, 1945, the Collegium found twelve of the sixteen guilty of all or part of the charges. Only

Okulicki (ten years' imprisonment) and Jankowski (eight years) received long sentences. This was to show that Soviet justice was 'fair minded'. Two others received five year terms. The remaining eight were given sentences of from eighteen months to four months in prison. (11)

The Potsdam Conference.

The recognition of the Provisional Government on 5 July, 1945, by the governments of Britain and the U.S.A. occurred against a background of increasing terror in Poland. During the Potsdam Conference (17 July to 2 August, 1945) Britain elected a Labour government. Ernest Bevin, the Foreign Secretary, opposed Soviet control of Poland. He wanted to see genuine 'free and unfettered elections'. At the eleventh plenary meeting of the Potsdam Conference on 31 July he expressed his views very strongly. (12) Bevin questioned the statement regarding Poland as agreed by the Heads of Government (Churchill, Truman and Stalin) at the fifth plenary meeting on 21 July. (13) On 31 July Bevin also expressed his concern regarding the promised elections and the treatment of Poles returning to Poland. (14)

At Potsdam Bevin and Attlee received assurances from Stanisław Mikołajczyk who, as a member of the Polish delegation, wanted to ensure conditions enabling his Peasant Party ('Stronnictwo Ludowe') to contest the

elections with a chance of victory. (15) He argued that the departure of the Red Army and the N.K.V.D. would be a prerequisite for free elections. He also claimed that Poland must receive satisfactory compensation in the north and west at the expense of Germany. This was vital, he argued, both for economic reasons and to restore the faith of the Polish people in their western allies. Poland had lost the eastern provinces to the Soviet Union. At the same time, the Polish Communists were claiming that only the Soviet Union was the friend of Poland and that the U.S.A. and Britain were hostile to legitimate Polish demands. (16)

It was the issue of the western frontier of Poland which revealed that the three victorious powers could not agree on the peace settlement. Stalin wanted to establish the western frontier of Poland on the Oder and the western Neisse. He rejected the concern shown by Britain regarding the transfer of Germans from the new Polish territories to Germany. President Truman and the Secretary of State, James F. Byrnes, wanted the Polish 'regained territories' ('ziemie odzyskane') to be treated as a fifth occupation zone and a source of reparations for all the victors. (17)

Mikołajczyk saw his worst fears confirmed. The western frontier of Poland was recognised only by the Soviet Union. Polish interests were protected by the Red Army so Polish Communists acquired a very potent propaganda

device. (18) On 2 August, 1945, the Potsdam Conference broke up, leaving the western frontier of Poland as a problem to be resolved for, as stated officially, it 'should await the peace settlement' for final delimitation. (19)

The Polish Armed Forces Under British Command.

The Yalta and Potsdam Conferences did not reassure the majority of Polish citizens in exile that they could return home. (20) Above all, the Second Army Corps in Italy and the Middle East, commanded by General Władysław Anders, refused to accept the decisions regarding the 'Curzon Line'. They had experienced life under Soviet rule and remembered Katyń and their comrades left to die in the U.S.S.R.. (21) The Second Army Corps comprised the most anti-Soviet troops among the Polish Armed Forces. On 1 May, 1945, the total strength of the Corps in Italy numbered 55,780 officers, N.C.O.s and other ranks. The two largest units were the Third Infantry Division ('3 Dywizja Strzelców Karpackich') with 16,010 servicemen and the Fifth Infantry Division ('5 Kresowa Dywizja Piechoty') with 15,940 servicemen. In reserve in the Middle East there were a further 36,506 servicemen mainly in training centres and units. (22)

With the consent of the Arciszewski government in London, Anders continued to recruit Polish citizens into the Second Corps. The new recruits were mostly Poles from

the 'Wehrmacht'. By 17 September, 1945, the Corps stood at some 106,000 servicemen. (23) When ordered by Field-Marshal Alexander to reduce the Corps to 86,000 servicemen and to stop recruitment, Anders reluctantly obeyed. His attitude made him unpopular with anti-Polish or pro-Communist circles in Britain. Thanks to Anders and some of his officers, the Second Corps acquired notoriety as an alleged anti-Communist 'foreign legion' maintained by Britain for a future war against the Soviet Union. In consequence, M.P.s on the Left of the Labour Party urged the government to transport the Second Corps to Britain as soon as possible and to replace the Poles in their occupation region in Italy with 'more reliable troops'. (24)

In Germany occupation duties were performed by the First Armoured Division. On 1 May, 1945, the Division numbered some 16,000 officers, N.C.O.s and other ranks. Unlike the controversial General Anders, General Maczek did not play at politics and so maintained good relations with Field-Marshal Montgomery and the other Allied commanders. On 20 May, 1945, Maczek was appointed G.O.C. of the First Army Corps in Scotland. He was succeeded as commander of the First Armoured Division by Brigadier Klemens Rudnicki who also co-operated well with the Allies. From 22 May the Division was stationed in the southern part of Oldenburg as far as the Dutch-German frontier, in the western part of Hanover, including the city, and in the regions of Soltau, Munster and Walsrode.

(25) In addition to their occupation duties, the Division also took responsibility for the welfare of Poles liberated from German concentration camps and forced labour. Shocked by the evidence of terrible suffering, the British occupation authorities evacuated the German population from the town of Haren and handed the area to the Division for administration. Renamed 'Maczków', it became a centre for Polish 'displaced persons' where the Division provided staff for hospitals, schools, vocational training centres and facilities for the refugee camps. (26)

The First Independent Paratroop Brigade was also stationed in Germany. After serving at Arnhem-Driel from 17 to 26 September, 1944, the Brigade was reorganised and reinforced. On 1 May, 1945, the total strength stood at 4,169 officers, N.C.O.s and other ranks. (27) From 13 April, 1945, the Brigade was commanded by Colonel A. Rawicz-Szczerbo. On 4 May most of the Brigade was transported to Germany while the reserve centre remained in the Leven and Lundin Links region of Fife. Occupation duties in Germany were performed in the region of Kleve as part of the British First Army Corps, then in the region of Bersenbruck in Westphalia as part of the Thirtieth Corps (British Army of the Rhine). As with the First Armoured Division, the British occupation authorities were grateful that the Brigade looked after the welfare of Polish 'displaced persons'. On 30 September, 1945, the Polish refugees at

Emmerich showed their gratitude by re-naming their camp 'Spadochron' in honour of the Paratroop Brigade. (28)

The British government could claim that the Second Army Corps was needed to serve as an occupation unit in Italy, while the First Armoured Division and the First Independent Paratroop Brigade were needed in Germany. The opponents of the Polish Armed Forces under British command found the presence of Polish units in Britain in peacetime intolerable. (29) With the departure of most of the Paratroop Brigade to Germany, the total strength of the Polish Land Forces in Britain was over 50,000 servicemen. Of these, on 1 May, 1945, 25,778 officers, N.C.O.s and other ranks were serving in reserve and training units. In Scotland the First Army Corps comprised 8,391 servicemen in staff, administration and training centres, 12,800 men in the Fourth Infantry Division and 3,096 men in the Sixteenth Independent Armoured Brigade. (30)

On 14 August, 1945, the unconditional surrender of Japan ended the war in the Far East. Many British people believed that the Poles should return to 'liberated' Poland to assist in reconstruction. (31)

The Interim Treasury Committee For Polish Questions.

The Labour government sincerely believed that the majority of Polish servicemen and civilians would return

to Poland. When the government took office on 26 July, 1945, some of the machinery for future demobilisation, repatriation and resettlement was in place.

Before the recognition of the Provisional Government on 5 July, 1945, British officials were forming the guidelines for policy. On 4 July Field-Marshal Sir Alan Brooke, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, wrote to Sir Alexander Cadogan, the Permanent Under Secretary of State in the Foreign Office:

'... I deliberately omitted from the Minute any mention of the segregation of one category of Poles from another. I did not feel it was necessary to raise that point with the Prime Minister, nor do I think it possible to ask the Poles to choose one course or the other until some indication can be given of the views of the newly recognised Polish Government on the disposal of the Polish Forces.

'I realise that, if there are dissensions when the announcement of transfer of recognition is made, it may be necessary in the interests of discipline and the prevention of victimisation to separate opposing groups of Poles. ...

In a telegram I had yesterday from Field Marshal Montgomery he says:

"From conversations I have had with G.O.C. Polish armoured division it is clear to me that Polish troops and displaced persons will accept the result of election in Poland whatever it may be, provided they are satisfied that elections are really free. Any steps that can be taken to prove elections in Poland are free will pay a good dividend here. On the other hand if Poles here are convinced that elections are NOT free they will NOT accept the results."

'I agree with Field Marshal Montgomery's opinion and hope the Foreign Office will ensure that every possible step is taken to prove to all the Poles now under British control that the elections are really free. I think that many of our difficulties will be solved if that can be done. ...' (32)

This letter resulted from a meeting in the War Office on 4 July. The main participants were: as chairman Major-General F.E.W. Simpson (A.C.I.G.S. (0) or Chief of Operations), Major-General J.S. Steele (Director of Staff Duties), Lieutenant-General Kopański (Chief of the General Staff, Polish Headquarters) and Lieutenant-General Regulski (the Polish Military Attaché). The minutes of this meeting revealed the concern of the British political and military authorities regarding the reaction of the Polish Armed Forces under British command to the transfer of recognition. (33)

There was a divergence between the thinking of the British civilian and military authorities and their Polish counterparts in London. The British wanted the transference of recognition to be accomplished in an orderly manner. As General Kopański promised, the Polish Armed Forces continued to serve loyally under British command. Most Polish servicemen believed that the Provisional Government would have to prove that it would be safe to return to Poland. They refused to decide until after the promised elections. (34) The official British view was that the Poles should trust in the assurances given by the Provisional Government and should return in order to vote and so obtain the form of government most acceptable to them. (35)

At the same time as trying to convince the Poles that they should return, the British government through several Ministries was already preparing arrangements for the demobilisation, resettlement and employment in Britain (or overseas) of Polish civilians and servicemen who decided not to return. (36) As well as plans regarding resettlement, the British authorities wanted to devise plans ensuring that the process would be orderly. The Home Office was responsible for the control of all 'aliens'. It was made clear that Poles would not receive uncontrolled permission to leave their units, find employment and settle in Britain. (37)

A sober assessment of the situation was provided by Sir Alexander Cadogan on 6 July, 1945, in his reply to the letter dated 4 July from Field Marshal Sir Alan Brooke:

'... The position we foresee is, I fear, a much more awkward one from our point of view, namely that a certain, rather small, proportion of these Poles will probably wish to opt at once. Thereafter, there will then, we fear, be a longish period during which appeals and news from inside Poland will affect the minds of those who are uncertain and during that period you will probably get a dribble of Poles in the armed forces opting to go back to Poland provided that their views are not suppressed. In any case, we have no indication at all as to when elections are likely to take place in Poland. On the whole, the odds are that it will not be for several months.

'I am afraid that immediately after our announcement and for this rather long period which I anticipate during which the position will not be clear cut, we shall be in considerable political difficulties between the claims of the new Government formed under the Crimean decision on the one hand, and our obligations of honour toward the anti-Warsaw Poles on the other. Our treatment of the armed forces will play a large part in the political problems which will arise and I believe it will be necessary

to make some standing arrangement during the period immediately ahead for constant consultation between the Services and the Foreign Office to get agreed recommendations on these difficulties as they crop up. ...' (38)

The result of these meetings and discussions was the creation of the Interim Treasury Committee for Polish Questions which started work on 6 July, 1945, immediately following the transference of recognition. The I.T.C. was essentially concerned with the 'winding up' of the institutions maintained by the Polish government in London pending the return of the Poles to Poland. As the Treasury had been the paymaster of Polish military and civilian activities through credits to be repaid after the war, with the Polish government in London unable to pay and the Provisional Government reluctant to assume these financial obligations the period of demobilisation, resettlement and repatriation became complicated by the continued financial burden borne by the British people. (39)

The I.T.C. assumed responsibility for the continued work of the Departments of the Polish government in London. Branches of the I.T.C. included Advisory and Labour, Education, Emigration, Finance and General, Pensions and Welfare. Staffed by British civil servants seconded from the various Ministries, the I.T.C. could not have functioned effectively without the Polish staff from the

Ministries of the London Polish government. They tried to secure the best possible treatment for their fellow-countrymen. With the former Ambassador Count Edward Raczynski as the Chief Polish Representative, the number of Polish officials employed by the I.T.C. reached a total of some 1,500. (40) By 19 December, 1946, this number had been reduced to 410, of whom 387 were officials of the London Polish government. (41)

Notes To Chapter Three.

- (1) W Biegański et al, Polski Czyn Zbrojny w II Wojnie Światowej. Walki Formacji Polskich na Zachodzie, 1939-1945, Warsaw, 1981, pp 714-718.
- (2) Ibid, pp 716-717.
- (3) Ibid, p 718.
- (4) J Zubrzycki, Polish Immigrants in Great Britain. A Study of Adjustment, The Hague, 1956, p 57.
- (5) A Sked and C Cook, Post-War Britain. A Political History, 2nd edition, London, 1984, p 15.
- (6) A Polonsky (ed.), The Great Powers and the Polish Question, 1941-1945, London, 1976, pp 242-251.
- (7) E J Rożek, Allied Wartime Diplomacy: A Pattern in Poland, New York, 1958, pp 326-404.
- (8) S Mikołajczyk, The Rape of Poland. Pattern of Soviet Aggression, 2nd edition, Westport, Connecticut, 1972, pp 124-133.
- (9) Ibid, pp 106-123.
- (10) For the disbandment of the 'Armia Krajowa', see J M Ciechanowski, 'Post-war Poland', in R F Leslie (ed.), The History of Poland since 1863, Cambridge, 1980, p 280.
- (11) Mikołajczyk, op cit, pp 111-112, 129.
- (12) Polonsky (ed.), The Great Powers and the Polish Question, 1941-1945, p 280.
- (13) Ibid, pp 277-278.
- (14) Ibid, pp 280-281.
- (15) Rożek, op cit, pp 405-412.

- (16) Mikołajczyk, op cit, pp 137-140.
- (17) For the diplomatic debate at the Potsdam Conference, see J M Ciechanowski, 'Post-war Poland', in Leslie (ed.), op cit, pp 284-285.
- (18) Mikołajczyk, op cit, pp 137-140.
- (19) Polonsky (ed.), The Great Powers and the Polish Question, 1941-1945, pp 281-282.
- (20) Rożek, op cit, pp 412-416.
- (21) For the anti-Soviet attitude of the Second Army Corps, see W Anders, Bez Ostatniego Rozdziału, 3rd edition, London, 1959, pp 305-392.
- (22) W Biegański et al, op cit, p 715.
- (23) Ibid, pp 718-720.
- (24) For the opposition of General Anders to the reduction of the Second Army Corps, see Anders, op cit, pp 356-359.
- For the opposition of some Left-wing Labour M.P.s to General Anders and the Second Army Corps in Italy, see
- H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 418, col. 533-534 (28 January, 1946),
- H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 419, col. 1129-1131 (20 February, 1946),
- H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 420, col. 194-195 (Written Answers, 12 March, 1946).
- (25) Biegański et al, op cit, p 714.
- (26) Ibid, p 715.
- (27) Ibid, p 714.

- (28) E Sojka and M Jurecki (eds.), Polscy Spadochroniarze. Pamiętnik Żołnierzy, Newtown, Montgomeryshire, 1949, pp 353-378.
- (29) Zubrzycki, op cit, pp 81-82.
- (30) Biegański et al, op cit, p 714.
- (31) For the views of the Labour government regarding the need for the Poles to return to Poland, see the following statements:
- (i) by Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin in H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 413, col. 296 (20 August, 1945),
- (ii) by Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Hector McNeil in H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 413, col. 1130 (24 August, 1945),
- (iii) by Prime Minister Clement Attlee in H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 414, col. 24 (9 October, 1945).
- (32) See Public Record Office (Kew): WO 32/12216, letter from Field-Marshal Sir A. Brooke (C.I.G.S., W.O.) to Sir A. Cadogan (F.O.), ACIGS (O) / BM / 10, 4 July, 1945.
- (33) P.R.O. (Kew) WO 32/12216, minutes of meeting held on 4 July, 1945, at the War Office (Dist. 23b (M01)).
- (34) S Kopański, Wspomnienia Wojenne, 1939-1946. London, 1961, p 363.
- (35) See the statements by Bevin:
- (i) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 416, col. 765-766 (23 November, 1945),

- (ii) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 419, col. 1362-1364 (21 February, 1946).
- (36) P.R.O. (Kew) LAB 8/87, letter from C.J. Heron (Ministry of Labour) to H. G. Gee (Ministry of Labour), 4 July, 1945.
- (37) P.R.O. (Kew) WO 32/12216, letter from Sir O. Sargent (Foreign Office) to Sir F. Bovenschen (War Office), 5 July, 1945.
- (38) P.R.O. (Kew) WO 32/12216, letter from Sir A. Cadogan to Field-Marshal Sir A. Brooke (C.I.G.S., W.O.), 6 July, 1945.
- (39) For the work of the Interim Treasury Committee for Polish Questions, see the statement by the Home Secretary J. Chuter Ede in H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 433, col. 377, 379-380 (12 February, 1947).
- (40) See the statement by J. Chuter Ede in H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 433, col. 377 (12 February, 1947).
- (41) See the statement by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury W. Glenvil Hall in H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 431, col. 2162 (19 December, 1946).

CHAPTER FOUR.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE POLISH RESETTLEMENT SCHEME.

The Background To Polish Resettlement In Britain.

On 16 August, 1945, the King's Speech included the proposed nationalisation of the Bank of England, the coal industry and civil aviation, the establishment of a national health service and increased social security, the repeal of the 1927 Trades Disputes Act, and the production of more houses and more food supplies. (1) The success or failure of these undertakings depended on the solution of the desperate economic problems resulting from the war. During the war Britain had lost about £7,000 million, or close to one quarter of her national wealth. Of this, the sale or repatriation of overseas investments accounted for over £1,000 million. Another £3,000 million was lost due to an increase in loans and sterling balances. The depletion of dollar and gold reserves amounted to £152 million. Destruction and damage to property cost £1,500 million. £700 million was due to shipping losses. Finally, depreciation and obsolescence of stock removed £900 million. (2)

Wartime necessity had caused the sacrifice of some two thirds of British export trade. The economy had been totally distorted in favour of industries and

agricultural production to serve the war effort. In 1945 9 million people were serving in the armed forces, civil defence and war industries. This was four and a half times the pre-war figure. Also, the domestic economy was plagued by inflation and a reduction of some 16 per cent in 'per capita' expenditure on consumer goods and services between 1938 and 1944. (3)

Britain had been able to fight the war thanks to the American policy of 'Lend-Lease', or the system of wartime aid to Europe. The cancellation of 'Lend-Lease' on 21 August, 1945, might have been influenced by the American dislike of 'socialism' because the Labour Party had won the General Election. Another possible motive was the short-sighted desire to exploit the weakness of Britain as a pre-war economic rival reduced in circumstances. (This lack of vision was reversed by 'Marshall Aid' in September, 1948.) In December, 1945, Britain signed an agreement with the U.S.A. for a loan of 3,750 million dollars at 2 per cent interest with repayments to start in 1951 and to be spread over fifty years. The loan became available in July, 1946. A loan of a further 1,250 million dollars was negotiated with Canada. (4)

Economic Hardship And Anti-Polish Sentiment In Britain.

These problems undoubtedly influenced the initial response of the Labour government to the question of the Polish Armed Forces under British command, namely to hope

that as many as possible would volunteer for repatriation. Special camps were set up for Poles opting for repatriation, such as Polkemmet camp (near Whitburn in West Lothian) and Duke's Camp (near Inverary in Argyllshire).

At the same time, the continued presence of large numbers of Polish troops in Scotland caused local people to complain to the British civilian and military authorities about the continued use of British equipment by Polish servicemen, the damage caused to roads, fields and fencing by the Poles during military exercises, and the frequently stated desire of the Poles to fight the Soviet Union. (5) British public opinion still regarded 'the Russians' as brave allies. The Poles were accused of being 'trouble makers' or 'fascist reactionaries' who should 'go home to Poland' instead of 'living in idleness in Scotland' and 'stealing' Scottish food, housing and employment. (6)

As the Party claiming to represent organised Trades Unionists, Labour could not ignore anti-Polish sentiment. In addition to fear of economic competition there was irrational xenophobia. Poles were accused of 'seducing' British women. The well publicised activities of some Polish criminals (such as Jan (Johnny) Ramenski) caused more harm to the reputation of the Poles in Britain. (7)

Sinister motives were attributed to Polish bending of rules which had been ignored when the Poles had been 'gallant allies'. The stricter policy regarding Poles was expressed in a letter of 19 December, 1945, from Sir Francis A. Newsam of the Home Office to Major-General J.S. Steele (Director of Staff Duties in the Imperial General Staff) at the War Office:

'... Would you be good enough, therefore, to tell Polish Headquarters to stop sending Forces personnel on leave and that they have no authority whatever to convey the impression that such people are at liberty to take civilian employment.

'... The Home Secretary takes a serious view of any addition to the number of alien soldiers at large in this country. As you know, he is concerned about the increase in crime and it is the case that of the alien criminals there is an unduly high proportion of Poles.' (8)

In the House of Commons the Labour government had to defend the policy adopted regarding the Poles. Ministers were under pressure from two fronts. First, they had to ensure that good treatment would be guaranteed for the Poles who returned to Poland so that more could be encouraged to apply for repatriation. This made the situation within Poland very important. Second, they had to frame a workable policy for the

resettlement of Poles who would not go back to Poland. In turn, this exposed them to criticism from two sides. First, the friends of the Poles thought that not enough was being done for the heroes of the Battle of Britain, Monte Cassino and Falaise. Second, the opponents of Polish settlement feared that British people would be deprived of employment, food and housing.

The British Government And Poland (August - December, 1945).

On 20 August, 1945, Bevin stated the policy of the British government after Potsdam regarding the Poles:

'... Then there are the Polish troops and civilians in Western Europe. Thousands of Poles are outside Poland, either in the Services or working. The number of Poles in Field-Marshal Montgomery's zone alone to be repatriated is 550,000.

'... I indicated to the representatives of the Polish Government at Potsdam that the British people desired friendship with the Polish people, and said that nothing could prevent friendly relations except failure to give effect to the assurances which the Polish representatives had given. We shall expect, in particular, that the principal Polish democratic parties, such as the Peasant Party, the Christian Labour Party and the Socialist Party, equally with

the Communist Party, will be allowed to take part in the elections with full liberty to make their own programmes and put up their own candidates, and that freedom of speech, freedom of association and impartial justice shall be granted to all Polish citizens. ... Finally, I inquired from Marshal Stalin whether the Soviet troops were to be withdrawn, and I was assured that they would be, with the exception of a small number required to maintain the communications necessary for the Soviet troops in Germany. That is not unreasonable. There is also the question of the secret police and their presence in Poland. That still needs clearing up, but, with these assurances, I would urge Poles overseas, both military and civilian, to go back to their country and assume their responsibilities in building the new Poland. They will render a far greater service there than they can do from outside. ...' (9)

Despite Bevin's assurances, the majority of the Polish Armed Forces under British command wanted to wait until the situation in Poland would be stable before deciding. Only a few opted for immediate repatriation. Either they did not want to be separated from their families in Poland or else they had served with the 'Wehrmacht' or in the 'Todt Organisation' and so had served for a relatively short time under British command. (10)

On 15 October, 1945, in reply to a Question from Vice-Admiral Taylor (the Conservative M.P. for Paddington, South), the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Hector McNeil said that no plebiscite had been held among the members of the Polish Armed Forces under British command regarding repatriation. He added that facilities had been given to any member of the Polish Forces to come forward and volunteer for repatriation to Poland and that this offer was still open. McNeil informed the House that so far the following percentages had volunteered for repatriation: from the United Kingdom 33 per cent, from the British Army of the Rhine 1 per cent, from Allied Forces Headquarters in Italy 14 per cent, and from the Middle East 4.5 per cent. This had given an overall total of 17.9 per cent of the Polish Armed Forces under British command. Expressed in numerical form, out of the total of 207,000 Poles in the Armed Forces under British command, 37,060 had so far volunteered to return to Poland. (11)

During a Debate in the House of Commons on 7 December, 1945, on conditions in Poland, Vice-Admiral Taylor said:

'... I have stated that Poland is under the complete control of Russia and the facts which I have given are indisputable. I see that the Under-Secretary of State smiles. I should be glad if he would state where I am wrong in the facts I have given. The facts undoubtedly prove the truth of my

statement that Poland is being strangled economically by systematic spoliation, especially Eastern Poland, Pomerania, Silesia and East Prussia. ...' (12)

While Mr. Mack (the Labour M.P. for Newcastle-under-Lyme) did not support the Soviet domination of Poland, by attacking the pre-war Polish government he implied that the Poles who refused to return were anti-democratic or anti-Russian trouble makers. (13)

The Change In British Policy: Events Within Poland.

During the early months of 1946 there was a major change in the attitude of the British government regarding the 'Polish Question'. One reason was the failure of the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity to create conditions for democracy in Poland. There was evidence of Poles being murdered by the N.K.V.D. and the U.B., while the Red Army treated Poland as another 'occupation zone' to be plundered. Furthermore, the anti-Communist political parties were powerless against their opponents' overwhelming advantage in the form of Soviet military support. (14)

While the promised 'free and unfettered elections' were delayed without a firm date being given, the Polish Communist Party ('Polska Partia Robotnicza' or P.P.R.), its supporters and 'fellow-travellers' concentrated not

on reconstruction but on the 'civil war' against all opposition. The campaign against the alleged 'bandits' of the disbanded 'Armia Krajowa' was disguised as a 'war' against right-wing terrorists, including the extreme rightist anti-Communist National Armed Forces ('Narodowe Siły Zbrojne' or N.S.Z.) and the Ukrainian Fascists. This civil war was exploited by the P.P.R. in two ways. First, the continued presence of the Red Army and the N.K.V.D. could be justified as essential for 'restoring order' and for ensuring the success of reforms such as the nationalisation of key industries and the redistribution of land. Second, the legal political rivals of the P.P.R. could be accused of collaboration with the 'bandits' and so could be 'lawfully' persecuted. In this way, the elections could be delayed until the 'restoration of order' by which time the victory of the P.P.R. would be ensured. (15)

The Change In British Policy: Disputes With The Soviet Union.

Bevin and the Labour government regarded the activities of the Red Army and the N.K.V.D. in Poland as typical of Soviet foreign policy. Following the Potsdam Conference, Bevin and Molotov had clashed at the Council of Foreign Ministers' meeting in London during September and October, 1945. The meeting had been called mainly to discuss the terms of peace settlements with Italy, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. The main

dispute between Bevin and Molotov concerned the disposal of the Italian African colonies, the port of Trieste and the Dodecanese Islands in the Mediterranean. Bevin followed traditional British foreign policy by seeking to prevent the dominance of any one rival Power in areas where Britain had an interest. He regarded Soviet attempts to encroach on the Adriatic, the Aegean, the Dardanelles Straits, North Africa, the Horn of Africa and the eastern Mediterranean in general as threats to British interests. Bevin believed that the perceived Soviet advance towards the Suez Canal in Egypt and the oil-fields of Iraq and Iran had to be resisted.

Soviet control over much of eastern Europe, including Poland, Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary, contributed to the breakdown of the 'Grand Alliance'. Britain and the U.S.A. began to oppose the U.S.S.R. throughout the world.

At the second Council of Foreign Ministers' meeting, held in Moscow from 16 to 26 December, 1945, a slight improvement occurred in Anglo-Soviet relations. Compromises were reached regarding the drafting of the peace treaties. In addition, the western Powers agreed to recognise Romania and Bulgaria. Some progress was also made regarding a settlement with Japan. (16)

Bevin Loses Patience With The Provisional Government.

For several months Bevin believed that the Soviet Union would permit the Provisional Government to hold 'free and unfettered elections' so that the majority of Polish servicemen under British command would return to Poland. On 23 November, 1945, during a Debate in the House of Commons on foreign policy he was optimistic but cautious:

'... We suggested to the Polish Provisional Government a long time ago that more would go back if a detailed statement on this subject, agreed with us, could be made known to them all. It has not been possible hitherto to arrange this, but I am glad to say that the Polish Provisional Government have now agreed to concert with our Ambassador in Warsaw the terms of a statement for them to make, covering the points on which the Polish soldiers, sailors and airmen under our command particularly want information. I hope that this will enable many more to take the decision to go back to Poland and to help in the reconstruction of their country. I want to make it clear, however, that there is no intention of using compulsion, and indeed, the Polish Military Mission agree with us in that respect. I think the situation thus developing is more encouraging than it has been hitherto. ...'

(17)

Events in Poland, however, soon reduced Bevin's optimism. On 23 January, 1946, he stated in the House of Commons that his patience was wearing thin:

'I am seriously concerned at the number of political murders that have been committed in various parts of Poland in recent weeks, in circumstances that in many cases appear to point to the complicity of the Polish Security Police. I regard it as imperative that the Polish Provisional Government should put an immediate stop to these crimes in order that free and unfettered elections may be held as soon as possible in accordance with the Crimea decisions.'

(18)

The Crisis Regarding The Polish Second Army Corps In Italy.

The hardening of British foreign policy with regard to the Soviet Union and its agents was in response to the disputes during the early months of 1946 between the British government and the U.S.S.R. over Germany, Greece, Turkey, the Mediterranean, the Middle East and the Far East. (19)

Soviet propaganda accused Britain of using the Polish Armed Forces as a 'foreign legion' for anti-Communist activities. The notorious reputation of General Anders and the Second Corps in Italy as anti-Communists made

them subject to Soviet attack. On 16 February, 1946, at a meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation in London, the Soviet Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Andrei Vyshinsky, presented a memorandum on behalf of the Yugoslav government to the Security Council. (20)

On 17 February, 1946, on behalf of the British government, Bevin sent a reply defending the Second Corps to the Secretary-General of the U.N.O., Trygve Lie, for transmission to the Security Council:

'... The Yugoslav memorandum states that General Anders' Army now covers the line Bologna - Ferrara - Padua - Venice - Treviso - Udine. The suggestion that the Polish troops under British command are concentrated in this area and are gradually being advanced in the direction of the Yugoslav frontier is entirely misleading. These troops are widely distributed, many units being in the south of Italy. Certain of these Polish troops are in the area mentioned in the Yugoslav Government's memorandum, but are employed only on guarding enemy equipment, dumps, prisoners of war, etc. There is no question of their fulfilling duties other than guard duties, and it has been expressly forbidden that they should be used in any internal security rôle. None is, or will be, employed east of the province of Udine, and the Supreme Commander has stated that there is no

intention of relieving the 89th American Division by Polish troops. As these guard duties diminish, all these Polish units will be moved south of the Po and east of Bologna.

'Finally it is untrue that the Polish forces in Italy are making any attempt to recruit Yugoslavs. In fact, on the orders of His Majesty's Government, all recruiting has been forbidden for several months. The Yugoslav statement that the Polish forces are in close touch with Yugoslav dissident elements in Italy, and that they are giving these elements material support, appears to be based on rumour. I have no information to confirm these rumours, and cannot take any cognisance of them until an indication is given of their source and they are supported by confirmatory evidence.' (21)

The Decision To Demobilise The Polish Armed Forces Under British Command Is Announced.

At the same time as he was rebuffing Soviet accusations, Bevin was planning the demobilisation of the Polish Armed Forces under British command. On 21 February, 1946, he made the following statement to the House of Commons:

'... If I threw them into employment, if I gave them a bit of money, if I just dismissed them, if I said, "You have finished your job. That's an end to it."

I have never let a victimised man down in my life and I will not be a party to it in this case. I say, let me wind up this business on a perfectly rational, sound basis, and do not make these men, the bulk of whom, thousands of them, are just ordinary soldiers, the mere tools of political propaganda. ...' (22)

Bevin wanted to replace the Interim Treasury Committee with a more efficient administrative arrangement which would not require the participation of former officials of the Polish government in London. This, it was hoped, would placate the Provisional Government in Warsaw, thus speeding up the repatriation of the Poles who wanted to return and settling the problem of the debts owed by the Polish authorities to Britain as wartime credits. (23)

On 15 March, 1946, the Polish commanders of the Armed Forces under British command were informed of the decisions taken by the British government regarding demobilisation, repatriation and resettlement. Before the full conference at the Foreign Office, there was a preliminary meeting at 10, Downing Street, during which the opinion of General Anders was sought. Present at this meeting with Anders were Attlee, Bevin, Lord Alanbrooke (the Chief of the Imperial General Staff), Major-General Lyne of the War Office and W.D. Allen of the Foreign Office. Anders was regarded as the most intransigent opponent of demobilisation. In the event,

Anders and the other Polish commanders had no alternative other than to agree to co-operate. (24)

The Provisional Government had agreed to issue a statement outlining the assurances of fair treatment for returning Poles. On behalf of the British government, Bevin had also agreed to provide a statement to be translated into Polish for distribution to every member of the Polish Armed Forces under British command. The British government recommended that Polish servicemen who were able to return should decide to opt for repatriation as soon as possible. According to the statement, this would be in the best interests of Poland. In addition, the British government declared that it regarded as satisfactory the statement issued by the Provisional Government with regard to the treatment of returning servicemen. In the case of those servicemen who decided not to return, the British government would assist their resettlement, but could not promise that they would be able to settle in the United Kingdom, the Dominions or the Colonies. (25)

The Decision To Create The Polish Resettlement Corps.

Bevin was optimistic that the problems which had plagued the relationship between the British government and the Provisional Government could be solved. On 20 March, 1946, he made this statement to the House of Commons:

'... To my great surprise and regret, agreement had hardly been reached upon the text of the documents, when the Polish Provisional Government addressed to His Majesty's Government and published a Note in which they declared that they could no longer regard the units of the Polish Armed Forces under British command as forming part of the Armed Forces of Poland. They asked that those units should be disbanded forthwith and stated that the men who wished to return should make individual application to Polish consulates abroad. This Note has since been fully discussed with the Polish Provisional Government, and I have received assurances from them that it does not affect the conditions set out in the document which is being issued to the troops, that these conditions will still apply to all Polish troops returning from abroad, and that they will, as far as possible, deal with applicants for repatriation by categories rather than insist upon individual scrutiny by their consulates.

'... This problem has been fully explained and discussed by the Prime Minister and myself with General Anders and with the other Polish commanders who recently came to London for this purpose. We had to make clear to them that we could not preserve these Polish personnel as armed forces under British command. We received assurances from General Anders and the other commanders that they fully

understood, that they will co-operate in ensuring that the statement is communicated to all the men and that no pressure is brought to bear upon them to influence them against going back, and, further, that they will work with the British authorities in taking all necessary steps for the solution of this problem. The success of the arrangements for the repatriation of these men and their fair and proper treatment on their return to Poland will determine to a very large extent the relationships between our two countries. ...' (26)

Despite the assurances given by Bevin and the Provisional Government, only a further 6,800 Polish servicemen volunteered for repatriation between 20 March and 20 May, 1946. Of these, 3,200 were stationed in the United Kingdom, 3,000 were in Italy, 500 were in the British zone of occupation in Germany and 100 were in the Middle East. Some 160,000 Polish servicemen still refused to return. (27) Meanwhile the British government commenced the arrangements for the gradual demobilisation of the Polish Armed Forces under British command and the formation of the Polish Resettlement Corps as an instrument of policy. (28)

On 21 May, 1946, a meeting was held in the Foreign Office during which the Polish commanders were informed of the proposed Polish Resettlement Corps. Present at this meeting were Bevin, R.M.A. Hankey and W.D. Allen (Foreign

Office), General Sir W. Morgan, General L.O. Lyne, Brigadier E.H.C. Frith and Colonel D.L. Lloyd Owen (War Office), General Anders, General Kopański, Vice-Admiral Jerzy Świrski (Polish Naval Detachment) and General Mateusz Iżycki (Polish Air Inspectorate). (29)

On 22 May, 1946, Bevin made a statement to the House of Commons. He said that Polish servicemen under British command who would return to Poland should be eligible, subject to service length, for war gratuity which would be a money grant equivalent to not more than eight weeks' pay in lieu of release leave and an issue of civilian clothing. The British government would enrol those Poles who did not want to return to Poland into a specially created Resettlement Corps. This would be a British organisation and would be administered by Service Ministers. The Resettlement Corps would be 'essentially a transitional arrangement, designed to facilitate the transition from military to civil life' so Polish servicemen would be discharged from the Polish Armed Forces and enrolled in the Resettlement Corps. These Poles would either go to 'approved jobs' or would be employed by the British government 'in useful productive work such as reconstruction'. They would be given training for civilian employment (including being taught English). The Corps would be wound up as soon as resettlement would have been complete. Bevin continued:

'... As a first step to demobilisation and the formation of the Resettlement Corps, His Majesty's Government have decided to bring the Polish Second Corps from Italy to the United Kingdom. It is our intention to move their families from Italy to the United Kingdom as soon as administrative arrangements can be made. The ultimate reunion between the men of the Polish Armed Forces and their Polish dependants now in America, Africa, India, Germany, the Middle East and elsewhere overseas is receiving the attention of His Majesty's Government, and the steps which will be necessary to bring it about are now being studied.

'His Majesty's Government will continue to give every facility to any Poles who wish, and are able, to return to Poland, and indeed will continue to use their influence with them to go back to their own country. I am happy to state that the Joint Consultative Committee, consisting of the Trades Union Congress and the British Employers Federation, has agreed to co-operate with the Government in carrying out these plans.' (30)

This statement was a masterly definition of the resettlement policy adopted by the Labour government. The emphasis was equally on repatriation (and the financial benefits to those so deciding) and on gradual, planned settlement in Britain or overseas.

Following this statement, the discussion revealed the extent of anti-Polish feeling in Britain but especially in Scotland. Churchill asked Bevin whether the Second Corps would be quartered in Scotland 'because some parts of Scotland have been for a long time rather overstocked with Polish troops'. Bevin replied:

'That is being worked out by the Chiefs of Staff. They will be distributed all over the country in different units. They will not be kept all together, so as to facilitate absorbing them quickly into private life.' (31)

Next, Churchill asked whether the Polish troops could not be used as part of the British occupation forces 'in portions of Germany far removed from the Russian frontier line' in order to reduce the number of British troops abroad. Bevin adamantly refused:

'I think it would be a very bad thing for British policy if we were to go in for a system of a foreign legion to undertake our responsibilities.' (32)

In reply to questions from Julius Silverman and Churchill with regard to the number of members of the Polish Armed Forces under British command who had opted for repatriation, Bevin said that since 20 March, 1946, 6,800 had so decided, and before 20 March, 1946, 23,000 had

opted to return. (33) Bevin then assured Robert Boothby that the Poles would receive training for employment in coal mining and agriculture. (34) When Mr. Maclay also opposed the quartering of more Polish troops in Scotland, Bevin replied:

'I quite understand that, in spite of my age. We will distribute them so that the blessings may be spread equally.' (35)

In reply to Churchill, who repeated his proposal regarding the use of the Poles in Germany, Bevin said:

'We have given the utmost and long consideration to this problem, and I must tell the right honourable Gentleman that, in my view, as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, nothing could do more to prevent the establishment of confidence and to accentuate the suspicion that exists already than our taking that course.' (36)

Notes To Chapter Four.

- (1) A Sked and C Cook, Post-war Britain. A Political History, 2nd edition, London, 1984, p 25.
- (2) Ibid, p 26.
- (3) Ibid, pp 26-27.
- (4) Ibid, pp 27-28.
- (5) See the letter from Zygmunt Nagórski (Polish Press Agency, Edinburgh) to General Janusz Głuchowski (Edinburgh), ZN/JR Nr. 181, 9 July, 1945.
- (6) J Zubrzycki, Polish Immigrants in Great Britain. A Study of Adjustment, The Hague, 1956, pp 81-82.
- (7) See the letter from Edward Scouller (Glasgow) to Zygmunt Nagórski (Polish Press Agency, Edinburgh), 12 July, 1946.
- (8) P.R.O. (Kew) LAB 8/87, letter from Sir F.A. Newsam (H.O.) to Major-General J.S. Steele, GEN 556 / 1 / 99, 19 December, 1945.
- (9) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 413, col. 295-296 (20 August, 1945).
- (10) W Biegański et al, Polski Czyn Zbrojny w II Wojnie Światowej. Walki Formacji Polskich na Zachodzie, 1939-1945, Warsaw, 1981, pp 724-740.
- (11) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 414, col. 665 (15 October, 1945).
- (12) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 416, col. 2757 (7 December, 1945).
- (13) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 416, col. 2773-2774 (7 December, 1945).

- (14) S Mikołajczyk, The Rape of Poland. Pattern of Soviet Aggression, 2nd edition, Westport, Connecticut, 1972, pp 145-160.
- (15) J M Ciechanowski, 'Post-war Poland', in R F Leslie (ed.), The History of Poland since 1863, Cambridge, 1980, pp 290-291.
- (16) K O Morgan, Labour in Power, 1945-1951, Oxford, 1984, pp 240-243.
- (17) H. C.. Deb. 5s., Vol. 416, col. 765-766 (23 November, 1945).
- (18) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 418, col. 143 (23 January, 1946).
- (19) Morgan, op cit, pp 243-246.
- (20) For the memorandum presented by Vyshinsky (16 February, 1946), see Keesing's Contemporary Archives, Vol. 6, 1946-1948, p 7747.
- (21) For the reply by Bevin (17 February, 1946), see ibid.
- (22) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 419, col. 1363 (21 February, 1946).
- (23) P.R.O. (Kew) LAB 8/87, letter from H.G. Gee (Ministry of Labour) to C.G. Denys (Ministry of Labour), 13 March, 1946.
- (24) For the conferences on 15 March, 1946, see
- (i) W Anders, Bez Ostatniego Rozdziału, 3rd edition, London, 1959, pp 362 - 366,
- (ii) S Kopański, Wspomnienia Wojenne, 1939-1946, London, 1961, pp 370-372.

