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The Polish School of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh (1941-1949)

A case study in the transnational history of Polish wartime migration to Great Britain

Michał Adam Palacz

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Abstract of Thesis

More than 400 Polish medical refugees were associated with the Polish School of Medicine (PSM) at the University of Edinburgh between 1941 and 1949. This dissertation argues that the history of the PSM can fully be understood only as a part of the refugees' broader experience of impelled or forced migration during and immediately after the Second World War. The key findings of this case study demonstrate that the opportunity to study or work at the PSM enabled the majority of Polish exiles to overcome, to a varying extent, their refugee predicament, while medical qualifications, transferable skills and trans-cultural competency obtained in wartime Britain allowed them to pursue professional and academic careers in different countries of post-war settlement, thus in turn contributing to a global circulation of medical knowledge and practice, especially between the University of Edinburgh and Poland. This specific case study contributes to the existing knowledge of Polish wartime migration to Britain in three interrelated ways. Firstly, an overarching transnational approach is used to combine and transcend Polish and British scholarly perspectives on, respectively, emigration or immigration. Secondly, the conceptual insularity of the existing literature on the topic is challenged by analysing archival, published and digital sources pertaining to the PSM with the help of various theoretical models and concepts borrowed from forced migration and diaspora studies. Thirdly, the conventional historiography of Polish-British wartime relations is challenged by emphasising the genuinely global ramifications of the PSM's history. By interpreting the history of the PSM with the help of different analytical tools, such as Kunz's and Johansson's models of refugee movement and Tweed's theory of diasporic religion, this dissertation provides a conceptual blueprint for further research on Polish wartime migration to Britain. In turn, this case study contributes to the development of forced migration and diaspora studies not only by empirically testing the explanatory power of existing theoretical models, but also by suggesting possible new conceptual avenues, such as analysing the pre-existing trans-cultural experiences of both Polish medical refugees and their hosts at the University of Edinburgh, and adding to the 'triadic relationship' of diaspora, homeland and host society a fourth dimension, i.e. conflict and cooperation between different migrant or refugee communities within the same host society.

Declaration of Own Work

I, Michał Adam Palacz, declare that this thesis has been composed solely by me, the work presented is my own, and it has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Signature

Date

Dedicated to my family and friends from Gdynia – Pustki Cisowskie

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List of Abbreviations

AHM/AHiFM – journal *Archiwum Historii Medycyny/Archiwum Historii i Filozofii Medycyny*

BSC – Biochemical Society Collection

BMA – British Medical Association

BMJ – *The British Medical Journal*

CDDMIF - Centrum Dokumentacji Dziejów Medycyny i Farmacji Górnego Śląska

DVL III – Third category of the *Deutsche Volksliste*

EUA – Edinburgh University Archives

GP – general practitioner

HIA – Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University

ITC – Interim Treasury Committee for Polish Questions

MP – Member of Parliament

MRC – Medical Refugees Collection

NHS – National Health Service

NKVD – People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs

PISM – Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum, London

PMA – Polish Medical Association (in Great Britain)

PSM – Polish School of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh

POW – prisoner-of-war

SPSL – Society for the Protection of Science and Learning

TNA – The National Archives, Kew

UMKM – Uniwersytet Medyczny im. Karola Marcinkowskiego w Poznaniu

WBIS – World Biographical Information System Online

Introduction

Significance of the topic

The Polish School of Medicine (hereafter PSM) was an autonomous medical faculty at the University of Edinburgh from 1941 to 1949. Established under the auspices of the Polish government-in-exile in February 1941, the PSM was at the moment of its creation the only officially existing Polish university-level institution in the world. The mission of the PSM was to preserve Polish culture and learning in exile, train medical officers for the Polish Armed Forces in the West, and prepare cadres for the envisioned reconstruction of healthcare services in post-war Poland. 227 Polish students graduated from the PSM with MB, ChB degrees and 19 postgraduates were awarded MD degrees after submitting doctoral theses. Members of the teaching staff and students of the PSM were mostly Polish soldiers and civilian refugees who were involuntarily displaced to Britain by the events of the Second World War. Only 13% of those refugees returned to Poland after 1945. Around half of them settled down in Great Britain, while the others emigrated further to Western Europe, the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand or various British colonies in Africa, Asia and the West Indies. Although PSM graduates and former members of staff were dispersed across the globe, they managed to maintain close contacts with their *alma mater* and have gathered in Edinburgh every five years since 1966. The process of publicly memorialising the PSM gained momentum in both Poland and Britain, and more than seventy years after its inauguration, the PSM's relatively short history continues to inspire scientific contacts and academic exchange between the University of Edinburgh and various Polish centres of medical education.

Review of the existing literature on the topic

Historiography of the PSM emerged out of institutional efforts to commemorate the significance of a wartime endeavour to preserve Polish medical education in exile. The existing body of literature on the topic is therefore characterised by a predominant desire to celebrate the perceived uniqueness and successfulness of this extraordinary venture in Polish-Scottish academic cooperation.

Institutional historiography of the PSM

In the summer of 1941, Lieutenant Józef Brodzki, a pre-war journalist from Warsaw, was commissioned to edit a written account of the founding of the PSM. The book was published in 1942 in two language versions, Polish and English. Brodzki's aim was to gather 'all the necessary documents, and to transmit to the future historian a true picture of the endeavours, in the sore days of exile, to assure the continuity of Polish medical science.'¹ The volume is basically a collection of reproduced primary sources, such as letters, legal decrees, texts of speeches and photographs, but it also includes short narrative sections, penned by Brodzki himself.

In the meantime, Professor Antoni Jurasz, organiser and first Dean of the PSM, wrote an article on the genesis of the PSM for the November 1941 issue of the *University of Edinburgh Journal*.² Jurasz also spoke on this subject at a meeting of the Section of the History of Medicine of the Royal Society of Medicine in London on 5 November 1941. An extensive summary of Jurasz's English-language speech was published in the *British Medical Journal* (hereafter *BMJ*) ten days later, while the entire text was reproduced in the December 1941 issue of the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*.³

These early accounts dealt with the PSM's organisation and activities in the first few months of its existence but more attempts to preserve for future generations the memory of this academic endeavour were undertaken in later years. Professor Jurasz announced in April 1943 a competition for the best student memoir of the PSM, with the apparent intention of collecting source material for future historians of medicine.⁴ Following up on this scheme, in May 1944, Tadeusz Fabiański was appointed an official chronicler of the PSM.⁵ Fabiański, pre-war editor of *Słowo*

¹ Józef Brodzki (ed.), *Polish School of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1942, p. vii.

² Antoni Jurasz, 'The Genesis of the Polish School of Medicine in Edinburgh', *University of Edinburgh Journal*, 11.2 (1941), pp. 91-99.

³ Anon., 'Polish Medical Faculty At Edinburgh...', *The British Medical Journal* (hereafter *BMJ*), 15 Nov 1941, p. 706; Antoni Jurasz, 'The Foundation of the Polish Medical Faculty within the University of Edinburgh, Scotland', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 35 (1941), pp. 133-140.

⁴ Edinburgh University Archives (hereafter EUA), IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 27 Apr 1943; EUA, GD46/Photograph Album 2: Announcement of the competition for best memoirs of the PSM, undated.

⁵ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 23 May 1944.

Polskie daily and journalist of the Polish Radio in Lwów, was commissioned to collect material for a comprehensive account of the PSM's history. He managed to prepare six volumes of preliminary texts in typescript but the project was eventually abandoned, perhaps due to the PSM's increasingly precarious situation after the end of the war. Fabiański's 'chronicle' as well as three works which were entered into the memoir competition were never published, but these materials informed much of the subsequent literature on the topic.⁶

A more comprehensive account of the PSM's history was published in 1955 by Jakub Rostowski, professor of neurology and psychiatry and the last Dean of the PSM, who settled in Britain after the war.⁷ This publication narrates the events of 1941-1949, and provides factual information about the organisation of departments and the programme of undergraduate teaching. It also includes short biographies of Polish members of the senior teaching staff as well as more or less comprehensive lists of assistants, graduates, non-completing students, administrative employees and technical personnel. The preface to the book was written by Sir Sydney Smith, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh (1931-1953) and Professor of Forensic Medicine at the PSM (1941-1949). Correspondence between Rostowski and Smith reveals that the book was endorsed by the University of Edinburgh as an official account of the PSM's history. The publication was approved by the University Court and all expenses were covered from the medical faculty's Dean's Fund.⁸

The publications by Jurasz, Brodzki and Rostowski generated an 'institutional historiography' which conveyed what the Polish and British 'founding fathers' perceived to be the significance and legacy of the PSM. Three main theses can be discerned in this official narrative: the uniqueness of the PSM, the magnanimity of the University of Edinburgh, and the successful example of international academic

⁶ EUA, GD46/Box 9: Tadeusz Fabiański's chronicle of the PSM, 1945; GD46/Box 5, Diary of Zdzisław Golarz (Teleszyński), 1942-1946; Memoirs of Stefan Grzybowski, 1943-1945; Memoirs of Jan Kafel, 1944.

⁷ Jakub Rostowski, *History of the Polish School of Medicine*, Edinburgh: The University of Edinburgh, 1955.

⁸ Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh Library and Archives, EXH/SMS/7/70: Papers of Professor Sir Sydney Smith, 1953.

cooperation. These three notions were rather uncritically accepted and repeated in almost all subsequent scholarly and commemorative accounts of the PSM's history.

The PSM was presented as an institution without precedence and without analogy. Brodzki and Rostowski reproduced in their books speeches from the inauguration ceremony on 22 March 1941, when Sir Thomas Holland, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Edinburgh, and Professor Stanisław Kot, Minister of the Interior in the Polish government-in-exile, both expressed an idea that the founding of an autonomous Polish faculty within the walls of a British university was a unique and unprecedented event in the history of education.⁹ This idea was further developed by Brodzki in the introduction to his volume:

The creation of a Polish Medical Faculty in Scotland is an event unique not only in the history of these two countries, but also in the history of the whole civilised world. History has never known of any state which set up its own University with its own professors lecturing to its own students in their native tongue on foreign soil and as a part of a foreign University. The formation of the Polish Medical School in the ancient University of Edinburgh is an event completely unprecedented in the history of learning.¹⁰

The decision of the University of Edinburgh to establish an autonomous Polish medical faculty was portrayed as a magnanimous gesture that helped to preserve Polish science and learning in exile.¹¹ Rostowski's narrative of the PSM's history concludes with a personal account of the unveiling of a bronze commemorative plaque in the quadrangle of the University New Buildings (today the Old Medical School) in Teviot Place, Edinburgh. The English-language inscription on the bronze tablet reads:

In the dark days of 1941 when Polish universities were destroyed and Polish professors died in concentration camps the University of Edinburgh established the Polish School of Medicine. This memorial was set up by the students, lecturers and professors of the Polish School of Medicine in gratitude to the University of Edinburgh for the part it played in the preservation of Polish science and learning.¹²

⁹ Brodzki, *PSM*, pp. 27-32.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Jurasz, 'The Foundation', p. 137; Brodzki, *PSM*, pp. 1-24; Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, pp. 1-26.

¹² A photograph of the memorial tablet is reproduced in Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, between pages 24 and 25.

In his introduction to Rotstowski's book, Sir Sydney Smith expressed admiration for his own University and commented that the memorial plaque would 'stand, together with this book, as the only visible signs of an adventure which has added a touch of glory to the already distinguished record of the Alma Mater'.¹³

The founders of the PSM saw their endeavour as a successful example of international academic cooperation. Polish and British professors believed that the legacy of this wartime venture would continue to inspire collaboration between the two nations after the expected Allied victory over Germany. Both Brodzki's and Rostowski's books quote Jurasz who expressed these great expectations in the following words:

I can only express my ardent desire and hope that the very pleasant collaboration which I have met here [in Edinburgh] will continue, not only for the duration of the War but in the future, when we shall meet in mutual visits as free men, in free countries in a free Europe.¹⁴

The 'institutional historiography' of the PSM was created during or shortly after the end of the war. The fall of the Iron Curtain, which divided Europe for more than forty years into two hostile political, military and economic blocs, resulted in a bifurcation of the historiography of the PSM. Although there were certain parallels, originating from the inherited wartime tradition, the significance of the PSM was interpreted rather differently among the Polish émigré community in post-war Britain and among historians of medicine in the People's Republic of Poland.

Post-war bifurcation of memory

The appearance in post-war Britain of a series of commemorative articles, books and albums on the PSM was inspired by global reunions and anniversary celebrations which were held in Edinburgh every five years since 1966. They were mostly published by former members of staff who settled in Britain after the war. To mark the Silver Jubilee of the PSM in 1966, Professor Rostowski wrote a short article for the *BMJ*, in which he summarised the significance of the PSM in familiar terms:

¹³ Ibid., p. vi.

¹⁴ Brodzki, *PSM*, p. 37; Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, p. 18.

The creation of the [PSM] was a fine example of cooperation between nations in the academic sphere. It is to be hoped that such cooperation will not remain unique in the history of medicine, even though one must also hope that the need which gave rise to it will never be experienced again.¹⁵

The 25th anniversary celebrations in 1966 inspired Wiktor Tomaszewski, former senior lecturer in medicine at the PSM, to edit a collection of essays, entitled *The University of Edinburgh and Poland*. The main theme of the book is a desire to place the relatively brief episode of the PSM within a broader history of Scottish-Polish academic contacts that go back as far as the seventeenth century.¹⁶ According to a short review published in the journal *Medical History* in 1970, the book ‘forms a worthy memorial to an unusually imaginative act of co-operation, and is admirably edited, printed, and illustrated’.¹⁷ This volume was the first in a series of English- and Polish-language publications authored by Dr Tomaszewski who settled in Edinburgh as a general practitioner (hereafter GP) and became known as the ‘historiographer of the PSM’.¹⁸

To mark the 40th anniversary in 1981, Dr Tomaszewski published a short personal reminiscence in the *BMJ*. The article reiterated once again the three oft repeated theses about the PSM’s historical significance:

The school was a **unique academic institution**: it was ruled by Polish Acts on academic schools, it had its own professors teaching in Polish, and it had the right to confer Polish degrees. ... The reunion gave the graduates the opportunity to express to the authorities of the university their loyalty and affection and their gratitude for helping them in the dark days of the war to obtain the degree that enabled them to start a new life after the war. What is more important, the **magnanimity of the university** helped to keep burning the light of our higher education that had been entirely extinguished in occupied Poland by the invader. A fine

¹⁵ Jakub Rostowski, ‘Polish School of Medicine University Of Edinburgh, 1941-49’, *BMJ*, 28 May 1966, p. 1351.

¹⁶ Wiktor Tomaszewski (ed.), *The University of Edinburgh and Poland: An Historical Overview*, Edinburgh: s.n., 1969.

¹⁷ Robin Price, ‘Review of Wiktor Tomaszewski (ed.), “The University of Edinburgh and Poland”’, *Medical History*, 14.4 (1970), pp. 408-409.

¹⁸ Tadeusz Brzeziński, ‘Prof. Dr Med. Wiktor Tomaszewski – historiograf Polskiego Wydziału Lekarskiego w Edynburgu – członek honorowy Polskiego Towarzystwa Historii Medycyny i Farmacji’, *Archiwum Historii i Filozofii Medycyny* (hereafter *AHiFM*), 58.3 (1995), pp. 225-227.

example of international co-operation in which I was fortunate to participate [emphasis added].¹⁹

On the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the University of Edinburgh in 1983, Dr Tomaszewski dedicated to the Alma Mater a special jubilee album about the PSM.²⁰ Lord Swann, former Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Edinburgh, pointed out in his introduction that:

No one of who knows Edinburgh can fail to be struck by the gratitude that the members of the [PSM] have always shown to the University. But I believe that a greater debt of gratitude is owed by the University to them. For it was they who came here to continue the struggle alongside us. And in all its 400 years the University cannot, I think, have acquired a group of alumni more splendidly loyal to their Alma Mater.²¹

A desire to maintain close contacts with the University of Edinburgh might have been one of the factors that motivated commemorative efforts of amateur historians of the PSM, such as Jakub Rostowski and Wiktor Tomaszewski. The anniversary celebrations could be seen as a substitute for official Scottish-Polish academic collaboration which was obstructed by the political climate of the Cold War.

The historiography of the PSM was in the meantime following a different path in post-war Poland. Only three articles on the topic appeared in Polish medical journals until the 1970s. These accounts were all written by former refugees who returned home after the war. Perhaps significantly, they were published only after the end of the Stalinist period (1948-1956) during which openly admitting to wartime contacts with capitalist Britain was, to say the least, politically incorrect. *Śłużba Zdrowia*, a press organ of Polish healthcare workers, published a review of Professor Rostowski's book in 1957. The author, Władysław Olesiński (a PSM graduate), commended the vision of Professor Jurasz and other founders of the PSM. Olesiński also expressed his appreciation for Scottish society's hospitality towards Polish refugees which, he claimed, was motivated by the memory of historical links between Scotland and Poland. A translation of the English text which is inscribed on

¹⁹ Wiktor Tomaszewski, 'Personal View', *BMJ*, 5 Sept 1981, p. 669.

²⁰ Idem, *The Polish School of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh: An Album*, Edinburgh: s.n., 1983.

²¹ Ibid., p. 9.

the memorial plaque in the quadrangle of the Old Medical School in Edinburgh was included in the article.²²

Two years later, Professor Adam Straszyński published a reminiscence of his former department of skin and venereal diseases at the PSM. The article which appeared in the scientific journal *Przegląd Dermatologiczny* emphasised the importance of the PSM for the preservation of Polish science which was threatened with annihilation during the barbarous Nazi occupation. Straszyński also expressed gratitude for the hospitality offered to Polish exiles by British academics, especially his wartime colleagues from the University of Edinburgh and the Royal Infirmary.²³

In 1967, Zdzisław Teleszyński, a PSM graduate, published another personal account on the pages of *Archiwum Historii Medycyny*, a leading Polish journal of the history of medicine. This article reiterated the thesis that the founding of the PSM was a unique and unprecedented event, and speculated that historical links between the University of Edinburgh and Poland had motivated the decision to locate the Polish medical faculty in the Scottish capital rather than elsewhere in Britain. Teleszyński then concluded with a familiar statement that the PSM was a beautiful example of international scientific cooperation.²⁴

These three articles repeat the same theses as the post-war publications in Britain. This is understandable since all the authors were personally related to the PSM and were influenced by its ‘institutional historiography’ which was generated during their sojourn in Edinburgh. In the mainstream Polish historiography, however, wartime refugees who refused to be repatriated to Communist-dominated Poland were often accused of being unpatriotic and materialistic. In a monograph on the history of Polish military medicine, Stefan Wojtkowiak argued that the majority of the PSM’s graduates and members of staff did not return to Poland because of an alleged reactionary propaganda against People’s Poland that combined threats and

²² Władysław Olesiński, ‘Polski Wydział Lekarski przy Uniwersytecie w Edynburgu’, *Służba Zdrowia*, 9.35 (1957), p. 3.

²³ Adam Straszyński, ‘Katedra Dermatologii na Polskim Wydziale Lekarskim przy Uniwersytecie w Edynburgu w czasie okupacji hitlerowskiej w Polsce’, *Przegląd Dermatologiczny*, 46.1 (1959), pp. 63-69.

²⁴ Zdzisław Teleszyński, ‘Polski Wydział Lekarski przy Uniwersytecie w Edynburgu’, *Archiwum Historii Medycyny* (hereafter *AHM*), 30.1 (1967), pp. 45-63.

blackmail with promises of excellent careers in the West.²⁵ In his entry on Brunon Nowakowski in the Polish biographical dictionary, Franciszek Szymczek inserted a telling remark that Nowakowski was one of the few professors of the PSM who returned to Poland after the war without lingering and hesitation.²⁶ This compliment can be seen as a thinly veiled attack on Nowakowski's many colleagues who remained in exile after 1945.

The Communist regime in Poland opened up to more contacts with the Capitalist West in the 1970s, and this ideological liberalisation coincided with, even if it did not directly cause, a rise of scholarly interest in the PSM. In 1974 several graduates from Poland and Britain as well as Stanley Davidson, former professor of medicine at the PSM, were invited to publish their wartime reminiscences in a Warsaw-based multilingual monthly *Poland: Illustrated Magazine*.²⁷ Two years later, Stanisław Konopka, a Polish physician and historian of medicine, was the first author not personally connected to the PSM to write an account of its history. His article was published in *Archiwum Historii Medycyny* to mark the 35th anniversary of the founding of the PSM. In the introduction, Konopka stated that his motivation was to remind the Polish medical profession about a historically significant institution that was hardly known in Poland. According to the author, the PSM's most lasting legacy was the scientific research that was carried out by Polish refugees at a time when all Polish universities inside occupied Poland were being closed by the Germans. Konopka included a list of 112 scientific works that were published by Polish members of staff during their wartime exile in Edinburgh. He also reproduced a photograph of the memorial tablet in the quadrangle of the University's Old Medical School. Although he acknowledged the wartime importance of the PSM, Konopka nevertheless argued that clandestine medical studies in occupied Poland were undoubtedly more impactful during this tragic period of Polish history.²⁸

²⁵ Stefan Wojtkowiak, *Lancet i karabin: dzieje szkolnictwa medycznego w Wojsku Polskim*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1973, p. 184.

²⁶ World Biographical Information System Online database (hereafter WBIS): Brunon Antoni Nowakowski, available online via <http://db.saur.de/WBIS>.

²⁷ Anna Hozakowska (ed.), 'War and Medicine', *Poland: Illustrated Magazine*, 9.241 (1974), pp. 33-39.

²⁸ Stanisław Konopka, 'Polski Wydział Lekarski w Edynburgu (w 35-lecie jego założenia)', *AHM*, 39.2 (1976), pp. 125-139.

Towards a transnational historiography of the PSM

The liberalisation and eventual fall of the Communist regime opened the possibility for more academic contacts between the Polish wartime diaspora and the homeland. This allowed for the unification of a previously ‘bifurcated’ historiography of the PSM. Beginning in the 1990s, a significant number of more or less scholarly articles pertaining to its history appeared in various Polish medical periodicals. On the occasion of the 34th International Congress on the History of Medicine in Glasgow in 1994, *Archiwum Historii i Filozofii Medycyny* published a special bilingual issue, devoted to Polish-Scottish relations in the field of medicine, which included articles on the PSM written by Wiktor Tomaszewski.²⁹ In 1995, the same journal published Tomaszewski’s article on the Paderewski Hospital which was opened in Edinburgh during the war to facilitate the clinical teaching of Polish medical students.³⁰ More recently, a five-part overview of the PSM’s history appeared in *Skalpel: Biuletyn Wojskowej Izby Lekarskiej*, a journal of the Polish Military Medical Council,³¹ while the PSM’s more specific influences on post-war developments in Polish anaesthesiology,³² dermatology³³ and paediatrics³⁴ were examined by a younger generation of Polish historians of medicine.

²⁹ Wiktor Tomaszewski, ‘Pięćdziesiąt lat Polskiego Wydziału Lekarskiego w Edynburgu 1941-1991’, *AHiFM*, 57.3 (1994), pp. 297-312; idem and K.W. Tuleja, ‘Studium Lekarskie przy Szpitalu im. Paderewskiego w Edynburgu’, *AHiFM*, 57.3 (1994), pp. 325-333.

³⁰ Wiktor Tomaszewski, ‘Szpital im. Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego w Edynburgu’, *AHiFM*, 58.2 (1995), pp. 115-126.

³¹ Witold Lisowski, ‘Prof. dr med. Antoni Tomasz Jurasz (1882-1961) – twórca Polskiego Wydziału Lekarskiego w Edynburgu’, *Skalpel: Biuletyn Wojskowej Izby Lekarskiej* (hereafter *Skalpel*), 16.6 (2007), pp. 25-27; idem, ‘Powstanie i rozwój Polskiego Wydziału Lekarskiego w Edynburgu (1941-1949)’, *Skalpel*, 17.1 (2008), pp. 20-23; idem, ‘Polski Szpital im. Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego w Edynburgu (1941-1947)’, *Skalpel*, 17.2 (2008), pp. 28-30; idem, ‘Profesorowie i wykładowcy Polskiego Wydziału Lekarskiego w Edynburgu (1941-1949)’, *Skalpel*, 17.3 (2008), pp. 28-31; idem, ‘Wychowankowie Polskiego Wydziału Lekarskiego w Edynburgu (1940-1948) – cz. V’, *Skalpel*, 17.4 (2008), pp. 25-28.

³² Witold Jurczyk and Marek Sikorski, ‘Anestezjologia w Wielkopolsce’, *Anestezjologia Intensywna Terapia*, 2 (2001), retrieved on 19 Apr 2012 from: <http://www.czytelniamedyczna.pl/21.anestezjologia-w-wielkopolsce.html>; Zdzisław Rondio, ‘Anestezjologia na drodze europejskiej wspólnoty’, *Anestezjologia Intensywna Terapia*, 2 (2004), pp. 86-88; Leon Drobnik, ‘Polski egzamin pisemny z anestezjologii i intensywnej terapii egzaminem europejskim’, *Anestezjologia Intensywna Terapia*, 4 (2006), pp. 252-253; Aleksander Rutkiewicz, Izabela Duda, and Ewa Musioł, ‘Anaesthesiology in the Polish Armed Forces in the West during World War II’, *Anaesthesiology Intensive Therapy*, 43.4 (2011), pp. 214-220.

At the same time, several works on the phenomenon of the PSM appeared in English. Dr Martin Eastwood and Anne Jenkinson included a short chapter on the PSM in their history of the Western General Hospital in Edinburgh.³⁵ W.A. Wojcik, a medical student at the University of Edinburgh, analysed the establishment and the closing of the PSM within the broader context of twentieth-century Polish history. Wojcik argued in his article that the idealism, commitment and achievements of Polish physicians in Edinburgh could serve as an encouraging example of international scientific cooperation. He also suggested that, apart from celebrating the success story of the PSM, further research on this topic should include a full examination of the underlying political factors as well as the changing attitudes of British society towards Polish refugees.³⁶

Apart from books and articles dealing with the general history of the PSM, another segment of the existing literature on the topic focused on the personal lives and professional achievements of prominent people associated with the PSM. Some Polish authors were especially interested in those individuals who returned home after the end of the war and pursued successful academic careers in Communist Poland. Witold Brzeziński traced the professional achievements and scientific legacy of Professor Tadeusz Sokołowski, former lecturer at the PSM and founder of a surgical 'school' in post-war Szczecin.³⁷ Zdzisław Ryn and Witold Lisowski published several articles about the wartime experiences and post-war academic achievements of Antoni Kępiński, a PSM graduate who became Poland's most renowned psychiatrist.³⁸ Anita Magowska analysed the life and career of Antoni

³³ Małgorzata Misterska, *Rozwój dermatologii uniwersyteckiej w Poznaniu do końca XX wieku*, Doctoral dissertation, Poznań: Poznań University of Medical Sciences, 2007, pp.93-99.

³⁴ Henryk Siciński, *Rozwój pediatrii uniwersyteckiej w Poznaniu w XX wieku*, Doctoral dissertation, Poznań: Poznań University of Medical Sciences, 2011, pp. 58-60.

³⁵ Martin Eastwood, and Anne Jenkinson, *A History of the Western General Hospital: Craighleith Poorhouse, Military Hospital, Modern Teaching Hospital*, Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1995, pp. 73-81.

³⁶ W.A. Wojcik, 'Time in Context – The Polish School of Medicine and Paderewski Hospital in Edinburgh 1941 to 1949', *Proceedings of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh*, 31 (2001), pp. 69-76.

³⁷ Witold Brzeziński, *Tadeusz Sokołowski i jego szkoła chirurgiczna*, Doctoral dissertation, Szczecin: Pomeranian Medical University, 1995.

³⁸ Zdzisław Ryn, 'Antoni Kępiński w Edynburgu', *Życie Literackie*, 1376 (1978), p. 10; idem, 'Mistrz Antoni Kępiński', *Miesięcznik Alma Mater*, Dec 2001, retrieved on 19 Apr 2012 from:

Jurasz, while Alina Midro examined the biography of Professor Francis Crew.³⁹

Both men played an essential role in establishing the PSM.

In contrast to authors who focused on prominent individuals, Jakub Gąsiorowski, a physician and historian of medicine from the Pomeranian Medical University in Szczecin, attempted to provide a collective biography of all 227 graduates of the PSM.⁴⁰ His book includes a general overview of student experience at the PSM but largely consists of biographical notes of varying length, composed on the basis of personal communication with the surviving graduates and archival research in Edinburgh, London and Warsaw. An updated English-language version of the book was published in Poland in 2012.⁴¹

Other authors were interested in refugee physicians who originated from specific regions of Poland. Marian Łysiak investigated the careers of six PSM graduates who were in one way or another associated with the Polish provincial town of Toruń.⁴² Kazimierz Nowak, the President of the Polish Medical Association in Great Britain, analysed the biographies of 16 lecturers and 35 graduates who originated from Cracow. In his short booklet, Nowak claims that the individual intellectual and spiritual formation which those physicians had obtained in pre-war Cracow determined the specific character of their professional, academic and social life in Edinburgh. He consequently argues that the history of the PSM should be understood not only as a unique and extraordinary episode, but also as a broader psychological-cultural phenomenon that grew out of past factors and developed into

<http://pracownia4.wordpress.com/2011/08/31/mistrz-antoni-kepinski/>; idem, '30. rocznica śmierci Antoniego Kępińskiego: Nieśmiertelny znak', *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 2761 (2002), retrieved on 17 May 2012 from: <http://www.tygodnik.com.pl/numer/276123/ryn.html>; Witold Lisowski, 'Prekursorzy medycyny polskiej', *Skalpel*, 18.1 (2009), pp. 23-28.

³⁹ Anita Magowska, 'A Doctor Facing Turbulent Times: Antoni Tomasz Jurasz, Citizen of the World', *World Journal of Surgery*, 35 (2011), pp. 2167-2171; Alina Midro, 'Prof. Francis Albert Eley Crew – wielki przyjaciel Polaków z minionej epoki', *AHiFM*, 58.2 (1995), pp. 127-132.

⁴⁰ Jakub Gąsiorowski, *Losy absolwentów Polskiego Wydziału Lekarskiego w Edynburgu*, Toruń: MADO, 2004.

⁴¹ Idem, *The Story of the Graduates of the Polish School of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh 1941-1949*, transl. by Eve and Zbigniew Sobol, Szczecin: Publisher of the Pomeranian Medical University in Szczecin, 2012.

⁴² Marian Łysiak, 'Śladami toruńskich absolwentów polskiego wydziału lekarskiego w Edynburgu', *Meritum*, 2 (2008), retrieved on 13 Feb 2012 from: <http://www.gazetalekarska.pl/xml/oil/oil67/gazeta/numery/n2008/n200802/n20080206>.

the future. Nowak defines this so-called ‘Edinburgh phenomenon’ as an amalgamation of loyalties for both Polish and Scottish academic environments and cultures as well as the maintenance of these allegiances in the later lives of the PSM’s graduates and members of staff.⁴³

Several Polish academic institutions symbolically adopted the traditions of the PSM in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The Polish medical faculty in Edinburgh was, for example, reinvented as one of the predecessors of the Military Medical Academy in Łódź (now part of the Łódź University of Medical Sciences). This was inspired by the predominance of soldiers among the PSM’s staff and students.⁴⁴ In most cases such symbolic adoptions were used by Polish medical and academic institutions to foster closer contacts with the University of Edinburgh. However, this ‘appropriation of memory’ could also result in attempts to represent the PSM as a wartime continuation of a specific Polish university. This is illustrated by the case of the Medical Academy in Poznań (now the Karol Marcinkowski University of Medical Sciences in Poznań).

Appropriation of memory

The Medical Academy in Poznań recognised the PSM as a part of its own heritage in the 1980s. Poznań’s claim is based on the fact that a dozen Polish members of the teaching staff and 25 students arrived in Edinburgh from the pre-war University of Poznań. All graduates of the PSM were officially recognised in 1986 as alumni of the Medical Academy in Poznań.⁴⁵ Representatives of the University of Edinburgh and surviving graduates of the PSM have also been invited to attend university ceremonies in Poznań.⁴⁶ This appropriation of history is perhaps best visible in the

⁴³ Kazimierz Nowak, *Udział Krakowskich Lekarzy w Fenomenie Polskiego Wydziału Lekarskiego Uniwersytetu w Edynburgu*, Kraków: Zakład Historii Medycyny Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2006.

⁴⁴ EUA, GD46/Box 6: Correspondence and private papers of Wiktor Tomaszewski, 1991-1992. See also Brunon Lesław Imieliński, ‘Polski Wydział Lekarski Uniwersytetu w Edynburgu, w latach II wojny światowej (w 50. Rocznice zakończenia działalności)’, *Medycyna Nowożytna: Studia nad Kulturą Medyczną*, 6.2 (1999), p. 124; Czesław Jeśman, ‘50 rocznica utworzenia Wojskowej Akademii Medycznej’, *Skalpel*, 17.5 (2008), pp. 15-18.

⁴⁵ Misterska, *Rozwój dermatologii*, p. 99; Anon., ‘Stowarzyszenie Absolwentów, Uniwersytet Medyczny imienia Karola Marcinkowskiego w Poznaniu (hereafter UMKM) website, available at: http://www.ump.edu.pl/index.php?strona=sub_50_1312195203.

⁴⁶ UMKM, *Biuletyn Informacyjny*, 4.141 (2007), p. 4; *ibid.*, 5.157 (2010), p. 10.

works of Professor Roman K. Meissner of the Karol Marcinkowski University. He devoted considerable efforts to prove that the PSM was an informal continuation of the pre-war medical faculty in Poznań.⁴⁷ Meissner's thesis apparently gained a lot of credit in Polish academic circles, as witnessed by the fact that his claims were reiterated in two doctoral dissertations on the history of university medicine in Poznań.⁴⁸ Moreover, during the celebrations of the 90th anniversary of the founding of the first medical faculty in Poznań in 2010, Professor Zygmunt Szymeja mentioned in his speech that although the University of Poznań had been liquidated by the Germans in 1939 it opened its own faculty of medicine in a foreign country, obviously alluding to the PSM.⁴⁹

The existing literature on the PSM can be seen as a dialectic synthesis of two opposing narratives; on the one hand, a desire to present the Polish medical faculty in Edinburgh as a role model of Polish-British cooperation, and on the other hand, a tendency to treat it as a uniquely Polish, or even uniquely Cracovian or Poznanian, institution. The problem with conceptualising the PSM as a trans-national phenomenon is symptomatic of the paradigms that shape the literature on Polish wartime migration to Britain.

Historiography of Polish wartime migration to Britain

The problem of emigration in Polish-language literature is traditionally analysed in relation to the historical development of the Polish nation. Political, social and cultural aspects of host societies are typically kept in the background of predominantly national narratives. Authors of Polish historical works on wartime migration to Britain tend to be largely Polonocentric, often overemphasise the political importance of the Polish government-in-exile, and consciously engage in polemics with the official historiography of the People's Republic of Poland, which

⁴⁷ Roman K. Meissner, 'Polski Wydział Lekarski w świetle „nowych” dokumentów archiwalnych', in idem (ed.), *Księga pamiątkowa w 80-lecie Uniwersyteckiego Wydziału Lekarskiego w Poznaniu: studia i materiały*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Akademii Medycznej im. Karola Marcinkowskiego, 2001, pp. 340-347.

⁴⁸ Misterska, *Rozwój dermatologii*, pp. 93-99; Siciński, *Rozwój pediatrii*, pp. 58-60.

⁴⁹ Zygmunt Szymeja's speech, 19 Nov 2010, quoted in UMKM, *Biuletyn Informacyjny*, 5.157 (2010), p.21.

for ideological reasons tabooed the issue of anti-Communist émigrés in the West.⁵⁰ A more comprehensive approach was only recently adopted by Mieczysław Nurek and Jerzy Adam Radomski, who published well-researched monographs on the post-war demobilisation of the Polish Armed Forces in the West, which fought against Germany under British operational command.⁵¹ Nurek outlines in great detail the very complicated economic, political, and social challenges the British government was faced with while solving the problem of resettling those Polish ex-servicemen who refused to repatriate to Communist-controlled Poland, while Radomski concentrates on the personal concerns of Polish ex-servicemen who fell victim to political persecution after returning home as well as those Poles who remained in Britain and often suffered social deprivation and economic hardship.

In English-language historiography, on the other hand, the problem of Polish migration to Britain is rarely analysed as a separate phenomenon. In general, despite tensions in the early post-war period, the Poles are customarily seen as a model, almost 'invisible' migrant group.⁵² In a historical survey of different waves of immigration to Britain, V. G. Kiernan only briefly mentions Polish ex-soldiers who remained in Britain after the war, and argues that despite a short-lasting wave of anti-Polish prejudice, which was apparently caused by conflicts over women, their settlement and assimilation was achieved rather easily.⁵³ In a similar fashion, James Walvin claims that, unlike the many other post-war immigrants to Britain, the Poles could not raise legitimate complaints against their new country because, after they had gone through all the horrors of war, British society provided them with the desired stability, freedom and tranquillity. In Walvin's view, the irritation caused by

⁵⁰ Anna Kicingier and Agnieszka Weinar (eds), 'State of the Art of the Migration Research in Poland', *CEFMR Working Paper*, 1 (2007), p. 29; Mieczysław B. Biskupski, 'Polish Historiography in Post-World War II Great Britain', *The Polish Review*, 53.4 (2008), pp. 446-453.

⁵¹ Mieczysław Nurek, *Gorycz zwycięstwa: Los Polских Sił Zbrojnych na Zachodzie po II wojnie światowej, 1945-1949*, Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2009; Jerzy Adam Radomski, *Demobilizacja Polских Sił Zbrojnych na Zachodzie w latach 1945-1951*, Kraków: Fundacja Centrum Dokumentacji Czynu Niepodległościowego, 2009.

⁵² Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society, 1871-1971*, Houndmills, Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1988, p. 247.

⁵³ V.G. Kiernan, 'Britons Old and New', in Colin Holmes (ed.), *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1978, p. 54.

post-war hostility towards Polish settlers was insignificant as compared to the traumas they had experienced before they were offered shelter in Britain.⁵⁴

In contrast to this traditional discourse, Colin Holmes draws a more ambivalent picture of the post-war settlement of Polish exiles. Holmes agrees that the collective arrangement of employment and housing, orchestrated by the British government through the Polish Resettlement Act of 1947, prevented economic conflicts between Polish immigrants and British workers, but he points out that the Poles nevertheless encountered widespread politically motivated hostility, advanced especially by British Communists and pro-Soviet trade union activists.⁵⁵

Jerzy Zubrzycki, a Polish-born Australian sociologist, was the first to investigate the origin, formation and evolution of the Polish post-war community in Britain as a separate research subject. In his classical study from 1956, he presents a very detailed account of the demographic, political, sociological and economic aspects of Polish post-war settlement in Britain, in reference to the historical precedents from the nineteenth century, and in comparison with Polish immigrants to other countries of destinations, such as the USA, France and Brazil. Zubrzycki introduces the concept of 'adjustment' which presupposes that immigrant groups respond to the social, economic, and political conditions of the receiving community through conflict, accommodation or assimilation. The general response of the Polish community in Britain is accordingly characterised as adjustment by gradual accommodation, hindered by the highly intellectual and professional profile of this particular community of migrants who desired to preserve Polish culture threatened by the German and Soviet occupation of their homeland.⁵⁶

Two decades after Zubrzycki, Sheila Patterson, a British social anthropologist, analysed the internal organisation and values of the Polish community in Britain, along with the major factors that determined the

⁵⁴ James Walvin, *Passage to Britain: Immigration In British History and Politics*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1984, p. 163.

⁵⁵ Colin Holmes, 'Immigration into Britain', *History Today* (1985), pp. 16-17; idem, *John Bull's Island*, pp. 247-250.

⁵⁶ Jerzy Zubrzycki, *Polish Immigrants in Britain: Study of Adjustment*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956.

strengthening, the weakening or the redefinition of its sense of national identity.⁵⁷ Patterson argues that the first generation of Poles in Britain mostly managed to develop a form of ‘cultural pluralism’ that allowed them to retain their own culture and language, practice Roman Catholic religion in their own churches, and form their own organisations. At the same time, this pluralism supposedly enabled them to achieve ‘economic assimilation’, which she defines as success in employment, ability to speak English, and a naturalisation certificate. Patterson argues that this specific development of the Polish community was facilitated by British society’s unique combination of assimilation pressure and limited tolerance of certain cultural differences. Such an attitude was exemplified in the long-term plan to resettle 150,000 Polish ex-servicemen and their families who remained in Britain after the end of the Second World War. According to Patterson, this remarkably successful scheme of ‘institutional resettlement’ was the first large-scale official plan to integrate an ethnic minority in British history.⁵⁸

Patterson acknowledges the fact that the preservation of national identity and group solidarity was further reinforced by politically and economically motivated anti-Polish xenophobia.⁵⁹ Laura Hilton similarly argues that cultural nationalism combined with a belief in the special mission of Polish exiles was a survival mechanism that was employed by displaced Poles who were unwilling to return to a Communist-dominated homeland.⁶⁰ The difficulties of adjusting to a new life in a culturally, politically and linguistically alien environment are also emphasised in the studies of Scottish historians of Polish origins, such as Peter D. Stachura, Tomasz Ziarski-Kernberg and Madeleine C. Stachura.⁶¹ They point out that anti-Polish

⁵⁷ Sheila Patterson, ‘Immigrants and Minority Groups in British Society’, in Simon Abbott (ed.), *The Prevention of Racial Discrimination in Britain*, London: Oxford University Press, 1971, pp. 21-53; Sheila Patterson, ‘The Poles: An Exile Community In Britain’, in James L. Watson (ed.), *Between Two Cultures: Migrants and Minorities in Britain*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1977, pp. 214-241.

⁵⁸ Patterson, ‘Immigrants and Minority Groups’, pp. 51-53.

⁵⁹ Idem, ‘The Poles’, pp. 238-241.

⁶⁰ Laura Hilton, ‘Cultural Nationalism in Exile: The Case of Polish and Latvian Displaced Persons’, *The Historian*, 71.2 (2009), pp. 280-317.

⁶¹ Peter D. Stachura (ed.), *Themes of Modern Polish History: Proceedings of a Symposium on 28 March 1992 In Honour of the Centenary of General Stanislaw Maczek*, Glasgow: The Polish Social and Educational Society, 1992; idem, ‘The Emergence of the Polish Community in Early Postwar Scotland’, *Slavonica* (1997), pp. 27-40; idem, *The Poles in Britain, 1940-2000: From Betrayal to*

sentiments and quasi-racist prejudices were particularly strong in post-war Scotland, where the political and economic hostility towards newcomers was augmented by the fierce anti-Catholicism of fundamentalist Protestants. Peter Stachura argues that although xenophobic sentiments persisted in Scotland for a long time, the intermarriages between Polish men and Scottish women had been the decisive factor that eventually helped in breaking down the barriers between the two communities.⁶² Most historians agree that these tensions eventually eased in the 1960s, and the Poles were no longer perceived as a threat.⁶³ When temporary exiles transformed into permanent settlers, the Poles began to be seen as good workers, solid citizens and family men.⁶⁴

The Formation of the Polish Community in Great Britain, 1939-1950 by Keith Sword, Norman Davies and Jan Ciechanowski was published in 1989 and remains to be the most comprehensive account of this topic.⁶⁵ This collaborative volume grew out of the Polish Migration Project, a joint initiative of the MB Grabowski Fund and the University College London's School of Slavonic and East European Studies.⁶⁶ Following the research interests of its three co-authors, the book covers the historical, political and social anthropological aspects of Polish immigration to Britain. The character of this undertaking unfortunately requires the depth of historical analysis to be quite superficial at times. The date of publication also means that the authors could not have taken into account more recent approaches to migration studies, and instead mostly relied on the outdated assimilation paradigm.

Assimilation, London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2004; Tomasz Ziarski-Kernberg, *The Polish Community in Scotland*, Hove: Caldra House, 2000; Madeleine C. Stachura, 'Polish Emigration and Settlement: The Examples of the United States and Scotland, 1870-1950, in Peter D. Stachura (ed.), *Perspectives on Polish History*, Stirling: The Centre for Research in Polish History, University of Stirling, 2001, pp. 98-113.

⁶² P. Stachura, 'Emergence of the Polish Community', p. 36.

⁶³ Patterson, 'The Poles', pp. 238-241; Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p. 247; Ziarski-Kernberg, *Polish Community in Scotland*, pp. 192-203.

⁶⁴ Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p. 247.

⁶⁵ Keith Sword, with Norman Davies and Jan Ciechanowski, *The Formation of the Polish Community in Great Britain, 1939-1950*, London: School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London, 1989.

⁶⁶ Jerzy Zubrzycki, 'Whither Emigracja? The Future of the Polish Community in Great Britain', *The Polish Review*, 38.4 (1993), p. 403.

A review of the existing literature on Polish wartime migration to Britain reveals that British and Polish historiographical traditions tend to focus on the migrants' relationship with either the sending country or the receiving society. These nation-centred narratives often fail to represent the migratory process in its entirety and usually neglect the historiographical and theoretical debates on population movements. Books and articles dealing specifically with the PSM likewise ignore the international context of forced migration of intellectuals in mid-twentieth century Europe, and perpetuate the PSM's image as an institution without precedence and without analogy.