- (25) For the statements by Bevin and the Provisional Government, see Biegański et al, op cit, pp 739-740.
- (26) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 420, col. 1876-1878 (20 March, 1946).
- (27) Biegański et al, op cit, p 740.
- (28) Ibid, pp 740-741.
- (29) Anders, op cit, pp 369-371.
- (30) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 423, col. 300-302 (22 May, 1946).
- (31) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 423, col. 302 (22 May, 1946).
- (32) Ibid.
- (33) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 423. col. 303 (22 May, 1946).
- (34) Ibid.
- (35) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 423, col. 304 (22 May, 1946).
- (36) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 423, col. 305-306 (22 May, 1946).

CHAPTER FIVE.THE POLISH RESETTLEMENT SCHEME.The Trades Unions Oppose Uncontrolled Resettlement.

After nearly six years of war, with rationing, restrictions on the free movement of labour and restrictions regarding free collective bargaining and the right to strike, many Trades Unions regarded the proposed settlement of a large number of Poles as threatening employment, housing and food supplies. (1) At the annual Trades Union Congress, held at Brighton from 21 to 25 October, 1946, the question of Polish resettlement was thoroughly debated. The Congress met under the Presidency of Charles Dukes (National Union of General and Municipal Workers) and was attended by some 800 delegates, representing over 6.6 million trade unionists. Strong opposition was expressed by many delegates to a resolution sponsored by the General Council embodying recommendations for the entry of Poles into British industry.

Sir Joseph Hallsworth, for the General Council, said that the latter was not concerned with the political aspects of the question. He emphasised that the Council had considered the employment of Poles, as of Germans and Italians, purely from the standpoint of the aid that they could give to British people in repairing the ravages of

war. He said that the Council laid down four conditions for the employment of Poles in industry:

- 1) prior consultation with the unions concerned,
- 2) no Poles to be employed where suitable British labour was available,
- 3) conditions of training for Polish workers to be comparable with those of British workers,
- 4) Poles leaving suitable employment in which they had been placed should only secure re-employment through the local offices of the Ministry of Labour.

The motion to move the reference back was defeated on a card vote by the margin of 3,330,000 to 2,416,000, and the Council's recommendations were adopted. (2)

Opposition To Polish Servicemen In Scotland.

The opposition expressed by Scottish trade unionists was motivated by the large number of Polish servicemen in Scotland. On 5 February, 1946, in a Written Answer, the Secretary of State for War, John J. Lawson, stated:

'There are 47,362 Polish soldiers serving in Scotland. This figure includes 654 members of the Polish Women's Forces. Approximately 28,500 Polish soldiers now in Scotland are known to have served in the German army or Todt organisation, into which the great majority had been compulsorily enlisted.

They had, however, volunteered for service in the Allied Forces before the German capitulation.' (3)

Some Scottish trade unionists and people sympathetic towards the Soviet Union regarded the servicemen of the Second Corps as 'Fascists and Jew-baiters' who would be paid either to live 'in idleness' or to compete for Scots' jobs. This was shown during a Debate on 6 June, 1946, in the House of Commons by J.H. Hoy, the Labour M.P. for Leith:

'According to the figures which have been given this week, 5,000 Poles will be coming to Scotland. There is great resentment in Scotland about any coming at all, and, in view of that, is the honourable Member now advocating that Scotland should have a larger proportion than 5,000?' (4)

With the formation of the Resettlement Corps, Polish troops were transferred from Scotland to England and Wales. On 16 July, 1946, Hector Hughes asked how many Polish troops had been in Scotland on 1 September, 1945, and 1 July, 1946. Lawson stated in a Written Answer:

'The numbers were approximately 58,000 on 1st September, 1945, and about 33,500 on 1st July, 1946, of whom 3,000 are due to leave for Poland this month. ...' (5)

Hughes continued his opposition to Polish troops in Scotland. On 23 July, 1946, he asked Lawson whether he had considered the resolutions, of which copies had been sent to him, from the churches, the trades councils and other representative bodies in Scotland calling for the withdrawal of the Polish soldiers from Scotland, and what, and when, steps would be taken to comply with this demand. In a Written Answer, Lawson reaffirmed the policy of the British government:

'My right honourable Friend the Secretary of State for Scotland has brought these representations to my notice. As I have previously stated, we are required to accommodate a large number of Polish troops, and we are doing it as far as possible in existing camps. It would not be practicable to exclude Scotland from the arrangement entirely. But, under the new distribution, the total allocation to Scotland compares favourably with the allocation to other parts of Great Britain.' (6)

By October, 1946, the procedure of enlistment into the Polish Resettlement Corps had received the co-operation of some servicemen. Enlistment began on 11 September, 1946, and up to 5 October, 17,480 servicemen had been enrolled. (7) On 15 October, 1946, in reply to Colonel Gomme-Duncan, the Secretary of State for War, Frederick J. Bellenger, said:

'At present there are about 36,000 Polish troops in Scotland, 64,000 in England and 8,000 in Wales. 52,000 more are due to arrive in the United Kingdom and will be accommodated in England and Wales.' (8)

This distribution helped to reduce anti-Polish feeling in Scotland. Actual physical violence against Polish servicemen rarely occurred. The worst incident reported occurred at Irvine on 13/14 September, 1946, involving soldiers from a repatriation camp. (9)

The Need For Polish Manpower.

With the terrible economic dislocation which had resulted from the war, Britain urgently required additional manpower. This made the employment of the Poles essential and helped to reduce anti-Polish sentiment.

The situation was explained in the 'Economic Survey for 1947', which was presented by the Prime Minister to Parliament in February, 1947. According to the 'Survey', at the end of the war 42 per cent of British manpower was in the Armed Forces or was directly engaged in supplying them. Only 2 per cent were producing exports and less than 8 per cent were providing and maintaining Britain's capital equipment. By the end of 1946, over 4.25 million men and women had been demobilised from the Forces. When balanced against the intake, the Forces had been reduced by nearly 3.75 million men and women. In

addition, the number engaged in producing munitions had been reduced by over 3.25 million. The proportion of manpower in the Armed Forces or directly engaged in supplying them had fallen from 42 per cent to less than 10 per cent. This major transformation of the labour force had been achieved with no more than 400,000 unemployed, or 2.5 per cent of the insured population. (10)

In order to effect the planned economic recovery of Britain, with full employment, reconstruction of war damage, increased production of consumer goods, an export drive and improved social services, the nation was asked to undertake an effort of self-denial. The 'Survey' outlined the proposed distribution of total manpower in Britain.

The number employed in the coal industry was to be increased from 730,000 in December, 1946, to 770,000 in December, 1947. Of these, the number of wage-earners on colliery books was to be increased from 692,000 in December, 1946, to 730,000 in December, 1947. The number employed in agriculture and fishing was to be increased from 1,081,000 in December, 1946, to 1,120,000 in December, 1947. In the building and civil engineering industries there was to be an increase in persons employed from 1,250,000 to 1,300,000. The number employed in the production of building materials and equipment was to be increased from 628,000 to 650,000. In the metal and engineering industries the

number of persons employed was to be increased from the December, 1946, total of 2,811,000 to 2,840,000 in December, 1947. The number employed in the textiles and clothing industries was to be increased from 1,405,000 to 1,475,000.

In total, the number of persons in civilian employment was to be increased from 18,122,000 in December, 1946, to 18,400,000 in December, 1947. At the same time, the number of personnel in the Armed Forces and auxiliary services was to be reduced from 1,427,000 to 1,170,000.

(11)

The Miners Oppose The Employment Of Poles.

During the severe winter of 1946-47 and the accompanying fuel crises, mainly due to the shortage of manpower in the coal mining industry, the employment of Poles became essential. In the 1947 'Economic Survey' the problem of under-production was clearly stated. At the end of 1946, the production of coal (deep-mined and open-cast) was 5 per cent above that of the 1945 level but 18 per cent below that of 1938. In terms of production statistics, the weekly average during the fourth Quarter of 1938 had been 4,624,000 tons. The figure for the fourth Quarter of 1945 had been 3,615,000 tons. In 1946 production during the fourth Quarter of the year had increased to a weekly average of 3,792,000 tons. (12)

On 12 July, 1946, the coal mining industry had been taken into public ownership with vesting day on 1 January, 1947. (13) Having achieved their aim of nationalisation, the miners, organised as the National Union of Mineworkers since January, 1945, were reluctant to accept the employment of Poles.

On 20 February, 1947, in reply to Mr. Molson, the following Written Answer was given by George A. Isaacs, the Minister of Labour and National Service:

'Poles claiming mining experience were interviewed in Scotland last June by officers of the Ministry of Fuel and Power and 200 of these were willing to consider employment in the mines and were classified as suitable, a number of whom subsequently decided to return to Poland or to emigrate. At that time, however, the industry had not agreed to accept Poles for work in the mines. Agreement in principle was only recently secured subject to further consultation and agreement on detail. This has now been achieved and the selection of men in consultation with industrial representatives will begin this week but it will be some little time before the maximum flow into the training centres is achieved.' (14)

Conditions Governing The Employment Of Poles.

Before Poles could be accepted into employment, an agreement had to be signed between the employers and the unions concerned often at branch or lodge level. An example of a typical agreement was as stated in the following letter of 3 June, 1947, from the Manager of the Ministry of Labour and National Service Labour Exchange at 49, Market Street, Aberdeen, to Major Jan Płosso, the Officer Commanding at the Polish Fishery Training Centre, Lynn Park Camp, Milltimber, near Aberdeen:

'Your Ref. 1785/47.

Ref:- M.V.4. Employment of Polish Resettlement Corps members in the Trawler Fishing Industry.

With reference to your letter of 30th May, 1947, on the above subject, I have to state that agreement has been reached between the two sides of the Trawler Fishing Industry on the employment of members of the Polish Resettlement Corps by individual employers in the industry subject to the following conditions:-

- 1) The number of Poles to be employed at any port is to be determined by the Port Committee, or, in its absence, the Port Trawlers' Association, or Fishing Vessel Owners' Association. This number is to be renewed as occasion demands.

- 2) There must be no suitable and willing British labour available to fill the vacancy.
- 3) The terms and conditions of employment for Polish labour shall be the same as would apply to an adult British worker.
- 4) Polish labour shall be the first to be discharged in the event of redundancy.' (15)

The Situation In Poland (January, 1946 to January, 1947).

At the same time as the employment of Poles was being accepted very reluctantly by British organised labour, the political situation within Poland continued to deteriorate. Despite the promises given to Bevin at Potsdam, the Provisional Government delayed holding the elections. Instead, the P.P.R. worked to undermine the support of the Polish Peasant Party ('Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe' or P.S.L.) led by Mikołajczyk. (16)

On 30 June, 1946, a referendum was held in Poland. It was to be the means by which the Polish people would be able to make known whether they approved of the policy of the National Council of the Homeland, the Polish Committee of National Liberation and the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity. The three questions were framed to ensure the maximum support for the P.P.R. and the other pro-Communist parties. (17)

This referendum was used by the Communists as a 'dress rehearsal' for the forthcoming elections. Of the six political parties which, by the decree of 3 November, 1945, had the right to function, the four pro-Communist parties recommended that everyone with the right to vote should vote 'Yes' to all three questions. Their aim was to mobilise support for the build up to the elections. In response, Mikołajczyk recommended to supporters of the P.S.L. that they should vote 'No' to Question One ('Are you for the abolition of the Senate?') in order to ascertain potential electoral strength. Karol Popiel, the leader of the Christian Labour Party ('Stronnictwo Pracy' or S.P.), adopted a similar policy. Through blatant fraud and intimidation, the pro-Communist parties obtained 'majorities' of 'Yes' votes to all three questions. (18)

On 24 June, 1946, an Anglo-Polish Financial Agreement had been signed in London. The British government wanted to regain some of the money granted to the wartime Polish government in London in the form of credits. The sums were significant: approximately £75 million spent on the Polish Armed Forces under British command, with some £47 million on pay and allowances for these Forces and approximately £32 million on civilian expenditure. In an attempt at persuading the Provisional Government to hold the promised elections, the British government suspended ratification of this Treaty. (19)

During the second half of 1946 the political terror in Poland was intensified. (20) When the elections were finally held on 19 January, 1947, the four pro-Communist parties (the 'Bloc') won a crushing victory. Of the total electorate of 12,701,056 persons, 11,413,618 voted. On 22 January the General Election Commission announced that the results of the voting in the 52 electoral districts for 372 of the 444 seats in the 'Sejm' (the one-chamber Parliament) were:

'Bloc' parties (P.P.R., 'Polska Partia Socjalistyczna' (Polish Socialist Party), 'Stronnictwo Ludowe' - 'Wola Ludu' (the pro-Communist Peasant Party 'Will of the People') and the 'Stronnictwo Demokratyczne' (Democratic Party)) - 327 seats,

'Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe' - 24 seats,

'Stronnictwo Pracy' - 10 seats,

'P.S.L.' - 'Nowe Wyzwolenie' (P.S.L. 'New Liberation') - 7 seats,

other parties (independent Catholics) - 4 seats.

The final results were announced by the General Election Commission on 28 January, 1947. Including the 72 Deputies appointed from party lists, the 'Bloc' parties had won 394 seats, the P.S.L. had won 28 seats, the S.P. had won 12 seats, the P.S.L. - 'Nowe Wyzwolenie' had won 7 seats, and other parties had won 3 seats. (21)

The extraordinary success of the four pro-Communist parties convinced the British and American governments that 'free and unfettered elections' had not taken place in Poland. On 3 February, 1947, Christopher P. Mayhew, the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, stated the opinion of the British government in the House of Commons. After condemning the frauds and injustices committed by the P.P.R. and the other 'Bloc' parties, Mayhew concluded:

'... The Soviet Government replied both to His Majesty's Government and to the United States Government that they did not agree that there was discrimination, that the arrests were necessary to prevent disorder and terrorism and that the Soviet Government did not consider that there was any cause for intervention. ... Naturally our sympathy is with the Polish people who have thus been deprived of their democratic rights which we thought had been secured for them by allied agreement, which we honestly believed would be kept.' (22)

Britain And The United States Oppose The Soviet Union.

Once again, therefore, the malign influence of the Soviet Union was perceived by Bevin and the British government to have been supporting the victory of the Polish Communists and their allies. After the Soviet attacks on Bevin's 'imperialistic policy' with regard to the

disputes between British and Soviet interests in Germany, Greece, the Mediterranean, the Middle East and the Far East, the British government began to see the Soviet Union as a major threat to world peace. (23)

At the Council of Foreign Ministers' meetings in Paris (April - May, 1946), Paris again (August - October, 1946) and New York (November - December, 1946), the alignment of Powers developed into the 'Cold War'. Bevin received the support of United States Secretary of State James F. Byrnes and the French Foreign Minister, Georges Bidault, against the intransigent Molotov. In January, 1947, the often unpredictable Byrnes was replaced by General George C. Marshall. The new Secretary of State consistently supported Bevin against Soviet criticism. (24)

During the early months of 1947, the United States adopted an active policy of resisting Communism. Truman and Marshall no longer regarded Stalin as an ally. The decisive breach occurred at the Council of Foreign Ministers' conferences at Moscow during March and April, 1947. Once again, the main disagreements were over the proposed peace settlement regarding Germany and Austria. (25)

The other main area of dispute between Britain (supported by the U.S.A.) and the Soviet Union was with regard to Greece and Turkey. British financial problems, with a severe decline in the balance of payments and a

consequent reliance on the depleted American loan, were worsened by the fuel crises during the winter of 1946-47. As a result, Britain was forced to suspend military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey as from 31 March, 1947. After consultations between President Truman and Senator Arthur Vandenberg, the Republican leader of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the American response was the speech made by Truman on 11 March, 1947, to the joint session of Congress. This address, which became known as the 'Truman Doctrine', called upon Congress to provide financial support for Greece and Turkey. Truman also asked Congress to endorse the sending of American civilian and military personnel to these countries to help in their reconstruction and to supervise the use of American aid. (26)

Truman said that 'it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure'. Having received the consent of Congress to this anti-Communist and anti-Soviet policy, on 22 May, 1947, he signed a bill of 400 million dollars of aid to Greece and Turkey. (27)

The Beginning of 'Stalinism' In Poland.

With the start of the 'Cold War', Stalin wanted to consolidate Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe. As a result, Communist rule in Poland after the electoral

victory adopted the worst features of 'Stalinism' with the Soviet Union as the model. The broken P.S.L. became the 'class enemy' to be defeated and destroyed. (28)

On 5 February, 1947, Bierut was elected President of the Polish Republic for a seven year term by 408 votes to 25 on a secret ballot held by the 'Sejm' Deputies. The new Prime Minister (who replaced Osóbka-Morawski) was Józef Cyrankiewicz, the Secretary-General of the pro-Communist P.P.S.. His Cabinet included members from the four parties of the 'Bloc' and also the S.P..

In order to govern without the 'Sejm', the new government secured the adoption of an interim Constitution on 20 February, 1947, by 330 votes to 17, which gave authority to the Council of State. Its powers included control of the National Councils (bodies comprising representatives from political parties, trade unions and other workers' organisations, together with other social organisations, which controlled the economic and political life of cities, towns and villages), the sanctioning of decrees passed by the 'Sejm' and the government, control of the budget, the judicial system, the right to initiate legislation and the size of the appropriations for the Armed Forces and the security forces, and the right to declare war or to introduce a state of emergency. (29)

Armed with these powers, the government attacked Mikołajczyk and the P.S.L. by accusing them of conspiracy

with British and American agents. Following the start of a series of political trials of P.S.L. members, the P.S.L. leaders Mikołajczyk, Stefan Korboński, Kazimierz Bagiński and Wincenty Bryja decided to escape from Poland. During late October and early November, 1947, Mikołajczyk, Korboński and Bagiński succeeded in escaping. Bryja was captured in Czechoslovakia and handed over to the Polish Communist authorities. On 26 November, 1947, Mikołajczyk, Korboński and Bagiński arrived in New York. The P.S.L. leaders had escaped from arrest, torture, show trials, imprisonment and (quite possibly) death. Their departure from Poland, however, effectively brought to an end the organised opposition to the dictatorship of the 'Stalinists'. (30)

The Reasons For The Success Of Polish Resettlement.

Resettlement was a very generous undertaking by the Labour government. Despite the serious economic problems caused by the war, the gradual integration of the Poles into British economic and cultural life was accomplished successfully. Against the background of political terror in Poland, the opponents of Polish resettlement could no longer demand that the Poles should be 'sent home'. In addition, the 'Cold War' had greatly reduced the vague respect and admiration for the Soviet Union in Britain. This brief pro-Russian (if not pro-Soviet) sentiment had been largely the creation of British official wartime propaganda.

The decisive factor assisting Polish resettlement, however, was not so much sympathy for the victims of Communist oppression as the need for manpower to help produce food, coal, building materials, cloth and the other goods required for economic recovery. (31)

The Polish Resettlement Corps.

The Polish Armed Forces under British command were given information regarding the Resettlement Corps and the options available to them. On 31 August, 1946, an official statement from the War Office was published and distributed. Written in Polish, this explained the three options available to those who enlisted. First, members of the P.R.C. could enlist in the British regular army as privates, with promotion according to efficiency and the possibility of a commission after service in the ranks and becoming naturalised British subjects. Second, members could emigrate overseas to countries willing to accept Poles, in which case they would be given normal release benefits and a free passage to the country of immigration. Third, they could take up civilian work in Britain with an advance of pay and relegation to the Army Reserve for a certain period. It was also stated that service in the Corps would be for two years, though any man wishing so could return to Poland earlier. No weapons would be permitted. The Corps would not even have armed military police. Units

would be broken up and all military exercises would be forbidden. (32)

On 11 September, 1946, the formation of the P.R.C. was started. In Polish it was known as the 'Polski Korpus Przysposobienia i Rozmieszczenia' (or the P.K.P.R.). In a statement on 4 September, the Polish Chief of Staff, General Kopański, had encouraged' the members of the Polish Armed Forces under British command to enlist in the P.K.P.R. as the best means of assuring their welfare. (33)

Encouraged by their own and the British authorities, many Polish servicemen began to consider enlistment in the P.R.C.. At first, enlistment proceeded very slowly. It was largely dictated by the accommodation and the training centres available in Britain, as well as the availability of transport. In addition, the demobilisation of active service units was influenced by the occupation duties performed by the Poles in Italy and Germany.

The first priority of the War Office was the removal of the Second Corps units from Italy. Between June and November, 1946, these troops were transported as units to the United Kingdom. (34) Next, between April, 1947 and April, 1948, all Polish service personnel were transported from Germany and the Middle East to Britain. (35)

The gradual demobilisation of the Polish Armed Forces under British command was depicted in the Army and Air Force Estimates for 1946-47, 1947-48 and 1948-49. According to the Army Estimates, published on 1 April, 1946, for Land Forces in the United Kingdom and Europe and outside Europe for 1946-47, on 1 April the total strength of the Polish troops serving in garrisons in the United Kingdom and Europe was 182,000. Of these, there were 16,900 officers and 165,100 N.C.O.s and other ranks. In garrisons outside Europe (i.e., the Middle East) there were 6,400 Polish troops, with 1,700 officers and 4,700 N.C.O.s and other ranks. (36)

On 3 March, 1947, the Army Estimates for 1947-48 were published. The disposition of the British Army, as at 1 April, 1947, showed that there was a total of 131,000 Polish troops serving in garrisons in the United Kingdom and Europe. Outside Europe, there were 8,500 Polish troops. (37)

Regarding members of the Polish Naval Detachment serving with the Royal Navy, they were encouraged to enrol in the Resettlement Corps on the same basis as the Land Forces. (38) For personnel of the Polish Air Force serving with the Royal Air Force, a separate Resettlement Corps was established under the administration of the Air Ministry. According to the Royal Air Force Estimates, published on

4 March, 1947, the 13,000 members of the Polish Air Force had enlisted in the P.R.C. - R.A.F.. (39)

On 22 April, 1947, in the House of Commons, in reply to J.L. Williams, who had asked the Minister of Labour, the Parliamentary Secretary Ness Edwards stated in a Written Answer:

'Polish soldiers, sailors and airmen repatriated from this country number 56,000. The number remaining here is 127,000, of whom 34,000 are awaiting repatriation. Approximately 6,900 have been relegated from the Resettlement Corps on being placed in civilian employment in this country.' (40)

In a detailed Army Estimate for 1948-49, published on 25 February, 1948, the success of Polish resettlement was stated. About 30,000 Polish troops were serving in garrisons in the United Kingdom and Europe. Of the total strength of 98,088 men and women who had enlisted in the P.R.C., 52,431 had found employment in agriculture and industry, 8,381 had been repatriated to Poland, 4,565 had emigrated to other countries, leaving some 30,000 in the United Kingdom still to be resettled. It was estimated that the P.R.C., with the exception of small liquidation units, would be wound up by 1 April, 1949. (41)

The Statistics Regarding The Polish Resettlement Corps.

A detailed summary of the Polish Resettlement Corps as at 19 February, 1949, was published in the 'Fourth Report from the Select Committee on Estimates'. On 19 February, 1949, the total number of Polish personnel (Navy, Army and Air Force) enrolled in the P.R.C. was 114,037. Of this total, men numbered 16,332 officers and 92,065 N.C.O.s and other ranks. The number of women enrolled was 964 officers and 4,676 N.C.O.s and other ranks.

At 19 February, 1949, a total of 8,912 P.R.C. personnel had been repatriated to Poland after enrolment. Men numbered 1,307 officers and 7,352 N.C.O.s and other ranks. Women numbered 60 officers and 193 N.C.O.s and other ranks.

A total of 11,409 P.R.C. personnel had emigrated to other countries. Of these, men numbered 1,811 officers and 9,179 N.C.O.s and other ranks. Women numbered 104 officers and 315 N.C.O.s and other ranks.

Wastage (i.e., death) accounted for 3,106 P.R.C. members. Men numbered 1,647 officers and 475 N.C.O.s and other ranks. Women numbered 140 officers and 844 N.C.O.s and other ranks.

Of those relegated to the Reserve, a total of 71,583 P.R.C. members found approved employment or were allowed to start their own businesses. Men numbered 2,725 officers and 65,627 N.C.O.s and other ranks. Women numbered 358 officers and 2,873 N.C.O.s and other ranks.

A total of 2,066 were relegated to the Reserve as students. Men numbered 645 officers and 1,309 N.C.O.s and other ranks. Women numbered 14 officers and 98 N.C.O.s and other ranks.

898 P.R.C. members enlisted in the British Armed Forces. Of this total, men numbered 96 officers and 800 N.C.O.s and other ranks, while women numbered only 1 officer and 1 other rank.

A total of 5,048 P.R.C. personnel had been discharged into civilian life on the expiration of their two year term of service without being placed in employment. Men numbered 2,540 officers and 2,412 N.C.O.s and other ranks. Women numbered 11 officers and 85 N.C.O.s and other ranks.

Finally, the effective strength of the P.R.C. awaiting resettlement as at 19 February, 1949, was 11,015 personnel. Of these, men numbered 5,561 officers and 4,911 N.C.O.s and other ranks. Women numbered 276 officers and 267 N.C.O.s and other ranks. (42)

The 'Fourth Report from the Select Committee on Estimates' also included a detailed analysis of the demobilisation of the Polish Armed Forces under British command as at 19 February, 1949. A total of 240,154 Polish service personnel underwent demobilisation from the end of the war in Europe (8 May, 1945) to 19 February, 1949. Of these, 114,037 enlisted in the Polish Resettlement Corps. This total included personnel from all three Services. Of the P.R.C. members, 103,022 had been passed through. A total of 105,000 servicemen had been repatriated to Poland, including 86,000 from the United Kingdom, 12,000 from Italy, 5,000 from Germany and 2,000 from the Middle East. A total of 6,000 had been discharged directly into civilian life in Britain without joining the P.R.C., including 880 members of the Polish Air Force. 102 were ineligible for the P.R.C.. A total of 10,000 servicemen emigrated or were repatriated to countries other than Poland. 5,000 were resettled in France. Of the 10,000 who emigrated or were repatriated to countries other than Poland, 1,304 were Polish Air Force personnel. Finally, there were 15 'recalcitrants' in the Middle East, who had refused to enlist in the P.R.C., return to Poland or emigrate. They were to be discharged directly into civilian life. (43)

The P.R.C. was finally wound up on 30 September, 1949. (44) According to the Census of the Population of Great Britain, taken on 8 April, 1951, there were 162,339 persons enumerated as being 'born in Poland' and resident

in the United Kingdom on that date. (45) Of this total, the majority had served in the Polish Armed Forces under British command.

The Resettlement Of Polish Civilian Refugees.

Apart from the demobilisation of Polish service personnel under British command, the process of resettlement also included the Polish civilian refugees in the United Kingdom and overseas. The scale of the Polish refugee problem was illustrated by the fact that on 18 December, 1945, the Interim Treasury Committee provided financial support for the welfare and education of some 85,000 men, women and children outside the United Kingdom at a monthly cost of about £256,000. Large number of refugees were housed in camps and temporary settlements in British East Africa, India, Palestine and Iran. There were also Poles in Sweden, Italy, and the British zones of occupation in Germany and Austria. They were either dependants of Polish servicemen, especially from the Second Corps, or else were 'displaced persons' who had been deported by the Germans for forced labour in the Reich or in countries under German occupation. Some had survived concentration camps. (46)

Assistance was provided by the Control Office for Germany and Austria and by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. With the winding up of the U.N.R.R.A. on 30 June, 1947, its functions regarding

food aid passed to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation and those in respect of the resettlement of refugees and 'displaced persons' to the International Refugee Organisation. (47)

With the decision to demobilise the Polish Armed Forces under British command and to transport personnel from Italy, Germany and the Middle East to Britain, arrangements were also made to transfer Polish civilian refugees to the United Kingdom. According to the 'Fourth Report from the Select Committee on Estimates', until January, 1949, a total of 30,000 members of servicemen's families and dependants were brought to Britain. Of these, 2,000 were Polish Air Force families. Another 2,000 were brought from Germany as former 'displaced persons' who had been identified by their relatives who were serving in the Polish Armed Forces. A total of 10,000 persons arrived in Britain from Italy as members of families and dependants of the Second Corps. Some had arrived in Italy from Germany as 'displaced persons'. Of the 13,000 people who arrived from the Middle East and Africa, as well as the 3,000 from India, the majority comprised women and children who had been evacuated from the Soviet Union to Iran during 1942. (48)

Until the end of 1950, nearly 33,000 civilian refugees arrived in Britain as members of Polish servicemen's families and other dependants of the Polish Armed Forces

under British command. Not all of these persons were ethnic Poles. During the second half of 1950, under the auspices of the International Refugee Organisation, some 2,600 Poles had been brought to the United Kingdom mainly from the Lebanon and East Africa. The majority had been evacuated during 1942 from the Soviet Union. (49)

The Machinery For Polish Resettlement.

Of the total of 161 camps established for the Second Army Corps in Britain, 8 were under the administration of Scottish Command. 3 were for service personnel. These were Duddingston Camp (in Edinburgh), Winfield Airfield Camp (near Berwick-on-Tweed) and Roswallie House Camp (near Forfar, Angus). There were also 5 camps for dependants. These were Stobs Camp (near Hawick, Roxburghshire), Burrow Head Camp (near Whithorn, Wigtonshire), Langton House Camp (near Duns, Berwickshire), Langholm Camp (near Langholm, Dumfriesshire) and Macmerry Camp (near Tranent, East Lothian). (50)

Between 1 September, 1939, and the end of the war in Europe, over 22,000 Polish civilians had arrived in Britain. (51) As well as these and the families and dependants of servicemen, between 1945 and 1949 some 29,040 Polish civilians had been admitted to Britain on compassionate grounds, as part of the Distressed Relatives Scheme, as European Volunteer Workers, and in

other circumstances, such as marriage to British subjects. (52)

In order to make provision for the welfare, education and employment of the Polish servicemen, their families and dependants, and other civilian refugees, the Interim Treasury Committee had to be reformed in the interests of administrative efficiency. This did not mean that the I.T.C. was not successful, but it essentially was a body which had been set up to liquidate the institutions created by the Polish government in London. As the British government was forced to accept responsibility for the welfare, education and employment of over 200,000 Polish servicemen and civilians, the machinery of the I.T.C. was insufficiently elastic to cope. Within the I.T.C. there were several Branches, staffed by British civil servants seconded by their Departments with the assistance of Polish administrative and advisory officials. Of these Branches, the Labour Branch performed valuable work in the registration and placing in employment of Polish civilians. (53)

Despite the success achieved by the Branches of the I.T.C., all the activities were on a relatively small scale and concerned Polish civilians. The British government decided to wind up the I.T.C. and to transfer its functions to the various competent Departments (or Ministries of State).

After drafting the Polish Resettlement Bill, the Ministers discussed the proposed new machinery with the Departments concerned. These Departments were represented in the Cabinet Polish Forces Committee, whose first meeting had been held on 4 April, 1946. On 27 January, 1947, a meeting of the Committee was held in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Room at the Treasury. Among the matters discussed was the new responsibility to be placed on the Assistance Board for the provision of accommodation and maintenance for certain categories of Polish dependants. (54)

The Assistance Board and the Ministry of Labour both took over responsibility for the accommodation of Poles under the provisions of the Polish resettlement scheme. Section 3 of the Polish Resettlement Act (27 March, 1947) empowered the Assistance Board to provide accommodation in hostels, camps and other residential establishments for Poles in receipt of allowances for unemployment or for those unable to work on account of age or ill health. The board also provided accommodation for the families and dependants of members of the Polish Resettlement Corps. (55) For working Poles, the Ministry of Labour provided accommodation in camps and hostels. These residential establishments were often administered for the Ministry by other agencies, including the National Service Hostels Corporation and the National Coal Board, as well as local Agricultural Executive Committees. (56)

Under Section 7 of the Polish Resettlement Act, the Ministry of Labour took over responsibility for the emigration of civilian Poles. From the beginning of April, 1947, the Emigration, Advisory and Labour Branches of the I.T.C. were taken over by the Central Polish Resettlement Office of the Ministry of Labour and National Service. (57)

Section 1 of the Polish Resettlement Act brought within the scope of the Ministry of Pensions all the Poles who served in the Polish Naval Detachment, the Polish Armed Forces under British command and the Polish Resettlement Corps. They, their widows, children, parents, and other dependants of such members deceased were brought into the pensions scheme for retired pay, pensions and other grants for disablement or death on the same terms as their British counterparts. (58) This generous treatment regarding pensions was equalled by the provisions of Section 2 concerning unemployment or other allowances paid by the Assistance Board. (59)

Section 3 empowered the Assistance Board to provide accommodation in camps, hostels or other establishments for persons

'... being of any of the categories specified in subsection (2) of the last preceding section ...'

which included Polish civilians entering Britain on or after 1 September, 1939, former members of the Polish Naval Detachment, the Polish Armed Forces under British command and the Polish Resettlement Corps, members of any of those forces relegated from service therewith, their wives, widows, unmarried ex-wives and other dependants. The Assistance Board was also empowered to make provision for meeting the needs (other than medical needs as defined in the Unemployment Assistance Act, 1934, or needs as to education) and for promoting the welfare of persons for whom accommodation was provided under Section 3. (60)

These medical needs were specified in Section 4 as the responsibility of the Minister of Health and the Secretary of State for Scotland, including services specified in the National Health Service Act, 1946. (61)

Section 5 empowered the General Medical Council to register Poles with the recognised qualifications as medical practitioners. Polish pharmaceutical chemists with suitable qualifications could be registered by the Council of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain. (62)

Section 6 provided the Minister of Education and the Secretary of State for Scotland with powers to make provision for meeting the educational needs of persons

'... being of any description for whom the Assistance Board have power to provide accommodation under section three of this Act or members of any of the Polish resettlement forces ...'

with services authorised by or under the Education Acts, 1944 and 1946, and the Education (Scotland) Act, 1946.
(63)

Section 7 empowered the Minister of Labour and National Service to arrange for the emigration of certain categories of civilian Poles, namely persons for whom the Assistance Board had power to provide accommodation under Section 3 of the Polish Resettlement Act, with the following exceptions:

'... Provided that arrangements made under this subsection shall not extend to members of any of the Polish resettlement forces relegated from service therewith, to former members of any of those forces emigrating immediately on their discharge therefrom, or to dependants of any such members or former members.' (64)

The Committee For The Education Of Poles In Great Britain.

This Committee was set up as a result of Section 6 of the Polish Resettlement Act. It was appointed by the

Minister of Education and the Secretary of State for Scotland to act on their behalf. Under its Chairman, Sir George Gater, with F.H. Harrod as Secretary, the Committee functioned from 1 April, 1947, when it succeeded the Education Branch of the I.T.C., until 30 September, 1954. The Committee comprised British and Polish members. (65) In addition, British government representatives and assessors served on the Committee, including personnel from the Ministry of Education, the Scottish Education Department, the Foreign Office, the Home Office, the War Office, the Air Ministry, the Ministry of Labour and National Service, the Ministry of Health, the Assistance Board (the National Assistance Board after the National Assistance Act of 1948) and the Ministry of Works. (66)

The financial investment in the Committee was in the region of £9 million. Between 1 April, 1947, and 30 September, 1954, the Committee received a total of £9,058,315 in grants in aid from the Ministry of Education and the Scottish Education Department. The total expenditure by the Committee between the two dates was £9,052,859 8s. 10d., with the unexpended balance of £5,455 11s 2d being returned to the Ministry of Education and the Scottish Education Department. (67)

With the purpose of the resettlement scheme being the placing of Poles in employment, the Committee worked towards ensuring that the Poles under its tutelage

acquired a knowledge of the English language and the vocational skills needed to satisfy employers. The system of Polish schools in the United Kingdom, including nursery schools, primary, technical and higher secondary, was gradually integrated into the British system of education. As soon as the children were reasonably adept in English, they would be transferred to the equivalent English or Scottish levels. From the I.T.C., the Committee took over responsibility for administering 6 nursery schools with 146 children, 8 primary schools with 304 children, 4 secondary schools with 650 children and 3 vocational schools with 477 children. There were also 3 evening or correspondence courses in Polish subjects, which were based in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Blackpool, with a total of 90 students. In the Polish University College there were 1,189 undergraduates and in the Polish School of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh there were 102. Another part of the responsibilities inherited by the Committee was the payment of grants to 488 children placed in British fee-paying primary and secondary schools as well as to 1,549 students in British colleges and universities. (68)

In Scotland there were two boarding grammar schools for which the Committee took responsibility. Both were transferred to England in order to create larger schools together with pupils arriving from among the families and dependants of Polish servicemen from East Africa, the Middle East, India and Europe. First, the boys' school

at Garelochhead, Dumbartonshire, with 164 pupils, was divided among the school for boys at Riddlesworth, Norfolk, and the Polish Resettlement Corps at Bodney Airfield, Norfolk. The 84 girls from the school at Dunalastair House, Perthshire, were moved in April, 1948, to Grendon Hall, near Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire. (69)

From April, 1947, until January, 1954, the Committee administered the Centre for Teaching by Correspondence ('Ośrodek Nauczania Korespondencyjnego') in Glasgow, after which it was moved to London. The total number of students of primary and secondary age who used the Centre while run by the Committee was 1,336, of whom 768 were in primary schools and 568 in secondary schools. Of this total, 872 completed specific stages of the courses, including 578 at primary level and 294 at secondary level. When the Committee ceased administration, 189 pupils were still receiving postal tuition in Polish subjects, including the Polish language, history and geography. (70)

The Committee also supported several courses in adult education. Among these courses, the 20 students of the Polish School of Fishery, Aberdeen, sponsored by the Union of Polish Craftsmen and Workers in Great Britain, received grants for a course lasting from December, 1950, until May, 1951. (71)

The Polish School of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh was gradually wound up. There were no new enrolments but the students as on 1 April, 1947, were allowed to complete their studies. The School finally closed on 30 March, 1949. (72)

There were two institutions in Glasgow which were taken over by the Committee. On 1 July, 1947, when the Committee took over the Commercial College, there were 258 students of between 18 and 26 years of age. At the same time, the Committee made a single grant of £450 in 1947 to support a commercial course by correspondence run for 100 students on a fee-paying basis by the Polish Vocational College Association Limited. The Commercial College closed down on 31 August, 1948. The Agricultural School was more successful. From June, 1945, until it was closed in December, 1952, some 400 men received training. The students gained valuable experience in their practical work at Eastside Farm, near Carluke, Lanarkshire. With 100 students on 1 April, 1947, the number of students enrolled were, on the corresponding date for the years 1948 until 1952, respectively 24, 46, 46, 70 and 41. (73)

Anti-Polish Feeling During Resettlement.

In the House of Commons the opponents of Polish settlement in Scotland continued to encourage the War Office to transfer Polish troops elsewhere or else to

ensure that they were usefully working. On 25 February, 1947, in reply to Hector Hughes, who asked the Minister of Labour, the Parliamentary Secretary Ness Edwards made this statement in the 'Official Report':

'There were, at 13th February, 29,772 uniformed Poles in Scotland, of whom 541 were in the city of Aberdeen and 4,595 in the county of Aberdeen. About 13,200 of these were employed on camp maintenance and other service duties and tasks, and about 1,430 were on loan for civilian work. Others are receiving instruction or training. With regard to numbers out of uniform, about 1,010 had been relegated to the Reserve for civilian employment, of whom some 340 have remained in Scotland. I have no indication that any appreciable number of these are unemployed. Of the total number in uniform, 9,350 had not yet joined the Resettlement Corps.' (74)

The economic arguments against the resettlement of Poles in Britain were stated by Churchill in the House of Commons during a Debate on the economic situation on 12 March, 1947:

'... Then there are the Poles in this country. I would have had them all parked out suitably in Germany, far from the Russian or Polish lines, within six months of the end of the German war. It has never occurred to me that anything else but that

would have been done. Now they are with us here, eating, I am told, better rations than we are allowed to have ourselves. I am sorry for these men. They are brave men who have defended their country's cause. But presently the Government will have a bitter quarrel with them, a quarrel that has begun already. Surely, it would have been wiser, in principle at any rate, to have 180,000 Poles in Germany and 180,000 more Englishmen at home. Then, of course, we are told it might have offended Russia. His Majesty's Government have been very successful in not offending Russia. Perhaps they will allow me to offer my congratulations on that. ...' (75)

Problems Hindering The Placing Of Poles In Employment.

Despite the views expressed by Churchill, the problem regarding the resettlement of Poles was not that they were 'stealing' the employment and rations of British workers, but that the placing in essential and undermanned industries, such as agriculture, coal mining, building and civil engineering, was proceeding very slowly. There were many reasons for the early difficulties experienced by both the administrative staff and the personnel of the Polish Resettlement Corps. These included problems with transport to and from training centres during the long, severe winter of 1946-47 and the accompanying fuel crises, the effects of the

fuel shortages and the weather on industry, and the shortage of accommodation for the Poles closer to industrial centres and training centres. (76) Another reason for the slow progress of placing was the problems encountered by some P.R.C. members in learning the English language and industrial skills. (77)

In addition, some powerful trades unions continued to oppose the employment of Poles. These included the National Union of Mineworkers, the National Union of Agricultural Workers, the Civil Service Clerical Association, the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, the Electrical Trades Union, the Transport and General Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers. Local branches and lodges of these unions refused to permit the implementation of agreements made between representatives of unions and employers regarding the conditions under which Poles could be accepted. (78)

Statistics Regarding Polish Servicemen In Scotland (June, 1947).

These problems hindering the placing of Poles in employment were gradually overcome once the necessity of Polish manpower was accepted by the unions and the resettlement scheme began to function smoothly. The main concern of critics of resettlement was that the Poles should be placed in employment as soon as possible.

On 17 June, 1947, in reply to Hector Hughes, the Secretary of State for War Frederick Bellenger made this statement in the 'Official Report' of the House of Commons:

'... There are 32,350 Poles in Scotland for whom my Department is responsible. Apart from those awaiting repatriation the majority are in units of the Polish Resettlement Corps stationed in the following places: Alness, Banff, Budden, Carronbridge, Dallochy, Dunino, Easthaven, Forres, Langholm, Paisley, Peterhead, Stirling, Winfield.

'In addition, there are relatively small units in a number of other places in Scotland . . . 4,285 Poles have been released from the Polish Resettlement Corps in Scotland in order to take up civil employment in Scotland and other parts of the United Kingdom. I am informed by my right honourable Friend the Minister of Labour that they are employed principally on agriculture, building and civil engineering, and in coal mining. 2,143 Poles still in the Polish Resettlement Corps are on loan to farmers in Scotland.' (79)

Training Courses For The Polish Resettlement Corps In Scotland.

There were numerous training courses administered by the War Office for the P.R.C.. Staffed by expert instructors from the appropriate industries and trades, these courses in vocational training proved very successful. In addition, courses were provided in the English language and the British way of life. Such courses usually preceded vocational training.

Among the courses at No. 1 Pre-Vocational Training Centre, P.R.C., at Lynn Park Camp, Milltimber, near Aberdeen (Scottish Command), training was provided in deep sea fishing, fish salesmanship and curing, net-making and repairing, as well as for trawler cooks.

At No. 2 Pre-Vocational Training Centre, P.R.C., at Findogask Camp, Perthshire (Scottish Command), there were courses in general farming, either poultry farming or dairy farming or maintenance of agricultural machinery, and market gardening and forestry.

There were many courses available at No. 3 Pre-Vocational Training Centre, P.R.C., at Kinross Camp (Scottish Command). In the mechanical wing there were courses in general fitting, motor vehicle fitting, welding, foundry work, turning and sheet metal work. In the building wing there were courses in bricklaying, carpentry,

joinery, painting and decorating, and plumbing. In the electrical wing courses were offered in electrical installation, radio servicing and electrical machinery repair. Lastly, in the draughtsmanship wing courses were available in building draughtsmanship, survey draughtsmanship and engineering draughtsmanship. (80)

Employment Of Members Of The Polish Resettlement Corps.

Only the most general statements could have been compiled with regard to the main occupations into which former members of the P.R.C. were absorbed between 1947 and 1950. One statement, quoted by Jerzy Zubrzycki, was from the work entitled 'The Refugee In The Post-War World', published by the United Nations Organisation in 1951. This was compiled from the annual Reports published by the Ministry of Labour during the years from 1948 to 1950.

According to this statement, a total of 66,000 former P.R.C. members found employment as manual workers. Of these, 8,200 worked in agriculture, 9,000 in building, 3,100 in brick making, 7,300 in coal mining, 3,000 in civil engineering, 1,300 in domestic service, 1,500 in food manufacture, 6,200 in hotels and catering, 2,500 in iron and steel, 3,500 in general engineering, 6,400 in textiles, and 14,000 in miscellaneous industries. Of the 18,000 former P.R.C. members who became non-manual workers, 1,000 found employment in local government

service, 5,000 in national government service, 2,000 in the professions (doctors, lawyers, lecturers, school teachers, etc.), 2,000 became students, and 8,000 went into miscellaneous non-manual work, including going into business on their own account (often with training received on resettlement courses). (81)

Statistics Regarding The Poles In Scotland (June, 1948).

By June, 1948, the great majority of Polish servicemen had left Scotland. They had either been transferred to Polish Resettlement Corps camps in England and Wales, had been repatriated to Poland, or had emigrated to other countries. On 29 June, 1948, in reply to a question in the House of Commons from Sir W. Darling to the Minister of Labour, the Parliamentary Secretary Ness Edwards stated in this Written Answer:

'About 4,000 Poles have been placed in employment in Scotland. There remain 3,582 members of the Polish Resettlement Corps stationed there for the time being, but their settlement in employment may be either there or south of the border. About a thousand of these (mostly officers) are registered as professional, administrative and executive, the remainder mainly as general labourers, agricultural workers and clerical workers. But they will now be

expected to take whatever suitable employment becomes available for them.' (82)

The 'European Volunteer Workers' Scheme.

Apart from the civilians who settled in Britain either as refugees or as members of Polish servicemen's families or their dependants, 14,018 ethnic Poles, including 9,351 men and 4,667 women, arrived in the United Kingdom as 'European Volunteer Workers'. They had been recruited from among the 'displaced persons' in the British zones of occupation in Germany and Austria. (83)

There were two recruitment schemes organised by the Ministry of Labour to provide workers for under-manned British industries. The first was the 'Balt Cygnet' scheme, which operated from October, 1946, until March, 1947. Under this scheme, women and girls were recruited to work in essential under-manned industries and trades, including agriculture, textiles and laundries, as well as in hospital nursing and in domestic work in hospitals and in farmers' households. The more ambitious 'Westward Ho' scheme operated from March, 1947, until August, 1949. This scheme also recruited male 'displaced persons'. The recruits were employed mainly in agriculture, coal mining, textiles, building and brick-making. (84)

The 'European Volunteer Workers' were usually without dependants and were forbidden to bring any with them.

Under the terms of their contract, they were allowed to enter Britain for an initial period of twelve months subject to good behaviour. They were not allowed to leave the employment for which they had been recruited for twelve months, but, when the contract had been fulfilled, they could either remain in the industry concerned or else they could find other employment with the approval of the Ministry of Labour. Their pay and conditions were the same as for British workers. (85)

Notes To Chapter Five

- (1) J Zubrzycki, Polish Immigrants In Great Britain. A Study of Adjustment, The Hague, 1956, pp 81-82.
- (2) For the Trades Union Congress at Brighton in 1946, see Keesing's Contemporary Archives, Vol. 6, 1946-1948, pp 8283-8284.
- (3) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 418, col. 350 (Written Answers, 5 February, 1946).
- (4) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 423, col. 2233 (6 June, 1946).
- (5) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 425, col. 186 (Written Answers, 16 July, 1946).
- (6) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 425, col. 317 (Written Answers, 23 July, 1946).
- (7) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 427, col. 12-13 (Written Answers, 8 October, 1946).
- (8) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 427, col. 790 (15 October, 1946).
- (9) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 431, col. 53 (Written Answers, 3 December, 1946).
- (10) Economic Survey for 1947, Command 7046, London, H.M.S.O., 1947, p 9.
- (11) Ibid, Table A, p 33.
- (12) Ibid, p 10 and Table B, pp 34-35.
- (13) K O Morgan, Labour in Power, 1945-1951, Oxford, 1984, pp 104-106.
- (14) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 433, col. 197-198 (Written Answers, 20 February, 1947).

- (15) P.R.O. (Kew) ED 128/86, letter from Manager of Ministry of Labour and National Service Labour Exchange, Aberdeen, to Major J. Płosso, O.C. Polish Fishery Training Centre, 3 June, 1947.
- (16) S Mikołajczyk, The Rape of Poland. Pattern of Soviet Aggression, 2nd edition, Westport, Connecticut, 1972, pp 145-160.
- (17) For the referendum of 30 June, 1946, see Keesing's Contemporary Archives, Vol. 6, 1946-1948, pp 8011-8012.
- (18) Mikołajczyk, op cit, pp 161-167.
- (19) Keesing's Contemporary Archives, Vol. 6, 1946-1948, p 7977A.
- (20) Mikołajczyk, op cit, pp 167-198.
- (21) For the elections of 19 January, 1947, see Keesing's Contemporary Archives, Vol. 6, 1946-1948, pp 8759-8761.
- (22) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 432, col. 1376-1377 (3 February, 1947).
- (23) Morgan, op cit, pp 243-246.
- (24) Ibid, pp 246-250.
- (25) Ibid, pp 254-277.
- (26) Ibid, pp 251-254.
- (27) Ibid, pp 253-254.
- (28) Mikołajczyk, op cit, pp 198-229.
- (29) Keesing's Contemporary Archives, Vol. 6, 1946-1948, pp 8761-8763.
- (30) Mikołajczyk, op cit, pp 230-250.
- (31) Zubrzycki, op cit, pp 84-86.

- (32) Keesing's Contemporary Archives, Vol. 6, 1946-1948, p 8556.
- (33) S Kopański, Wspomnienia Wojenne, 1939-1946, London, 1961, pp 375-377.
- (34) W Anders, Bez Ostatniego Rozdziału, 3rd edition, London, 1959, pp 383-388.
- (35) Zubrzycki, op cit, p 90.
- (36) Keesing's Contemporary Archives, Vol. 6, 1946-1948, p 7830A.
- (37) Keesing's Contemporary Archives, Vol. 6, 1946-1948, p 8497A.
- (38) Fourth Report from the Select Committee on Estimates: Session 1948-1949: Polish Resettlement, Parliamentary Papers No. 91, London, H.M.S.O., 1949, p v.
- (39) Keesing's Contemporary Archives, Vol. 6, 1946-1948, p 8497A.
- (40) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 436, col. 82 (Written Answers, 22 April, 1947).
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- (43) Ibid, Annex B, p x.
- (44) Twentieth Report from the Select Committee on Estimates: Session 1948-49: Polish Resettlement, Parliamentary Papers No. 316, London, H.M.S.O., 1949, pp 13-14.

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- (46) P.R.O. (Kew) LAB 8/87, statement regarding Polish refugees wholly or partly dependant upon the support of the Interim Treasury Committee as on 18 December, 1945.
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- (48) Fourth Report from the Select Committee on Estimates: Session 1948-49: Polish Resettlement, Annex B, p xi.
- (49) Zubrzycki, op cit, p 58.
- (50) See the following:
- (i) P.R.O. (Kew) AST 18/1, 1947-48 Polish resettlement: general,
 - (ii) P.R.O. (Kew) AST 18/18, 1947-48 general reports: Scotland.
- (51) See the statement by the Home Secretary J. Chuter Ede in H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 414, col. 105-106 (Written Answers, 9 October, 1945).
- (52) See the statement by the Home Secretary J. Chuter Ede in H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 473, col. 87 (Written Answers, 31 March, 1950).
- (53) P.R.O. (Kew) LAB 8/88, statement concerning registration and placing in employment of Polish nationals, 1 October, 1945, to 30 September, 1946.
- (54) P.R.O. (Kew) AST 18/1, minutes of meeting of Cabinet Polish Forces Committee, 27 January, 1947.

(55) For the Polish Resettlement Act, see 10 and 11 Geo. 6, ch. 19, Polish Resettlement Act, 1947, Chapter 19 (27 March, 1947).

For the provision of accommodation by the Assistance Board, see the Polish Resettlement Act, 1947, Section 3, pp 4-6.

(56) See the statement by the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour, Ness Edwards, in H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 440, col. 594 (17 July, 1947).

(57) See the following:

(i) Polish Resettlement Act, 1947, Section 7, pp 8-9,

(ii) Zubrzycki, op cit, p 92.

(58) Polish Resettlement Act, 1947, Section 1, pp 1-3.

(59) Ibid, Section 2, pp 3-4.

(60) Ibid, Section 3, pp 4-6.

(61) Ibid, Section 4, p 6.

(62) Ibid, Section 5, pp 6-8.

(63) Ibid, Section 6, p 8.

(64) Ibid, Section 7, pp 8-9.

(65) P.R.O. (Kew) ED 128/10, Ministry of Education. Education in Exile. History of the Committee for the Education of Poles in Great Britain, H.M.S.O., London, 1956, p 50.

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(69) Ibid, p 19.

(70) Ibid, p 31.

- (71) Ibid, p 33.
- (72) Ibid, p 54.
- (73) Ibid, pp 34-35, 52-54.
- (74) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 433, col. 1892-1893 (25 February, 1947).
- (75) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 434, col. 1347 (12 March, 1947).
- (76) See the statement by the Minister of Labour, George A. Isaacs, in H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 434, col. 1151-1152 (11 March, 1947).
- (77) See the statement by Ness Edwards in H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 437, col. 1699 (15 May, 1947).
- (78) For the opposition of trades unions to the employment of Poles, see
H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 434, col. 1489 (13 March, 1947),
H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 440, col. 216-217 (15 July, 1947),
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H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 441, col. 633-634 (31 July, 1947),
H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 441, col. 1643-1645 (7 August, 1947).
- (79) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 438, col. 1776 (17 June, 1947).
- (80) P.R.O. (Kew) ED 128/86, memorandum from the War Office to the General Inspectorate of the Polish Resettlement Corps, APF1/ BM / 195, 23 September,

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P.R.C..

- (81) Quoted by Zubrzycki, op cit, Table 15, p 66.
- (82) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 452, col. 189-190 (Written
Answers, 29 June, 1948).
- (83) J A Tannahill, European Volunteer Workers in
Britain, Manchester, 1958, p 139.
- (84) See the following:
- (i) the statement by Ness Edwards in H. C. Deb.
5s., Vol. 436, col. 996 (22 April, 1947),
 - (ii) Zubrzycki, op cit, pp 60-61.
- (85) Keesing's Contemporary Archives, Vol. 6, 1946-1948,
p 8577E.

CHAPTER SIX.THE FORMATION OF THE POLISH COMMUNITY IN SCOTLAND
AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR (1945-51).PART ONETHE BACKGROUND - FROM THE WITHDRAWAL OF
RECOGNITION FROM THE POLISH GOVERNMENT
IN LONDON (5 JULY, 1945) TO THE
'ELECTIONS' IN POLAND (19 JANUARY, 1947).Introduction.

From the end of the war in Europe (7 May, 1945) until 1951 the Poles in Scotland laid the foundations for the organised community of the present day. During this period the demobilisation of the Polish Armed Forces under British command together with the resettlement of Poles throughout Britain caused a major reduction in the number of Poles in Scotland. According to the 15th Census of Scotland, taken on 8 April, 1951, there was a total of 10,603 persons resident in Scotland enumerated as being 'born in Poland'. Of these, there were 9,113 men and 1,490 women. (1)

This decrease in the number of people 'born in Poland' from the total of over 50,000 at the end of the war was mainly due to the departure of servicemen. Some had been repatriated to Poland or to other countries.

Others had emigrated overseas. The majority had been transferred to England and Wales for service in the Polish Resettlement Corps, demobilisation and discharge into civilian life. In addition, the better opportunities for employment in England had influenced the departure of some Polish civilians from Scotland. (2)

The Crisis Regarding The Withdrawal Of Recognition.

The withdrawal of recognition from the Polish government in London on 5 July, 1945, by the governments of Britain and the U.S.A. caused the Poles in Scotland to reassess their situation. This was a result of the Yalta decisions. The popularity of the Soviet Union as an ally had become firmly established and many British people believed that Poland had been 'liberated' by the Red Army and that the Poles could return home. (3)

In Edinburgh the duty of explaining the point of view of the anti-Communist Poles was undertaken by the Polish Press Agency. On 23 June, 1945, the Polish Ministry of Information and Documentation office at 43, Charlotte Square, Edinburgh was closed. In order to prevent the property of the Ministry from being taken over by the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity in Warsaw, two days later, in accordance with instructions from London, the journalist Zygmunt Nagórski became the Director of the Polish Press Agency of the World Federation of Poles (Światpol) at the same address. (4)

On 26 June, Nagórski described the situation in Scotland to Adam Pragier, the Minister of Information in London. This letter was an accurate analysis deserving extensive quotation:

'... I report that the Scottish Press, with regard to recent events, have mostly been very sympathetic towards the cause of independent Poland. Above all, this is especially true of "The Scotsman" and "The Bulletin" (published in Glasgow). In addition, many provincial newspapers are publishing positive articles. "The Edinburgh Evening Dispatch" is publishing articles in a very friendly sense which depict the problems encountered by Poles in Great Britain at the present time.

'But there is also hostility. For example in "The Edinburgh Evening News" of 26 June there is a letter demanding the departure of all Poles from Scotland, motivating this by stating that the Poles have overstayed their welcome and that, with the start of demobilisation, the Polish problem would become very acute. Also he wrote that candidates for the elections should be aware of the need for the Poles to leave. Voters should persuade candidates to raise the issue in the House of Commons immediately on taking their seats as Members of Parliament.

'The reaction of Scottish society is varied. Few people understand the situation. Even though "The Scotsman" wrote yesterday in no uncertain terms that the Soviet Union is trying to impose its system of government on Poland, this does not affect the views of the Edinburgh people. ... In addition, one can still see Polish uniforms in all the most expensive Edinburgh restaurants. This makes the local people even more hostile. ...

'I must also state that I have been impressed by the knowledge regarding our position shown by our servicemen - and especially by the other ranks. Their assessment of the situation is accurate, clear and uncomplicated. But I have also observed some confusion, especially among officers. For this reason an exposé of the situation by the Government published in the "Dziennik Polski" for all Poles should be made widely available. Also it would be beneficial should the military and civilian authorities send out lecturers to the units and commands in order to state our case. Rumours - and very harmful ones at that - are being spread throughout Polish ranks.

'We should be prepared for the worst, that is that general boredom with the Polish problem and with the presence of Poles in Scotland will increase and will assume forms very unpleasant for Poles who, for

whatever reasons, will want to remain in Scotland after the final winding up of the Polish problem by the Allies. ...' (5)

Support For Anti-Communist Poles In Scotland.

The cause of independence for Poland was supported by the Scottish-Polish Society, the Catholic Hierarchy and some newspapers.

Following the Yalta Conference and the announcement of the decisions concerning Poland on 11 February, 1945, a special meeting of the Scottish-Polish Society (Glasgow Branch) was held on 20 February. The Chairman, Sir Patrick Dollan, said that the three Great Powers had all broken their pledges to Poland. The members agreed to send a telegram to Arthur Greenwood, leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party, congratulating him and expressing thanks for his courageous statement on behalf of the independence of Poland at the opening of the Polish Exhibition. Resolutions of confidence in the Polish government were also approved and sent to the President and the Prime Minister of Poland. They agreed to write to Prime Minister Churchill and Foreign Secretary Eden and the Ambassadors of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. protesting against the terms which the three Great Powers proposed to impose on Poland. Finally, it was decided that meetings of protest should be held in Glasgow and other towns. (6)

In reply to the calls for the Poles to 'go home', on 16 June, 1945, an article in 'The Economist' entitled 'Return Of The Exiles' stated:

'The Lublin Government is faced with a serious shortage of man-power, and one reason why they are willing at last to open discussions is very probably their realisation that without a reliable and representative government in Poland, the exiles will not return. Yet if the negotiations are to end in the creation of this type of government, many obstacles must be cleared away. The first is the extent to which the Lublin Government has already imposed a single party system upon Poland. Only the most vigorous reassertion of party life could end the fatal unanimity, and it is significant that, apart from Mr. Witos, Mr. Mikołajczyk and Mr. Żuławski, the delegates have little or no party backing. A government of notables, although an improvement on the present unrepresentative Cabinet, would give no assurance that political freedom can genuinely exist in the new Polish republic. ... So long as the Communist President, Mr. Bierut, remains the source of constitutional power, there can be little security among the non-Communists.' (7)

The Council Of Polish Societies In Edinburgh.

On 6 July, 1945, the Polish organisations met in the Polish Press Agency at 43, Charlotte Square and voted to form the Council of Polish Societies in Edinburgh ('Rada Stowarzyszeń Polskich w Edynburgu') in response to the withdrawal of recognition from the Polish government in London. The first Chairman of the Executive Committee was Colonel Stanisław Heins, the Chairman of the 'Stowarzyszenie Techników Polskich w Wielkiej Brytanii, Oddział w Szkocji' (Association of Polish Engineers in Great Britain, Scottish Branch). (8)

As stated in Article 2 of its Statute, the main purpose of the Council was as follows:

'2) Its functions are to represent Polish citizens and to defend their interests, to agree on united action regarding issues affecting all Poles, and to maintain communication between individual organisations by exchanging information and opinions regarding Polish issues.' (9)

Among the duties undertaken by the Council was explaining the reasons why Poles in Scotland could not return to Poland. The Council published a statement entitled 'To Our Scottish Hosts' for distribution and for publication by sympathetic newspapers. This was the concluding paragraph:

'... Until this moment when the Poles again will be masters in their own country the entire responsibility for our fate lies with the Governments of the British Empire and the United States of America. We do not need your sympathy or your pity. We do not need either of them. But we do realise, when written agreements have failed, that we have to depend on the honesty and fairness of the free people of the world. We are assured that in Scotland there are many to whom such words apply. We are appealing to them to understand our position and to explain it to others who are not fortunate enough to have those qualities. We solemnly pledge ourselves not to stay one day abroad after the real liberation of Poland.' (10)

Hostility Towards The Polish Servicemen In Scotland.

On 15 August, 1945, the 'Daily Herald' reported that Peebles Town Council had passed a resolution to speed up the return of Poles in Scotland to Poland. Councillor Stewart Smith, who had moved the resolution, had said that it was imperative that something was done about returning the Poles to their own land, where so much was required in the way of reconstruction. He had added that the Poles had overstayed their welcome and 'apparently had plenty of money to burn'. In the same report, the 'Daily Herald' had also stated that a large

number of the young Polish soldiers who had arrived in the past year from Germany after having deserted from the German Army were willing to return to Western Poland on condition that the British government would guarantee their safety and political rights. The report had also stated that:

'The majority of the older men and particularly all those who came from Eastern Poland wish to remain in Great Britain or be allowed to emigrate to the Dominions or Colonies.

'The position of the 2,500 Scots girls who married Poles is uncertain and it is doubtful if many will leave Scotland until guarantees of safety and security are given.' (11)

More opposition to the Poles in Scotland was described in the following article in 'The Bulletin' on 17 August, 1945, entitled 'Clear the Poles out of Scots Houses':

'Sending Polish troops away from the much-needed Scottish houses and schools that they occupy was suggested by Lord Rosebery in the House of Lords on August 16th: "We have a far larger army in Scotland than we had before D-Day when we had divisions practising for the landing in Normandy. We have a very large and increasing army of Poles. There are over 63,000. They are occupying our schools and

hotels, they are billeted in our houses, they still manoeuvre over our land - though what they are manoeuvring for I don't know. They are still firing guns across our agricultural fields, and their tanks are still going up the hills of Scotland.

"We have had them for six years and we were very pleased to have them in time of war. But surely when now we want our houses so much for ourselves and our schools, even if the Polish Army cannot be sent back to Poland it could be sent to some of the camps in England evacuated by the American Army."

(12)

In order to explain to the Scottish people that the Polish servicemen were not living in idleness and luxury at their expense, 'The Bulletin' published the following article on 18 August, 1945, entitled 'Poles help with harvest':

'Polish Army Headquarters in Scotland stated that many thousands of Polish soldiers are already lending a hand in harvesting operations. Soon the 10,000 mark would be passed, and a number of guard and construction companies had been placed at the disposal of the British authorities. Farmers wishing the assistance of Polish soldiers for the harvest are advised by Polish Army Headquarters to make application through the usual channel - the

Agricultural Executive Committee for their area.'

(13)

On 20 August, 1945, Foreign Secretary Bevin said in the House of Commons that, following the assurances received from the representatives of the Polish Provisional Government at Potsdam, he would urge Poles overseas, both military and civilian, to return to Poland and assist in the work of reconstruction. (14) This statement provided useful material for the opponents of Poles who refused to return home.

The refusal of Poles to return was explained in a very pro-Polish article in 'The Scotsman' of 22 August, 1945, entitled 'The Poles in Scotland - Why do they not return home?', which concluded:

'... They helped us to win our freedom, but they have as a nation lost their own. ... The representatives of other nations who came to this country during the war have been able to go home, but the Poles remain with us, assuredly not because they do not want to return, but because most of them distrust profoundly, not without reason, the present political dispensation in Poland. ...' (15)

Disturbing Events Within Poland.

For devoutly Catholic Poles, the announcement on 12 September, 1945, that the Provisional Government had denounced the Concordat of 10 February, 1925, which had governed ecclesiastical relations between Poland and the Vatican, was evidence of atheism being promoted by the Communist P.P.R.. (16)

The denunciation of the Concordat received deserved comment in the leader column of 'The Glasgow Herald' of 29 September, 1945, as follows:

'... Unless some convincing reason for this apparently abrupt decision is forthcoming, the Polish Catholics, who are 70 per cent of the population, will be inclined to suspect their new government of acting under the influence of Moscow, whose recent recognition of the Orthodox Church has not altogether obliterated the memory of the anti-religious propaganda of earlier years. ...' (17)

Disputes Between The Polish Provisional Government And The British Government.

Despite the protests of Poles opposed to the Provisional Government, the British government wanted to persuade all the Poles who could return to opt for repatriation. Gradually this policy was modified as the British

government became aware of the reluctance of the Provisional Government to hold 'free and unfettered elections'. Apart from the lack of political freedom in Poland, the Provisional Government also angered the British government by demanding that the Polish Armed Forces under British command should be demobilised as soon as possible and encouraged to return to Poland. Furthermore, the negotiations regarding the Anglo-Polish financial agreement had broken down over the repayment of the credits granted by the British government to the Polish government in London during the war. In addition, the Provisional Government demanded that the assets of the London Polish government should be transferred to Poland. (18)

This deadlock regarding the Anglo-Polish financial agreement and the repatriation of Poles was discussed in an article in the pro-Polish independence newspaper 'The Bulletin' of 15 November, 1945. It was reported that, according to 'authoritative circles in London' speaking on 14 November, 1945, Britain did not require any payment for military services to Poland. The statement had refuted an alleged claim by the Polish Foreign Minister in the Provisional Government, Wincenty Rzymowski, that the British government was insisting on such payments. It was stated that there was no question of the modification of the view of the British government since an agreement had been signed in 1943 with the then Polish government in London. At that time it had been made

clear that all these military payments were regarded by the British government as 'Lease-Lend'. During the war the British government had spent £75 million on the military equipment, food and maintenance of the Polish Armed Forces. On the other hand, the Polish government, in common with other Allied governments which had sought refuge in London, had undertaken to repay the sums spent by the British government under the heading of the military budget - namely pay, allowances, pensions, etc. - and the civil budgets. On the military budget side the amount outstanding was £45 million, and on the civilian budget the total was £26 million. Of the £26 million, half had been spent on Polish refugees in the Middle East.

In the same article, 'The Bulletin' reported that, regarding the repatriation of members of the Polish Armed Forces under British command, the same 'authoritative circles in London' had refuted an alleged statement by Rzymowski that the British point of view was that the servicemen should be released 'one by one'. According to these 'circles', steps had been taken to discover which Poles wished to return and which Poles did not. There had not been a plebiscite, and it was possible for any Pole to forward an application to his commanding officer to be repatriated. While no Poles had yet been repatriated, 'The Bulletin' reported that the 23,000 who had expressed a desire to return were being maintained in

a camp near Oxford, pending arrangements for repatriation. (19)

Zygmunt Nagórski And The Polish Press Agency.

The majority of the Polish servicemen under British command, as well as many civilian refugees, rejected the propaganda in favour of repatriation. Some of those who refused to return were influenced by the anti-Communist propaganda organised by the civilian and military information agencies supported by the London Polish government.

Among these agencies was the Polish Press Agency in Edinburgh. The Director, Zygmunt Nagórski, provided information regarding the situation in Poland for British newspapers and publications. He also informed Polish servicemen and civilians in Scotland about events in Poland. Nagórski used exhibitions, window displays, bulletins to the Press (English-language and Polish-language) and lecture tours by famous writers such as Marian Hemar. In addition, he published brochures and pamphlets by other authors as well as writing articles and letters to the English-language and Polish-language Press. (20)

On 3 December, 1945, Nagórski wrote to the Polish Commander-in-Chief in London, General Tadeusz Bór-Komorowski, that the Agency needed financial support

because it was the only means for informing the Scottish Press and public opinion regarding the activity of anti-Communist Poles. Nagórski wrote that the Agency was in contact with nearly all the major daily Scottish newspapers, that he was the Polish correspondent for 'The Glasgow Herald' and 'The Bulletin', that the Agency issued regular reports for the Scottish Press, and that it had sent out some 250 Press releases to British journalists and politicians, including Ministers and Members of Parliament. (21)

Some Reasons Why Poles Did Not Want To Return.

The Poles who refused to return to Poland were not only influenced by anti-Communist publicists such as Zygmunt Nagórski. Another influence was traditional fear and suspicion of Russia, especially for the Poles serving with the Second Army Corps in Italy and the Middle East who, together with the refugees in India, East Africa, the Middle East and the Levant, had been evacuated from the U.S.S.R. in 1942. They remembered the terrible conditions which they attributed to Communism. Most of them had lived east of the 'Curzon Line' in the provinces annexed by the Soviet Union so they had nothing to return to in post-war Poland. (22) Other Poles who had not suffered deportation to the Soviet Union and who had been domiciled west of the 'Curzon Line' wanted to wait until the elections in Poland had revealed whether or not Poland would be truly independent. They were usually

anti-Russian if not anti-Communist, but they wanted to read and hear objective information in Polish or in English regarding conditions in Poland. The information received made many reluctant to return.

In the main, the Poles who wanted to be repatriated either did not want to be separated from their families in Poland or else were unwilling to settle in Britain (or Scotland) where local people were hostile to 'foreigners' or 'fascist Poles'. (23)

The information regarding conditions in Poland revealed the extent of the destruction caused by the Germans and by the Red Army. Hitherto 'The Times' had not been regarded by Poles in Britain as sympathetic towards the cause of independent Poland. An article in 'The Times' of 14 December, 1945, entitled 'Poland's new frontiers', described post-war Poland objectively:

'... In 1939 Poland's territory covered an area of 150,432 square miles. Today she has 120,782 square miles. Almost exactly half of her pre-war territory (about 69,000 square miles) with one-third of her population (over 10 million) went to Russia. ... With the Curzon Line as the eastern frontier and the Oder line in the west, Poland's territory is about a fifth smaller than it was in 1939 and her population has decreased from about 35 million to between 23 million and 25 million.

'The loss of eastern Poland, especially of Lwów, is felt by all Poles. ... According to Mr. Bierut's estimate, Poland lost in the east land valued at £900 million. Before the Potsdam Conference the western territory was treated by the Russians as a Russian occupation zone. Factories were dismantled and cattle and horses were driven away. Industrial and agricultural equipment were regarded as war booty. It is difficult to know whether Mr. Bierut's estimate of the removed equipment (£125 million) is not too low. A tour of these lands reveals villages that have been destroyed, farms without cattle or horses, towns where the population has dwindled, and factories without machinery. ...'

(24)

The Demobilisation Of The Polish Armed Forces Under British Command.

Bevin refuted protests by the Soviet government and the Polish Provisional Government against the alleged employment of Polish troops as a 'foreign legion'. On 17 February, 1946, he replied to a memorandum presented on 16 February by the Soviet Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Andrei Vyshinsky, on behalf of the Yugoslav government to the Security Council of the United Nations Organisation regarding the alleged activities of the Polish Second Army Corps in Italy. Bevin rejected the

accusations that the Second Corps had been supporting Yugoslav anti-Communists. (25)

In an article in 'The Sunday Times' of 17 February, 1946, the problem of the Polish Armed Forces under British command was discussed:

'Grave issues are raised by the Polish Government in demanding the disbandment of Polish troops serving with the British colours and by the Soviet government in flinging this question into the arena of the United Nations. ... It is now clear that the Polish action has been prompted by Russia which is again unmasking a strong attack on British policy in the Mediterranean. ...' (26)

In 'The Observer' of 17 February, 1946, the problem of the Polish Armed Forces under British command was linked with the uncertain political situation in Poland:

'... The army cannot be simply disbanded and turned loose in Italy, and there is no intention of deporting the men to Poland against their will. They fought bravely for us during the War, and we are bound to feel responsibility for their future welfare. ... It had been expected that a large home-ward movement would occur as soon as the spring facilitates transport. The Warsaw Government's Note is bound to discourage this tendency.

'A further obstacle is uncertainty about the elections, provisionally fixed for June. Are they to be free, or organised on the single list system favoured by the Communists whose strength in the Warsaw Government and the National Council greatly outweighs their following in the country? ... Recognition of the Warsaw Government was given on the most definite understanding that free elections would be held. A reminder of these facts, it is felt, might well be conveyed to Warsaw, at least in order to make Britain's attitude clear.' (27)

On 21 February, 1946, Bevin informed the House of Commons that an agreement had been reached with the Polish Provisional Government regarding the fair treatment of the servicemen who would decide to return to Poland. (28) The decision to demobilise the Polish Armed Forces under British command was communicated to General Kopański, General Anders and the other Polish commanders on 15 March, 1946. (29)

The statement by Bevin in the House of Commons on 20 March, 1946, regarding this decision was generally well received. (30)

The Decision To Form The Polish Resettlement Corps.

On 22 May, 1946, Bevin announced to the House of Commons that the British government, with the agreement of the Joint Consultative Committee representing the Trades Union Congress and the British Employers Federation, had decided to create a Polish Resettlement Corps. The Polish servicemen who refused to return to Poland could enlist in the Corps which would facilitate the transition from military to civilian life and employment. The Polish troops serving outside the United Kingdom would be transported to Britain for demobilisation, with the Second Army Corps in Italy being the first units to be transferred. (31)

In general, supporters of the anti-Communist Poles in Scotland approved of this planned resettlement scheme. In an article on 23 May, 1946, 'The Scotsman' stated that the location of the Poles transferred from Italy to Britain could cause some problems owing to the anti-Polish sentiments of local people:

'Mr. Bevin's statement (22nd May) on Polish repatriation was taken quietly by the House of Commons. But it was accounted odd that the Foreign Secretary should have dealt with the important question of the location of the Poles returning from Italy as he did. It was only in reply to a subsequent question by Mr. Churchill.

'Mr Bevin's statement recognises the moral obligations of this country towards these men. ... The choice facing the Poles is between exile and return to a country dominated by Russia. Mr. Bevin's figures are not surprising. Some 29,800 have chosen to go back. About 180,000 remain.'

(32)

The views of Poles in Scotland and of their Scottish supporters were stated in an article in 'The Bulletin' of 24 May, 1946:

'Poles in Scotland welcomed Mr. Bevin's announcement regarding demobilisation. The Polish Press Agency stated that the Poles are more than ever convinced that the Western Democracies will completely fulfil their obligations to Poland and thus enable the Polish soldiers from abroad to return together to a free and independent Poland. ...' (33)

Opposition To The Arrival Of The Second Corps From Italy.

On 3 June, 1946, an anti-Polish demonstration was held in the Usher Hall in Edinburgh. A meeting of some 2,500 men and women passed a resolution calling upon the government to reconsider their decision to bring more Poles to Scotland. The resolution was moved by the

chairman, Mrs. McArthur, and seconded by Councillor Sim from Inverkeithing.

The chief organiser of the meeting was John Cormack, an Edinburgh councillor better known as a leader of the Protestant Action Society. His dislike of the Poles was caused by the fact that the majority of Poles were Catholics. He was also influenced by Communist newspapers, such as 'The Daily Worker' and 'Pravda', which he quoted during the meeting. According to Cormack, the Poles were to blame for the queues and the food shortages, for the economic depression of Scotland, and for the shortage of housing. He accused the majority of Poles of being murderers and rapists. The Poles, he said, were a mixture of Germans, Russians and Czechs. He regretted that Poland had ever been an independent state. (34)

Conflict Between Anti-Communist Poles In Scotland And The Agencies Of The Provisional Government.

Another problem confronting Poles in Scotland was the constant propaganda campaign mounted by the representatives of the Provisional Government to encourage them to apply for repatriation. Among the methods employed were publications, lecture tours, films and posters. Such propaganda often combined with resentment against anti-Polish campaigners in persuading some Poles to return. (35)

On occasion, however, the anti-Communist Poles staged their own demonstrations against the agents of the Provisional Government. One demonstration occurred on 21 June, 1946, at the opening of an exhibition entitled 'Warsaw in War and Peace' in the Rossleigh Rooms at 16, Shandwick Place, Edinburgh. This exhibition was sponsored by a 'Warsaw Committee' in association with the British Council. The opening ceremony was the scene of a demonstration against the Polish Ambassador Henryk Strasburger, the Consul in Glasgow Emil Woynarowski, the Provisional Government and the Soviet Union. Later in the day Strasburger was confronted by another demonstration by Polish students at the Paderewski Hospital in Edinburgh. He was so outraged that he cancelled his booking of rooms in an Edinburgh hotel and left for London. (36)

Support For Polish Settlement In Scotland.

To their credit, the supporters of Polish settlement in Scotland and the opponents of Communist rule in Poland did not remain passive. On 4 July, 1946, 'The Daily Record' published a very pro-Polish article by Edward Scouller of Mossbank, Glasgow. (37) In addition, on 12 July Scouller wrote the following letter to Zygmunt Nagórski of the Polish Press Agency, Edinburgh:

'... I hope you saw the letters to the editor in reply, which appeared on 6th July and on 9th July. My object in writing was primarily to arouse Scottish sympathy and stir the sense of justice which resides in our people. But I had also at the back of my mind the desire to focus and to illuminate the vague and mainly irrational factors that make for whatever anti-Polish sentiment exists here. I believed that this might benefit Poles, who must be not only irritated by this lamentably widespread hostility but also bewildered by it. My job has often brought me into contact with Polish Servicemen and I am keenly aware how puzzled they are about this attitude in friends and allies. The letters in reply to my article showed that many Scots are as disgusted as I am by any unfriendliness towards those who have suffered most of all nations in the war, and that those who take the contrary line are either

- 1) bigoted anti-Catholics,
- 2) slavish Communists who act as Stalin's stooges,
- 3) those who hate all foreigners at sight - the uncivilised,
- 4) those genuinely convinced that there has been an unduly high proportion of crime among Polish troops in this country,
- 5) those who resent the success of Polish competition for ladies' favours.

'This analysis might help Poles in propaganda and in public conduct. ...' (38)

On 13 July Nagórski replied:

'Your letter is most interesting. I think your classification of the anti-Polish part of the population is correct. I would add yet another class - that of the workers who fear that the Poles may work harder and better than they do, especially in the mining industry and who, because of their fear of this competition, they do oppose the influx of foreign labour to the industry. ...' (39)

As the leading pro-Polish organisation in Scotland, the Scottish-Polish Society decided to intensify their activities. At their Annual General Meeting held in the North British Station Hotel, Edinburgh, on 27 July, 1946, the Society planned their programme for 1946-47. They decided to organise an extensive propaganda campaign, for which a full-time organiser and secretary would be appointed. This was proposed by the Earl of Elgin, presiding, who said that the time had come when they must try to help the Poles to regain their freedom in their own country, in accordance with the pledges given by the British and other Allied Governments. They could also help Polish soldiers brought to this country for resettlement training, and secure for them rights of citizenship in this or other countries. This was

seconded by Sir Patrick Dollan. Lord Elgin was re-elected president, and Lord James Stewart Murray, Sir Patrick Dollan and Colonel J.M.B. Scott vice-presidents. Charles Burrows continued as honorary treasurer. (40)

Opposition By Organised Labour To Polish Settlement.

Despite the assurances given by the Labour government that the British people had nothing to fear from Polish resettlement, the trades unions opposed the proposed employment of Poles, regarding it as a threat to the livelihood of their members.

With the start of enrolment into the Polish Resettlement Corps on 11 September, 1946, the opposition of trades unions to the employment of Poles appeared to be foolish at a time when genuine shortages of man-power existed in certain key industries, especially in agriculture and coal-mining.

This problem was discussed in an article in 'The Economist' of 5 October, 1946:

'It is quite time that the Government bestirred itself to declare and enforce a proper immigration policy. It invites Poles into Great Britain with one hand but does nothing with the other to assure that they are used where they are most needed. It is in this sphere that the influence of the Trade

Union movement is, perhaps, more embarrassing than in any other. In no two industries could foreign labour be more valuable than in mining and agriculture yet in both the Ministers have been unable to induce the Unions to accept the Poles. Nothing could demonstrate more clearly the necessity for constant repetition of Sir Stafford Cripps's plea that under-production not unemployment is the real danger. ...' (41)

At the annual Trades Union Congress, held at Brighton from 21 to 25 October, 1946, the resolution was adopted (sponsored by the General Council) recommending the entry of Poles into British industry. (42)

The anti-Polish statements made by some delegates included the accusation that Polish soldiers were to blame for the violent incidents at Irvine on 13-14 September, 1946. In defence of the Poles Sir Patrick Dollan sent a telegram to the T.U.C. which was reported in an article in 'The Bulletin' of 24 October, 1946:

'The disturbance at Irvine involving Polish soldiers, described at the Trades Union Congress on 23rd October, was "caused by British soldiers invading a dance-hall and attacking Poles and others". That was stated in a telegram sent by Sir Patrick Dollan, chairman of the Glasgow branch of

the Scottish-Polish Society, to the chairman of the T.U.C. in Brighton.

'The telegram also stated: "Agitation against Poles in Scotland organised by the Communists and encouraged by the Russian Government. Official inquiry will be welcomed." The chairman of the T.U.C. was also requested to correct "misleading and inaccurate" statements made on 23rd October by the Transport and General Workers' Union delegate Mr. C.E. McKerrow of Irvine regarding Poles in Scotland.' (43)

The Acceptance Of Poles Into British Industry.

By January, 1947, the severe winter and the fuel crises made the employment of Poles in the under-manned coal industry essential in order to prevent economic disaster. The opposition of some trades unionists was based on ignorance regarding events in Poland. They could not understand why the Poles appeared to be so anti-Russian and anti-Communist. Their refusal to believe that some Poles could not return to Poland was finally answered by the 'elections' of 19 January, 1947, when the Polish Communist P.P.R. and their allies used intimidation and fraud to defeat the democratic parties.

For the Poles who feared that they would not be able to return and live in safety in Poland, the 'elections' of

19 January, 1947, confirmed their suspicions regarding the intentions of the Communist P.P.R.. The evidence of intimidation and fraud helped the supporters of Polish settlement to win over people who had believed that the Poles posed a threat to Scottish jobs, housing and living standards. Not only were the Poles genuine refugees from the Communist terror in their homeland, but they provided man-power needed to produce food, coal, textiles for clothing, bricks and building supplies for housing, and iron and steel for ships, vehicles and other industrial necessities. The success of Polish settlement, including the Polish Resettlement Corps and the European Volunteer Workers scheme, eventually enabled the Poles to become accepted into Scottish life.

Some Scottish people were persuaded to accept the settlement and employment of Poles for humanitarian reasons. Others were influenced more by the practical motives of economic recovery and eventual prosperity. For such people, the Poles were a 'necessary evil' to be tolerated if not welcomed. (44)

Notes To Chapter Six, Part One.