Literature on academic refugees

Easily available English-language literature reveals that similar educational arrangements were set up by and for academic refugees from other Central and Eastern European countries before and during the Second World War. For instance, Irina Mchitarjan, Antonín Kostlán and Soňa Štrbáňová, Alena Morávková, and Elizabeth White studied educational institutions which were set up in interwar Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia for refugees from revolutionary Russia. The Czech capital was even known for a time as the 'Russian Oxford', when the city became a permanent seat of some 15,000 Russian and Ukrainian refugees who fled from the Bolshevik revolution. The government of Czechoslovakia decided to subsidise the education of almost 5,000 émigré students in order to preserve Russian democratic culture and to assist the creative work of refugee scholars, scientists, and artists. A number of significant academic institutions were established in Prague, including the Russian Free University, the Ukrainian Free University (moved from Vienna), and the Russian Faculty of Law at the Charles University. The staff of those institutions were recruited mostly from among émigré scholars, but some courses were also offered by Czechoslovak academics.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Irina Mchitarjan, 'Prague as the centre of Russian educational emigration: Czechoslovakia's educational policy for Russian emigrants (1918–1938)', *Paedagogica Historica*, 45.3 (2009), pp. 369–402; Antonín Kostlán and Soňa Štrbáňová, 'Czech Scholars in Exile, 1948-1989', in Shula Marks, Paul Weindling and Laura Wintour (eds), *In Defence of Learning: The Plight, Persecution, and Placement of Academic Refugees, 1933-1980s*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 239-241; Alena Morávková, 'The Friend of Czechoslovakia, scholar Dmytro Čyževskij', in Marco Stella,

Analogous institutions for intellectual exiles from Nazi-dominated Europe were set up in the USA in the 1930s and 1940s. The New School for Social Research in New York created in 1933 a special department of social sciences, specifically designed to host an entire group of German refugee academics. This ‘University in Exile’, later renamed as the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Sciences, was an autonomous institution with independent administration, own budget and separate course offerings. The Graduate Faculty included many prominent economists and political scientists, and offered both undergraduate and graduate courses to American students.⁶⁸ The Frankfurt Institute of Social Research was moved as an entity first to Geneva, then to Paris, and eventually found a more permanent seat at the facilities generously offered by Columbia University. Unlike academic refugees hosted by the New School for Social Research, the scholars transplanted to the USA together with the Frankfurt Institute did not offer courses to American students, and thus could focus more on developing their pre-exilic research interests. Klaus-Dieter Krohn argues that these intellectuals did not have to struggle too much with adjusting to the American university system, but a long-term academic isolation of the Institute only added to the hermetic theoretical positions of its leading scholars, such as Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, and Leo Lowenthal.⁶⁹

The New School for Social Research in New York also provided a safe haven for Francophone academic refugees. The *École Libre des Hautes Études*, which operated in the years 1942-1946, was chartered by the Free French and Belgian governments-in-exile, and was funded by the Rockefeller Foundation. The Free School was completely autonomous and, throughout its history, offered some two hundred courses to a total audience of nearly one thousand French-speakers. Its faculty was composed of over sixty instructors, including many acclaimed scholars, such as the philosopher Jacques Maritain, the anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, and the linguist Roman Jakobson. However, despite the institution's formal

Antonin Kostlán and Sona Štrabánová (eds), *Scholars in Exile and Dictatorships of the 20th Century, May 24-26, 2011, Prague. Conference Proceedings*, Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2011, pp. 262-266; Elizabeth White, ‘The Struggle Against Denationalisation: The Russian Emigration in Europe and Education in the 1920s’, *Revolutionary Russia*, 26.2 (2013), pp. 128-146.

⁶⁸ Klaus-Dieter Krohn, *Intellectuals in Exile: Refugee Scholars and the New School for Social Research*, Amherst: The University of Massachusetts, 1993, pp. 59-91.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 189-197.

accreditation with the French higher education system, the Free School functioned more as an ‘open university’ for adults rather than a proper university for refugee students. Aristide Zolberg argues that the *École Libre* primarily served as a propaganda tool of the Free French government which tried to mobilise political support of American elites.⁷⁰

Unlike the PSM, which was set up by a diplomatically recognised Polish government-in-exile in London at a time when all Polish-language institutions of higher education were closed in the occupied homeland, the abovementioned émigré academic centres in Czechoslovakia and the USA were not affiliated to the governments of the USSR, Nazi Germany or Vichy France, which maintained separate national university networks. American institutions for German-speaking and Francophone refugees offered less comprehensive programmes than the PSM, awarded fewer degrees, and the lectures were usually delivered to native audiences rather than to fellow refugee students.

A comparison with the above-mentioned institutions does not deprive the PSM of its historical significance but at the same time allows one to analyse Polish wartime experiences in more universally applicable terms. Previous historians of the PSM, moreover, failed to notice that Polish academics and students arrived in Britain as part of a larger wave of medical refugees from continental Europe. The peculiar story of the PSM was for too long analysed in isolation from the experiences of German, Austrian, Italian, Hungarian, Czechoslovak, Yugoslav and other medical practitioners and students who found asylum on British soil in the 1930s and 1940s.

Literature on medical refugees in Britain

Professor Paul Weindling from Oxford Brookes University pioneered research on medical refugees in Britain in the early 1990s.⁷¹ By 2012, Weindling had managed to collect an impressive database of 5,382 physicians, dentists, psychotherapists, nurses

⁷⁰ Aristide R. Zolberg, with the assistance of Agnès Callamanrd, ‘The *École Libre* at the New School, 1941-1946’, *Social Research*, 65.4 (1998), pp. 921-951.

⁷¹ Paul Weindling, ‘The Contribution of Central European Jews to Medical Science and Practice in Britain, the 1930s-1950s’ in Werner E. Mosse (ed.), *Second Chance: Two Centuries of German-speaking Jews in the United Kingdom*, Tübingen: Mohr, 1991, pp. 243-254; Paul Weindling, ‘A transfusion of medical expertise: Medical refugees in Britain, 1930-1950’, *The Wellcome Trust Review*, 4 (1995), pp. 43-47.

and other healthcare workers who found asylum in Britain and the Republic of Ireland between the 1930s and the 1950s, including future medical professionals who left their countries of origin as children or students.⁷² A growing interest in the contributions of medical refugees in Britain and beyond culminated in the appearance of a special issue of the journal *Social History of Medicine* in 2012.⁷³ Scholars in this field concentrate on several major themes: general attitudes towards refugee practitioners, medical refugees from different medical specialisms and countries of origins, regional differences in the country of asylum, and the role of gender and age in the refugee experience.

Karola Decker argues in an overview article from 2003 that the British medical establishment, embodied by the Royal College of Physicians of London and the British Medical Association (hereafter BMA), was opposed to the admission of aliens into British medicine, and pressured the Home Office to restrict the influx of refugee physicians in the 1930s.⁷⁴ However, Weindling points to empirical flaws in Decker's analysis and convincingly demonstrates that the British medical 'establishment' was actually divided on the question of refugees. The admission of persecuted physicians from continental Europe was advocated on humanitarian grounds by many prominent academics and clinicians who additionally saw in the influx of scientifically-trained refugees an opportunity to modernise British medicine. In turn, exclusionary policies were promoted not only by conservative elites and their representative bodies but also by many rank-and-file individuals and professional organisations, such as the Medical Practitioners' Union.⁷⁵

Medical refugees were caught up in the process of a structural transformation of British medicine which culminated in the establishment of the National Health Service (hereafter NHS) in 1948. The situation of alien practitioners was dynamic and could rapidly change from dismissal and internment of German and Austrian

⁷² Idem, 'Medical Refugees in Great Britain and Northern Ireland 1930-45: A Total Population Approach to Psychiatric Refugees', unpublished conference paper, 2012, p. 1.

⁷³ Idem, 'Medical Refugees in Britain and the Wider World, 1930-1960: Introduction', *Social History of Medicine*, 22.3 (2009), pp. 451-459.

⁷⁴ Karola Decker, 'Divisions and Diversity: The Complexities of Medical Refuge in Britain, 1933-1948', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 77 (2003), pp. 850-873.

⁷⁵ Paul Weindling, 'Medical Refugees and the Modernisation of British Medicine, 1930-1960', *Social History of Medicine*, 22.3 (2009), pp. 489-511.

refugees in 1939-1940 to temporary recognition of foreign medical qualifications in 1941.⁷⁶ Certain groups of refugees were more favourably received than others, and the availability of employment usually depended on the political situation, place of residence and medical specialisation of the individual applicant. For instance, regional differences in attitudes towards medical refugees in Britain were revealed by Paul Weindling and Kenneth Collins through their in-depth case studies of Oxford, Wales and Scotland.⁷⁷

The existing research on academic and medical refugees mostly focuses on predominantly Jewish émigrés from Germany and Austria. In contrast, the experiences of wartime refugees from other European countries, such as Czechoslovakia and Poland, have been largely ignored. Weindling partially redressed this neglect by analysing the reception of Czech medical refugees in Britain, including the setting up of special educational provisions for Czech students at the University of Oxford. Unlike Jews and non-Jews from Germanic countries, Czech refugees generally profited from the status of so-called ‘friendly aliens’ and were allowed to set up various didactic, research and clinical facilities in wartime Britain.⁷⁸ In turn, Kenneth Collins mentions the founding of the PSM in the broader context of Scotland’s relatively liberal policy towards foreign practitioners and students.⁷⁹ Even a selective overview of the existing literature demonstrates that the experiences of Polish refugees in Edinburgh were by no means unique and unprecedented. The case study of the PSM should therefore be analysed in reference to the historiographical and theoretical debates on the involuntary migration of European intellectuals and professionals in the 1930s and 1940s.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 492.

⁷⁷ Idem, ‘The Impact of German Medical Scientists on British Medicine: A Case Study of Oxford, 1933-1945’, in Mitchell G. Ash and Alfons Söllner (eds), *Forced Migration and Scientific Change: Émigré German-Speaking Scientists and Scholars after 1933*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 86-114; Paul Weindling, ‘The Jewish Medical Refugee Crisis and Wales, 1933-1945’, in Pamela Michael and Charles Webster (eds), *Health and Society in Twentieth-Century Wales*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2006, pp. 183-200; Kenneth Collins, ‘European Refugee Physicians in Scotland, 1933-1945’, *Social History of Medicine*, 22.3 (2009), pp. 513-530.

⁷⁸ Paul Weindling, ‘Medical Refugees from Czechoslovakia in the UK: A Total Population Approach to Assistance Organisations and Careers, 1938-1945’, in Stella, Kostlán and Štrabánová (eds), *Scholars in Exile*, pp. 388-389.

⁷⁹ Collins, ‘European Refugee Physicians’, pp. 527-528.

Survey of primary sources

Weindling points out that a major challenge in conducting research on medical refugees is caused by the fact that relevant records are fragmented and scattered among different public, professional and private repositories.⁸⁰ This observation holds true for primary sources pertaining to the history of the PSM. They can be divided into ten types: archival collections; legal acts, parliamentary records and government gazettes; registers, directories and calendars; biographical and genealogical databases; printed documentary sources; published memoirs, reminiscences and interviews; unpublished interviews and private papers; poems; newspapers and periodicals; and internet sources. The three more distinguishable groups of sources will be discussed in more detail below.

Archival records

Institutional records pertaining to the activities of the PSM are spread among four different repositories: Edinburgh University Archives, the Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum in London, The National Archives in Kew, and the Hoover Institution Archives in Stanford, California.

Edinburgh University Archives hold eight boxes of original records of the PSM, including documents concerning the inauguration in 1941, six volumes of minutes of Faculty meetings, student record schedules of graduates (the so-called ‘Black Book’), and records of non-completing students. These mostly Polish-language records were retained by the University of Edinburgh after the closing of the PSM in 1949. A separate collection of eleven boxes, two photographic albums and a diploma tube were donated to the University’s Main Library by Wiktor Tomaszewski in the 1980s and 1990s. Tomaszewski’s papers are an extremely chaotic amalgamation of institutional records, unpublished memoirs, correspondence files, newspaper cuttings, photographs, and various other types of sources. A significant portion of those documents is in English but they are largely inaccessible to historians due to data protection concerns and a lack of cataloguing.

⁸⁰ Paul Weindling, ‘Medical Refugees as Practitioners and Patients: Public, Private and Practice Records’ in Andrea Hammel and Anthony Grenville (eds), *Refugee Archives: Theory and Practice*, Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2007, pp. 141-156.

The Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum Archive in London contains official records of the Polish government-in-exile, including papers of the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education which supervised the activities of the PSM between 1941 and 1945. The Hoover Institution Archives at Stanford University also holds relevant records of the Polish Foreign Ministry and the Polish Embassy in Britain. These documents have been digitalised and are available via the *Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe* (Polish National Digital Archive).

A significant collection of records pertaining to the history of the PSM is also held by The National Archives in Kew. The British government's policy towards the PSM is documented in the papers of the Cabinet Office, the Foreign Office, the Treasury and the Home Office. The collection of the Department of Education and Science contains records of the Committee for the Education of Poles in Great Britain, an autonomous body that was staffed by both British and Polish officials and was responsible for supervising the resettlement of Polish youth in Britain in the years 1947-1954. In turn, documents of the Ministry of Health contain sources pertaining to the employment of Polish refugee physicians in post-war Britain. Curiously enough, records held in The National Archives have been overlooked by all previous historians of the PSM, even though these sources are extremely important for the proper understanding of the origins and eventual closing down of the Polish medical faculty in Edinburgh.

Additional collections of documents concerning Polish refugees who were associated with the PSM are held in various archives in Scotland, England and Poland. Individual but interesting documents are found in the Lothian Health Services Archive, the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh Library and Archives, and the Scottish Catholic Archives, all located in Edinburgh. The Bodleian Library of the University of Oxford contains the Archives of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, which holds correspondence and personal files of several academic refugees from the PSM. Paul Weindling's Database of European Medical Refugees in Great Britain at Oxford Brookes University also contains many valuable sources on Polish medical refugees, such as personal questionnaires and interviews. In Poland, *Archiwum Akt Nowych* (Central Archive of Modern Records)

in Warsaw contains records of the Polish Embassy in Britain and the Ministry of Health which document wartime and post-war activities of medical refugees at the PSM.

Last but not least, audio or video interviews with several Polish medical refugees were recorded by the Imperial War Museum in London, the National Library of Australia in Canberra, the *Muzeum Powstania Warszawskiego* (Museum of the Warsaw Uprising) in Warsaw, and the (British) Biochemical Society. Most of these oral history sources are available online. Digitalised video recordings documenting the history of the PSM are also held in the Royal Infirmary Library in Edinburgh and the Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum Film Archive in London.

Published memoirs, reminiscences and interviews

Institutional records and other archival sources pertaining to the PSM are supplemented by more subjective and personal memoirs and reminiscences of medical refugees who settled after the war in Poland, Britain or North America. Wiktor Tomaszewski published a comprehensive account of his experiences at the PSM in the 1970s.⁸¹ Bronisław Rozenblat (Charles Roberts), who obtained an MD degree at the PSM, included a brief recollection of wartime Edinburgh in his autobiography written under the pseudonym of Charles Pole.⁸² In the 2000s, the Scots at War Trust, a research institution concerned with soldiers who served in Scottish regiments during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, conducted interviews with Polish ex-servicemen resident in Scotland. The resulting publication included a short reminiscence of Kazmierz Durkacz, a graduate of the PSM.⁸³ Lukas Kulczycki and W.J. Mitus, PSM graduates who settled in the USA, published lengthy memoirs which include chapters about their student experiences in

⁸¹ Wiktor Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi: Wspomnienia wojenne ze służby zdrowia i z Polskiego Wydziału Lekarskiego w Edynburgu*, 2nd ed., London: White Eagle Press, 1976.

⁸² Charles Pole, *Medicine, Murder and Merriment: a doctor's life*, Pinner: Pentagon Books, 1976.

⁸³ Kazmierz Durkacz, 'Reminiscence of Dr Durkacz', in Diana M. Henderson (ed.), *The Lion and the Eagle: Reminiscences of Polish Second World War Veterans in Scotland*, Dunfermline: Cualann Press, 2001, pp. 45-48.

Edinburgh.⁸⁴ The reminiscences of Stanley Kryszek, a PSM graduate who worked as a physician in South Africa, Malawi, Canada and the USA, as well as Wiktor Tomaszewski's memoirs of his life in pre-war Poland, were published posthumously by their relatives.⁸⁵ Alicja Bober-Michałowska's autobiographical books were published, one before and one after her death in 2007, by a public library in the Polish provincial town of Kolbuszowa. Her unique memoirs, documenting the day-to-day lives of Polish female students in Edinburgh, were not available to previous historians.⁸⁶ Several Polish- and English-language interviews with PSM graduates appeared in print or in digital media.⁸⁷ Interesting information about Polish medical refugees can also be found in memoirs and interviews with men and women who were not personally associated with the PSM but had relatives or friends in wartime Edinburgh.

Newspapers and periodicals

The activities of the PSM were reported in contemporary English-language newspapers and periodicals in Scotland, England, Ireland, the USA, Canada, and Australia. Back issues of English-language periodicals are mostly available through digital archives and online databases. Stories about Polish medical refugees were

⁸⁴ Lucas L. Kulczycki, *From Adversity to Victory: History of a Physician Challenged at the Crossroads of Life*, Warsaw: Domena, 2002; W.J. Mitus, *A Long Episode*, Prospect, KY: Harmony House Publishers, 2006.

⁸⁵ Jean Kryszek Chard (ed.), *Reminiscences of Stanley H. Kryszek*, s.l.: Xlibris Corporation, 2007; Wiktor Tomaszewski and Roman K. Meissner, *Wspomnienia z lat dawnych: Publikacja jubileuszowa z okazji 100-lecia urodzin Wiktora Tomaszewskiego*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMKM, 2007.

⁸⁶ Alicja Bober-Michałowska, *Życie autorem*, Kolbuszowa: Miejska i Powiatowa Biblioteka Publiczna w Kolbuszowej, 2005; eadem, *W gościnnym Albionie*, Kolbuszowa: Miejska i Powiatowa Biblioteka Publiczna w Kolbuszowej, 2013.

⁸⁷ For some examples, see Daniel Pick and Lyndal Roper, 'Psychoanalysis, Dreams, History: an Interview with Hanna Segal', *History Workshop Journal*, 49 (2000), 161-170; Daniel Pick and Jane Milton, 'Memories of Melanie Klein: Part 1. Interview with Hanna Segal', *The Melanie Klein Trust Website* (2001), retrieved on 14 May 2012 from: <http://www.melanie-klein-trust.org.uk/segalinterview2001.htm>; Sue Lawley and Hanna Segal, 'Dr Hanna Segal', *BBC Radio 4 Desert Island Discs* website, 23 July 2006, retrieved on 14 May 2012 from: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/features/desert-island-discs/castaway/f4f3352b>; Andrzej M. Kobos and Henryk M. Wójcicki, 'Śladami wielkich Polaków: Czas zapisany', *Rotary Club Warszawa-Józefów* (2006), retrieved on 17 May 2012 from: <http://www.rcwarszawa-jozefow.pl/page.php?go=oklubie&content=sladamiwielkichpolakow&sub=wojcicki&PHPSESSID=918512f7ffa332eae1ef82e69103dc12>.

also featured in the Polish émigré press in wartime Britain. Annual reports of the PSM and other relevant articles regularly appeared in *Lekarz Wojskowy: Journal of the Polish Army Medical Corps*, which was published in Edinburgh from 1942 to 1946. The wartime issues of *Lekarz Wojskowy* and many other Polish newspapers and periodicals are held in the National Library of Scotland. Contemporary reports about the activities of the PSM in the 1940s as well as later commemorative articles and obituaries were published in medical and scientific periodicals published in Britain and North America. More than 100 articles pertaining to medical refugees at the PSM appeared in the *BMJ*, the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, the *Canadian Medical Association Journal* and others. Four bound volumes of press cuttings pertaining to the activities of Professor Jurasz and the PSM between 1941 and 1945 are held in the Edinburgh and Scottish Collection of the Central Library in Edinburgh.

Methodological and conceptual approaches

This dissertation will analyse the history of the PSM as a case study in transnational migration. In contrast to traditional narratives that focus either on the homeland or on the host society, this approach offers the possibility of combining Polish and British perspectives, and allows one to analyse the collective biography of medical refugees at the PSM within the broader historiographical and theoretical debates concerning involuntary migration in mid-twentieth-century Europe. A transnational method also answers the challenges posed by the geographical scattering and linguistic division of primary sources pertaining to the history of the PSM.

Transnational history

There is no generally accepted definition of ‘transnational history’. Scholars employ this term in various contexts and tend to use it interchangeably with comparative, international, world and global history. However, regardless of the labels and specific definitions adopted by particular authors, all the proponents of transnational approaches to history agree that their research focuses on past phenomena that

transcended the boundaries of politically defined territories.⁸⁸ Patricia Clavin points out that transnational history explores the movement of people, the formation of networks and the exchange of ideas between various parts of the world.⁸⁹ However, according to Sven Beckert, transnational history does not necessarily have to be global in scope.⁹⁰ It can instead be limited to social, economic or intellectual networks and movements that connect two or more nation-states or geographical regions. Scholars agree that migratory movements and the formation of diasporic communities are probably the most obvious objects of transnational historical research.⁹¹ Enda Delaney, for instance, applied such an approach to his study of twentieth-century Irish emigration to Britain.⁹² He argues that any analysis of the Irish migrant experience should take into account the socioeconomic and cultural conditions prior to leaving Ireland as well as the factors that shaped the migrants' subsequent adaptation to British society.⁹³

Application of a transnational history method

A transnational history method will be used to reconstruct a collective biography of medical refugees who were associated with the PSM between 1941 and 1949. Weindling defines medical refugees as displaced persons in 'all health-care related occupations', including medical researchers, psycho-analysts, dental surgeons, veterinarians, nurses, and medical social workers.⁹⁴ This dissertation will use collective terms 'Polish medical refugees' and 'medical refugees at the PSM' to refer

⁸⁸ C.A. Bayly, Sven Beckert, Matthew Connelly, Isabel Hofmeyr, Wendy Kozol and Patricia Seed, 'AHR Conversation: On Transnational History', *American Historical Review*, 111.5 (2006), pp. 1441–1464; Patricia Clavin, 'Defining Transnationalism', *Contemporary European History*, 14.4 (2005), pp. 421–439; eadem, 'Time, Manner, Place: Writing Modern European History in Global, Transnational and International Contexts', *European History Quarterly*, 40.4 (2010), pp. 624–640; Padraic Kenney and Gerd-Rainer Horn (eds), *Transnational Moments of Change. Europe 1945, 1968, 1989*, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004, pp. ix–xix.

⁸⁹ Clavin, 'Defining Transnationalism', pp. 438–439; eadem, 'Time, Manner, Place', pp. 628–629.

⁹⁰ Bayly et al., 'AHR Conversation', pp. 1445–1446.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1441–1464.

⁹² Enda Delaney, *Demography, State and Society: Irish Migration to Britain, 1921–1971*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000; idem, 'Transnationalism, Networks and Emigration from Post-War Ireland', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 23.2–3 (2005), pp. 425–446; idem, *The Irish in Post-War Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 6–7.

⁹⁴ Weindling, 'Total Population Approach to Psychiatric Refugees', pp. 3–4.

to Polish citizens or ethnic Poles who were members of the teaching staff, undergraduate and postgraduate medical students or pharmacy students at the PSM between 1941 and 1949, including those lecturers and assistants, e.g. in physics or biology, who did not hold medical qualifications. Although their contribution was essential, members of the PSM's administrative and technical staff unfortunately cannot be included in this case study due to a lack of comprehensive data on this group of Polish refugees in Edinburgh. Polish academics who were occasionally invited to provide guest lectures, candidates who applied for admission but were rejected or resigned before matriculation as well as Polish physicians, dentists, pharmacists and nurses who resided in Edinburgh during the war but were not directly associated with the PSM will not be included for the purpose of this dissertation in the category of 'Polish medical refugees'.

A transnational method will be used to link biographical records in Poland, Britain and various countries of post-war settlement in Western Europe, North America, the West Indies, Africa and Australasia. The collective experience of medical refugees at the PSM will be reconstructed through a survey of all extant archival collections of documents in Polish and English, including previously overlooked documents in The National Archives in Kew as well as digitalised documents and interviews from repositories in Britain, Poland, the USA and Australia. Research into the institutional records of the PSM will be supplemented by examining printed documentary sources, published and unpublished memoirs, reminiscences and interviews, newspaper and journal articles, obituaries and Internet sources from all around the world. Additional information about the post-war professional careers of Polish medical refugees will be drawn from medical registers, biographical dictionaries and genealogical databases. While the majority of relevant records are in English or Polish, a few sources in other languages, such as Czech, German, French and Dutch, will also be taken into account when reconstructing wartime and post-war activities of Polish émigrés who were associated with the PSM.

A transnational history approach will provide a general conceptual framework for analysing the primary sources pertaining to the history of the PSM. The examination of particular aspects of the wartime experience of Polish medical

refugees will be informed by more specific analytical tools and theoretical concepts, such as Egon Kunz's and Rune Johansson's models of refugee movements, the triadic relationship between homeland, host society and diaspora, Benedict Anderson's concept of long-distance nationalism and Thomas Tweed's theory of diasporic religion. Post-war professional careers of Polish medical refugees will then be analysed within the context of three different paradigms: the traditional discourse of loss and gain, Mitchell Ash's and Alfons Söllner's concept of global circulation of scholars, and Paul Weindling's total population approach. These theoretical models and analytical concepts will be discussed in detail in the introductions to appropriate chapters.

Synopsis

This dissertation will argue that the history of the PSM can only be understood fully as a part of the Polish medical refugees' broader experience of involuntary migration during and immediately after the Second World War. It will be demonstrated that the professional qualifications, transferable skills and trans-cultural competency obtained at the PSM enabled the majority of them to overcome, to a varying extent, their refugee predicament by pursuing professional and academic careers in different countries of post-war settlement, thus in turn contributing to a global circulation of medical knowledge and practice, especially between the University of Edinburgh and Poland.

The case study of the PSM will challenge the existing historiography of Polish wartime migration to Britain in three interrelated ways. Firstly, an overarching transnational approach to the topic will combine and transcend Polish and British historiographical perspectives on emigration/immigration. Secondly, the application of more universally applicable analytical tools and concepts will enable one to scrutinise the history of the PSM within a broad comparative and theoretical context. Thirdly, this case study will emphasise the global ramifications of Polish migration to Britain by analysing such phenomena as the movement of refugees from Poland to Edinburgh via numerous countries on five different continents, the PSM's wartime contacts with institutions, groups and individuals in Continental Europe, North

America and the Middle East, and the post-war dispersal of Polish medical refugees to virtually all corners of the globe.

This dissertation will not only provide a conceptual blueprint for further research on Polish diaspora but will also contribute to the development of forced migration and refugee studies. Whereas the existing literature tends to focus on displaced academics and qualified professionals, this dissertation will put forward a detailed case study of the experiences of a large cohort of refugee students. Moreover, by analysing the PSM as a transnational educational institution, this dissertation will present a historical role model for successfully dealing with some of the problems caused by involuntary mass immigration, such as employment exclusion and cultural alienation of refugees.

Chapter 1 will analyse the movement of Polish medical refugees to Edinburgh during and immediately after the Second World War in the context of the pre-departure environment from which those refugees originated. The pre-war milieu of Polish medical faculties will be characterised in terms of historical legacies, social and ethno-religious background of students, the impact of anti-Semitic discrimination and violence on Polish Jewish medical students, and the presence of women at Polish medical teaching centres. 'Push-and-pull' factors, resources and barriers as well as subjective motivations that determined the movement of Polish medical refugees towards Edinburgh will be analysed with the use of Kunz's and Johansson's theoretical models. The characteristic features of 406 medical refugees who arrived at the PSM between 1941 and 1947 will then be discussed in terms of pre-war institutional affiliation, age and gender structure, ethno-religious background, social origins, citizenship and place of birth.

The next three chapters will analyse the PSM's triadic relationship with the host society, the homeland and the Polish diaspora. Chapter 2 will examine the relations between Polish medical refugees and British society, especially the University of Edinburgh. This section will emphasise the importance of previous international experiences and trans-cultural competency for the origins and subsequent activities of the PSM. The parallel lives of two 'founding fathers', Professor Francis Crew and Professor Antoni Jurasz, will be considered in more detail. The patterns of academic cooperation at the PSM will be outlined in terms of

theoretical and clinical teaching, medical research, and provision of resources. This chapter will then analyse the challenges to Polish-British collaboration in Edinburgh that eventually led to the closing down of the PSM in 1949.

Chapter 3 will analyse the relations between Polish medical refugees and their lost homeland. The PSM's self-proclaimed exile mission towards occupied Poland will be analysed as a long-distance nationalist project, which aimed at preserving Polish culture and learning in exile, raising awareness about German atrocities against Polish universities and intellectuals, providing financial and material support to displaced compatriots, and supporting Allied war efforts by training medical officers for the Polish Armed Forces in the West. It will also be argued that this long-distance nationalist project to a large extent prevented the resurfacing of pre-war anti-Semitism at the PSM. This chapter will then apply Thomas Tweed's theory of diasporic religion to the study of Roman Catholic exiles at the PSM. It will be demonstrated that Polish Catholics in wartime Edinburgh used religious narratives, diasporic theology, religious institutions, rituals and artifacts to symbolically move across time and space between their lost fatherland in Poland and their adopted home in Scotland. Last but not least, this chapter will analyse the complex reasons why the vast majority of Polish medical refugees did not return to Poland after the war.

Chapter 4 will examine the role played by the PSM within the global Polish diaspora during and after the war. In the conceptual framework of network theory, this chapter will analyse structural relations and personal connections between the PSM and other Polish medical, academic and professional institutions in Britain and beyond. The PSM will be presented as a pioneering venture which established a pattern of Polish-British collaboration that was later adopted by many other Polish academic schools in exile. It will be shown that active involvement in different migrant networks allowed Polish medical refugees to maintain, and exploit for their own benefit, the triadic relationship with British society, Poland and the global Polish diaspora. Last but not least, by analysing the PSM's relations with Czechoslovak and Yugoslav medical refugees in wartime Britain, this chapter will argue for the inclusion of a fourth dimension of a diasporic relationship, i.e. conflict and cooperation between different migrant communities within the same host society.

Chapter 5 will evaluate the significance of the PSM for the post-war professional and academic careers of Polish medical refugees. Firstly, the legacy of the PSM will be analysed with the use of the traditional discourse of ‘loss and gain’. Secondly, the professional careers and scientific contributions of Polish medical refugees will be discussed within the paradigm of a ‘global circulation of scholars’. Thirdly, Paul Weindling’s ‘total population’ approach towards the refugee predicament will be applied to the case study of the PSM. It will be consequently argued that the academic qualifications, clinical skills and, above all, the trans-cultural competency gained through work and study at the PSM allowed many of the uprooted Poles to settle down in a new environment, and prepared them well to pursue rewarding professional careers in Poland, Britain and other countries of post-war settlement. At the same time, this chapter will argue that the success story of the more fortunate Polish medical refugees should not overshadow the tragedies of those exiles who, for many various reasons, were not able to resume normal lives in the post-war world.

Chapter 1: The Road to Edinburgh

Introduction

German and Soviet invasions of Poland in September 1939 and six subsequent years of ruthless occupation resulted in the involuntary displacement of millions of Polish soldiers and civilians. Around 300,000 of them arrived on British soil during or immediately after the Second World War. Polish wartime diaspora in Britain included a subgroup of around 400 medical refugees who were associated with the PSM. A transnational analysis of the involuntary movement of Polish medical refugees towards Edinburgh should be rooted in the understanding of their pre-departure environment in order to trace causes and effects as well as continuities and changes in the experiences of refugees before exiting the homeland, on the move to their destination, and after arrival in the country of asylum. The necessity of taking the society of origin into account has long been recognised by scholars of Polish emigration. For instance, William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, in their classical work *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, preceded their sociological analysis of the Polish-American community with a meticulous study of peasant society and culture in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Poland.⁹⁵ A similar approach towards involuntary migrants was advocated by Egon Kunz, who theorized that the settlement of refugees in the country of asylum is affected by home related factors, such as identification with or marginality within the society of origin as well as attitudes towards displacement and homeland.⁹⁶ Paul Weindling likewise points out that the methodological challenge of studying medical refugees is ‘to link data from the point of persecution with those of the receiving context’.⁹⁷

This chapter will therefore demonstrate that the arrival of Polish medical refugees in Edinburgh was not only shaped by the wider context of the Second World War but was also affected by the pre-war environment from which those refugees originated. The network and organisation of Polish medical teaching centres

⁹⁵ William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe in America*, 2nd ed., 2 vols, New York: Constable, 1958.

⁹⁶ Egon F. Kunz, ‘Exile and Resettlement: Refugee Theory’, *International Migration Review*, 15.1-2 (1981), pp. 42-46.

⁹⁷ Weindling, ‘Total Population Approach to Psychiatric Refugees’, p. 6.

will be examined with special attention paid to the legacy of the long nineteenth century when the development of Polish university education was constrained by outside forces. The specific milieu of Polish medical faculties in interwar Poland will then be discussed with reference to the social background and ethno-religious adherence of students, the impact of anti-Semitic discrimination and violence, and the presence of women.

Drawing upon this selective characterisation of the pre-departure environment, the movement of Polish medical refugees to Edinburgh will subsequently be analysed with the use of two theoretical models, which were proposed by Egon Kunz in 1973 and Rune Johansson in 1990. Kunz and Johansson distinguish between ‘anticipatory refugee movements’, triggered by long-lasting structural forces, such as religious, ethnic or political discrimination, and ‘acute refugee movements’, triggered by sudden events, such as an outbreak of a war or a Communist takeover. Both scholars recognise three basic types of displacement – displacement by flight (e.g. mass flight and individual or group escape); displacement by force (e.g. army in flight, civilian evacuees, prisoners-of-war, deported to captivity, forced labour); and displacement by absence (*réfugiés sur place*).⁹⁸

Kunz’s ‘kinetic model of refugee movements’ accounts for the interplay of ‘push-and-pull’ factors that determine the direction of involuntary migration. Kunz argues that these movements can be divided into ‘vintages’ and ‘waves’. Vintages are distinctive associative cohorts, which are characterised by a common form of displacement and time of departure. Although never fully homogeneous, vintages tend to comprise people who share a similar type of educational, social, political or religious background. In turn, various vintages that arrive in the same country of settlement form a refugee wave.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Egon Kunz, ‘The Refugee in Flight: Kinetic Models and Forms of Displacement’, *International Migration Review*, 7.2 (1973), pp. 125-146; Rune Johansson, ‘The Refugee Experience in Europe after World War II: Some Theoretical and Empirical Considerations’, in Göran Rystad (ed.), *The Uprooted: Forced Migration as an International Problem in the Post-War Era*, Lund: Lund University Press, 1990, pp. 227-269.

⁹⁹ Kunz, ‘Refugee in Flight’, pp. 137-139.

Johansson's multi-level model of 'refugee predicament' complements Kunz's analysis of structural 'push-and-pull' forces with the inclusion of two more subjective sets of factors – barriers and resources, and values and objectives. According to Johansson, resources and barriers together determine the possibility, the means, and the direction of an individual refugee's flight. The resources at the disposal of an escaping person might include: a supply of money, organised help to cross borders, proficiency in languages and a high level of education, while the barriers to a successful flight can consist of: the impenetrability of state boundaries, a lack of money and language incapability. In addition, an individual refugee's values and objectives play an important role in determining the nature of his or her flight. Following Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of basic human needs, Johansson assumes that an individual's decision to flee from her or his homeland might depend on the psychological priority given to the need of survival or self-development over the need of belonging to a family or an ethnic group.¹⁰⁰

An overview of the milieu of pre-war Polish medical faculties, together with a discussion of the conditions of arrival in Edinburgh, will then allow one to characterise the wave of 406 Polish medical refugees who found a safe haven at the PSM. In the final section of this chapter, this subgroup of the Polish wartime diaspora in Britain will be analysed in terms of pre-war institutional affiliation, age and gender structure, ethno-religious background, social origins, citizenship and place of birth. This chapter will provide a basis for the subsequent examination of the PSM's intertwined relations with the University of Edinburgh, Poland, the global Polish diaspora and other refugee communities in wartime Britain.

Polish medical faculties before the Second World War

The majority of medical refugees at the PSM were previously associated as students and/or members of the teaching staff with one or more of the five state universities in Poland. Polish pre-war medical faculties were located at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, the John Casimir University in Lwów, the Joseph Piłsudski University in Warsaw, the Stephen Bathory University in Vilna and the University of Poznań. In total 3,872 undergraduate medical students were enrolled at the five universities in

¹⁰⁰ Johansson, 'Refuge Experience', pp. 239-260.

the academic year 1937/1938.¹⁰¹ The network of Polish medical education centres was sparse in comparison with interwar Britain. Scotland alone could boast of 4,278 medical students at four universities and three extra-mural schools, even though the population was five times smaller than Poland's, while in the United Kingdom as a whole there were almost 13,000 undergraduate medical students in 30 universities and four extra-mural schools.¹⁰² The relatively small number of Polish medical teaching centres can generally be explained by interwar Poland's different level of socioeconomic development but it could also be seen as a legacy of the period between 1772 and 1918 when the historical lands of the Polish-Lithuania Commonwealth were partitioned by the three neighbouring powers.

Network and organisation of Polish medical faculties

Polish replaced Latin as the language of instruction at the ancient academies of Cracow (established in 1364) and Vilna (opened in 1573) in the early 1800s but further development of Polish higher education was hindered by recurring waves of political repression and aggressive efforts to culturally assimilate the minority populations of the Russian, German and Austrian empires. At the end of the long nineteenth century, Polish students could pursue medical studies in their native language only in Cracow and Lwów (Lemberg). Both academic centres were located in Austrian Galicia, where local Poles had been granted cultural autonomy in the 1860s, after several decades of struggle against linguistic Germanisation. Polish-language universities in Warsaw and Vilna, both in the lands of the Russian partition, were closed in 1832, during the wave of political repressions that followed the defeat of the November Revolution (1830-1831) against Tsar Nicholas I, and were re-established only in 1915 and 1919 respectively. In contrast to Austrian and Russian Poland, not a single university was ever opened in the Greater Poland (*Wielkopolska*) and Pomerania regions. These lands were annexed by Prussia in 1772, and, at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, became a scene of massive state-sponsored Germanisation efforts which ranged from the settlement of German

¹⁰¹ *Mały Rocznik Statystyczny 1939*, Warsaw: Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 1939, p. 331.

¹⁰² Ministry of Health and Department of Health for Scotland, *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Medical Schools*, London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1944, pp. 260-261.

colonists to a complete ban on Polish language at all levels of education. An institution of higher learning was established in Poznań (Posen) only after the Greater Poland uprising (*Powstanie wielkopolskie*) against German rule in 1919. Thus the number of academic centres where medicine was taught in Polish grew from two in 1914 to five in 1921, and remained so until 1939.¹⁰³

The construction of a modern educational system in the Second Polish Republic (1918-1939) required wielding together territories with different legal regulations, school networks and didactic traditions. While the former Austrian Galicia contained two well-established academic centres in Cracow and Lwów, the new universities in Warsaw, Vilna and Poznań suffered from a lack of qualified teaching staff, inadequate financial resources and wartime damage to buildings and research facilities.¹⁰⁴ The first attempt to unify and regulate higher education in Poland came with the passing of the Act on Academic Schools in 1920.¹⁰⁵ The internal administration of the educational system was based on the concept of ‘academic freedom’ which originated in German universities in the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁶ Universities and other ‘academic schools’ (*szkoły akademickie*), i.e. institutions with a right to confer academic degrees and professional titles, were

¹⁰³ Leon Tochowicz and Stanley J. G. Nowak, ‘History of Cracow School of Medicine’, *JAMA*, 188.7 (1964), pp. 662-667; Włodzimierz Zwoździak, ‘Historia Wydziału Lekarskiego Uniwersytetu Lwowskiego’, *AHM*, 27.1-2 (1964), pp. 11-27; idem, ‘Historia Wydziału Lekarskiego Uniwersytetu Lwowskiego’, *AHM*, 27.3 (1964), pp. 193-200; Henryk Zieliński, *Historia Polski 1914-1939*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1983, pp. 338-340; Karol Poznański (ed.), *Oświata, szkolnictwo i wychowanie w latach II Rzeczypospolitej*, Lublin, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 1991, pp. 453-454; Roman K. Meissner, ‘Zarys dziejów Wydziału Lekarskiego i Oddziału Farmaceutycznego Uniwersytetu Poznańskiego w II Rzeczypospolitej’, in Krystyna Karwowska and Aniela Piotrowicz (eds), *Wydział Lekarski i Oddział Farmaceutyczny Uniwersytetu Poznańskiego 1919-1939. Bibliografia publikacji. Materiały biograficzne*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Akademii Medycznej im. Karola Marcinkowskiego, 1997, pp. 15-29; Tadeusz Brzeziński, ‘Rozwój wydziałów lekarskich polskich uniwersytetów w latach 1918-1939’, *AHiFM*, 56.2 (1999), pp. 101-109; Tadeusz Brzeziński (ed.), *Historia Medycyny*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Lekarskie PZWL, 2004, pp. 451-456; Stanisław Zwolski, ‘Nauczanie medycyny w Polsce – od Komisji Edukacji Narodowej do wybuchu drugiej wojny światowej’, in Andrzej Śródka (ed.), *Zarys historii nauczania medycyny w Polsce od roku 1939: Wybrane zagadnienia*, Cracow: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2012, pp. 37-50.

¹⁰⁴ Zieliński, *Historia Polski 1914-1939*, pp. 338-340; Poznański, *Oświata, szkolnictwo i wychowanie*, pp. 453-454.

¹⁰⁵ *Ustawa z dnia 13 lipca 1920 r. o szkołach akademickich*, Dz.U. 1920 nr 72 poz. 494.

¹⁰⁶ Roman Dyboski, ‘Cultural Problems of the New Poland’, *Slavonic and East European Review*, 12 (1933/1934), p. 315.

granted autonomy and self-governance, under the supervision of the Minister of Religious Denominations and Public Education (hereafter Minister of Education).¹⁰⁷ The highest academic authority was vested in the Senate, which consisted of the Rector, the Deputy Rector and the Deans of all the Faculties. The Rector (equivalent of the Principal at the University of Edinburgh) was the chairman of the Senate and could use the honorific title of ‘Magnificence’ (*Magnificencja*). The offices of Rector, Deputy Rector and Dean were all elected by the professorial body. The Deans presided over Faculty Councils, which included all the professors from a given Faculty plus one representative of senior lecturers (docents).¹⁰⁸ It was the prerogative of the Senate to grant academic degrees and to nominate candidates for professors, who were then officially appointed by the President of the Republic, with the Minister of Education holding the right of *veto*. The collegiate organs also decided about the majority of administrative, personnel, teaching and research matters of the university.¹⁰⁹

Parliamentary democracy in Poland was overthrown in May 1926 by a military coup of Marshal Joseph Piłsudski, a charismatic leader of the Polish independence movement. Piłsudski established a semi-authoritarian praetorian regime, known as *Sanacja* (cleansing), which ruled Poland until 1939.¹¹⁰ In the early 1930s the *Sanacja* regime attempted to suppress democratic opposition within universities and to increase supervision over militant student organisations.¹¹¹ A new Act on Academic Schools was passed in 1933, as a part of the educational reform which was sponsored by Minister Janusz Jędrzejewicz.¹¹² The so-called

¹⁰⁷ Teresa Łach, ‘Reforma “Jędrzejewiczowska” a nowe podstawy programowe’, *Mazowieckie Studia Humanistyczne*, 2 (1998), pp. 147-149; T. Brzeziński, ‘Rozwój wydziałów lekarskich’, p. 103.

¹⁰⁸ In the original records of the PSM, the Polish word *docent* is usually translated into English as ‘senior lecturer’, but sometimes also as ‘reader’. *Docent* was a Polish post-doctoral degree, while senior lecturer/reader was a functional title used at the University of Edinburgh. In order to avoid confusion, this dissertation will use the following form: ‘senior lecturer (docent)’.

¹⁰⁹ Józef Buszko, *Historia Polski 1864-1948*, Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1984, p. 347; Poznański, *Oświata, szkolnictwo i wychowanie*, pp. 461-462.

¹¹⁰ R.J. Crampton, *Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century – and After*, London and New York: Routledge, 1997, pp. 39-56.

¹¹¹ Zieliński, *Historia Polski*, pp. 338-340; Bohdan Jaczewski, ‘Organizacja i instytucje życia naukowego w Polsce (listopad 1918 – 1939)’, in Bogdan Suchodolski (ed.), *Historia Nauki Polskiej. Tom V: 1918-1951, Część I*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1992, pp. 189-198.

¹¹² *Ustawa z dnia 15 marca 1933 r. o szkołach akademickich*, Dz.U. 1933 nr 29 poz. 247.

'Jędrzejewicz Act' of 1933 limited 'academic freedom' and increased governmental control over universities. The powers of collegiate bodies, such as the Senates and the Faculty Councils, were decreased in favour of stronger Rectors and Deans, and university autonomy was practically limited to the nomination of professors and senior lecturers (although the approval of the President and Minister of Education was still required) and to the management of day-to-day businesses.¹¹³ Most controversial clauses of the Act, such as the government's prerogative to liquidate occupied professorial chairs, were abolished by an amendment in 1937.¹¹⁴ This updated version of the 'Jędrzejewicz Act' remained in force until the end of the Second Polish Republic and was the legal basis for the organisation of the PSM in 1940/1941.