- (1) General Registry Office, Edinburgh. Census 1951 Scotland. Volume III General Volume, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1954, Table 36. Foreign-Born Population. Country of Birth and Nationality, pp 55-56.
- (2) For the population statistics regarding Poles in Britain between 1939 and 1958, see B Czaykowski and B Sulik, Polacy w W. Brytanii, Paris, 1961, pp 375-382.
- (3) J Zubrzycki, Polish Immigrants in Great Britain. A Study of Adjustment, The Hague, 1956, pp 80-86.
- (4) See the letter from Zygmunt Nagórski to 'Światpol' (London) (ZN / JR Nr. 103, 25 June, 1945).
- (5) See the letter from Zygmunt Nagórski to Adam Pragier (ZN / JR Nr. 106, 26 June, 1945) (translation).
- (6) The Voice Of Poland, No. 4 (334) (25 February, 1945), p 4.
- (7) The Voice Of Poland, No. 13 (343) (1 July, 1945), p 16.
- (8) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 14 (396) (1 August, 1965), pp 1-2.
- (9) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 10 (1 June, 1949), p 2.
- (10) To our Scottish hosts, Edinburgh, not dated.
- (11) The Voice Of Poland, No. 17 (347) (26 August, 1945), p 13.
- (12) The Voice Of Poland, No. 17 (347) (26 August, 1945), p 13.

- (13) The Voice Of Poland, No. 17 (347) (26 August, 1945), p 14.
- (14) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 413, col. 295-296 (20 August, 1945).
- (15) The Voice Of Poland, No. 18 (348) (9 September, 1945), p 14.
- (16) For the background to the denunciation of the Concordat, see S Rosada and J Gwóźdź, 'Church and State in Poland', in V Gsovski (ed.), Church and State behind the Iron Curtain, London, 1956, pp 168-176.
- (17) The Voice Of Poland, No. 20 (350) (7 October, 1945), p 2.
- (18) The Voice Of Poland, No. 23 (353) (18 November, 1945), p 15.
- (19) The Voice Of Poland, No. 23 (353) (18 November, 1945), p 15.
- (20) For the activities of the Polish Press Agency, see
- (i) the letter from Zygmunt Nagórski to M. Miedzanowski (ZN / JR Nr. 118, 28 June, 1945),
 - (ii) the letter from Z. Nagórski to J. Szyszko-Bohusz (ZN / JR Nr. 120, 28 June, 1945),
 - (iii) the letter from Z. Nagórski to L. Zakrzewski (ZN / JR Nr. 153, 3 July, 1945),
 - (iv) the letter from Z. Nagórski to Z. Grabowski (ZN / JR No. 167, 5 July, 1945),
 - (v) the letter from Z. Nagórski to Colonel K. Krzczunowicz (ZN / JR Nr. 184, 10 July, 1945),

- (vi) the letter from Z. Nagórski to M. Hemar (ZN / JR Nr. 196, 13 July, 1945),
- (vii) the letter from Z. Nagórski to N. Reh (ZN / JR Nr. 222, 23 July, 1945),
- (viii) the letter from Z. Nagórski to B. Hełczyński (ZN / JR Nr. 248, 7 August, 1945),
- (ix) the letter from Z. Nagórski to Captain Karczewski (ZN / JR Nr. 284, 4 October, 1945).
- (21) See the letter from Z. Nagórski to General T. Bór-Komorowski (ZN / JR Nr. 629, 3 December, 1945).
- (22) Zubrzycki, op cit, pp 55-56.
- (23) W Tomaszewski, Na Szkockiej Ziemi, London, 1976, pp 223-228.
- (24) The Voice Of Poland, No. 26 (356) (30 December, 1945), p 12.
- (25) Keesing's Contemporary Archives, Vol. 6, 1946-1948, p 7747.
- (26) The Voice Of Poland, No. 4 (360) (24 February, 1946), p 4.
- (27) The Voice Of Poland, No. 4 (360) (24 February, 1946), p 4.
- (28) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 419, col. 1362-1364 (21 February, 1946).
- (29) W Anders, Bez Ostatniego Rozdziału, 3rd edition, London, 1959, pp 362-365.
- (30) The Voice Of Poland, No. 7 (363) (7 April, 1946), p 15.
- (31) H. C. Deb. 5s., Vol. 423, col. 300-302 (22 May, 1946).

- (32) The Voice Of Poland, No. 11 (367) (2 June, 1946), p 3.
- (33) The Voice Of Poland, No. 11 (367) (2 June, 1946), p 3.
- (34) For the anti-Polish demonstration on 3 June, 1946, see The Voice Of Poland, No. 12 (368) (16 June, 1946), p 16.
- For the activities of Protestant Action in Edinburgh, see C Harvie, No Gods and Precious Few Heroes, Scotland 1914-1980, London, 1981, pp 100-101.
- (35) W Biegański et al, Polski Czyn Zbrojny w II Wojnie Światowej. Walki Formacji Polskich na Zachodzie, 1939-1945, Warsaw, 1981, pp 724-736.
- (36) The Voice Of Poland, No. 13 (369) (30 June, 1946), p 11.
- (37) The Voice Of Poland, No. 15 (371) (28 July, 1946), p 13.
- (38) See the letter from E. Scouller to Z. Nagórski (12 July, 1946).
- (39) See the letter from Z. Nagórski to E. Scouller (ZN / MM / 980 / 46, 13 July, 1946).
- (40) The Voice Of Poland, No. 16 (372) (11 August, 1946), p 13.
- (41) The Voice Of Poland, No. 21 (377) (20 October, 1946), p 14.
- (42) Keesing's Contemporary Archives, Vol. 6, 1946-1948, pp 8283-8284.

(43) The Voice Of Poland, No. 22 (378) (3 November, 1946), p 6.

(44) Zubrzycki, op cit, pp 85-86.

PART TWOPOLISH LIFE IN SCOTLAND (1945-1951).Introduction.

The formation of the Polish community in Scotland occurred against a background of extremely insecurity and transition. Following the withdrawal of recognition from the Polish government in London by the governments of Britain and the U.S.A. on 5 July, 1945, the Poles in exile continued their activities. They hoped that the Western democracies would realise that the Soviet Union had no intention of fulfilling the Yalta agreements regarding the restoration of a truly independent Polish state.

With the establishment of the Interim Treasury Committee for Polish Questions by the British government, the privileged position of the Poles as war-time allies came to an end. The Polish 'support society' in exile with its network of educational, welfare and community institutions and organisations could no longer rely on financial support from the British authorities. From the honoured status of allies the Poles in Britain, Germany, Italy and the Middle East became 'clients' or 'dependants' of Britain. This loss of status created both a sense of resentment among the Poles and a determination to regain their self-respect. The

demobilisation of the Polish Armed Forces under British command caused the Poles in exile to adapt their existing organisations and to create new ones more appropriate for meeting the needs of ex-servicemen and civilians.

The Polish Ex-Combatants' Association.

Of the post-war organisations, the most successful was the Polish Ex-Combatants' Association ('Stowarzyszenie Polskich Kombatantów' - S.P.K.). Founded in 1945 as the 'Samopomoc Wojska' (Army Self-help), in 1946 it became the S.P.K. comprising members of the Polish Armed Forces under British command who remained in exile because they opposed the Soviet domination of Poland through the Provisional Government. (1)

According to the Statute of the S.P.K., its aims were:

- '1) to maintain and strengthen among the Polish exiles and the other nations of the world the cause of independent and free Poland,
- 2) to strengthen the unity of our people and to maintain close comradeship among our members together with the ties of tradition created during the fight for independence,
- 3) to defend and teach the historical truth regarding the contribution and achievement of Poland during the Second World War,

- 4) to create among Poles abroad in general and among the younger generation in particular a lasting and dynamic cultural movement based upon national traditions and our organic ties with Christian civilisation,
- 5) to provide fully for the cultural and educational needs of the members of the Association and their families,
- 6) to assist members in the creation of decent living conditions and to provide for their material welfare through co-operation in organising the defence of their employment interests, through assistance in organising individual and collective, and in particular co-operative, work-shops, and also through co-operation in organising settlement,
- 7) to create solid economic foundations essential for the existence of the Association and for the achievement of its aims by running our own profit-making enterprises and financial institutions.' (2)

Above all, the main purpose of the S.P.K. was to help Poles in resisting becoming 'assimilated' into British society. In order to continue the struggle for a truly independent Poland the military traditions of the Polish Armed Forces were to be maintained in exile. Some Poles believed that Britain and the U.S.A. would decide to reform the Polish Armed Forces from the ranks of

demobilised ex-servicemen and employ them in a future war against the Soviet Union.

Most of the financial capital of the S.P.K. was invested in Britain. As the basis for economic activity, the S.P.K. had received some of the welfare funds of Polish units under British command, including the assets of the Second Army Corps in Italy and the Middle East. In addition, S.P.K. members joined local Branches ('Koła') and paid subscription fees. (3)

During the period from 1946 to 1949, while the Polish Armed Forces under British command were being demobilised, the S.P.K. founded the Polish Ex-Combatants' Association Limited (or P.C.A. Ltd.) to administer its funds. Among the investments made was the purchase of houses which were converted into centres for S.P.K., educational, cultural, welfare and community activities. These centres were called 'Domy Kombatanta'. Four of the first ten were in Scotland: in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee and Forres (in Morayshire). (4)

POLISH LIFE IN EDINBURGH (1945 TO 1951).Introduction.

According to the 15th Census of Scotland taken on 8 April, 1951, there was a total of 1,200 persons resident in Edinburgh enumerated as being 'born in Poland'. Of these, there were 895 men and 305 women. This could be compared with the 1931 Census when the total for both sexes was only 68. (5)

During the war Edinburgh had been known as the 'capital city' for Poles in Scotland, mainly due to the educational institutions, especially the School of Medicine, the welfare facilities and the numerous clubs and social centres. (6) After the end of the war in Europe, the Poles living in the Edinburgh area began to organise in response to the problems created by the Yalta decisions. Until 1951, therefore, the Poles in Edinburgh replaced some of the war-time 'support society' by founding their own institutions and organisations. Some were local branches of organisations such as the S.P.K. whose headquarters were in London. Others were created to serve local needs.

The war-time importance of Edinburgh as a Polish centre attracted Polish academics, professional people and demobilised officers. The large number of military administrative and training institutions in the area

(especially the camps at Duddingston, Dalmeny, Peebles and Innerleithen) had made Edinburgh the major centre for settlement by Polish senior officers after demobilisation. Such academics, professional people and officers were fervently anti-Communist and anti-Russian. Many had been associated with the governments of Marshal Józef Piłsudski and the 'Sanacja' before 1939. As a result their patriotism made them reluctant to return to post-war Poland. Their leadership qualities found expression in the institutions and organisations created by the Poles in Edinburgh. (7)

Polish Organisations In Edinburgh.

In January, 1949, there were fourteen organisations represented in the Council of Polish Societies:

- 1) 'Stowarzyszenie Techników' (Association of Engineers),
- 2) 'Związek Lekarzy' (Association of Physicians),
- 3) 'Zrzeszenie Nauczycieli Polskich Za granicą' (Association of Polish School-teachers Abroad),
- 4) 'Stowarzyszenie Lekarzy Weterynarii' (Association of Veterinary Surgeons),
- 5) 'Zrzeszenie Profesorów i Docentów' (Association of Professors and Senior Lecturers),
- 6) 'Związek Dziennikarzy' (Association of Journalists),
- 7) 'Stowarzyszenie Polskich Kombatantów, Koło Nr. 25' (Polish Ex-Combatants' Association, Branch Nr. 25),

- 8) 'Związek Polek' (Association of Polish Women),
- 9) 'Stowarzyszenie Studentów' (Association of Students),
- 10) 'Związek Harcerstwa Polskiego' (Association of Polish Scouts),
- 11) 'Koło Przyjaciół Harcerstwa' (Association of Friends of Scouting),
- 12) 'Stowarzyszenie Uniwersyteckie "Veritas"' ('Veritas' University Association),
- 13) 'Komitet Kościelny' (Church Committee),
- 14) 'Związek Ziem Północno-Wschodnich' (Association of the North-Eastern Provinces). (8)

The total membership of these fourteen organisations was 701 persons. As one person could belong to two or more organisations, it was estimated that the Council of Polish Societies represented some 500 Poles in the Edinburgh area. The organisation with most members was the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25' with 270. Of the others, the 'Związek Polek' had 138, the 'Stowarzyszenie Studentów' 84, the 'Związek Harcerstwa Polskiego' 74, the 'Koło Przyjaciół Harcerstwa' 53, the 'Polskie Katolickie Stowarzyszenie Uniwersyteckie "Veritas"' 36, the 'Związek Lekarzy' 30, and the 'Zrzeszenie Nauczycieli Polskich Za granicą' 16. (9)

The 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25' And The 'Dom Kombatanta'.

As the organisation claiming to be the successor to the traditions of the Polish Armed Forces, the S.P.K. in Edinburgh was very popular and wanted to lead the activities of the community. Founded in 1946, the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25' comprised officers, N.C.O.s and other ranks on a completely democratic basis. With the support of the S.P.K. leadership in London and General Stanisław Maczek (the last G.O.C. of the First Polish Army Corps in Scotland), in 1948 a property at 11, Drummond Place was purchased to be a 'Dom Kombatanta'. This centre was owned by P.C.A. Ltd. in London but organised by the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25'. The 'Dom Kombatanta' provided employment for members and was a centre for Polish organisations, social, cultural, welfare and educational activities for ex-servicemen and all Poles living in Edinburgh and throughout Scotland.

Among the organisations based there were the Council of Polish Societies and the 'Związek Polek'. Institutions based there included the Polish Catholic Mission for Scotland and the Polish Parish in Edinburgh. Other Polish organisations also used the facilities of the 'Dom Kombatanta', especially the function hall, for their meetings.

In order to encourage Poles, both members and non-members, to use the 'Dom Kombatanta', the 'Koło S.P.K.'

organised a library with the publications once owned by Polish units and donated to the S.P.K. in Scotland. There was also a club room with Polish and English publications and games, which was open every day and sold tea, coffee and cakes. Part of the 'Dom Kombatanta' was a hostel for visitors to the city and for working Poles.
(10)

In accordance with the Statute of the S.P.K., the purpose of every 'Dom Kombatanta' was to be a profit-making enterprise. For the 'Dom Kombatanta' in Edinburgh, the early years were difficult due to the large debts to be paid off. During the first financial year of 1948-49 a loss of over £800 was incurred. This was caused by the expense of renovating and organising the 'Dom Kombatanta', together with the failure of the 'Koło S.P.K.' to obtain a restaurant licence and the need to pay off the mortgage at a rate of £31 per month.

Strict economy and better organisation contributed towards reducing the deficit. At the same time, reconciling the social and the economic purposes of the 'Dom Kombatanta' proved difficult because of the financial hardship of most local Poles who often were not in well paid employment and had to support themselves and their families.

During 1949-50 the situation improved greatly. In December, 1949, the 'Koło S.P.K.' received a licence to

run a snack bar, which was leased to Stefan Olejnik in January, 1950. The first five months of 1950-51 produced good results and a balanced budget. In May, 1950, a full restaurant licence was obtained. In June, the number of rooms to let was increased. From July, dances were organised every Saturday evening. Then, from August, musical evenings were held on Sundays. Two function halls were available once a month for a small fee for the use of other organisations.

The popularity of the 'Dom Kombatanta' was shown as from 1 April, 1950, to 31 August, 1950, no fewer than 28 Polish organisations held a total of 87 functions, including 40 meetings, 13 lectures, 12 social evenings, 3 conferences, 8 dances, 7 functions with dancing and 4 musical evenings. In addition, there was a total of 81 Polish School lessons and Scout meetings. (11)

Between 1945 and 1951 most Polish organisations in Britain were forced to adopt a policy of strict financial retrenchment. This resulted in the sale of assets in Edinburgh. Among the premises sold were the 'Dom Harcerza' (3, Douglas Gardens), the 'Dom Polski Towarzystwa Pomocy Polakom' (58, Dalkeith Road), the 'Dom Młodzieży' (5, Royal Terrace), the 'Dom Akademicki' (5, Murrayfield Road), the 'Gospoda Polska' (11, Royal Terrace) and the 'Dom Żołnierza' (9, Moray Place). (12) The financial strength of the S.P.K. in Britain ensured

the relatively secure position of the 'Dom Kombatanta' in Edinburgh.

The Polish Catholic Parish In Edinburgh.

The structure of religious life for the Poles in Scotland evolved during war-time. In Edinburgh the Poles were fortunate to have had the support of Archbishop Andrew Joseph McDonald, the Head of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in Scotland. As the Archbishop of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, he granted in 1942 the use of a small chapel named St. Anne's Oratory in Randolph Place for the Polish civilians and servicemen. Successive priests were Father Captain Wacław Pyszkowski, Father Bonifacy Sławik and Father Kazimierz Sołowiej.

On 4 October, 1948, the Polish Catholic Mission in Scotland was established by Archbishop McDonald in consultation with the Polish Episcopate. Cardinal August Hlond, the Primate of Poland, nominated Father Colonel Doctor Ludwik Bombas, the Head Chaplain to the First Polish Army Corps in Scotland, to be the Rector of the Mission. Following the departure of Father Sołowiej on 1 August, 1950, to work for the Polish Catholic Mission in London, Father Bombas became the parish priest for the Edinburgh area. (13)

The Polish Catholic Mission in Scotland ('Polska Misja Katolicka w Szkocji') provided spiritual leadership for

the exiled Poles. Not only did the Vatican continue to recognise the Polish government in London but Pope Pius XII and the Papal Curia in Rome made special provision for the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Catholic refugees and 'displaced persons' left in exile after 1945. In the Papal Constitution 'Exsul Familia' of 1 August, 1952, Pope Pius XII stated the principles sanctioning the parochial organisation set up for exiled Poles and other Catholics. This Constitution provided for the establishment of 'personal parishes' as opposed to territorial parishes. The parish priest could claim spiritual jurisdiction 'ad suam personam' over the people of his own faith and nationality. He performed his duties under the authority of the local parish priest and the bishop of the diocese. (14) In the case of Father Bombas, he was responsible to the Administrator of St. Mary's Cathedral (who was in charge of St. Anne's Oratory) and to the Archbishop of St. Andrews and Edinburgh.

The Polish School In Edinburgh.

Many Poles in exile wanted to maintain their national identity and felt threatened by the resettlement plans of the British government. One of the perceived 'threats' was the establishment of the Committee for the Education of Poles in Great Britain, whose intention was to transfer Polish children into the educational systems of Scotland, England and Wales. (15) For the Poles who

believed that the defeat of the Soviet Union would enable the exiles to return to an independent Poland, it was essential that their children should not become 'British subjects of Polish descent' but should remain genuinely 'Polish' and ready to 'return home'.

As in the case of the Polish Parish, the origins of the Polish School in Edinburgh were in war-time. On 6 March, 1941, in the Station Hotel in Perth, a meeting of professional school-teachers serving with the First Army Corps in Scotland founded the 'Zrzeszenie Nauczycieli Polaków w Wielkiej Brytanii' (Association of Polish School-teachers in Great Britain). The Z.N.P. was under the authority of the Polish Ministry of Education in London. By the end of the war this organisation was named the 'Zrzeszenie Nauczycielstwa Polskiego Za granicą' (Association of Polish School-teachers Abroad). It comprised several hundred members working in schools and courses in Britain, Iraq, Iran, Palestine, Egypt, Lebanon, India, East Africa and Italy. (16)

From 5 July, 1945, the Z.N.P.Z. began to plan long-term work in the knowledge that the immediate future could prove very difficult. The Polish schools and courses were taken over by the Education Branch of the Interim Treasury Committee until 1 April, 1947, when the Committee for the Education of Poles in Great Britain started work. These schools and courses were not available to all Polish children. In addition, the

Z.N.P.Z. knew that the British government intended to close them gradually. The result would be that they would not be available when the generation of children born to Polish people after the war would become ready for school. To a very large extent, therefore, Polish communities in Britain would have to rely on their own resources.

During the war Edinburgh had been a major centre for Polish education, including courses in education at Edinburgh University. After the war some Polish men and women continued their teaching studies with grants from the I.T.C. and the Committee for the Education of Poles in Great Britain. With several qualified teachers resident in the Edinburgh area, who often found work in local schools, the Edinburgh branch ('Koło') of the Z.N.P.Z., whose chairman was Stanisław Maj, organised a course in Polish subjects with the assistance of several Polish organisations.

On 27 September, 1948, the first courses were held at the 'Dom Młodzieży Polskiej' at 5, Royal Terrace. While the teaching and overall organisation were the responsibility of the 'Koło Z.N.P.Z.', financial support was provided by the 'Komitet Opieki nad Dzieckiem Polskim' (Committee for the Welfare of the Polish Child) founded on the initiative of community organisations and under the auspices of the Council of Polish Societies. (17) With

the closure of the 'Dom Młodzieży', from 30 September, 1949, the courses were taught at the 'Dom Kombatanta'.

In total, there were four courses:

- 1) for children aged from 7 to 10,
- 2) for children aged from 11 to 12,
- 3) secondary groups 1 and 2,
- 4) secondary groups 3 and 4.

The first course taught the Polish language, cultural activities (singing and dancing) and religion. The second course taught the Polish language, geography, cultural activities, religion and history. Secondary courses 1 and 2, as well as 3 and 4, taught the same subjects as the second primary course. Levels of teaching were appropriate to the age of the students. (18)

On 11 October, 1949, the 'Komitet Opieki' was dissolved on the proposal of its chairman, Dr. Stanisław Mglej, and succeeded by the 'Komitet Szkoły Polskiej w Edynburgu' (Polish School Committee in Edinburgh). (19) Next, on 19 October, 1949, the 'Polski Komitet Oświatowy' (Polish Education Committee) was founded. (20)

From 40 pupils during 1948-49, the number decreased to 27 during 1949-50. This was mainly due to the liquidation of the Polish Resettlement Corps on 30 September, 1949, after which many Poles left the Edinburgh area in search

of employment. (21) During 1950-51 there was a further decrease to 20, mainly due to a dispute regarding competence between the 'Koło Z.N.P.Z.' and the 'Polski Komitet Oświatowy'. The dispute was resolved with the decision that education should be the responsibility of the 'Koło Z.N.P.Z.', while all other activities concerning Polish children and young people would be under the 'Polski Komitet Oświatowy'. (22)

Apart from teaching in Edinburgh, the 'Koło Z.N.P.Z.' also organised and taught Polish courses at Macmerry camp, near Tranent in East Lothian, between 1949 and 1952. After closing down as an army camp on 31 May, 1948, from 1 June, 1948, the Ministry of Labour and National Service had accepted administrative responsibility and had run the camp as a hostel with the help of the Y.M.C.A.. (23) At the Census taken on 8 April, 1951, the Polish Housing Estate at Macmerry comprised 23 private households, with 48 men and 34 women. (24) With the assistance of local parents, the 'Koło Z.N.P.Z.' taught a nursery class and a primary school class. There was an annual average roll of some 20 children. Due to the holding-camp policy of the British authorities, the Macmerry hostel was gradually run down and the families rehoused. (25)

The Association Of Disabled Servicemen.

One of the most active Polish organisations was the 'Związek Inwalidów Wojennych Polskich Sił Zbrojnych, Koło Edynburg' (the Association of Disabled Servicemen of the Polish Armed Forces, Edinburgh Branch), which was founded in September, 1947. The purpose of the 'Koło Edynburg' was to provide financial and other assistance for Polish servicemen not receiving British invalidity pensions or with pensions insufficient for their needs. There were two main grievances against British policy. First, the Ministry of Pensions only provided for Poles disabled while serving in the Polish Armed Forces under British command. This excluded those disabled during the September, 1939, campaign in Poland, during the campaigns in Norway and France in 1940, or while serving with the Polish 'Armia Krajowa' resistance movement. Second, the Poles who had received pensions and were able to work sometimes suffered hardship because of the low rates of payment awarded by British medical panels. (26)

The Association Of Polish Women.

Another organisation with charitable and welfare aims was the 'Związek Polek' (Association of Polish Women), which was founded in 1945. Among its activities was raising funds for assistance for Poland, especially for an orphanage at Tarnów and for some very needy families. This help for Poland was organised in co-operation with

the Catholic Church and the Catholic lay-persons' organisation 'Caritas'. The 'Związek Polek' also organised assistance for its members. This included organising courses teaching English or skills such as typing or dress-making, liaison with Labour Exchanges to find employment, financial help in event of illness or unemployment, organising social and cultural activities, and looking after children of pre-school age while their mothers were working. As in the case of the 'Związek Inwalidów Wojennych', the 'Związek Polek' raised funds by organising social activities such as dances. (27)

The Union Of Polish Craftsmen And Workers.

Founded on 26 August, 1940, the 'Związek Rzemieślników i Robotników Polskich w Wielkiej Brytanii' (Union of Polish Craftsmen and Workers in Great Britain) was the only Polish professional organisation affiliated to the Trades Union Congress as associated members of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers. Inspired by the success of the Glasgow Branch, on 24 July, 1949, a Branch of the Z.R.R.P. was founded in Edinburgh. In April, 1950, the 'Koło Z.R.R.P.' started work with an office at the 'Gospoda Polska' at 11, Royal Terrace, Edinburgh.

The activities of the Z.R.R.P. in Britain were described during a public discussion meeting on 12 May, 1950, organised by the 'Koło Z.R.R.P.' in Edinburgh. Attended by some 40 people, the meeting at the 'Gospoda Polska'

was opened by the Chairman of the 'Koło', Leon Frytzhand, who said that the 'Koło' planned to open in the near future an employment exchange for Polish employers and workers, to found a women's section, and to organise better co-operation between Polish craftsmen and businessmen in order to exchange information and establish working contacts.

Next, the meeting was addressed by Stefan Gacki, the Secretary General of the Z.R.R.P. in London, who gave a lecture regarding the work of the Z.R.R.P.. He said that there were some 160,000 Poles in Great Britain, of whom about 100,000 were working. Of those working, the 75,000 men and 25,000 women had an average age of about 32. Most of the women were former 'displaced persons' or European Volunteer Workers. The problems previously encountered by Poles in finding work had been greatly reduced by the ending of compulsory application to Labour Exchanges and by being able to change employment at will. Only European Volunteer Workers were required to inform the local Labour Exchange regarding any planned change of employment.

According to Gacki, at first the British authorities tended to employ Poles in coal-mining and agriculture. At one time there were between 9,000 and 10,000 Polish coal-miners, but this had been reduced to some 6,000 due to the dangerous conditions and the difficulty of finding well paid 'face work'. Some 4,000 Poles were employed

in agriculture, but there was a gradual migration to other employment. In both coal-mining and agriculture there was no risk of unemployment. In the building trades some 10,000 Poles were usually employed in the worst paid unskilled trades. There was a high risk of unemployment due to shortages of construction contracts. Between 5,000 and 6,000 Poles were employed in the metallurgical industries, which was very hard work but well paid. In some branches of industry Polish craftsmen and skilled workers were eligible for promotion, but this was often opposed by the trades unions. Some 8,000 Poles worked in the hotel and catering trades. Such employment was popular due to the benefits available, especially board and accommodation. As well as many other trades and businesses in which Poles were working, there were some Poles who were self-employed. About 90 per cent of working Poles were among the lowest paid in their industries. Gacki concluded by declaring that, in order to improve their working conditions, it was necessary for Poles to learn the English language well, for example at evening classes, and to organise themselves to defend their interests.

(28)

The 'Koło Z.R.R.P.' in Edinburgh decided to organise and run its own social centre at the 'Gospoda Polska'. From 1 November, 1950, the 'Koło' took over the function hall. After restoration work and redecoration, the hall was made available to all Polish community organisations for

hire for lectures, meetings, dances and other functions. In order to raise funds, from March, 1951, the 'Koło' ran a Polish restaurant at the 'Gospoda Polska', which was open from Monday to Friday from 5 p.m. to midnight and on Saturday and Sunday from 12 noon to midnight. In addition, dances were held on Saturday and Sunday evening which were organised by the 'Koło Z.R.R.P.' and by other community organisations. (29)

The Success Of The 'Dom Kombatanta' In Edinburgh.

Following a deficit of some £800 during 1948-49 and a deficit of £88 during 1949-50, a profit of £150 was made during 1950-51. In addition, the Committee of the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25' was able to pay off £150 interest on the mortgage, £220 of the mortgage itself and £200 for furnishings. The profit of £150 was used to write off 10 per cent of the organisation expenses, which totalled £134, leaving £16 as clear profit.

One reason for this improved financial situation was the low cost of staff wages, which totalled only £300 or less than 25 per cent of the total expenditure for 1950-51, which was £1,240. Julian Świerkosz, the director of the 'Dom Kombatanta', did not want any payment. Of the total income for 1950-51, £102 came from functions organised by the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25'.

The total of 443 functions held in the 'Dom Kombatanta' included 111 meetings, conferences and rehearsals, 39 lectures, 3 delegate conferences, 25 social evenings, 14 dances organised by other Polish organisations, 26 dances organised by the 'Koło S.P.K.', 24 musical evenings, and 201 Polish School days and Scout meetings. (30)

The Development Of Community Life In Edinburgh.

During this period of intense activity, some societies were disbanded as a result of the departure of members from the Edinburgh area in search of better employment in England or overseas in the U.S.A., Canada or South Africa.

At the Annual General Meeting of the Council of Polish Societies, held on 14 September, 1950, a total of twenty-one organisations and societies were affiliated and represented by their delegates. Of these twenty-one, six remained from the fourteen affiliated in January, 1949. These were the 'Związek Lekarzy', the 'Związek Polek', the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25', the 'Z.N.P.Z., Koło Edynburg', the 'Polski Komitet Kościelny' and the 'P.K.S.U. "Veritas"'. .

The 'Z.R.R.P., Koło Edynburg' and the 'Związek Inwalidów Wojennych P.S.Z., Koło Edynburg' were local branches of Polish organisations, while the 'Polski Komitet Oświatowy' served local education needs. Three

societies were associations of Poles resident in certain districts of Edinburgh.

There were three associations of distinct units of former servicemen:

the 'Koło byłych Żołnierzy Dowództwa 1 Korpusu Wojska Polskiego' (Association of Former Soldiers of the Command of the First Polish Army Corps),

the 'Koło byłych Żołnierzy 22 Kompanii Zaopatrzenia Artylerii 2 Korpusu' (Association of Former Soldiers of the 22nd Artillery Supply Company of the Second Army Corps),

the 'Koło byłych Żołnierzy Oddziałów Zaopatrzenia i Transportu Jednostek Pozadywizyjnych 2 Korpusu' (Association of Former Soldiers of the Supply and Transport Units of the Reserve Units of the Second Army Corps).

In addition, there were six community organisations:

the 'Krąg Starszo-Harcerski' (Association of Senior Scouts),

the 'Klub Sportowy S.P.K. "Polonia"' (Sports Club S.P.K. 'Polonia'),

the 'Towarzystwo Uniwersytetu Robotniczego'
(Workers' University Association),

the 'Koło Polskiej Akcji Katolickiej' (Polish
Catholic Action, Edinburgh Branch),

the 'Towarzystwo Przyrodników im. Mikołaja
Kopernika' (Mikołaj Kopernik Scientific Society),

the 'Koło Studiów Wojskowych' (Society for Military
Studies). (31)

The 'Koło Polskiej Akcji Katolickiej'.

The 'Koło Polskiej Akcji Katolickiej' was a branch of the 'Akcja Katolicka' (Catholic Action), which was a Polish association of Catholic lay people and had been created in Britain by decrees issued on 7 October, 1943, by Bishops Gawlina and Radoński. On 2 October, 1947, Monsignor Michalski founded the 'Instytut Polskiej Akcji Katolickiej' in London as the body responsible for the organisation, direction and counselling of lay Catholic activists.

In 1948 the 'Akcja Katolicka' in Scotland was founded by Father Bombas. At the same time, the 'Koło' in Edinburgh was set up. In May, 1949, Colonel Ryszard Koperski became Chairman and the 'Akcja Katolicka' started working intensively.

Among the activities of the 'Akcja Katolicka' were teaching courses for members and instructors, creating other branches, organising the distribution of Catholic books and publications, and organising religious events and celebrations such as lectures and pilgrimages. While strictly non-political, the 'Akcja Katolicka' complemented the work of the Polish Parish and the Polish School in maintaining the traditions of pre-war Poland. The 'Akcja Katolicka' was determined to prevent Poles in exile from sharing the growing religious indifference of many Scottish people.

Members of the Edinburgh 'Koło' co-operated with other branches in Glasgow, Falkirk, Kirkcaldy, Kinghorn, Balhary, Addiewell, Annsmuir, Muiredge, and Blackburn (West Lothian) in organising courses, lecture tours and religious celebrations. The major event for Catholic Poles in Scotland was the annual pilgrimage to the shrine dedicated to the Virgin Mary at Carfin near Motherwell. This pilgrimage was important for two reasons. First, while the cult of Our Blessed Lady had always been popular in Poland, on the Feast of the Assumption (15 August) in 1920 the Polish Army led by Marshal Józef Piłsudski began the offensive which defeated the Red Army during the Polish-Soviet War of 1920-21. Known as 'the miracle of the Vistula', this victory was attributed by the Poles to the inspiration of the Virgin Mary who was worshipped as Queen and Patroness of Poland. Second,

on 3 September, 1940, Bishop General Józef Gawlina led a pilgrimage to Carfin where Polish servicemen and civilians prayed for victory and to return to Poland. In 1948 the last 'military pilgrimage' to Carfin was held with Chaplains Father Wincenty Nagi-Drobina and Father Bolesław Lewandowski leading members of the Polish Resettlement Corps. For these reasons, the first 'civilian pilgrimage', held on 18 September, 1949, and organised by the 'Akcja Katolicka', was attended by some 1,000 Poles from all over Scotland. (32)

Another annual event organised by the 'Akcja Katolicka' in Edinburgh was the celebration of the Feast of Christ the King. This was held on the last Sunday in October in co-operation with the 'P.K.S.U. "Veritas"', the 'Komitet Kościelny', the 'Komitet Oświatowy', the Polish School and the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25'.

From 1950 the 'Koło Akcji Katolickiej' also started charitable activities by providing parcels of Polish sausage, cakes and fruit for Poles without families who were in hospital. At Easter and Christmas members of the 'Koło' visited Poles in hospitals in Edinburgh, Bangour and Broxburn, and in the Polish Convalescent Home at Luffness House near Aberlady in East Lothian. These Poles received parcels. (33)

The Convalescent Home at Luffness House was one of the few Polish institutions in Scotland maintained by the

British health authorities under the provisions of the Polish Resettlement Act. It was maintained by the Polish Hospitals Division of the Department of Health for Scotland together with the Polish Hospital Unit of Ballochmyle Hospital (near Mauchline in Ayrshire) and the Polish Maternity Unit at Bangour Hospital in West Lothian. (34)

At the Census taken on 8 April, 1951, there was a total of 28 people enumerated as 'born in Poland' who were resident in the Polish Convalescent Home at Luffness House. Of these, 17 men were patients, 6 men and 2 women were staff and 1 man and 2 women were relatives of patients. (35)

The 'Koło Przyrodników im. Mikołaja Kopernika'.

During the war many Polish academics, doctors of medicine and of veterinary science worked and studied at Edinburgh University. At the time of the foundation of the Polish School of Medicine, Professor Antoni Jurasz (Dean of the School from 1941 to 1945) proposed the establishment of a Polish hospital in Edinburgh which would provide treatment for Poles in Scotland and facilities for clinical instruction for the students at the School. The Edinburgh City Council agreed to provide the former Children's Home at the Western General Hospital for the use of the Polish community. It was maintained partly from contributions from the City of Edinburgh and partly

from assistance from the Polish military authorities and the Polish Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare in London. It received the title of the 'Paderewski Hospital' because Professor Jurasz had also obtained a grant from the Paderewski Fund in the U.S.A. for the purchase of equipment. The Hospital was opened on 9 September, 1941, and was closed down and transferred to Poland in April, 1947. Only the out-patient clinics continued. Of these, the Dental Dispensary was the last to be closed in May, 1949. (36)

After the war several Polish academics found employment as lecturers and research staff at Edinburgh University. Other Polish professional people, including doctors, dentists, veterinary surgeons, solicitors and school-teachers, settled in the Edinburgh area. Some professionals, especially doctors, dentists and veterinary surgeons, usually received permission to practice from the British authorities. Other professionals found that their Polish qualifications were not recognised as sufficient. In order to work in their professions, they had to acquire the appropriate British qualifications. Some were able to acquire the necessary qualifications. Those who could not, whether due to their age or to their inability to learn British methods, often found work in less prestigious employment, such as clerical work in financial or commercial companies. (37)

On 12 April, 1949, the 'Koło Przyrodników' was founded. The Chairman was Dr. Bronisław Śliżyński, who gave the first lecture on 10 May, 1949. (38) For the academics and professional people working in their professions, the 'Koło Przyrodników' provided opportunities to meet socially, give lectures and converse in Polish with their intellectual peers. Those who had 'lost status' because of their less prestigious employment found 'compensatory leisure pursuits' at these meetings. (39)

As an indication of the number of Polish 'intellectuals' who belonged to the 'Koło Przyrodników', it is sufficient to study the list of lecturers until December, 1951. Lectures were given by Dr. Śliżyński (twice), Ignacy Harski (twice and twice jointly), Dr. Stanisław Mglej (twice), Stanisław Polański, Dr. Wiktor Tomaszewski (twice and once jointly), Dr. Borys Herszenhorn (twice), Dr. Henryk Masłowski (three times), Dr. Czesław Rayski, Professor Mirosław Ramułt (once jointly), Professor Stanisław Judek (twice), Dr. Jerzy Dekański, Dr. Barbara Zając (four times), General Dr. Józef Zając (twice), Professor Jakub Rostowski, Colonel Aleksander Ruchaj, Professor Jan Wilczyński and Dr. Jan Jezierski. (40)

The 'Koło Studiów Wojskowych'.

As a result of the many military administrative and training centres which had been established for the Polish First Army Corps in the Edinburgh area, including

the Polish Staff College at Blackbarony (near Eddleston in Peeblesshire) and the Polish Military Office in Edinburgh, a number of former professional Polish army officers settled in Edinburgh after demobilisation. Before demobilisation, some officers had taken vocational courses taught by the instructors attached to the Polish Resettlement Corps, including watch-repairing and business studies. Many senior officers did not receive pensions from the British government. Their advanced age prevented them from obtaining employment as clerical staff. While a few succeeded in becoming self-employed, there were many who either found unskilled work usually in the hotel and catering trades or else lived on National Assistance. (41)

The 'Koło Studiów Wojskowych' was founded on 5 May, 1950, with the consent of the Polish military authorities in London. On 21 June, 1950, a Committee was elected with Colonel Ryszard Koperski as the Chairman. (42) The purpose of the 'Koło Studiów Wojskowych' was to provide its members with the opportunity to meet socially, to give lectures and to increase their military knowledge. These members included many senior officers, such as Colonel Józef Krautwald, Major Karol Turek, Colonel Józef Englicht, Colonel Aleksander Ruchaj, Lieutenant-Colonel Adam Morbitzer and Colonel Henryk Kreiss, who gave lectures during 1950 and 1951.

Due to the Korean War, which started on 25 June, 1950, and was regarded by some exiled Poles as the beginning of the 'inevitable conflict' between the Western democracies and the Soviet Union, some members of the 'Koło Studiów Wojskowych' believed that they would soon be back in uniform commanding units of the Polish Army. Once again, however, their hopes proved to be groundless.

(43)

THE POLISH COMMUNITY IN GLASGOW (1945 TO 1951).

Introduction.

According to the Census taken on 8 April, 1951, there was a total of 1,164 persons resident in Glasgow enumerated as 'born in Poland'. There were 957 men and 207 women.
(44)

During the war Glasgow had been an important civilian and military centre for Poles in Scotland. Among the facilities were the Polish Consulate, the Polish Military Office, and several educational institutions such as the Agricultural School, the Commercial College and the Centre for Study by Correspondence Courses. Some Poles who settled in Glasgow after the war had previously worked or studied there as civilians, service personnel or members of the Polish Resettlement Corps.

After the disbandment of the P.R.C. on 30 September, 1949, the Poles were no longer subjected to restrictions regarding employment. There were 'Polish Sections' within Labour Exchanges but Poles could change employment freely - unless they had entered Britain as European Volunteer Workers. This freedom caused ex-servicemen and civilians to travel to areas with more plentiful and better paid employment. As the industrial capital of Scotland, Glasgow proved very attractive for Polish settlement. (45)

Both in Edinburgh and in Glasgow the Poles who settled were from nearly all pre-war social strata and political affiliations. All were united by the traumatic effects of life in exile where pre-war social distinctions or military rank had lost their value. While in Edinburgh most of the community leaders were academics, former army officers and professional people, in Glasgow there were more Poles who were important in community life because of their success in business and their personal qualities of leadership. (46)

The Council Of Delegates.

As in Edinburgh, the Poles in Glasgow organised themselves in defence of their interests. There were threats from two sides. First, the opponents of Polish settlement wanted to convince Scottish public opinion of the 'threat' posed to employment, food supplies and housing. Second, the representatives of the Provisional Government undertook a propaganda campaign through their Consulate in Glasgow aiming at persuading Poles to return to Poland.

The body founded to co-ordinate the activities of anti-Communist Poles in Glasgow was the 'Rada Delegatów Polskich Stowarzyszeń Zawodowych i Społecznych w Glasgowie' (Council of Delegates of Polish Professional and Community Organisations in Glasgow). Founded in

1946, the Council of Delegates comprised representation from several organisations including

- 1) the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 105',
- 2) the 'Związek Inwalidów Wojennych Polskich Sił Zbrojnych, Koło "Glasgow"',
- 3) the 'Związek Rzemieślników i Robotników Polskich, Koło "Glasgow"',
- 4) the 'Samopomoc Marynarki Wojennej, Koło "Glasgow"' (Polish Naval Association, Glasgow Branch),
- 5) the 'Koło Akcji Katolickiej',
- 6) the 'Komitet Parafialny' (Parish Committee),
- 7) the 'Zrzeszenie Nauczycielstwa Polskiego Za granicą, Koło "Glasgow"'. (47)

Polish Life In Glasgow (1945 To 1951).

The major organisations founded by the Poles in Britain had branches in both Edinburgh and Glasgow: the S.P.K., the 'Związek Inwalidów', the Z.R.R.P., the 'Akcja Katolicka' and the Z.N.P.Z.. In January, 1951, the large number of former naval personnel in Glasgow founded the 'Samopomoc Marynarki Wojennej, Koło "Glasgow"'.

As in Edinburgh, in Glasgow the 'Koło S.P.K.' became the leading organisation. A 'Dom Kombatanta' was opened in 1948 at 7, Clairmont Gardens, Glasgow. At the 'Dom Kombatanta' the Polish organisations held their meetings and functions. In order to continue the pre-war Polish

patriotic traditions, the Council of Delegates organised the celebration of major anniversaries in Polish history such as the 3rd of May (the enactment of the 1791 Constitution), the 15th of August (the 'miracle of the Vistula' - also known as the 'Święto Żołnierza' or the 'Soldiers' Day' - in 1920) and the 11th of November (when Poland regained independence in 1918). In addition, the anniversaries of other events, including the birth or death of distinguished Poles, were commemorated by 'akademia' with speeches, performances of music, poetry or prose, and Polish songs and dances by the Polish School. (48)

In 1951 the Polish School in Glasgow was founded. As in Edinburgh, the 'Koło Z.N.P.Z.' in Glasgow was responsible for organisation and teaching while financial support was provided by an elected committee comprising representatives of community organisations.

The Polish Parish in Glasgow was founded in 1948. The parish priest was Father Jan Gruszka who had been a Chaplain in the Polish Army. An elected Parish Committee raised money from contributions from parishioners to pay and maintain Father Gruszka and to finance all religious activities.

As the organisation with the most members and the largest finances and ambitions, the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 105'

contributed generously towards the maintenance of the Polish Parish and the Polish School.

In order to raise funds functions such as dances and musical evenings were organised at the 'Dom Kombatanta'. The Polish School classes were also taught at the 'Dom Kombatanta'. (49)

Comment On Polish Community Life In Scotland.

The successful development of Polish community life in Edinburgh and Glasgow between 1945 and 1951 was due in large measure to the number of people willing to participate.

Becoming a member of a community organisation was a major decision. It often happened that a Pole, especially a man married to a non-Polish wife, wanted to become a member of Scottish society and took no part in organised Polish community life. Those who rejected Polish community life were often very disillusioned with the Polish authorities in London. While the politicians and the military leaders continued to appeal to the Poles in exile for faith in the eventual liberation of Poland, many Poles lost hope. They did not approve of Communist rule in Poland but did not believe that Britain, the U.S.A. and the other western democracies would fight the Soviet Union in order to liberate the states of Central and Eastern Europe.

The Poles who supported local Polish community institutions and organisations did not reject Scottish society but they adopted the attitude that they could become members of Scottish society and still remain Polish. Some not only wanted to remain Polish themselves but also wanted to teach their children to support the cause of freedom for Poland. Such people did not lose hope that one day they (and their children) would return to a truly independent Poland. (50)

The successful development of organised Polish community life also depended on the number of Polish women resident in a city or town because Polish men with Polish wives were more likely to be active community members.

POLISH LIFE IN DUNDEE AND ABERDEEN (1945 TO 1951).

According to the Census taken on 8 April, 1951, in Dundee there was a total of 309 persons enumerated as 'born in Poland'. This total comprised 275 men and 34 women. (51) In the county of Angus there were a further 212 persons 'born in Poland', with 195 men and 17 women. (52) Some of the members of Polish community organisations in Dundee lived in the county of Angus.

In the city of Aberdeen there was a total of 122 persons 'born in Poland', comprising 112 men and 10 women. (53) The county of Aberdeen had a further 140 persons 'born in Poland', with 120 men and 20 women. (54)

Dundee and the county of Angus had been part of the sector defended by Polish troops from October, 1940, to the end of 1941. Some of the Poles who settled in Dundee or in towns or villages in the county of Angus had served there during the war. Employment was also available after the war in Dundee and throughout Angus. The city of Dundee had extensive jute and linen works, and also engaged in the shipbuilding and engineering industries, shoe-making, food processing, jam and preserve making, and the manufacture of confectionery. Apart from agriculture, the county of Angus also engaged in the manufacture of jute and linen, and had several fishing ports, such as Arbroath. (55)

In Aberdeenshire and Kincardineshire Polish soldiers from the Fourth Infantry Division were stationed from late 1944 until the start of recruitment into the Polish Resettlement Corps in September, 1946. Not only were they not popular during wartime, but after the end of the war they were regarded as an unwelcome expense. Some returned to Poland, while others were transferred with their units to serve with the Polish Resettlement Corps in other areas. The relative shortage of employment also caused very few Poles to settle in Aberdeen and Aberdeenshire. (56)

In Dundee, as in Edinburgh and Glasgow, the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 60' (founded in 1947) was the most important community organisation. In 1948 a 'Dom Kombatanta' was opened at 4, Magdalen Place. The Polish Parish was founded in 1948. The parish priest was Father Bolesław Lewandowski, O.F.M., who had served as a Chaplain with the Polish Navy. In order to maintain the Parish, a 'Komitet Parafialny' was elected. Until 1951, therefore, only the most fundamental Polish community organisations and institutions had been founded.

In Aberdeen the small number of Poles resident in the area hindered the formation of community institutions and organisations. The Poles in Aberdeen were relatively 'late arrivals' in Scotland. The majority had served with either the Second Infantry Brigade of the Fourth Infantry Division from late 1944 until enrolment in the

Polish Resettlement Corps in late 1946 and demobilisation in 1948, or with the Second Army Corps in Italy and had been transferred to the Aberdeen area in late 1946 for service in the P.R.C..

Apart from the trawling industry and agriculture, employment opportunities were limited. Some Poles started their own businesses as watch-makers or grocers, while a few qualified as teachers, solicitors and accountants. One major employer was the food processing industry, including the meat products factories at Dyce. During the existence of the Polish Fishery School from 1944 to 1951 Poles often settled in the Aberdeen area on completion of courses.

In 1950 the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 27' was founded. A Polish Club was formed in rented premises at Constitution Street. Without increased financial resources, no further Polish community institutions or organisations were founded in the Aberdeen area between 1945 and 1951.

(57) As in the case of the Poles in the Dundee area, many Polish men in the Aberdeen area married Scottish wives and so became 'assimilated' into Scottish society.

(58)

POLISH COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES IN FIFE (1945 TO 1951).

According to the Census taken on 8 April, 1951, the Scottish county with the largest number of persons enumerated as 'born in Poland' was Fife with a total of 1,294, including 1,190 men and 104 women. (59) The majority of Poles lived in towns, villages or hostels widely distributed throughout the county. 332 persons 'born in Poland' (the combined total for men and women) lived in Kirkcaldy and 70 persons (combined total) lived in Dunfermline. (60)

Employment was plentiful and varied, including agriculture, fishing and coal-mining. Manufacturing industry included iron and steel foundries and mills, machine-making, shipbuilding (especially in Burntisland and Buckhaven / Methil), linen and artificial silk (in Dunfermline), wax-cloth and linoleum (in Kirkcaldy), distilling and brewing, brick- and tile-making, beet sugar refining, paper-making, oil-cake milling and alumina production. (61)

During the war Fife became very well known to Polish soldiers from the First Army Corps who defended part of the county between October, 1940, and the end of 1941. In particular, the Independent Paratroop Brigade was formed and received preliminary training in the Largo - Leven - Lundin Links area. While serving in Fife during the war some Polish soldiers married Scottish women.

This often encouraged them to settle in the county after service with the Polish Resettlement Corps and demobilisation. Polish civilians who settled in Fife were usually members of families or dependants of servicemen or else were former European Volunteer Workers. (62)

The distribution of Poles throughout Fife ensured that only those who lived in larger centres of population, such as Kirkcaldy, where there was a sizeable number of Polish people to support activities could readily participate in organised community life. In Kirkcaldy the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 50' was founded in 1947. The Polish Parish was founded in 1948 with Father Mieczysław Fellich as the parish priest. A 'Komitet Kościelny' was elected to maintain the Parish. Other branches of organisations set up during 1949 and 1950 included the 'Koło Akcji Katolickiej' and a Kirkcaldy section of the Z.R.R.P.. There were plans to buy a property to be a centre for community activities, but the various organisations could not decide which one of them would own the centre. (63)

Other branches of the 'Akcja Katolicka' were founded in Kinghorn, Annsmuir Hostel and Muiredge Hostel. The 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 39' was founded by the Poles in Cowdenbeath, Dunfermline and St. Andrews. Several former Polish paratroopers had found employment and settled in the Leven area where they founded a Branch of

the 'Związek Polskich Spadochroniarzy' (Polish Airborne Forces Association). (64)

POLISH COMMUNITY LIFE IN STIRLINGSHIRE (1945 TO 1951).

The Census of 8 April, 1951, showed that in the county of Stirling there was a total of 660 persons enumerated as 'born in Poland', with 608 men and 52 women. (65) Of these persons, 210 (the combined total for men and women) were resident in Falkirk and 72 (combined total) lived in Stirling. (66) Many Poles were employed in agriculture, coal-mining, iron and steel and associated manufacturing industries. (67) As with Poles in Fife, the distribution of Polish people throughout Stirlingshire prevented the majority from participating in organised community life.

Many of the Poles in Stirlingshire had been forcibly conscripted into the 'Wehrmacht' because their homes had been in Western Poland, especially Silesia. In consequence, the majority had started service with the Polish Armed Forces under British command usually with the Fourth Infantry Division during late 1944 or early 1945. Following service with the Polish Resettlement Corps and demobilisation, the Poles mainly found employment in agriculture, coal-mining and other heavy industries. Some became self-employed. A few became qualified school teachers or found clerical employment. (68)

In Falkirk the leadership of Polish community life was shared by the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 36' (founded in 1948) and

the Parish, which had been founded in 1948. Father Wincenty Nagi-Drobina was the parish priest for Stirlingshire, Perthshire and Kinross. Other Polish community organisations included the 'Komitet Kościelny' and the 'Koło Akcji Katolickiej'. (69)

POLISH LIFE IN THE BORDER COUNTIES (1945 TO 1951).

Most of the Poles who settled in the Border counties (the counties of Berwick, Peebles, Roxburgh and Selkirk), as well as Midlothian, East Lothian and West Lothian, had served with the First Army Corps. After the war several camps and hostels were organised in the Borders. These included camps at Macmerry, Stobs Camps (near Hawick), Langton House Camp (near Duns), Winfield Airfield Camp (near Berwick-on-Tweed) and Langholm Camp. Hostels for Poles employed in agriculture were set up at Charterhall (near Duns), Melrose and Langholm. After the disbandment of the Polish Resettlement Corps (30 September, 1949), some Poles settled in the Border counties and the Lothians where they mainly found work in agriculture and textile manufacture. Some Poles in the Lothians were employed in coal-mining. (70)

Community leaders in Edinburgh, especially Dr. Mglej, Stanisław Maj and Dr. Śliżyński, encouraged the Poles in the Border counties and the Lothians to maintain their national identity and, where possible, to form Polish institutions and organisations. To this end, the 'Koło Z.N.P.Z.' in Edinburgh organised and taught pre-school and primary courses at Macmerry camp from 1949 to 1952. In towns throughout the Lothians and the Border counties the Polish Male Voice Choir 'Echo' (founded in Edinburgh in August, 1950) gave performances at celebrations of national anniversaries. Occasional lectures were given

by members of the 'Koło Przyrodników', the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25', the 'Koło Akcji Katolickiej' and the 'Związek Lekarzy'. (71) With the encouragement and support of the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25', at a public meeting in Galashiels on 21 October, 1951, local Poles voted to form the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 99' and elected Bartosz Gordon to be Chairman. (72)

POLISH LIFE IN PERTHSHIRE AND KINROSS (1945 TO 1951).

The Census of 8 April, 1951, showed that in the county of Perth there was a total of 501 persons enumerated as 'born in Poland', with 444 men and 57 women. Of these persons, 90 (the combined total for men and women) lived in the burgh of Perth. (73) In the county of Kinross the total was 40, with 38 men and 2 women. (74)

During the war the counties of Perth and Kinross had been very well known to some servicemen from the Polish First Army Corps because of the many camps, training centres, institutions (such as the Polish Military Office in Perth) and medical facilities in the two counties. After the war there were training centres for the Polish Resettlement Corps at Findo Gask, Old Scone, Strathallan and other courses specialising mainly in agriculture and forestry.

The Poles who settled in the counties of Perth and Kinross were mostly former servicemen from the First Army Corps. Many found employment in forestry, agriculture and related industries. They worked in general crop and soft fruit growing, livestock breeding and rearing, the manufacture of wood products (such as paper) and as agricultural labourers. In the burgh of Perth and in other towns some Poles worked in the construction industry, as craftsmen and as self-employed craftsmen (including carpenters, joiners, tailors, watch-repairers,

shoe-makers, leather-workers and others), and as shop-keepers.

The Poles in Perthshire and Kinross usually lived in small towns or villages which were distributed widely throughout the counties. In addition, many Polish men married Scottish wives. These factors significantly hindered the development of community life. (75)

Notes To Chapter Six. Part Two.

- (1) J Zubrzycki, Polish Immigrants In Great Britain. A Study Of Adjustment, The Hague, 1956, pp 108-114.
- (2) Cztery Lata Pracy Stowarzyszenia Polskich Kombatantów w W. Brytanii 1945-1949, London, 1949, pp 8-9.
- (3) Ibid, pp 12-13.
- (4) Ibid, pp 12-13.
- (5) Census of Scotland 1951 Volume 1, Part 1. City of Edinburgh, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1952, Table 16, p 30.
- (6) B Czaykowski and B Sulik, Polacy w W. Brytanii, Paris, 1961, pp 19-20.
- (7) Ibid, pp 20-24.
- (8) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 1 (15 January, 1949), p 2.
- (9) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 3 (15 February, 1949), p 10.
- (10) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 1 (15 January, 1949), pp 5-6.
- (11) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 16/17 (39/40) (1 September, 1950), pp 11-12.
- (12) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 5 (15 March, 1949), p 6,
Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 7 (15 April, 1949), p 5,
Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 18 (1 October, 1949), p 5,

- Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 5 (28) (1 March, 1950), p 3.
- Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 3 (49) (1 February, 1951), pp 2-3.
- The Voice Of Poland, No. 15 (397) (17 August, 1947), p 7.
- (13) W Tomaszewski, Na Szkockiej Ziemi, London, 1976, pp 112, 184, 254.
- (14) Zubrzycki, op cit, pp 122-125.
- (15) Ibid, pp 93-94.
- (16) See
- (i) T Radzik, 'Polskie instytucje i organizacje oświatowe w Wielkiej Brytanii w latach II wojny światowej (1940-1945)', Rocznik Polonijny, No. 1, Lublin, 1980, pp 24-28.
- (ii) Dziesięciolecie Polskiej Szkoły w Edynburgu, Edinburgh, 1958, p 2.
- (17) See
- (i) T Radzik, 'Szkolnictwo polskie w Wielkiej Brytanii w latach 1945-1954. Instytucje i organizacje', Rocznik Polonijny, No. 2, Lublin, 1981, pp 83-113,
- (ii) Dziesięciolecie Polskiej Szkoły w Edynburgu, pp 2-3, 5-6, 8.
- (18) Dziesięciolecie Polskiej Szkoły w Edynburgu, pp 8, 11-13.
- (19) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 19 (15 October, 1949), p 6.

- (20) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 20 (1 November, 1949), pp 2-3.
- (21) Dziesięciolecie Polskiej Szkoły w Edynburgu, pp 13-14.
- (22) See
- (i) Dziesięciolecie Polskiej Szkoły w Edynburgu, p 14,
- (ii) 1948-1968 Szkoła Przedmiotów Ojczystych w Edynburgu, Edinburgh, 1968, p 4,
- (iii) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 17 (63) (2 September, 1951), pp 2-3.
- (23) For the hostel at Macmerry, see P.R.O. (Kew) AST 18/18, minute from M.B. Anderson (Assistance Board Regional Office, Edinburgh) to J.S. Balderstone (Assistance Board Headquarters, London), H.Q. ref. PR. 15/1/11, R.O. ref. 11/1096/08, 13 August, 1948.
- (24) Census of Scotland 1951 Volume 1, Part 16. County of East Lothian, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1953, Table 27, p 37.
- (25) Dziesięciolecie Polskiej Szkoły w Edynburgu, pp 5-6.
- (26) Jednodniówka Związku Inwalidów Wojennych Polskich Sił Zbrojnych w Szkocji 1947-1977, Edinburgh, 1977, pp 1-2.
- (27) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 10 (1 June, 1949), p 5.
- (28) For the Z.R.R.P., see Zubrzycki, op cit, p 115.
For the activities of the 'Koło Z.R.R.P.' in Edinburgh, see

- Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 14 (1 August, 1949), p 7,
- Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 7 (30) (1 April, 1950), p 5,
- Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 11 (34) 1 June, 1950), pp 5-6.
- (29) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 21 (44) (15 November, 1950), p 7,
- Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 6 (52) (18 March, 1951), p 11.
- (30) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 17 (63) (2 September, 1951), pp 7-8.
- (31) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 18 (41) (1 October, 1950) p 14.
- (32) Biuletyn Akcji Katolickiej w Szkocji, Edinburgh, January, 1959, pp 6-9.
- (33) Ibid, p 10.
- (34) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 4 (1 March, 1949), p 3.
- (35) Census of Scotland 1951 Volume 1, Part 16. County of East Lothian, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1953, Table 27, p 37.
- (36) Press Release from Lothian Health Board (29 November, 1979).
- (37) Czaykowski and Sulik, op cit, pp 22-24.
- (38) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 7 (15 April, 1949), p 6,
- Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 8 (1 May, 1949), p 6.

- (39) For a study of 'compensatory leisure pursuits', see Zubrzycki, op cit, pp 171-174.
- (40) Koło Przyrodników im. M. Kopernika w Edynburgu. Pamiętnik wydany na setne zebranie Koła w dniu 12 Października 1957 roku, Newtown, Montgomeryshire, 1957, p 14.
- (41) Czaykowski and Sulik, op cit, pp 24-26.
- (42) Dziesięciolecie Koła Studiów Wojskowych 'Szkocja', Edinburgh, 1960, pp 2-3.
- (43) Ibid, p 4.
- (44) Census of Scotland 1951 Volume 1, Part 2. City of Glasgow, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1952, Table 16, p 32.
- (45) Czaykowski and Sulik, op cit, pp 63-66.
- (46) Ibid, pp 79-81.
- (47) Letter from Witold Poray-Wojciechowski to the author (25 October, 1982).
- (48) Ibid.
- (49) Ibid.
- (50) Zubrzycki, op cit, pp 118-121, 156-175.
- (51) Census of Scotland 1951 Volume 1, Part 4, City of Dundee, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1953, Table 16, p 34.
- (52) Census of Scotland 1951 Volume 1, Part 6, County of Angus, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1953, Table 16, p 31.
- (53) Census of Scotland 1951 Volume 1, Part 3, City of Aberdeen, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1953, Table 16, p 25.
- (54) Census of Scotland 1951, Volume 1, Part 5, County of Aberdeen, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1953, Table 16, p 32.

- (55) For employment in Dundee, see Census, 1961 Scotland. Volume 1, Part 4, City of Dundee, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1963, p 11.
- For employment in the county of Angus, see Census, 1961 Scotland. Volume 1, Part 6, County of Angus, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1963, p 11.
- (56) Letter from Władysław Świeńczyk-Pyka to the author (4 March, 1983).
- (57) Ibid.
- (58) Ibid.
- (59) Census of Scotland 1951 Volume 1, Part 17, County of Fife, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1954, Table 16, p 36.
- (60) Ibid.
- (61) For employment in the county of Fife, see Census, 1961 Scotland. Volume 1, Part 17. County of Fife, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1964, p 11.
- (62) S Krysiak (ed.), Polak na Fife, Kirkcaldy, 1951, pp 11-14.
- (63) Ibid, pp 11-12.
- (64) Ibid, pp 12-14.
- (65) Census of Scotland 1951, Volume 1, Part 31. County of Stirling, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1954, Table 16, p 31.
- (66) Ibid.
- (67) For employment in the county of Stirling, see Census, 1961 Scotland. Volume 1, Part 31. County of Stirling, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1964, p 11.
- (68) Czaykowski and Sulik, op cit, pp 42-46.
- (69) Ibid.

- (70) Ibid, pp 40-42.
- (71) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 23 (15 December, 1949), p 3,
Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 10 (33) (15 May, 1950), pp 5-6,
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Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 9 (55) (6 May, 1951), p 4,
Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 11 (57) (3 June, 1951), pp 3-4,
Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 18 (64) (16 September, 1951), p 4.
- (72) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 21 (67) (1 November, 1951), p 5.
- (73) Census of Scotland 1951 Volume 1, Part 26, Counties of Perth and Kinross, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1954, Table 16, p 35.
- (74) Ibid, Table 16, p 71.
- (75) Czaykowski and Sulik, op cit, pp 48-54.

CHAPTER SEVEN.THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLISH COMMUNITY IN SCOTLAND(1951 TO 1961).Introduction.

Between 1945 and 1951 the Poles in exile had continued to believe that the political dispensation established at Yalta and Potsdam would be changed by the defeat of the Soviet Union by the Western democracies. By 1961, however, even the most anti-Communist Polish exiles had been forced to accept that Poland would remain under Soviet domination for many years.

Having been transformed from a mainly military into a civilian exile community by the resettlement policy organised by the British government, the Poles had continued to believe that their exile was temporary. For this reason, they had formed institutions and organisations intended to help maintain their own national identity and that of their families. Despite the demobilisation of the Polish Armed Forces under British command, the 'political exile community' created by the Poles in Britain between 1945 and 1951 had remained more or less united.

After 1951, however, events within Poland and the crisis regarding the Polish exile authorities in London

seriously undermined this unity. The result was the physical and the psychological consolidation of the Polish community in the United Kingdom (including Scotland).

Events Within Poland Between 1948 And 1957. The Effects With Regard To Poles In Exile.

Acting through the Polish United Workers' Party ('Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza' or P.Z.P.R.), which had been formed by the 'union' of the P.P.R. and the P.P.S. on 15 December, 1948, the Soviet authorities tried to remodel the economy and society of Poland. (1) From December, 1948, until the death of Stalin on 5 March, 1953, Poland was subjected to the worst features of 'Stalinist' rule. This included centralised P.Z.P.R. control with regard to all aspects of society, administration, economic development, education and culture. The 'Urząd Bezpieczeństwa' (Security Bureau) and its political police brutally suppressed all opposition. Meanwhile, Communist propaganda exhorted the Polish people to love Stalin and the 'fraternal' Soviet Union, to hate the Western 'capitalist imperialists' and to 'build socialism'. (2)

Exiled Poles saw their homeland 'disappearing' behind the 'Iron Curtain'. Their sense of loss was heightened by the difficulty of travel to and from Poland. Only the most loyal P.Z.P.R. members were allowed to visit states

outside the Soviet Union either as diplomatic personnel or as trade representatives. In this situation, Poles in exile refused to have any contact with the P.Z.P.R. government agencies. The exiles received information regarding 'Stalinism' in Poland either from the pro-independence media in the states where they had settled or from the few refugees who had fled from Poland between 1948 and 1956. (3)

Following the death of Stalin, his successors Khrushchev, Malenkov and Marshal Bulganin encouraged a progressive relaxation of the pace of industrialisation and collectivisation in the states under Soviet control. In Poland this 'New Course' was welcomed by Bierut and his associates. They were aware of the unpopularity of enforced land collectivisation and of over-investment in heavy industry and capital goods at the expense of consumer products and housing.

The gradual return to 'collective leadership' and the ending of the worst 'Stalinist' excesses produced a movement in Poland in favour of reforming the system of one-party government. This new policy was led by 'reformist' Communists who hoped to gain some co-operation from the Polish people in return for more prosperity. At the same time, however, the 'reformists' wanted to maintain the 'leading rôle' of the P.Z.P.R. in the state. This moderate view of the geo-political situation of Poland reassured the 'hard-line' Marxist-

Leninists within the P.Z.P.R. leadership. They distrusted 'reform' but did not support Bierut whose abandonment of 'Stalinist' policies they despised as 'opportunism'. (4)

On 11 March, 1956, Bierut died in Moscow, where he had attended the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He had read the text of the report delivered by Khrushchev on 25 February at a closed session of the Congress which had attacked Stalin for his crimes and mistakes. With the death of Bierut and the condemnation of Stalin, the P.Z.P.R. leaders and Polish intellectuals who desired reform could proceed cautiously but more resolutely. The crisis within the P.Z.P.R. leadership was caused by the events at Poznań between 28 and 30 June, 1956, when workers protesting against their poor standard of living fought police and army units. According to official sources, 53 people were killed, some 300 were wounded and 323 were arrested. Premier Józef Cyrankiewicz described this expression of workers' discontent as 'a provocation organised by foreign agents'. (5)

At first Edward Ochab, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the P.Z.P.R., favoured repression. He was supported by a majority of the Politburo and of provincial Secretaries. Defying Soviet warnings against reform, Ochab and his associates then decided to introduce a programme of 'democratisation'. One of the

most dramatic and controversial decisions was the complete rehabilitation of the former First Secretary, Władysław Gomułka, who had been condemned by Bierut and the 'Stalinists' for alleged 'nationalist deviationism' and had suffered political disgrace. Gomułka believed in a 'Polish road to socialism', but he was a dedicated Communist who wanted to maintain the authority of the P.Z.P.R..

At the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the P.Z.P.R., held from 19 to 21 October, 1956, the Soviet attempts to prevent reform by intimidation were bitterly resented. Khrushchev was informed that, if left to exercise their own judgement, the P.Z.P.R. would retain their authority. After a strong speech by Gomułka, outlining the need for cautious reform together with continued leadership by the P.Z.P.R. and good relations between Poland and the Soviet Union, the Central Committee elected a new Politburo with a majority of 'reformers'. Gomułka was elected First Secretary and a member of the Politburo. (6)

Having defied Khrushchev, the new P.Z.P.R. leadership received the qualified approval of the anti-Communist majority among the Polish nation. The caution of Gomułka and the restraint shown by the Polish nation reassured the Soviet leadership.

On 24 October, 1956, a 'reformist' government was formed in Hungary led by Imre Nagy and Janos Kadar. After the 'reformers' had lost control over their more radical supporters, on 4 November Soviet forces invaded Hungary to suppress an anti-Communist revolt. Nagy was arrested and executed together with several 'reformist' leaders. Kadar had refused to support Nagy when the radicals had taken control. He was 'rewarded' by the Soviet leadership with being entrusted with the position of First Secretary of the Communist Party in Hungary in return for loyally supporting Soviet policies.

Events in Hungary convinced Gomułka that radical reforms in Poland could have dangerous consequences. He used the example of Hungary to persuade anti-Communist Poles that the continued good relationship between the P.Z.P.R. leadership and the Soviet leaders was essential to the survival of the 'Polish road to socialism'. In the 'elections' to the 'Sejm' (the one-chamber 'parliament') held on 20 January, 1957, the caution advocated by Gomułka was shared by the vast majority of the electorate. Of some 18 million persons entitled to vote, 94.1 per cent voted without deleting P.Z.P.R. candidates from the lists. (7)

Without openly approving of Gomułka and his handling of the situation, many exiled Poles followed events very closely. One of the 'reforms' introduced by the new P.Z.P.R. leadership was easier travel to and from Poland.

This involved direct contacts with the representatives of the Polish Communist authorities to arrange travel visas. In Scotland the Polish Consulate in Glasgow was visited by an increasing number of exiles. Some Poles decided to become naturalised British citizens in order to obtain British passports and to visit Poland. They did not believe that they had become any less 'Polish' by becoming 'British'. When they visited Poland, many Poles from Britain were often surprised and even impressed. Their opinions regarding post-war Poland had been formed mainly by the Polish-language media in Britain whose loyalty to the government in exile in London had resulted in emphasising the negative aspects of Communist rule. While admiring the achievements of the Polish nation, the exiles continued to condemn Gomułka and the P.Z.P.R. for being agents of Soviet domination. (8)

Until the 'reforms' following the Eighth Plenum of October, 1956, which became known as the 'odwilż' (the 'thaw'), most exiled Poles had boycotted all cultural events organised by the representatives of the government in Poland. Apart from publications by the Catholic Church in Poland, most exiles had also refused to order books, newspapers or magazines from their homeland. These Poles in Britain had also instituted frequent attempts to expose alleged Communists 'planted' within Polish community organisations in order to 'subvert' them.

This suspicion had been strengthened by the attempts of the Polish Communist authorities to persuade exiled Poles to abandon their support for the government in exile in London. Attempts were even made to persuade exiles to return to Poland. Such efforts rarely succeeded. Instead, exiled Poles believed that this expenditure of time and money by the Communist authorities confirmed that their efforts in support of independence for Poland constituted a genuine challenge to Soviet domination. (9)

After October, 1956, Poles in exile gradually lost their fear of contacts with Poland. Books, magazines and newspapers could be ordered from Poland and read. Holidays in Poland made exiled Poles more familiar with their homeland and strengthened their sense of national identity. There were frequent visits to Poland by many children and young people who had been born in Britain either with both parents being Polish or only one parent (usually the father). They either visited Poland with their parents or travelled independently to stay with relatives or to attend summer camps organised by Catholic or secular institutions. In Poland they often re-discovered their sense of 'polskość' (Polish national identity).

Above all, Poles in exile became aware that they did not have anything to fear if they visited Poland. They would even be able to return to Poland permanently.

Their exile in Britain was in protest against the Soviet domination of Poland, but this self-exile was caused both by political and by economic factors. In Britain they had better-paid employment, a higher standard of living and a more secure future for their families. Being able (if not willing) to return permanently to Poland, many exiled Poles lost their sense of insecurity and became Polish settlers in Britain. This encouraged their psychological re-orientation (or 'accommodation') whereby they could remain 'Polish' within British society. (10)

At the same time, however, there was a gradual 'depoliticisation' of the exile community. A growing number of exiles began to accept the reality of the situation within Poland. While they continued to oppose Gomułka and the P.Z.P.R., the tragic failure of the Hungarian Uprising convinced them that the Western democracies would not fight the Soviet Union to liberate Poland. Such exiles wanted to assist the Polish nation without actively demanding the overthrow of Communist rule.

This 'realism' was opposed by the Polish government in London, most community organisations (especially the S.P.K.) and some Polish-language publications. They remained hostile to all contacts with Poland. The leadership of the S.P.K. tried to prevent members from visiting Poland by threatening them with expulsion. This was not effective at a time when S.P.K. membership

was already declining. Such lack of 'realism' only contributed towards 'depoliticisation'.

Many Poles in Britain began to realise that only a major change within the international situation could influence events within Poland. One possibility (if somewhat unrealistic) was the defeat of the Soviet Union by the Western democracies. Another was a change of policy within the Soviet leadership towards the 'People's Democracies', including Poland. Finally, developments within Poland itself could affect the relationship between the P.Z.P.R. and the Polish nation.

The Poles in Britain could help the Polish nation by sending parcels of food, clothing and medical supplies either to their families or to charitable institutions organised by the Catholic Church for distribution. After 1956 events within Poland caused the Polish 'political exile community' in Britain to function not as a 'Polish state in exile' but as a pressure group trying to influence sympathetic governments to support genuine reforms by the Polish Communist authorities. (11)

The Crisis Within The Polish Government In Exile.

The gradual 'depoliticisation' of many members of the Polish exile community in Britain had started long before the events of October, 1956, within Poland. The first significant post-war crisis had been caused by the death

of President Władysław Raczkiewicz on 6 June, 1947. Many exiled Poles had believed that the successor to Raczkiewicz was Tomasz Arciszewski. The nomination of Arciszewski had not been annulled officially. Instead, this had been done privately by Raczkiewicz several months before his death, thereby contravening the Constitution of 23 April, 1935, Article 24 (1), by which the successor to the President is nominated by publication in the official gazette. Raczkiewicz had been dangerously ill and had been influenced by his immediate entourage, especially by August Zaleski, the Chief of his Civil Chancellery. The supporters of the 'Sanacja' had persuaded Raczkiewicz to annul the nomination of Arciszewski, who was a Socialist. Following the death of Raczkiewicz, the Poles in exile had learned that Zaleski had been nominated by the President as his successor. (12)

This controversy had divided the Polish government in London, led by Arciszewski, which had continued to be recognised by Poles in exile after 5 July, 1945. The Polish Socialist Party ('Polska Partia Socjalistyczna') had refused to recognise Zaleski, but most exiled Poles had concealed their differences of opinion to defend the principle of 'legalism' or the legal continuity of the office of President and its prerogative powers. This had been stated by Tadeusz Bielecki, the leader of the National Democratic Party ('Stronnictwo Narodowe'):

'It is possible to disagree with the President over politics. ... But it is not possible to question legalism and thereby cut off the branch on which we are all sitting.' (13)

After Arciszewski had resigned as Prime Minister, he had been succeeded by General Tadeusz Bór-Komorowski, who had wanted to remain independent from political disputes.

After several attempts at forming an 'anti-Zaleski coalition', the creation of the 'Rada Polityczna' (Political Council) on 20 December, 1949, finally ended the political unity of the Poles in exile. The members of the 'Rada Polityczna' were:

the 'Polska Partia Socjalistyczna',
 the 'Stronnictwo Narodowe',
 the 'Polski Ruch Wolnościowy "Niepodległość i Demokracja"' (the Polish Freedom Movement 'Independence and Democracy'),
 the 'Stronnictwo Pracy' (the Christian Labour Party),
 the 'Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe - Odłam Jedności Narodowej' (the Polish Peasant Party - National Unity Fraction).

This last-named party was led by Kazimierz Bagiński and Stefan Korboński, two former leaders of the Polish Peasant Party who had been expelled by Mikołajczyk.

Zaleski was supported by the 'Rada Narodowa' (National Council), which held its first meeting on 6 June, 1949. He had the support of two political groups: the 'Liga Niepodległości' (the League for Independence) and the 'Stronnictwo Ludowe "Wolność"' (the Peasant Party 'Freedom').

In addition, Mikołajczyk led his own 'Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe' (Polish Peasant Party).

The 'Rada Polityczna' wanted to force Zaleski to accept that the President could not govern without the consent of the democratic political parties. They wanted to achieve this by the creation of a 'Rada Jedności Narodowej' (Council of National Unity) comprising all the parties supporting the liberation of Poland. (14)

With the outbreak of the Korean War on 25 June, 1950, military circles led by General Anders believed that the governments of Britain and the U.S.A. would authorise the re-organisation of the Polish Armed Forces in the West. These military leaders believed that all Poles should cooperate to regain independence for Poland.

Under pressure from all sides, Zaleski initiated negotiations. As a gesture of sincerity, he invited General Kazimierz Sosnkowski from Canada to be the

'honest broker'. Sosnkowski wanted to unite the pro-'Sanacja' factions and their bitter rivals.

On 14 March, 1954, the 'Akt Zjednoczenia' (Act of Unity) was signed in London by the S.N., the P.P.S., the P.S.L. - O.J.N., the 'Liga Niepodległości', the P.R.W. 'N. i D.' and the S.P. (a faction led by General Haller). Later signatories included the 'Związek Socjalistów Polskich' (the Association of Polish Socialists), the 'S.L. - "Wolność"' and the 'Klub Ziem Wschodnich' (the Group for the Eastern Provinces). The only important parties excluded were the P.S.L. (led by Mikołajczyk) and the S.P. (led by Karol Popiel) because both had attempted to participate in political life in Poland between 1945 and 1947.

In order for the 'Akt Zjednoczenia' to become legal, Zaleski was to sign decrees ratifying it and putting it into effect. Next, he was to resign, having already nominated Sosnkowski as his successor. Zaleski refused to co-operate. He withdrew the nomination of Sosnkowski as his successor. Furthermore, he refused to sign the decrees. Sosnkowski returned to Canada on 19 March, 1954, and waited. On 9 June the seven-year term of office held by Zaleski ended. Despite having announced his intention of giving up the Presidency, once again Zaleski withheld his statement and refused to resign.

The political crisis became acute. On 31 July, 1954, the 'Tymczasowa Rada Jedności Narodowej' (the Provisional Council of National Unity) was founded in order to state that the 'Akt Zjednoczenia' would be fulfilled. The T.R.J.N. appointed the 'Egzekutywa Zjednoczenia Narodowego' as its executive authority. As the supreme authority of the 'Zjednoczenie', the T.R.J.N. appointed the 'Rada Trzech' (the Council of Three) whose members were Tomasz Arciszewski, General Anders and Count Edward Raczyński.

Meanwhile, Zaleski was supported by various groups. His faction became known as the 'Zamek', literally 'the castle', meaning the residence of the President. In response to the creation of the T.R.J.N., Zaleski authorised the summoning of an advisory body, namely the 'Rada Rzeczypospolitej' (the Council of the Republic).

On 7 November, 1954, elections were held to the part of this Council chosen by democratic process, but only some 4 per cent of the Polish citizens in the United Kingdom entitled to vote took part. This fiasco was evidence of the 'gradual 'depoliticisation' of the majority of the Poles in Britain. Some blamed Zaleski for the failure of the Sosnkowski mission and the crisis regarding the 'Akt Zjednoczenia'. Others were influenced by the pro-'Zjednoczenie' parties to boycott the elections. The boycott was also encouraged by anti-'Zamek' organisations, especially the S.P.K., and by Polish-

language publications hostile to Zaleski. In addition, Polish exiles who could not tolerate these disputes over the shadow of authority reacted by showing their contempt and indifference. (16)

Between 1954 and 1961 the 'Zamek' and the 'Zjednoczenie' failed to reach a compromise agreement. The main obstacle had become the personal antipathy between Zaleski and Anders. Polish community organisations supported either the 'Zamek' or the 'Zjednoczenie'. As the most powerful organisation, the S.P.K. remained loyal to Anders and the 'Zjednoczenie'.

Following the events of October, 1956, within Poland, the 'depoliticisation' of many Polish exiles caused them to lose interest in organised community life. The continuing political dispute in London often distracted the leaders of many community organisations. Many exiled Poles became cynical and indifferent.

The Demographic Changes Regarding The Polish Community In Scotland Between 1951 And 1961.

Between 1951 and 1961 there occurred a significant decrease in the number of persons 'born in Poland' and resident in Scotland. According to the Census taken on 23 April, 1961, there was a total of 7,743 persons resident in Scotland who had been born in Poland. Of these, there were 6,609 men and 1,134 women. A total of

2,779 persons had citizenship of the United Kingdom or the Colonies, comprising 2,375 men and 404 women. (17)

The Census statistics for 1951 had shown a total of 10,603 persons 'born in Poland' and resident in Scotland, with 9,113 men and 1,490 women. The large decrease in the number of 'Polish-born' men between 1951 and 1961 (a total of 2,504) would suggest that many had chosen 'secondary emigration' from Britain to another country or from Scotland to another part of the United Kingdom. In addition, some 'Polish-born' men had died between 1951 and 1961. There had been a decrease of 356 in the number of 'Polish-born' women resident in Scotland between the two Census dates, which had also been caused by 'secondary emigration' or death.

The 7,743 persons 'born in Poland' and resident in Scotland in 1961 constituted the 'permanent' Polish exile community who had settled in Scotland.

POLISH LIFE IN EDINBURGH BETWEEN 1951 AND 1961.Introduction.

Between 1951 and 1961 there had been a moderate decrease in the number of 'Polish-born' people resident in Edinburgh. The Census of 23 April, 1961, showed that there was a total of 1,118 persons resident in Edinburgh enumerated as 'born in Poland', with 853 men and 265 women. A total of 410 persons had citizenship of the United Kingdom or the Colonies, comprising 319 men and 91 women. (18) In 1951 there had been a total of 1,200 persons 'born in Poland' and resident in Edinburgh, with 895 men and 305 women.

The Political Split During 1954 And The 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25'.

The 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25' in Edinburgh became closely associated with the 'Zjednoczenie' as a result of the political split during 1954. After General Anders had withdrawn his oath of allegiance to President Zaleski, he had been dismissed from his post as Inspector-General of the Polish Armed Forces but had continued to use this title. To replace Anders, Zaleski had appointed General Michał Karasiewicz-Tokarzewski, but the new Inspector-General was recognised only by very few officers. Anders received the support of the majority of ex-servicemen's organisations, including the S.P.K., the

'Związek Inwalidów Wojennych P.S.Z.' and the 'Koła Oddziałowe' (the associations of former members of specific units of the Polish Armed Forces under British command). (19)

The Poles in Edinburgh became dismayed when they saw leading community activists supporting either the 'Zamek' of Zaleski or the 'Zjednoczenie'. The 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25' was led by Dr. Stanisław Mglej, who was the Chairman of both the 'Koło' and the 'Klub S.P.K.'. As a member of the 'Stronnictwo Narodowe', he led the opposition of the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25' to the support given to Zaleski and the 'Zamek' by the Executive Committee of the Council of Polish Societies in Edinburgh. On 8 May, 1955, Zaleski attended the celebrations of the 3rd of May, which had been organised by the Council. (20) At a meeting of the Council, held on 21 October, 1955, a protest by the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25' was made to Dr. Bronisław Śliżyński, the Chairman of the Executive Committee. (21)

During 1956 relations between the 'Koło S.P.K.' and the Council of Polish Societies continued to deteriorate. Since 1949 the meetings of the Council had been held in the 'Dom Kombatanta' in accordance with a letter from the Central Committee of the S.P.K. in London, stating that they would not expect payment for hire of the function-hall. This was changed by a letter sent to the Executive Committee of the Council by the Director of the

'Dom Kombatanta', stating that the Central Committee of the S.P.K. in London, on the proposal of the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25', the 'Klub S.P.K.' and the Director of the 'Dom Kombatanta', had decided to request payment for the use of the function-hall for meetings of the Council. (22)

On 26 October, 1956, at a meeting of the Council there was a dispute regarding the speeches, appeals or orders published by Zaleski, his government and his military authorities in London which had been read by members of the Executive Committee during celebrations of the 3rd of May, the 15th of August and the 11th of November. The delegates of the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25' proposed a motion that the Council should not authorise the reading of such statements at official celebrations. This motion was rejected by the Council. The 'Koło S.P.K.' then resigned from the Council. (23)

A Report Regarding The Crises Affecting The Polish Community.