Social background of medical students

The social background of Polish medical refugees was largely determined by the specific milieu of university students in pre-war Poland. Polish society was at the time divided into seven main socioeconomic strata: the landed gentry, the bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, the petit bourgeoisie, the peasants, the agricultural labourers, and the workers (see Table 1 in the Appendix).¹¹⁵ Although the top three social strata made up less than 10% of Polish society in the mid-1930s, intelligentsia youth, together with children of the landed gentry and the bourgeoisie, comprised 2/3 of all university students and 3/4 of female students in the academic year 1934/1935. Around 60% of Polish students came from the intelligentsia, which made up less than 6% of the total population. On the other hand, children of peasants made up only 11% of university students, children of workers employed in industry, transport and trade made up 6.5%, and children of agricultural labourers made up less than 1% (see Table 2 in the Appendix).¹¹⁶ Comprehensive statistics for all five public universities are not available but the social background of medical students

¹¹³ Zieliński, *Historia Polski*, pp. 338-340; Jaczewski, 'Organizacja i instytucje', pp. 189-198; Łach, 'Reforma "Jędrzejewiczowska"', pp. 147-149;

¹¹⁴ Jaczewski, 'Organizacja i instytucje', pp. 196-198.

¹¹⁵ For more on Polish society in the interwar period, see Janusz Żarnowski, *Spółeczeństwo Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej 1918-1939*, Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1973.

¹¹⁶ Stanisław Mauersberg, 'Społeczne uwarunkowania dostępu do szkoły w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej', in Poznański, *Oświata, szkolnictwo i wychowanie*, p. 40.

presumably did not deviate from this general trend. At the University of Warsaw, for example, the majority of students in the Faculty of Medicine also came from intelligentsia families. Especially visible were children of free professionals, such as physicians, lawyers, dentists and pharmacists.¹¹⁷ The underrepresentation of peasant and working class children as well as the significant presence of intelligentsia youth among medical students requires a brief explanation.

The principle of education open to all citizens regardless of social status was enshrined in the democratic constitution of March 1921, but access to secondary and tertiary education in interwar Poland remained a privilege rather than a right. The cost of annual tuition, school uniforms, textbooks and other teaching aids were relatively high, even in state-owned institutions. More than half of Polish high schools were privately owned by individuals, local governments, social associations or religious groups.¹¹⁸ The financial burden was even greater in the case of higher education. Although various stipends, discounts and postponement schemes were available, the majority of students at public universities had to pay matriculation, annual, examination and other mandatory fees in addition to the cost of accommodation, food, textbooks and clothes.¹¹⁹

Educational reforms of Minister Jędrzejewicz introduced even more obstacles for less-privileged children. The majority of Polish high schools originally operated in accordance with pre-1918 Austrian legislation. These institutions were not systematically linked to elementary schools and admission was based on entrance exams. The Austrian-style general high school was called gymnasium (*gimnazjum*) and covered eight years of schooling. Jędrzejewicz's reform of 1932 divided secondary education into two levels. A new four-year gymnasium admitted candidates after six years of elementary school and an entry examination. Education could then be continued in a two-year lyceum (*liceum*), which was designed as a

¹¹⁷ Andrzej Garlicki (ed.), *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1915-1939*, Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1982, p. 132.

¹¹⁸ Zieliński, *Historia Polski*, pp. 336-340; Buszko, *Historia Polski*, pp. 341-351 Mauerberg, 'Społeczne uwarunkowania', pp. 31-42.

¹¹⁹ Mauerberg, 'Społeczne uwarunkowania', pp. 36-37. For a list of various mandatory fees charged by the Stephen Bathory University in Vilna in the last academic year before the war, see Uniwersytet Stefana Batorego w Wilnie, *XXI spis wykładów na trzy trymestry w roku akademickim 1938/1939*, Vilna: Uniwersytet Stefana Batorego, 1939, pp. 3-4.

preparation and precondition for entering universities.¹²⁰ However, the majority of village schools, especially in the Eastern Borderlands (*Kresy Wschodnie*), offered only three to four years of elementary education which did not allow access to the newly introduced four-year gymnasium. Moreover, the lyceum-type high schools were usually located in bigger towns where the costs of tuition, room and board exceeded the financial capabilities of the majority of peasant and working class families.¹²¹ Not only financial and administrative but also psychological barriers limited equal access to education in interwar Poland. Villagers were commonly despised as unenlightened boors in educated and bourgeois circles, and lower class children were perceived by some as incapable of theoretical learning. Peasant and working class youth often felt their cultural otherness in big city schools, which were dominated by children from self-proclaimed 'better families'.¹²²

The high school diploma allowed its holder to enter the social circle of the Polish intelligentsia. Jan Szczepański defines this peculiar social formation as 'a stratum of non-manual workers, earning their living through intellectual, professional, and clerical activities, clearly separated from the lower classes by secondary and higher education, and connected to the upper classes by common patterns of social life'.¹²³ The Polish intelligentsia originated from *déclassé* members of the nobility (*szlachta*) which was the political, economical and cultural elite of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. After the partitions of 1772-1795, many impoverished and disenfranchised nobles took up various administrative and clerical jobs that required at least some degree of learning. Thus, education remained the only means of preserving their superior position *vis-à-vis* the toiling masses of peasants and workers. The lack of modern bourgeoisie at the same time allowed the emergent intelligentsia to develop into Polish society's counterpart of the Western middle class. The intelligentsia was not, however, a social class *sensu stricto* because its members were not united by common occupation or economic interest, but rather

¹²⁰ *Ustawa z dnia 11 marca 1932 r. o ustroju szkolnictwa*, Dz.U. 1932 nr 38 poz. 389.

¹²¹ Zieliński, *Historia Polski*, pp. 336-340; Buszko, *Historia Polski*, pp. 341-351.

¹²² Mauersberg, 'Społeczne uwarunkowania', pp. 37-38. See also Danuta Jabłońska-Frąckowiak, *Pomruki wojny*, Bydgoszcz: Towarzystwo Miłośników Wilna i Ziemi Wileńskiej, 2004, p. 9; Czesław Blicharski, *Tarnopolanina żywot niepokorny*, 2nd ed., Warsaw: Gryf, 2013, pp. 70-71.

¹²³ Jan Szczepański, 'The Polish Intelligentsia: Past and Present', *World Politics*, 14.3 (1962), p. 411.

by shared beliefs, attitudes and values.¹²⁴ Members of the intelligentsia assumed the role of a ‘spiritual vanguard’ of the Polish nation and managed to preserve the cultural legacy, social prestige and political aspirations of the old nobility, while remaining inclusive towards upwardly mobile children of the lower classes and culturally Polonised members of ethnic minorities.¹²⁵ The Polish intelligentsia was therefore not a socioeconomically homogenous stratum, and in the interwar period it included various professional groups, such as state officials, the officers corps, the free professions, intellectuals as well as various types of clerks and other so-called ‘mental employees’ (*pracownicy umysłowi*), i.e. white-collar workers with at least partial secondary education. Despite the differences in income, standard of living and level of education, members of the intelligentsia still maintained a common identity throughout the interwar period.¹²⁶

Ethno-religious minorities at Polish medical faculties

The Second Polish Republic was a culturally heterogeneous and multinational state, where only 65% of the citizens were ethnic Poles. Jerzy Tomaszewski estimates that the Ukrainians made up 16%, Jews 10%, Belarusians 6% and Germans 2% of the total population.¹²⁷ Polish universities collected data on the religious affiliation of students but not on their ethnicity. In the academic year 1937/1938, 77.6% of all medical students in Poland were Roman Catholics, 10.9% were Jews, 4.6% were Christian Orthodox, 3.6% were Greek Catholics and 3% were Protestants. Atheists and followers of other religions made up 0.3%.¹²⁸ There is no comprehensive data on the members of university staff, but most probably the proportion of ethnic and

¹²⁴ Idem, ‘Polish Intelligentsia’, pp. 407-408; Aleksander Gella (ed.), *The intelligentsia and the Intellectuals: Theory, Method, and Case Study*, London and Beverly Hills: Sage, 1976, pp. 13-15; Voytek Zubek, ‘The Rise and Fall of Rule by Poland’s Best and Brightest’, *Soviet Studies*, 44.4 (1992), pp. 580-581; Tomasz Zarycki, ‘The Power of the Intelligentsia: The Rywin Affair and the Challenge of Applying the Concept of Cultural Capital to Analyze Poland’s Elites’, *Theory and Society*, 38.6 (2009), p. 620.

¹²⁵ Aleksander Gella, ‘The Life and Death of the Old Polish Intelligentsia’, *Slavic Review*, 30.1 (1971), pp. 1-27; Zubek, ‘Rise and Fall’, p. 579.

¹²⁶ Żarnowski, *Społeczeństwo Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, pp. 196-197; Szczepański, ‘Polish Intelligentsia’, p. 412.

¹²⁷ Jerzy Tomaszewski, *Ojczyzna nie tylko Polaków: Mniejszości narodowe w Polsce w latach 1918-1939*, Warszawa: Młodzieżowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1985, p. 50.

¹²⁸ *Mały Rocznik Statystyczny 1939*, pp. 334.

religious minorities among professors and lecturers was even smaller. Tomaszewski points out that statistics of different religious confessions are commonly used by Polish historians to supplement or even replace data on ethnic groups in interwar Poland.¹²⁹ The majority of Roman Catholics were ethnic Poles, while adherents of Lutheranism were mostly ethnic Germans. Belarusians were largely, but not exclusively, Christian Orthodox and Greek Catholics were mostly Ukrainians from Eastern Galicia, but in the formerly Russian province of Volhynia, ethnic Ukrainians were usually Orthodox. There were of course many exceptions to these general rules. For example, Catholic and Protestant Christians could have Jewish origins, while some confessional Jews considered themselves to be Polish by nationality.¹³⁰

When the percentage of Christian Orthodox and Greek Catholic believers is substituted for ethnic Belarusians and Ukrainians, it becomes clear that the so-called Slavic minorities were underrepresented among Polish medical students. This can be explained by both socioeconomic and political factors. The Slavic minorities inhabited economically and culturally deprived territories in the Eastern Borderlands, where 48% of all adults and up to 70% of women could not read or write in 1921.¹³¹ Although the so-called Minorities Treaty, which was imposed on Poland by the Western Allies as a supplement to the Treaty of Versailles, required the newly established Polish state to recognise political and cultural rights of national minorities, the Polish school system in the interwar period did little to satisfy the educational needs and national aspirations of the Ukrainian and Belarusian youth. Public schools in minority areas were officially bilingual but, in reality, were used to culturally Polish the Eastern Borderlands. There were only a few Ukrainian-language high schools in Poland and efforts to open a Ukrainian university in Lwów were thwarted by the lack of suitable cadres. In the school year 1937/1938, one million Belarusians in Poland had five bilingual elementary schools and one private Belarusian gymnasium in Vilna. Parents who refused to send their children to Polish-language schools were subjected to heavy fines and possible imprisonment. Enforced Polonisation of Ukrainian and Belarusian youth not only did not improve their

¹²⁹ Tomaszewski, *Ojczyzna nie tylko Polaków*, p. 41.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-49.

¹³¹ Buszko, *Historia Polski*, pp. 341-342; Zieliński, *Historia Polski*, pp. 332-336.

educational attainments but also estranged the Slavic minorities from the Polish state.¹³²

Anti-Semitism at Polish medical faculties

Unlike the Ukrainians and Belarusians, the number of Jews at Polish medical faculties was for many years higher than their percentage in the total population of interwar Poland. The historiography of Christian-Jewish relations in this period, and especially the debate on the origins and extent of anti-Semitism, remains very contentious and politically sensitive.¹³³ Regardless of their general opinion on the topic, most reputable historians of the Second Polish Republic agree that universities, especially the faculties of law and medicine, were hotbeds of anti-Semitism. Discriminatory measures and physical attacks were targeted against Jewish students in response to the perceived 'Judaisation' of the free professions. In fact, in the academic year 1921/1922, confessional Jews made up 35% of all medical students in Poland (see Table 3 in the Appendix). Raphael Mahler estimated that, in 1931, 46% of all Polish physicians, including 55% of private medical practitioners, were Jewish.¹³⁴

The reasons for this apparent overrepresentation of Jews in the medical profession should be explained. More than 60% of the population of interwar Poland was employed in agriculture and in 1921 more than 33% of people above the age of ten were still illiterate.¹³⁵ The Jewish community, however, was largely urban and

¹³² Edward D. Wynot, Jr, 'Poland's Christian minorities 1919–1939', *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, 132 (1985), pp. 209-246; 'Polska. Oświata. Druga Rzeczpospolita', *Encyklopedia PWN*, retrieved on 24 Apr 2012 from: <http://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo.php?id=4575098>.

¹³³ Ezra Mendelsohn, 'Interwar Poland: Good for the Jews or Bad for the Jews?', in Chimen Abramsky, Maciej Jachimczyk and Antony Polonsky (eds), *The Jews in Poland*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986, pp. 130-139; Ezra Mendelsohn, 'Jewish Historiography on Polish Jewry in the Interwar Period', in Antony Polonsky, Ezra Mendelsohn and Jerzy Tomaszewski (eds), *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry. Volume Eight: Jews in Independent Poland, 1918-1939*, Oxford and Portland, OR: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004, pp. 3-13; David Engel, 'AHR Forum: On Reconciling the Histories of Two Chosen Peoples', *American Historical Review*, 114.4 (2009), pp. 914-929; Antony Polonsky, *The Jews in Poland and Russia, Vol. III: 1914 to 2008*, Oxford and Portland, Oregon: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2012, pp. 56-59.

¹³⁴ Raphael Mahler, 'Jews in Public Service and the Liberal Professions in Poland, 1918-1939', *Jewish Social Studies*, 6.4 (1944), p. 325.

¹³⁵ Buszko, *Historia Polski*, pp. 341-342; Zieliński, *Historia Polski*, pp. 332-335.

formed around 1/3 of the total population of Polish towns. Jewish youth had relatively easier access to education than other ethnic groups, including the ethnic Polish majority. When Poland regained independence in 1918, the Jews and other minorities were effectively barred from employment in the public sector, i.e. central and local authorities, military, public schools, railways, postal and telegraph services, state-owned industrial and commercial enterprises. Pushed out of public services that offered 50-60% of white-collar jobs in interwar Poland, young Jewish intelligentsia flocked to free professions, such as medicine and law, which were relatively free from governmental control.¹³⁶ The predominance of Jewish private medical practitioners resulted from the fact that Jews were rarely employed in university clinics, municipal hospitals and other institutions maintained by public funds.¹³⁷

Despite the fact that the overrepresentation of Jews in the medical profession was basically caused by discriminatory policies of the Polish state, the extreme nationalists waged a ruthless struggle against Jewish medical students in the 1920s and 1930s. The anti-Semitic campaign at Polish medical faculties can be divided into three stages: 'limitation', 'ghettoisation' and 'de-Judaisation'. The number of Jewish students was initially limited by means of a *numerus clausus*, literally 'closed number' in Latin, i.e. a fixed quota of candidates annually admitted to a given faculty. An unofficial *numerus clausus* for Jews, corresponding to their percentage in the total population of Poland (around 10%), was introduced by all five medical faculties in the academic year 1923/1924.¹³⁸ Further radicalisation of anti-Semitism at Polish universities was encouraged by a number of factors, such as the severe economic crisis of the 1930s, the example of anti-Jewish measures adopted in

¹³⁶ Mahler, 'Jews in Public Service', pp. 291-313; Celia S. Heller, *On the Edge of Destruction: Jews of Poland between the Two World Wars*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1977, p. 106; Elżbieta Więckowska, *Lekarze jako grupa zawodowa w II Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2004, p. 178-179.

¹³⁷ Mahler, 'Jews in Public Service', p. 327.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 342; Harry Rabinowicz, 'The Battle of the Ghetto Benches', *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 55.2 (1964), pp. 151-159; Szymon Rudnicki, 'Anti-Jewish Legislation in Interwar Poland', in Robert Blobaum (ed.), *Antisemitism and its Opponents in Modern Poland*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005, pp. 148-170; Szymon Rudnicki, 'From "Numerus Clausus" to "Numerus Nullus"', in Antony Polonsky (ed.), *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry. Volume Two: Jews and the Emerging Polish State*, Oxford and Portland, OR: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2008, pp. 246-268.

neighbouring Germany, Romania and Hungary, and the espousal of anti-Jewish slogans by the ruling *Sanacja* regime after Marshal Piłsudski's death in 1935.¹³⁹

In the late 1930s, gangs of nationalist thugs enforced a spatial separation of Jewish students through psychological intimidation and physical attacks with the use of wooden clubs, iron bars, metal chains and sometimes even guns. In October 1937, the Minister of Education succumbed to pressures from university rectors, who feared that further anti-Semitic riots would make normal academic work impossible, and allowed for the introduction of 'ghetto benches' at all institutions of higher learning in Poland. Jewish students who refused to be seated in allocated rows were often beaten up and driven out of the lecture halls. The minority of Christian professors and students who dared to openly protest against the humiliating 'ghetto benches' were also verbally and physically attacked by nationalist extremists.¹⁴⁰

The attempts to appease the radicals by allowing the 'ghettoisation' of Jewish students finally encouraged the anti-Semites to demand a complete 'de-Judaisation' of Polish higher education. 'Day without a Jew' and 'Week without a Jew' campaigns were organised at Polish universities, during which Jewish students were blocked by their peers from entering lecture halls and classrooms.¹⁴¹ Some universities responded to these demands by introducing an exclusionary *numerus nullus* principle. In the last years before the war, Jewish students were not admitted at all to the medical faculties in Poznań and Cracow.¹⁴² The proportion of Jewish medical students in Poland accordingly decreased from 35% in 1921 to only 9.3% in the academic year 1938/1939.¹⁴³ Those Jews who could not or would not study at

¹³⁹ Edward D. Wynot, Jr, "'A Necessary Cruelty': The Emergence of Official Anti-Semitism in Poland, 1936-39", *American Historical Review*, 76.4 (1971), pp. 1035-1058; Emmanuel Melzer, 'Antisemitism in the Last Years of the Polish Republic', in Yisrael Gutman, Ezra Mendelsohn, Jehuda Reinharz and Chone Shmeruk (eds), *The Jews of Poland between Two World Wars*, Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1989, pp. 126-137; William W. Hagen, 'Before the "Final Solution": Toward a Comparative Analysis of Political Anti-Semitism in Interwar Germany and Poland', *The Journal of Modern History*, 68.2 (1996), pp. 368-377.

¹⁴⁰ Rabinowicz, 'Battle of the Ghetto Benches', pp. 151-159; Polonsky, *Jews in Poland Russia*, Vol. III, pp. 87-88; Heller, *On the Edge of Destruction*, pp. 122-123; Yisreal Gutman, 'Polish Antisemitism Between the Wars: An Overview', in Gutman et al., *Jews of Poland*, p. 104.

¹⁴¹ Rabinowicz, 'Battle of the Ghetto Benches', p. 154; Heller, *On the Edge of Destruction*, p. 121; Rudnicki, 'From "Numerus Clausus"', p. 262.

¹⁴² Mahler, 'Jews in Public Service', p. 345; Rudnicki, 'From "Numerus Clausus"', p. 262.

¹⁴³ Więckowska, *Lekarze jako grupa zawodowa*, p. 178.

Polish medical faculties because of anti-Semitic discrimination and violence had to seek education at foreign universities, provided their families had the necessary financial resources.

Women at Polish medical faculties

Women to a lesser extent also encountered discrimination in access to medical education in pre-war Poland. Available statistical data reveal that around 800 women made up 20% of the total number of students at the five medical faculties in the academic year 1937/1938.¹⁴⁴ There is no comprehensive information about female members of the teaching staff but the number of women among professors, lecturers and research assistants was very small. At the eve of the war, medical faculties in Lwów and Cracow had each only one female senior lecturer (docent).¹⁴⁵ The medical faculty in Warsaw appointed its first female professor in 1938.¹⁴⁶ It was apparently easier for women to obtain academic posts in the younger and less established universities in Vilna and Poznań. In the academic year 1938/1939, the medical faculty of the Stephen Bathory University employed two female senior lecturers (docents), while its counterpart at the University of Poznań could boast of four women in senior academic positions, including two professors.¹⁴⁷

This obvious underrepresentation of the 'fair sex' in medical faculties can be explained by the fact that the opportunity to pursue higher education, not to mention academic careers, at public universities was still a relatively novel experience for Polish women in the interwar period. The Austrian Ministry of Education allowed Polish medical faculties in Lwów and Cracow to accept female students in 1900, while women in the lands of the former Russian and German partitions were given this possibility only when Poland regained independence in 1918. However, the

¹⁴⁴ *Mały Rocznik Statystyczny 1939*, p. 332.

¹⁴⁵ *Skład Uniwersytetu w latach 1936/37 i 1937/38*, Lwów: Uniwersytet Jana Kazimierza we Lwowie, 1937, p. 29; Urszula Perkowska, 'Kobiety w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim', *Forum Akademickie* (1999) 7-8, retrieved on 25 May 2015 from: http://www.forumakad.pl/archiwum/99/7-8/artykuly/kobiety_na_uj.htm.

¹⁴⁶ Zofia Podgórska Klawe, 'Kobiety – lekarze Warszawy', *AHM*, 28.3 (1965), pp. 248-249.

¹⁴⁷ *Skład Uniwersytetu w roku akademickim 1938/1939*, Vilna: Uniwersytet Stefana Batoiego, 1939, pp. 138-139; *Skład Uniwersytetu w roku akademickim 1938/39*, Poznań: Uniwersytet Poznański, 1939, pp. 18-23.

number of female admissions was restricted in the Second Polish Republic. The Jagiellonian University, for instance, set up a *numerus clausus* of 10% for women.¹⁴⁸ One of the rationales for these discriminatory practices was an argument, promoted by the influential Professor Antoni Cieszyński from Lwów, that most women resign from their studies or quit professional careers when they get married, and thus, admitting more female students would have been tantamount to wasting limited places at overcrowded medical faculties.¹⁴⁹

Polish medical refugee movement to Edinburgh

It will be demonstrated below that the ‘acute movement’ of Polish medical refugees towards Edinburgh, which was triggered by the German and Soviet invasions of Poland in September 1939, was affected by the pre-war milieu of Polish medical faculties. The wave of 406 Polish medical refugees who arrived at the PSM during or immediately after the Second World War can be divided into 7 associative cohorts, which more or less correspond to Egon Kunz’s idea of ‘vintages’. These groups are characterised by a common geographical route, form of displacement, time of departure from Poland, time of arrival in Edinburgh and some shared wartime experiences. Research into archival records as well as (auto)biographies, published reminiscences, interviews, letters and other private papers revealed more or less detailed information about the circumstances of arrival at the PSM of 286 Polish medical refugees (70% of the total number). All statistical data and general information provided below with regard to the arrival of Polish medical refugees in Edinburgh were collected from various primary and secondary sources which are listed in the Bibliography (see also Table 18 in the Appendix).

Vintage 1: Romania/Hungary

The largest vintage was composed by 105 medical refugees, including 13 women, who arrived in Britain via Hungary or Romania and France. The form of displacement of this cohort best fits the ‘Army in Flight or Pursuit’ category in

¹⁴⁸ Zwolski, ‘Nauczanie medycyny’, p. 36.

¹⁴⁹ Antoni Cieszyński, ‘Czy i jak należy przeciwdziałać nadmiernemu przyrostowi lekarzy w Polsce’, *Polska Gazeta Lekarska*, 11 (1923), p. 196.

Kunz's typology. Their involuntary movement was a part of a more or less organised evacuation of around 70,000 soldiers and 30,000 civilians who managed to escape from occupied Poland to Hungary and Romania. Polish military strategy envisaged a gradual retreat towards pre-war Poland's south-eastern frontiers. At this so-called 'Romanian Bridgehead', the Poles hoped to hold off the advancing *Wehrmacht* while waiting for the expected Franco-British offensive on the Western front. However, when the Red Army's incursion into Poland's Eastern Borderlands on 17 September 1939 made these plans obsolete, the Polish Commander-in-Chief, Marshal Edward Rydz-Śmigły, ordered his soldiers to cross the border into neutral Romania and Hungary with the ultimate aim of reaching allied France. The retreating troops were accompanied by crowds of civilian refugees, mostly women and children.¹⁵⁰

Medical refugees from this cohort escaped from internment and civilian camps in Romania or Hungary to France, following a land route via Yugoslavia and Italy or by sea via the ports of Constanța, Split and Piraeus. A new army was being organised in France by the Polish government-in-exile, and most of the medical refugees were sent to Polish military training camps in Brittany, for example to the Medical Training Centre (*Centrum Wyszkozenia Sanitarnego*) in Coëtquidan (later moved to Combourg). After the fall of France in June 1940, they were evacuated to Britain via French Atlantic ports together with the remnants of the Polish army. In total, around 20,000 soldiers (less than 25% of the Polish Armed Forces in France) and 3,000 civilian arrived in Britain in the summer of 1940. They were mainly relocated to Scotland where Polish troops were once again reorganised as the First (Polish) Corps.¹⁵¹

This cohort of medical refugees included Polish professors who co-organised the PSM in the winter of 1940/1941 as well as the first batch of students who began or resumed their studies in Edinburgh in March 1941. Most of the 12 female refugees in this vintage were daughters or wives of Polish military officers who were

¹⁵⁰Marek Kazimierz Kamiński, 'Wrzesień 1939 w Polsce: Splot wydarzeń militarnych i politycznych', *Mazowieckie Studia Humanistyczne*, 2 (1996), pp. 34-40; R.F. Leslie (ed.), *The History of Poland since 1863*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 209-212; Halik Kochanski, *The Eagle Unbowed: Poland and the Poles in the Second World War*, London: Allen Lane, 2012, pp. 204-205.

¹⁵¹Allan Carswell, "'Bonnie Fechtors": The Polish Army and the Defence of Scotland, 1940-1942', in T. M. Devine and David Hesse (eds), *Scotland and Poland: Historical Encounters, 1500-2010*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 2011, pp. 137-146; Kochanski, *Eagle Unbowed*, pp. 209-219.

evacuated to France via Romania or Hungary. This general trend is illustrated by a well documented story of the Sokołowski family. Colonel Tadeusz Sokołowski, graduate of the Jagiellonian University, was the director of an institute of traumatic surgery at a military hospital in Warsaw, while his 17-year old daughter, Anna, attended a prestigious private high school for girls. In September 1939, the family escaped to Romania and from there to France via Yugoslavia and Italy. They were evacuated to Britain on the last ship leaving St Jean-de-Luz in June 1940. In March 1941, Sokołowski joined the teaching staff of the PSM as a lecturer in traumatic surgery, while his daughter enrolled as a first year medical student after completing her secondary education in Polish wartime high schools in France and Scotland.¹⁵²

Vintage 2: Western Europe

A smaller cohort of 40 medical refugees, including 16 women, were stranded by the outbreak of war in different Western European countries, such as France, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland and Sweden. Nine of them had already been in Britain before September 1939. In Kunz's terminology, they fit the category of 'displaced by absence' from their homeland, while in Johansson's parlance this cohort can be classified as *réfugiés sur place*. This vintage of medical refugees included Polish citizens studying at foreign universities, Polish researchers and their spouses who worked or visited foreign scientific institutions in the West as well as tourists who did not manage to return home from their summer holidays.

Wiktor Tomaszewski, a 32-year old senior lecturer (docent) from the medical faculty in Poznań, was visiting the East coast of the USA in the summer of 1939, together with an organised group of physicians, engineers and students from different Polish universities.¹⁵³ On their way back from New York City they embarked on a Polish ocean liner, M.S. Piłsudski, and were scheduled to arrive in the port of Gdynia on 1 September 1939. However, due to the imminent outbreak of war, the ship was ordered to change course and was anchored in the Moray Firth in Scotland on 29

¹⁵² Tadeusz Sokołowski, 'Fragment pamiętnika', *AHM*, 28.1-2 (1965), pp. 131-137; idem, '50 lat pracy po uzyskaniu dyplomu na Wydziale Lekarskim Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego', *AHiFM*, 56 Suplement 1 (1993), pp. 74-75; Gąsiorowski, *Story of the Graduates*, p. 193.

¹⁵³ EUA, GD46/Box 9: Wiktor Tomaszewski's reminiscence of his visit to the USA in 1939, 8-9 June 1972.

August 1939. Tomaszewski recalls in his post-war memoirs the moment when the dreaded news finally reached those stranded on board of M.S. Piłsudski:

On the third day, Friday 1 September, in the morning, one of the passengers, who was listening to the radio, suddenly ran into a German station which triumphantly announced the Nazi invasion of Poland. Uncertainty turned into certainty. The passengers and crew, especially those who left their closest families in Poland, suffered hard times. Depression and despair were heightened even more by the fact that we all found ourselves in the conditions of complete powerlessness. We reposed all our hope in France and Great Britain [translated from Polish].¹⁵⁴

Tomaszewski disembarked from M.S. Piłsudski in Sunderland, and in April 1940 was drafted to the Polish Army in France. He did not even manage to complete his medical officer cadet training in Combourg before he was evacuated back to Britain after the fall of France in June 1940. Tomaszewski joined the teaching staff of the PSM as a senior lecturer (docent) in medicine in early 1941.¹⁵⁵

A characteristic feature of this ‘vintage’ of medical refugees at the PSM was the fact that Polish Jews made up 1/3 of the whole cohort. Most of them were studying medicine at French, Belgian, Italian or Swiss universities. Their emigration from Poland was often triggered in whole or in part by the anti-Semitic climate and discriminatory measures that prevailed in Polish medical faculties in the 1930s. For example, Ludwik Mirabel (born in 1917) was accepted by the Joseph Piłsudski University in Warsaw in 1937 but left Poland after experiencing discrimination and violence against Jews. The following passage is an excerpt from his fascinating conversations with Olga Medvedeva-Nathoo:

Ludwik no longer remembers what the official pretext for putting green stamps on the Jewish students' University cards was but the result was an identification kit for the use of roaming student gangs looking for the Jews to beat up. He could not always count on meeting his school friends in time for bodyguarding. He felt smothered and decided he had to get away.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ Tomaszewski, *Na szkocekiej ziemi*, p. 18.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-84.

¹⁵⁶ Ludwik Mirabel and Olga Medvedeva-Nathoo, ‘Conversations between Ludwik Mirabel and Olga Medvedeva-Nathoo’, *The Newsletter of the Janusz Korczak Association of Canada*, 5 (2007), p. 41.

Mirabel managed to obtain an exit visa only when his father, a relatively well-off entrepreneur, bribed a civil servant in the passport office. Ludwik then chose France as his destination and enrolled as a medical student at the University of Grenoble. When the war broke out he was on summer holidays in England with his Danish girlfriend (who happened to be a niece of Niels Bohr, the famous physicist and Nobel Prize laureate). Mirabel originally enlisted in the Polish Army in Scotland to fight Nazism but was allowed to resume his medical studies at the PSM in November 1942.¹⁵⁷

This cohort of Polish medical refugees included many people who had previous experience of working and studying in a foreign environment. Those who arrived in Britain before that war not only learnt English but were also familiar with the local educational system. For example, Tadeusz and Cecylia Mann, a married couple of biomedical scientists from Lwów, arrived at the University of Cambridge in mid-1930s. Tadeusz received a Rockefeller Foundation Scholarship and later a Beit Memorial Research Fellowship at the Molteno Institute of Biology and Parasitology, while Cecylia obtained a Medical Research Council grant to pursue PhD research on deaminations in bacteria. The Polish couple collaborated in Cambridge with eminent British biologists and biochemists, such as Marjory Stephenson, David Keilin, Malcolm Dixon and Frederick Gowland Hopkins.¹⁵⁸

Vintage 3: Iberian Peninsula

Another group of 31 medical refugees, 28 men and 3 women, arrived in Edinburgh via the Iberian Peninsula. They escaped to Britain as a part of the evacuation of 4,000 Poles from Non-Occupied France. In Kunz's terminology, their form of displacement can be classified as 'Individual or Group Escape'. This cohort comprised soldiers and civilians who left Poland via Hungary or Romania in 1939-1940 as well as those who had already been in Western Europe in September 1939. The latter subgroup included seven Polish Jews who left Poland before the war to study medicine at

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 41-42.

¹⁵⁸ Biochemical Society Collection, JISC MediaHub (hereafter BSC): Thaddeus Mann in Conversation with Robin Harrison, 24 Oct 1989, video recording available from: <http://jiscmediahub.ac.uk/record/display/012-00002749>.

foreign universities. Unlike their colleagues who were stationed in training camps in Brittany, soldiers from this cohort served in Polish frontline units under French operational command, and were cut off from Atlantic ports in June 1940 by rapidly advancing German motorised units. These refugees were therefore forced to remain for some time in the non-occupied southern part of France, where the Vichy government transformed former Polish units into unarmed Labour Battalions. Some of the medical refugees were even permitted to enrol as students at universities in Montpellier, Grenoble, Toulouse and Lyon. Their individual or group escapes from Non-Occupied France via Spain to Portugal and Gibraltar began in the summer of 1940 and intensified after German military occupation of southern France in November 1942. The ultimate aim of the escapees was to reach the Polish Armed Forces in Britain.¹⁵⁹

The route across Francoist Spain, however, proved to be extremely dangerous for Polish escapees. Many of them were arrested on their way by the Spanish authorities as illegal aliens, and at least nine medical refugees were sent to the notorious concentration camp in Miranda de Ebro. The Spanish attitude towards the Poles softened after German defeat at Stalingrad and the landing of American troops in North Africa in 1943. However, it was a hunger strike inside the camp, combined with a diplomatic intervention of the Pope, that finally forced Franco's regime to release Polish inmates from Miranda de Ebro in the summer of 1943.¹⁶⁰ The route of this cohort of refugees was prolonged and multistep, and thus they arrived in Britain considerably later than their colleagues from the first two vintages. Their road to Edinburgh abounded with dramatic experiences of combat, internment, forced labour and imprisonment. Many of them participated in two military campaigns, the Polish Campaign of 1939 and the Battle of France in 1940, and were interned or imprisoned in several different countries, such as Hungary, Romania, Germany, Non-Occupied France and Spain.

¹⁵⁹ Sword et al., *Formation of the Polish Community*, p. 45; Czesław Łuczak, *Polska i Polacy w drugiej wojnie światowej*, Poznań: Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza, 1993, p. 81; Kocharński, *Eagle Unbowed*, p. 244.

¹⁶⁰ Zbigniew Ryn, 'Antoni Kępiński w Miranda de Ebro', *Przegląd Lekarski*, 35.1 (1978), pp. 95-115; Matilde Eiroa and Concha Pallarés, 'Uncertain Fates: Allied Soldiers at the Miranda de Ebro Concentration Camp', *The Historian*, 76.1 (2014), pp. 26-49.

The experiences of those medical refugees who arrived in Edinburgh via the Iberian Peninsula is well illustrated by a collection of letters that Antoni Kępiński sent to his mother back in German-occupied Poland. Kępiński, son of a state official, was a third year medical student at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow. He was mobilised to the Polish Army when the war broke out, and was evacuated across the border to Hungary in September 1939. He was interned in the camps in Leva, Bekesc and Garany, but managed to escape to France and served on the frontline in June 1940. Kępiński was later arrested in Madrid when trying to reach Britain via the Iberian Peninsula, and was sent to the concentration camp in Miranda de Ebro. Kępiński's letters from Miranda provide a rare insider's view of the deprived and squalid conditions of camp life. He was eventually released from the camp with the remaining Poles in March 1943, and was allowed safe passage to Gibraltar. There he witnessed the tragic death of General Sikorski, Commander-in-Chief and Prime Minister of the Polish government-in-exile, whose aeroplane crashed on 4 July 1943. After finally arriving in Britain, Kępiński was drafted into the Polish Air Force but failed his fighter pilot training. He then transferred to Edinburgh to resume pre-war medical studies at the PSM.¹⁶¹

Vintage 4: USSR

A large cohort of 61 refugees, including 22 women, arrived in Edinburgh via the Soviet Union between 1942 and 1944. In accordance with Kunz's typology, their form of displacement corresponds to several categories, such as 'Prisoners-of-War', 'Expellees and Population Transfers', 'Deported to Captivity' and 'Forced Labour'. Before coming to Britain many of those refugees were subjected to horrifying deportations in cattle trains, were forced to perform slave labour in extreme climatic conditions of Arctic Russia and Siberia, and nearly survived starvation and epidemic outbreaks of infectious diseases in Central Asia. In total at least 320,000 ethnic Poles were forcibly removed as 'socially dangerous elements' from pre-war Poland's Eastern Borderlands which were annexed to the Soviet Union as Western Belarus and Western Ukraine in October 1939. Another 200,000 Polish prisoners-of-war

¹⁶¹ Ryn, 'Kępiński w Miranda de Ebro', pp. 95-115; idem, 'Antoni Kępiński w Polskim Wydziale Lekarskim w Edynburgu (1945-1946)', *Przegląd Lekarski*, 36.1 (1979), pp. 95-114.

(hereafter POWs) were interned inside the Soviet Union. Most of them were captured by the invading Red Army in September 1939 but some Poles initially managed to escape to neighbouring Lithuania, and fell into Soviet hands only after the USSR's annexation of the Baltic states in July 1940.¹⁶²

Following the German invasion of the USSR, the Polish government-in-exile in London signed the so-called Sikorski-Mayski Agreement of 30 July 1941. This pact allowed for the creation of a Polish Army in the USSR. Polish deportees received 'amnesty' from their presumed crimes and were released from Soviet prisons, camps and penal settlements. The liberated Poles flocked to recruitment centres in Southern Russia and Uzbekistan where the Polish Army was organised by General Władysław Anders. In 1942, more than 100,000 Polish soldiers were evacuated from the USSR via Iran, Iraq and Transjordan to Palestine and Egypt. Anders' army was reorganised in the Middle East as the Second (Polish) Corps under British operational command and took part in the Italian campaigns of 1943-1945.¹⁶³

A characteristic feature of this cohort of Polish medical refugees was the presence of 22 female soldiers. General Anders attempted to improve the living conditions of Polish women and children in the USSR by drafting the former into the military and sending the latter to military orphanages and schools. A first batch of 940 Polish female soldiers was recruited in Buzuluk in Southern Russia in September 1941. They served as information and welfare personnel, telephone operators, radio-telegraphers, lorry drivers, nurses, cooks and typists.¹⁶⁴ Until the end of the war, a total of 6,700 women served in the special military rank of 'volunteer' (*ochotniczka*) in the army, navy and air force branches of the Polish Women's Auxiliary Service (*Pomocnicza Służba Kobiet*).¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² Janusz Wróbel, *Uchodźcy polscy ze Związku Sowieckiego, 1942-1950*, Łódź: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2003, p. 12; Nicolas Werth, 'Mass Deportations, Ethnic Cleansing, and Genocidal Politics in the Later Russian Empire and the USSR', in Donald Bloxham and A. Dirk Moses (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 400-403; Kochanski, *Eagle Unbowed*, pp. 137-138.

¹⁶³ Sword et al., *Formation of the Polish Community*, pp. 61-64.

¹⁶⁴ Maria Maćkowska, *Pomocnicza Służba Kobiet w Polskich Siłach Zbrojnych w okresie 2 wojny światowej*, London: Veritas Foundation Publication Centre, 1990, pp. 8-16.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 96-97; Anna Dzierżek, Zofia Galewska, Irena Horbaczewska and Halina Poliszewska (eds), *Pomocnicza Służba Kobiet w Polskich Siłach Zbrojnych na Zachodzie 1939-1945*, London: Koło Kobiet Żołnierzy PSZ w Wielkiej Brytanii, 1995, p. 94.

Alicja Bober-Michałowska was born in 1922 to a working class family in Lwów and was still a student of the local Pedagogic Lyceum when the war broke out. She was deported to the USSR together with her parents in April 1940. Alicja's only 'crime' was that her older sister was a member of a clandestine Polish military organisation in Lwów. The whole family was forced to work in a remote penal settlement in the Urzhar district of Kazakhstan, near the Chinese border. In May 1942, Alicja volunteered to join the Polish Women's Auxiliary Service in Uzbekistan and was transferred to the School of Younger Volunteers (*Szkoła Młodszych Ochotniczek*) which was organised for Polish girls-soldiers who wished to complete their pre-war high school education.¹⁶⁶ The School covered a condensed programme of different types of pre-war Polish secondary schools. It was later evacuated to Nazareth in Palestine and was attended by 600 'younger volunteers', mostly orphans or half orphans, who were organised as a military unit of the Second Polish Corps. They were subjected to standard military drills and had to perform regular patrol and communication duties.¹⁶⁷ Alicja Bober-Michałowska and thirteen other graduates of the Humanistic Lyceum of the School of Younger Volunteers in Nazareth were shipped via Port Said and the Mediterranean Sea to the Polish Women's Auxiliary Service main base in North Berwick, Scotland, and were later admitted to the PSM as first year medical students in the academic year 1944/1945.¹⁶⁸

Vintage 5: Baltic Sea

A smaller cohort of only nine medical refugees, including four women, escaped from Poland via the Baltic states and Scandinavia in late 1939 and early 1940. Their form of displacement fits the category of 'Individual or Group Escape'. The majority of refugees from this 'vintage' were civilians who fled from the invading Soviets into Lithuania or Latvia, and on their way to Britain often passed across a variety of countries, such as Estonia, Finland, Sweden and Norway. The males from this cohort

¹⁶⁶ Alicja Bober-Michałowska, *Życie autorem*, pp. 11-89.

¹⁶⁷ Maćkowska, *Pomocnicza Służba Kobiet*, pp. 80-88; Helena Bauer et al. (eds), *Książka Pamiątkowa Szkół Młodszych Ochotniczek*, London: Związek Szkół Młodszych Ochotniczek, 1976; pp. 19-41.

¹⁶⁸ Alicja-Bober Michałowska, *W gościnnym Albionie*, pp. 13-47.

volunteered to join the Polish Army in France but were evacuated back across the Channel in June 1940.

The escape route across the Baltic region often required expensive travel arrangement by air. Ships sailing to Stockholm from Riga could be intercepted by German Navy patrols on the Baltic Sea, while the land route via Helsinki was closed off by the Soviet invasion of Finland in December 1939.¹⁶⁹ Those wishing to transit via Sweden needed to obtain visas which the Swedish consulates were reluctant to give for fear of breaching wartime neutrality.¹⁷⁰ Keith Sword et al. estimate that out of 15,500 Polish soldiers who escaped to Lithuania and Latvia in September 1939, only 500 managed to reach Britain via Scandinavia.¹⁷¹ To follow this route out of occupied Poland required considerable resources and perhaps that is why this cohort of medical refugees included some rather wealthy and well-connected individuals. Irena Domańska (born in 1908), who completed three years of medical studies in Poznań, was the wife of a Polish diplomat in Riga.¹⁷² Władysław Wielhorski, a second year medical student in Vilna, came from an aristocratic Polish family that fled from revolutionary Russia in 1917. His father was a professor of economics at the Stephen Bathory University as well as the director of its Eastern European Research Institute in Vilna.¹⁷³ The nineteen year old Princess Maria Elżbieta Światopełk-Czetwertyńska, who graduated from a private gymnasium for girls in 1938, came from an ancient, cosmopolitan and extremely wealthy aristocratic family. Her mother, Princess Róża Radziwiłł, was a personal acquaintance of the King of Italy and owned a palace in the middle of Warsaw.¹⁷⁴ Last but not least, this cohort of refugees also included Marshal Piłsudski's older daughter, Wanda.

Wanda Piłsudska's escape across the Baltic Sea was vividly described by her mother, Aleksandra, in an English-language memoir that was published in London in

¹⁶⁹ EUA, GD46/Box 9: Tadeusz Fabiański's chronicle of the PSM, 1945, Vol. 3, p. 6.

¹⁷⁰ Andrzej Nils Ugglå, *Polacy w Szwecji w latach II wojny światowej*, Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 1996, pp. 30-36; Paweł Jaworski, *Marzyciele i oportuniści: Stosunki polsko-szwedzkie w latach 1939–1945*, Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2009, pp. 337-352.

¹⁷¹ Sword et al., *Formation of the Polish Community*, p. 38.

¹⁷² Gąsiorowski, *Story of the Graduates*, p. 106.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 210-211.

¹⁷⁴ EUA, GD46/Box 5: High school diploma of Maria Elżbieta Czetwertyńska, 1938; Albert Czetwertyński, *Czetwertyńscy na wozie i pod wozem*, Warsaw: Twój Styl Wydawnictwo Książkowe, 2004, pp. 7-133.

1940. Running away from German bombers in the first days of the war, the late Marshal's wife and two daughters escaped from Warsaw to the relatively peaceful city of Vilna. However, after the Soviet invasion of Poland on 17 September 1939, they were forced to cross the nearby frontier into Lithuania. Madame Piłsudska recalls that although she wanted to remain in Vilna:

the Governor of the city had urged me to go, for, as he said, the wife and daughters of Joseph Piłsudski could hope for no mercy at the hands of the Soviets. Two of my husband's brothers had already been arrested. I had spent many months in a Russian prison and I was not going to let my daughters risk the same experience.¹⁷⁵

Unable to find refuge in the Lithuanian capital of Kovno (Kaunas), which was overcrowded by streams of Polish asylum seekers, the party continued their escape to Latvia. But they soon realised that:

in Riga, too, there was no hope of any permanent sanctuary for the Latvian Government had been thrown into apprehension by Stalin's demands, and the decision between peace and war hung in the balance. The Polish Minister there advised us to go straight to Stockholm as soon as possible and to travel by air.¹⁷⁶

After securing three last minute tickets on a plane to Sweden, the women hurried to the aerodrome where, to her dismay, Piłsudska realised that:

the machine belonged to a Swedish-Soviet line and that the pilot was not Swedish as [we] had been given to understand, but a stalwart young Russian. If he guessed our identity he would most probably consider it worth while to take the aeroplane out of its course and land us on Soviet territory! However, it was too late to draw back and I consoled myself with the reflection that as we were certainly not safe in Latvia, which was faced with war or vassalage to Stalin, we were justified in taking the risk. But I knew no peace of mind until we had actually landed on the aerodrome in Stockholm.¹⁷⁷

Thanks to the assistance of Polish diplomats and the British ambassador in Sweden, they were secretly flown from Stockholm to England by an RAF plane.¹⁷⁸ However,

¹⁷⁵ Aleksandra Piłsudska, *Memoirs of Madame Piłsudski*, London: Hurst & Blackett, 1940, pp. 49-50.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

¹⁷⁸ Aleksandra Piłsudska, *Wspomnienia*, London: Gryf Publications, 1960, pp. 43-44; Edward Raczyński, *In Allied London*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson: London, 1962, pp. 46-47.

even this last phase of their daring escape was not devoid of dangers and emotional reactions. Piłsudska was told by the pilot after they landed that:

at one stage he had been pursued by a Nazi plane and had only managed to evade it by climbing into the clouds. ... For the first time since leaving Warsaw I had leisure to think of the future, to realize that I was an exile, without a home or country and that the road ahead was dark and insecure.¹⁷⁹

Madame Piłsudska and her daughters were welcomed on British soil by Count Edward Raczyński, Polish Ambassador in Britain. The diplomat, who helped in arranging their escape from Poland, recalls in his own memoirs that:

The three ladies arrived in London in the evening blackout from an undisclosed northern port (possibly Newcastle). The station, Euston or St Pancras, was plunged in darkness and the few feeble electric lamps were painted dark blue. A very long train steamed in and Madame Piłsudska, dressed in black, alighted from one of the last carriages with her two girls. Wanda was tall, thin and somewhat stooping.¹⁸⁰

These eloquent accounts are worth quoting at length as they provide rare contemporary insights into the experiences of female refugees who are too often neglected in the literature on Polish wartime diaspora.