An analysis of the crises affecting the Polish community in Edinburgh after 1956 was provided in a report read by Józef Bełtowski on 15 September, 1958, to a meeting of the Council of Polish Societies:

'... All of our life in exile was based upon a mistaken premise - which was shared by both our political and our military leaders - namely, that in

a year or two we would return to Poland. For this reason some political parties started to take control of community organisations to influence the émigré masses.

' ... Meanwhile the years passed. Unable to return to Poland, young people began to start family life in exile. As many men could not find Polish wives, they married Scottish women. But the Polish community are reluctant to accept Scottish people as members of Polish organisations and even openly ignore them. These "mixed marriages" gradually improved their lives materially and became part of Scottish society. Alienated from other Poles, the husbands of Scottish women were helped by their wives to become even more assimilated into Scottish society.

'At first, the political power struggle between the leaders of émigré parties caused renewed interest in community and political activity. There occurred a significant revival of organisations which had been depleted by declining membership. But when this conflict remained unresolved and apparently without solution, Poles began to feel alienated once more. Gradually increasing numbers of people lost interest in community and political activities. ...

'Young people grew to maturity, having been born in Poland and brought up and educated in exile, and did not understand the internal political disputes. Brought up in exile under different conditions, they do not understand the older generation and they cannot comprehend their disputes. Often they do not even understand their own parents. Due to the stronger influences of Scottish life, they avoid Polish community activities. Furthermore, the young people born in exile very often do not understand and do not speak Polish.

'During this political disunity and general apathy among the Poles in exile, in October, 1956, the period of "odwilż" started in Poland. Influenced by information from Poland and by personal contacts with people on visits from Poland, the Polish émigré masses began to lose interest in community activities. Both in Poland and in exile the belief arises that freedom is just around the corner. Many people returned to Poland permanently. Others began to plan their return. The Warsaw régime, which previously had had no real influence upon the Polish émigré masses, found that an opportunity had arrived. Convinced by propaganda, the uncritical and gullible began to co-operate with the régime. Some people even co-operated willingly. The régime succeeded in many centres in organising travel by young people to summer camps in Poland.

'... At present there is a crisis affecting the Poles in exile. The émigré masses have become alienated and disillusioned. Many have stopped participating in community activities. Fighting among themselves, the Polish political parties and leaders in exile have lost their authority and support because, apart from their boundless ambition, endless disputes and lack of resolve to reach an agreement, they have not proved to the émigré masses that they have any aims which could produce unity and encouragement to resume activity. ... Community organisations are barely surviving, while many have been disbanded because, as a result of their political involvement, they had lost the support of the Polish community. Only a few organisations are showing signs of activity, while the others exist only on paper. ...' (24)

The Theory of 'Accommodation' Regarding The Poles in Britain.

Despite the pessimism of Józef Bełtowski, many exiled Poles were not 'assimilated' into Scottish society. As Jerzy Zubrzycki points out, there was a process of 'accommodation' whereby outright 'assimilation' could be avoided while the values of the host-society would not be rejected. 'Accommodation' enabled exiled Poles to become members of the host-society without ceasing to be

'Polish' and thereby enabled them to continue supporting community institutions and organisations. (25)

After the often difficult years of 'austerity' between 1945 and 1951, Britain gradually recovered from war-time economic problems and post-war dislocation. (26) The Poles who settled in Britain found that the increasing prosperity after 1951 made most of them able to become 'accepted' as members of British society. According to Zubrzycki, this lack of hostility on the part of the host-society was one factor influencing 'accommodation'.

Between 1951 and 1961 there was also increasing prosperity in Scotland. (27) Many Poles benefitted from the improving material conditions during the period of economic growth between 1957 and 1963. (28) The favourable economic situation extended to many parts of Scotland. With such economic conditions, the generally good relationship between Scots and Poles encouraged 'accommodation'.

Many members of the Polish community in Edinburgh adapted well to life in Scotland. Increased prosperity enabled some to invest in property. During a period of moderate credit terms, mortgages could be obtained on property both for accommodation and to let spare rooms. More prosperous and enterprising Poles became owners of hotels and guest houses either as their main source of income or to supplement income derived from other employment.

This investment in property was often associated with a desire for stability and security after life in barracks, camps and hostels. Investment in property also enabled exiled Poles to become both physically and psychologically established in their country of settlement. With the status of 'property owners', they could feel more self-confident and could become more 'respectable' members of the host-society. Property ownership, therefore, greatly assisted the process of 'accommodation'. (29)

The 'Dom Inwalidy' In Edinburgh.

Since the foundation of the Edinburgh Branch of the 'Związek Inwalidów Wojennych P.S.Z.' in September, 1947, the members had planned to organise a social centre for activities to raise funds to provide financial support for disabled former service personnel of the Polish Armed Forces who needed help. In 1952 a committee was set up with Szczepan Wróblewski as chairman to organise the purchase of this 'Dom Inwalidy'. Among the organisations contributing was the Scottish-Polish Society which did not want to hold meetings and functions in the 'Dom Kombatanta' because of the payment required for hire of the function-hall. The Cupar Branch of the Society donated £400. (30)

During 1954 the political split seriously complicated the purchase of the property. There was a dispute between Wróblewski and the Central Committee of the 'Związek Inwalidów'. In reply, on 11 January, 1955, the Central Committee disbanded the Edinburgh Branch and appointed a Provisional Committee. Wróblewski responded by withdrawing the money invested in the House Fund account and by announcing the foundation of a branch of the pro-'Zamek' 'Legion Inwalidów' in Edinburgh.

On 21 August, 1955, the new 'Koło Edynburg' (Edinburgh Branch) of the 'Związek Inwalidów' was founded with the support of the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25'. In addition to its main activity, which was to help members in need, the new Edinburgh Branch worked to win over members from the 'Legion Inwalidów', to recover the House Fund and to recover the documents appropriated by Wróblewski. (31)

Following several months of argument and threats of legal proceedings, in June, 1956, the Edinburgh Branch finally reached a compromise with its rival and recovered most of the money. The contract for the purchase of the property at 53 Great King Street, Edinburgh was signed on 10 December, 1957, by representatives from the Branches of the 'Związek Inwalidów' in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dundee and by the Chairman of the Central Committee. A total of £528, including £353 donated by Branches of the Scottish-Polish Society, was raised for the refurbishment

and partial redecoration of the 'Dom Inwalidy', which was opened on 1 February, 1958. (32)

Despite its non-political purpose, the 'Dom Inwalidy' became the 'rival' of the 'Dom Kombatanta'. Before it had been purchased there had been plans made by several pro-'Zamek' organisations to use it for their activities. In addition, the 'Dom Inwalidy' needed to have the support of Poles opposed to the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25' in order to pay off a large mortgage and loan, to administer the new centre and to raise funds for assisting needy members of the Edinburgh Branch. The organisations based at the 'Dom Inwalidy' included the Council of Polish Societies in Edinburgh, the Scottish-Polish Society (Edinburgh Branch), the 'Koło Z.N.P.Z.', the 'Związek Polek', the 'Związek Ziem Wschodnich' (the Association for the Eastern Provinces), the 'Koło Polskiej Macierzy Szkolnej' (the Polish Educational Society Abroad, Edinburgh Branch), the 'Koło Przyrodników im. Mikołaja Kopernika' and the 'Koło byłych Żołnierzy Dowództwa 1 Korpusu Wojska Polskiego'. (33)

An Assessment Of The Development Of Polish Community Life.

At the Annual General Meeting of the Council of Polish Societies, held on 15 June, 1959, at the 'Dom Inwalidy', Dr. Śliżyński reported that when the Council had been founded in 1945 there had been only five Polish

organisations in Edinburgh. During 1958-59 there had been fifteen organisations. Only the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25' was not a member of the Council. Two organisations had been disbanded during 1958-59. These were: the 'Krąg Starszo-Harcerski' (the Association of Senior Scouts), the 'Komitet Parafialno-Społeczny Pomocy Krajowi' (the Parish and Community Committee for Aid to the Homeland).

The remaining twelve organisations were:

- 1) the 'Koło Z.N.P.Z.',
- 2) the 'Chór Polski "Echo"',
- 3) the 'Koło Przyrodników im. Mikołaja Kopernika',
- 4) the 'Koło byłych Żołnierzy Dowództwa 1 Korpusu Wojska Polskiego',
- 5) the 'Legion Inwalidów Wojennych P.S.Z.',
- 6) the 'Koło Studiów Wojskowych',
- 7) the 'Koło Polskiej Macierzy Szkolnej',
- 8) the 'Związek Polek',
- 9) the 'Koło Terenowe "Edynburg" Związku Inwalidów Wojennych P.S.Z.',
- 10) the 'Związek Lekarzy',
- 11) the 'Koło Z.R.R.P. Nr. 31',
- 12) the 'Związek Ziem Wschodnich'. (34)

The Background To The Work Of Polish Schools In Britain
Between 1951 And 1961.

According to Czaykowski and Sulik, balanced social development depends to some extent on the ability of the generation 'with authority' to create appropriate conditions and to exert influence upon the 'successor generation' so that some continuity could be achieved. The Polish community in Britain, however, could not claim to be a 'normal society'. First, the Poles were a national minority without 'roots' in the history of the host-nation. Second, in order to maintain their separate identity, they sought to create their own society based on pre-1939 Poland and had wanted to return to Poland. Finally, the Polish community was not yet strong enough materially to create a financial, intellectual or cultural 'legacy' for the 'second generation'. In order to retain the loyalty of the 'second generation', they often used moral, idealistic and patriotic arguments. Very often, however, the 'second generation' born in Britain after 1945 found themselves more attracted by the values and rewards of British society. (35)

According to Czaykowski and Sulik, in 1960 of the some 16,000 'Polish' children and adolescents born in Britain during or after 1945 and resident in Britain, some 8,000 had one non-Polish parent. With very few exceptions, the children of so-called 'mixed marriages' were not usually

encouraged to be 'Polish' in Britain. Even if their parents sent them to a 'Polish School', only a few derived any real benefit. This was mainly due to the lack of parental interest and encouragement often caused by the indifference of the Polish father regarding Polish national identity.

For some 'Polish' children with both parents being Polish, as well as a few with one Polish parent, attending a Polish School in Britain often contributed towards maintaining an 'attachment' to Polish national identity. These pupils attended British schools for five days during most weeks of the year. This very often was a stronger influence than three hours at a Polish School on Saturday mornings. In addition, the Polish language spoken at home (if any) was often very limited and out-dated, being pre-1939 Polish. In order to 'consolidate' the work of the Polish School, parents sometimes sent their child (or children) to Poland on holiday.

One 'compromise' adopted by some parents was to regard the Polish language as a 'second language' which their children were encouraged to learn not for 'patriotic' reasons but as a potential asset for employment. Some 'British people of Polish descent' thereby retained an 'attachment' to Polish national identity. Visits to Poland often helped to provide a realistic attitude regarding their parents' homeland based on direct

experience. This also strengthened their emotional 'attachment' to Poland. Above all, they acquired the means of achieving their own 'equilibrium' between the cultures of Britain and Poland. (36)

The Polish School In Edinburgh (1951 To 1961).

On 17 February, 1952 the 'Polski Komitet Oświatowy' was succeeded by the 'Towarzystwo Kultury Polskiej' (the Polish Cultural Society) which was founded in order to promote activities intended to maintain and develop Polish culture in Edinburgh. This included assisting the 'Koło Z.N.P.Z.' to educate children and young people in Polish subjects, helping to maintain among children and young people support for the liberation of Poland, the Catholic faith and Polish national traditions, and maintaining the self-respect and national identity of all Poles resident in the Edinburgh area. (37)

On 21 February, 1954, the 'Towarzystwo Kultury Polskiej' was disbanded and succeeded by the 'Koło Polskiej Macierzy Szkolnej'. This 'Koło P.M.S.' was a branch of the Polish Educational Society Abroad, which was based in London. The 'Koło P.M.S.' also wanted to maintain Polish culture in Edinburgh and to support the activities of the 'Koło Z.N.P.Z.'. The 'Koło P.M.S.' supervised the financial administration of the Polish School in Edinburgh, while the 'Koło Z.N.P.Z.' was in charge of organisation and education. Such methods proved very

effective. After the disbandment of the 'Koło P.M.S.' on 15 November, 1959, due to declining membership, the 'Koło Z.N.P.Z.' co-operated with the 'Komitet Rodzicielski' (the Parents' Committee) in running the Polish School. Financial assistance was provided by several community organisations, especially by the 'Koło S.P.K.'. (38)

Between 1951 and 1961 the attendances at the Polish School in Edinburgh reflected the problems troubling Poles in Britain. During 1951-52 there were 38 pupils. 23 attended the primary course, which comprised two classes, and 15 attended the secondary course. (39) There was no secondary course during 1952-53 due to a decrease in the total number of pupils to 30, of whom 15 did not speak Polish. During 1953-54, of a total of 53 pupils, 25 did not speak Polish, which made the 'Koło Z.N.P.Z.' organise a special class teaching Polish as a foreign language. From 6 March, 1954, the courses were held at St. Mary's Roman Catholic Primary School at 33 Albany Street, Edinburgh, where four classes were taught on Saturday mornings during term-time. During 1954-55 some parents stopped sending their children because they believed that the School was run by supporters of Zaleski, which caused a decrease in the number of pupils to 40, of whom 17 did not speak Polish. (40)

From 1951 until 1955, then again in 1957, the 'Koło Z.N.P.Z.' co-operated with the 'Polski Komitet

Oświatowy', the 'Towarzystwo Kultury Polskiej' and the 'Koło P.M.S.' in organising summer camps in Scotland for the children of Polish parents. (41) Another activity organised by the 'Koło Z.N.P.Z.' from 1953 until 1958 in co-operation with the 'Towarzystwo Kultury Polskiej' and the 'Koło P.M.S.' was an annual 'zlot' (rally) in Edinburgh at the end of the school year. Children and staff from the Polish Schools in Edinburgh, Addiewell, Alloa, Dundee, Dunfermline, Falkirk, Glasgow, Kirkcaldy and Perth participated with programmes of Polish songs, dances and poetry. (42)

After 1954-55 the Polish School in Edinburgh was less affected by political disputes. During 1955-56 there was an increase in the number of pupils to 42, with 20 not speaking Polish. There was a large increase during 1956-57 to 66, with 34 not speaking Polish. Another increase occurred during 1957-58 when 73 pupils were enrolled, including 37 who did not speak Polish. From 1958-59 until 1960-61 attendances reflected the number of children of school-age (aged 7 or over). During 1958-59 there were 55 pupils enrolled, with 25 not speaking Polish. Of 44 pupils enrolled during 1959-60, 13 did not speak Polish. 48 Pupils were enrolled during 1960-61, of whom 12 did not speak Polish at home. (43)

From 1952 until 1956 a Polish School was organised at Addiewell in Midlothian. At the request of local parents, who formed a Parents' Committee, the 'Koło

Z.N.P.Z.' in Edinburgh provided the teaching staff and equipment. Some 20 pupils were enrolled every year. The School was also attended by children from nearby Polmeth, Blackburn and Loganlea, whose parents helped to provide financial support. In March, 1956, the School was closed because most of the Polish men had moved from the area with their families. This had been caused by the closure of the shale-oil mines and works which had provided employment. (44)

The Polish Parish And Religious Activities In Edinburgh (1951-1961).

Following the death of Archbishop McDonald on 22 May, 1950, he had been succeeded by Monsignor Dr. Gordon Joseph Gray as the Archbishop of St. Andrews and Edinburgh. Archbishop Gray was a good friend to the Polish community.

On 12 January, 1958, the 'Polski Komitet Parafialny' (the Polish Parish Committee) was founded. The Committee continued the work of the 'Polski Komitet Kościelny', namely to raise funds to maintain the parish priest and the Parish, to pay the organist and the cleaner, to contribute towards the upkeep of St. Anne's Oratory and to maintain the 'Polski Misja Katolicka w Szkocji'. (45)

In April, 1953, the 'Sekcja Charytatywna' (Charities Section) of the 'Koło Polskiej Akcji Katolickiej' was

founded with Lieutenant-Colonel Władysław Czocho as the Secretary and Mrs. Czesława Malicka as the Treasurer. The main task of the 'Sekcja Charytatywna' was to co-ordinate the charitable activities of several Polish community organisations. These activities included providing help for Poles who were ill and had no-one to visit them, for Poles who lived alone and were in need, and for Poles in Poland.

Between 1953 and 1961 some of the leading members of the 'Sekcja Charytatywna' included Zbigniew Maurer and Tadeusz Ziarski-Kernberg (who served as Chairmen), Mrs. Helena Machowa and Mrs. Jadwiga Warthowa. The 'Sekcja Charytatywna' received financial support from individuals, community organisations and by organising functions. Activities included providing parcels at Easter and Christmas for Poles without families who were elderly, ill or in need, and visiting them at home, in hospital or in prison. The 'Sekcja Charytatywna' also co-operated with British institutions, organisations and professional services, including Labour Exchanges, housing agencies, funeral directors, orphanages and 'The Samaritans', to help Poles who did not speak English well enough to be able to communicate. (46)

Support For The Catholic Church In Poland.

The 'Akcja Katolicka' in Edinburgh became very active regarding the anti-Catholic policies of the Communist

authorities in Poland, which had started with the renunciation of the Concordat of 1925. Following the death of Cardinal Hlond on 22 October, 1948, he had been succeeded by Archbishop Stefan Wyszyński on 8 January, 1949. The new Primate of Poland wanted to create a working compromise with the secular authorities, expressed in the Agreement of 14 April, 1950, regularising the relationship between church and state.

Despite the Agreement, the situation, which was part of the policy of 'Stalinism' in Poland, worsened until in October, 1952, three Bishops were arrested. On 9 February, 1953, the Council of State issued a decree giving the government authority to approve all ecclesiastical appointments. Furthermore, clerics accused of illegal acts or of 'undermining public order' could be removed from their posts. On 22 September, 1953, Bishop Czesław Kaczmarek of Kielce (who had been under arrest since January, 1951) was sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment for alleged 'espionage for the U.S.A. and the Vatican'. The Primate himself (who had been made a Cardinal in January, 1953) was forbidden by the government on 29 September, 1953, to exercise his ecclesiastical authority and was forced to retire to a monastery. According to the decree of 9 February, 1953, in order to hold ecclesiastical office all bishops and priests were ordered to take an oath of loyalty to the People's Republic of Poland. By the end of December, 1953, they had complied. (47)

The 'Akcja Katolicka' in Edinburgh led the protests against the trial of Bishop Kaczmarek and the arrest of Cardinal Wyszyński. On 30 October, 1953, Archbishop Gray received a delegation from the Council of Polish Societies. The Archbishop was the main speaker at a protest meeting on 22 November, 1953, attended by Poles and Scots. With the support of the Archbishop, from 8 until 25 November, 1953, a total of some 20,000 signatures was accumulated from Scottish parishes, Polish organisations and individuals. The resulting protest resolution with these signatures was sent to the 'Instytut Polskiej Akcji Katolickiej' in London. From London it was sent via the Vatican to the United Nations Organisation in New York. (48)

Assistance For Poles Repatriated From The Soviet Union.

During this period one of the most impressive achievements of the Polish community in Edinburgh was the organisation of assistance for Poles repatriated from the Soviet Union after October, 1956. On 1 May, 1957, the 'Komitet Parafialno-Społeczny Pomocy Krajowi' (the Parish and Community Committee for Aid to the Homeland) was founded at a meeting in the 'Dom Kombatanta'. (49)

Formed by the union of two existing appeal bodies, namely one founded by the 'Komitet Kościelny' supported by Monsignor Bombas and one organised by the Council of

Polish Societies, its purpose was to collect money, clothing, food and other supplies and to send them to the Secretariat of Cardinal Wyszyński (who had been reinstated after October, 1956) for distribution among Poles repatriated from the Soviet Union and among the most needy in Poland. These activities were directed by a seven person executive, with Stanisław Szymański as Chairman. Other members included Zbigniew Maurer (the Chairman of the 'Sekcja Charytatywna'), Tadeusz Ziarski-Kernberg (who had been the Delegate of the 'Instytut Polskiej Akcji Katolickiej' for Scotland and the Chairman of the 'Oddział' and the 'Koło Akcji Katolickiej' since 1954) and Marian Boroń.

Among the community organisations providing support were the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25', the 'Sekcja Charytatywna', the 'Związek Polek', the 'Koło Terenowe "Edynburg" Związku Inwalidów Wojennych P.S.Z.', the 'Polski Chór "Echo"' and the Scottish-Polish Society. Until 1 January, 1958, the Committee sent parcels totalling 1,600 lbs., two transports by sea totalling 1,080 lbs. and eighteen parcels with medical supplies. During 1958 a total weight of 665 lbs. of supplies was sent, including one transport by sea totalling 560 lbs. and parcels totalling 105 lbs.. Between 1 May, 1957, and 4 November, 1959, a total of £176 17s. 8d. was raised to cover expenses and to purchase supplies. (50)

THE POLISH COMMUNITY IN GLASGOW (1951 TO 1961).Introduction.

According to the Census taken on 23 April, 1961, there was a total of 1,162 persons resident in Glasgow enumerated as 'born in Poland', with 909 men and 253 women. A total of 395 persons had citizenship of the United Kingdom or the Colonies, comprising 283 men and 112 women. (51) In 1951 there had been a total of 1,164 persons 'born in Poland' and resident in Glasgow, with 957 men and 207 women.

Between 1951 and 1961 there had been a small decrease in the number of 'Polish-born' men, but this had been nearly equalled by the increase in the number of 'Polish-born' women. The decrease had been caused either by 'secondary emigration' or by death. Since migration to Glasgow had almost exactly replaced the number of 'Polish-born' people who had emigrated or had died, this had resulted in a significant number of 'younger Poles' becoming resident in the city. Most of the 'younger Poles' had not been either senior military officers nor had they been members of the professions in pre-war Poland. Whereas in Edinburgh between 1951 and 1961 most of the leading Polish community activists had been civilian 'notables' or former officers, in Glasgow during the same period the leadership of many community

organisations had been taken over by 'younger Poles' with new ideas and methods. (52)

The 'Dom Polski im. Generała Władysława Sikorskiego' in Glasgow.

As in the case of the 'Dom Inwalidy' in Edinburgh, political disputes in Glasgow influenced the creation of an alternative Polish centre for people who did not support the 'Dom Kombatanta'. In addition, there were personal disputes within the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 105'. Władysław Kot, the Chairman of the Committee of the 'Klub S.P.K.' at the 'Dom Kombatanta', and Władysław Bednarek, the Director of the 'Dom Kombatanta', were both members of the P.S.L. but did not support Mikołajczyk. Other members of the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 105' supported various parties, including the P.P.S. and the S.N.. In 1954, following a dispute regarding the activities of Mikołajczyk and the various factions of the P.S.L., Władysław Bednarek was forced to resign and Władysław Kot also resigned.

Other Poles resigned from the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 105' and the 'Klub S.P.K.' in protest against the support given by the S.P.K. to the 'Zjednoczenie'. Many of the Poles who left the S.P.K. wanted to create another social centre in Glasgow with more cultural activities than had been provided at the 'Dom Kombatanta'. In addition, every 'Dom Kombatanta' was owned by P.C.A. Ltd. based in

London. The Central Committee ('Zarząd Główny') of the S.P.K. received a percentage of the clear profit made by every 'Dom Kombatanta' during each financial year. In principle, unless there was another special agreement, one-third of the clear profit would be allocated to the local 'Koło S.P.K.' for the work of the 'Koło' and the 'Klub S.P.K.' (which was the economic arm responsible for the bar, restaurant and functions), while two-thirds would be sent to the Central Committee. The disadvantages of such arrangements influenced the Poles in Glasgow who did not support the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 105' and the 'Dom Kombatanta' in organising an association which would be independent and would exercise financial control over the new centre. (53)

Once again, as in the case of the 'Dom Inwalidy' in Edinburgh, the plan to create a new Polish centre in Glasgow had originated before the events of 1954. In December, 1946, the Polish Vocational College Association Limited company had been formed under the authority of the Education Branch of the Interim Treasury Committee for Polish Questions. This company had been created to administer the Polish Agricultural College ('Polska Szkoła Rolnicza') and the Centre for Teaching by Correspondence Courses ('Ośrodek Nauczania Korespondencyjnego') at 4/5, Park Grove Terrace, Glasgow. Its legal status was a Trust, with Polish and Scottish members, founded in order to take over the two buildings (which had been purchased in 1945 with funds from the

Polish government in London) and thereby to prevent the Provisional Government in Warsaw from claiming the property.

Following the closure of the Polish Agricultural College and the Centre for Teaching by Correspondence Courses, many Poles in Glasgow did not want the properties to be sold. In February, 1953, the Trust had set up a Provisional Committee for the Supervision of the Houses ('Tymczasowy Komitet Opieki nad Domami') whose members were Władysław Kot, Tadeusz Ciepielowski and Adam Smolka. In May, 1954, this Committee issued an appeal to the Poles in Glasgow to raise funds for the maintenance of the two properties as centres for Polish education. This was achieved by the dissolution of the Trust founded by the Polish Vocational College Association Ltd. and the transfer of the properties to the Polish Educational and Social Association ('Towarzystwo Społeczno-Oświatowe'), which was founded on 3 June, 1954, at a public meeting in the 'Dom Kombatanta'.

Among the founder-members of the Polish Educational and Social Association were Adam Smolka, Władysław Banasiewicz, Walerian Minor, Tadeusz Ciepielowski, Władysław Bednarek and Władysław Kot. The new Association took over the properties at 4/5, Park Grove Terrace together with debts of nearly £1,000. Some of the founder-members not only raised funds to renovate and administer the properties, as well as paying off the

debts and the accumulating interest, but also carried out the renovation and redecoration work themselves.

On 19 March, 1955, at 5, Park Grove Terrace an organising meeting was held to found officially the 'Dom Polski im. Generała Władysława Sikorskiego' of the 'Towarzystwo Społeczno-Oświatowe' (the General Sikorski Memorial House of the Polish Educational and Social Association). The meeting adopted a Constitution, elected a Committee and elected an Auditing Commission ('Komisja Rewizyjna'). The Committee was authorised to create a 'General Sikorski Memorial House Fund' to help in paying for renovation, redecoration and refurbishment.

In November, 1955, an appeal for contributions to maintain the 'Dom Polski im. Generała W. Sikorskiego' was made. This became necessary because of the shortage of income raised from membership subscription fees, contributions by members, functions organised by the Association and rent from the rooms let out in the 'hostel' organised on the upper floors of the properties. The appeal asked for people to become members, to provide financial contributions or to help in voluntary work with the organisation and the refurbishment of the properties.

In addition, two loans were raised to pay off the debts and the interest. One was for £800 to be repaid over ten years, while the other was for £500 to be repaid in

two annual instalments. The home-owners who acted as guarantors were Władysław Bednarek, Julian Frączek, Walerian Minor and Władysław Kot. (54)

The Economic Achievements Of The Polish Community In Glasgow (1951 To 1961).

The success of the 'Towarzystwo Społeczno-Oświatowe' and the 'Dom Polski im. Generała Władysława Sikorskiego' reflected the economic achievements and prosperity of many Poles in Glasgow. By 1961, most of the Poles were in relatively well-paid employment, including public transport and work at the docks. Comparatively few worked in factories. Over 120 Poles were self-employed with their own businesses and work-shops. These included several jewellers and watch-makers, ten owners of delicatessens, three butchers, several cafés and restaurants, a few leather-goods work-shops and retailers, some thirty barbers and hair-dressers, shoe-makers and tailors, and some forty laundrettes. In particular, the ownership of laundrettes showed the business acumen of Poles who had recognised that in Glasgow the problem of atmospheric pollution caused by industrial waste smoke had created a large demand. When Czaykowski and Sulik had visited Glasgow in 1958 they had noted some forty laundrettes owned by Poles. (55)

With increased prosperity many Poles in Glasgow bought property and became established in Scottish society.

Their desire for further self-improvement for themselves and their families made many Poles regard the 'Dom Polski im. Generała W. Sikorskiego' as an attractive centre for community activities. They regarded membership of the Club run by the 'Towarzystwo Społeczno-Oświatowe' as being more 'respectable' than being members of the 'Klub S.P.K.' because the reputation of the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 105' had been compromised by alleged mismanagement. Many Poles were reluctant to attend social activities at the 'Dom Kombatanta' or to send their children to the Polish School there because of the behaviour of some members and guests. (56)

The Success Of The 'Dom Polski im. Generała W. Sikorskiego'.

With the support of a significant number of talented people, the 'Dom Polski im. Generała W. Sikorskiego' was well managed and became increasingly successful. Among its facilities were some twenty rooms to let on the upper floors which were usually rented by elderly Poles or by Poles in need of temporary accommodation. On the ground floor there was an office, a reading room, a library and a function hall. The basement area comprised the bar, the kitchen and the restaurant. Every year several functions were held with good attendances, including dances, celebrations at Easter ('Święcone') and at Christmas ('opłatek'), celebrations of Polish national anniversaries, historical events and distinguished people

(especially General Sikorski), and occasional lectures, literary evenings and musical recitals. (57)

The new centre received the support of several Polish lecturers, doctors, dentists, solicitors and school-teachers resident in the west of Scotland. In 1952 some of these 'intellectuals', including Dr. Stanisław Westfal, Dr. Jan Dąbrowski, Czesław Bobolewski, Czesław Dobek and Władysław Kot, had organised the 'Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Kultury Polskiej' (the Society of Friends of Polish Culture). They organised lectures, literary evenings and other cultural events usually in co-operation with either the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 105' or the 'Towarzystwo Społeczno-Oświatowe'. As the 'Dom Polski im. Generała W. Sikorskiego' gradually became the main centre for Polish cultural activities, the 'intellectuals' were important members of the 'Towarzystwo Społeczno-Oświatowe' and contributed significantly towards its success. (58)

POLISH LIFE IN FALKIRK (1951 TO 1961).Introduction.

According to the Census taken on 23 April, 1961, in the county of Stirling there was a total of 534 persons enumerated as 'born in Poland, with 483 men and 51 women. A total of 165 persons had citizenship of the United Kingdom or the Colonies, with 158 men and 7 women. The combined total of 'Polish-born' persons resident in the large burghs of Falkirk and Stirling was 214, with 190 men and 24 women. Of these, 55 men and 1 woman had citizenship of the United Kingdom or the Colonies. (59)

In 1951 there had been a total of 660 persons 'born in Poland' and resident in Stirlingshire, with 608 men and 52 women. In Falkirk there had been a total of 210 'Polish-born persons' (total for both sexes combined), while in the large burgh of Stirling there had been a total of 72 'Polish-born persons' (total for both sexes combined).

Between 1951 and 1961 there had been a large decrease (125) in the number of 'Polish-born' men and a decrease of 1 in the number of 'Polish-born' women. The decrease had been caused either by 'secondary emigration' or by death. This decrease contributed to the difficulties hindering the development of organised Polish community life in Falkirk, which included the 'assimilation' into

Scottish society of many Polish men married to Scottish wives, the geographical distribution of Poles throughout Stirlingshire which had also encouraged 'assimilation', the effects of the political split in London during 1954 and the apparently greater 'freedom' in Poland after October, 1956.

The 'Dom Kombatanta' And The 'Dom Parafialny' In Falkirk.

In 1955 the lease on the premises rented by the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 36' in Falkirk had expired. This occurred when relations between the 'Koło S.P.K.' and Father Drobina had become very difficult. Father Drobina criticised the members of the 'Koło S.P.K.' who had married Scottish wives either in Protestant churches or in Registry Offices. In reply, the 'Koło S.P.K.' accused Father Drobina of wanting to control all community activities through the 'Komitet Kościelny'. Furthermore, as a result of the political dispute in London during 1954, Father Drobina supported the 'Zamek' in opposition to the 'Koło S.P.K.' who supported the 'Zjednoczenie'. (60)

In order to have a Polish centre in Falkirk which would be independent from the S.P.K., a Committee led by Father Drobina and Stefan Politowski was formed to purchase a property at 'Garfield', 136, Comely Place. On 17 July, 1955, an information meeting was held at this new 'Dom Polski' ('Polish House'). The meeting received reports

regarding the fund to purchase the property, which had raised £181. 4s.. At this meeting several members of the 'Koło S.P.K.' reported that the Committee of the 'Koło S.P.K.' wanted to purchase a property in order to organise a 'Dom Kombatanta'. In the interests of preventing the creation of two factions, the meeting approved a resolution that they would encourage the 'Koło S.P.K.' to co-operate in the purchase and the organisation of the 'Dom Polski'. In addition, the Committee formed to purchase the 'Dom Polski' promised that, as soon as the property had been paid for in full, they would offer the 'Koło S.P.K.' a room for its Club and the use of all facilities free of charge. (61)

This conciliatory proposal was not accepted. With financial support from P.C.A. Ltd. in London, the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 36' purchased and organised a 'Dom Kombatanta' at 'Woodside House', Arnot Street, Falkirk. Meanwhile, the 'Dom Polski' was officially opened on 18 September, 1955. (62)

The 'Dom Polski' was purchased for £1,900, of which £370 had been paid on purchase by the Committee, while the balance of £1,530 was obtained as a Building Society loan. Monsignor Bombas, the Rector of the 'Polska Misja Katolicka w Szkocji', gave his permission for the property at 'Garfield' to be a 'Dom Parafialny' ('Parish House') owned by the 'Polska Misja Katolicka w Szkocji'. In order to pay off the mortgage, a collection was

organised throughout Stirlingshire and received many contributions from Polish people and organisations. (63)

As two Polish centres had been organised in Falkirk, the rival factions soon realised that they had to co-operate officially in order to avoid financial ruin. By 1958 the dispute between Father Drobina and the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 36' had been nearly resolved. An example of co-operation was the appointment of Władysław Grzanka, the Chairman of the 'Koło S.P.K.', as the Chairman of the 'Komisja Rewizyjna' (Auditing Commission) for the 'Dom Parafialny'. The 'Koło S.P.K.' also provided financial support for the Polish Saturday School organised by the 'Komitet Kościelny' (which had been founded on 8 March, 1952) and contributed towards the maintenance of Father Drobina and the Polish Parish. (64)

Both the 'Dom Parafialny' and the 'Dom Kombatanta' relied on profits from their bars, restaurants and functions, especially dances and the celebration of national anniversaries. During the financial year 1957-58 the 'Dom Kombatanta' made a gross profit of £2,528 and a net profit of £625, of which the 'Koło S.P.K.' received £208 and the Central Committee of the S.P.K. in London received £417. During 1959-60 there was a gross profit of £2,805 and a net profit of £471, of which the 'Koło S.P.K.' received £157 and the Central Committee received £314. (65)

POLISH LIFE IN DUNDEE (1951 TO 1961).

According to the Census taken on 23 April, 1961, there was a total of 411 persons enumerated as 'born in Poland' and resident in Dundee, with 351 men and 60 women. A total of 123 persons had citizenship of the United Kingdom or the Colonies, with 108 men and 15 women. (66) In 1951 there had been a total of 309 persons 'born in Poland' and resident in Dundee, with 275 men and 34 women.

This large increase in the 'Polish-born' population between 1951 and 1961 had been caused by migration to Dundee in search of better paid employment which had considerably exceeded the decrease caused by 'secondary migration' or by death. Despite the number of Polish people resident in the city, there were very few developments in Polish community life. Most activities were organised by the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 60' at the 'Dom Kombatanta'.

In 1953 a Saturday School teaching Polish subjects was organised by the 'Komitet Kościelny'. (67) The courses were held at the 'Dom Kombatanta'. In 1958 there was a total of 40 children enrolled. During previous years there had been an average of 25 children enrolled. This relatively low attendance was partly caused by the reluctance of many Scottish wives of Poles to send their children. Another reason for this low attendance was

the belief held by many Poles that attending a Polish School could hinder their children's progress at Scottish schools. This was evidence of the perceived advantages of 'assimilation' into Scottish society proving to be more attractive than the need to maintain Polish national identity. (68)

POLISH COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES IN FIFE (1951 TO 1961).Introduction.

As in 1951 Fife was the county in Scotland in 1961 with the most numerous 'Polish-born' population. The Census taken on 23 April, 1961, showed that there was a total of 1,117 persons enumerated as 'born in Poland' and resident in Fife, with 1,011 men and 106 women. A total of 437 persons had citizenship of the United Kingdom or the Colonies, with 406 men and 31 women. The combined total of 'Polish-born' persons resident in the large burghs of Kirkcaldy and Dunfermline was 396, with 352 men and 44 women. Of these, 117 men and 10 women had citizenship of the United Kingdom or the Colonies. (69)

In 1951 there had been a total of 1,294 persons 'born in Poland' and resident in Fife, with 1,190 men and 104 women. In Kirkcaldy there had been a total of 332 'Polish-born' persons, with this being the total for both sexes combined. In Dunfermline there had been a total of 70 'Polish-born' persons (total for both sexes combined).

Between 1951 and 1961 there had been a significant decrease (179) in the number of 'Polish-born' men, but there had been an increase of 2 in the number of 'Polish-born' women. This would suggest that there had been some migration of 'Polish-born' people to Fife, but that

'secondary migration' or death had caused this large decrease. The relatively small decrease (only 6) in the number of 'Polish-born' persons resident in Kirkcaldy and Dunfermline between 1951 and 1961 had been caused by migration to the burghs having had nearly equalled the decrease caused by 'secondary migration' or death. This had been a characteristic of the physical consolidation of the Polish community in Scotland between 1951 and 1961 when many Poles had migrated from rural areas and mining villages to larger centres of employment.

Polish Life In Kirkcaldy (1951 to 1961).

Between 1951 and 1961 the Poles resident in the Kirkcaldy area organised their community activities very successfully. With only a small number of Polish 'intellectuals' or professional people participating in community life, there were very few political disputes to hinder co-operation. Some Poles in the Kirkcaldy area were employed in the ship-building industry, but many became unemployed as a result of the periodic economic crises which caused employers to respond to pressure from the trades unions to make Polish workers the first to be made redundant. After 1952, therefore, most Polish men found employment in other manufacturing industries, such as linoleum manufacturing. Although not as well paid as they had been in the ship-building industry, the Poles had more job security and could devote more time to community life. (70)

Community life in the Kirkcaldy area was led by Father Mieczysław Fellich and by the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 50'. In 1952 a Polish School was founded in Kirkcaldy. On 6 December, 1953, a 'Dom Kombatanta' in Kirkcaldy was officially opened at 'Bennoch House', Forth Park Drive, after having been redecorated and refurbished. Among the Polish organisations based at the new 'Dom Kombatanta' were the 'Koło Akcji Katolickiej' and the 'Sekcja Studiów Wojskowych'. The facilities at 'Bennoch House' included two bars, a restaurant, a function hall and a library. (71)

In 1958 the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 50' had 150 members while the 'Klub S.P.K.' had 223 members. In Kirkcaldy, as in Glasgow, up to one-third of the membership of the 'Klub S.P.K.' could be non-Polish. This encouraged the participation and support of many Scottish wives of Poles and of a large number of non-Polish friends. (72)

During the financial year 1958-59 the 'Dom Kombatanta' made a gross profit of £2,035 and a net profit of £393, of which the 'Koło S.P.K.' received £131 and the Central Committee of the S.P.K. in London received £262. (73)

Polish Life in Dunfermline And Leven (1951 To 1961).

Many Poles resident in the Dunfermline area were employed in coal-mining. Some worked in manufacturing industries, including the Dunlop rubber factory in Dunfermline and

the ship-yards at Burntisland. A few were self-employed as tailors, shoe-makers, watch-makers and owners of small delicatessens and shops.

In 1952 Father Fellich encouraged the Poles in Dunfermline to organise a Polish School. The courses were held on Saturday mornings in a local parish church hall and were taught by Mieczysław Graff, assisted by staff from the 'Koło Z.N.P.Z.' in Edinburgh. (74) On 9 November, 1952, a meeting of Poles in Dunfermline voted to found a local committee to raise funds for the 'Skarb Narodowy' (the 'National Treasury'), which had been founded on 14 October, 1949, by President Zaleski to finance the activities of the Polish government in London. Józef Mirczyński was elected Chairman of this committee in Dunfermline. (75)

Some 70 Poles who lived in the Leven area had served in the First Independent Paratroop Brigade. Together with a similar number of Poles who had served in other units, they formed the 'Związek Polskich Spadochroniarzy, Oddział "Szkocja"' (the Polish Airborne Forces Association, Scottish Branch). On 19 April, 1953, they founded a Polish School in Lundin Links with a 'Komitet Rodzicielski' of parents to provide the administration. 21 children were enrolled for the first year. (76)

In Dunfermline and Leven the small number of Polish people significantly restricted the development of

community life. In particular, many Poles married to Scottish wives quickly became 'assimilated' into Scottish society. As few Scottish women wanted to send their children to a Polish School, by 1956 the Schools in Dunfermline and Leven had been closed. (77)

POLISH LIFE IN ABERDEEN (1951 TO 1961).

Polish organised community life was only able to develop successfully in cities and towns in Scotland, such as Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Falkirk and Kirkcaldy, where there was a numerous Polish population. In Aberdeen, Perth, Dunfermline and Leven the number of Polish people was relatively small.

According to the Census taken on 23 April, 1961, in the city of Aberdeen there was a total of 118 persons enumerated as 'born in Poland', with 110 men and 8 women. A total of 44 persons had citizenship of the United Kingdom or the Colonies, with 39 men and 5 women. (78) In 1951 there had been a total of 122 persons 'born in Poland' and resident in the city of Aberdeen, with 112 men and 10 women.

Between 1951 and 1961 this small decrease (only 4) in the number of 'Polish-born' persons resident in the city of Aberdeen had been caused by migration to the city having had nearly equalled the decrease caused by 'secondary migration' or by death. With such a small number of Polish people resident in Aberdeen, there was a serious shortage of members and financial support for organised community life.