Vintage 6: Middle East

Another small cohort of twelve male Roman Catholic refugees arrived in Edinburgh via the Middle East in the autumn of 1942. Analogous to Vintage 1, their form of displacement belongs to Kunz's category of 'Army in Flight or Pursuit'. They were soldiers who initially fled from Poland to Hungary or Romania in September 1939. However, unlike their colleague who escaped from internment camps and joined the Polish army in France, refugees from this cohort were evacuated to French Syria by a land route via Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey or by sea across the Mediterranean. In Syria they joined the 5-6,000 strong (Polish) Independent Carpathian Rifle Brigade. After the capitulation of France in the summer of 1940, this unit crossed the border into British Palestine to avoid internment by pro-Vichy

¹⁷⁹ Piłsudska, *Memoirs*, p. 53.

¹⁸⁰ Raczyński, *In Allied London*, pp. 46-47.

French forces. The Brigade later took part in Allied military operations on the North African front, including the famous siege of Tobruk in Libya.¹⁸¹

The story of Jan Danek illustrates the obstacles that medical refugees from this cohort had to overcome on their way to Edinburgh. Danek was born in Cracow in 1917. Both his parents were school teachers and exposed their five sons to foreign languages from an early age. Jan Jakub was proficient in English, French, German and Italian. He studied medicine and agriculture at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow from 1935 until 1937 when he enrolled in the School of Medical Officer Cadets, a military academy that was affiliated with the medical faculty of the Joseph Piłsudski University in Warsaw. In September 1939, Danek was taken prisoner by the Red Army but managed to escape to France via Hungary. Due to his extraordinary foreign language skills he was transferred to Syria as a translator and liaison officer. Danek received first news about the possibility of completing pre-war medical studies at PSM while serving on the North African front. General Sikorski, during his visit to Tobruk in November 1941, apparently gave his word that medical students from the Polish Brigade would be transferred to Edinburgh at the first opportunity. However, this promise was later disregarded and would not have been realised without the intervention of Colonel Bolesław Pogonowski, whose son, Stanisław, was a PSM student and Danek's pre-war colleague from the School of Medical Officer Cadets in Warsaw. Colonel Pogonowski was instrumental in shipping those twelve medical students from the Middle East to Britain across the Red Sea and around Africa. They eventually reached Edinburgh and enrolled at the PSM in October 1942.¹⁸²

Vintage 7: Germany

Another group of twelve male refugees, including eleven Roman Catholics and one Lutheran, arrived in Edinburgh via Germany at the end of the war. Their form of displacement fits Kunz's categories of 'Prisoners-of-War' and 'Deported to

¹⁸¹ Sword et al., *Formation of the Polish Community*, pp. 54-55; Tadeusz Brzeziński, *Służba Zdrowia Polskich Sił Zbrojnych na Zachodzie, 1939-1946: Z Armią Andersa z ZSRR ku Polsce*, Wrocław: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze, 2008, pp. 119-120.

¹⁸² EUA, GD46/Box 9: Biography of Professor Jan J. Danek, 1976.

Captivity'. This cohort included Poles who were liberated by the Allies from German POW and concentration camps in 1944-1945. The subgroup of former Polish POWs included three veterans of the Warsaw Uprising of 1944 who were also former medical students of the clandestine University of the Western Lands (*Uniwersytet Ziemi Zachodniej*). After their arrival in Britain, those three students were allowed to resume medical studies at the PSM.¹⁸³ These refugees came to Edinburgh relatively late and were matriculated in the academic year 1944/1945. Professor Józef Dadlez from the pre-war John Casimir University in Lwów, who was liberated from the Mauthausen-Gusen concentration camp, joined the teaching staff of the PSM as late as February 1947.¹⁸⁴ The stay of those refugees in Edinburgh was therefore rather short, as compared to other cohorts.

Apart from Polish prisoners in Germany, this vintage also included ethnic Poles who were conscripted to the German *Wehrmacht*, and were later captured or wilfully surrendered to the invading Allies in France and Belgium. Five ethnic Poles who deserted from the *Wehrmacht* were enrolled at the PSM under pseudonyms in order to protect their families in German-occupied Poland from possible reprisals. The presence of these ex-German soldiers at the PSM deserves a brief explanation. When the tide of the war began to reverse in 1942-1943, the Nazis somehow relaxed their racial attitudes towards the Poles in the ethnically mixed regions of Greater Poland, Pomerania and Upper Silesia which were directly annexed to the Reich in 1939. Many ethnic Poles were administratively classified as German nationals belonging to the third category of the *Deutsche Volksliste* (hereafter DVL III).¹⁸⁵ People ascribed to DVL III were eligible for conscription into the *Wehrmacht* and refusal to join this category could result in deportation to a concentration camp. This measure essentially allowed the Nazis to recruit more 'cannon fodder' for their waning war machine. Keith Sword points out that such soldiers 'had little interest in fighting for the Nazi cause, and when the British and German armies came into contact, they were more than likely to desert'.¹⁸⁶ Thus the *Wehrmacht* unexpectedly

¹⁸³ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 9 June 1945, 26 June 1945 and 21 Sept 1945.

¹⁸⁴ Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, p. 42.

¹⁸⁵ Andrzej Bolewski and Henryk Pierzchała, *Losy polskich pracowników nauki w latach 1939-1945. Straty osobowe*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1989, p. 102.

¹⁸⁶ Sword et al., *Formation of the Polish Community*, pp. 51-52.

became a major pool of recruits for the Polish Armed Forces in the West in the last stages of the war. An estimated 90,000 Poles found their way to Britain after dropping a German uniform.¹⁸⁷

The presence of these men on British soil was, perhaps understandably, met with a lot of resentment. The Communist press lambasted the Poles for harbouring ‘fascist collaborators’ among their troops.¹⁸⁸ Anti-Semitic incidents in the Polish army that were widely publicized in Britain in 1944 might have also been connected to the influx of Polish recruits who had been previously exposed to Nazi racist ideology while serving in the *Wehrmacht*.¹⁸⁹ It seems that a negative attitude towards this group also affected some individuals who were admitted to the PSM. A student enrolled under the pseudonym of ‘Wiktor Godulski’ was forced to abandon his studies, despite making outstanding progress, when the Home Office withdrew his permission to study, apparently because of previous service in the German Army.¹⁹⁰

The well documented biographies of two other PSM students reveal that compulsory service in the *Wehrmacht* should not be equated to wilful collaboration with the Nazis. Bohdan Adamski, pre-war medical student at the University of Poznań, was born in 1915 in Kiel, Germany. His father was an activist of the local Union of Polish Falcons and took part in the Greater Poland Uprising against Germany in 1919. Adamski worked during the war as a factory worker in Toruń (Thorn) which was annexed to the German Reich as a part of the new province of Danzig-West Prussia. He was pressured in 1942 to apply for the DVL III category because of his place of birth and knowledge of German. He was accordingly conscripted to the *Wehrmacht* in July 1943 and served as a medical orderly in occupied France. Adamski was captured by the British in August 1944 and was handed over to Polish military authorities who sent him to Edinburgh to resume

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 52.

¹⁸⁸ Anon., ‘Released Prisoner Tells of Terrorism in Polish Army’, *Daily Worker*, 11 June 1945, p. 1; Harry McShane, ‘Polish Soldiers ‘Crimed’ – For Wanting to Go Home’, *Daily Worker*, 11 June 1945, p. 4.

¹⁸⁹ Aaron Goldman, ‘The Resurgence of Antisemitism in Britain during World War II’, *Jewish Social Studies*, 46.1 (1984), pp. 42-43; David Engel, *Facing a Holocaust: The Polish Government-in-Exile and the Jews, 1943-1945*, Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993, pp. 108-137.

¹⁹⁰ The National Archives, Kew (hereafter TNA), ED 128/33: List of fourth-year students at the PSM, 15 Jan 1947; Letter from Prof. Rostowski to Thelma Wells, 17 Jan 1947.

medical studies at the PSM. Lucjan Kręcki, another pre-war medical student from Poznań, was born in Berlin in 1919 but raised in Toruń, where he remained after the German invasion of Poland. In April 1941, he was arrested for two weeks for publicly speaking in Polish, and a month later, he was again arrested on suspicion of involvement in sabotage activities. Although he spent six months in the Stutthof concentration camp, Kręcki was also pressured to apply for the DVL III category in October 1942. He was soon after drafted into the *Wehrmacht* and served in France until he was captured as a POW by the Americans. He was taken over by Polish authorities in November 1944 and was sent to Edinburgh to resume medical studies at the PSM.¹⁹¹

Extraordinary routes

Sixteen medical refugees do not fit into any of the seven above-mentioned ‘vintages’, because of the complex and extraordinary character of their individual escape routes from occupied Poland. This phenomenon is well exemplified by the remarkable story of Władysław ‘Bartek’ Mazur. Bartek (born in 1921 in Stary Sącz) attended a state lyceum for boys in Sosnowiec in southern Poland where his father worked as a headmaster of the local Teacher’s College. After the German invasion of Poland, Władysław Mazur senior was arrested by the Nazis, along with thousands of other members of the Polish intelligentsia, and was murdered by a guard in the Mauthausen-Gusen concentration camp. In March 1941, Bartek decided to escape from German-occupied Europe, join the Polish army in Britain and avenge his father’s death. Together with two high school friends, they obtained fake documents and travelled by train via Bohemia and Austria to Bavaria in order to illegally cross the Swiss border. The first attempt resulted in arrest and deportation back to Germany, where Bartek was imprisoned for six weeks and then released to perform forced labour in local farms. Young Mazur’s second attempt to cross the border again resulted in being arrested by the Swiss, but this time he was luckily deported to Non-Occupied France where, unable to reach the Polish army, he studied for a year at the faculty of arts in Lyon. When Germans occupied southern France, Bartek

¹⁹¹ Łysiak, ‘Śladami toruńskich absolwentów’, retrieved on 13 Feb 2012.

escaped to Spain but was arrested by the Francoist police. He was held in Gerona prison and then Miranda de Ebro concentration camp from December 1942 until April 1943, when he was evacuated via Gibraltar to Britain. Finally able to join the Polish army, Bartek was trained as a paratrooper and, still determined to avenge his father by killing Nazis, took part in Operation Market Garden, the unsuccessful Allied airborne assault behind enemy lines in September 1944. The experience of frontline combat at the Battle of Arnhem made him realise that saving human lives is better than killing. He was transferred back to Britain and enrolled at the PSM as a first year medical student in December 1944.¹⁹²

Push and pull factors

Following the analytical framework of Kunz's and Johansson's models, it could be argued that the movement of Polish medical refugees towards Edinburgh was determined by a combination of 'push-and-pull factors'. Few refugees escaped or were forced to leave Poland with the intention of reaching Britain, much less studying or teaching at the PSM. Their individual journeys across entire continents and oceans were multistep and multidirectional, and numerous factors determined the course of their movements in different stages of the 'great trek' that ultimately brought all of them to Edinburgh. Although several common 'push' and 'pull' forces will be identified below, one should remember that it was always a combination of structural forces and personal choices, rather than a single 'push' or 'pull' factor, that influenced the decisions of individual refugees.

The German and Soviet invasion and occupation of Poland provided the original impetus for leaving the homeland. Chased by enemy tanks and bombers that often did not discriminate between military and civilian targets, many of the medical refugees were quite literally pushed into neighbouring Hungary, Romania, Lithuania

¹⁹² Władysław Mazur's correspondence with Sławomir Kwiatkowski, 1945-2000, scanned copies of original handwritten letters in possession of the author; Typed curriculum vitae of Władysław Mazur's father, undated (after 1949), scanned copy in possession of the author; Typed curriculum vitae of Władysław Mazur, 6 Apr 1957, scanned copy in possession of the author; Unpublished memoirs of Władysław Mazur, 'Bartek Chronicles', Book I and III, 1990, transcript of the original manuscripts in possession of the author; E-mail correspondence with Edina Alavi and Kristyna Landt, 2012-2015, in possession of the author.

or Latvia in September 1939. German and Soviet policies and practices, such as deportations to labour camps, population transfers and military conscription, also served as 'push' factors that forcibly removed many men and women from their homes. At the same time, the climate of arbitrary terror and uncertainty about one's own safety that prevailed in occupied Poland influenced many individual decisions to escape abroad. In the case of *réfugiés sur place*, the outbreak of the war served as a 'push' factor that effectively prevented them from returning home.

In addition to the original impetus provided by German and Soviet actions inside Poland, various military, diplomatic and political developments outside of the homeland served as intermediate 'push' factors that propelled the medical refugees on their protracted way to Edinburgh. The initial destination of many of them was France or French-mandated Syria, where Polish army units were reorganised in the autumn of 1939. However, the unexpected defeat and surrender of French troops in June 1940 forced the Poles to escape further to Britain or British Palestine. Several interrelated 'push' factors determined the movement of medical refugees who were initially deported to the Soviet Union. German invasion of the USSR in June 1941, and the subsequent diplomatic rapprochement between Stalin and the Polish government-in-exile, allowed for their release from POW camps, prisons, labour camps and penal settlements.

Mutual suspicions and mounting difficulties surrounding the organisation of the Polish Army in the USSR, combined with a British desire to strengthen Allied defences in the Middle East, resulted in the subsequent evacuation of Polish refugees to Iran and then Palestine.¹⁹³ Environmental conditions served as additional 'push' factors. After spending several months in forced labour camps in Siberia and Arctic Russia, or in primitive penal settlements on the Central Asian steps, thousands of physically and mentally exhausted Polish soldiers and civilian refugees were decimated in the overcrowded camps in Soviet Uzbekistan by famine and epidemic outbreaks of highly contagious diseases, such as typhus and dysentery. It is therefore

¹⁹³ Kochanski, *Eagle Unbowed*, pp. 163-203.

likely that deteriorating sanitary conditions pressured General Anders to speed up the evacuation of his troops from the USSR in 1942.¹⁹⁴

The ultimate 'push' factor on the arduous journey towards Edinburgh was often provided by Polish authorities in Britain. The majority of medical refugees at the PSM were soldiers and officers of the Polish Armed Forces in the West. Temporary relief from active military service for the purpose of pursuing studies or didactic work had to be sanctioned by appropriate military authorities. Polish servicemen who studied medicine before the war were often ordered by their superiors to report in Edinburgh and resume their studies at the PSM. The first batch of 46 soldiers-students was assigned to the PSM in March 1941 by order of General Marian Kukiel, Commanding Officer of the First (Polish) Corps in Scotland.¹⁹⁵ One of them was Kazimierz Durkacz, a third year medical student of the John Casimir University in Lwów, who escaped to Britain via Hungary and France. Lance Corporal Durkacz was temporarily employed in building defences on the east coast of Scotland when one day he was given an order to report to Edinburgh. Upon arrival in the Scottish capital, unsuspecting Durkacz was casually informed at the local Polish command: 'and now you will be studying medicine'.¹⁹⁶

Certain 'pull' factors at the same time played a role in shaping the kinetics of the Polish medical refugee movement. Although they were rarely the reason for leaving the homeland in the first place, the 'pull' factors sometimes determined the decision of exactly where to flee. Many refugees escaped to Romania and Hungary primarily because these neighbouring countries were geographically close and offered shelter and protection from the invading German and Soviet armies. However, there were also other considerations that made these two countries into desirable places of asylum. Although it remained neutral in 1939, Romania was a mutual ally of Poland and France since 1921, and it was expected that the Romanians

¹⁹⁴ T. Brzeziński, 'Sytuacja epidemiologiczna Armii Polskiej w ZSRR w okresie przemieszczania na południe ZSRR i do Iranu (w świetle sprawozdań szefa służby zdrowia)', *AHiFM*, 58.2 (1995), pp. 153-163. See also Pole, *Murder, Medicine and Merriment*, p. 80; Bober-Michałowska, *Życie autorem*, pp. 70-82.

¹⁹⁵ Brodzki, *PSM*, p. 22.

¹⁹⁶ Interview with Dr Kazimierz Durkacz, Edinburgh, 25 Sept 2012, minutes in possession of the author.

would allow the Poles safe passage to the West.¹⁹⁷ Notwithstanding pro-German sympathies that were prevailing in this country, Hungary was also attractive to Polish refugees because of the traditional Polish-Hungarian friendship that went back to the Middle Ages.¹⁹⁸ Poland and Hungary shared a short border in the Carpathian Mountains since the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, and despite considerable pressures from Nazi diplomats, Pal Teleki's government refused the German Army permission to cross through Hungarian territory during the invasion of Poland. Karoly Kapronczay points out that 'by standing by her resolve, Hungary not only gave proof of her friendship for Poland, but helped the Polish army. It also made the refugees' flight into Hungary easier'.¹⁹⁹

The presence of Polish diplomatic posts and military camps abroad likewise served as a 'pull' factor on the road that ultimately led to Edinburgh. France and Britain attracted Polish medical refugees not only as Allied powers who had entered the war on behalf of Poland, but primarily because the Polish government and army were reorganised on French and British soil. In a similar fashion, Polish recruitment centres in the Middle East and the southern USSR drew in many scattered soldiers who wished to (re)enlist in the Polish army. Those who were civilian refugees, especially in the Soviet Union, also tried to get as close as possible to Polish army camps, because the military provided them with protection, healthcare, food and transportation.

Finally, the opportunity to continue medical studies, research and didactic work at the PSM was in itself a powerful 'pull' factor that directly attracted many displaced Poles to Edinburgh. Polish civilian refugees from Britain, North Africa, the Middle East, the USA and Canada applied for admission or employment at the PSM. Many soldiers in active service likewise requested on their own initiative to be transferred to Edinburgh in order to complete their pre-war medical studies.

¹⁹⁷ Kamiński, 'Wrzesień 1939 roku', pp. 36-37.

¹⁹⁸ Kulczycki, *From Adversity to Victory*, p. 16; Mitus, *A Long Episode*, p. 394. For more on Polish-Hungarian relations, see Andrew Haraszti, *Eleven Hundred Years of Common Polish-Hungarian History (an outline)*, Chicago: Polish-Hungarian World Federation, 1982.

¹⁹⁹ Karoly Kapronczay, *Refugees in Hungary: Shelter from Storm during World War II*, Toronto-Buffalo: Matthias Corvinus Publishing, 1999, p. 38.

Resources and barriers

In addition to the structural 'push-and pull' forces that determined the over-all direction of the refugee movement towards Edinburgh, the available resources and the need to overcome arising barriers played a role in speeding up or delaying the passage across political and geographical boundaries. Organised help from the Polish government-in-exile was probably the most important resource available to medical refugees on their way to Edinburgh. Under the codename 'Operation EWA', Polish diplomats in Budapest, Bucharest and Zagreb coordinated the clandestine evacuation of Poles from Hungary and Romania. Polish internees and civilian refugees who wished to escape to France via Yugoslavia and Italy were provided with necessary information, false passports, civilian clothing, money and train tickets. Polish officials in Barcelona, Madrid and Lisbon assisted those refugees who escaped from Non-Occupied France and tried to reach Britain via Gibraltar.²⁰⁰ Polish welfare delegates in the USSR helped ex-prisoners and deportees on their way to Polish army camps in Soviet Central Asia. Polish ocean liners and passenger ships, which were requisitioned by the Navy after the outbreak of war, carried evacuees across the Mediterranean and the Atlantic.

Polish government-in-exile was not only hosted by France and Britain but the Allies provided material and financial assistance that complemented the resources distributed by Polish officials. The British organised the means of transport by sea and by air for many Polish exiles who wished to find a safe haven in Britain. The escape of Wanda Piłsudska is a good example of British assistance to high profile Polish refugees. British warships, cargo vessels and boats carried many Polish soldiers and civilians across the Channel after the fall of France, and it was the British who co-ordinated the evacuation of Polish soldiers from the USSR via the Middle East or across the Arctic Ocean.

Polish medical refugees also received assistance from friendly neutral powers. Soldiers who crossed the Hungarian and Romanian borders in September 1939 were disarmed and interned in accordance with the Hague Conventions.

²⁰⁰ For more details on the organised evacuation of Polish refugees, see Stanisław Schimitzek, *Na krawędzie Europy: Wspomnienia portugalskie 1939-1946*, Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1970.

However, despite diplomatic pressures from Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, Hungarian and Romanian authorities and internment camp commanders did little to prevent individual and group escapes of Polish soldiers and civilians. On the contrary, some high-ranking officials actively assisted in the clandestine evacuation of Polish internees. For instance, Polish organisers of ‘Operation EWA’ in Hungary closely cooperated with József Antall, director of the Social Work and Welfare Department of the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior.²⁰¹ Medical refugees on their way to Edinburgh sometimes obtained humanitarian support from various non-governmental organisations. The International Red Cross, the American Red Cross, the Relief Fund for Poland and other charities provided food, clothes, blankets, sanitary products and medicaments to Poles released from labour camps in Soviet Union and to Polish inmates of the Miranda de Ebro concentration camp.

Individual resources of the refugees themselves were of essential importance in facilitating their movement towards Edinburgh. Above all, personal courage was obviously required to penetrate political and geographical frontiers, often at the risk of imprisonment or death. The story of Bartek Mazur’s daring escape from German-occupied Europe is a great example of personal qualities that were required to overcome those barriers. Financial resources were also necessary to pay for food and means of transportation as well as to bribe border guards. The knowledge of foreign languages saved many refugees from being intercepted on their way. Apart from fluency in German or Russian, the ability to communicate in less known languages, such as Ukrainian and Hungarian, could often be a great asset. Last but not least, mutual help and co-operation of the refugees was crucial, as almost all escapes from occupied Poland took place in small groups of friends or relatives.

Polish medical refugees needed to possess or acquire at least some of the abovementioned resources in order to overcome many barriers on the road that ultimately led them to Edinburgh. Crossing the Polish-Hungarian mountainous border in the winter of 1939/1940 meant a 20 km hike in deep snow at altitudes reaching 2,000 meters. Needless to say, the geography of the British Isles also posed a serious challenge to the refugees, as they needed organised assistance from the

²⁰¹Judith Fai-Podlipnik, ‘Hungary’s Relationship with Poland and its Refugees during World War II’, *East European Quarterly*, 36.1 (2002), pp. 63-78; Kapronczay, *Refugees in Hungary*, pp. 43-47.

British government to travel to Edinburgh by sea or by air. The political borders were often strictly controlled and several medical refugees were caught by the Soviet guards while trying to cross the pre-war Polish-Romanian frontier. The resulting deportations to Siberia considerably delayed their eventual arrival in Edinburgh. Changing frontlines and movements of enemy armies often posed insurmountable barriers for the refugees. German *Blitzkrieg* in the summer of 1940 cut off many Poles from the possibility of evacuation via French Atlantic ports and forced them to seek a longer and more dangerous route to Britain that led across Spain to Portugal or Gibraltar. The ships carrying Polish refugees across the Atlantic were also required to adopt roundabout routes in order to avoid German submarine attacks.

Values and objectives

In the first stages of the refugee movement the need for survival was probably the paramount objective. When personal safety was secured by evacuation or transfer to Britain, the actions of some medical refugees might have been motivated by a desire for professional self-development. The PSM offered many Polish men and women a unique opportunity to gain medical qualifications which, for various reasons, they would not have been able to obtain in Poland. Admission to pre-war Polish medical faculties was competitive.²⁰² In the academic year 1937/1938, a total of 790 candidates out of 2,043 applicants were accepted for the first year of medical studies at the five universities.²⁰³ The number of Jewish and female students was additionally limited by specific quotas. Students who could not secure a place at pre-war medical faculties chose related but less prestigious academic disciplines, such as dentistry, veterinary medicine and physical education. Admission to the PSM therefore allowed those refugees to fulfil their original dreams of studying medicine.

Compared to the interwar period, admission criteria at the PSM were significantly relaxed. There were no entrance exams and fixed quotas of students. Polish refugees who had previously studied medicine or related disciplines in Poland

²⁰² Roman K. Meissner, 'The Medical Department of Poznan University As Seen in the Year 2000', in idem, *Księga Pamiątkowa*, p. 510; Wanda Wojtkiewicz-Rok, 'Propozycje programowe w zakresie reform kształcenia medycznego w latach 1926-1939 Wydziału Lekarskiego Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego', *Medycyna Nowożytna: Studia nad Historią Medycyny*, 5.1 (1998), p. 85.

²⁰³ *Mały Rocznik Statystyczny 1939*, pp. 331-334.

or abroad were usually allowed to resume their studies at the PSM without repeating courses and exams. Senior year veterinary students, for example, were accepted to the third year of medical studies on the condition that they would in due time pass human anatomy (normally a second year examination subject). Exams passed at French medical faculties were automatically confirmed at the PSM, while students from other foreign universities were sometimes asked to re-sit exams in those subjects that were not taught according to pre-war Polish standards. In the case of first year students, who wished to enrol at the PSM without prior experience of university education in any related discipline, the only requirements for admission were a diploma of the old-style gymnasium/new-style lyceum or an equivalent foreign secondary school qualification as well as knowledge of Latin.²⁰⁴

Matriculation and other fees charged by the University of Edinburgh and the local teaching hospitals were paid on behalf of the students by the Polish government-in-exile.²⁰⁵ Room and board in Edinburgh was provided free of charge for rank-and-file soldiers by the Polish Red Cross, while officers and civilian students received stipends which allowed them to rent private accommodation.²⁰⁶

Those favourable conditions allowed some students to manipulate the admission process. The peculiar circumstances of arrival in Edinburgh meant that very few refugees had any pre-war student identification cards or matriculation records. The admission process at the PSM often had to rely on the candidate's own oral and written declarations about his or hers previous qualifications.²⁰⁷ The desirability of obtaining a medical degree was apparently so great that several Polish refugees lied about the level of their pre-war education in order to unlawfully gain admission to the PSM.²⁰⁸ On the other hand, there were several cases of students who

²⁰⁴ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 1941-1945.

²⁰⁵ Antoni Jurasz, 'Sprawozdanie... na uroczystym otwarciu roku akademickiego 1942-43', *Lekarz Wojskowy: Journal of the Polish Army Medical Corps* (hereafter *Lekarz Wojskowy*), 35.1 (1942-1943), p. 83.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., pp. 83-84; Stanisław Gebertt, 'Życie studentów na Polskim Wydziale Lekarskim w Edynburgu, 1941-1949', *AHiFM*, 57.3 (1994), pp. 336-337.

²⁰⁷ Teleszyński, 'Polski Wydział Lekarski', p. 58.

²⁰⁸ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 11 Apr 1941, 10 Oct 1941, 22 Jan 1942, 5 Feb 1942, 9 Dec 1942, 8 Jan 1943, 23 May 1944 and 16 Dec 1944; Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum Archive, London (hereafter PISM), A.19. II/76: Records of the Dean's Office of the PSM, May 1944. See also Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, pp. 164-165.

had sought and obtained admission on formally legitimate grounds, but after arrival in Edinburgh showed no interest in studying, failed to attend lectures and did not sit any exams.²⁰⁹ There could have been various reasons for such behaviour, ranging from an inability to cope with student life after many years of interruption to serious physical and mental health problems. The latter often resulted from previous traumatic wartime experiences of imprisonment or slave labour. Obtaining leave from active military service for the purpose of studying medicine at the PSM might have been exploited by Polish soldiers who found camp life under strict military discipline unbearable. Big city life in Edinburgh definitely offered more attractions to young educated men than barracks and tents in rural Scotland.

The importance of the need for survival in the first weeks of the war, and a desire for professional self-development in the last stages of their journey to the PSM, do not, however, explain why so many medical refugees actually risked their lives to reach Polish army units in France, Britain or the Middle East. It seems that many of those who initially arrived in Britain as soldiers of the Polish Armed Forces were primarily motivated by a self-imposed mission to fight in exile for the independence of Poland. Anna Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann defines the exile mission as ‘an unwritten set of beliefs, goals and responsibilities of Polish emigrants, which placed patriotic work for Poland at the centre of their duties toward the homeland’.²¹⁰ The tradition of Polish exiles fighting for national independence in alliance with foreign powers and setting up autonomous military formations on foreign soil originated during the French Revolutionary Wars and continued throughout the long nineteenth century.²¹¹ The exile mission was deeply ingrained in Polish national imagination through family memories, school curricula and literary works, such as the Romantic writings of émigré poets and national bards, such as Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1855) and Juliusz Słowacki (1809-1849).²¹² Historical allusions, paraphrases

²⁰⁹ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 27 May 1944 and 1 Mar 1945.

²¹⁰ Anna D. Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann, *The Exile Mission: The Polish Political Diaspora and Polish Americans, 1939-1956*, Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004, p. 2.

²¹¹ Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland. Vol. II: 1795 to the Present*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981, pp. 275-276; Carswell, ‘Bonnie Fechtters’, p. 136.

²¹² Mathew Frye Jacobson, *Special Sorrows: The Diasporic Imagination of Irish, Polish, and Jewish Immigrants in the United States*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002, p. 14; Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann, *The Exile Mission*, pp. 1-2.

and quotes from Mickiewicz and Słowacki, which often appear in memoirs and reminiscences, suggest that many medical refugees consciously evoked the exile mission on their road to Edinburgh.²¹³

Characteristics of medical refugees at the PSM

Different vintages of the movement towards Edinburgh eventually converged into the wave of 406 medical refugees, 297 men and 109 women, who arrived at the PSM between 1941 and 1947. They can be divided into three functional categories: 37 members of the senior teaching staff, 39 members of the auxiliary teaching staff, and 361 students (see Table 4 in the Appendix). Some of the refugees belonged to more than one category. All statistical data and general information provided below with regard to medical refugees at the PSM were collected from various primary and secondary sources which are listed in the Bibliography.

Institutional affiliation of Polish medical refugees

In terms of pre-war institutional affiliation, the majority of refugees at the PSM hailed from the oldest and well-established academic centres in Cracow and Lwów and from pre-war Poland's largest institution of higher education, the Joseph Piłsudski University in Warsaw. The younger and smaller universities in Poznań and Vilna were less represented, partly because these cities were located further away from the border with Hungary and Romania through which the largest cohort of medical refugees escaped from occupied Poland. The institutional affiliation of Polish members of the PSM's teaching staff is represented in Table 5 in the Appendix. As of August 1939, 30 out of 37 (81%) members of the senior teaching staff were employed by one of the five public universities, mostly in medical schools but also in the faculties of agriculture or natural science and mathematics. Two each worked in hospitals and private medical practice, military medical institutions or foreign universities. Most of those employed outside of universities were graduates of Polish medical faculties. The institutional affiliation of Polish members of the PSM's auxiliary teaching staff is also represented in Table 5 in the Appendix. More

²¹³ For some examples, see Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, p. 71; Pole, *Murder, Medicine and Merriment*, p. 92; Mitus, *A Long Episode*, p. 436; Bober-Michałowska, *W gościnnym Albionie*, p. 209.

than 70% had some previous connection with Polish universities. 8 (or 20.5%) worked as assistants or demonstrators, and at least 20 others (or 51.3%) were graduates or former students at one of the five public universities in Poland. Most of them were attached to medical faculties, but there were also representatives of other disciplines, mostly veterinary medicine. Those without previous academic credentials were mostly graduates of the PSM.

The educational background of PSM students is represented in Table 6 in the Appendix. 172 students began their medical education at Polish universities. The largest cohort (48 refugees) attended the Joseph Piłsudski University in Warsaw, including 22 soldiers from the School of Medical Officer Cadets. A slightly smaller group of 46 students hailed from the John Casimir University in Lwów. 34 individuals were enrolled at the medical faculty of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, 28 at the University of Poznań, and 23 at the Stephen Bathory University in Vilna. A number of students pursued medical education at more than one university in pre-war Poland. One female student attended the Jagiellonian University in Austrian-ruled Cracow before Poland regained independence in 1918, and three males studied medicine at the clandestine University of the Western Lands in occupied Warsaw until the Uprising of 1944.

55 Polish refugees began their medical studies at foreign universities. The majority of them attended various French universities, while smaller groups were enrolled at medical faculties in Belgium, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Lithuania, Switzerland and Austria. Individual refugees were also found at universities in the UK, Canada, Lebanon, Romania and Hungary. A number of students pursued medical education at more than one foreign university, and sometimes in several different countries. 19 students who came to the PSM from foreign universities had previously attended Polish pre-war medical faculties. Three students obtained foreign medical degrees before enrolling at the PSM.

36 students of the PSM pursued university education in other disciplines in Poland or abroad before their arrival in Edinburgh. The majority studied subjects more or less related to medicine, such as veterinary medicine, pharmacy and physical education. Five final year students of pharmacy passed their exams and obtained special certificates at the PSM. Smaller groups of students pursued non-medical

subjects, such as natural sciences and mathematics, agriculture, law, humanities and social sciences, and fine art. 22 students pursued other subjects besides medicine in Poland and abroad, and some of them even obtained degrees in veterinary medicine, dental surgery, physical education, psychology and chemistry. Finally, 99 students did not have any university education before coming to Edinburgh and were admitted to the first year of medical studies at the PSM. This last group was mostly made up of men and women who were born in the 1920s and left occupied Poland as teenagers.

Age and gender structure of Polish medical refugees

The date of birth is known for all but eleven medical refugees at the PSM, and therefore it is possible to reconstruct the age structure of this subgroup of the Polish wartime diaspora in Britain (see Table 7 in the Appendix). The majority of 251 (or 61.8%) were born in the 1910s. These men and women were socialised and educated in the interwar period and became refugees in their 20s. Polish medical students in Edinburgh, who ‘lost’ several years due to wartime displacement and service in the armed forces, were on average older than their Scottish colleagues who entered the University at the age of 17.²¹⁴ This difference was also caused by the PSM’s admission policy which provided refugees who had interrupted their studies many years before the war with an opportunity to obtain medical diplomas in their 30s and 40s.

The oldest age cohort comprised ten men and one woman born in the 1880s. They were mostly professors and senior lecturers (docents) who had been educated before 1918 at Polish medical faculties in Austrian Galicia or at various German and Russian universities. Tadeusz Rogalski, pre-war professor of applied anatomy and physical education in Cracow, was the ‘Nestor’ of medical refugees at the PSM. Due to their advanced age, professors Rogalski (born in 1881), Lakner and Ruszkowski (both born in 1884) were all affectionately called *Dziadek* (Grandpa) by their Polish

²¹⁴ EUA, GD46/Box 5: Memoirs of Stefan Grzybowski, 1943-1945, p. 5. See also *Edinburgh University Calendar 1941-1942*, Edinburgh: James Thin, 1941, p. 358.

students in Edinburgh.²¹⁵ Members of the senior teaching staff were mostly born between 1880 and 1910 but functional category was not always correlated with age. Refugees from the two oldest cohorts also included several undergraduate students. Regina Goldstejn (born in 1890) completed her medical studies at the Jagiellonian University in 1917 but was not able to pass her final exams because of family reasons. She was admitted to the PSM as a final year student in January 1945 at the age of 55.²¹⁶ The senior teaching staff, in turn, included relatively young academics, such as Wiktor Tomaszewski (born in 1907) who was the youngest senior lecturer (docent) at the pre-war University of Poznań.²¹⁷

66 Polish medical refugees who were born in the 1920s were the only age group in which women outnumbered men (by a 2:1 ratio). This cohort included adolescents who were forced to leave Poland before they had the chance to complete their secondary education. They were mostly children of Polish military officers and state officials who were evacuated to Britain during the war as well as children from pre-war Poland's Eastern Borderlands who had been deported with their families to the Soviet Union, and later transferred to Britain via Iran and the Middle East. Historians of migration refer to such partly socialised adolescent children who continue their education in the receiving society as the '1.5 generation' of migrants.²¹⁸ In the case of Polish refugees, it seems appropriate to consider the possession of a high school diploma as the threshold of completed socialisation and maturity. The Polish high school diploma has traditionally been known as *świadectwo dojrzałości* (certificate of maturity) or simply *matura*. According to this criterion, 53 students of the PSM (15.5% of the total student body) could be identified as belonging to the '1.5 generation' of Polish medical refugees in Edinburgh (see Table 8 in the Appendix). These 40 girls and 13 boys were born in 1920 or later, and did not complete their high school education in Poland. The

²¹⁵ EUA, GD46/Box 5: Memoirs of Stefan Grzybowski, 1943-1945, p. 12; Diary of Zdzisław Golarz (Teleszyński), 30 Oct 1942. See also Bober-Michałowska, *W gościny Albionie*, p. 56.

²¹⁶ Gąsiorowski, *Story of graduates*, pp. 120-121.

²¹⁷ Tomaszewski and Meissner, *Wspomnienia z lat dawnych*, p. 85.

²¹⁸ Christiane Harzig and Dirk Hoerder, with Donna Gabaccia, *What is Migration History?*, Cambridge and Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2009, p. 103.

youngest student at the PSM was born in Cracow in 1927, and was only 12 years old when the war broke out and forced her to leave Poland.²¹⁹

The '1.5 generation' of medical refugees were accepted as first year students at the PSM between 1941 and 1944, after completing their secondary education at various British, French and Canadian institutions, or at special wartime high schools which were set by the Polish government-in-exile in Romania, France, Britain and Palestine. Three girls and three boys managed to complete their secondary education even before their arrival in Britain. In 1940, three students graduated from the Cyprian Kamil Norwid High School in Paris and one from the Polish High School in Turnu-Severin in Romania. Two more boys graduated from the Norwid High School in 1943, after the school was transferred to Villard de Lans in the south of France. Fifteen girls and one boy graduated from Polish high schools in Palestine before coming to Britain. Twenty students graduated from two Polish secondary schools which were set up in Scotland in 1940. The Juliusz Słowacki State Gymnasium and Lyceum for Boys was opened in Dunalastair House near Pitlochry in Perthshire and was later moved to Glasgow, while the Maria Skłodowska-Curie State Gymnasium and Lyceum for Girls operated in Scone Palace and later in Dunalastair House.²²⁰ One more female student completed her high school education in the Polish Air Force base in Blackpool.²²¹ A numerically smaller subgroup of the '1.5 generation' of medical refugees obtained high school diplomas or equivalent certificates from non-Polish institutions in Britain and Canada (see Table 8 in the Appendix).

Alumni of Polish high schools in Britain were admitted to the PSM without any entrance examinations, while some graduates of British high schools had to pass special exams in Latin.²²² The wartime network of high schools abroad allowed its graduates to complete interrupted secondary education in their native language. This provision was especially important because Polish adolescent refugees were rarely fluent in the languages of various host societies. Polish high schools moreover allowed the adolescent refugees to complete their socialisation into the Polish

²¹⁹ EUA, IN14/7: Student record schedule of NN 45 (pseudonym).

²²⁰ Tadeusz Radzik, *Szkolnictwo polskie w Wielkiej Brytanii w latach drugiej wojny światowej*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo Polonia, 1986, pp. 103-112.

²²¹ Gąsiorowski, *Story of graduates*, p. 208.

²²² EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 16 Dec 1941 and 22 Jan 1942.

intelligentsia and to maintain contacts with the language and culture of their lost homeland. Thus, it could be argued that the global network of Polish high schools helped to diminish the generational gap between adult and adolescent medical refugees at the PSM.

The relative overrepresentation of women among the 1.5 generation was caused by the policies of Polish military authorities in Britain. Young Polish men capable of military service were generally not allowed to enrol as first year students at the PSM, while this restriction did not apply to female civilians and volunteers from the Polish Women's Auxiliary Service. The influx of Polish girls born in the 1920s, combined with a lack of quotas on female admissions, resulted in the fact that women made up 29.4% of all students and 21.6% of PSM graduates. The proportion of female students was therefore significantly higher than the average 20% of women at the five medical faculties in pre-war Poland. In comparison, the percentage of female students at university medical schools in Britain grew from 19.5% in the academic year 1938/1939 to 21.4% in 1942/1943, but at the University of Edinburgh it dropped in the same period from 27.3% to 25.6%.²²³ In total, 109 women made up 29.6% of medical refugees at the PSM (see Table 18 in the Appendix). When compared with statistics collected by Paul Weindling, the number of females at the PSM appears significantly higher than the proportion of women among all Polish medical refugees in Britain (14%) and even slightly higher than the percentage of females among medical refugees from all nationalities (23%).²²⁴ The relatively high number of women at the PSM reflected the above-mentioned influx of 42 adolescent female refugees. In contrast, only 7 out of 235 identified Czechoslovak medical refugees were born in 1920 or later.²²⁵

The number of Polish women in the teaching staff of the PSM was much smaller and this reflected their underrepresentation among academics in pre-war Poland. There were only six female senior and junior assistants, and they made up 15.4% of the members of the auxiliary teaching staff. Three of them were graduates of pre-war Polish universities, while the other three female assistants were alumnae

²²³ Ministry of Health, *Report on Medical Schools*, pp. 260-261.

²²⁴ Weindling, 'Medical Refugees from Czechoslovakia', p. 384.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 387.

of the PSM. There were no female members of the senior teaching staff. Attempts to employ Maria Gutowska, assistant research professor of nutrition at the Massachusetts State College, eventually failed due to misunderstandings and wartime delays in communication between Edinburgh and the USA.²²⁶

Ethnicity and religion at the PSM

Ethno-religious composition of the PSM's staff and students was more homogeneous than in pre-war Polish medical faculties. Roman Catholics made up 84.5%, Jews 9.7%, and Lutherans 2.8% of the 361 Polish students who arrived at the PSM between 1941 and 1945. A few individuals did not adhere to any religion, and there was one female Christian Orthodox student (see Table 9 in the Appendix). The Jews were by far the largest minority and the proportion of Jewish students at the PSM was only slightly lower than their average percentage at the five Polish medical faculties in the academic year 1937/1938. Although comprehensive data are not available, there were also some Jews among members of the teaching staff. Professor Jakub Rostowski was a convert from Judaism to Roman Catholicism, and two other academics, senior lecturer (docent) Henryk Reiss and senior assistant Józef Goldberg, were also of Jewish origins but the available information is not precise about their actual religious affiliation.²²⁷

In contrast to the significant presence of Jewish students among Polish refugees in Edinburgh, it seems that there were no self-declared Ukrainians, Belarusians or Germans at the PSM. The absence of academics and students from the so-called Slavic minorities can probably be explained by their underrepresentation both in pre-war medical faculties and among Polish refugees in Britain. The presence of ethnic Germans, whose pre-war level of education was relatively high, would have been hardly tolerated at the PSM due to nationalist resentment and concerns over wartime security. However, it is possible that some students concealed their actual

²²⁶ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 20 Feb 1943, 27 Apr 1943, 26 Nov 1943 and 18 Oct 1944; PISM, A.19. II/76: Records of the Dean's Office of the PSM, 1943-1944; Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, USA (hereafter HIA), 800/42/0/-/95/20: Hiring of Prof. Gutowska, 1943-1944.

²²⁷ Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, p. 278; Stanisław Gebertt, 'Groby lekarzy polskich w Edynburgu', *AHiFM*, 57.3 (1994), p. 399.

background for fear of discrimination, especially since national minorities were accused by ethnic Poles of disloyalty and collaboration with the occupants. In fact, long-term historical resentments and the abuse of Polish-language education for the purpose of forced cultural assimilation in the interwar period might have contributed to the estrangement of ethnic Ukrainian, Belarusian and Lithuanian youth. Many of them probably welcomed the downfall of Poland in September 1939, especially since they gained prioritised access to de-Polonised universities in Lwów and Vilna. Thus, the same wartime conditions, that determined the movement of Polish Jewish and Roman Catholic refugees towards Edinburgh, affected students from different backgrounds in the opposite way. There was little incentive for ethnically German, Ukrainian, Belarusian and Lithuanian medical students and scientists to escape occupied Poland and join the wartime cause of re-establishing an independent Polish state in its pre-war borders.²²⁸

Social background of Polish medical refugees

Unlike institutional affiliation, age and gender structure, and ethno-religious composition, a comprehensive social profile of Polish medical refugees is impossible to reconstruct because the preserved records of the PSM rarely contain information about parents' profession. However, partial data available from other sources, such as biographies, questionnaires, interviews and obituaries, suggest that children of the intelligentsia unsurprisingly predominated among Polish medical refugees. A significant number of students, especially many females, were children of high ranking military officers. Wanda Piłsudska and Anna Sokołowska are good examples of this trend. Children of medical practitioners were another discernible subgroup of refugees with an intelligentsia background. Władysław Gałęcki, for instance, was the son of Stanisław Cyprian Gałęcki, organiser and medical director of Poland's first public tuberculosis sanatorium in Rudka, near Warsaw.²²⁹ Other parents represented different 'free professions', such as dentists, lawyers and architects. For example,

²²⁸ For more details on the attitudes of national minorities in wartime Poland, see Edward D. Wynot, Jr, 'World of delusions and disillusion: The national minorities of Poland during world war II', *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, 7.2 (1979), pp. 177-196.