There was a Polish Club in rented premises in Constitution Street where the Poles, under the

Chairmanship of Władysław Świeńczyk-Pyka, organised meetings, lectures, dances and celebrations of national anniversaries. In 1959 the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 27' and other Polish people formed a 'Koło Polskiej Macierzy Szkolnej' to administer a Polish School. On 16 January, 1960, they organised a Branch of the Scottish-Polish Society. Due to the shortage of members and financial support, these ventures were not very successful. This was described by Władysław Świeńczyk-Pyka:

'... While the Polish Fishery School was still in existence they formed a Polish Club in Constitution Street. It was disbanded in 1958 as the Licence was not renewed.

'While the Club was still in existence, but without a licence, a Polish School for children was formed and the teacher was the late Mr. V. Komaczyński. It lasted for about three or four years. We also formed a Scottish Polish Association but it only lasted for about two years. I was then the President of the Polish Associations in Aberdeen.

'In 1959 we formed the Polish Ex-Combatants Association and the first President of it was Major Stefan de Laurent. In 1964 I became the President. I have been the President of the

Polish Ex-Combatants Association . at regular intervals. I have been the President again since 1981.' (79)

POLISH LIFE IN PERTH (1951 TO 1961).

Between 1951 and 1961 the distribution of Polish people throughout the counties of Perth and Kinross prevented Perth from becoming a centre where Polish institutions and organisations could become established and economically successful. According to the Census taken on 23 April, 1961, in the county of Perth there was a total of 366 persons enumerated as 'born in Poland', with 321 men and 45 women. A total of 150 persons had citizenship of the United Kingdom or the Colonies, with 131 men and 19 women. In the large burgh of Perth there was a total of 99 persons enumerated as 'born in Poland', with 89 men and 10 women. Of these, 48 men and 5 women had citizenship of the United Kingdom or the Colonies. (80) In the county of Kinross the total number of persons enumerated as 'born in Poland' was 'less than 50'. (81)

In 1951 there had been a total of 501 persons 'born in Poland' and resident in the county of Perth, with 444 men and 57 women. In the county of Kinross there had been a total of 40 'Polish-born' persons, with 38 men and 2 women. Finally, in the large burgh of Perth there had been 90 (total for both sexes combined).

Between 1951 and 1961 there had been a large decrease in the number of 'Polish-born' persons resident in the counties of Perth and Kinross which had been caused by

'secondary migration' or death. The increase of 9 in the number of 'Polish-born' persons resident in the burgh of Perth had been caused by migration to the town. Once again, this migration was part of the physical consolidation of the Polish community in Scotland.

In 1952 the Poles in Perth founded the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 28'. On the initiative of the 'Koło S.P.K.', in 1953 a Polish School was started with a 'Komitet Rodzicielski' of parents to provide financial support. The director of the School was Leokadiusz Dopierała, the Chairman of the 'Koło S.P.K.'. A total of 20 children was enrolled, but the School was not successful mainly due to the reluctance of many Scottish wives of Poles to send their children. By 1956 the School had been closed. (82)

The majority of Poles living in Perth and the surrounding area were employed as craftsmen, construction workers and general labourers, and in the manufacture of chemical dyes. There were a few who were self-employed, including owners of shops and small delicatessens, tailors, shoe-makers, leather-workers and watch-makers. With such a small number of Polish people, a 'Dom Kombatanta' was not opened in Perth until 1963 (at 5, Barossa Place). Until 1963 the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 28' organised its Club in rented premises. This Club was open on Friday, Saturday and Sunday evenings with a bar as the main source of income. Occasionally, the 'Koło S.P.K.' organised dances and cultural events, such as

lectures and celebrations of national anniversaries. On one Sunday of every month Father Drobina travelled from Falkirk to Perth, where he celebrated Mass for the local Poles. (83)

Notes To Chapter Seven.

- (1) For the consolidation of Communist rule in Poland, see J M Ciechanowski, 'Post-war Poland', in R F Leslie (ed.), The History of Poland since 1863, Cambridge, 1980, pp 280-298.
- (2) For 'Stalinism' in Poland, see Z A Pełczyński, 'The rise and ebb of Stalinism', in Leslie (ed.), op cit, pp 299-330.
- (3) B Czaykowski and B Sulik, Polacy w W. Brytanii, Paris, 1961, p 503.
- (4) Pełczyński, 'The rise and ebb of Stalinism', in Leslie (ed.), op cit, pp 330-343.
- (5) Z A Pełczyński, 'The October turning point', in Leslie (ed.), op cit, pp 344-350.
- (6) Ibid, pp 350-356.
- (7) Ibid, pp 356-366.
- (8) Czaykowski and Sulik, op cit, pp 503-504.
- (9) Ibid, p 503.
- (10) Ibid, pp 504-505.
- (11) Ibid, pp 505-506.
- (12) Ibid, p 457.
- (13) Quoted by Czaykowski and Sulik, op cit, p 457 (translation).
- (14) Ibid, pp 457-459.
- (15) Ibid, pp 468-470.
- (16) Ibid, pp 472-473.

- (17) Census, 1961 Scotland. Volume 5 Birthplace and Nationality, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1966, Table 2, p 4.
- (18) Census, 1961 Scotland. Volume 1, Part 1, City of Edinburgh, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1963, Table 10, p 38.
- (19) Czaykowski and Sulik, op cit, pp 481-482.
- (20) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 10 (154) (16 May, 1955), pp 1-4.
- (21) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 22 (166) (22 November, 1955), p 6.
- (22) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 16 (184) (23 August, 1956), p 4.
- (23) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 21 (189) (29 October, 1956), pp 1-4.
- (24) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 18 (237) (25 September, 1958), pp 1-5 (translation).
- (25) J Zubrzycki, Polish Immigrants in Great Britain. A Study of Adjustment, The Hague, 1956, pp 165-175.
- (26) A Sked and C Cook, Post-War Britain. A Political History, 2nd edition, London, 1984, pp 102-109.
- (27) C Harvie, No Gods and Precious Few Heroes. Scotland 1914-1980, London, 1981, pp 54-63.
- (28) A Marwick, British Society Since 1945, London, 1982, pp 114-123.
- (29) Czaykowski and Sulik, op cit, p 390.
- (30) Jednodniówka Związku Inwalidów Wojennych Polskich Sił Zbrojnych w Szkocji 1947-1977, Edinburgh, 1977, pp 2-3.

- (31) Ibid, pp 3-4.
- (32) Ibid, pp 4-6.
- (33) Czaykowski and Sulik, op cit, pp 29-30.
- (34) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 12 (256) (18 June, 1959), pp 1-5.
- (35) Czaykowski and Sulik, op cit, pp 520-521.
- (36) Ibid, pp 531-536.
- (37) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 5 (75) (2 March, 1952), p 2.
- (38) For the foundation of the 'Koło P.M.S.', see the Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 5 (123) (5 March, 1954), pp 3-4.
- For the 'Polska Macierz Szkolna', see T Radzik, 'Szkolnictwo polskie w Wielkiej Brytanii w latach 1945-1954. Instytucje i organizacje', Rocznik Polonijny, No. 2, Lublin, 1981, pp 106-111.
- For the activities of the 'Koło Z.N.P.Z.' the 'Koło P.M.S.', the 'Komitet Rodzicielski' and other organisations, see 1948-1968 Szkoła Przedmiotów Ojczystych w Edynburgu, Edinburgh, 1968, pp 7-9, 20-22, 24-26, 29-31.
- (39) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 24 (70) (16 December, 1951), p 2.
- (40) Dziesięciolecie Polskiej Szkoły w Edynburgu, Edinburgh, 1958, pp 10, 15.
- (41) 1948-1968 Szkoła Przedmiotów Ojczystych w Edynburgu, pp 17-18.
- (42) Ibid, pp 30-31.
- (43) See the following:

- (i) Dziesięciolecie Polskiej Szkoły w Edynburgu, p 15,
- (ii) 1948-1968 Szkoła Przedmiotów Ojczystych w Edynburgu, p 5.
- (44) Dziesięciolecie Polskiej Szkoły w Edynburgu, p 5.
- (45) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 2 (221) (5 February, 1958), pp 5-6.
- (46) Biuletyn Akcji Katolickiej w Szkocji, Edinburgh, January, 1959, pp 21-22.
- (47) Pełczyński, 'The rise and ebb of Stalinism', in Leslie (ed.), op cit, pp 327-330.
- (48) Biuletyn Akcji Katolickiej w Szkocji, pp 13-14.
- (49) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 9 (202) (6 May, 1957), pp 3-4.
- (50) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 4 (273) (25 February, 1960), pp 4-6.
- (51) Census, 1961 Scotland. Volume 1, Part 2, City of Glasgow, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1963, Table 10, p 47.
- (52) Czaykowski and Sulik, op cit, p 66.
- (53) Ibid, p 73.
- (54) W Poray-Wojciechowski, Geneza Powstania Domu Polskiego im. gen. W. Sikorskiego i Towarzystwa Społeczno-Oświatowego w Glasgow, not dated.
- (55) Czaykowski and Sulik, op cit, pp 77-79.
- (56) Ibid, p 73.
- (57) Ibid, pp 71, 74-75.
- (58) Ibid, pp 79-81.

- (59) Census, 1961 Scotland. Volume 1, Part 31, County of Stirling, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1964, Table 10, p 37.
- (60) Czaykowski and Sulik, op cit, p 43.
- (61) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 8 (152) (20 April, 1955), p 5, and
Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 16 (160) (1 September, 1955), pp 3-4.
- (62) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 17 (161) (15 September, 1955), p 4, and
Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 18 (162) (29 September, 1955), pp 3-5.
- (63) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 24 (192) (12 December, 1956), pp 7-8, and
Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 2 (195) (28 January, 1957), p 4.
- (64) Czaykowski and Sulik, op cit, p 44.
- (65) Ibid, p 408.
- (66) Census, 1961 Scotland. Volume 1, Part 4, City of Dundee, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1963, Table 10, p 31.
- (67) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 9 (103) (14 May, 1953), p 4.
- (68) Czaykowski and Sulik, op cit, p 57.
- (69) Census, 1961 Scotland. Volume 1, Part 17, County of Fife, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1964, Table 10, p 45.
- (70) Czaykowski and Sulik, op cit, pp 46-47.
- (71) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 24 (118) (17 December, 1953), p 4.
- (72) Czaykowski and Sulik, op cit, p 48.

- (73) Ibid, p 408.
- (74) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 24 (94) (21 December, 1952), p 7.
- (75) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 22 (92) (22 November, 1952), p 7.
- (76) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 9 (103) (14 May, 1953), pp 3-4, and
Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 13 (107) (9 July, 1953), p 2.
- (77) Dziesięciolecie Polskiej Szkoły w Edynburgu, p 20.
- (78) Census, 1961 Scotland. Volume 1, Part 3, City of Aberdeen, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1963, Table 10, p 33.
- (79) See the following:
- (i) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 3 (272) (28 January, 1960), p 7,
- (ii) letter from Władysław Świeńczyk-Pyka to the author (4 March, 1983).
- (80) Census, 1961 Scotland. Volume 1, Part 26, Counties of Perth and Kinross, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1964, Table 10, p 39.
- (81) Ibid, Table 10, p 119.
- (82) See the following:
- (i) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 9 (103) (14 May, 1953), p 4,
- (ii) Dziesięciolecie Polskiej Szkoły w Edynburgu, p 20.
- (83) Czaykowski and Sulik, op cit, p 49.

CHAPTER EIGHT.THE POLISH COMMUNITY IN SCOTLANDAS A 'POLONIA'.Introduction.

After 1961 the Polish community in Scotland functioned as a 'Polonia' (a predominantly permanently established community of Polish people abroad). As a result of the economic recovery of Britain after the Second World War and the increased prosperity enjoyed by many British people after 1961, neither the Polish exiles nor their children were resented by the host-society. In contrast to the experience of immigrants from the 'New Commonwealth' countries, the Poles were not regarded by British people as posing a cultural or economic 'threat'. This was mainly because the Poles were white, ready to learn English and members of the general Western and Christian 'civilisation' to which the British belonged. Despite the gradual decline of Britain as a 'world power', the Poles were not resented as being 'unwanted immigrants'. The Polish minority in Britain had become accepted because of their diffused settlement throughout the United Kingdom, their distribution throughout many industries and professions, their relative 'invisibility' due to their appearance and apparent 'assimilation', and their good reputation as citizens and workers. (1)

Being able to remain 'Polish' within Scottish society, many Polish community activists wanted to forget the disputes between the 'Zamek' and the 'Zjednoczenie' and to strive for unity and better co-operation. Between 1961 and 1971, therefore, the Poles in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Falkirk gradually abandoned their local disagreements. They were finally united by the achievement of an agreement in London in 1972. In addition, events within Poland after 1957 helped to maintain the political character of the Polish exile community in Britain.

The Background: The Agreement In London (1972).

On 12 May, 1970, General Anders died. He had been the bitter opponent of President Zaleski since 4 August, 1954, when he had sent a letter to Zaleski stating that, because Zaleski had refused to adhere to the Constitution of 23 April, 1935, he no longer recognised him as President. The death of Zaleski on 7 April, 1972, finally ended this period of sterile dispute. (2)

Zaleski was succeeded by Stanisław Ostrowski, whom he had nominated as his successor on 24 February, 1971. Ostrowski wanted to achieve unity on the basis of compromise and co-operation with the political parties. On 8 July, 1972, the 'Rada Trzech' (Council of Three), comprising General Stanisław Kopański, Count Edward Raczyński and Alfred Urbański, and the 'Rada Jedności

Narodowej' (Council of National Unity) voted to accept in principle the plan for agreement and unity proposed by Ostrowski. As a result, a new Polish Government of Unity was appointed by Ostrowski on 20 July, 1972, with Alfred Urbański as the Chairman of the Council of Ministers. Ostrowski also appointed General Kopański to the post of Inspector-General of the Polish Armed Forces. On 10 August, 1972, Ostrowski issued a decree creating a single 'Skarb Narodowy' (National Treasury) by uniting the rival bodies raising funds for the government and for the 'Zjednoczenie'. (3)

The Background: Events Within Poland (1957 To 1982).

After October, 1956, the limited reforms resulting from the 'odwilż' ('the thaw') led to a period known as the 'mała stabilizacja' (the 'little stabilisation') which lasted from 1957 until 1963. Gomułka was neither able nor willing to introduce genuine economic or political reforms. He could not relinquish or significantly relax the control of the P.Z.P.R. over most of Polish political, economic, intellectual or cultural life. (4)

From 1964 until December, 1970, Gomułka became increasingly isolated within the P.Z.P.R. leadership. He was too conservative to support the moderate reformers, but would not give more power to the 'hard-line' Communists such as Mieczysław Moczar. In order to 'appease' the 'hard-liners', Gomułka followed his

conservative instincts and approved of the 'anti-Zionist' campaign during 1967-68 when Moczar and his allies used anti-semitism to attack 'reformist' members of the P.Z.P.R.. Amid the state-sponsored brutality and discrimination which caused great harm to the reputation of Poland, some 20,000 Polish Jews left the country. In March, 1968, student unrest in Poland was violently suppressed. As Gomułka became dependent upon the support of Brezhnev and the Soviet leadership to resist his opponents in the P.Z.P.R., he favoured strong action against the 'reformist' leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and authorised the participation of Polish units in the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact forces on 21 August, 1968. During December, 1970, workers in the Baltic ports of Gdańsk, Gdynia, Sopot and Szczecin went on strike in protest against sudden increases in the prices of basic consumer goods. Police and army units responded violently, causing a large number of deaths and injuries. At the height of the crisis on 20 December, 1970, Gomułka was replaced by the Central Committee of the P.Z.P.R.. Officially, the reason was that he had suffered a minor stroke and was in hospital. The new First Secretary was Edward Gierek.

(5)

Gierek favoured a more pragmatic form of leadership. After another strike by workers in Szczecin in January, 1971, Gierek and the new Politburo began to undo the effects of the economic conservatism imposed on Poland by

Gomułka. Despite wage rises the strikes continued until the price rises imposed on basic commodities were cancelled on 15 February, 1971. As he was unable to meet the demands of Polish consumers from domestic sources, Gierek obtained grain from the Soviet Union and credits from Western currency reserves held by the U.S.S.R. to purchase food from the West. This became the dilemma which Gierek could not resolve. His dependence on the support of Brezhnev and the Soviet Politburo reduced his ability to introduce genuine political or economic reforms in Poland. (6)

By improving the system inherited from Gomułka, Gierek showed considerable imagination. The peasants, intellectuals and Catholic Church were all given more freedom. Long-term credits were obtained from Western governments in order to purchase modern equipment for industries. Some Western firms, including the Italian FIAT company, were invited to allow their products to be manufactured in Poland under licence. Above all, Poland borrowed heavily from Western financial institutions. In the short term, the results appeared to justify Gierek's boldness. Between 1971 and 1975 Poland's economic performance improved due to better co-operation and increased productivity by peasants and industrial workers. The provision of increased supplies of consumer goods and more generous welfare benefits encouraged anti-Communist Poles to co-operate. (7)

These economic reforms were not extended to other areas of life in Poland. Gierek would not extend political power by allowing the workers' councils to participate in making decisions. The P.Z.P.R. continued to control the trades unions, local government, academic institutions and the media. In addition, Gierek became unpopular by openly praising the Soviet Union. On occasion, he was forced to make concessions to anti-Soviet public opinion. In 1975 the draft Polish Constitution contained a declaration expressing the existence of 'unshakeable fraternal bonds' between Poland and the Soviet Union. Polish protests caused this declaration to be amended and reduced to a less provocative phrase stating the need for the strengthening of friendship and co-operation between the U.S.S.R. and Poland.

By 1976 the problems caused by rapid economic growth were undermining the relationship between the P.Z.P.R. leadership and the majority of the Polish nation who opposed Communist rule. The scarcity of consumer goods caused shortages and rationing. With increasing purchasing power, the Polish people resented this restriction but many responded by buying and hoarding rationed goods which only decreased the supply available. The P.Z.P.R. authorities decided to reduce demand rather than to increase supply by reforming the machinery of production and distribution. Forgetting that Gomułka had been discredited by his failure to respond effectively to an economic crisis, Gierek resorted to

authoritarian measures. On 24 June, 1976, Premier Piotr Jarosiewicz announced to the 'Sejm' that, as from 27 June, basic food prices would be increased by an average of 60 per cent. As in December, 1970, Polish workers protested by striking. On 25 June, 1976, there were violent confrontations between strikers and army and police units at several factories, including the 'Ursus' tractor factory near Warsaw,' and there was rioting in Radom. (8)

These protests during June, 1976, discredited the policies of Gierek. The price rises were not implemented, which caused demand to exceed supply until the economic system had suffered irreparable dislocation. Amid this chaos, shortages and rationing, especially of meat, encouraged the growth of corruption throughout society and the proliferation of a thriving 'black market economy'. Following the events of June, 1976, the prestige of Gierek and the P.Z.P.R. was damaged further by the mass arrests, brutal beatings, prison sentences and dismissals from employment inflicted on many striking workers. Realising that this repression would cause even greater resentment, the leadership of the P.Z.P.R. allowed the judiciary to reduce on appeal many of the most unfair sentences. In July, 1977, an amnesty led to the release of most of those who had been convicted. (9)

On 5 September, 1980, Gierek was removed from the leadership of the P.Z.P.R. as a result of the successful

strikes organised by the 'Solidarność' movement of workers protesting against more imposed price rises. The strikes in Gdańsk, Gdynia and many other industrial centres were supported by dissident intellectuals and by the Catholic Church. This dissident movement was led by Jacek Kuroń, Professor Edward Lipiński and Adam Michnik, who had once been Marxists but had become disillusioned by the failures of centralised planning and state control. As this movement had defended many of the workers who had been arrested as a result of the events of June, 1976, in this way Polish intellectuals and industrial workers had started to co-operate. The support which Lech Wałęsa and 'Solidarność' received from the Catholic Church was due to the traditional association of Catholicism with Polish patriotic opposition to Soviet-imposed Communism. Not only had Cardinal Wyszyński inspired Polish resistance against Communism since the 'Stalinist' period, but on 16 October, 1978, Cardinal Karol Wojtyła of Kraków had been elected Pope. In June, 1979, Pope John Paul II had visited Poland and had strengthened the faith of the Polish nation that they would eventually obtain genuine independence. (10)

After a short period of co-existence between 'Solidarność' and the P.Z.P.R. led by Stanislaw Kania, eventually the opposition of the Soviet Union and the other 'Warsaw Pact' states to the apparent toleration of an independent workers' movement with political

pretensions led to increased confrontation. Following the replacement of Kania as First Secretary by General Wojciech Jaruzelski on 18 October, 1981, the 'hardliners' within the P.Z.P.R. took control. On 13 December, 1981, Jaruzelski declared martial law in Poland. Many 'Solidarność' activists and supporters were arrested. 'Solidarność' itself was declared to be an illegal organisation and was officially disbanded. (11)

Events Within Poland And The Poles In Exile (1961 To 1982).

Between 1961 and 1982, therefore, events within Poland reminded some exiled Poles of the political basis of their community. Although they could not directly influence developments in Poland, they believed that they should try to enlist the support of public opinion in their countries of settlement for the cause of greater freedom for the Polish nation. In addition, they continued to assist their fellow-countrymen in Poland by sending money and parcels of food, clothing and medical supplies.

Until the election of Cardinal Wojtyła as Pope, the Poles in Scotland had been almost forgotten by the media. With the focus of international opinion being directed on the homeland of the new Pontiff, more Poles in Scotland (and some of the 'second generation' born in Scotland)

became conscious of their national identity. Furthermore, from August and September, 1980, the publicity given by the media to Lech Wałęsa and 'Solidarność' also helped to strengthen (or re-affirm) the national identity of many exiled Poles in Scotland.

POLISH LIFE IN SCOTLAND (1961 TO 1971).The Demographic Background.

According to the Census taken on 25-26 April, 1971, the total number of persons enumerated as 'born in Poland' and resident in Scotland was 6,475, with 5,400 men and 1,075 women. (12) In 1961 there had been a total of 7,743 'Polish-born' persons resident in Scotland, with 6,609 men and 1,134 women. Between 1961 and 1971 there had been a large decrease of 1,209 in the number of 'Polish-born' men and a small decrease of 59 in the number of 'Polish-born' women.

Although there had been some 'secondary emigration' by 'Polish-born' persons between 1961 and 1971, this decrease had mainly been caused by the death of members of older age-groups.

POLISH LIFE IN EDINBURGH (1961 TO 1971).Introduction.

Between 1961 and 1971 there was a much larger decrease in the number of 'Polish-born' persons resident in Edinburgh than had occurred between 1951 and 1961. According to the Census taken on 25-26 April, 1971, there was a total of 940 persons enumerated as 'born in Poland' and resident in Edinburgh, with 690 men and 250 women. (13) In 1961 there had been a total of 1,118 'Polish-born' persons resident in Edinburgh, with 853 men and 265 women.

This large decrease of 163 in the number of 'Polish-born' men was associated with the stabilisation of the demographic structure of the Polish community in Scotland. Without the migration of significant numbers of 'Polish-born' persons to Edinburgh, after 1961 the decrease caused by 'secondary emigration' and death continued and intensified. There had been a decrease of 15 in the number of 'Polish-born' women. Not only had few Polish families moved from Edinburgh between 1961 and 1971 but fewer women from older age-groups had died than had men of similar age-groups. This was another 'characteristic' of a war-time exile community where the majority had comprised men of military-service age (aged between 20 and 50 in 1945) who had often been physically weakened by war-time and post-war experiences.

Between 1961 and 1971 the death or retirement of several Polish community activists in Edinburgh (such as Major Czesław Gąsiorkiewicz, Colonel Zygmunt Łojko, Lieutenant-Colonel Adam Morbitzer, Colonel Aleksander Ruchaj and Colonel Zygmunt Herbich) led to more 'younger Poles' becoming prominent in community organisations. These 'younger Poles' (who were usually aged between 40 and 50) rarely belonged to any Polish political parties and had little interest in the rivalry between the 'Zamek' and the 'Zjednoczenie'. They wanted to restore unity and co-operation within community life.

In this they were helped by increasing interest regarding events within Poland and the failure of Gomułka to introduce genuine economic or political reforms. Some Poles also became more involved in community life in Edinburgh because of the large number of national and community anniversaries which were celebrated between 1961 and 1971. Among the anniversaries celebrated were the 100th anniversary of the 'Powstanie Styczniowe' (January Rising) of 1863, the 600th anniversary of the foundation of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków in 1364, the 1000th anniversary of the introduction of Christianity into Poland in 966, the 20th anniversary of the organisation of the Polish School in Edinburgh in 1948, the 25th anniversary of the capture of Monte Cassino in 1944, and the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25' in 1946. (14)

The main event organised to support the struggle for freedom in Poland was a protest meeting on 21 December, 1970, in the 'Dom Kombatanta' which was called by the Executive Committee of the Council of Polish Societies to express solidarity with the striking workers. This meeting was attended by some 80 people. (15)

The Consolidation Of Polish Community Life In Edinburgh.

Between 1961 and 1972 there were very few changes in the number of Polish community organisations in Edinburgh. At the Annual General Meeting of the Council of Polish Societies, which was held on 29 May, 1972, in the 'Dom Inwalidy', the Chairman of the Executive Committee, Dr. Bronisław Śliżyński, stated that during 1971-72 eleven organisations were members:

- 1) the 'Związek Polek',
- 2) the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25',
- 3) the 'Koło Terenowe Związku Inwalidów Wojennych',
- 4) the 'Polski Chór "Echo"',
- 5) the 'Koło Z.N.P.Z.',
- 6) the 'Koło Przyrodników im. Mikołaja Kopernika',
- 7) the 'Związek Ziemi Wschodnich',
- 8) the 'Polski Klub Młodzieżowy' (the Polish Youth Club),
- 9) the 'Komitet Rodzicielski',

- 10) the 'Koło Przyjaciół Instytutu Józefa Piłsudskiego'
(the Association of Friends of the Józef Piłsudski Institute),
- 11) the 'Koło Studiów Wojskowych'. (16)

During this period the political disputes which had hindered co-operation within community life gradually lost their importance. At the Annual General Meeting of the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25' on 26 May, 1963, a proposal that the 'Koło' should return to the Council of Polish Societies was approved unanimously. Dr. Stanisław Mglej and Colonel Zygmunt Łojko were elected to be representatives of the 'Koło S.P.K.' in the Council. (17)

The 'Koło Terenowe Związku Inwalidów Wojennych' also recovered from the damage caused by the political disputes. In 1960 the rival 'Legion Inwalidów' voted to disband. Most of the members rejoined the 'Koło Terenowe Z.I.W.'. (18) In 1966 many of the members of the disbanded 'Koło Z.R.R.P. Nr. 31' also joined the 'Koło Terenowe'. Between 1961 and 1971 the 'Dom Inwalidy' and the 'Dom Kombatanta' were both used for the celebration of national anniversaries and for other functions as a result of the co-operation between the 'Koło S.P.K.', the 'Koło Terenowe Z.I.W.' and other community organisations. In 1965 the 'Dom Inwalidy' was renovated with the installation of electric heating and the conversion of two rooms into one large function hall with a stage and seating for more than 100 people. (19)

The development of the Polish School in Edinburgh between 1961 and 1973 reflected the increasing interest of some parents (and especially of some Scottish wives of Poles) in ensuring that their children would be able to speak Polish. This was partly caused by visits to Poland. When they met their families in Poland, many Poles became embarrassed because their children spoke very little Polish. Some children also understood that their appreciation of visits to Poland would be increased if they learned more of the language and more about the Polish way of life and history.

During 1961-62 40 children attended the Polish School, of whom 10 did not speak Polish at home. 42 children were enrolled during 1962-63, including 13 who did not speak Polish. During 1963-64, of the 41 children enrolled, 15 did not speak Polish.

Between 1964-65 and 1967-68 the Polish School was very successful. In addition to the increasing number of children enrolled, there was excellent co-operation between the 'Koło Z.N.P.Z.', whose Chairman was Stanisław Maj (who was also the Inspector of Polish Schools in Scotland and the Delegate of the Z.N.P.Z. for Scotland), and the 'Komitet Rodzicielski', whose Chairman was Tadeusz Ziarski-Kernberg. Financial support was provided by the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25' and by other community organisations.

During 1964-65 61 children were enrolled, including 18 who did not speak Polish. A secondary course was set up with 12 students. Of the 64 children enrolled during 1965-66, 22 did not speak Polish. A second class was set up for teaching Polish as a foreign language. 12 students attended the secondary course. During 1966-67, of the 69 students enrolled, there were 26 who did not speak Polish and 13 attending the secondary course. Of the 86 pupils enrolled during 1967-68, 40 did not speak Polish and 13 attended the secondary course. A special class was set up for older non-Polish speaking students aged from 15 to 21. (20)

During 1968-69 and 1969-70 there was a decrease in the number of children enrolled due to fewer children being of school-age. The number of students enrolled decreased to 72 during 1968-69, of whom 36 did not speak Polish. During 1969-70 the number enrolled decreased to 53, including 18 who did not speak Polish. As a result, the number of classes was reduced, and the class for older non-Polish speaking students was discontinued, leaving four primary classes (two for Polish-speaking children and two for non-Polish speaking children) and two secondary classes.

During 1970-71, however, there was a small increase to 57 in the number of pupils enrolled, including 20 who did not speak Polish. The downward trend continued during

1971-72 when 51 children were enrolled, of whom 14 did not speak Polish. During 1972-73 47 pupils were enrolled, including 10 who did not speak Polish. (21)

The secondary courses were intended to prepare candidates to sit for British qualifications in the Polish language and literature. Some basic Polish history and geography was also taught. Until 1970 students could sit for S.C.E. 'O Grade' and 'H Grade' in Polish organised by the University of Edinburgh. From 1971 G.C.E. 'O Level' and 'A Level' examinations in Polish organised by the University of London were available to candidates in Scotland. The G.C.E. 'A Level' required a very good knowledge of Polish literature. The secondary courses were taught on Friday evenings from 6.30 to 8.30 p.m. in the 'Dom Kombatanta'. One group was taught in the S.P.K. library while the other group was taught in the 'Koło S.P.K.' office, which was also used by the Polish Youth Club for their meetings. (22)

On 1 March, 1964, the 'Klub Młodzieży Polskiej' (Polish Youth Club) was organised at a meeting in the 'Dom Kombatanta'. Ewa Gruszecka was elected as Chairman. Monsignor Bombas, Dr. Helena Śliżyńska and Mrs. Wanda Laxowa agreed to be the Patrons of the Club. (23) The Polish Youth Club was founded to maintain the national identity ('polskość') of some of the 'second generation' in Edinburgh. In 1967 the Club organised a dance group to take part in the celebration of the 100th anniversary

of the birth of Marshal Józef Piłsudski. (24) Under the direction of Stefan Boroń, the dance group (the 'Zespół Taneczny "Ojczyzna"') regularly gave performances at celebrations of national anniversaries and at other fund-raising functions.

Between 1961 and 1971 the Polish Parish in Edinburgh was very well supported. While the 'Komitet Parafialny' was responsible for the financial administration of the Parish, the 'Sekcja Charytatywna' visited Poles without families in hospital or in their homes, as well as preparing and distributing parcels from the 'Sekcja' to Poles in need every Easter and Christmas. In addition, the 'Sekcja' provided liaison between the Polish community and British statutory and voluntary authorities and services. Another social responsibility undertaken by the 'Sekcja' was the payment of funeral expenses for Poles who had died in poverty. The 'Sekcja' purchased and maintained several communal graves at Mount Vernon Cemetery where such Poles were buried. (25)

In December, 1966, Father Bolesław Szuberlak arrived in Edinburgh to assist Monsignor Bombas. (26) Due to his worsening health, in December, 1969, Monsignor Bombas resigned as the Rector of the 'Polska Misja Katolicka w Szkocji'. He was succeeded as Rector by Canon Drobina from Falkirk, who was appointed by Bishop Władysław Rubin, the Delegate for Poles Abroad of Cardinal Wyszyński. Father Szuberlak was appointed to be the

Polish Parish priest for the Edinburgh area. These appointments had been approved in advance by Cardinal Gray, the Archbishop of St. Andrews and Edinburgh. (27) Monsignor Bombas died on 29 March, 1970, and his funeral on 4 April was preceded by a Requiem Mass at St. Mary's Cathedral which was celebrated by Cardinal Gray, assisted by Bishop Rubin and Archbishop Scanlon from Glasgow. (28)

POLISH LIFE IN GLASGOW (1961 TO 1971).Introduction.

Between 1961 and 1971 there was a large decrease in the number of 'Polish-born' persons resident in Glasgow. According to the Census taken on 25-26 April, 1971, there was a total of 880 persons enumerated as 'born in Poland' and resident in Glasgow, with 695 men and 185 women. (29) In 1961 there had been a total of 1,162 'Polish-born' persons resident in Glasgow, with 909 men and 253 women. This decrease of 214 men and 68 women had been caused mainly by the death of members of older age-groups, but also by some 'secondary emigration'.

As in Edinburgh, the Polish community organisations co-operated very successfully while the political disputes in London became increasingly irrelevant. During this period events within Poland caused many Poles in Glasgow to support their fellow-countrymen by sending money and parcels of food, clothing and medical supplies. Among the events organised in Glasgow were the 1000th anniversary of Christianity in Poland (1966), the 25th anniversary of the death of General Sikorski (1968), the 50th anniversary of the restoration of Polish independence (1968), a protest rally against the suppression of the striking workers in Poland (31 January, 1971), and the 50th anniversary of the Third Silesian Uprising (1971). (30) These events also

encouraged some Poles to participate more effectively in community life.

Polish Community Activities In Glasgow.

In 1971 there were eight organisations in Glasgow which were members of the 'Komitet Polskich Organizacji Niepodległościowych' (the Committee of Free Polish Organisations):

- 1) the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 105',
- 2) the 'Towarzystwo Społeczno-Oświatowe',
- 3) the 'Koło Stowarzyszenia Marynarki Wojennej'
(the Polish Naval Association, Glasgow Branch),
- 4) the 'Koło Terenowe Związku Inwalidów Wojennych P.S.Z.',
- 5) the 'Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Kultury Polskiej',
- 6) the 'Koło Polskiej Akcji Katolickiej',
- 7) the 'Komitet Parafialny',
- 8) the 'Klub Młodzieży "Nowy Świat"' (the Youth Club 'New World'). (31)

In 1961 the Polish School in Glasgow was reorganised as the 'Polska Szkoła Przedmiotów Ojczystych im. Marii Skłodowskiej-Curie'. A 'Komitet Szkoły Polskiej' (Polish School Committee) was founded to administer the School and to provide financial support. The members of this Committee included an elected Chairman, two representatives from the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 105', two

representatives from the 'Towarzystwo Społeczno-Oświatowe', the Director of the School and a representative of the parents.

Following several requests from the Chairman of the Committee, Adam Smolka, and the Director of the School, Wincenty Kisielewski, Glasgow Corporation Education Department agreed to provide four class-rooms in Woodside Secondary School, Woodside Road, for the use of the Polish School on Saturday mornings. In addition, the Department agreed to pay the Director and four teachers, to provide free milk for the children, and to allocate a small grant for the purchase of pencils, jotters and other equipment. Every year some 50 children were taught, including many who did not speak Polish at home.

(32)

In 1962 the Library of the 'Instytut Polski i Muzeum im. Generała W. Sikorskiego' (Polish Institute and General Sikorski Museum) was transferred from Banknock House in Stirlingshire to 42, Cecil Street in Glasgow. This Library was administered by Professor Leon Koczy and Mrs. Maria Koczy.

At a meeting in the 'Dom Polski im. Generała W. Sikorskiego' on 22 October, 1960, an agreement had been reached between representatives from Banknock House, from the Central Council of the General Sikorski Historical Institute in London and from the 'Towarzystwo Społeczno-

Oświatowe' regarding the future of the archives and other historical materials at Banknock House. On behalf of the Polish community organisations in Glasgow and Edinburgh, the 'Towarzystwo Społeczno-Oświatowe' had promised that, if part of the collection at Banknock would remain in Scotland, some financial support would be provided to maintain the Library. The representatives of the Central Council of the Institute had promised to pay, as far as possible, for the work done by Mrs. Koczy as the Librarian. Professor Koczy had accepted the post of Curator of the Library without payment from the Institute. (33)

From 1962 until 1981 (when he died) Professor Koczy was a very prominent member of the Polish community in Glasgow. He gave many lectures and made speeches at celebrations of national anniversaries and at other community events. In addition, he continued working as a medieval historian and wrote several books and monographs which were published with financial assistance from Polish organisations in Scotland. Apart from her work as a librarian, Mrs. Koczy organised several exhibitions for the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 105' and the 'Towarzystwo Społeczno-Oświatowe' in celebration of Polish national anniversaries. She also helped and advised several researchers regarding the Polish community in Scotland. At the age of 84, in 1987 Mrs. Koczy reluctantly returned to Poland to live with her family in Bydgoszcz. The Library was transferred to London.

POLISH LIFE IN FALKIRK (1961 TO 1971).Introduction.

Between 1961 and 1971 there was a small decrease in the number of 'Polish-born' persons resident in Stirlingshire. According to the Census taken on 25-26 April, 1971, there was a total of 500 persons enumerated as 'born in Poland' and resident in Stirlingshire, with 445 men and 55 women. (34) In 1961 there had been a total of 534 'Polish-born' persons resident in Stirlingshire, with 483 men and 51 women. In 1971 there was a total of 145 'Polish-born' persons resident in Falkirk, with 125 men and 20 women, while in the large burgh of Stirling there was a total of 50 'Polish-born' persons, with 45 men and 5 women.(35) In 1961 the combined total of 'Polish-born' persons resident in the burghs of Falkirk and Stirling had been 214, with 190 men and 24 women.

Polish Community Activities In Falkirk.

As the rivalry which had led to the opening of the 'Dom Parafialny' and the 'Dom Kombatanta' in Falkirk was forgotten, Father Drobina and the Committee of the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 36' co-operated to maintain the Polish Parish and the Polish School. Both the 'Dom Parafialny' and the 'Dom Kombatanta' received the support of Poles and Scots. By agreement between the Committees, national

anniversaries and other events were held in one or other of the Polish social centres.

The most popular event was the annual Gala Concert in celebration of the Feast of Christ the King which was attended by many Poles and Scots. Held on the last Sunday in October, usually in Falkirk Town Hall, these Gala Concerts were organised by Father Drobina and the 'Komitet Parafialny'. Among the performers taking part were the Polish School and Polish Choir from Falkirk, the 'Polski Chór "Echo"' from Edinburgh and, from 1969 to 1971, the 'Zespół Taneczny "Ojczyzna"' from Edinburgh.

(36)

POLISH LIFE IN SCOTLAND (1971 TO 1982).

A Demographic Study (1971 To 1981).

The Polish community in Scotland between 1971 and 1981 continued to follow the demographic trends which had manifested themselves between 1961 and 1971, namely that the number of 'Polish-born' persons continued to decrease. According to the Census taken in June, 1981, there was a total of 5,083 persons enumerated as 'born in Poland' and resident in Scotland, with 4,094 men and 989 women. (37) In 1971 there had been a total of 6,475 'Polish-born' persons resident in Scotland, with 5,400 men and 1,075 women. As had occurred between 1961 and 1971, the decrease of 1,306 men and 86 women between 1971 and 1981 had been caused mainly by the death of members of older age-groups.

(1) Borders Region.

In 1981 there was a total of 206 'Polish-born' persons resident in Borders Region, with 170 men and 36 women.

(38) In 1971 in the counties of Berwick, Peebles, Roxburgh and Selkirk there had been a combined total of 255 'Polish-born' persons, with 220 men and 35 women.

(39)

(2) Central Region.

In 1981 the total number of 'Polish-born' persons resident in Central Region was 535, with 471 men and 64 women. (40) In 1971 in the counties of Clackmannan and Stirling there had been a combined total of 640 'Polish-born' persons, with 565 men and 75 women. (41)

(3) Dumfries And Galloway Region.

In 1981 there was a total of 109 'Polish-born' persons resident in Dumfries and Galloway Region, with 96 men and 13 women. (42) In 1971 the combined total of 'Polish-born' persons in the counties of Dumfries, Kirkcudbright and Wigtown had been 130, with 115 men and 15 women. (43)

(4) Fife Region.

In 1981 the total number of 'Polish-born' persons resident in Fife Region was 669, with 564 men and 105 women. (44) In 1971 the total of 'Polish-born' persons in the county of Fife had been 840, with 735 men and 105 women. (45)

(5) Grampian Region.

In 1981 there was a total of 246 'Polish-born' persons resident in Grampian Region, with 209 men and 37 women. (46) In 1971 the total number of 'Polish-born' persons

resident in the city of Aberdeen had been 95, with 90 men and 5 women. (47) The combined total of 'Polish-born' persons in 1971 in the city of Aberdeen and the counties of Aberdeen, Banff, Kincardine and Moray had been 325, with 280 men and 45 women. (48)

(6) Highland Region.

In 1981 the total number of 'Polish-born' persons resident in Highland Region, which comprised the counties of Caithness, Inverness, Nairn, Ross and Cromarty, and Sutherland, was 152, with 125 men and 27 women. (49) The combined total of 'Polish-born' persons resident in these counties in 1971 had been 170, with 150 men and 20 women. (50)

(7) Lothian Region.

In 1981 the total number of 'Polish-born' persons resident in Lothian Region was 1,165, with 901 men and 264 women. (51) In 1971 the total number of 'Polish-born' persons resident in the city of Edinburgh had been 940, with 690 men and 250 women. (52) The combined total of 'Polish-born' persons in 1971 in the city of Edinburgh and the counties of East Lothian, Midlothian and West Lothian had been 1,455, with 1,160 men and 295 women. (53)

(8) Strathclyde Region.

In 1981 the total number of 'Polish-born' persons resident in Strathclyde Region was 1,338, with 1,036 men and 302 women. (54) In 1971 the total number of 'Polish-born' persons resident in the city of Glasgow had been 880, with 695 men and 185 women. (55) The combined total of 'Polish-born' persons in 1971 in the city of Glasgow and the counties of Argyll, Bute, Dunbarton, Ayr, Lanark and Renfrew had been 1,785, with 1,435 men and 350 women. (56)

(9) Tayside Region.

In 1981 the total number of 'Polish-born' persons resident in Tayside Region was 657, with 518 men and 139 women. (57) In 1971 the total number of 'Polish-born' persons resident in the city of Dundee had been 385, with 305 men and 80 women. (58) The combined total of 'Polish-born' persons in 1971 in the city of Dundee and the counties of Angus, Kinross and Perth had been 880, with 745 men and 135 women. (59)

Comment.

As had been the case since the 1951 Census, according to the 1981 Census the great majority of 'Polish-born' persons in Scotland (3,490 men and 874 women) lived in the areas of Strathclyde, Lothian, Fife, Tayside and

Central Regions. In all nine of the Regions studied the number of 'Polish-born' men had decreased between 1971 and 1981 mainly due to the death of members of older age groups. While in Central, Dumfries and Galloway, Grampian, Lothian and Strathclyde Regions, as might have been expected, the number of 'Polish-born' women had also decreased, in Borders, Fife, Highland and Tayside Regions no decrease had occurred.

POLISH LIFE IN EDINBURGH (1971 TO 1982).

Between 1971 and 1982 Polish community life in Edinburgh continued to develop. According to the 'Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny', which was published by the Council of Polish Societies from January, 1949, until February, 1983, eighteen organisations were members of the Council on 31 December, 1982:

- 1) the 'Polski Chór "Echo"',
- 2) the 'Koło Przyjaciół Instytutu Józefa Piłsudskiego',
- 3) the 'Koło Przyrodników im. Mikołaja Kopernika',
- 4) the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25',
- 5) the 'Koło Z.N.P.Z.',
- 6) the 'Koło Związku Ziemi Wschodnich',
- 7) the 'Komitet Parafialny',
- 8) the 'Sekcja Charytatywna',
- 9) the 'Komitet Rodzicielski',
- 10) the 'Zespół Pieśni i Tańca "Ojczyzna"',
- 11) the 'Związek Polek',
- 12) the 'Koło Terenowe Związku Inwalidów Wojennych P.S.Z.',
- 13) the 'Koło Legionistów',
(the Association of Former Members of Piłsudski's 'Legiony'),
- 14) the 'Lokalny Komitet Skarbu Narodowego'
(the Local Committee of the National Treasury),

- 15) the 'Koło 9 Pułku Ułanów Malopolskich'
(the Association of the 9th Regiment of Lancers of 'Małopolska'),
- 16) the 'Koło 2 Baonu. Grenadierów i Komandosów'
(the Association of the 2nd Battalion of Grenadiers and Commandos),
- 17) the 'Koło byłych Żołnierzy 1 Dywizji Pancерnej'
(the Association of Former Soldiers of the First Armoured Division),
- 18) the 'Koło byłych Żołnierzy 2 Korpusu'
(the Association of Former Soldiers of the Second Corps). (60)

As had happened between 1961 and 1971, after 1971 Polish community life in Edinburgh was enhanced by the organisation of celebrations of national and community anniversaries. On 10-12 February, 1973, President Stanisław Ostrowski visited Edinburgh as the guest of honour at the celebration of the 500th anniversary of the birth of Mikołaj Kopernik. Other events during this period included the celebrations of the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the 'Polski Chór "Echo"' (1975), the 10th anniversary of the foundation of the 'Zespół Pieśni i Tańca "Ojczyzna"' (1977) and the 35th anniversary of the capture of Monte Cassino (1979). (61)

Postscript And Conclusion.

The major problem regarding the Polish community in Edinburgh after 1971 was the shortage of members of the 'second generation' who were able and willing to participate in community life. Due to the effects of age and illness, the community organisations lost many of their members. Among the leading activists who died between 1971 and 1989 were Dr. Bronisław Śliżyński, Dr. Helena Śliżyńska, Dr. Stanisław Mglej, Dr. Maciej Zajączkowski, Stanisław Maj, Tadeusz Ziarski-Kernberg, Józef Gieczewski, Józef Mirczyński, Władysław Wolański and Anatol Turski.

Following the deaths of Dr. Śliżyński and Dr. Zajączkowski in 1983, in the following year both the Council of Polish Societies and the 'Koło Przyrodników im. Mikołaja Kopernika' were disbanded. The Council of Polish Societies was succeeded by the 'Zjednoczenie Polskie w Edynburgu' (the Federation of Poles in Edinburgh), with Władysław Fila as the Chairman. In 1989 the important community organisations represented at the Federation of Poles were:

- 1) the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25'
(Acting Chairman - Marian Boroń),
- 2) the 'Komitet Parafialny'
(Chairman - Dr. Stefan Boroń),

- 3) the 'Sekcja Charytatywna'
(Chair - Mrs. Janina Gieczewska),
- 4) the 'Związek Polek'
(Chair - Mrs. Irena Hurna),
- 5) the 'Koło byłych Żołnierzy 1 Dywizji Pancerniej'
(Chairman - Tadeusz Apfel-Czaszka),
- 6) the 'Koło byłych Żołnierzy 2 Korpusu'
(Chairman - Captain Konstanty Mazur).

POLISH LIFE IN GLASGOW (1971 TO 1982).

Between 1971 and 1989 the development of Polish community life in Glasgow was not restricted to the same extent as in Edinburgh by the retirement or death of members of organisations. Among the leading activists who died during this period were Władysław Kot and Władysław Banasiewicz of the 'Towarzystwo Społeczno-Oświatowe' and Mieczysław Brodziński and Stanisław Żmijewski of the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 105'. Following the death of Father Gruszka on 11 November, 1974, the new parish priest for the Glasgow area was Father Marian Łękawa who arrived from Paris on 14 February, 1975. (62)

Due to the participation of many 'younger Poles' resident in the West of Scotland, community life in Glasgow developed very strongly. The most successful organisation was the 'Towarzystwo Społeczno-Oświatowe'. At the Annual General Meeting held on 26 April, 1981, in the 'Dom Polski im. Generała W. Sikorskiego', it was stated that the 'Towarzystwo' had 410 ordinary members, 152 associate members and one honorary member (General Stanisław Maczek). Julian Frączek, the Treasurer, reported that during 1980-81 the turn-over of the 'Towarzystwo' was over £33,000. On 31 March, 1981, the bank balance stood at £42,106.80. The 'Towarzystwo' made donations of £600 to the Library of the Polish Institute and the General Sikorski Museum, £585 to the Parish Committee, £215 to the Scout Troop 'Lwów', £200 to

the Polish School, £150 to the 'Komitet Organizacji Niepodległościowych' and several other donations of £100 and less. In addition, the 'Towarzystwo' allowed other Polish organisations, such as the Parish Committee and the Polish Naval Association, to use the function-halls at the 'Dom Polski im. Generała W. Sikorskiego' free of charge. Władysław Bednarek was re-elected as Chairman for 1981-82. (63)

Father Łękawa described the work of the Polish Parish and the Polish School as follows:

'... When I arrived in Glasgow, I found a well-organised Polish Parish Committee, working on similar lines to other Polish organisations of which there are a great number. First of all, I would like to mention the Polish Combatants (Ex-Servicemen) who have their own club and building. There they play host to the Navy Club and the War-Invalids Club. ... Less than a mile away, there is another Polish centre - the Polish Educational and Cultural Society. Their three-storey building includes facilities for club members and self-contained accommodation for Poles who are alone and well-advanced in years. Among them resides the Polish priest in Glasgow. There is a small theatrical group of varied ages and talents attached to the Society. ...

'All these organisations, situated in the two Polish centres, live together harmoniously. Years ago their existence created the Polish Saturday School where children are taught the Polish language and the customs and traditions of their parents. In this the Glasgow Education Department has given its support by including it in their extra-curricular activities.

'On Friday evenings young people meet in a room reconstructed in a traditional Polish style. There, we enter into the spirit of the Polish liturgical year through the songs, music, customs and traditions of the individual months.

'On first Fridays of the month, after Mass, the Parish Committee holds its meetings. We discuss current parish affairs, financial matters, and become acquainted with the documents of the Second Vatican Council. As members of a parish, we try to help the missions, Polish Catholic Emigration centres in Rome, Polish Seminaries in Paris, and of course contribute towards building new churches in Poland. In order to raise funds, the Parish Committee organises dances, bingo sessions, etc. The other Polish organisations contribute regularly to the parish funds, and the recently introduced covenant scheme is proving to be a great help. ...'

As Father Łękawa wrote, both the Polish Parish and the Polish School in Glasgow were very well organised. From the school year 1972-73 the Glasgow District Council Education Department allocated five class-rooms in Hillhead High School, Oakfield Avenue, on Saturday mornings for the Polish School. The Council also paid for essential equipment, as well as paying the Director and four teachers. During 1972-73 70 children were enrolled, of whom some 60 attended every Saturday of term. An elected 'Komitet Szkolny' administered the School, with financial support being provided by the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 105' and the 'Towarzystwo Społeczno-Oświatowe'. (65) As a result of the positive influence exerted by the Polish Parish and the Polish School, a large number of the members of the 'second generation' who found employment in the Glasgow area did not become 'assimilated' into Scottish society and continued to support and participate in Polish community life.

SUPPORT FOR THE POLISH NATION (1981-1982).

Following the election of Cardinal Wojtyła as Pope on 16 October, 1978, events within Poland revived the interest of the Scottish people (and media) regarding their Polish neighbours and friends. Many Poles and Scots followed with great interest the brief period of success enjoyed by Lech Wałęsa and 'Solidarność', which was halted by the imposition of martial law on 13 December, 1981.

On 20 December, 1981, Polish and Scottish people protested in Glasgow against the imposition of martial law and the mass arrests of 'Solidarność' members. In the morning Mass was celebrated at St. Simon's Church, Partick Bridge Street (the church used by the Polish community in Glasgow), by Archbishop Thomas Winning, assisted by Father Łękawa. Among the congregation were the Lord Provost of Glasgow, Dr. Michael Kelly, and his family, Regional and District Councillors and Trades Union leaders. After the Mass more than 500 people, carrying Polish and British flags, banners and placards, marched to the Polish Consulate at Buckingham Terrace, where they were met by a large group of Scottish sympathisers. The major speeches were made by Władysław Bednarek (the Chairman of the 'Komitet Organizacji Niepodległościowych') and by Jimmy Reid in the name of the Scottish people. A delegation of three persons entered the Consulate to hand in a protest letter. From Edinburgh there was a large delegation of Polish and

Scottish people. The Council of Polish Societies was represented by the Chairman of the Executive Committee, Dr. Maciej Zajączkowski. The 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25' was represented by the Vice-Chairman, Marian Boroń. Władysław Wolański, the Chairman, represented the 'Koło Terenowe Związku Inwalidów Wojennych P.S.Z.'. A delegation of young people from the 'Zespół Pieśni i Tańca "Ojczyzna"' was led by Dr. Stefan Boroń. (66)

Polish and Scottish people also co-operated in organising material assistance for the Polish nation. In September, 1981, the Scottish-Polish Friendship Fund was founded in response to the growing economic hardship in Poland. Under the Patronage of Cardinal Gray, the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and the Primus of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, as well as the Lord Provosts of Edinburgh and Glasgow, the Fund raised money from donations and functions. The money was assigned to the Polish Catholic Mission in London to purchase food, clothing, blankets and medical supplies to be sent to the Catholic Church authorities in Poland for distribution. During January, 1982, the Fund organised a collection of supplies for Poland which produced a total of some 4 tons of tinned food, clothing, blankets, medical supplies, soap and other essentials. About 90 per cent of the donations were from Scottish people, with several schools, Rotary Clubs, Oxfam and the Sue Ryder Foundation organising collections. The supplies were sent to the

'Polski Ośrodek Katolicki' (Polish Catholic Centre) at Ealing, West London, from where they were sent to Poland by road. (67)

From December, 1981, in Glasgow on the initiative of Father Łękawa collections at the Polish Masses at St. Simon's Church raised money to buy supplies for hospitals in Poland. Scottish charitable organisations and many schools in the West of Scotland collected food and other supplies. Every week the supplies were donated to a 'collection centre' at the 'Dom Polski im. Generała W. Sikorskiego' where the Committee of the 'Towarzystwo Społeczno-Oświatowe' organised sorting and packing. (68)

In January, 1982, to co-ordinate fund-raising a Scottish Aid for Poland Committee was founded on the initiative of Dr. Michael Kelly, the Lord Provost of Glasgow. Under the Chairmanship of Dr. Kelly, the Committee included Archbishop Thomas Winning, Councillors Stobo, Hodge and McFadden, Mrs. Maria Ferguson-Smith, Jan Stepek, Władysław Bednarek and Stanisław Żmijewski. Between January and May, 1982, the Committee raised over £150,000 in money and supplies from donations and functions. In June, 1982, more than £200,000 had been raised. Transports of supplies were sent to the Catholic Church authorities in Poland for distribution to children's homes at Pruszków, Nowy Sącz and Przemyśl, to hospitals at Katowice, Poznań, Otwock and Częstochowa, and to homes for the disabled at Łódź, Kraków and Poznań. Among the

supplies sent were 40 tons of powdered milk, 512 cases of semolina, 20 tons of sugar, 1500 cases of tinned meat and over 50 tons of medical supplies and equipment. (69)

The Dance Group 'Rysy'.

One of the functions to raise funds for the children of Poland was a Gala Night at the Theatre Royal in Glasgow on 2 May, 1982, which included Polish dances performed by the 'Zespół Tańca "Rysy"' (the Dance Group 'Rysy'). This dance group had been founded on the initiative of Father Łękawa, who had inspired many other activities involving the participation of young people of the 'second generation' in Polish community life in Glasgow.

The group had started as a 'Zespół Młodzieży' (Youth Group) of some 40 members who had formed a choir dressed in Polish national costume and organised by Father Łękawa with the help of several older Polish people. Their first public performance had been at the celebration of the Feast of Christ the King at St. Simon's Church. Later there had been three weeks of intensive practice under the tuition of Anatol Kocyłowski (a professional choreographer) and Mrs. Helena Kocyłowska (a professional dancer), who had arrived in Glasgow from Kraków in November, 1981, on the invitation of Father Łękawa. On 18 December, 1981, the 'Zespół Tańca "Rysy"' had performed Polish songs and dances at a concert in St.

Paul's Church hall which had been organised by Father Łękawa and the 'Komitet Parafialny' with great success.

Father Łękawa planned to develop the repertoire of the 'Zespół Młodzieży' in order to have a programme ready for participation in welcoming Pope John Paul II to Glasgow in May, 1982. (70)

THE PAPAL VISIT TO SCOTLAND (1982).

The visit of Pope John Paul II to Britain caused great interest and excitement among the exiled Poles and many of the 'second generation'. On 31 May, 1982, the Pope arrived at R.A.F. Turnhouse airfield near Edinburgh. On the invitation of the Commandant of the airfield, Group-Captain T. Watson, the Poles in Edinburgh were allowed to send a delegation comprising General Stanisław Maczek, Władysław Fila, Mrs. H. Fila and Dr. Maciej Zajączkowski to welcome the Pope on arrival.

After a Youth Rally at Murrayfield Stadium, the Pope met the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Next, he celebrated a private Mass for the Catholic clergy of Scotland at St. Mary's Cathedral, which was attended by Monsignor Drobina, Canon Szuberlak and Father Lewandowski. The outstanding event of 1 June was an open-air Mass at Bellahouston Park, Glasgow, which was celebrated by the Pope, the Scottish Catholic Hierarchy and a total of some 90 priests including Monsignor Drobina. This Mass was attended by many Poles from Glasgow, Edinburgh and other parts of Scotland.

On the following day, the Pope departed from R.A.F. Turnhouse on a flight to Cardiff and the next stage of his visit to the United Kingdom. (71)

Notes To Chapter Eight.

- (1) J Walvin, Passage To Britain, London, 1984, pp 104-105, 162-164.
- (2) For the significance of the deaths of General Anders and President Zaleski, see S Patterson, 'The Poles. An Exile Community in Britain', in J L Watson (ed.), Between Two Cultures. Migrants and Minorities in Britain, Oxford, 1977, p 235.
- (3) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 9 (556) (15 April, 1972), pp 3-5,
Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 16 (563) (1 August, 1972), pp 1-2, and Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 18 (565) (15 September, 1972), pp 1-3.
- (4) Z A Pełczyński, 'The little stabilisation', in R F Leslie (ed.), The History of Poland since 1863, Cambridge, 1980, pp 367-383.
- (5) Z A Pełczyński, 'The decline of Gomułka', in R F Leslie (ed.), op cit, pp 384-406.
- (6) Z A Pełczyński, 'Poland under Gierek', in R F Leslie (ed.), op cit, pp 408-411.
- (7) Ibid, pp 411-421.
- (8) Ibid, pp 422-436.
- (9) Ibid, pp 436-443.
- (10) For the development of 'Solidarność', see N Ascherson, The Polish August. The Self-limiting Revolution, London, 1981, pp 113-194.

For a short biography of Pope John Paul II, see M Craig, Man From A Far Country. A Portrait of Pope John Paul II, London, 1979.

- (11) For the co-existence between 'Solidarność' and the P.Z:P.R., see Ascherson, op cit, pp 177-228, 260-273.

For the success and defeat of 'Solidarność', see K Ruane, The Polish Challenge, London, 1982.

- (12) This total was obtained by adding the totals for the number of persons 'born in Poland' from the County Reports of the 1971 Census of Scotland. These totals were approximate, because the numbers ending in 8, 9, 0, 1 and 2 were printed to end in 0, while the numbers ending in 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 were printed to end in 5.

- (13) Census Scotland 1971. County Report: Edinburgh City, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1973, Table 14, p 31.

- (14) See the following:

Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 8 (349) (1 May, 1963), pp 6-7,

Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 9 (368) (14 May, 1964), pp 2-3,

Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 23 (428) (1 December, 1966), p 6,

Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 12 (466) (15 June, 1968), pp 6-7,

Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 12 (490) / No. 13 (491) (15 June, 1969), pp 5-6,

- Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 18 (542) (1 October, 1971), pp 1-2.
- (15) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 1 (525) (1 January, 1971), pp 3-4.
- (16) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 14 (561) (17 June, 1972), pp 1-3.
- (17) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 11 (352) (15 June, 1963), pp 4-5.
- (18) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 11 (280) (18 June, 1960), p 7.
- (19) Jednodniówka Związku Inwalidów Wojennych Polskich Sił Zbrojnych w Szkocji 1947-1977, Edinburgh, 1977, pp 6-10.
- (20) 1948-1968 Szkoła Przedmiotów Ojczystych w Edynburgu, Edinburgh, 1968, pp 5-6.
- (21) Polska Szkoła w Edynburgu. 25 lat, Edinburgh, 1973, p 8.
- (22) Ibid, p 16.
- (23) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 5 (364) (15 March, 1964), p 6.
- (24) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 8 (437) (1 April, 1967), p 3, and
Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 21 (450) (29 October, 1967), p 8.
- (25) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 3 (503) (15 February, 1970), pp 2-4, and
Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 4 (528) (15 February, 1971), p 4.

- (26) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 6 (435) (1 March, 1967), p 3.
- (27) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 1 (501) (15 January, 1970), p 3.
- (28) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 7 (507) (15 April, 1970), pp 1-3.
- (29) Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Glasgow City, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1973, Table 14, p 44.
- (30) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 22 (427) (15 November, 1966), p 8,
Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 13 (467) (2 July, 1968), p 8,
Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 23 (477) (15 December, 1968), pp 5-6,
Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 7 (531) (2 April, 1971), pp 5-6,
Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 10 (534) (18 May, 1971), pp 3-4.
- (31) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No.14 (538) / No. 15 (539) / No. 16 (540) (28 August, 1971), p 5.
- (32) Letter from Adam Smolka to Professor Leon Koczy (24 May, 1980).
- (33) See the following:
- (i) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 18 (287) (29 October, 1960), p 3,
- (ii) W Poray-Wojciechowski, Geneza Powstania Domu Polskiego im. gen. W. Sikorskiego i Towarzystwa Społeczno-Oświatowego w Glasgow, not dated.

- (34) Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Stirling,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1972, Table 14, p 35.
- (35) Ibid, pp 37-38.
- (36) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 19 (497) (15
October, 1969), p 8,
Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 19 (519) (15
October, 1970), p 8,
Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 21 (545) (15
November, 1971, p 8.
- (37) Census 1981 Scottish Summary Volume 1, Edinburgh:
H.M.S.O., 1983, Table 51, p 55.
- (38) Ibid, p 56.
- (39) See the following:
Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Berwick,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1972, Table 14, p 22,
Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Peebles,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1973, Table 14, p 19,
Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Roxburgh,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1972, Table 14, p 24,
Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Selkirk,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1973, Table 14, p 17.
- (40) Census 1981 Scottish Summary Volume 1, Edinburgh:
H.M.S.O., 1983, Table 51, p 57.
- (41) Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Clackmannan,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1972, Table 14, p 19,
Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Stirling,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1972, Table 14, p 35.
- (42) Census 1981 Scottish Summary Volume 1, Edinburgh:
H.M.S.O., 1983, Table 51, p 58.

- (43) Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Dumfries,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1973, Table 14, p 34.
Census 1971 Scotland. County Report:
Kirkcudbright, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1972, Table 14,
p 25,
Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Wigtown,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1972, Table 14, p 19.
- (44) Census 1981 Scottish Summary Volume 1, Edinburgh:
H.M.S.O., 1983, Table 51, p 59.
- (45) Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Fife,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1973, Table 14, p 64.
- (46) Census 1981 Scottish Summary Volume 1, Edinburgh:
H.M.S.O., 1983, Table 51, p 60.
- (47) Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Aberdeen
City, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1973, Table 14, p 21.
- (48) Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Aberdeen
City, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1973, Table 14, p 21,
Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Aberdeen,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1973, Table 14, p 38,
Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Banff,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1973, Table 14, p 36,
Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Kincardine,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1973, Table 14, p 22,
Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Moray,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1973, Table 14, p 26.
- (49) Census 1981 Scottish Summary Volume 1, Edinburgh:
H.M.S.O., 1983, Table 51, p 61.
- (50) Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Caithness,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1972, Table 14, p 22,

- Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Inverness,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1973, Table 14, p 31,
- Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Nairn,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1972, Table 14, p 11,
- Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Ross and
Cromarty, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1973, Table 14, p
36,
- Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Sutherland,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1972, Table 14, p 19.
- (51) Census 1981 Scottish Summary Volume 1, Edinburgh:
H.M.S.O., 1983, Table 51, p 62.
- (52) Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Edinburgh
City, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1973, Table 14, p 31.
- (53) Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Edinburgh
City, Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1973, Table 14, p 31,
Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: East Lothian,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1972, Table 14, p 27,
Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Midlothian,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1973, Table 14, p 30,
Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: West Lothian,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1973, Table 14, p 30.
- (54) Census 1981 Scottish Summary Volume 1, Edinburgh:
H.M.S.O., 1983, Table 51, p 63.
- (55) Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Glasgow City,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1973, Table 14, p 44.
- (56) Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Glasgow City,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1973, Table 14, p 44,
Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Argyll,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1973, Table 14, p 37,

- Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Bute,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1972, Table 14, p 17,
- Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Dunbarton,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1972, Table 14, p 33,
- Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Ayr,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1973, Table 14, p 53,
- Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Lanark,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1973, Table 14, p 42,
- Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Renfrew,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1972, Table 14, p 33.
- (57) Census 1981 Scottish Summary Volume 1, Edinburgh:
H.M.S.O., 1983, Table 51, p 64.
- (58) Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Dundee City,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1972, Table 14, p 21.
- (59) Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Dundee City,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1972, Table 14, p 21,
- Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Angus,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1972, Table 14, p 33,
- Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Kinross,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1972, Table 14, p 11,
- Census 1971 Scotland. County Report: Perth,
Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1973, Table 14, p 39.
- (60) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 23 (804) / No.
24 (805) (17 December / 31 December, 1982), p 7.
- (61) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 3 (576) / No.
4 (577) (16 February, 1973), pp 1-5,
Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 24 (644) / No.
25 (645) (3 December, 1975), p 11,

- Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 17 (688) (1 October, 1977), p 7, and
Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 8 (725) (8 June, 1979), pp 2-3.
- (62) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 23 (619) (1 December, 1974), pp 1-2, and
Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 4 (624) / No. 5 (625) (25 February / 1 March, 1975), pp 5-6.
- (63) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 9 (765) / No. 10 (766) (7 May, 1981), pp 5-7.
- (64) Father M. Łekawa, 'Exiles with deep roots in Scotland', Scottish Catholic Observer, 3 March, 1978.
- (65) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 20 (567) (15 October, 1972), p 7,
Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 14 (610) (29 June, 1974), p 3,
Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 25 (670) (1 December, 1976), p 6.
- (66) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 25 (781) (29 December, 1981), pp 4-5.
- (67) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 19 (775) / No. 20 (776) (16 October, 1981), pp 19-20,
Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 25 (781) (29 December, 1981), p 14, and
Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 1 (782) / No. 2 (783) (22 January, 1982), pp 2-3.
- (68) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 3 (784) / No. 4 (785) (18 February, 1982), pp 4-7.

- (69) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 11 (792) (19 June, 1982), p 2.
- (70) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 1 (782) / No. 2 (783) (22 January, 1982), pp 3-4.
- (71) Edynburski Biuletyn Informacyjny, No. 12 (793) (25 June, 1982), pp 1-5.

CONCLUSION.

Before the arrival of Polish servicemen evacuated from France during June, 1940, there had not been an organised Polish community in Scotland. A small number of Poles had settled in Scotland following the defeat of the 1830-31 'Powstanie Listopadowe' (November Rising), but, being very few in number, the members of the 'Wielka Emigracja' had not been able to found Polish community institutions or organisations as a 'support society' to maintain their national identity.

The next period of Polish settlement in Scotland had occurred between 1875 and 1914. Although many of the Poles emigrating from Austrian, Prussian and Russian Poland had left to find land and employment, this had been an 'economic emigration' with its basis in the oppression of the Poles living under foreign rule. In Scotland these 'Poles' (who were very often ethnic Lithuanians) had been regarded as 'cheap foreign labour' hired mainly to work in the coal-mining or iron and steel industries in Lanarkshire. The 'Poles' had been accepted as fellow-workers and trades unionists after they had proved by supporting Scottish workers in strike action that they would not be used to break strikes or to depress wages. Once more, however, there had been too few 'Poles' to have enabled them to form an organised community on a national basis. While their complete 'assimilation' into Scottish society had once again shown

the ability of Poles to adapt to life in a foreign environment, it had left no evidence of Polish settlement in Scotland before 1939.

In September, 1939, the defeat of Poland by Germany and the Soviet Union caused Poles who wanted to continue the fight to escape from their homeland. A new Polish government was formed in France with Władysław Raczkiewicz as the President of the Polish Republic and General Władysław Sikorski as the Prime Minister. As and Commander-in-Chief and the Minister of National Defence, Sikorski planned to reorganise the Polish Armed Forces with the financial and material support of France and Britain. The man-power was provided by the recruitment of Poles who had settled in France, Belgium and Britain before 1939, Polish servicemen and civilians who had escaped from Poland and Polish personnel who had escaped from internment in Hungary, Romania and the Baltic states.

Following the defeat of France in June, 1940, the Polish government, some civil servants and other civilian refugees, as well as some 20,000 Polish servicemen, were evacuated to Britain. The Polish First Army Corps was organised in Scotland. In 1944, the Corps comprised two major units: the First Armoured Division and the First Independent Paratroop Brigade. From July, 1940, until the end of the war in Europe in May, 1945, recruits for the First Army Corps were obtained from:

- 1) Poles who had escaped from Occupied Europe, including Poland,
- 2) the Polish Second Army Corps in the Middle and Near East,
- 3) Polish settlers in North and South America,
- 4) the Polish Second Infantry Division interned in Switzerland,
- 5) Poles who had been forcibly conscripted into the 'Wehrmacht' or into the 'Todt Organisation' forced labour brigades,
- 6) liberated Polish prisoners of war.

After the Scottish people had learned that the Poles were their 'gallant allies', many Polish servicemen and civilians were befriended by hospitable Scots. The very popular Scottish-Polish Society contributed greatly towards mutual understanding between Scots and Poles. In order to provide welfare and education facilities for the Polish servicemen and civilians, the British authorities and the Polish government in London co-operated in organising institutions and courses. Of these, in Scotland the most successful institution was the Polish School of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh.

The Poles and their Scottish hosts believed that all the Polish servicemen and civilians would return to Poland after Germany had been defeated. Following the tragic

death of General Sikorski on 4 July, 1943, the Polish government in London led by Stanisław Mikołajczyk was ignored by Churchill and Roosevelt. At the Teheran Conference (28 November to 1 December, 1943) Stalin obtained the consent of Churchill and Roosevelt regarding the 'Curzon Line' as the post-war Polish-Soviet frontier. This proposed frontier handed over to the Soviet Union the eastern provinces of Poland, including the cities of Lwów and Wilno.

Although the Teheran decisions were secret, the Poles soon learned that they could not rely on the support of Britain or the United States with regard to the territorial demands of Stalin. This was especially resented by the servicemen of the Polish Second Army Corps. Many of them had been deported to the Soviet Union either as prisoners of war or as civilians from the eastern provinces of Poland annexed by the Soviet Union in November, 1939. In 1942 the evacuation of some 120,000 Polish servicemen and civilians from the Soviet Union to Iran had ended the brief period of Polish-Soviet co-operation on which Sikorski had depended out of optimism that Stalin would honour his promises concerning the formation of a Polish Army in the U.S.S.R. to fight alongside the Red Army in the liberation of Poland.

Stalin wanted to impose his Polish Communist agents, led by Bolesław Bierut and Jakub Berman, as the post-'liberation' authorities in Poland. Once more,

Mikołajczyk was powerless to resist. The 'diplomatic defeat' of Poland was ensured by the resignation of Mikołajczyk in November, 1944, after failing to persuade his government colleagues that only a compromise with Stalin could maintain the support of Churchill and Roosevelt and prevent the complete loss of Polish independence.

When the war in Europe ended on 7 May, 1945, Poland was ruled by Stalin's Communist agents with the support of the Red Army and the N.K.V.D., but most British people believed that the independence of Poland and a Polish government to be chosen by 'free and unfettered elections' had been guaranteed by Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin at the Yalta Conference (4 to 11 February, 1945). Whenever the Poles in Britain expressed doubts regarding the future of democracy in Poland, very often they were accused of being 'fascists' or 'reactionaries'. As the Red Army, the Soviet Union and Stalin were very popular, the fears of the Poles were dismissed. Mikołajczyk made the issue more complicated by returning to Poland and serving in the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity. This led many British people to believe that the Poles could return home without anything to fear.

On 5 July, 1945, this Provisional Government was recognised by the governments of Britain and the U.S.A.. At the same time, the 'government of protest' led by

Tomasz Arciszewski in succession to Mikołajczyk's government was no longer regarded as legitimately representing the Polish nation.

After the victory of the Labour Party in the British General Election in July, 1945, the Labour government led by Clement Attlee recognised that Britain had gone to war ostensibly in defence of Poland and that the British government had to ensure the welfare of the Polish Armed Forces under British command, their families, dependants and other Polish civilian refugees. The Labour government 'inherited' the machinery of the Interim Treasury Committee for Polish Questions which had been formed by the out-going government led by Churchill and had started work after the Polish government in London had ceased to be recognised.

In dealing with Polish resettlement the Labour government was influenced by the worsening relationship between the Soviet Union and the Western democracies. In addition, there was increasing evidence regarding the political terror used by the Polish Communists and their allies against the democratic parties. This campaign of terror was conducted mainly against the Polish Peasant Party which was led by Mikołajczyk.

As some 200,000 Polish servicemen under British command, their families, dependants and other civilian refugees refused to return to Poland, the machinery of the Interim

Treasury Committee proved insufficient to cope with the new policy of resettlement. In order to place Poles in employment in Britain without harming the interests of British people, the British government instituted a policy of controlled resettlement through the Polish Resettlement Corps. In co-operation with employers and trades unions, the British government used the P.R.C. and the later European Volunteer Workers scheme to integrate Polish servicemen and civilians into undermanned essential industries, such as agriculture, coal-mining, textiles and the building trades.

There was strong opposition in Scotland to the settlement of Poles because Polish servicemen had been stationed in many areas since the summer of 1940. Many Scottish people could not understand that Poland had not been 'liberated' by the Soviet Union and that the Poles could not 'go home'. Among the opponents of Polish settlement were anti-Catholic bigots, Communists and 'fellow travellers' within the organised labour movement, people who hated 'foreigners' of any nationality, those who resented the popularity of Polish men with Scottish women, and otherwise decent Scots who believed that the Poles would 'compete' with them for employment, housing and food supplies.

Knowing the unpopularity of Polish servicemen in many parts of Scotland, the War Office transferred most of the Polish troops from Scotland to England and Wales for

service in the Polish Resettlement Corps and demobilisation into civilian life. For the same reason, only a small number of Polish servicemen and civilians were transported to Scotland from Germany, Italy, the Middle East, the Near East and East Africa between 1946 and 1950.

Between 1945 and 1951 the Poles who settled in Scotland founded institutions and organisations to replace those which had been created during war-time with financial support from the British government. The most important Polish community organisation was the 'Stowarzyszenie Polskich Kombatantów' (Polish Combatants' Association). Branches of the S.P.K. were founded in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Kirkcaldy, Falkirk and other towns in order to organise demobilised servicemen to continue the struggle for Polish independence. The 'Domy Kombatanta' which were opened in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee and Forres were purchased by P.C.A. Ltd. (the economic arm of the S.P.K. which was based in London) not only to be social centres for the exiled Poles and their families but also to help in preventing them from becoming 'assimilated' into British society. Above all, most exiled Poles believed that their stay in Britain was temporary and that the defeat of the Soviet Union by the Western democracies would enable them to return to Poland.

In 1948 the 'Polska Misja Katolicka w Szkocji' (Polish Catholic Mission in Scotland) was founded with Father Bombas as the Rector. Polish Parishes were founded in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Falkirk and Kirkcaldy. A Polish School was organised in 1948 in Edinburgh, while another School was set up in 1951 in Glasgow. These Schools taught the children of Poles in order to maintain their Polish national identity.

The settlement pattern of the Polish community in Scotland which was established between 1945 and 1951 was influenced mainly by the availability of employment. Polish people settled in every city, major town and county in Scotland, but a significant number of Poles settled in locations which had become familiar during war-time service or service in the Polish Resettlement Corps. Many settled in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Fife (especially Kirkcaldy and Dunfermline), Stirlingshire (especially in Falkirk), Perthshire and the Border counties.

In Aberdeen, Perthshire and the North of Scotland the creation and development of organised Polish community life was hindered by the widespread settlement of Poles throughout the northern counties. Many Poles became quickly 'assimilated' into Scottish society as a result of their isolation from fellow-countrymen. Other Poles became 'assimilated' because they were married to

Scottish women who did not want their husbands to remain 'Polish'.

Marriage to Scottish wives helped many Poles to settle in Scotland and to gain 'acceptance' from local people. Their success in settlement was also greatly assisted by their gradual integration into economic life. By 'placing' many Poles in undermanned essential industries, the Ministry of Labour ensured that the Polish workers would gradually become 'accepted' as 'a necessary evil' by the British organised labour movement. Before Poles could be employed, an agreement between the employers and the trades unions was negotiated. Above all, the Poles were to be the first to be laid off if necessary. These agreements also ensured that the Polish workers received wages equal to British approved levels regarding experience, skill and status. As a result of the Polish Resettlement Act of 27 March, 1947, the Poles were eligible for unemployment benefit and other social security benefits.

The distribution of Polish workers throughout industries, trades and professions also contributed to their success in settlement. This distribution prevented excessive 'competition' with British people. Some Poles became self-employed with training received from courses organised by the Polish Resettlement Corps.

Between 1951 and 1961 the Polish community in Scotland became permanently established. There was a decrease in the number of 'Polish-born' people resident in Scotland which had been caused mainly by the 'secondary emigration' of Poles to England or overseas for better paid employment but also by the death of members of older age-groups. Within Scotland there had been a migration of Polish people in search of better paid employment from the mainly agricultural counties of Ayrshire, Perthshire, the North of Scotland, the South-West and the Borders to urban and industrial centres. As the majority of Poles became resident in urban centres, more Poles were enabled to participate in organised Polish community life. This physical consolidation was also expressed by investment in property and an accompanying psychological consolidation.

During this period the majority of the Polish exiles lost their faith regarding the possibility of the overthrow of Communist rule and their return to Poland. After October, 1956, the worst features of 'Stalinism' in Poland were removed. By successfully defying Khrushchev and the Soviet leaders, Gomułka received a measure of support for a policy of cautious reform from the anti-Communist majority of the Polish nation. The 'odwilż' (or 'thaw') after October, 1956, facilitated travel to and from Poland. Some exiled Poles were thereby enabled to learn about the reality of life in Poland. This direct contact convinced many exiled Poles that, despite

the unpopularity of Communist rule, Poland could not be liberated either by a national revolt or by external intervention. Above all, Polish people were influenced by the tragic defeat of the Hungarian Uprising in 1956 when the Western democracies did not support the insurgents against Soviet military power.

Many Poles in Scotland also became disillusioned because of the disputes among the Polish political and military exile authorities in London. The political split during 1954 resulted from nearly ten years of disunity following the resignation of Mikołajczyk. As the S.P.K. supported General Anders and the 'Zjednoczenie' against President Zaleski and the 'Zamek', this encouraged Polish community activists who resented the pretensions of the S.P.K. to create alternative social centres in Scotland in response to the unpopularity of the 'Domy Kombatanta'. In Edinburgh this led to the 'Dom Inwalidy' becoming a base for the organisations in opposition to the 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 25'. In Glasgow the main reason for the organisation of the 'Dom Polski im. Generała W. Sikorskiego' by the 'Towarzystwo Społeczno-Oświatowe' was a concept of Polish community life independent from the control of London-based organisations such as the S.P.K.. At the same time, personal and political disputes in Falkirk prevented the creation of a single Polish social centre for a relatively small number of Poles. The 'Koło S.P.K. Nr. 36' administered their 'Dom Kombatanta'

while Father Drobina and the 'Komitet Parafialny' ran the 'Dom Parafialny'.

Between 1961 and 1971 these local disputes in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Falkirk were resolved. This increased co-operation was partly motivated by events within Poland. After the 'mała stabilizacja' (little stabilisation) between 1957 and 1963, from 1964 until December, 1970, Gomułka became increasingly isolated from both the moderate reformers and the hard-line conservatives within the P.Z.P.R.. His inability to appease the demands for greater economic, political and cultural reforms led to protests by disillusioned intellectuals and by students in March, 1968. In December, 1970, strikes by industrial workers caused the replacement of Gomułka by Edward Gierek.

Many Poles in Scotland supported their families in Poland by sending parcels of food, clothing and medical supplies. Instead of being a 'Polish state in exile', the Poles in Britain became a 'Polonia' (a Polish community permanently settled outside Poland) whose purpose was to support and assist the Polish nation in their fight for greater freedom and prosperity.

Between 1961 and 1971 the number of 'Polish-born' persons resident in Scotland continued to decrease. Unlike the period between 1951 and 1961, this decrease was caused mainly by death. As most of the Poles who had settled

in Scotland had been men of military service age, the decrease could not be prevented because only very few Poles arrived from Poland after 1956 to settle in Scotland. The number of 'Polish-born' persons resident in Scotland also decreased between 1971 and 1981 mainly due to death rather than 'secondary emigration'.

After the economic dislocation and 'austerity' resulting from the Second World War, the increasing prosperity in Britain ensured that the Poles were 'accepted' as good citizens and workers. While some Poles were able to remain 'Polish' in Scotland, there were many Poles who became completely 'assimilated' into Scottish society. This occurred even in urban centres such as Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Falkirk and Kirkcaldy where there were significant numbers of Polish people. In some cases active membership of Polish community life was not possible because of geographical isolation from fellow-countrymen. Other Poles had lost interest in remaining 'Polish' after they had been demobilised into civilian life.

The achievement of political unity among the exile parties and military leaders in 1972 helped to encourage some Poles to return to active participation in community life. Other Poles in Scotland began to participate as a result of the increasing interest in Poland shown by Scottish people and the media following the election of Cardinal Karol Wojtyła of Kraków as Pope on 16 October,

1978. In addition, the brief ascendancy of Lech Wałęsa and the 'Solidarność' movement after August, 1980, also revived the cause of Polish independence which had been forgotten by British people and politicians for many years. The declaration of martial law in Poland on 13 December, 1981, and the suppression of 'Solidarność' united many Poles and Scots in protest. While the fate of Wałęsa and the other imprisoned 'Solidarność' members became a major international issue, many Polish and Scottish organisations co-operated to raise money and to collect food, blankets, medical supplies and other essentials for the people of Poland.

Another result of the election of Pope John Paul II and of the rise of 'Solidarność' was the interest shown by some members of the 'second generation' who had been born in Scotland and were able to be both 'Scottish' and 'Polish'. Although Polish Schools had been organised in several cities and towns in Scotland between 1948 and 1961, by 1981 only the Schools in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Falkirk, Dundee and Kirkcaldy were still functioning. Some of the 'second generation' had become more aware of their Polish cultural heritage as a result of visiting Poland. The problem which faced Polish communities in Scotland was the lack of interest shown by many of the 'second generation' who, if they had attended a Polish School, had not wanted to be 'Polish' and to participate in community life. In Edinburgh the dance group 'Ojczyzna', which was founded in 1967, was an attempt to

maintain the interest of some of the 'second generation' both of school-age and after they had left school. In Glasgow the 'Towarzystwo Społeczno-Oświatowe' and the Polish Parish, led by Father Łękawa, proved more successful in encouraging young people of the 'second generation' to participate in the life of the community.

In May and June, 1982, the visit of Pope John Paul II to the United Kingdom made many exiled Poles even more aware of their national identity and of their duty to support the Polish nation. Despite many disappointments in the past, in 1990 many Poles in Scotland believed that Poland will become an independent state but they would end their lives in exile.

With the departure of many members of the 'second generation' in search of employment in England or overseas, the future of the Polish communities in Falkirk, Dundee, Kirkcaldy and Perth does not seem to promise to outlive the present members. While in Glasgow it is likely that organised Polish community life will continue for many years, in Edinburgh the future is more uncertain.

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