²²⁹ Gašiorowski, *Story of Graduates*, pp. 114-116.

Irena Wittek and Krystyna Gottlieb were both daughters of a lawyer.²³⁰ Another significant group was formed by children of state officials, such as university professors, mayors, judges, school principals and teachers, railway stationmasters and tax inspectors.

Other social strata were less represented than the intelligentsia among the PSM's staff and students. The fate of a handful of refugees from an upper class background demonstrates the 'democratising' effect of involuntary migration. The offspring of Polish aristocracy and landed gentry could pursue university studies out of interest rather than economic necessity before the war, but in exile education often remained their only capital. It is easy to overlook the fact that a female student who was matriculated at the PSM simply as Maria Zantara, would have been known in pre-war Poland under her maiden name of Princess Maria Elżbieta Światopełk-Czetwertyńska.²³¹ Wartime displacement meant social degradation for such upper class exiles whose family estates and businesses were first destroyed by the Nazis and then confiscated by the Communists. In turn, the opening of the PSM incidentally provided refugees from working class and peasant backgrounds with an opportunity to obtain a coveted medical degree free of charge. For example, Alicja Bober-Michałowska, daughter of a typesetter in Lwów, was preparing before her deportation to the USSR for a less prestigious career as an elementary school teacher.²³²

Citizenship of Polish medical refugees

Last but not least, it should be emphasised that not all medical refugees at the PSM were citizens of the Second Polish Republic. Polish medical students in Edinburgh included 2 American, 2 British, 1 Romanian, 1 Czechoslovak and 1 German citizen, while pre-war state affiliation of 5 students is unclear (see Table 18 in the Appendix). The Czechoslovak and German nationals were ethnic Poles whose ancestral homes remained outside of Poland after the First World War. The two Americans were born

²³⁰ Ibid., p. 122; idem, *Losy absolwentów*, p. 254.

²³¹ EUA, IN14/7: Student record schedule of Maria Zantara. Cf. Czetwertyński, *Czetwertyńscy*, pp. 274-275.

²³² EUA, IN14/7: Student record schedule of Alicja Bober-Michałowska. See also Bober-Michałowska, *Życie autorem*, p. 90.

into families of Polish immigrants in the USA, and thus became citizens of their adopted homeland in accordance with the principle of *ius solis*. The two British citizens were Polish women who acquired that citizenship through marriage. The family history of Bolesław Rutkowski, the Romanian citizen, was more complicated. He was born in 1915 to a Polish family in the Russian Empire. His father worked as a director of Alfred Nobel's oil wells in Baku (present-day Azerbaijan). Rutkowski escaped with his mother and sister to Poland after the Bolshevik revolution but they eventually settled in Romania where his maternal grandfather lived.²³³ Rutkowski completed five years of medical studies at the University of Bucharest and went to Warsaw for a summer internship in 1939. When the war broke out, he escaped via Romania to France where he joined the Polish army and was evacuated to Britain in the summer of 1940. The Polish government-in-exile in London granted him citizenship in 1941.²³⁴

The itinerant background of Rutkowski's family was by no means unique. More than 16% of medical refugees at the PSM were born outside of the borders of the Second Polish Republic, mostly in the lands of the former Russian, German and Austrian-Hungarian empires, but also in the USA, France, Lithuania and even China. In most cases those individuals eventually settled in independent Poland. The families of those born in the Russian empire often had to flee westward from revolution and civil war. However, some of those refugees were raised and educated outside of Poland. For example, Julia Rososińska was born in 1908 in Manchuria, which had a large Polish community in the first half of the twentieth century. She graduated from the Polish Gymnasium in Harbin in 1928.²³⁵ The undoubtedly fascinating story of her wartime journey towards Edinburgh unfortunately remains unknown. The following chapter will demonstrate how the 'trans-cultural competency' of many Polish medical refugees, understood as embodied experience of living, studying and working in a foreign environment, was essential for the successful establishment and operation of the PSM.

²³³ Interview with Bolesław Rutkowski by Aleksander Rutkiewicz, Gliwice, 6 Oct 2011, transcript in possession of the author.

²³⁴ Aleksander Rutkiewicz, *Bolesław Rutkowski: Nestor śląskiej anestezjologii, pionier polskiej medycyny bólu*, Szczecin: α-medica press, 2012, pp. 28-33.

²³⁵ EUA, IN14/7: Student record schedule of Julia Rososińska.

Conclusion

This chapter analysed the conditions of arrival of 406 medical refugees at the PSM. An overview of the history and organisation of pre-war medical faculties was provided, followed by a discussion of the social background of Polish medical students, with special attention paid to the stratum of intelligentsia. The ethno-religious composition of university students was then discussed with reference to the anti-Semitic discrimination and violence which forced many Polish Jews to seek medical education abroad. The characteristics of the pre-war milieu of Polish medical faculties was supplemented by a brief overview of the contemporary position of female academics and students. The structural factors, resources and barriers and subjective motivations that determined the arrival of medical refugees at the PSM were then analysed by applying Kunz's and Johansson's theoretical models to actual wartime journeys of Polish soldiers and civilian exiles. The characteristic features of 406 medical refugees were finally discussed in terms of pre-war affiliation to Polish or foreign medical and academic institutions, the interplay of age, gender and academic function, differences in ethno-religious backgrounds and social origins, and the significance of pre-war citizenship and place of birth.

Chapter 2: PSM and the University of Edinburgh

Introduction

The theories developed by Kunz and Johansson are based on the neoclassical economic model of ‘push and pull’ factors, and although they might be useful in explaining the rational choice decisions of individuals who flee their homeland, they do not allow for the analysis of social relationships which are formed by refugees in the country of asylum. In order to remedy this drawback that is inherent to the neoclassical theories of migration, the following three chapters will critically engage with ‘diaspora’ as an analytical tool. The notion of diaspora, which has been increasingly used in transnational migration studies since the 1990s, seems to be particularly useful as an organising concept. Although the term was for a long time used exclusively to refer to the religious context of Jewish emigration from Palestine, there are currently many competing definitions. Some scholars use this concept when referring to all the emigrants from a particular country.²³⁶ Others define diasporas more narrowly as minority groups of migrant origin for whom continuing material and sentimental bonds with the homeland are decisive for their sense of collective identity.²³⁷ According to William Safran, the Polish political emigrants who settled in France in the nineteenth century, as well as the Poles who were forced to leave their homeland during the Second World War, can be seen as members of a genuine, narrowly defined diaspora. Safran points out that these migrants regarded themselves as temporary residents of the host countries and devoted their military, political and cultural efforts to the reestablishment of the Polish state. They created a variety of

²³⁶ Walker Conner, ‘The Impact of Homelands upon Diasporas’, in Gabriel Sheffer (ed.), *Modern Diasporas in International Politics*, New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1986, p. 16; Jana E. Braziel and Anita Mannur, *Theorizing Diaspora: A Reader*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2003, p. 4; Patrick Fitzgerald and Brian Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History, 1607-2007*, Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, p. 258.

²³⁷ Gabriel Sheffer, ‘A New Field of Study: Modern Diasporas in International Politics’, in idem, *Modern Diasporas*, pp. 8-11; William Safran, ‘Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return’, *Diaspora* (1991), pp. 83-84; Khachig Tölölyan, ‘Rethinking *Diaspora(s)*: Stateless Power in the Transnational Moment’, *Diaspora*, 5.1 (1996), pp. 12-16; idem, ‘The Contemporary Discourse of Diaspora Studies’, *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 27.3 (2007), pp. 648-650; idem, ‘Diaspora Studies: Past, Present and Promise’, *IMI Working Papers*, 55 (2011), pp. 5-8.

political, social, educational and religious institutions that were designed to maintain Polish high culture and national identity.²³⁸ The concept of a Polish diaspora has recently been recognised as a valuable analytical category by scholars from a variety of fields.²³⁹

This framework seems to be particularly useful in the study of Polish wartime migration to Britain. As opposed to the traditional paradigm of linear assimilation, the concept of diaspora offers a decentred approach in which migration is analysed as a phenomenon in itself, and not only in relation to the national history of the respective country of origin or settlement.²⁴⁰ Gabriel Sheffer, William Safran and Steven Vertovec point out that members of a genuine diaspora are continuously involved in a triadic relationship between the host country, the homeland, and the diaspora itself.²⁴¹ Anna Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann argues in a similar way that the framework of diaspora allows scholars to analyse the experiences of Polish wartime refugees in the broader context of Polish emigrant communities and their relations with each other, with Poland and with particular countries of asylum.²⁴²

In the case of the PSM, this triadic relationship connected Polish medical refugees with British hosts, and especially the University of Edinburgh, with their compatriots back in occupied Poland, and with the global Polish diaspora. This chapter will analyse the first component of this diasporic relationship. Original research findings on the University of Edinburgh's decision to set up an autonomous Polish medical faculty will be discussed in the context of traditional and revisionist interpretations of the founding of the PSM. The importance of 'trans-cultural

²³⁸ Safran, 'Diasporas in Modern Societies', p. 85.

²³⁹ Anna D. Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann, 'The Polish Post-World War II Diaspora: An Agenda for a New Millennium', *Polish American Studies*, 57.2 (2000), 45-66; Robert C. Smith, 'Diasporic Memberships in Historical Perspective: Comparative Insights from the Mexican, Italian and Polish Cases', *International Migration Review*, 37.3 (2003), pp. 724-759; Dominic A. Pacyga, 'Polish Diaspora', in Melvin Ember, Carol R. Ember and Ian A. Skoggard (eds), *Encyclopedia of Diasporas: Immigrant and Refugee Cultures Around the World*, New York: Springer Science+Business Media, 2005, pp. 254-263; Jennifer Brown, 'Expressions of Diasporic Belonging: The Divergent Emotional Geographies of Britain's Polish Communities', *Emotion, Space and Society*, 4 (2011), pp. 229-237

²⁴⁰ Fitzgerald and Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History*, pp. 257-260.

²⁴¹ Scheffer, 'A New Field of Study', p. 10; Safran, 'Diasporas in Modern Societies', pp. 91-95; Steven Vertovec, 'Conceiving and Researching Transnationalism', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22.2 (1999), p. 449.

²⁴² Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann, 'Polish Post-World War II Diaspora', pp. 49-50.

competency' for successful collaboration between Polish medical refugees and their British hosts will be emphasised, and the parallel lives of two outstanding figures, Professor Francis Crew and Professor Antoni Jurasz, will be considered in more detail. The patterns of academic cooperation at the PSM will also be outlined in terms of theoretical and clinical teaching, medical research, and provision of resources. This chapter will then analyse how Polish refugees and their British hosts overcame challenges to successful collaboration which were posed by cultural incompatibility, language difficulties, differences in the models of medical education as well as social attitudes and customs. Finally, it will be argued that the changing political situation in Europe, British governmental policies towards the Poles, and the anti-Polish campaigns in post-war Scotland eventually pressured the University of Edinburgh to curtail their wartime hospitality and hasten the closing down of the PSM between 1945 and 1949.

Origins of the PSM

The exact origins of the Polish medical faculty in Edinburgh are surrounded by some controversy in the existing literature. The 'institutional' version of the founding of the PSM was conveyed in the publications by Antoni Jurasz, Józef Brodzki and Jakub Rostowski. Most of the authors who later wrote about the topic, without conducting original research, repeated the official version without questioning it in their books and articles. However, some accounts present different interpretations of the events that took place in Edinburgh in late 1940 and early 1941. The standard narrative and two revisionist theses will be outlined below, followed by an original analysis of previously overlooked sources.

Conventional narrative

The conventional story goes that Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Crew, Professor of Animal Genetics at the University of Edinburgh and Commanding Officer of the Military Hospital at Edinburgh Castle, was the initiator of the PSM. When Polish troops arrived in Scotland in the summer of 1940, Crew visited Polish army camps in the vicinity of Edinburgh and realised that the Poles had a surplus of idle medical cadres, including professors, lecturers and medical students from pre-war

universities. In September 1940, Professor Crew together with Colonel Archer Irvine-Fortescue, a British medical liaison officer, and Colonel Adam Kurtz, Commanding Officer of the Polish Medical Corps in Scotland, arranged a scheme for groups of Polish medical officers and other sanitary personnel to leave their units for two-week internships at the military hospital and various university clinics in Edinburgh. Crew then conceived another plan of organising Polish-language lectures at the University of Edinburgh for those medical refugees whose insufficient knowledge of English prevented them from taking full advantage of the internship scheme. In the first days of October 1940, this modest project was further developed by Crew into an idea of a completely autonomous Polish medical faculty within the University of Edinburgh that could hold examinations and confer Polish degrees. This arrangement would allow Polish soldiers and civilian refugees in Britain to complete their interrupted medical studies. Crew's project was endorsed by Sydney Smith, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, and informal negotiations between the University of Edinburgh and Polish military and civilian authorities began in mid-October 1940.

The Poles enthusiastically accepted the 'magnanimous gesture' of their British hosts and, on 22 October, delegated Lieutenant Colonel Antoni Jurasz, pre-war professor of surgery at the University of Poznań, to represent the Polish government-in-exile in London in preliminary discussions with the University of Edinburgh. As a result of the negotiations conducted by Professor Jurasz in Edinburgh, the Faculty of Medicine unanimously resolved to set up the PSM on 1 November 1940, and this decision was later confirmed by the Senatus Academicus and the University Court. A formal proposal to General Sikorski, Polish Commander-in-Chief and Prime Minister, was put forward on 20 November 1940 in a letter from William Fleming, Secretary to the University of Edinburgh. Detailed negotiations and organisational works continued in the Scottish capital for the next few weeks until the PSM was finally created on 24 February 1941 by an agreement between the University of Edinburgh and the Polish government-in-exile. The legal basis of the new faculty was confirmed on the same day by a special decree of Władysław Raczkiewicz, the President of the Polish Republic in exile. Professor Jurasz was appointed the first Dean of the PSM, and the official inauguration ceremony took

place on 22 March 1941 in the McEwan Hall, the main graduation venue of the University of Edinburgh.²⁴³

Revisionist interpretations

A minor revision of this standard narrative was first suggested in Colonel Tadeusz Sokołowski's reminiscences, which were published in Poland in 1965. Sokołowski claimed that it was he who suggested the idea of opening a separate Polish medical faculty to Professor Crew during friendly conversations that they had when Sokołowski was attached to the Edinburgh Castle Military Hospital in 1940.²⁴⁴ Wiktor Tomaszewski conceded in his own post-war memoirs that this might have been possible, but he also pointed out that nobody talked about Sokołowski's involvement at the time of the PSM's founding in 1940/1941.²⁴⁵ Perhaps it is noteworthy that Sokołowski left the PSM after the first academic year because of a personal conflict with Antoni Jurasz who was his superior not only as Dean but also as chair of the surgery department.²⁴⁶ Sokołowski's role in the founding of the PSM might have been forgotten, if not consciously overlooked, in the following years.

Another challenge to the official version was posed more recently by Roman Meissner who tried to link the origins of the PSM with Antoni Jurasz's earlier idea of taking over the German Hospital in London.²⁴⁷ Based on the fact that such a plan was indeed suggested to the British Ministry of Health by the Poles, Meissner speculates in an article from 2002 that the decision to open the PSM was covertly made by the British government in October 1940 in response to Jurasz's hospital scheme. Meissner claims that Professor Crew did not conceive the idea of establishing a separate Polish medical faculty in Edinburgh but was rather executing secret directives from London. All this speculation is probably supposed to convey the idea

²⁴³ Jurasz, 'The Foundation', pp. 136-137; idem, 'Genesis of the PSM', pp. 91-99; Brodzki, *PSM*, pp. 1-24; Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, pp.1-9.

²⁴⁴ Sokołowski, 'Fragment pamiętnika', p. 132.

²⁴⁵ Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, p. 93.

²⁴⁶ W. Brzeziński, *Tadeusz Sokołowski*, p. 63; Wit Maciej Rzepecki, *Skalpel ma dwa ostrza*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1973, p. 139-140.

²⁴⁷ Archiwum Akt Nowych, Warsaw (hereafter AAN), Sygn. 503, 1578: Letter from Count Edward Raczyński to Malcolm MacDonald, 12 Sept 1940. See also Anon., 'Poles Use German Hospital', *New York Herald Tribune*, 20 Aug 1940, p. 9.

that Professor Jurasz was the actual initiator of the PSM. This revisionist interpretation would fit Meissner's overall agenda of presenting the PSM as a wartime continuation of the pre-war University of Poznań.²⁴⁸

New perspectives

Research into previously overlooked sources from late 1940 and early 1941 neither confirms nor contradicts Sokołowski's claims about his involvement in the foundation of the PSM. He probably took part in some friendly discussions with British professors that eventually inspired the idea of setting up a Polish medical faculty in Edinburgh. In contrast, records from The National Archives in Kew invalidate Meissner's revisionist thesis about purportedly secret directives of the British government. The correspondence between Thomas Holland, Vice-Chancellor and Principal of the University of Edinburgh, Sir John Anderson, Lord President of the Council and Member of Parliament (hereafter MP) for Scottish Universities, and various officials from the Home Office proves beyond doubt that the original idea of establishing a Polish medical faculty came from within the University of Edinburgh, and that the British government did not know about the proposed scheme until 10 December 1940.²⁴⁹

Minutes of the Polish Organising Committee as well as British reports and correspondence from late 1940 basically confirm the standard narrative that emphasises the essential role of Professor Crew in the founding of the PSM. At the same time, these documents explain why the actual Polish name of this institution, *Polski Wydział Lekarski*, literally translates as 'Polish Faculty of Medicine' and not 'Polish School of Medicine'.²⁵⁰ It seems that the British originally envisioned the establishment of a complete Polish university in exile. On 10 December 1940, Sir Thomas Holland informed Sir John Anderson that:

although a Medical Faculty will be probably the only one to function during the War, it is suggested that the scheme should take the form of

²⁴⁸ Meissner, 'Polski Wydział Lekarski', pp. 340-347.

²⁴⁹ TNA, CAB 123/274: Correspondence of Sir John Anderson, Dec 1940-Jan 1941; HO 213/338: Correspondence relating to the PSM, Jan 1941.

²⁵⁰ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 14 Jan 1941, 16 Jan 1941 and 9 Sept 1942.

instituting a new University of Poland under decree issued by the Polish government, with temporary habitation in Edinburgh²⁵¹

Two days later this idea was further elaborated during a conference in Edinburgh, which was attended by Professor Jurasz in the capacity of a special delegate of the Polish government-in-exile. The authorities of the University of Edinburgh recommended to the Polish side:

to take such actions as may be necessary for the formal institution according to Polish law of a University to be called 'The University of Poland', with powers of teaching and of granting degrees in such Faculties as may from time to time be formed within the University.²⁵²

It was further suggested that:

the establishment should in the first instance be limited to one Faculty, the Faculty of Medicine, leaving open the question of setting up other Faculties later on should this appear desirable.²⁵³

The notion of a 'University of Poland' originated with Thomas Holland, and the rationale behind this scheme was that from a Scottish point of view a faculty could not legally exist outside of a university, and thus a separate Polish medical faculty would not have the right to award degrees.²⁵⁴ The Polish authorities, however, rejected the idea of creating a fictitious university, and instead, devised a more modest model. In accordance with the Polish Act on Academic Schools of 1933, the PSM was established as a 'one-faculty academic school' (*jednodziedzialowa szkoła akademicka*). The Dean and the Faculty Council of the PSM were respectively given some prerogatives of a Rector and a Senate, especially the right to confer the degrees of *lekarz* (equivalent to MB, ChB at the University of Edinburgh) and *doktor medycyny* (equivalent to MD at the University of Edinburgh). This legal set-up enabled the PSM to grant undergraduate and doctoral degrees, but withheld from its Faculty Council the right to create new professors and promote habilitations (postdoctoral degrees).²⁵⁵ This scheme led to a controversy over the

²⁵¹ TNA, CAB 123/274: Letter from Sir Thomas Holland to Sir John Anderson, 10 Dec 1940.

²⁵² Ibid.: Report of a conference on the proposal to establish the PSM, 12 Dec 1940.

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, December 1940; GD46/Box 5: Letter from Prof. Crew to ADMS, Scottish Command, 13 Jan 1941.

²⁵⁵ EUA, IN14/1: Constitution of the PSM, 24 Feb 1941.

name of the proposed institution. The University of Edinburgh refused to accept a 'Polish Faculty of Medicine' without a Polish University, and that is why the PSM used different names in English and Polish.²⁵⁶

Other previously overlooked sources shed more light on the British decision to allow Polish refugees to set up an autonomous medical faculty in Edinburgh. A transcript of the Scottish BBC radio coverage of the celebrations of the 25th Anniversary of the founding of the PSM in June 1966 includes the following excerpt from J. Gray's interview with Sir Sydney Smith:

Gray: Speaking to me about those days of 1940, Sir Sydney said there were two things. Professors Crew's concern about the number of young Polish doctors and medical students in the Polish forces who were getting out of touch with their profession – and Sir Sydney's concern that staff and facilities in the University were underemployed. But as Sir Sydney said:

Smith: It all began in the Club, talking over a glass of export.

Gray: And the initiative came from Edinburgh University?

Smith: Oh, yes, yes, entirely. The idea first fostered here in Edinburgh University we thought, these young fellows lie fallow, and our idea was – make use of them.²⁵⁷

Smith's words point out that the decision to set up the PSM was motivated not only by humanitarian but also practical reasons. Polish medical refugees were given an opportunity to resume their pre-war studies and research while at the same time they could fill in places in university departments and teaching hospitals that were vacated by British students who were drafted into the army. This trend continued throughout the war as the number of medical students at the University of Edinburgh dropped from 1,107 in the academic year 1938/1939 to 942 in 1942/1943.²⁵⁸ However, in an interview conducted in 1969, Professor Crew recalls that both Sydney Smith and Thomas Holland were initially reluctant to endorse his own idea of setting up the PSM:

²⁵⁶ EUA, GD46/Box 9: Tadeusz Fabiański's chronicle of the PSM, 1945, Vol. 1a, p. 4.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.: Transcript of Scottish BBC 'Live' transmission, 'Edinburgh's Polish University', 5 June 1966.

²⁵⁸ Ministry of Health, *Report on Medical Schools*, p. 261.

It took me a long time to enthuse him [Smith] but ultimately I did. And we went and saw the Principal [Holland], who was very reluctant, but however – I overwhelmed him, because I was getting quite elated at the idea of doing something of this order – magnificent thing to do, magnificent thing.²⁵⁹

This reluctance on the part of Smith and Holland might have been motivated by their awareness of a widespread opposition to admitting Continental refugees into British medicine. Perhaps they wanted to make sure that the proposed Polish faculty would not become a backdoor to medical practice in Britain. In his letter from 10 December 1940, Holland assured Sir John Anderson that the PSM would only confer Polish degrees and thus would not ‘touch British qualifications and [would] not concern the General Medical Council in any way’.²⁶⁰ The British hosts perceived the PSM as a tentative arrangement and expected their guests to return to Poland after the end of the war. Crew predicted in January 1941 that:

if and when these Poles return to their country they will find it in a filthy state. Its academic institutions will have been destroyed. ... The creation of this Polish University in exile will permit the rapid reconstruction of Polish academic institutions; there will be a University in being, ready for transplantation.²⁶¹

At the inauguration ceremony of the PSM, Smith expressed a similar wish that after an Allied victory the ‘Polish Faculty of Medicine will go from here to build anew, on the sure foundation of liberty, those great seats of learning which have been so wantonly destroyed [by the Germans]’.²⁶² At the time this sentiment was probably shared by a great majority of Polish medical refugees in Edinburgh.

The attitude of the British government towards the PSM in late 1940 and early 1941 can be deduced from the legal advice that was commissioned by Sir John Anderson after he had received from Thomas Holland first information about the proposed scheme to set up a Polish medical faculty in Edinburgh. Experts from the Home Office saw no statutory objections to the proposal, and the whole affair was basically regarded as an autonomous decision of the University of Edinburgh as well

²⁵⁹ EUA, IN1/ACU/S1/1: Interview with Prof. Crew by Margaret Deacon, 1969.

²⁶⁰ TNA, CAB 123/274: Letter from Sir Thomas Holland to Sir John Anderson, 10 Dec 1940.

²⁶¹ EUA, GD46/Box 5: Letter from Prof. Crew to ADMS, Scottish Command, 13 Jan 1941.

²⁶² Sydney Smith’s speech on 22 Mar 1941, quoted in Brodzki, *PSM*, p. 35.

as a sovereign act of the Polish government-in-exile.²⁶³ The Lord Advocate, Scotland's chief legal officer, pointed out in a similar manner that 'the project is a complete novelty without any parallel, so far as I can trace, in Scottish history; but I know of no rule of statute or common law which would prevent its being carried into execution'.²⁶⁴ Interestingly, although the experts agreed that a foreign university faculty on British soil would be unprecedented, they indicated several analogous examples from different times and places, such as the various Scots Colleges in France and the Vatican, the 'University-in-Exile' at the New School for Social Research in New York, and a medical school in Istanbul that was formed by around 20 academic refugees from Nazi Germany. Informed by this advice, Sir John Anderson endorsed the proposal to set up the PSM in a letter to Thomas Holland from 10 January 1941:

I have, I need hardly say, the greatest sympathy with the desire of the Polish Government to preserve, even in exile, the integrity of their national learning and culture, and I have been glad to find that those whom I have consulted in Government circles take the view that the project, though novel, is not likely to raise any serious difficulty in principle.²⁶⁵

These previously overlooked documents reveal the broader context of the decision to set up the PSM. It is clear that the authorities of the University of Edinburgh as well as British government officials recognised the plight of Polish medical refugees whose studies were interrupted by the outbreak of the war and whose *almae matres* in occupied Poland were savagely destroyed by the Nazis. Unlike their fellow refugees from Germany or Austria, the Poles profited from the status of wartime allies and from the fact that their interests were represented by a diplomatically recognised government-in-exile in London. The British at the same time saw the PSM as a tentative wartime venture that would not allow Polish medical students to obtain any permanent qualifications in Britain. This general attitude did not change until the last months of the war.

²⁶³ TNA, CAB 123/274: Letter from Sir Alexander Maxwell to C.A.C.J. Hendriks, 8 Jan 1941; Letter from Sir John Anderson to Sir Alexander Maxwell, 10 Jan 1941.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.: Note from the Lord Advocate, 10 Jan 1941.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.: Letter from Sir John Anderson to Sir Thomas Holland, 10 Jan 1941 .

Importance of trans-cultural competency

The magnanimity of British hosts and the enthusiasm of Polish refugees were not enough to ensure successful academic cooperation at the PSM. The following section will argue that this would not have been possible without previous experiences of collaborating with scholars from different backgrounds and academic traditions. The trans-cultural competency of two prominent individuals, Antoni Jurasz and Francis Crew, was particularly essential for the founding of the PSM. The ‘parallel lives’ of these two outstanding men are discussed in more detail below.

Francis Albert Eley Crew was born in 1886 near Birmingham and graduated with the MB, ChB degree from the University of Edinburgh in 1913. He then served in the Royal Army Medical Corps in France and India during the First World War. Crew was appointed Director of the Department of Animal Breeding at the University of Edinburgh in 1921, and Buchanan Professor of Animal Genetics in 1928. Throughout the interwar period, he collaborated with an international team of researchers, including several academic refugees from Nazi Germany, Austria and Fascist Italy, such as Charlotte Auerbach, Guido Pontecorvo and Regina Kapeller-Adler.²⁶⁶ Crew also collaborated with Stefan Kopeć, a Polish pioneer of insect endocrinology, who received a Rockefeller Foundation scholarship in 1927 to conduct research at the Institute of Animal Breeding in Edinburgh. Crew later recalled that Kopeć ‘spent a whole year with me and from him I learnt much’.²⁶⁷ This eminent Polish scholar was randomly executed in German-occupied Warsaw in March 1941.²⁶⁸

In the last days of August 1939, Crew presided over the VII International Congress of Genetics in Edinburgh.²⁶⁹ Polish delegates to the conference, Bronisław and Helena Śliżyński, a married couple from the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, were not able to return home because Poland was in the meantime invaded by

²⁶⁶ WBIS: Francis Albert Eley Crew; Lancelot Hogben, ‘Francis Albert Eley Crew. 1886-1973’, *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Royal Society*, 20 (1974), pp. 135-153; Weindling, ‘Medical Refugees in Britain’, pp. 453.

²⁶⁷ Francis Crew’s speech on 5 June 1966, quoted in Tomaszewski, *University of Edinburgh and Poland*, p. 84.

²⁶⁸ Bolewski and Pierzchała, *Losy polskich pracowników nauki*, pp. 666-667.

²⁶⁹ Anon., ‘Seventh International Congress of Genetics, Edinburgh, Scotland, 23rd-30th August, 1939’, *Journal of Heredity*, 30.2 (1939), pp. 58-60.

Germany. They were stranded in Edinburgh without any means of survival. Crew hosted the unfortunate couple for a month at his own expense, and then helped them to obtain financial aid from the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (hereafter SPSL) and the Rockefeller Foundation. These grants allowed Crew to host them as guest researchers at his Institute of Animal Genetics.²⁷⁰ In 1941 the couple joined the staff of the PSM. Bronisław was appointed senior lecturer (docent) and head of the Department of Biology, where Helena worked as a senior assistant.²⁷¹

After the outbreak of the war, Professor Crew was appointed the Commanding Officer of the Edinburgh Castle Military Hospital. In this capacity, he came into further contact with Polish refugees.²⁷² Crew's sympathy for the Poles perhaps dated back to his collaboration with Stefan Kopeć in the 1920s, and his generous assistance to the Śliżyński couple might have raised his awareness of the plight of Polish academic refugees in Britain. It could be argued that these previous experiences were a prerequisite for Crew's idea of establishing the PSM. Earlier contacts with eminent British and European scholars such as Julian Huxley, J.B.S. Haldane, Charlotte Auerbach and Guido Pontecorvo might have also broadened his intellectual horizons. During the 25th anniversary celebrations of the PSM, John Crofton, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh, characterised Crew in the following words:

To bring about the Polish School, required also a substantial pinch of imagination as a catalyst. This un-British characteristic was provided by Professor Frank Crewe [sic] ... Of course, Professor Crewe, in matters of imagination, is at least two standard deviations from the British mean.²⁷³

Crew characterised his 'completely romantic' idea as 'a magnificent opportunity of lighting a candle that had been blown out. All the lamps had gone out all over Europe

²⁷⁰ Archive of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (hereafter SPSL), MS 205/6: Bronislav Slizynski file, 1939.

²⁷¹ Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, p. 28.

²⁷² EUA, GD46/Box 5: Letter from Prof. Crew to ADMS, Scottish Command, 13 Jan 1941; EUA, IN1/ACU/S1/1: Interview with Prof. Crew by Margaret Deacon, 1969.

²⁷³ EUA, GD46/Box 9: Transcript of Scottish BBC 'Live' transmission, 'Edinburgh's Polish University', 5 June 1966.

and here was a marvellous chance'.²⁷⁴ This idea was then put into life by Antoni Jurasz who must take credit as the actual organiser of the PSM.

Antoni Tomasz Jurasz was born in 1882 in Heidelberg. He was the son of Antoni Stanisław Jurasz, a pioneer of laryngology and rhinology at the University of Heidelberg. His mother was Caroline Gaspey, a daughter of an English lecturer at the same university. Jurasz's maternal grandmother, Elisabeth Siegel, was the youngest sister of General Siegel, the hero of the Baden Revolution of 1848 and the American Civil War. Jurasz junior was a fluent speaker of Polish, German, English and French, and could also read in Czech and Italian. After completing his medical studies in Heidelberg, Jurasz specialised in surgery at the German Hospital in London (1908-1910) and in the clinics of Professors Lexer and Payr in Königsberg (1910-1912). Jurasz was drafted into the German army in 1914, witnessed the Battle of Marne on the Western front, and nearly died of cholera on the Eastern front. He was then relieved from active military service and was selected over 80 candidates to become chief surgeon and head of the military wing of St. Mary's Hospital in Frankfurt am Main.²⁷⁵

Jurasz was appointed Professor of Surgery at the University of Frankfurt after the war, but declined this position and moved to his ancestral homeland in the Greater Poland region which had just regained independence after 150 years of German rule. Jurasz organised the Department of Surgery at the newly established University of Poznań and remained there throughout the interwar period, serving as Professor of Surgery, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine and Deputy Rector of the University. He maintained scientific contacts with medical circles in Britain, the USA, France, Germany, Romania, Italy, Czechoslovakia and Brazil. His international experiences also included working for a year as a ship's doctor in the German merchant navy in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans in 1907/1908, and

²⁷⁴ EUA, IN1/ACU/S1/1: Interview with Prof. Crew by Margaret Deacon, 1969.

²⁷⁵ EUA, GD46/Box 9: Copy of Antoni Jurasz's testimony before the Polish Investigation Committee on the Result of the War Campaign of 1939, 10 Sept 1942; Unfinished memoirs of Antoni Jurasz, 1960; SPSL, MS 423/7: Antoni Jurasz file, 1940-44; WBIS: Antoni Tomasz Jurasz; Aleksander Janta, 'Kronika trzech pokoleń', *Wiadomości*, 1530 (27 July 1975), p. 3.

participating in the expedition of the German Red Cross to Turkey during the Balkan War of 1912-1913.²⁷⁶

Jurasz was mobilised into the Polish Army in September 1939 and served as the chief surgeon of the Modlin Fortress. He managed to escape from a German POW camp and reached France via Slovakia and Hungary.²⁷⁷ In February 1940, he was entrusted by the Polish government-in-exile (then in Paris) with the mission of finding employment in Britain for Polish medical scientists and organising a teaching hospital for Polish students. He approached several academic centres and medical organisations in England but his pleas on behalf of Polish refugees were generally met with indifference, despite sympathetic assistance from Esther Simpson, the Secretary of the SPSL.²⁷⁸ Jurasz's mission was revived in late 1940 when Professor Crew's idea was communicated to Polish military and civilian authorities in London. Due to his family background, proficiency in English, scientific reputation and extensive international contacts, Jurasz was the obvious choice for the representative of the Polish government in the ensuing negotiations with the University of Edinburgh and the City of Edinburgh Council. Jurasz took part in consultations, meetings and deliberations both in Edinburgh and London from November 1940 to February 1941 and eventually became the Professor of Surgery and the first Dean of the PSM.²⁷⁹ Wiktor Tomaszewski characterised Jurasz' role in the founding of the PSM in the following words:

No one, and I repeat this with utmost conviction, no one else would be able to perform this organisational task in Edinburgh as Professor Jurasz did. He was created for this work. As if ignited by some holy fire, he emanated the best that was in him to create the oeuvre of his life, a Polish academic institution on foreign soil. The good of Poland was the only guiding star of his activity. He wrote a beautiful card in the history of

²⁷⁶ EUA, GD46/Box 9: Unfinished memoirs of Anotni Jurasz, 1960; GD46/Box 5: Letter from Prof. Jurasz to the President of the Academy of Medicine of Brazil, 1 Feb 1943; WBIS: Antoni Tomasz Jurasz; Roman K. Meissner and Jan M. Hasik, *Polski wkład w medycynę światową. Polish contribution to medicine*, Poznań: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1989, pp. 71-74; Magowska, 'Doctor Facing Turbulent Times', pp. 2167-2171.

²⁷⁷ EUA, GD46/Box 9: Copy of Antoni Jurasz's testimony before the Polish Investigation Committee on the Result of the War Campaign of 1939, 10 Sept 1942; Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, p. 46.

²⁷⁸ SPSL, MS 423/7: Antoni Jurasz file, 1940-44.

²⁷⁹ Brodzki, *PSM*, pp. 1-24.

Polish medicine and he honourably represented Polish science among foreigners [translated from Polish].²⁸⁰

Sydney Smith captured Jurasz's qualities in a more succinct, if less poetic, way: 'A great chap this Jurasz you know ... he was a regular dynamo of energy. He did everything'.²⁸¹

Several interesting parallels in the lives of Crew and Jurasz are represented in Table 10 in the Appendix. These shared generational and professional experiences might have helped them in reaching a personal rapport that was necessary for the successful founding of the PSM. Curiously enough, the physical appearance of the two men was strikingly similar, and, reportedly, Crew and Jurasz were often confused by medical students in Edinburgh, who were additionally misled by the fact that both professors wore military uniforms and held the same rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.²⁸²

It seems that the level of trans-cultural competency and creative ingenuity shared by Jurasz and Crew was above average, as compared to other Polish and British co-organisers of the PSM, and therefore the joint contribution of Crew and Jurasz must be seen as essential. At any rate, the majority of Polish refugee academics who found employment at the PSM also had some previous experiences of studying, researching or practicing medicine in an international context. Quite a few of them conducted clinical or scientific work in Britain before joining the PSM. Tadeusz and Cecylia Mann worked as researchers at the University of Cambridge from the mid-1930s.²⁸³ Edmund Mytskowski, Tadeusz Sokołowski, Jerzy Dekański, Adam Elektorowicz, Henryk Reiss and Antoni Fidler were all attached to the Edinburgh Castle Military Hospital in 1940, while Bronisław and Helena Śliżyńscy were employed at the Institute of Animal Genetics in Edinburgh from 1939.²⁸⁴

²⁸⁰ EUA, GD46/Box 9: Wiktor Tomaszewski's speech at the funeral of Prof. Jurasz, 4 May 1977.

²⁸¹ Ibid.: Transcript of Scottish BBC 'Live' transmission, 'Edinburgh's Polish University', 5 June 1966.

²⁸² Wiktor Tomaszewski, 'Profesorowie szkoccy na Polskim Wydziale Lekarskim w Edynburgu', *AHiFM*, 57.3 (1994), pp. 317-318.

²⁸³ BSC: Thaddeus Mann in Conversation with Robin Harrison, 24 Oct 1989; WBIS: Tadeusz Robert Rudolf Mann.

²⁸⁴ SPSL, MS 390/1: Antony Fidler file, 1946; Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, pp. 42-53; T. Brzeziński, *Śłużba zdrowia*, p. 48.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, young Poles from the lands of Russian and German partitions who wished to study medicine could attend universities in mainland Russia and Germany or travel abroad to Switzerland and France. The most popular destinations for Polish students were the medical faculties in Munich, Heidelberg, Dorpat, Kiev, Moscow, Charkov, Odessa, and Kazan.²⁸⁵ Among medical refugees at the PSM, Leon Lakner, Professor of Dentistry, and Brunon Nowakowski, Professor of Public Health, studied medicine at German universities before the First World War, while Włodzimierz Missiuero, senior lecturer (docent) in physiology, and Jerzy Fegler, Professor of Physiology, studied medicine at Russian universities in Saratov and Odessa prior to the Bolshevik revolution of 1917.²⁸⁶ The graduates of German and Russian universities had first-hand experience of studying and working on foreign soil in a linguistically alien environment.

In the interwar period many members of the PSM's teaching staff likewise gained some experience of collaborating with scholars from different academic cultures, while working on research projects at foreign scientific institutions. Several of them received Rockefeller Foundation fellowships to visit modern medical centres in the West. Brunon Nowakowski undertook specialised studies in general and industrial hygiene at Johns Hopkins University and Harvard University from 1924 to 1926.²⁸⁷ Bronisław Śliżyński studied problems of lethal mutations in *Drosophila* at the Carnegie Institution of Washington at Cold Spring Harbor in the USA from 1936 to 1937.²⁸⁸ Czesław Uhma, lecturer in obstetrics and gynaecology, visited several clinics in Western Europe and the USA in 1937.²⁸⁹ Tadeusz Rogalski, Professor of Anatomy and Embryology, visited Roscoff in France in 1924.²⁹⁰ Aleksander Jabłoński, senior lecturer (docent) in physics, received a Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship at the Physical Institute of the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Berlin

²⁸⁵ Zwolski, 'Nauczanie medycyny', pp. 48-50; Witold Rudowski, 'The Evolution of Surgery in Poland', *Annals of the Royal College of Surgeons of England*, 36.3 (1965), Poland', p. 173; T. Brzeziński, *Historia Medycyny*, pp. 454-456; Tom Junes, 'A Century of Traditions: The Polish Student Movement, 1815-1918', *Central and Eastern European Review*, 2 (2008), p. 23.

²⁸⁶ WBIS: Leon Maksymilian Lakner, Włodzimierz Jan Missiuero, Brunon Antoni Nowakowski; Nowak, *Udział krakowskich lekarzy*, p. 39.

²⁸⁷ WBIS: Brunon Antoni Nowakowski.

²⁸⁸ SPSL, MS 205/6: Bronisław Slizynski file, 1939.

²⁸⁹ Janina Kowalczykova, 'Z żałobnej karty (Uhma, C.)', *Śłużba Zdrowia*, 14.32 (1962), p. 2.

²⁹⁰ WBIS: Tadeusz Teodor Rogalski.

and the Physico-Chemical Institute of the University of Hamburg from 1930 to 1932.²⁹¹

The founding of the PSM in 1940/1941 and the eight subsequent years of successful academic collaboration would have been impossible without broader intellectual horizons and trans-cultural experiences of prominent individuals from the University of Edinburgh. Senior teaching staff of the PSM included ten professors of the University of Edinburgh who held chairs in those departments for which Polish professors were not available in Britain (see Table 11 in the Appendix). They did not receive any financial remuneration for their work and considered their assistance to the PSM as a contribution to the Allied war effort.²⁹² There were also two female research assistants from the University of Edinburgh who worked for the Polish Department of Physiology.²⁹³

The non-Polish members of the PSM's teaching staff had different but not less valuable trans-cultural competency than their Polish colleagues. They received medical education and professional experiences at various English-language universities and medical centres in Britain, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa and Egypt. These institutions usually shared the British scientific and medical culture that was rather different from the German tradition which largely influenced the development of Polish universities and research centres. However, there are some interesting trans-cultural motives in the biographies of several individuals who were associated with the PSM.

Sir Thomas Holland, as a geologist by training, was not directly involved in the activities of the PSM but Professor Crew's original idea would have never materialised without his approval and supervision. Although Holland did not have previous contacts with Polish academics, his trans-cultural competency was considerable. He was of Canadian origins, but born and educated in England, and spent much of his professional and academic career in India, where he was the Director of Geological Survey and Dean of the Faculty of Science at Calcutta

²⁹¹ SPSL, MS 331/2: Alexander Jablonski file, 1939-40.

²⁹² Stanley Davidson, 'Why I wrote this article', *Poland: Illustrated Magazine*, 9. 241 (1974), p. 36; Tomaszewski, 'Profesorowie szkoccy', pp. 313-324.

²⁹³ Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, p. 29.

University. His international experience also included advising the governments of Trinidad and Colombia on oilfield policies.²⁹⁴

Sir Sydney Smith was born in New Zealand where his parents emigrated to from England in search of gold. He received his medical education at the University of Edinburgh, was appointed Regius Chair of Forensic Medicine in 1928, and served as Dean of the Faculty of Medicine throughout the entire wartime period. Smith was a famous ballistics expert who served as a medico-legal advisor to the Government of Egypt from 1918 to 1928.²⁹⁵ In one particularly celebrated case, Smith helped the Egyptian police in apprehending a murderer after examining just three small bones that were found at the bottom of an old well. This and other forensic cases that Professor Smith helped to solve are described in a fascinating autobiography, *Mostly Murder*.²⁹⁶

Richard W.B. Ellis, who briefly held the Chair of Children's Diseases at the PSM in 1947, was famous for the joint discovery of Chondroectodermal Dysplasia, also known as the Ellis-van Creveld syndrome, a rare genetic disorder in children. The syndrome was first described in 1940 by Ellis and Simon van Creveld of the University of Amsterdam.²⁹⁷ In October and November 1939, Professor Richard Ellis took part in a mission to Polish refugee camps in Romania and Hungary under the auspices of the Society of Friends (Quakers) and the Polish Relief Fund. He investigated squalid conditions in 23 military internment camps and civilian centres and, together with two other colleagues, published a report of his mission in the *BMJ* on 18 November 1939.²⁹⁸ Ellis had thus gained firsthand knowledge of the plight of Polish refugees, even before they arrived in Britain in the summer of 1940.

Last but not least, Catherine Hebb, senior assistant in physiology at the PSM from 1944 to 1945, had worked at McGill University in her native Canada before she

²⁹⁴ EUA, GD46/Box 5: Letter from William Fleming to Antoni Jurasz, 21 May 1943; WBIS: Sir Thomas Henry Holland.

²⁹⁵ WBIS: Sir Sydney Alfred Smith; Tomaszewski, 'Profesorowie szkoccy', p. 321.

²⁹⁶ Sydney Smith, *Mostly Murder*, London: Harrap, 1959.

²⁹⁷ Tomaszewski, 'Profesorowie szkoccy', p. 320. See also Richard W.B. Ellis, and Simon van Creveld, 'A Syndrome Characterized by Ectodermal Dysplasia, Polydactyly, Chondro-Dysplasia and Congenital Morbus Cordis: Report of Three Cases', *Archives of Disease in Childhood*, 15.82 (1940), pp. 65–84.

²⁹⁸ Richard W.B. Ellis, Dermond O'Donovan and Francesca M. Wilson, 'Report on the Conditions of Polish Refugees in Rumania and Hungary', *BMJ*, 18 Nov 1939, pp. 1013-1015.

moved to the University of Edinburgh. She brought with her the experience of working with a Russian refugee scientist, Boris Babkin, a student of Ivan Pavlov, the Soviet physiologist who was famous for his experiments on conditioned reflexes in animals. Hebb collaborated at the PSM with a Polish refugee physiologist, Professor Jerzy Fegler.²⁹⁹

Patterns of academic cooperation at the PSM

It would be difficult to demonstrate causal links between those previous experiences and the patterns of Polish-British academic cooperation at the PSM, but it could be argued that its organisation and day-to-day activities would have been much more difficult without the trans-cultural competency of at least some individuals. This section will analyse wartime contacts and interactions with individuals, groups and organisations from Britain and beyond that transformed the PSM into a truly transnational venture rather than just a Polish medical faculty on Scottish soil. The patterns of academic cooperation will be analysed within the following fields: theoretical and clinical teaching, medical research, and provision of resources.

Pre-clinical teaching at the PSM

The degree of cooperation with the University of Edinburgh in terms of teaching depended on the availability of facilities and staff within the respective departments of the PSM. Although some units were more independent than others in their day-to-day activities, none of them would have been able to function without some degree of cooperation with a Scottish counterpart. The Department of Anatomy and Embryology, chaired by Professor Tadeusz Rogalski, was the first Polish unit to obtain its own premises and equipment. The old Anatomy building at Bristo Street, which stood adjacent to the McEwan Hall, was handed over to the Poles at the suggestion of James Couper Brash, Professor of Anatomy at the University of Edinburgh. The Bristo Street building also housed the Polish departments of biology and histology. With the financial assistance of the Polish government-in-exile, Dr Kostowiecki was later able to equip the building with a special histological

²⁹⁹ WBIS: Catherine Olding Hebb; Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, p. 29.

laboratory where independent Polish classes in microscopic anatomy could be conducted. The lecture halls of the Bristo Street building were also used for the theoretical teaching of physics, radiology, physiology, and physio-pathology. The lectures in physio-pathology were partially illustrated by slides and specimens from the University of Edinburgh's department of pathology.³⁰⁰

Polish departments at Bristo Street employed a number of Scottish technical workers and janitors whose assistance was necessary for the maintenance of the anatomy theatre, lecture halls and lab facilities. Their work was apparently appreciated by the Poles, as witnessed by the fact that Professor Rogalski regularly applied to the Faculty Council of the PSM for special holiday payments on behalf of his Scottish assistants.³⁰¹ When the threat of German bombing was still a real possibility in Edinburgh, Polish janitors were responsible for holding fire pickets in the building at night.³⁰² The contribution of those non-academic employees has rarely been credited in contemporary sources and later scholarly accounts, and unfortunately there is little known about the life stories of technical assistants, secretaries and servitors who worked for the PSM.

Other Polish departments did not have separate buildings for their own use. The teaching in those fields was conducted by Polish staff in the departments and institutes of the University of Edinburgh. The lectures and tutorials in chemistry were conducted in Professor Marrian's department of chemistry. In the third term of the second year of study, a four-week course in biochemistry was offered by Tadeusz Mann, who commuted for this purpose from the Molteno Institute in Cambridge. His wife, Cecylia Lutwak-Mann, assisted with practical classes. The teaching of pharmacology was conducted in the department of pharmacology of the University of Edinburgh. The Polish programme of instruction in this subject was similar to the Scottish curriculum. In a similar fashion, lectures and tutorials in public health were conducted at the Usher Institute, systematic lectures in obstetrics and gynaecology

³⁰⁰ EUA, GD46/Box 9: Tadeusz Fabiański's chronicle of the PSM, 1945, Vol. 1, p. 2; Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, pp. 27-34.

³⁰¹ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 11 Apr 1941 and 16 Dec 1941.

³⁰² *Ibid.*: 24 May 1941; Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, pp. 117-118.

were held in the lecture theatres of the University's obstetrical department, and practical classes in physics were conducted in the natural philosophy laboratory.³⁰³

In some subjects, on the other hand, Polish students attended courses together with Scottish colleagues. The Poles attended Professor Drennan's course in pathology and took oral examinations in English. The written examinations were, however, held in Polish. Students of the PSM also attended Professor Mackie's third-year course in bacteriology and Professor Smith's final year course in forensic medicine. The examinations in these subjects were also held in English.³⁰⁴ Polish students could watch surgical demonstrations conducted in the Royal Infirmary by Sir John Fraser,³⁰⁵ while Professor Jurasz occasionally gave lectures to Scottish students.³⁰⁶ After Jurasz's departure to the USA in 1947, teaching of surgery at the PSM was taken over by Professor Learmonth.³⁰⁷ Finally, by agreement with Professor Dreyer, practical classes in physiology were held in the physiological department of the Royal (Dick) Veterinary College.³⁰⁸ As the College was still a separate institution at that time, it could be argued that Polish-British academic cooperation extended beyond the walls of the University of Edinburgh.

Clinical teaching at the PSM

The arrangement of clinical teaching at the PSM mirrored to a large extent the practices of the University of Edinburgh. While most of the clinical subjects were taught in the wards of the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, some courses took place in other voluntary and municipal hospitals. Most of the lectures and clinical instruction in medicine, the teaching of skin and venereal diseases, the lectures and part of

³⁰³ EUA, GD46/Box 9: Tadeusz Fabiański's chronicle of the PSM, 1945, Vol. 1, p. 3; Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, pp. 27-34.

³⁰⁴ EUA, GD46/Box 5: Diary of Zdzisław Golarz (Teleszyński), 10 July 1944; Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, pp. 27-34; Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, pp. 155-156; Mitus, *A Long Episode*, pp. 741-743.

³⁰⁵ EUA, GD46/Box 5: Letters from James Graham to Prof. Jurasz, 6 Mar 1941 and 7 Mar 1941. See also Mitus, *A Long Episode*, pp. 704-705.

³⁰⁶ EUA, GD46/Box 5: Programme of the University of Edinburgh Class in Surgical Pathology, Spring Term 1941; Letter from Prof. Learmonth to Prof. Jurasz, 18 Mar 1943. See also Jurgen, 'Inauguration of the Polish School of Medicine', *The Student*, 37.9 (1941), p. 194.

³⁰⁷ Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, p. 32

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

clinical instruction in ophthalmology, the lectures in neurology and the systematic course in psychiatry, as well as the lectures in diseases of the ear, nose and throat were all given in the Royal Infirmary. Clinical lectures in obstetrics and gynaecology were given in the Simpson Memorial Maternal Pavilion.³⁰⁹ Polish students were also assigned 24-hour shifts at the labour ward of the Western General Hospital and were required to deliver at least 10 babies.³¹⁰

Lectures and tutorials in infectious diseases as well as practical instruction in pulmonary tuberculosis were given in the City Fever Hospital, as part of the course in internal medicine.³¹¹ Clinical lectures in phthisiatry were held in the Southfield Sanatorium Colony.³¹² Owing to the large number of students at the Royal Infirmary in 1942, clinical instruction in medicine was for a time also given at the Eastern General Hospital.³¹³ Lectures and clinical teaching in children's diseases were conducted in the Royal Hospital for Sick Children.³¹⁴ Apart from voluntary and municipal hospitals in Edinburgh, clinical teaching at the PSM was also conducted at medical centres that were specifically set up for Polish patients. Clinical demonstrations in psychiatry were provided outside of Edinburgh in the Polish wards of mental hospitals in Larbert and Carstairs. A special shuttle bus for Polish students was even arranged to ease the problems with commuting.³¹⁵

The teaching of dentistry, clinical lectures in obstetrics and gynaecology, practical instruction in diseases of the ear, nose and throat, preparatory courses in ophthalmology, and parts of clinical instruction in medicine were conducted in the Polish Paderewski Hospital in Edinburgh.³¹⁶ This American-sponsored facility was

³⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. 31-34.

³¹⁰ EUA, GD46/Box 5: Memoirs of Stefan Grzybowski, 1943-1945, p. 10; Mitus, *A Long Episode*, pp. 706-708.

³¹¹ Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, p. 31; Mitus, *A Long Episode*, pp. 710-711.

³¹² EUA, GD46/Box 5: Letter from the Medical Superintendent of the Southfield Sanatorium Colony to Prof. Jurasz, 8 Apr 1944' EUA, GD46/Box 9: Tadeusz Fabiański's chronicle of the PSM, 1945, Vol. 1, p. 3.

³¹³ Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, p. 31.

³¹⁴ Lothian Health Services Archive, Edinburgh, LHB5/22/65-66: Correspondence relating to the training of Polish medical students, Feb-Mar 1941; EUA, GD46/Box 5: Letter from the Honorary Secretary to the Royal Hospital for Sick Children to Prof. McNeil, 25 Mar 1941.

³¹⁵ EUA, GD46/Box 5: Memoirs of Stefan Grzybowski, 1943-1945, p. 10; Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, p. 34.

³¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 27-34.

established in 1941 in the former Children's Convalescent Home of the municipal Western General Hospital. The City of Edinburgh Council generously set aside a total of 150 beds for Polish civilian and military patients, as a part of the wartime Emergency Hospital Scheme. This meant that in case of an emergency, such as the German bombing of Edinburgh, the Paderewski Hospital would be open to British patients. Additional surgical beds, an operating theatre and access to an X-ray department were available for Polish doctors in the main buildings of the Western General. Professor Jurasz was the organiser and superintendent of the Paderewski Hospital, and he also served as the head of its surgical ward. While the medical staff was mostly composed of lecturers and assistants from the PSM, the nursing personnel was provided by the Western General. The Matron, Miss Teresa Allan, was awarded the Polish Gold Cross of Merit in 1947 in recognition of her contribution to the running of the Paderewski Hospital. Scottish nurses used the modern equipment of the Polish unit as an important part of their training. Interestingly, some of the nurses who catered for Polish patients in Edinburgh came from the Hebrides and spoke Gaelic.³¹⁷ One Polish doctor, Henryk Kompf, picked up a few words in this language and practiced them during his summer trips to the Scottish Highlands and Islands.³¹⁸

Medical research at the PSM

Collaboration between Polish refugees and their British hosts was not limited to the theoretical and clinical teaching of medicine but also extended into the realm of scientific research. Ivan de Burgh Daly, Professor of Physiology at the University of Edinburgh, offered the hospitality of his department to Professor Fegler, who was thus able to continue his pre-war research in de Burgh Daly's own laboratory. Bronisław and Helena Śliżyńscy continued to collaborate with Professor Crew at the Institute of Animal Genetics throughout the war. Jerzy Dekański, lecturer in pharmacology and general therapeutics at the PSM, carried on his pre-war

³¹⁷ HIA, 800/33/0/-/96/6: Report on the Polish Hospital in Edinburgh, 9 May 1941. See also Anon. 'Polish Medical School...', *The Scotsman*, 26 Mar 1941, p. 5; Wojcik, 'Time in Context', pp. 69-76; Eastwood and Jenkinson, *Western General Hospital*, pp. 68-81; Wiktor Tomaszewski, 'Szpital im. Paderewskiego', pp. 115-126.

³¹⁸ Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, pp. 208-209.

experimental work at the University's department of pharmacology, while Zbigniew Godłowski, lecturer in physio-pathology and medicine at the PSM, was at the same time a research worker at the University's department of pathology. There were also non-Polish researchers working for the departments of the PSM. A grant from the Polish Ministry of Education in London enabled Professor Fegler to set up his own physiological laboratory in the building at Bristo Street. He was assisted by Dr Jean Banister from 1943 to 1946 and Dr Caroline Hebb from 1944 to 1945.³¹⁹

Experimental studies conducted at the PSM were often aimed at contributing to the war effort. Professor Fegler and Dr Hebb carried out classified research on the physiological effects of decompression for the British Air Ministry.³²⁰ Dr Dekański participated in top secret research on chemical warfare, which was undertaken for the British Ministry of Supply by an Extra-Mural Research Team in Edinburgh.³²¹

The scientific output of the medical refugees at the PSM was considerable. Polish members of staff produced more than 115 scientific publications, mostly articles published in Polish, British and American medical journals.³²² These publications were often the final outcome of trans-cultural cooperation at the PSM. For example, a paper on the conditions influencing the rate of exchange of oxygen in blood in vitro, which was published in 1946 by Professor Fegler and his assistant Jean Banister in the journal *Experimental Physiology*, was based on research conducted in the laboratory facilities provided by Professor Ivan de Burgh Daly. Assistance in the mathematical treatment of the results was provided by Aleksander Jabłoński, senior lecturer (docent) in physics at PSM, while research expenses were partially covered by a grant from the Polish Medical Air Council to Professor Fegler.³²³

³¹⁹ Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, pp. 29-53.

³²⁰ WBIS: Catherine Olding Hebb.

³²¹ SPSL, MS 413/6: Jerzy Dekanski file, 1945.

³²² Konopka, 'Polski Wydział Lekarski', pp. 134-139.

³²³ Jerzy Fegler and Jean Banister, 'A study of some conditions influencing the rate of exchange of oxygen in blood in vitro', *Experimental Physiology*, 33 (1946), pp. 163-182.

Provision of resources for the PSM

The provision of resources and teaching aids for the PSM was facilitated by international cooperation with individuals and organisation in Britain and the USA. Although Polish students had free access to the Medical Library of the University, the PSM was soon able to open its own Library. The post of librarian was consecutively held by Professor Lakner, Dr Jabłoński, and Dr Tomaszewski.³²⁴ Miss Czesława Ramułt, sister of a Polish refugee zoologist with whom she was evacuated to Edinburgh from Algiers, served as Assistant Librarian from 1944 until 1947.³²⁵

The Library of the PSM consisted of books purchased by the Polish government-in-exile as well as donations from the Polish Red Cross, the British Council, the Graduates' Association of Edinburgh University, the publishing company E. & S. Livingstone, Major Douglas Guthrie, and several other private persons.³²⁶ The Kościuszko Foundation, a Polish-American organisation based in New York, organised several fundraising events for the benefit of Polish medical students in Edinburgh, and was able to donate 819 books. Newest issues of American medical and scientific journals were dispatched to Edinburgh once a month by Stefan Mizwa, President of the Kościuszko Foundation.³²⁷ In total, the Library of the PSM held 1,706 volumes and subscribed to 35 scientific journals, including 3 Polish, 5 British and 27 American titles.³²⁸

Challenges of academic cooperation at the PSM

Cooperation between Polish and non-Polish members of staff as well as support from institutions and individuals from all over Britain and beyond were essential for the

³²⁴ Antoni Jurasz, 'Sprawozdanie z działalności P.W.L. za rok akademicki 1944/45', *Lekarz Wojskowy*, 37.1 (1946), p. 182; Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, p. 35.

³²⁵ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings on 27 Apr 1943, 12 July 1943, 29 Nov 1944, 16 Dec 1944 and 15 Jan 1945. See also Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, p. 54.

³²⁶ EUA, GD46/Box 5: Letter from Harvey Wood to Prof. Jurasz, 21 July 1941; Letter from Douglas Guthrie to Prof. Jurasz, 28 Aug 1941. See also Anon., 'Polish "Medicals". Edinburgh Graduates' Gift...', *The Scotsman*, 19 Apr 1941, p. 5; Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, p. 54.

³²⁷ EUA, GD46/Box 5: Letter from Stephen Mizwa to Prof. Jurasz, 27 Nov 1944. See also Anon., 'Polish Ball Helps Medical Students Studying in Exile', *New York Herald Tribune*, 23 Jan 1943, p. 15; Anon., 'Ball for Polish Fund Tonight: Kosciusko Foundation Arranges Benefit for Medical Library', *New York Herald Tribune*, 21 Jan 1944, p. 15.

³²⁸ Antoni Jurasz, 'Sprawozdanie z działalności P.W.L. za rok akademicki 1944/45', *Lekarz Wojskowy*, 37.1 (1946), p. 182; Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, p. 35.

daily functioning of the PSM. The varying and often complicated patterns of trans-cultural collaboration presented the PSM with more or less serious challenges that obstructed the progress of teaching and research between 1941 and 1945, while two post-war crises in relations with the University of Edinburgh eventually resulted in the gradual liquidation of the PSM between 1945 and 1949.

Cultural incompatibility

Egon Kunz argues that cultural compatibility between refugees and the host society has an enormous influence upon their satisfactory resettlement.³²⁹ Scottish-Polish relations could be traced as far back as the fifteenth century, but there was relatively little contact between the two countries in the interwar period. France rather than Britain was the major political and military ally of the Second Polish Republic.³³⁰ Polish intellectuals were usually fluent in French and quite often in German, but could rarely speak English.³³¹ Scotland was a rather exotic place on the map for the average Pole. One of the PSM students admitted in his wartime diary that, back in 1939, Great Britain was as exotic to him as Ivory Coast!³³² This was probably true the other way round as well. Jerzy Zubrzycki notes that ‘it is doubtful whether most people in Great Britain had any views at all about Poland and its inhabitants’ before the arrival of Polish soldiers in the summer of 1940.³³³ Organisers of the PSM attempted to overcome this initial cultural shock by presenting certain inspiring persons from previous centuries as role models of Polish-Scottish friendship and successful collaboration in the field of medicine. This selective rediscovery of figures and events from a distant past for the purpose of promoting certain agendas in the present can be seen as a variance of what Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger called the ‘invention of tradition’.³³⁴

In the late eighteenth century, the worldwide fame of the medical school in Edinburgh attracted Jędrzej Śniadecki, a graduate of universities in Cracow and

³²⁹ Kunz, ‘Exile and Resettlement’, p. 46.

³³⁰ Keith Sword et al., *Formation of the Polish Community*, p. 18.

³³¹ Radzik, *Szkolnictwo polskie w Wielkiej Brytanii*, p. 58.

³³² EUA, GD46/Box 5: Diary of Zdzisław Golarz (Teleszyński), 25 Dec 1942.

³³³ Zubrzycki, *Polish Immigrants in Britain*, p. 80.

³³⁴ Eric J. Hobsbawm, and Terence Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: University Press, 1983.

Padua. Śniadecki studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh from 1793 to 1795 under many eminent scholars, such as Alexander Monro secundus, Andrew Duncan, and James Gregory. He then used the knowledge and experience gained in the Scottish capital to organise modern medical sciences at the University of Vilna. Śniadecki has been remembered as a pioneer of modern medicine, chemistry, physiology and biology in both Poland and Lithuania.³³⁵ The role model of Jędrzej Śniadecki was invoked by Minister Kot in his speech at the inauguration ceremony of the PSM. Kot pointed out that back in Vilna, ‘the many-sided genius of Andrew Duncan also encouraged Śniadecki to many a stroke of initiative in the arrangement of University clinics, in the propagation of the idea of physical education and professional medical publications’.³³⁶

The ‘invented tradition’ of Polish-Scottish friendship was further developed by the commemoration of Polish presence in nineteenth-century Edinburgh. Andrzej Gregorowicz, like the majority of medical refugees who were associated with the PSM, was both a soldier and a physician. He left his homeland after participating in the failed November Revolution against Tsar Nicholas I in 1830-1831, and eventually settled in Edinburgh together with nearly hundred fellow Polish exiles.³³⁷ Gregorowicz studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh from 1836 to 1838 and died after contracting typhus from a poor family of Scots whom he courageously attended to during the epidemic of 1838. He was buried in the New Calton Burial Ground, where his Polish comrades erected a tombstone in the shape of a broken column and adorned it with a poignant inscription in Latin. When a new wave of Polish refugees arrived in Edinburgh in the 1940s, they discovered and renovated Dr Gregorowicz’s grave.³³⁸

³³⁵ Ludwik Janowski, *Wszechnica Wileńska 1578-1842*, Vilna: Ludwik Chomiński, 1921, pp. 1-60; idem, *Historiografia Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego. Część I*, Vilna: 1921, pp. 10-12; Leon Koczy, ‘Edinburgh University and Scottish-Polish Cultural Relations’, in Tomaszewski, *University of Edinburgh and Poland*, p. 31; Wiktor Tomaszewski, ‘Scottish-Polish Relations in the Field of Medicine’, *Polish Medical Sciences and History Bulletin*, 25/4.1 (1976), pp. 5-10; Meissner, and Hasik, *Polski wkład w medycynę światową*, pp. 151-153; Alfredas Bumblauskas et al., *Vilnius University 1579-2004*, Vilnius: Vilnius University, 2004, p. 35.

³³⁶ Stanisław Kot’s speech on 22 Mar 1941, quoted in Brodzki, *PSM*, p. 32.

³³⁷ Jan Bartkowski, *Wspomnienia z Powstania 1831 roku i pierwszych lat emigracji*, Cracow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1966.

³³⁸ Koczy, ‘Scottish-Polish Cultural Relations’, pp. 33-35.

The wave of Polish exiles who settled in the Scottish capital after the failure of the November Revolution included another physician, Adam Łyszczyński. He was mostly remembered for hosting Frederic Chopin on the occasion of his concert in Edinburgh on 4 October 1848. To mark the hundredth anniversary of the Polish composer's visit to Edinburgh, the local Poles and their Scottish friends unveiled a commemorative plaque on the wall of Dr Łyszczyński's house at 10 Warriston Crescent.³³⁹ The public commemoration of previous contacts between Scots and Poles certainly helped wartime refugees to feel more at home in the otherwise culturally and linguistically estranging environs of the Scottish capital. The memory of those connections was retrospectively used to 'explain' why the PSM was set up at the University of Edinburgh rather than in another British academic centre.³⁴⁰

Language difficulties

Language difficulties were another obstacle that had to be overcome by the organisers of the PSM. Lectures and exams in those departments which were chaired by professors of the University of Edinburgh were held in English, even though few Poles were fluent in this language before the war. Disheartened Polish students often deliberately missed lectures in English and later faced serious problems in passing respective exams. Studying was made even more difficult by the lack of Polish textbooks in Britain.³⁴¹

The language barrier was partially removed thanks to outside assistance and creative arrangements within the PSM. Special courses in English were organised for Polish students and members of staff by the British Council, and it was arranged that Polish lecturers would be present as interpreters during those exams which were conducted by English-speaking professors.³⁴² Polish professors also published

³³⁹ Ibid., p. 36; Tomaszewski, 'Scottish-Polish Relations', p. 9.

³⁴⁰ Jurasz, 'The Foundation', pp. 139-140; Koczy, 'Scottish-Polish Cultural Relations', p. 17; Teleszyński, 'Polski Wydział Lekarski', p. 45.

³⁴¹ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 20 Oct 1942; EUA, GD46/Box 9: Tadeusz Fabiański's chronicle of the PSM, 1945, Vol. 1, p. 7.

³⁴² EUA, GD46/Box 5: Memoirs of Jan Kafel, 1944, pp. 14-15. See also Anon., 'Soldier-Students...', *The Scotsman*, 31 July 1943, p. 4; H. Harvey Wood, 'Course in English for Polish Students', *The Scotsman*, 3 Aug 1943, p. 4; Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, pp. 155-156; Gebertt, 'Życie studentów', p. 339.

several textbooks and lecture notes, with the financial assistance of the Polish government-in-exile.³⁴³ The Kościuszko Foundation provided a grant for the publication of 1,500 copies of the first ever English-Polish Medical Dictionary in 1945.³⁴⁴ This small glossary, compiled by Dr Tomaszewski three years before, greatly helped Polish students in studying from English-language materials. Stanisław Gebertt recalls how he learnt anatomy by translating the English textbook word-by-word with the use of Dr Tomaszewski's dictionary.³⁴⁵

Taking into account the legacy of nineteenth-century struggles for Polish-language education, it is hardly surprising that some patriotic Poles were dismayed by the gradual Anglicisation of the PSM. Professor Rostowski, for instance, called upon the Faculty Council to counteract the excessive use of English medical vocabulary by Polish medical students.³⁴⁶ Similar concerns were apparently shared by the Polish government-in-exile which set up the Committee for the Protection of the Purity of the Polish Language (*Komitet Ochrony Czystości Języka Polskiego*) in September 1944. The Committee provided linguistic counselling to Polish youth affected by foreign languages and edited a special 'linguistic corner' on the pages of the newspaper *Polska Walcząca* which was published in Britain during the war.³⁴⁷ The efforts to preserve the purity of Polish medical vocabulary were not always successful, as evidenced by the post-war memoirs of Jan Biskupski, a PSM graduate who emigrated to Newfoundland in the 1950s. Although his reminiscences are handwritten in Polish, most of the specifically medical terms, such as names of diseases and surgical instruments, are rendered in English.³⁴⁸

Different models of medical education

The organisation of teaching at the PSM was also challenged by differences in the Polish and Scottish models of medical education. The Polish programme was inspired by the German tradition, with its emphasis on theoretical knowledge that

³⁴³ Tomaszewski, *University of Edinburgh and Poland*, p. 48.

³⁴⁴ Idem, *Krótki Słownik Lekarski Angielsko-Polski. Short English-Polish Medical Dictionary*, Edinburgh: E. & S. Livingstone, 1945.

³⁴⁵ Gebertt, 'Życie studentów', p. 338.

³⁴⁶ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 15 Jan 1945.

³⁴⁷ Radzik, *Szkolnictwo polskie w Wielkiej Brytanii*, p. 42.

³⁴⁸ EUA, GD46/Box 9: Memoirs of Jan Biskupski, 1983.

was obtained through large-scale demonstrations in lecture halls. British medical education, on the other hand, was based on the Parisian anatomico-clinical model that required more personal contact between lecturers and students and focused on clinical practice in the wards of teaching hospitals. It emphasized the importance of the art of diagnosis, which was learnt in small classes at the patient's bedside. The organisation of clinical teaching was more 'dictatorial' in pre-war Poland, where a professor had complete authority over his hospital unit, known as *klinika*, which was administratively tied to an appropriate university department. In contrast, teaching hospitals in Britain, such as the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, were quite independent from the universities. The clinical staff had more autonomy from professors and conducted independent lectures in many subjects.³⁴⁹

The organisation of departmental chairs at the PSM, in comparison with medical faculties in Edinburgh and pre-war Poland, is represented by Table 12 in the Appendix. The differences in internal organisation are visible in the fact that Polish pre-war medical schools had between 22 and 26 departments, while the medical faculty of the University of Edinburgh in 1941 had only 19 professorial chairs (and two of them were vacated). The teaching of certain clinical subjects, such as ophthalmology and otorhinolaryngology, was conducted in Edinburgh not by professors but by independent lecturers at the Royal Infirmary. The Scottish medical faculty also did not have separate chairs of physics, biology, histology, dentistry and radiology.³⁵⁰ The chairs of anatomy and pathology in Edinburgh corresponded to three or four separate theoretical departments at Polish faculties. In the absence of appropriate professors, Polish senior lecturers (docents) or even simple lecturers had to be appointed as heads of 7 out of 22 departments of the PSM. It is clear that in terms of the organisation of teaching, the PSM was a creative hybrid of Polish and

³⁴⁹Wiktoria Tomaszewska, 'Medical Education in Continental Europe and in Great Britain: A Comparison', *Edinburgh University Journal*, 12.1 (1942), pp. 24-33; Helena Ostromecka, 'Z badań nad dziejami Polskiego Wydziału Lekarskiego przy Uniwersytecie w Edynburgu', *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki*, 27.2 (1982), pp. 304-305.

³⁵⁰A. Logan Turner (ed.), *History of the University of Edinburgh, 1883-1933*, London: Oliver and Boyd, 1933, pp. 100-163; *Edinburgh University Calendar 1941-1942*, pp. 17-20; John D. Comrie, *The Edinburgh Medical School*, Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1946, pp. 1-12; Douglas Guthrie, *The Medical School of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh: s.n., 1964, pp. 1-31.

Scottish models, rather than a wartime continuation of any given pre-war medical faculty.

This hybridisation also affected the programme of studies at the PSM, especially in those subjects which were taught by professors of the University of Edinburgh.³⁵¹ The core of the curriculum corresponded to pre-war regulations in Poland but many Polish lecturers gradually adopted the teaching and examination methods of their British hosts. Wartime memoirs and post-war reminiscences reveal that many students preferred the British model of practical demonstrations and case studies over the more theoretical approach of Polish professors.³⁵² However, several differences in the Polish and Scottish curricula remained and were naturally bound to cause problems at the PSM. The course in surgery, for example, was taken over by Professor Learmonth in the middle of the academic year 1946/1947, after Professor Jurasz's departure to the USA. According to complaints received by Professor Rostowski, the new Dean of the PSM, the teaching methods of the two lecturers were completely different, and as a result, most of the Polish students failed their final examination in surgery.³⁵³ Polish lecturers tried to resolve this problem by organising special preparatory courses to help them graduate. Unfortunately several students failed the exam again in March 1949, and thus were unable to obtain medical qualifications before the closing down of the PSM.³⁵⁴

Differences in social attitudes and customs

Challenges to academic cooperation between Polish medical refugees and their British hosts were sometimes caused by actual or perceived differences in social

³⁵¹ For the curriculum of the PSM, see Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, pp. 35-40. Cf. pre-war Polish regulations in *Zarządzenie Ministra Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego z dnia 16 Marca 1928 r. w sprawie organizacji studiów lekarskich w uniwersytetach państwowych*, *Dziennik Urzędowy MWRiOP* 1928, nr 8 poz. 132; and the curriculum of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Edinburgh in *Edinburgh University Calendar 1941-1942*, pp. 354-380.

³⁵² EUA, GD46/Box 5: Memoirs of Stefan Grzybowski, 1943-1945; Diary of Zdzisław Golarz (Teleszyński), 19 Oct 1946. See also Letter from Władysław Olesiński to Jadwiga Kępińska, 5 May 1973, in Ryn, 'Kępiński w Polskim Wydziale Lekarskim', p. 99; Teleszyński, 'Polski Wydział Lekarski', pp. 52-53; Mitus, *A Long Episode*, pp. 615-616.

³⁵³ TNA, ED 128/33: Letter from the Association of the Polish Students Abroad to the Committee for the Education of Poles, 27 Aug 1948.

³⁵⁴ TNA, ED 128/33: Note for E.P. Bennet, 26 Jan 1949.

attitudes and customs. For instance, the practical teaching of anatomy at the PSM was completely dependent on the provision of cadavers and specimens by Professor Brash. This almost became a political issue when the Faculty Council of the PSM was discussing possible candidates for decorations that were awarded by the Polish government-in-exile in recognition of the University of Edinburgh's wartime magnanimity towards the Poles. The Commander's Cross of the Order of *Polonia Restituta* was conferred on Sir Thomas Holland, Professor Smith and Professor Crew in 1943, and on Sir John Fraser, the new Principal and Vice-Chancellor, Professor Davidson and William Fleming in 1945.³⁵⁵ In March 1945, Professor Rogalski voiced his concern that, if Professor Brash was omitted in the next round of distinctions, he might stop delivering cadavers to the Polish department of anatomy.³⁵⁶ Although, in the end, Brash was not awarded a Polish decoration, it seems that there were no resulting problems with the provision of anatomical specimens.

Professor Rogalski's uncanny concern was perhaps a legacy of the so-called 'cadaver affair' that resulted in the segregation of Jewish and Christian students at some Polish medical faculties. According to state regulations in Poland, corpses which were not claimed from hospitals or mortuaries by relatives or friends within a specified period of time were handed over to the five medical faculties for the purpose of teaching human anatomy. Jewish religious law, however, regarded dissections as sacrilegious, and therefore Jewish funeral fraternities often took unclaimed Jewish corpses before they were handed over to medical schools. Some nationalist and Catholic student activists demanded that Jews should not be allowed to dissect Christian corpses. They also argued that their Jewish colleagues should be banned from anatomy classes until the supply of Jewish cadavers would match the percentage of Jews among medical students. Although many secular Jewish students personally opposed the religious taboos concerning human dissections, the Jews generally viewed the whole affair as a thinly veiled attempt at excluding them from

³⁵⁵ Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, pp. 21-22; Tomaszewski, *University of Edinburgh and Poland*, p. 46. See also Anon., 'Edinburgh University. Polish President Confers Orders...', *The Scotsman*, 29 May 1943, p. 4.

³⁵⁶ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 21 Mar 1945.

medical education. The conflict over the supply of Jewish cadavers lingered throughout the interwar period, often leading to physical attacks on Jews who simply tried to attend anatomy classes. Jewish students at some medical faculties were eventually forced to practice dissections only on Jewish corpses and at separate tables.³⁵⁷ This bizarre obsession with ‘Christian corpses for Christians’ might have provided the frame of reference for Professor Rogalski, who feared that his host might one day deny Polish students access to ‘Scottish’ cadavers.

Unlike the anxieties over the supply of anatomical specimens, different attitudes towards female students caused actual friction at the PSM. University life in wartime Edinburgh was influenced by the legacy of past struggles over the admission of women to medical studies. For example, unlike in pre-war Poland, student societies in Edinburgh were still sex-segregated.³⁵⁸ Clinical instruction in venereal diseases was likewise conducted in separate groups of male and female students.³⁵⁹ More traditional British hosts were thus displeased with the liberal behaviour of some Polish female refugees. Professors of the University of Edinburgh complained in March 1945 about Polish women who attended their lectures wearing trousers. While this custom did not seem to be a problem for the Poles before, the Faculty Council of the PSM decided to instruct their students about proper dress-code in order to alleviate the grudges of their Scottish colleagues. One Polish professor even announced that any female student who showed up wearing trousers would be ‘kicked out’ of his lecture hall.³⁶⁰

The crisis of 1945

Most of the challenges to successful academic cooperation at the PSM were amicably resolved in the spirit of Polish-British friendship and wartime alliance until the post-war fate of Poland was sealed in February 1945. Joseph Stalin, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill met at the Yalta Conference in Crimea to discuss

³⁵⁷ Natalia Aleksium, ‘Christian Corpses for Christians!: Dissecting the Anti-Semitism behind the Cadaver Affair of the Second Polish Republic’, *East European Politics and Societies*, 25.3 (2011), pp. 393-409; eadem, ‘Jewish Students and Christian Corpses in Interwar Poland: Playing with the Language of Blood Libel’, *Jewish History*, 26 (2012), pp. 327-342.

³⁵⁸ EUA, GD46/Box 5: Memoirs of Stefan Grzybowski, 1944, p. 6.

³⁵⁹ *Edinburgh University Calendar 1941-1942*, p. 380.

³⁶⁰ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 1 Mar 1945.

the new international order, and Churchill committed Britain to recognising a reconstructed Polish government in Warsaw. The British Prime Minister also approved the Soviet annexation of pre-war Poland's Eastern Borderlands, in exchange for former German territories in the North and West. When hostilities in Europe finally ceased on 8/9 May 1945, Poland was liberated from Nazi tyranny but fell into a Soviet sphere of influence. On 5 July 1945, in fulfilment of the Yalta Agreement, Britain withdrew diplomatic recognition of the Polish government-in-exile in London in favour of the Communist-dominated Provisional Government of National Unity in Warsaw.

Confidential correspondence which was exchanged between March and October 1945 by Sir John Fraser and several high ranking officials of the Treasury, the Home Office and the Foreign Office reveal that British hosts quickly realised what were the implications of all those developments for the future of the PSM.³⁶¹ Officials of the University of Edinburgh originally expected that Polish medical refugees would one day return *en masse* to a liberated homeland. However, the closer the end of the war drew, the less likely the PSM's return to Poland appeared. Sir John Fraser intimated in a letter from 6 March 1945 to Sir John Anderson, then the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that:

so far, no suggestion of any desire for repatriation has been made by the officials of the [PSM]. The Dean is Professor Jurasz, and I think it proper to say that he makes no secret of the fact that he is antagonistic to the scheme outlined for the settlement of the Polish question. Such being so, I doubt whether he will take the initiative in this matter.³⁶²

Although Fraser admitted that the experience of collaborating with Polish medical refugees was 'uniformly happy and eminently successful',³⁶³ the continuing existence of the PSM raised a number of difficulties for the University of Edinburgh. The number of British medical students was considerably lower during the war than in peacetime because of various restrictions on undergraduate training. This under-attendance of teaching wards and laboratory facilities made the admission of several

³⁶¹ TNA, FO 371/47775: Correspondence on the future of the PSM, 1945; T 236/1384: Records relating to the policy on Polish university students, 1945-1946.

³⁶² TNA, FO 371/47775: Letter from Sir John Fraser to Sir John Anderson, 6 Mar 1945.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*

hundred Polish students possible in the first place, but the situation was about to change dramatically after 1945, and the University expected an influx of undergraduate medical students that could even surpass pre-war admission levels. Sir John Fraser therefore feared that further accommodation of Polish refugees might prejudice ‘the interests of students of British nationality’.³⁶⁴ From the point of view of the University of Edinburgh, the de-recognition of the Polish government-in-exile also meant that the original agreement that established the PSM had lapsed. Sir John Fraser assumed that the further existence of the PSM would require a new agreement with the Polish government in Warsaw. In deciding about their future policy, the officials of the University of Edinburgh had to take into account not only their own internal concerns but also the opinions of the Polish Faculty Council, the British government and the competing Polish governments in London and Warsaw.

The Polish Faculty Council did not officially reject the idea of an eventual transfer to Poland but, for practical reasons, was in favour of continuing business as usual, including admitting new students who had just arrived in Britain from POW camps in Germany.³⁶⁵ Władysław Folkierski, the Minister of Education, arrived in Edinburgh in June 1945 to personally negotiate with University officials the admission of new students, which would ensure the continued existence of the PSM.³⁶⁶ Polish Professors remained loyal to the government-in-exile and refused to cooperate with representatives of the Warsaw regime.³⁶⁷

In July 1945, the British government created the Interim Treasury Committee for Polish Questions (ITC) to assume the welfare responsibilities of the de-recognised Polish government-in-exile, which included financial supervision over the PSM. The ITC was staffed by British civil servants from the Treasury department as well as former officials of the Polish government-in-exile. Sir Wilfred Eady was the head of the ITC, while Count Edward Raczyński, former Polish Ambassador in Britain, was its chief Polish representative.³⁶⁸ The general policy of the British government was to encourage as many Poles as possible to return home, but the ITC

³⁶⁴ Ibid.: Letter from Sir John Fraser to Anthony Eden, 6 July 1945.

³⁶⁵ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 4 May 1945 and 16 May 1945.

³⁶⁶ Ibid.: 12 June 1945.

³⁶⁷ Ibid.: 7 Sept 1945.

³⁶⁸ Sword et al., *Formation of the Polish Community*, pp. 222-223.

decided to continue financing those Polish students who began their studies at British universities during the war.³⁶⁹ After some deliberations, the ITC eventually agreed that 50 new students could be admitted to the PSM in the academic year 1945/1946, provided that they arranged for their own funding. This decision was a result of Count Raczyński's lobbying.³⁷⁰ The news about this decision was communicated to the Faculty Council of the PSM, which provisionally admitted a number of new students without waiting for the final decision of the University of Edinburgh.³⁷¹

The policy of the Polish government in Warsaw towards the PSM was inconsistent in 1945. The semi-official Polish Educational Mission, headed by Professor Pieńkowski from the University of Warsaw, was dispatched to Britain in September 1945 in order to visit Polish institutions of higher education in Britain. Pieńkowski discussed the future of the PSM with representatives of the ITC and the Foreign Office and agreed that it should continue to operate for the time being but new students should not be admitted.³⁷² At the same time, one of Pieńkowski's associates, Professor Grzegorzewski, was entrusted by Franciszek Litwin, the Minister of Health in Warsaw, with a mission to convince professors of the PSM to return to Poland and contribute to the establishment of a Polish medical academy in Gdańsk. Grzegorzewski was cordially received in Edinburgh but only a few professors expressed an unconditional interest in returning to Communist-dominated Poland. Most of them were waiting for further political developments while continuing their teaching duties at the PSM. Even those who were willing to repatriate were interested in assuming chairs at their pre-war universities in Cracow, Warsaw or Poznań, rather than in organising a new medical academy in Gdańsk.³⁷³

³⁶⁹ TNA, T 236/1384: Letter from D.B. Pitblado to M.D. Clayton, 17 Aug 1945.

³⁷⁰ Ibid.: Letter from the H.H. Eggers to Miss Parkinson, 13 Sept 1945; TNA, FO 371/47775: Letter from Count Edward Raczyński to Christopher Warner, 24 Sept 1945; Letter from Sir Wilfred Eady to Sir John Fraser, 1 Oct 1945.

³⁷¹ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Students, 21 Sept 1945 and 10 Oct 1945.

³⁷² AAN, Sygn. 664, 15: Letter from Franciszek Litwin to Prof. Peińkowski, 19 Sept 1945; TNA, FO 371/47775: Memorandum of a meeting with the Polish Educational Mission, 9 Oct 1945; TNA, T 236/1384: Memorandum of a meeting with the Polish Educational Mission, 13 Oct 1945.

³⁷³ AAN, Sygn. 664, 15: Prof. Grzegorzewski's report, 17 Nov 1945. See also Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, pp. 212-213; Telszyński, 'Polski Wydział Lekarski', pp. 59-60; Jabłońska-Fraćkowiak, *Pomruki wojny*, p. 144.

Taking all these considerations into account, the authorities of the University of Edinburgh eventually decided that new students would not be admitted to the PSM for the academic year 1945/1946, but the PSM would be allowed to function until the remaining students completed their studies. The final decision of the University Court concerning new admissions was communicated to the Polish Faculty Council only in November 1945, and thus students who had already been admitted in the new academic year had to be exmatriculated.³⁷⁴ The liquidation of the first year of studies also meant that the PSM would be gradually wound up in the next few years. The PSM ceased to be an officially Polish institution in July 1945 when all educational responsibilities of the Polish government-in-exile were temporarily assumed by the ITC. Two years later, in accordance with the Polish Resettlement Act of 1947, the academic and financial supervision over the PSM was taken over by the Department of Education which set up the Committee for the Education of Poles in Great Britain. This governmental body was chaired by Sir George Gater and staffed by both British and Polish officials.³⁷⁵

Phasing out the PSM between 1945 and 1949

Another crisis at the PSM was caused by the return of British students from the army in the academic year 1946/1947. Laboratory facilities at the University of Edinburgh became especially overcrowded, and the Scottish Faculty of Medicine decided that the third year of studies (when pre-clinical teaching was introduced) should be liquidated at the PSM.³⁷⁶ 10 Polish students who made the best progress in the previous two years were transferred to the University of Edinburgh, while Dean Smith helped 23 others to obtain places at British medical or dental schools without any entrance examinations. 2 students were thus admitted to the University of Dundee, 3 to the University of Leeds, 2 to the University of Bristol, 3 to the University of Birmingham, 3 to the University of Aberdeen, 2 to the University of

³⁷⁴ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 3 Nov 1945 and 15 Nov 1945.

³⁷⁵ Sword et al., *Formation of the Polish Community*, pp. 278-279.

³⁷⁶ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 15 Aug 1946 and 14 Oct 1946; PISM, A.19. III/33: Transfer of third-year students from the PSM, 1946. See also Jakub Rostowski, 'Polski Wydział Lekarski przy Uniwersytecie w Edynburgu (1941-1949)', *Nauka Polska Na Obczyźnie*, 1 (1955), pp. 28-30.

Sheffield, and 8 to the University of Durham's Dental School in Newcastle.³⁷⁷ Those who did not manage to secure transfers to British universities returned to Poland to complete their education or were forced to abandon their medical careers altogether.

The University of Edinburgh's decision to hasten the closing down of the PSM by liquidating the third year of studies might have also been a response to anti-Polish voices that were raised in many quarters of post-war Scotland, even if they did not represent the majority opinion. In July 1946, a Scottish MP passed on to the Home Office a complaint that medical students at the PSM receive higher funding than their Scottish colleagues.³⁷⁸ *The Scotsman* reported two months later that an Edinburgh delegate to the conference of the Transport and General Workers' Union 'maintained that at Edinburgh University it was impossible for [British] ex-soldiers to enter the Faculty of Medicine because so many Polish students were already there'.³⁷⁹ These accusations were part of a larger campaign aimed at getting rid of Poles from post-war Scotland. Wiktor Tomaszewski recalls in his memoirs that signs 'Poles Go Home' were painted on the Dean Bridge in the West End of Edinburgh.³⁸⁰ Jan Biskupski also noticed such signs on the walls of the University.³⁸¹ Alicja Bober-Michałowska witnessed a ticket inspector insulting a group of Polish soldiers on board of an Edinburgh tram.³⁸² In a letter to *The Scotsman*, Sir John Fraser defended Polish medical students from the charges of 'stealing' university places from British ex-servicemen, but it is possible that a negative publicity attracted by Polish medical refugees in the summer of 1946 pressured the University of Edinburgh to speed up the liquidation of the PSM.³⁸³

Financial assistance for Polish medical refugees was, moreover, substantially decreased after July 1945. The contracts of employment which had been previously signed by the Polish Minister of Education became void. Many employees of the

³⁷⁷ TNA, ED 128/33: Records relating to the PSM, 1946-1947. See also Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, pp. 63-64.

³⁷⁸ TNA, T 236/1384: Letter from P.F. Hancock to Sir Anthony Meyer, 12 July 1946.

³⁷⁹ Anon., 'The Poles in Scotland. Protests by Transport Workers' Union...', *The Scotsman*, 7 Sep 1946, p. 3.

³⁸⁰ Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, pp. 223-225.

³⁸¹ EUA, GD46/Box 9: Memoirs of Jan Biskupski, 1983, p. 2.

³⁸² Bober-Michałowska, *W gościnnym Albionie*, p. 190.

³⁸³ Sir John Fraser, 'Polish Medical Students', *The Scotsman*, 10 Sept 1946, p. 4.

PSM were dismissed or resigned because the ITC offered them lower salaries.³⁸⁴ At the same time, the right to study at the PSM became conditional upon obtaining permission from the Home Office. Financial and administrative measures of British authorities pressured the Faculty Council of the PSM to hasten the speed of final examinations and to ex-matriculate those students who did not make sufficient progress.³⁸⁵ Sydney Smith reflected on those closing stages of the PSM in a poignant letter to Professor Jurasz from 12 October 1948:

Your School is now approaching its end, and I think the examinations at the end of this term will be the final act. I had hoped that it might have been a prelude to a very important and lasting relationship between academic medicine in Poland and in Edinburgh, but political influences have proved too much for us and we must just forget the dreams we had at one time.³⁸⁶

The PSM was finally closed down after the last examination session in March 1949. Nine students who failed were left with the possibility of obtaining Scottish or English Triple Conjoint qualifications.³⁸⁷ The preparation for British licence exams required, however, financial and linguistic resources which many Polish medical refugees did not possess. A symbolic ‘funeral’ of the PSM took place a few months later, on 15 November 1949, when Jakub Rostowski, the last Dean of the PSM, unveiled a memorial tablet in the quadrangle of the Old Medical School. In his closing speech, Rostowski lamented on behalf of Polish medical refugees:

It was hoped that after the victorious war – and we all firmly believed that victory must be ours – the [PSM] would return to Poland and would be a link between Polish science and the Mother-University of Edinburgh. It was also our fondest hope that the full Faculty of Medicine of the University of Edinburgh which on 1st November 1940 without a single dissenting voice had decided for the formation of a Polish Faculty of Medicine, would one day assist *in corpora* at setting up that Faculty as part of one of the Polish Universities in a free Poland! Alas! It was not fated to be so.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁴ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 21 Sept 1945, 10 Oct 1945, 15 Jan 1946, 14 Oct 1946 and 17 Mar 1947; PISM, A.19 III/9: Employment contracts at the PSM, Oct 1945.

³⁸⁵ TNA, ED 128/33: Records relating to the PSM, 1946-1949.

³⁸⁶ EUA, GD46/Box 5: Letter from Sydney Smith to Antoni Jurasz, 12 Oct 1948.

³⁸⁷ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 30 Mar 1949; TNA, ED 128/33: Letter from Prof. Rostowski to the Committee for the Education of Poles in Great Britain, 9 Apr 1949.

³⁸⁸ Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, p. 25.

Conclusion

This chapter analysed eight years of academic cooperation at the PSM in the context of a diasporic relationship between Polish medical refugees and their hosts at the University of Edinburgh. It was argued that previous experiences of living, working and studying in an international environment, referred to as ‘trans-cultural competency’, could be seen as prerequisites for successful collaboration between academic refugees and their hosts. The importance of this factor was emphasised in the ‘parallel lives’ of Professor Francis Crew, who conceived the idea of creating a Polish medical faculty in Edinburgh, and Professor Antoni Jurasz, who was the actual organiser of this institution. An analysis of the patterns of academic cooperation demonstrated that the PSM was neither a continuation of pre-war Polish medical faculties nor a bilateral Polish-Scottish venture, but rather a transnational institution that transcended national traditions and ethnic identities, simultaneously connecting individuals and organisations from various different countries on several continents. This chapter, finally, examined how political and diplomatic realities of post-war Europe determined the premature end of this remarkable institution that was intended as a model of long-lasting international cooperation in the field of medicine.

Chapter 3: PSM and Poland

Introduction

From the perspective of British hosts, the setting up of the PSM was a largely humanitarian response to the plight of Polish refugees as well as an imaginative effort to foster academic collaboration between two Allied nations. Many Poles regarded their own involvement with the PSM as a continuation of the exile mission that initially motivated their arrival in Britain. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the preservation of national culture abroad was equally important for the Polish diaspora as armed struggle for the liberation of the homeland. Drawing upon the previous two sections, this chapter will analyse the relationship between the PSM and Poland during and immediately after the war.

First of all, the attitudes and activities of Polish medical refugees towards their occupied homeland will be analysed with the help of the concept of long-distance nationalism, a more universally applicable model than the specifically Polish idea of exile mission. The term ‘long-distance nationalism’ was popularised in the 1990s by Benedict Anderson,³⁸⁹ and quickly gained currency among scholars of various national diasporas. Nina Glick Schiller defines this phenomenon as ‘a set of identity claims and practices that connect people living in various geographical locations to a specific territory that they see as their ancestral home’.³⁹⁰ Adherents of long-distance nationalism are emigrants and their descendants who engage in a political project that is oriented specifically toward a territory they perceive as the homeland.³⁹¹ The activities of the PSM between 1941 and 1949 can be seen as an analogous cultural and political project that was aimed primarily at the preservation in exile of Polish medical science and education but also involved raising awareness about German atrocities against Polish universities and intellectuals, providing financial and material support to displaced compatriots, and supporting Allied war effort by training medical officers for the Polish Armed Forces in the West.

³⁸⁹ Benedict Anderson, ‘The New World Disorder’, *New Left Review*, 1.193 (1992), retrieved on 11 May 2012 from: <http://www.newleftreview.org/I/193/benedict-anderson-the-new-world-disorder>.

³⁹⁰ Nina Glick Schiller, ‘Long-Distance Nationalism’, in Ember, Ember and Skoggard, *Encyclopedia of Diasporas*, p. 570.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 570-580.

In the context of long-distance nationalism, this chapter will also analyse the way in which the patriotic ethos of the PSM affected the largest ethno-religious minority among Polish medical refugees in Edinburgh. The significant presence of Jews at the PSM has so far attracted undeservedly little scholarly interest. Official records, post-war memoirs and reminiscences as well as more recent commemorative publications rarely include Jewish voices. Among the Polish historians of medicine, only Roman Meissner and Jakub Gąsiorowski devoted some limited attention to the question of Jewish students and alleged anti-Semitism at the PSM.³⁹² This chapter will partially redress this neglect by analysing the relations between Christian and Jewish medical refugees at the PSM. Particular attention will be given to the question of whether anti-Semitism, a conspicuous element of university life in interwar Poland, managed to resurface at the Polish medical faculty in Edinburgh.

In addition to the worldly endeavours of the PSM, this chapter will also analyse how the Roman Catholic majority among Polish medical refugees used religious narratives, rituals and artefacts to symbolically connect with their lost homeland. Thomas Tweed introduced the concept of ‘diasporic religion’ in his study of the Cuban-American shrine of Our Lady of Charity in Miami. According to Tweed, diasporic religions are trans-local, i.e. devotees symbolically move between the homeland and the new land, and trans-temporal, i.e. they move between a constructed past and an imagined future. The horizontal (rather than vertical) dimension of religious practices and symbols is therefore more important for displaced devotees, as they allow them to unite with their compatriots in exile and in the homeland. Diasporic religions create imagined moral communities which bridge the natal land and the new land and constantly move across collective past and future. These trans-locative and trans-temporal flows are predominantly expressed through religious narratives, theology, institutions, rituals and artifacts.³⁹³

Tweed argues that any theory of religion must be applied to specific case studies in order to confirm whether it has any interpretative value.³⁹⁴ His theoretical

³⁹² Meissner, ‘Polski Wydział Lekarski’, pp. 357-361; Gąsiorowski, *Losy absolwentów*, pp. 35-38.

³⁹³ Thomas Tweed, *Our Lady of the Exile. Diasporic Religion at a Cuban Catholic Shrine in Miami*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. 138-41.

³⁹⁴ Thomas A. Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion*, Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2006, pp. 84-85.

framework, which was inspired by fieldwork among Cuban Catholic exiles in late-twentieth-century Miami, could potentially inform the study of religious lives of diasporic groups in other time periods and geographical areas. Church historian Robert Alvis applied the concept of ‘diasporic religion’ to Silesian Catholic expellees in post-war Germany,³⁹⁵ while Tweed himself suggested that his theory could be applicable to the case of Polish Roman Catholics. He points in his book to the ‘striking parallels between Cubans and Poles during some points of their respective national histories. Both have suffered through wars and struggled for independence. Both turned to Marian devotion to express their nationalist sentiments and revolutionary impulses’.³⁹⁶ Following up on his suggestion, this chapter will apply Tweed’s theory of diasporic religion to the case study of Polish Catholic refugees at the PSM.

Finally, this chapter will analyse the complex reasons why the vast majority of medical refugees at the PSM did not return to Poland after 1945 even though they were originally expected to play an essential role in the post-war reconstruction of Polish medical education and healthcare services. Rather than focusing on the binary opposition of ‘to return or not to return’, it will be argued that medical refugees at the PSM were faced with three choices: repatriation, resettlement in Britain, and re-emigration to a third country. In contrast to conventional explanations that focus on ideological opposition towards the emergent Communist regime, this chapter will analyse post-war settlement outcomes as a result of family decision making that prioritised personal reasons over political and economic factors.

Long-distance nationalism at the PSM

The long-distance nationalist dimension of setting up an autonomous Polish-language faculty at a foreign university is more visible in the light of the highly politicised view of Polish culture that emerged as a legacy of the resistance against forced linguistic assimilation during the period of partitions. The memories of those past struggles against Germanisation and Russification were strongly embedded in

³⁹⁵ Robert Alvis, ‘Holy Homeland: The Discourse of Place and Displacement among Silesian Catholics in Postwar West Germany’, *Church History*, 79.4 (2010), pp. 852-856.

³⁹⁶ Tweed, *Our Lady of the Exile*, 141.

the traditions of pre-war Polish universities. The activities of medical refugees at the PSM could also be seen as a wartime continuation of the Polish intelligentsia's traditional role as the spiritual leader of the nation. The PSM provided a suitable platform for many pre-war academics and students who, as displaced civilian refugees and recuperating rank-and-file soldiers, were otherwise cut off from Polish national life. At any rate, the significance of the PSM can be fully understood only in the context of German and Soviet policies towards universities and the intelligentsia inside occupied Poland.

The fate of universities in occupied Poland

Polish exiles in Britain claimed that the PSM was, at the moment of its creation, the only Polish institution of higher education in the world.³⁹⁷ There was indeed much truth in that claim. All pre-war Polish universities and other so-called 'academic schools' in German-occupied Poland were closed in the early months of the war, while their buildings, libraries, laboratories and other facilities were confiscated, looted or destroyed. At the same time, hundreds of Polish professors, lecturers and assistants were arrested, deported or murdered by the Nazis.³⁹⁸ Ephemeral institutions which were established by the Germans, such as the Reich University in Posen (Poznań), were supposed to strengthen the German national character of the newly annexed territories through ideological indoctrination of the local German youth.³⁹⁹ In accordance with Nazi racist ideology, the Poles were sub-humans unfit for university learning. Only a few Poles were allowed to pursue strictly vocational education at the secondary and tertiary levels.⁴⁰⁰

The situation was different in Poland's Eastern Borderlands, which were occupied by the Red Army in September 1939. Institutions of higher education were not closed by the Soviets but were stripped of their pre-war Polish national character.

³⁹⁷ For some examples, see Brodzki, *PSM*, p. v; Jurasz, 'The Foundation', p. 139; Anon., 'Making Youh Fit...', *The Scotsman*, 7 Mar 1942, p. 4.

³⁹⁸ Bolewski and Pierzchała, *Losy polskich pracowników nauki*, pp. 106-113; Stanisław Mauersberg, 'Nauka i szkolnictwo wyższe w latach 1939-1951, in Suchodolski, *Historia Nauki Polskiej. Tom V*, pp. 319-322.

³⁹⁹ Stefan Różycki, 'Państwowy Uniwersytet Niemiecki w Poznaniu 1941-1945', *Nowiny Lekarskie*, 52.3-4 (1945), pp. 1-8.

⁴⁰⁰ Bolewski and Pierzchała, *Losy polskich pracowników nauki*, pp. 94-97.

The John Casimir University in Lwów was, for example, reconstituted as an officially Ukrainian-language Ivan Franko University. Following the Soviet model of higher education, its faculties of medicine and pharmacy were detached from the university and reorganised as the State Medical Institute. Polish members of staff and students from Lwów who were not arrested by the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD) and deported to Central Asia were generally permitted to remain at the new Soviet institution. This relative freedom survived only until the German capture of Lwów on 30 June 1941.⁴⁰¹ Vilna, another pre-war centre of medical education, was captured by the Red Army on 19 September 1939 but was later handed over to Lithuania. The Polish Stephen Bathory University continued to operate normally until 15 December 1939 when it was officially Lithuanised and reorganised as a part of the Vitautas Magnas University in Kaunas. The vast majority of Polish members of staff and students were either expelled or boycotted the new institution. The university was Sovietised after the annexation of Lithuania to the USSR in July 1940.⁴⁰²

Despite German intentions, Polish higher education was not suppressed but merely forced underground. The pre-war University of Poznań was reconstituted in occupied Warsaw as the clandestine University of the Western Lands.⁴⁰³ Throughout the war, secret classes and exams for small groups of 5-6 students of medicine and other subjects were courageously held in private apartments in Warsaw, Cracow, Vilna and Lwów.⁴⁰⁴ In a similar fashion, practical tutorials in anatomy and the clinical teaching of medicine and surgery were organised by pre-war professors and lecturers in several hospitals all over Warsaw.⁴⁰⁵ Even after the city's destruction in

⁴⁰¹ Tomasz Cieszyński, 'Działalność Wydziału Lekarskiego UJK we Lwowie w czasie 2 wojny światowej od września 1939 do sierpnia 1944 roku', *AHiFM*, 58.2 (1995), pp. 141-152.

⁴⁰² Piotr Łossowski (ed.), *Likwidacja Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego przez władze litewskie w grudniu 1939 roku. Dokumenty i materiały*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Interlibro, 1991; Mauersberg, 'Nauka i szkolnictwo wyższe', pp. 324-325. See also SPSL, MS. 331/2: Alexander Jablonski file, 1939.

⁴⁰³ Zofia Stegawska, 'Wydział Lekarski tajnego Uniwersytetu Ziemi Zachodnich', *AHM*, 21.3-4 (1958), pp. 363-368.

⁴⁰⁴ Leonard J. Bruce-Chwatt and Zbigniew Bankowski, 'An Unknown Page in the History of Medicine: Clandestine Medical Schools in Poland During 1940 to 1945', *JAMA*, 201.12 (1967), pp. 126-128; Mauersberg, 'Nauka i szkolnictwo wyższe', pp. 335-353.

⁴⁰⁵ Janina Misiewicz, 'Nauczanie studentów medycyny w Szpitalu Wolskim w Warszawie w latach 1939-1944', *AHM*, 22.2 (1959), pp. 263-270; Hanna Szukiewicz, 'Tajne prosektorium Szpitala

the summer of 1944, survivors of the Warsaw Uprising resumed their studies in smaller provincial towns.⁴⁰⁶ Clandestine medical education was also carried out under the cover of officially existing vocational schools for auxiliary medical personnel, such as the 'Zaorski School' in Warsaw and the *Staatliche Medizinisch-Naturwissenschaftliche Fachkurse* in Lwów.⁴⁰⁷

Imprisonment or even immediate execution awaited Polish participants of secret classes who were discovered or exposed to the Nazis. Many clandestine students were simultaneously involved in other forms of resistance against Germans, including urban guerrilla activities, and thus faced arrest and death on a daily basis. The clandestine nature of wartime education in occupied Poland also meant that lecturers and students had limited access to facilities, laboratories, textbooks and other teaching aids, not to mention social and cultural activities which were normally associated with academic life in pre-war Poland. Encoded records of exams were fortunately preserved by many professors, which allowed those students who survived the wartime ordeal to resume their studies or even obtain equivalent diplomas after 1945.⁴⁰⁸

Without diminishing the indisputable courage and achievements of the men and women who were involved in clandestine university education in occupied Poland, it is true that, at the moment of its creation in early 1941, the PSM in Edinburgh was the only openly and freely existing Polish institution of higher education. The national character of the PSM was manifested not only in the use of Polish as the primary language of instruction and administration but also in the fact that until 1945 the PSM was accredited to the legitimate Polish government in

Ujazdowskiego w latach II wojny światowej', *AHM*, 27.3 (1964), pp. 275-281; Roman Michałowski, 'Program tajnego nauczania dermatologii w Klinice Dermatologicznej w Warszawie podczas niemieckiej okupacji', *AHiFM*, 51.4 (1988), pp. 439-447.

⁴⁰⁶ Rajmund Barański, 'Przemówienie na zjeździe byłych studentów medycyny w latach okupacji 1941-1944', *AHM*, 21.3-4 (1958), pp. 347-348; Mauersberg, 'Nauka i szkolnictwo wyższe', pp. 354-356.

⁴⁰⁷ Tadeusz Grigo, 'Tajne nauczania medycyny w Szkole "Doc. Zaorskiego" i w Uniwersytecie Warszawskim', *AHM*, 21.3-4 (1958), pp. 357-362; Zygmunt Albert, *Lwowski Wydział Lekarski w czasie okupacji hitlerowskiej 1941-1944*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1975. See also Charles G. Roland, 'An underground medical school in the Warsaw ghetto, 1941-2', *Medical History*, 33.4 (1989), pp. 399-419; Harold Ticktin, 'The Warsaw Ghetto's Underground Medical School', *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, 46.4, (2011), pp. 573-576.

⁴⁰⁸ Mauersberg, 'Nauka i szkolnictwo wyższe', pp.357-364.

London. Although the full scale of German atrocities could not have been known, medical refugees at the PSM were well aware of the closing of universities and the persecution of academics inside occupied Poland. Information about the homeland was received via the government-in-exile, which maintained regular contacts with the Polish resistance movement.⁴⁰⁹ Whereas details about clandestine universities inside occupied Poland were not made public in Britain for safety reasons, the role of the PSM as the last bastion of Polish higher education was consistently publicised and stressed in speeches and other public communications.

Preservation of Polish science and learning

The first opportunity to present the PSM's mission to the world came with its official inauguration on Saturday 22 March 1941. Guests of honour included President Raczkiewicz and other Polish military and civilian figures as well as magistrates and councillors of the City of Edinburgh, C.H. Brown, Sheriff of the Lothians, and the Earl of Rosebery, Chief Civil Commissioner. The British government delegated Sir John Anderson, while Sir Henry Steele, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, represented King George VI. Members of Scottish scientific societies, students of the University of Edinburgh as well as British and Polish journalists were also among the public.⁴¹⁰ In his speech on behalf of the Polish government-in-exile, Professor Kot pointed out that:

Before this war ... [Poland] had 907 university professors, 48,000 students, boys and girls. To-day the opportunity of studying is given only to this handful of professors and students whom you see gathered here. After the invasion of Poland the Germans turned with fierce brutality first of all on the universities and their teaching staff.⁴¹¹

In the framework of long-distance nationalism, the opening of the PSM could be understood as a manifestation of defiance against German attempts to suppress and

⁴⁰⁹ PISM, A.19. II/46: Correspondence of the Polish Ministry of Education, 1942-1943. See also Jurasz, 'The Foundation', p. 136.

⁴¹⁰ EUA, IN14/2: Programme of the inauguration of the PSM, 22 March 1941; TNA, CAB 123/274: Sir John Anderson's correspondence, Feb-Apr 1941; PISM Film Archive, SIK 1077/03: Film Section of the Polish Ministry of Information, *Polish Film Magazine No. 3: The Life of Poles in Great Britain*, 1941. See also Brodzki, *PSM*, pp. 25-37; Central Library, Edinburgh (hereafter CLE), qyLF 1043.941: Press cuttings: University of Edinburgh, Inauguration of the PSM, March 24, 1941.

⁴¹¹ Stanisław Kot's speech, 22 Mar 1941, quoted in Brodzki, *PSM*, p. 33.

eradicate Polish higher education and national culture. The high profile given to the inauguration ceremony by the presence of Polish and British officials enabled the PSM to publicise its exile mission in Britain and beyond. The founding of the PSM was reported in the context of German atrocities against Polish universities not only in the *BMJ* on 5 April 1941 but also in J. Miller's editorial comment in the September 1941 issue of the *Canadian Medical Association Journal*.⁴¹² British official wireless communiqué on the inauguration of the PSM reached the outermost corners of the English speaking world:

London, March 22. — The inauguration in Edinburgh on Saturday of a Polish School of Medicine will give facilities to men now serving in the Polish forces in Britain to complete studies interrupted by the war. The principal of the university, Sir Thomas Holland, who presided, said that around a nucleus of less than a dozen Polish professors and 46 students would grow another school of medicine, which would extend, he hoped, so quickly and so strongly that the Edinburgh cradle would barely be large enough to hold it before it was free again to return to its native land.⁴¹³

These words were, for example, reproduced in several more or less obscure Australian newspapers, such as *Cairns Post*, *Kalgoorlie Miner*, *Morning Bulletin*, *The Courier-Mail*, *The West Australian*, *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, *The Northern Miner*, and *The Central Queensland Herald*. Polish medical refugees in Edinburgh probably did not even suspect that the founding of the PSM turned out to be an event of truly global resonance.

In presenting its unique mission to the world, the PSM closely cooperated with the Polish Ministry of Information and Documentation in London. This department was responsible for disseminating news about Poland and current Polish

⁴¹² Anon., 'Scotland: Polish School of Medicine in Edinburgh', *BMJ*, 5 Apr 1941, p. 529; J. Miller, 'The Polish School of Medicine in Edinburgh', *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 45.3 (1941), pp. 269-270.

⁴¹³ Anon., 'School of Medicine: For Poles in Britain', *Cairns Post*, 24 Mar 1941, p. 2; Anon., 'Polish School of Medicine Opened in Edinburgh', *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 24 Mar 1941, p. 2; Anon., 'Polish Medicine School in Edinburgh', *Morning Bulletin*, 24 Mar 1941, p. 4; Anon., 'Medical School for Poles in Britain', *The Courier-Mail*, 24 Mar 1941, p. 2; Anon., 'Polish Doctors: Edinburgh School of Medicine', *The West Australian*, 24 Mar 1941, p. 6; Anon., 'Polish Medical School Established in Edinburgh', *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, 24 Mar 1941, p. 5; Anon., 'Polish Medical School', *The Northern Miner*, 25 Mar 1941, p. 4; Anon., 'Polish Medicine School in Edinburgh', *The Central Queensland Herald*, 27 Mar 1941, p. 41.

affairs to public opinion in Allied countries.⁴¹⁴ The Scottish Office of the Ministry was located in Edinburgh and maintained liaisons with the PSM through the person of Lieutenant Józef Brodzki. This pre-war journalist was employed as a chronicler of the PSM and was partly paid from the ministerial budget.⁴¹⁵ The English-language copies of Brodzki's commemorative book about the founding of the PSM were distributed to scientific institutions in Britain and other Allied countries. An online search in the *WorldCat* catalogue reveals that this publication has reached at least 25 libraries in Scotland, England, the USA, Canada and the Netherlands.⁴¹⁶

There is evidence that news of the existence of an autonomous Polish university institution on British soil also penetrated into German-occupied Europe. On 19 March 1943, a joint Polish-Scottish Faculty meeting of the PSM was attended by Stanisław Mikołajczyk, Polish Minister of the Interior and Deputy Prime Minister. Dean Jurasz opened the session with the usual proclamations about the unique role of the PSM in continuing alone 'the work of the Polish Medical faculties which were so cruelly interrupted by the barbarous invaders'.⁴¹⁷ Then he went on to present a letter from an English doctor who was a POW in Germany. According to Jurasz, the English officer expressed 'his great pleasure in knowing that the exiled Polish Medical Scientists have found hospitality in a British University'.⁴¹⁸ Jurasz then speculated that 'this letter has, in all probability, been examined by the Gestapo officers who certainly would not overlook the creation of the [PSM]'.⁴¹⁹ In his own speech, Mikołajczyk assured his Polish and Scottish hosts that the story of the PSM 'is known to the people of occupied Poland. The Polish secret press publishes reports of all the activities of the [PSM]'.⁴²⁰ Whether Germans and Poles actually followed the news from the Scottish capital is not as important here as the genuine belief that the PSM's exile mission had a resonance inside German-occupied Europe.

⁴¹⁴ Sword et al., *Formation of the Polish Community*, p. 139.

⁴¹⁵ HIA, 800/41/0/-/15: Records of the Scottish Office of the Polish Ministry of Information and Documentation, 1941-1942. See also Antoni Jurasz, 'Sprawozdanie... na uroczystym otwarciu roku akademickiego 1942-43', *Lekarz Wojskowy*, 35.1 (1942-1943), p. 80.

⁴¹⁶ Information obtained via the WorldCat.org library catalogue, available online at: <http://www.worldcat.org/title/polish-school-of-medicine-at-the-university-of-edinburgh/oclc/7470652>.

⁴¹⁷ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 19 Mar 1943.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

The long-distance nationalist project was not only targeted at external audiences but also shaped the internal activities of the PSM. It was expected that, after an Allied victory in the war, Polish medical refugees would return to their homeland and contribute to the reconstruction of universities and healthcare services. Two days after the public ceremony in McEwan Hall, the first academic year was internally inaugurated by the Poles in a lecture theatre of New College. Minister Kot ‘outlined the duties of the students of the new Faculty, stressed their obligation not to waste a moment of their time, and pointed to the task which awaited them in the future – of rebuilding health and hygiene in post-war Poland’.⁴²¹ Professor Jurasz presented the opportunity of studying medicine in Edinburgh as a privilege that imposed on the students ‘the duty of diligence and of defending the honour of Polish youth abroad’.⁴²² Witold Waga, who responded on behalf of the student body, assured that ‘he and his colleagues were fully aware of their privileged position and of the duties which this position laid upon them.’⁴²³

The relatively small group of 406 medical refugees who found a safe haven at the PSM was given a unique opportunity to pursue studies, research and didactic work at the same time when thousands of their colleagues in occupied Poland were denied access to education altogether or risked their lives by participating in clandestine teaching. Most students appreciated the privilege of pursuing a relatively normal university life at the PSM and perceived it via the lens of what was going on inside the homeland. Stanley Kryszek was among the first batch of lucky individuals who were relieved from active service in the Polish Army in Scotland in order to complete their pre-war studies at the PSM. He recalls that the time spent in Edinburgh ‘was very pleasant, compared to what everybody else was doing at that time. News from Poland was terrible, and spoiled everything, but we had to get our qualifications before going back to the army’.⁴²⁴

Minutes of Faculty meetings also reveal many examples of how the daily activities of the PSM were affected by thoughts about the homeland. When students

⁴²¹ Stanisław Kot’s speech, 24 Mar 1941, quoted in Brodzki, *PSM*, p. 48.

⁴²² Antoni Jurasz’s speech, 24 Mar 1941, quoted in *ibid.*

⁴²³ Witold Waga’s speech, 24 Mar 1941, quoted in *ibid.*

⁴²⁴ Kryszek Chard, *Reminiscences of Stanley Kryszek*, p. 20.

wanted to organise a Christmas Eve celebrations together with members of the teaching staff, the Faculty Council agreed to this proposal but resolved that because of the conditions in which Poles lived in Poland, the Soviet Union and internment camps all over Europe, dancing and alcoholic drinks should not be permitted at the PSM's Christmas party.⁴²⁵ Polish professors later reminded their students that they were in better material conditions than in pre-war Poland. Soldiers and civilians enrolled at the PSM received permanent stipends of up to £20 per month from the Polish government-in-exile. They were not pressed by financial hardship into seeking part-time work, and thus had the opportunity to exclusively devote themselves to studying. The Faculty Council consequently resolved to reprimand students who neglected their duties. Those who showed no improvement were to be threatened with the possibility of withdrawing their stipends or, in the case of soldiers, with recalling them to the Army. This resolution was publicly announced on the PSM's official blackboard in the gateway of the Medical School on Teviot Place. At the beginning of each class, the lecturers were supposed to remind their students of this policy.⁴²⁶

In the course of the war it became obvious that the preservation of Polish medical education in exile was more than just a slogan. The Faculty Council estimated, based on information coming from the homeland, that the personnel shortages in medical faculties would be as high as 50%. It was recognised as a duty of the PSM to preserve and create new teaching cadres for the homeland.⁴²⁷ Minister Mikołajczyk pointed out to Polish and Scottish professors that 'after the war, Poland will need the help of the great Anglo-Saxon democracies. She will need people, who will help to undertake the difficult task of rebuilding her economic and cultural life. And, in the first ranks of these, will be our doctors, who, thanks to the generous hospitality of the University of Edinburgh, have been able to train for the all-important task, which lies ahead.'⁴²⁸ It was expected by the Poles that the PSM's collaboration with British academics could in the future facilitate the reconstruction

⁴²⁵ EUA, GD46/Photograph Album 2: Programme of the PSM's Christmas Eve party, 1942; EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 9 Dec 1942.

⁴²⁶ Ibid.: 12 July 1943.

⁴²⁷ Ibid.: 16 Oct 1943.

⁴²⁸ Ibid.: 19 Mar 1943.

of their liberated homeland. In the meantime, one of the ways of maintaining Allied sympathy and ensuring practical assistance to the Polish wartime cause was to raise awareness about the cruel fate of the intelligentsia in occupied Poland.

Raising awareness of the extermination of Polish intelligentsia

Benedict Anderson defines a long-distance nationalist as someone who ‘finds it tempting to play identity politics by participating (via propaganda, money, weapons, any way but voting) in the conflicts of his imagined *Heimat*’.⁴²⁹ Despite Anderson’s apparent disdain for long-distance nationalists, it seems that this typology can be also applied to more benign contributions to a national cause. The role played by the PSM in informing the world about the fate of Polish universities and intellectuals under German rule can be seen as ‘propaganda’ in the original, neutral sense of the word, meaning systematic propagation of a cause. The propaganda efforts of Polish medical refugees were centred around raising awareness about German atrocities committed against the Polish intelligentsia in general, and prominent scientists in particular. In close cooperation with the Polish government-in-exile, representatives of the PSM disseminated news from occupied Poland among the academic and medical circles of Allied and neutral countries. These efforts demonstrate that it was still hoped in the early years of the war that diplomatic pressure from foreign powers might somehow restrain German brutality.

On 29 August 1941 the Faculty Council of the PSM paid tribute to the memory of Professor Kazimierz Bartel, mathematician and three times prime minister of Poland, who was murdered by the Nazis approximately one month before. Dean Jurasz then raised the issue of submitting the harshest possible protest concerning the arrest and deportation of 60 professors and lecturers from the John Casimir University and the Technical University in Lwów. Jurasz argued that this protest should go out of American and British circles, and therefore he promised to undertake introductory steps in order to develop appropriate agitation.⁴³⁰ It seems that this scheme never materialises because the issue was not mentioned again in the minutes of Faculty meetings. At any rate, a diplomatic protest would not have had

⁴²⁹ Anderson, ‘New World Disorder’, retrieved on 11 May 2012.

⁴³⁰ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 29 Aug 1941.

any practical effect. What Jurasz and other Polish professors in Edinburgh could not have known at the time was that 25 Polish professors and their families had already been executed in Lwów on 4 July 1941 by the Germans and their Ukrainian collaborators.⁴³¹

Another opportunity to raise awareness of Nazi crimes came on 5 November 1941 when Dean Jurasz gave a lecture at the meeting of the Section of the History of Medicine of the Royal Society of Medicine in London. Speaking about the recent foundation of the PSM, Jurasz used the opportunity to familiarise his audience with the fact that German invaders had closed all universities and other institutions of higher education in Poland, confiscated, looted or destroyed their buildings and facilities, and on top of that, brutally persecuted the members of their teaching staff. Jurasz specifically mentioned the victims of the so-called *Sonderaktion Krakau*, the 183 professors and lecturers from Cracow who were treacherously invited in November 1939 to a meeting with German authorities only to be arrested and deported to concentration camps. The address was followed by a reception at the Polish Embassy in London, where Jurasz had the opportunity to interact less formally with prominent members of the British medical establishment, such as Sir Henry Dale, President of the Royal Society of Medicine, Sir Charles Wilson, President of the Royal College of Physicians of London, Sir Alfred Webb-Johnson, President of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, H. E. A. Boldero, Dean of the Middlesex Hospital Medical School, Sir Edward Mellanby, Secretary of the Medical Research Council, and many others. The full text of Jurasz's speech was reproduced in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, while an extensive summary appeared in the *BMJ*.⁴³²

One month later, Professor Jurasz attended a solemn ceremony to commemorate martyred Polish professors at the Royal Institution in London. The British attendees included Sir David Ross, vice-chancellor of the University of Oxford, Professor Gilbert Murray, also from Oxford, and Sir William Bragg, former

⁴³¹ Zygmunt Albert, *Każń profesorów lwowskich w lipcu 1941 roku*, Warsaw: Instytut Lwowski, 2004.

⁴³² Jurasz, 'The Foundation', pp. 19-20; Anon., 'Polish Medical Faculty...', *BMJ*, 15 Nov 1941, p. 706.

president of the Royal Society. A journalist of the *Catholic Herald* described the poignant ceremony in the following words:

Professor Jurasz, a tall, prematurely white-haired man, in his officer's uniform, proved himself an orator whose restraint only emphasised the tragic content of his address. At the close of his tribute to the scholarship of his former comrades and their individual contribution to science came the litany — "Tadeusz Garbowski — Professor of Philosophy — he met his martyr's death in the concentration camp at Oranienburg; Ignacy Chrzanowski — Professor of History of Polish Literature — he met his martyr's death in the concentration camp at Oranienburg." It was a long litany and made grim hearing.⁴³³

Taking into account the horrifying news from occupied Poland that were reaching Edinburgh on a regular basis throughout the war, it is not surprising that the task of raising the awareness of Nazi crimes committed against the Polish intelligentsia at times degenerated into outright condemnations of the entire German nation. In his opening speech at the inauguration ceremony of the PSM, Sir Thomas Holland compared German ruthless policy toward Polish universities to 'the time when the schools of the Roman Empire were swept away by other Teutonic savages, who in that way inaugurated the Dark Ages'.⁴³⁴ In a similar fashion, Józef Brodzki wrote of 'modern Vandals' and 'German barbarism' in the introduction to his commemorative volume.⁴³⁵ Antoni Jurasz went even further in one of his speeches when he 'medicalised' Nazi atrocities as a pathological phenomenon caused by the inferiority complex of the German nation.⁴³⁶

Interestingly, Professor Jurasz, who was especially virulent in his attacks on the Germans, was himself born, raised and educated in Heidelberg. Jurasz's unpublished autobiography suggests that his resentments predated the Second World War and could be traced back to childhood experiences of discrimination. His father was an internationally recognised expert in laryngology but was never given a full professorship at the University of Heidelberg, apparently on account of his Polish origins. Jurasz junior was, in turn, insulted and physically assaulted by a school

⁴³³ Jotter, 'In a Few Words', *Catholic Herald*, 5 Dec 1941, p. 4.

⁴³⁴ Brodzki, *PSM*, p. 27.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. vi.

⁴³⁶ Antoni Jurasz's speech, 11 Sept 1941, quoted in *Lekarz Wojskowy*, 34.3 (1942), p. 95

teacher just because he admitted to speaking Polish and not German at home.⁴³⁷

Wiktor Tomaszewski recalled a similar experience from a pre-1914 German school in Pleszew (Pleschen), near Poznań:

I have gained full Polish national identity in this school. Already in my first year, when I was talking in Polish with a Polish colleague on the school courtyard, I received a powerful and painful kick, together with a warning: ‘hier spricht man deutch [sic!]’ (here one speaks German). I was not actually kicked by a teacher, but by an older German pupil (my father was slapped in the face by an officer and received the same warning for speaking in Polish as a German Army recruit at the time of Bismarck). I returned home embittered and in tears. Why are they beating me? I did not harm anybody. My dear mother hugged me and gave me advice for the rest of my life: ‘We are slaves in our own land. Be quiet and study; when you become somebody [important], you will pay them back’ [translated from Polish].⁴³⁸

Polish students in early twentieth-century Germany often responded to this kind of cultural chauvinism by joining clandestine national organizations. Leon Lakner and Brunon Nowakowski, future professors of the PSM, joined the Tomasz Zan Society whilst attending German gymnasia in Nakło nad Notecią (Nakel an der Netze) and Poznań. During his medical studies in Leipzig and Munich, Nowakowski also joined the Union of Polish Youth ‘Zet’ and served as a member of its Central Committee in the academic year 1911/1912.⁴³⁹ Both Lakner and Nowakowski later participated in the Greater Poland Uprising against German rule. Wiktor Tomaszewski’s hometown of Pleszew was liberated by local Poles on the evening of 27 December 1918. Reminiscing about that momentous occasion, Tomaszewski noted: ‘until the end of my life, I will remember my first day of freedom [translated from Polish]’.⁴⁴⁰

Perhaps unsurprisingly some medical refugees at the PSM viewed Nazi atrocities against Polish intelligentsia as a natural continuation of Wilhelmine-era Germanisation policies. This Polish rendition of the *Sonderweg* theory was explicitly put forward by Jurasz in one of his wartime speeches in Edinburgh:

⁴³⁷ EUA, GD46/Box 9: Unfinished memoirs of Antoni Jurasz, 1960.

⁴³⁸ Tomaszewski and Meissner, *Wspomnienia z lat dawnych*, p. 8.

⁴³⁹ WBIS: Leon Maksymilian Lakner; Kazimierz Stawiński, ‘Profesor Doktor Leon Lakner’, *Czasopismo Stomatologiczne*, 27.8 (1974), p. 825; Alfred Puzio, ‘Brunon Nowakowski, wybitny przedstawiciel polskiej higieny i medycyny pracy, organizator i pierwszy rektor Śląskiej Akademii Medycznej’, *AHiFM*, 51.3 (1988), pp. 360-361.

⁴⁴⁰ Tomaszewski and Meissner, *Wspomnienia z lat dawnych*, p. 11.

Germans skilfully exploited the transitory period of peace to cover from the world their natural instincts and features of character. That is why even today we can still find incorrigible and naive optimists who make a basic distinction between Germans and representatives of the current regime in Germany. Taking into account only the history of the last 150 to 200 years, we can see how the German spirit, personified by such people as Frederick the Great, Bismarck, Bülow, Wilhelm, and in its most visible form in the person of Hitler, always shows the same features of brutality, conquest and destructivity [translated from Polish].⁴⁴¹

Thus raising awareness of atrocities committed against Polish intelligentsia in German-occupied Poland sometimes descended into condemning the entire German nation. In contrast, analogous Soviet crimes received remarkably little attention in official pronouncements of the PSM. Lack of knowledge could not be the reason for this silence because, after all, 57 students and 3 lecturers arrived in Edinburgh via Soviet prisons, forced labour camps or penal settlements. It rather seems that long-distance nationalist propaganda of the PSM closely followed the official foreign policy line of the Polish government-in-exile.

Although the Red Army invaded Poland's Eastern Borderlands on 17 September 1939 in accordance with the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 23 August 1939, the Polish authorities never formally declared a state of war with the Soviet Union in order to avoid fighting on two fronts. France and Britain declared war on Germany on behalf of Poland on 3 September 1939 but, for their own reasons, did not follow suit after the Soviet invasion two weeks later. This consideration shaped Polish foreign policy towards the USSR between September 1939 and July 1941. Count Edward Raczyński, Polish Ambassador in Britain, recalled in his memoirs that the strategy of August Zaleski, Foreign Minister in General Sikorski's government-in-exile, was to 'without abating our claim to redress from the Soviet Union for its treacherous attack, to play down this for the time being and to insist on Germany's responsibility for the catastrophe and its material, political and territorial consequences'.⁴⁴² Strict observance of this political line perhaps explains why the

⁴⁴¹ Antoni Jurasz's speech, 11 Sept 1941, quoted in *Lekarz Wojskowy*, 34.3 (1942), p. 96. Jurasz's anti-German speech was subsequently reproduced in its entirety or summarised in several Polish- and English-language newspapers in Britain, see CLE, qyLF 1043.941: Press cuttings: PWL, p. 210; Press cuttings: Prof. Dr Jurasz, pp. 26. 213. 217.

⁴⁴² Raczyński, *In Allied London*, pp. 44-45.

Soviet invasion and occupation of Poland's Eastern Borderlands was not referred to in any of the public utterances surrounding the opening of the PSM in March 1941.

After the German invasion of the USSR in June 1941, General Sikorski's government entered into an uneasy alliance with Stalin. When the Faculty Council of the PSM published Brodzki's book in 1942, the Soviet Union had already joined the Grand Alliance with Great Britain and the USA. Any reference to Soviet crimes would be unacceptable under wartime censorship regulations in Britain. Keith Sword et al. point out that British authorities actually forbade the Polish émigré press from publishing any statements that could jeopardise the alliance with the USSR. The proscribed topics included references to the fate of Poland's Eastern Borderlands, including the cities of Vilna and Lwów as well as Soviet atrocities therein. Periodicals that disregarded those regulations had their newsprint ration revoked.⁴⁴³ Similar guidelines were received by the Scottish Office of the Polish Ministry of Information and Documentation, which closely cooperated and coordinated its propaganda efforts with the PSM.⁴⁴⁴ Instances of self-censorship can be found on the pages of Tadeusz Fabiański's unpublished chronicle of the PSM. A handwritten annotation inside the volume entitled 'The Roads to Edinburgh' points out that the section about students who were deported to the USSR should be edited out because of the current political situation.⁴⁴⁵

Tensions in Polish-Soviet relations were related not only to the annexation of pre-war Poland's Eastern Borderlands but also to the unknown fate of some 22,000 Polish officers who were captured by the Red Army in September 1939. Several refugees at the PSM had family members and friends among those missing officers. When Aleksander Jabłoński arrived in a POW camp in Kozelsk in July 1940, he discovered the words 'Feliks Jabłoński', the name of his own brother, scratched above one of the bunk beds.⁴⁴⁶ W.J. Mitus recalled in his post-war memoirs that one of the students who arrived at the PSM from the USSR declared that he would not shave his beard until he found out what had happened to his friends who were

⁴⁴³ Sword et al., *Formation of the Polish Community*, p. 140.

⁴⁴⁴ HIA, 800/41/0/-/16: Records of the Scottish Office of the Polish Ministry of Information and Documentation, Mar-Apr 1943.

⁴⁴⁵ EUA, GD46/Box 9: Tadeusz Fabiański's chronicle of the PSM, 1945, Vol. 3, p. 3.

⁴⁴⁶ Jabłońska-Fraćkowiak, *Pomruki wojny*, p. 36

missing from Soviet POW camps.⁴⁴⁷ The anxiety of many Polish refugees heightened in April 1943, when the Germans announced the discovery in the Katyń Forest, near Smolensk, of mass graves of Polish officers who had been executed by the NKVD in April and May 1940. When the news of what would later be known as the ‘Katyń massacre’ reached Edinburgh, Polish students wanted to organise a public demonstration in Edinburgh. They also demanded that the Faculty Council proclaim three days of mourning in regard to the mass murder of Polish officers.⁴⁴⁸ However, Dean Jurasz and the Faculty Council decided against any public demonstrations before the Polish government’s official announcement on the matter. While the professors were more constrained by the official line of the authorities which supervised the PSM, Polish medical students presented their point of view in articles written for *The Student* magazine, and engaged in public debates with the members of the pro-Soviet University Labour Federation and Socialist Society who condemned the Poles for buying into German propaganda by seeking truth about the Katyń massacre.⁴⁴⁹

Humanitarian aid for Polish victims of war

Apart from propaganda activities, sending financial assistance to the homeland was identified by Benedict Anderson as another typical aspect of long-distance nationalism. Polish medical refugees in Edinburgh likewise supported their compatriots with material means. Members of the PSM’s staff regularly donated money via the Polish Red Cross to aid Polish physicians who were held as POWs in Germany and the Soviet Union. In March 1942, Professor Koskowski who, alongside his teaching duties in Edinburgh, worked as the President of the Polish Red Cross in London promised to double the amount collected at the PSM and send it to the families of Polish physicians in the USSR.⁴⁵⁰ Professor Nowakowski urged his colleagues in the Faculty Council to set up a regular fund for the purpose of supporting Polish physicians in German captivity. He suggested minimal monthly

⁴⁴⁷ Mitus, *A Long Episode*, pp. 593-594.

⁴⁴⁸ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 27 Apr 1943.

⁴⁴⁹ EUA, GD46/Box 9: Tadeusz Fabiański’s chronicle of the PSM, 1945, Vol. 6, p. 2.

⁴⁵⁰ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 24 Mar 1942.

contributions of 5 shillings.⁴⁵¹ Later records reveal that this permanent ‘tax’ was set at the level of 2% of monthly salary.⁴⁵² A basic professorial salary, without family and other bonuses, ranged from £55 to £65 pounds per month.⁴⁵³ This means that Polish professors on average donated at least £1/4/- to the PSM Fund. Analogous voluntary contributions from lecturers and assistants were sent directly to the Polish Red Cross.⁴⁵⁴

In May 1945, after Polish physicians had been liberated from POW camps in Germany, Professor Straszyński called upon the Faculty Council to levy a one-off 20% tax on monthly salaries of all PSM personnel for the purpose of financially supporting Polish displaced persons in Germany. The motion was carried in principle but all members of staff and students were asked to submit individual declarations. At the same time, a committee of assistants and students was set up in Professor Rogalski’s Department of Anatomy in order to collect clothes, shoes, books and other items for displaced Poles in Germany.⁴⁵⁵ Professor Fegler later suggested another one-off 25% tax for the purpose of aiding the survivors of the Warsaw Uprising which was crushed with fierce brutality by the Germans. The Polish capital was almost completely destroyed on the personal order of Adolf Hitler and the civilian population was forcibly removed from the ruined city. The Faculty Council supported Fegler’s motion and asked all members of staff and students to sign appropriate declarations and donate money via the Polish Red Cross.⁴⁵⁶ However, Alicja Bober-Michałowska’s post-war memoirs suggest that financial collections organised by PSM students were not always transparent and effective in actually reaching those in need.⁴⁵⁷

The PSM also collected material resources for the reconstruction of medical education in Poland. Following a request from the Polish Legation in Canada, the Faculty Council prepared a paper that estimated the material losses sustained by

⁴⁵¹ Ibid.: 18 Mar 1943.

⁴⁵² Ibid.: 16 May 1945.

⁴⁵³ Ibid.: 17 Sept 1942.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid.: 27 Apr 1943.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid.: 16 May 1945

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid.: 20 July 1945.

⁴⁵⁷ Bober-Michałowska, *W gościnnym Albionie*, pp. 50-52.

Polish medical faculties during the war.⁴⁵⁸ This document was presumably used by Polish diplomats in Canada to obtain post-war assistance for Polish universities. The Faculty Council also applied to the Polish Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education in London for a £500 grant to buy dissecting tools for liberated Poland.⁴⁵⁹ After the end of the war the PSM was also involved in collecting and donating medical books for the use of displaced persons in Germany as well as students attending restored universities in Poland.⁴⁶⁰

The humanitarian efforts of the PSM were not always successful, as exemplified by the failed medical mission to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. In May 1945, Prime Minister Arciszewski urged the PSM to send 25 advanced medical students and 5 physicians to improve the health of liberated Polish inmates of the notorious camp. The demand for immediate medical assistance was later decreased to 20 final year students. However, the Faculty Council opposed the idea of sending final year students to Germany because their absence would cause disruption in examinations and graduations. Dr Tomaszewski and 20 fourth year students were eventually dispatched but never reached Bergen-Belsen. The available sources give four contradictory explanations of why the 'mission to Belsen' failed, and therefore it can only be speculated that it was probably cancelled by British authorities, perhaps in order to prevent diplomatic complications that could result from this unilateral action of the Polish government-in-exile.⁴⁶¹

Support for the Polish war effort

The long-distance nationalist project of the PSM also involved more direct support for the Polish war effort. Article 2 of the Constitution of the PSM stipulated that the objectives of the Polish medical faculty were:

⁴⁵⁸ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 18 Mar 1944.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.: 25 Sept 1944.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.: 5 Mar 1946.

⁴⁶¹ EUA, GD46/Box 5: Diary of Zdzisław Golarz (Teleszyński), July 1945; Antoni Jurasz, 'Sprawozdanie z działalności P.W.L. za rok akademicki 1944/45', *Lekarz Wojskowy*, 37.1 (1946), p. 181; Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, pp. 203-204; idem, 'Mission to Belsen 1945', *BMJ*, 23 Jan 1982, p. 269.

- (i) To enable Polish students abroad to study Medicine, and by this to provide fully qualified medical practitioners for the Polish Army and for Poland;
- (ii) To undertake postgraduate instruction of Polish Medical Officers;
- (iii) To undertake scientific research in the domain of Medicine.⁴⁶²

The first two objectives were the primary reason why Polish military authorities agreed to relieve lecturers and students of active military service, thus making possible the opening of the PSM. Article 4 of the same document urged the PSM to include ‘courses of instruction in military medicine’ in the curriculum.⁴⁶³

In accordance with this provision, the PSM organised special lectures for their soldier-students as well as post-graduate courses for Polish Medical Officers. General Kukiel requested in October 1941 that the PSM should train students in disinfecting water in the field. The Faculty Council entrusted this task to Brunon Nowakowski, who was the Professor of Hygiene.⁴⁶⁴ During the summer trimesters of the academic years 1942/1943 and 1943/1944, all PSM students, except first years, were required to attend four hours of lectures in aviation medicine.⁴⁶⁵ A four-week post-graduate course for Air Force physicians was also organised in the academic year 1943/1944, and covered various subjects, such as internal medicine, surgery, otolaryngology and ophthalmology.⁴⁶⁶

Support for the Polish wartime effort was sometimes detrimental to teaching and research at the PSM. Several lecturers and senior assistants who worked not only for the Polish medical faculty but also for various departments of the University of Edinburgh were recalled to the army where they were not able to advance their promising academic careers. Moreover, in accordance with pre-war Polish legislation, graduates of medical faculties were required to undertake one-year practical internships in hospitals. British wartime regulations allowed the PSM to shorten this period to six months but the Polish army insisted on recalling fresh graduates as soon as possible. The demand for Medical Officers became especially acute in preparation for the Allied invasion of Normandy in 1944. Both Polish and

⁴⁶² EUA, IN14/1: Constitution of the PSM, 24 Feb 1941.

⁴⁶³ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁴ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 30 Oct 1941.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.: 9 Dec 1942, 12 July 1943 and 23 May 1944.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.: 18 Mar 1943.

British professors intervened with the government-in-exile in London but the military authorities more often than not remained indifferent to their arguments and, as a result, many graduates of the PSM were denied the possibility of gaining appropriate practical experience before being sent to the frontlines of Europe in 1944 and 1945.⁴⁶⁷ Nineteen graduates served as Medical Officers in the First Polish Armoured Division, ten in the First Polish Independent Parachute Brigade, seven in the Polish Air Force, five in the Polish Navy and one in the Commandoes. They took part in the battles of Arnhem, Caen, Falaise, Chambois, Monte Cassino, Ancona and the Gothic Line.⁴⁶⁸ Henryk Seid and Józef Walasek, were awarded the War Order of *Virtuti Militari*, Poland's highest decoration for bravery on the battlefield, while eight PSM graduates received the Cross of Valour, Poland's second highest award for gallantry.⁴⁶⁹

Polish Jewish refugees at the PSM

An analysis of Polish long-distance nationalism at the PSM cannot shirk away from discussing its potential effects on Christian-Jewish relations. The fate of Jewish medical refugees at the PSM will be discussed not only in the more obvious context of the Holocaust but also in comparison to pre-war anti-Semitism at Polish universities. In fact, the full truth about the genocide of European Jews could not have been known in Edinburgh until after the war. The precise number of medical refugees at the PSM who identified themselves as Jews is impossible to ascertain. Record schedules, matriculation cards and other preserved documents of the PSM include more or less complete information about the citizenship, nationality and religion of 361 students.⁴⁷⁰ In accordance with these records, 23 male and 12 female medical students at the PSM adhered to 'Mosaic faith' (*wyznanie mojżeszowe*), i.e.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.: 27 Feb 1942, 17 July 1942, 9 Sept 1942, 27 Apr 1943, 26 June 1943, 12 July 1943, 16 Sept 1943, 16 Oct 1943, 1 Mar 1944, 23 May 1944, 27 May 1944, 17 Aug 1944, 25 Spet 1944, 2 Nov 1944, 29 Nov 1944, 27 Jan 1945, 21 Mar 1945, 24 Mar 1945, 16 May 1945, 5 Mar 1946, 15 Aug 1946; EUA, GD46/Box 5: Letter from Prof. Jurasz to Sydney Smith, 3 Nov 1944; EUA, GD46/Box 9: Tadeusz Fabiański's chronicle of the PSM, 1945, Vol. 3a.

⁴⁶⁸ Teleszyński, 'Polski Wydział Lekarski', p. 60.

⁴⁶⁹ T. Brzeziński, *Slużba zdrowia Polskich Sił Zbrojnych*, p. 219; Gąsiorowski, *Losy absolwentów*, pp. 69-74.

⁴⁷⁰ EUA, IN14/4-5: Student records of PSM graduates; IN14/7: Record schedules of non-completing students of the PSM.

Judaism in contemporary Polish parlance. They made up 9.7% of the student body and were the largest religious minority among Polish medical refugees in Edinburgh (see Tables 9 and 13 in the Appendix). The proportion of Jewish students at the PSM was only slightly lower than their average percentage at the five Polish medical faculties in 1937/1938.

Registration of births, marriages and deaths in interwar Poland was conducted by religious communities, and thus ‘non-practicing’ believers and even many atheists were formally connected to some religious tradition. For this reason, historians of pre-war Poland customarily use the data on the followers of the ‘Mosaic faith’ to indicate the number of Jews.⁴⁷¹ However, a few individuals at the PSM did not adhere to any denomination, while the religious affiliation of several others is unknown because of incomplete records. It can only be assumed from other sources that some of them might have been Jews and, in many cases, characteristically Jewish names can be used as possible indicators of their ethnicity. What is more, comprehensive data on the religious affiliation of members of the teaching staff is not available, and while it is known that at least three members of the teaching staff had some Jewish origins, the sources are not always precise about their actual religious affiliation. The number of ethnic Jews at the PSM was therefore larger than what is suggested by data on religious affiliation.

At least 34 students of ‘Mosaic faith’ at the PSM were pre-war Polish citizens and all but one of those declared Polish nationality in their official records. The only exception was Mordchel Margolis (later Mark Martin) who adhered to a Jewish nationality. Before the war he attended a *Tarbut* high school in Grodno (present-day Belarus).⁴⁷² *Tarbut*, meaning ‘Culture’ in Hebrew, was a network of private secular Hebrew-language schools in Poland that was run by the Zionist (Jewish nationalist) movement.⁴⁷³ This educational background might therefore explain Margolis’ declaration of a separate Jewish national identity which was rather atypical among Polish Jews at the PSM.

⁴⁷¹ Tomaszewski, *Ojczyzna nie tylko Polaków*, pp. 31-51.

⁴⁷² Gąsiorowski, *Losy absolwentów*, p. 189.

⁴⁷³ Nathan Eck, ‘The Educational Institutions of Polish Jewry (1921-1939)’, *Jewish Social Studies*, 9 (1947), pp. 12-15; Ezra Mendelsohn, *The Jews of East Central Europe between the World Wars*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1987, pp.65-66.

The majority of Jews at the PSM could probably be considered as ‘Poles of Mosaic faith’ (*Polacy wyznania mojżeszowego*). This term refers to culturally and linguistically Polonised Jews who rarely observed Jewish traditions but formally retained their religious identity.⁴⁷⁴ The family background of Ludwik Mirabel is a good examples of this phenomenon:

As many other Jewish middle-class families, the Mirabels were assimilated. His grandmother ... used to light a candle on Sabbath. But her progeny did not observe religion. Ludwik remembers that as a child he had once asked his father: ‘Daddy does God exist?’ His father said: ‘Don’t bother me now. Can’t you see? I’m drinking coffee.’ In retrospect the observance of a religion in his milieu was partly a class-snobbery issue. Temple was something that the shabby, jargon-speaking (Yiddish) Hassidim attended, chanting and dancing on Saturdays. ... Polish was the only language spoken at Ludwik’s home. He heard Yiddish for the first time in the street after the move to Nowolipie [a Jewish quarter of pre-war Warsaw].⁴⁷⁵

Aleksander Hertz points out in his classical study *The Jews in Polish Culture* that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the process of cultural and linguistic assimilation of Jews into ‘Polishness’ often led to religious conversion.⁴⁷⁶ Several students of the PSM came from Jewish families that converted to Roman Catholicism or Lutheranism. The family of Hanna Segal (née Poznańska) is an interesting example of this trend. One of Hanna’s ancestors was a Jewish tailor who took part in the Kościuszko Insurrection of 1794, the first Polish national uprising against foreign domination. In recognition of his patriotism, the local Poles decided to change his name from the German-sounding Rotblatt to Poznański, i.e. someone who comes from the city of Poznań. Her father, Czesław Poznański, was an assimilated Polish Jew who officially converted to Roman Catholicism during the Revolution of 1905 in order to demonstrate his loyalty to the Polish national cause at

⁴⁷⁴ For more details on the ‘Poles of the Mosaic faith’ and assimilated Jews in interwar Poland, see Heller, *On the Edge of Destruction*, pp. 34-37; Mendelsohn, *Jews of East Central Europe*, pp. 29-32; Szymon Rudnicki, ‘Jews in Poland Between the Two World Wars’, *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies*, pp. 21-22; Polonsky, *Jews in Poland and Russia, Vol. III*, p. 63. For a related observation of Polish-Jewish ex-servicemen in post-war London, see Zubrzycki, *Polish Immigrants in Britain*, pp. 214-215.

⁴⁷⁵ Mirabel and Medvedeva-Nathoo, ‘Conversations’, p. 34.

⁴⁷⁶ Aleksander Hertz and Lucjan Dobroszycki, *The Jews in Polish Culture*, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1988, p. 109.

a time when the leadership of Warsaw Jewry supported the Tsarist regime. His wife, and Hanna's mother, came from a non-assimilated Jewish family but also converted in order to have their marriage registered.⁴⁷⁷

Hertz argues that changing Jewish names into ones that sounded more Polish was often the next step after conversion to Christianity.⁴⁷⁸ This sequence is visible in the biography of Jakub Rostowski, Professor of Neurology and Psychiatry (1941-1949) and the last Dean of the PSM (1946-1949). Born in 1884 as Jakub Rothfeld, he converted to Roman Catholicism before the First World War and in 1938 changed his name to a more Polish sounding 'Rostowski'.⁴⁷⁹ Perhaps it is significant that the suffix '-ski' historically denoted members of the nobility, analogous to the nobiliary particles *von* in German or *de* in French. Despite genuine identification with Polish language, culture and national cause, the 'Poles of Mosaic faith' and even converts to Christianity were not regarded as 'true Poles' by many ethnic Poles. Ludwik Mirabel was forced to discover his Jewish identity in contact with Polish anti-Semites:

'I always thought I was a Pole till I heard from the others that I was not. When he first learned to read, being a true little nationalist, he would redraw the maps to represent the glories of historical Poland stretching 'from sea to sea' i.e. from the Baltic to the Black Sea. But to some Poles no Jew could ever be accepted as truly Polish.⁴⁸⁰

The majority of those Jewish students were forced to seek medical education abroad and it seems that twenty years of anti-Semitic campaigns in interwar Poland must have left an immeasurable psychological effect on young men and women who were denied equal rights in their own homeland. George Arendt, who could not obtain a place at the medical faculty in Warsaw because of the *numerus clausus* principle,

⁴⁷⁷ Jean-Michel Quinodoz, *Listening to Hanna Segal: Her Contribution to Psychoanalysis*, Hove: Routledge, 2008, p. 4.

⁴⁷⁸ Hertz, *Jews in Polish Culture*, p. 111.

⁴⁷⁹ Bianka Mikołajewska, 'Rostowski: minister z afrykańskiej puszczy', *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 24 May 2013, retrieved on 18 June 2014 from: http://wyborcza.pl/magazyn/1,132519,13974289,Rostowski_minister_z_afrykanskiej_puszczy.html.

⁴⁸⁰ Mirabel and Medvedeva-Nathoo, 'Conversations', pp. 34-35.

recalled that ‘Poland was very anti-Semitic. Jews were treated as second class citizens. It was not safe for a Jew to walk in the park. I did not want to stay there’.⁴⁸¹

Many of those Polish Jewish students nevertheless volunteered to join the Polish Armed Forces in the West. For example, Henryk Seid, who had been studying medicine in Brussels since 1936, signed up for the Polish army in France in October 1939. He was sent to the Medical Training Centre in Coëtquidan and then attached as a medical orderly in the First Tank Battalion of the Tenth Cavalry Brigade.⁴⁸² After the fall of France in June 1940, Polish Jewish soldiers managed to escape to Britain, in some cases via the more dangerous route across Francoist Spain, Portugal and Gibraltar. Two Jewish students, Szabsa Markus and Jerzy Honigsberg, were intercepted on their way by the Spanish authorities and spent several months in the notorious concentration camp in Miranda de Ebro. Alicja Lubicz-Sawicka (née Mandel) arrived in Edinburgh via the Soviet Union where she volunteered to join the Polish Women’s Auxiliary Service. After completing their medical education in Edinburgh, several Jewish graduates rejoined their Polish Army units as Medical Officers and took part in the Allied invasion of Europe in 1944. Henryk Seid became one of the two PSM students who were awarded the *Virtuti Militari*.⁴⁸³ It has been argued that there was a general reluctance among Polish Jews to serve under the Polish flag during the Second World War.⁴⁸⁴ Medical Officers who were educated at the PSM could perhaps be seen as an exceptional group among Polish-Jewish refugees in Britain.

Spectre of anti-Semitism at the PSM

Taking into account both religious and secular Jews as well as Christians of Jewish origin, the total number of ethnic Jews at the PSM can be estimated at around 45, that is ca. 11% of all Polish medical refugees in Edinburgh. There is compelling

⁴⁸¹ Paul Weindlings’ Medical Refugees Collection, Department of History, Philosophy and Religion, Oxford Brookes University (hereafter MRC), Interview with George Arendt by Rebecca Lewis, 4 Oct 1999.

⁴⁸² Gašiorowski, *Story of the Graduates*, pp. 188-189.

⁴⁸³ See short biographies of all the graduates of the PSM in Gašiorowski, *Losy absolwentów*, pp. 99-270.

⁴⁸⁴ Bernard Wasserstein, *Britain and the Jews of Europe 1939-1945*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979, p. 125.

evidence that certain individuals who might have been involved in anti-Semitic campaigns and violence at pre-war Polish universities were also present at the PSM. Although there is no official data on such people, wartime and post-war memoirs contain some revealing clues. According to Stefan Grzybowski's wartime memoir, the student body at the PSM was divided into Socialist and National Democratic factions. The nationalist group was especially well represented among the students from the John Casimir University of Lwów, and the Polish Students' Hostel at 5 Grosvenor Crescent was said to be a lair of the nationalists.⁴⁸⁵

Professor Zygmunt Albert, who worked as an assistant in the Department of Pathological Anatomy at the John Casimir University in pre-war Lwów, recalls in his autobiography that two future professors of the PSM, Włodzimierz Koskowski and Józef Dadlez, were the leaders of a local faction of extreme nationalists and anti-Semites. According to Albert, after he had refused to sign a petition demanding the exclusion of Jews from the Association of Assistants in 1938, Dadlez threatened that Albert's academic career would be over. Professor Koskowski was supposed to be known as the *Führer* of this group of extreme nationalists.⁴⁸⁶ Similar accusations were raised in Communist Poland when one of Koskowski's pre-war associates was purged from the restored University of Poznań. On the other hand, Professor Tadeusz Kielanowski, who worked as an assistant at the John Casimir University at the same time as Albert, argues in his memoirs that Professor Koskowski was indeed a right-wing activist, but not an anti-Semite.⁴⁸⁷ Further interesting information can be found in the memoirs of a Polish pilot, Czesław Blicharski, who was a law student at the John Casimir University in Lwów. He frequently mentions in his post-war reminiscences two future graduates of the PSM, one of whom was Blicharski's roommate in the student dormitory. The trio were members of the extremely nationalist All-Polish Youth organisation, and Blicharski unashamedly describes

⁴⁸⁵ EUA, GD46/Box 5: Memoirs of Stefan Grzybowski, 1943-1945, p. 4; Gebertt, 'Życie studentów', p. 337.

⁴⁸⁶ Zygmunt Albert, 'Szkice autobiograficzne 1939-1981', *AHiFM*, Suplement nr 4 (1996), p. 17.

⁴⁸⁷ Tadeusz Kielanowski, *Prawie cały wiek dwudziesty: wspomnienia lekarza*, Gdańsk: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1987, p. 204.

their active participation in anti-Jewish boycott campaigns and street riots in pre-war Lwów.⁴⁸⁸

The three abovementioned memoirs were written many years after the events they describe, and therefore the information about alleged pre-war anti-Semites should not be taken at face value. Albert's and Kielanowski's opinions about whether or not someone was an anti-Semite are necessarily subjective and were possibly adversely affected by the mechanisms of human memory.⁴⁸⁹ On the other hand, Blicharski's memoir is perhaps uniquely valuable because there are few post-war accounts of anti-Semitic violence openly presenting the point of view of the perpetrators. The existence of Blicharski's memoir contradicts the 'thesis' of Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, a controversial Polish-American historian, who complained that there are only Jewish accounts of street fights in interwar Poland, implying that Jewish sources are not reliable because they are dominated by a tendency to present Jews as victims of aggression.⁴⁹⁰

Taking into account the well-documented presence of both Jews and Polish nationalists among medical refugees in Edinburgh, one could reasonably expect that pre-war anti-Semitism might have resurfaced at the PSM between 1941 and 1949. In fact, in late 1943 rumours about alleged anti-Semitism at the PSM began to circulate in Britain. According to Bernard Wasserstein:

At Edinburgh University, where a number of Polish soldiers were studying in the Faculty of Medicine, Jewish students were said to have been compelled by their non-Jewish fellow-students to sit at separate tables (as had formerly been the practice in Polish universities).⁴⁹¹

This accusation was included in a memorandum sent in September 1943 by the Board of Deputies of British Jews to Dr Ignacy Schwarzbart, a Jewish member of the Polish National Council (a quasi-parliament in exile).⁴⁹² About two months later, 21 Jewish medical students sent an open letter to Professor Jurasz in response to the

⁴⁸⁸ Blicharski, *Tarnopolanina żywot niepokorny*, pp. 86-116.

⁴⁸⁹ On the subjectivity and faulty mechanisms of human memory, see for example Luisa Passerini, 'Memory', *History Workshop*, 15 (1983), pp. 195-196.

⁴⁹⁰ Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, *Żydzi i Polacy 1918-1955: Współistnienie – Zagłada – Komunizm*, Warszawa: Fronda, 2000, pp. 87-88.

⁴⁹¹ Wasserstein, *Britain and the Jews of Europe*, p. 125.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 126.

rumours that a certain British MP was planning to submit an interpellation to His Majesty's Government regarding the issue of anti-Semitism at the PSM. This extremely interesting Polish-language document was discovered by Roman Meissner in the archives of the Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum in London.⁴⁹³

The signatories of the letter, who described themselves as 'Poles of the Mosaic faith', declared that they were unaware of the existence of any *numerus clausus* for Jews and that there had never been 'ghetto benches' at the PSM. They also stated that the teaching and administrative staff treated the Jews equally to other students and that they were not discriminated because of their religion or origins. The signatories of the letter pointed out that the Jews were allowed to resume their interrupted studies at the PSM without the need to repeat the courses and exams they had already passed at foreign universities, even though the organisation and curriculum of their studies was often very different from the pre-war Polish programme. The Jewish students also emphasised that their relations with students of other religions were satisfactory and sometimes even cordial and friendly.⁴⁹⁴

This letter is the only official document that is known to explicitly deal with the issue of Christian-Jewish relations at the PSM. Nonetheless, the main arguments of the letter can be corroborated by some other, more circumstantial, evidence. Minutes of Faculty meetings suggest that the PSM was eager to admit as many medical students as possible and that the entry requirements were purely academic. Some Jewish soldier-students might have faced problems with military authorities who were not always willing to grant the necessary leave of absence. However, the difficulties in obtaining temporary relief from the Polish Armed Forces also applied to Christian soldiers who wished to resume their medical studies. This nuisance was a source of constant squabbles between the Faculty Council of the PSM and Polish military and civilian authorities.⁴⁹⁵ In fact, there was at least one case when the PSM actively supported a Jewish student's application for temporary relief from active military service for the purpose of studying medicine in Edinburgh.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹³ Meissner, 'Polski Wydział Lekarski', pp. 357-361.

⁴⁹⁴ PISM, A 19 II/76, Letter from Jewish students to the Dean of the PSM, 13 Nov 1943.

⁴⁹⁵ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 1940-1949.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid.: 2 Feb 1943.

Retrospective opinions about Christian-Jewish relations at the PSM can be found in the personal files of fourteen graduates who were interviewed around 2000 by Rebecca Lewis, an undergraduate student from the University of Oxford. The majority of Roman Catholic respondents stated that the general attitude towards Jews was friendly and that there was no anti-Semitism. One of the graduates recalled that he ‘did not encounter any discord between Poles and Jews at the [PSM]. The general attitude towards Jews was satisfactory.’⁴⁹⁷ Four Catholic graduates pointed out that some of their best friends at the PSM were actually Jewish.⁴⁹⁸

Some of the graduates stressed that there was essentially no difference between Christian and Jewish students, because they were all Poles: ‘All the Jewish students I knew considered themselves Poles. The general attitude towards them was cordial, no different to ethnic Poles.’⁴⁹⁹ ‘Don’t think about someone being Jewish. No difference’.⁵⁰⁰ Only one Roman Catholic student remembered a range of different attitudes towards the Jews: ‘There were many Jewish colleagues. The general attitude towards them was friendly, indifferent and occasionally unfriendly’.⁵⁰¹

George Arendt, the only Jewish graduate interviewed by Rebecca Lewis, conveyed a much more pessimistic picture of Christian-Jewish relations. He pointed out that:

there was little social contact and camaraderie for me amongst the other students. There was no instance of friendliness in the males. One example of anti-Semitism was in the delivery of Red Cross parcels to be distributed amongst the students. These parcels were sent to a building by a church at the West End of Princes Street [Polish Students’ Hostel at 5 Grosvenor Crescent], which served as something like a student union. A sign went up saying, ‘students please attend for the distribution of Red Cross parcels on such and such a date’, however there was a postscript saying, ‘the remainder will be distributed to Jews on such and such a date (later)’. There were no actual attacks on Jewish students although some students were known to hate Jews. The teaching staff were merely officious.⁵⁰²

⁴⁹⁷ MRC: Oskar Jerzy Slowik file.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid.: Mrs Lewicka/H.B. Marszałek file, Doreen Milford file, Oskar Jerzy Slowik file and Z.M. Sharnagiel file.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid.: Henry Podlewski file.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.: Edmund Collie-Kolibabka file.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.: Wladyslaw J. Mitus file.

⁵⁰² Ibid.: Interview with George Arendt by Rebecca Lewis, 4 Oct 1999.

Interestingly, the same person co-signed the abovementioned letter of Jewish students from November 1943 in which Christian-Jewish relations were portrayed in a much more positive way. Some reasons for this discrepancy will be suggested below.

For now it seems reasonable to conclude that there was no official anti-Semitism at the PSM. In contrast to pre-war Polish medical faculties, the admission of Jewish students was not limited by discriminatory quotas. The Jews were not forced to sit in humiliating ‘ghetto benches’ and were not excluded from student organisations and social activities. The relations between Christians and Jews were generally satisfactory, especially if compared to the anti-Semitic excesses that were commonplace at pre-war Polish universities. However, the cordiality of personal relations between Christian and Jewish colleagues largely depended on individual attitudes. Some ethnic Poles were close friends with Jews, while others merely tolerated them. Even if some Polish Catholic students actually harboured anti-Jewish hatred, they were not allowed to manifest it publicly in words and deeds. Several interrelated factors might have played a role in preventing the rise of anti-Semitism at the PSM.

Shared wartime experiences certainly contributed to a growing sense of national unity. Manifested patriotism of Polish Jewish students and the common struggle against anti-Semitic Nazi Germany overshadowed, at least temporarily, the ethnic and religious differences that could otherwise estrange them from the Christian majority. This sense of wartime solidarity was clearly expressed in some of the responses to Rebecca Lewis’ questionnaire: ‘One of them [Jews] was my best friend at a time (now he lives in Australia). We grew up, fought and suffered together’.⁵⁰³ ‘Attitude towards [Jews] was friendly and we all were in the same boat’.⁵⁰⁴

It could be moreover argued that long-distance nationalism at the PSM was less radical and more inclusive than its ‘short-distance’ counterpart in pre-war Poland. The war forced Polish nationalists to change their political priorities. The fight against the perceived ‘Judaisation’ of Polish medicine was absolutely irrelevant

⁵⁰³ Ibid.: Z.M. Sharnagiel file.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid.: Wladyslaw Alexander Wielhorski file.

at a time when Germans and Soviets were exterminating the Polish intelligentsia, Jewish and Christian alike. The PSM's self-proclaimed mission to preserve Polish culture and learning in exile and to train medical cadres for the Polish army meant that the Faculty Council was willing to admit all the suitable candidates for medical studies, regardless of their ethnic origins or religious creed.

The specific wartime conditions in which the PSM operated also limited the possibility of any student unrest. The majority of students were soldiers who were only temporarily relieved of active service in the Polish Armed Forces, and as such were subjected to strict military discipline. Medical refugees at the PSM were also financially dependent on Polish and British governments in London. Moreover, the programme of medical studies at the PSM was much more intense than in pre-war Poland. Attendance at lectures was mandatory, and the amount of holidays was limited to the necessary minimum. During the summer vacations, soldier-students were often recalled for training to Polish Army camps in rural Scotland. Last but not least, many students took the responsibility for the future of Polish science very seriously and concentrated on their studies at the expense of extracurricular political activities, which were often prioritised in pre-war Poland.⁵⁰⁵

Even if there were some extreme nationalist elements among medical refugees at PSM, their position was relatively weaker than in pre-war Poland. The nationalist students ceased to be an organised and independent political force that could dictate their demands to intimidated authorities. Polish students in Edinburgh were personally supervised by Dean Jurasz. According to Roman Meissner, Jurasz opposed anti-Semitism as the pre-war Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Poznań. It would therefore be highly unlikely for him to have tolerated anti-Jewish excesses at the PSM.⁵⁰⁶ Moreover, from 1946 until its final closure in 1949, the PSM was headed by Professor Jakub Rostowski, an assimilated Polish Jew who converted to Roman Catholicism. In the eyes of many pre-war anti-Semites he would still be considered a Jew and not a 'true Pole'. The fact that Rostowski was

⁵⁰⁵ Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, pp. 56-57; Teleszyński, 'Polski Wydział Lekarski', p. 52; Gebertt, 'Życie studentów', pp. 338-340; Gąsiorowski, *Losy absolwentów*, pp. 54-65.

⁵⁰⁶ Meissner, 'Polski Wydział Lekarski', p. 357.

elected as Dean proves that the purportedly anti-Semitic faction at the PSM was clearly outnumbered, at least from 1946 to 1949.

Concerns over possible British reactions to Polish anti-Semitism might have also played a role in preventing anti-Jewish discrimination from resurfacing at the PSM. Britain witnessed a resurgence of anti-Semitism during the war, and there were even allegations of anti-Jewish prejudices in the British government and army.⁵⁰⁷ However, the academic spheres in Britain vigorously opposed anti-Semitic practices that were adopted by Polish universities. Harry Rabinowicz points out that 300 professors and University MPs signed a manifesto against the introduction of ‘ghetto benches’ in interwar Poland, while the National Students Organisation in London condemned the actions of their Polish counterparts.⁵⁰⁸ Commenting on the situation at the PSM, George Arendt observed that ‘Poles there were very conscious that anti-Semitism was frowned upon in England’.⁵⁰⁹ Regardless of the actual British attitudes towards Jews, Polish medical refugees in Edinburgh were therefore careful not to antagonise in any way their British hosts. After all the PSM was able to function only thanks to the magnanimous assistance of the University of Edinburgh.

Wartime improvement in Christian-Jewish relations at the PSM, even if merely superficial, might have been influenced not only by the internal logic of Polish long-distance nationalism but also by what Eric Hobsbawm called the ‘recoil effect of the Holocaust’.⁵¹⁰ It seems that anti-Semitic excesses would have hardly been tolerated within the walls of the University of Edinburgh at a time when the first news of the mass murder of Jews inside German-occupied Poland started to reach Britain. In late 1942 and early 1943, the Polish government-in-exile made public the report of Jan Koziielewicz vel Karski. This was the first credible eye-witness account of the fact that a mass extermination of Jews was taking place in

⁵⁰⁷ Wasserstein, *Britain and the Jews*, p 93; Goldman, ‘Resurgence of Antisemitism in Britain’, pp. 37-50; Tony Kushner, *The Persistence of Prejudice: Antisemitism in British society during the Second World War*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1989.

⁵⁰⁸ Rabinowicz, ‘Battle of the Ghetto Benches’, p. 158.

⁵⁰⁹ MRC: Interview with George Arendt by Rebecca Lewis, 4 Oct 1999. Note that Polish refugees often used ‘England’ and ‘Scotland’ interchangeably.

⁵¹⁰ Eric J. Hobsbawm, ‘Are We entering a New Era of Anti-Semitism?’, in Helen Fein (ed.), *The Persisting Question: Sociological Perspectives and Social Contexts of Antisemitism*, Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1987, p. 375.

German-occupied Poland.⁵¹¹ The fact that information about the Holocaust was reaching the PSM is evidenced by a reference to the heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (April-May 1943) in the abovementioned letter of Jewish students from 13 November 1943.⁵¹²

Last but not least, it could be argued that Jews at the PSM deliberately adopted a low profile and preferred to accentuate their Polish patriotism rather than a separate Jewish identity. Based on pre-war experiences, they were probably aware that advancing a specific Jewish agenda, and especially appealing for British intervention on their behalf, would have actually exacerbated rather than contained anti-Jewish resentments harboured by some ethnic Poles. The latter universally resented international interventions on behalf of the Polish Jewry. In the early years of the Second Republic, Jews were often accused of disloyalty towards the reborn Polish state.⁵¹³ During the Second World War, the Polish government-in-exile claimed, in a similar fashion, that allegations of rampant anti-Semitism in the Polish Armed Forces were inspired and exploited by Soviet propaganda in order to discredit anti-Communist Poles.⁵¹⁴ Under such circumstances, Ignacy Schwarzbart unsuccessfully tried to prevent left-wing British MPs from giving publicity to genuine instances of anti-Semitism that were revealed in 1944 by 224 Jewish deserters from the Polish Army.⁵¹⁵ The strategy of downplaying the ‘Jewish question’ and emphasizing wartime national unity and loyalty to the common Polish cause might have partially motivated the letter in which Jewish students unequivocally refuted all the allegations of anti-Semitism at the PSM. The existence of such a wartime strategy could also explain the obvious discrepancy between the optimistic tone of the letter of 1943 and the poignant bitterness of George Arendt’s post-war reminiscences. It seems therefore that the spectre of pre-war anti-Semitism

⁵¹¹ Sword et al., *Formation of the Polish Community*, pp. 115-116.

⁵¹² PISM, A 19 II/76, Letter from Jewish students to the Dean of the PSM, 13 Nov 1943.

⁵¹³ David Kaufman, ‘Unwelcome Influence? The Jews and Poland, 1918-1921’, in Peter D. Stachura (ed.), *Perspectives on Polish History*, Stirling: The Centre for Research in Polish History, University of Stirling, 2001, pp. 64-79.

⁵¹⁴ For a detailed discussion of the discrimination of Jewish soldiers in the Polish Armed Forces in Britain, see Wasserstein, *Britain and the Jews*, pp. 120-130; David Engel, *In the Shadow of Auschwitz: The Polish Government-in-Exile and the Jews, 1939-1942*, Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1987, pp. 83-113; idem, *Facing a Holocaust*, pp. 108-137.

⁵¹⁵ Wasserstein, *Britain and the Jews*, p. 128; Engel, *Facing a Holocaust*, pp. 127-129.

still haunted the halls of the PSM, even though it was never allowed to fully materialise.

Diasporic religion at the PSM

Christian-Jewish relations are not the only possible avenue for analysing the interplay of national and religious identities among medical refugees at the PSM. Despite the near proverbial link between Roman Catholicism and Polish nationalism, the existing literature on Polish wartime migration to Britain in general, and on the PSM in particular, largely ignores the role played by Roman Catholic religion in maintaining symbolic and material connections with Poland. This gap in the historiography can be partially filled by applying the theory of ‘diasporic religion’ to the practice of Roman Catholic religion at the PSM. Tweed warns that a practical application of his theory should take into consideration the following factors, which differentiate diasporic groups across time and space: cause and length of displacement, environment in the adopted land, and the character of religious tradition before displacement.⁵¹⁶ The circumstances of arrival of Polish medical refugees in Edinburgh, including cause and length of displacement, were characterised in detail in Chapter 1 so there is no need to repeat it here. However, the other two factors will be considered in some detail below.

Roman Catholic refugees at the PSM

345 Roman Catholic refugees were associated with the PSM at different times between 1941 and 1949 (see Table 9 in Appendix 1). The total population of Polish Catholics in Scotland ranged from 60,000 in 1945 to 17,000 in 1948.⁵¹⁷ The attitude of the host society towards them was rather complex. Archbishop MacDonald of S. Andrews and Edinburgh was especially supportive of Polish exiles and their cause of independence from both Nazism and Communism. The Archbishop, for instance, presided at a special Mass in St Mary’s Roman Catholic Cathedral which

⁵¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 140-141.

⁵¹⁷ Scottish Catholic Archives, Edinburgh (hereafter SCA), DE 68/8/4: Letter from Fr. Bombas to Archbishop McDonald, 30 Aug 1948. See also Józef Gula, *The Roman Catholic Church in the History of the Polish Exiled Community in Great Britain*, London: School of Slavonic and East European Studies University of London, 1993, p. 161.

inaugurated the first academic year of the PSM in March 1941.⁵¹⁸ Polish exiles in Edinburgh were, however, also faced with an occasional lack of understanding from local Catholics. One of the lecturers of the PSM, who lived for a couple of weeks at a Scottish professor's mansion, was apparently informed by his host's Irish servant that Hitler could not be a bad man because he was Catholic.⁵¹⁹ What is more, Scottish Catholic priests looked unfavourably when Polish Catholic soldiers socially intermingled with local Protestants who often invited Allied servicemen to their homes.⁵²⁰

Certain Presbyterian congregations were, in turn, at the forefront of the campaign against the post-war resettlement of Polish refugees in Scotland. In 1946, for instance, the Free Church Presbytery of Dingwall and Tain resolved that:

recent European conditions have demonstrated that the Vatican, which during the war was pro-Fascist, is endeavouring to organize a Western bloc in opposition to Russia. ... There can be no doubt, therefore, that our reception of [the Poles] at a time when they are sorely needed for the rebuilding of their country cannot but prejudice any chance of friendship or co-operation with Russia. ... The conviction that the influence of the Vatican is being exerted to secure the implementing of the policy of Polish immigration to Britain occasions deep concern for security of religion as at present established in the realm. We have witnessed for too long the attempt to undermine our Protestant constitution by these methods of 'peaceful penetration'. It is in no spirit of bitterness but in defence of our dearly bought and highly cherished Faith that we feel ourselves compelled to oppose the swelling of Roman Catholic ranks.⁵²¹

W.J. Mitus recalls hearing a similar collection of anti-Polish and anti-Catholic slogans from a speaker standing on a 'soapbox' in front of the Royal Scottish Academy on the Mound in the centre of Edinburgh.⁵²²

In contrast to wartime Scotland, Roman Catholicism was the dominant religion in Poland and the Church exerted a great impact on society. For many Polish

⁵¹⁸ Ibid., p. 107; Anon., 'Polish Thanks to Scotland', *Catholic Herald*, 25 Aug 1944, p. 1; Anon., 'I am Ashamed that we do not Realise Our Debt to Poland', *Catholic Herald*, 1 Sept 1944, p. 1.

⁵¹⁹ Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, p. 85.

⁵²⁰ Ibid., p. 62; Gula, *Roman Catholic Church*, p. 139. See also Archbishop Józef Gawlina, *Wspomnienia*, Katowice: Księgarnia św. Jacka, 2004, pp. 201-222.

⁵²¹ SCA, DE 68/6/2: Copy of a resolution passed by the Free Church Presbytery of Dingwall and Tain, 1946.

⁵²² Mitus, *A Long Episode*, p. 600.

Catholics, national and religious identities were inexorably linked. Jerzy Zubrzycki even argues that Polish ‘national traditions are inseparable from the Catholic religion; for centuries the Church has been practically identical with national survival menaced, as it has been, by the threat of Protestant Prussia on the West and Orthodox Russia on the East’.⁵²³ All these factors played a role in shaping the nature of religious narratives, diasporic theology, religious institutions, rituals, and artifacts which were adopted by Polish Catholic exiles at the PSM.

Religious narratives of exile

Members of diasporas often remember and compose stories that narrate collective history, express suffering and disorientation of displacement, and form bridges between the homeland and the land of exile.⁵²⁴ Roman Catholic refugees at the PSM used traditional hymns and newly composed songs to symbolically move across time and space between the pre-war Poland of their memories and the liberated Poland of their dreams. *Boże, coś Polskę*, which can roughly be translated as *God, Save Poland*, is a traditional religious-patriotic hymn dating back to the early nineteenth century. It was often sung in wartime Edinburgh at the end of Polish religious services, for example after the Mass in St Mary’s Cathedral which marked the inauguration of the PSM.⁵²⁵

O, God who, through so many centuries,
surrounded Poland with the brilliance of power and glory,
who has protected it with the shield of your defence,
against the disasters that were meant to defeat it.

(Chorus)

To your altars we carry a prayer:
Return our Homeland to us, Lord!⁵²⁶

⁵²³ Zubrzycki, *Polish Immigrants in Britain*, p. 122.

⁵²⁴ Tweed, *Our Lady of the Exile*, p. 95.

⁵²⁵ Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, p. 107.

⁵²⁶ Maja Trochimczyk (transl.), ‘Boże, coś Polskę’, in *National Anthems of Poland*, retrieved on 6 May 2014 from: http://www.usc.edu/dept/polish_music/reperto/boze.html. For the original Polish text, see ‘Boże, coś Polskę’, in *Katolicka Agencja Prasowa*, retrieved on 6 May 2014 from: <http://dziedzictwo.ekai.pl/text.show?id=435>.

The lyrics invoke an image of Poland as God's chosen nation and allude to the 'golden age' of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth which, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, waged many victorious wars against Orthodox Muscovy, Lutheran Sweden and the Islamic Ottoman Empire. The song acquired a new meaning during the German occupation and subsequent Soviet domination of Poland when it symbolically moved Polish Catholics from the glorious past of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, through the traumatic present of war and exile, towards an imagined future in the liberated homeland.

Unlike *Boże, coś Polskę*, which has been sung by generations of Poles both in the homeland and in exile since the early nineteenth century, *Modlitwa Obozowa* (Camp Prayer) was specifically composed for dispersed Polish soldiers during the Second World War. The text was written by Captain Adam Kowalski in an internment camp in Romania and quickly became popular in Polish military bases all over the free world. Wiktor Tomaszewski recalls in his memoirs that Polish troops in Scotland would often sing the *Camp Prayer* at the end of their daily training in the Scottish countryside.⁵²⁷

Oh, Lord in heaven,
Stretch your hand of justice!
We call upon you from foreign lands
and ask for a Polish roof and a Polish weapon.

(Chorus)
Oh God, crush this sword,
which cut our Homeland
Let us return to a free Poland!
To raise a fortress of a new force in
our home, our home.

Oh Lord, hear our lamentations,
Oh, hear our wanderer's song!
The blood of martyrs calls upon you
From the banks of Warta, Wisła, San and Bug

(Chorus)

⁵²⁷ Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, pp. 60-61.

Oh God, crush this sword...
[translated from Polish]⁵²⁸

The translation of the lyrics unfortunately does not do justice to the poetic quality of the Polish original, but specifically diasporic tropes are easily discernible in the English text of this song-prayer. The author emphasises the dislocation and estrangement of exile through the use of phrases such as ‘foreign lands’ and ‘wanderer’s song’. At the same time, however, his narrative invokes the familiar landscape of the lost homeland, which is symbolised by the four rivers: Warta, Wisła, San and Bug. The song juxtaposes the traumatic present of occupied Poland (‘the sword that cut our Homeland’ and ‘the blood of martyrs’) with an imagined collective future when God leads the Polish exiles back to a liberated homeland. Perhaps intentionally, the song invokes parallels with the biblical lamentations of Jews who suffered in the Babylonian exile.

Tweed argues that such biblical parallels are typical for diasporic theology. Cuban exiles in Miami often claim that their national patroness, Our Lady of Charity, has protected them during the passage across the Straits of Florida. They also hope that one day She will lead them back to their ‘Promised Land’ of democratic and capitalist Cuba.⁵²⁹ Letters and memoirs of Catholic students at the PSM convey an analogous belief that Divine Providence has guided and protected them on their arduous journey towards Edinburgh. Consider an episode from W.J. Mitus’ autobiography that narrates his escape across the pre-war Polish-Hungarian border, which was closed off by Soviet troops:

My situation was not at all enviable, but I realized that it was not hopeless either. So far the Almighty on behest of my mother’s prayers had spared me. Now it was up to me to carry out his will.⁵³⁰ ... It was not a well thought out plan, or an experience gained from the previous trip, or any raw courage and determination of mine, or a fear propelled jump, but a split second unconscious intuitive act that pushed and guided me, as if by an invisible hand into a hole between the fallen timber, that drew a

⁵²⁸ Adam Kowalski, ‘Modlitwa Obozowa’, in Teresa Zaniewska (ed.), *Przez burze pod wiatr: szkolnictwo i oświata polska na Zachodzie w czasie drugiej wojny światowej*, Białystok: Trans Humana, 2001, p. 11.

⁵²⁹ Tweed, *Our Lady of the Exile*, pp. 95-96; idem, *Crossing and Dwelling*, pp. 110-111.

⁵³⁰ Mitus, *A Long Episode*, p. 361.

line between freedom and life on one hand and the Siberian Gulag and death on the other.⁵³¹

A similar belief in the trans-local power of parental prayers is expressed in Antoni Kępiński's letter to his mother in Poland. During his medical studies at the PSM in February 1946, Kępiński wrote the following words:

I also frequently had the feeling that there is something that watches over my fate, because sometimes events, which seemed to be very bad, eventually turned out to be good. I always thought that Mummy's and Daddy's prayers are the reason behind this [translated from Polish].⁵³²

It should be remembered that, before arriving in Edinburgh, Kępiński was interned in Hungary and managed to escape to France, but on his way to Britain via Gibraltar was arrested in Spain, where he survived 2.5 years in the notorious concentration camp in Miranda de Ebro.

Roman Catholic chaplaincy at the PSM

After their arrival in the country of refuge, exiles often set up trans-locative religious institutions in order to re-establish severed relations with the lost homeland.⁵³³ In the case of the PSM, the vast majority of Catholic exiles were either soldiers or military dependants. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction over these exiles was therefore exercised by Józef Gawlina, Field Bishop of the Polish Armed Forces. As the Apostolic Protector of Polish Emigration, Bishop Gawlina had authority from the Pope to organise and administer the church life of Polish Catholics in Scotland.⁵³⁴

The PSM was consequently assigned a chaplain from the local Polish garrison. Father Waclaw Pyszkowski initially celebrated a special Mass for Polish professors and students every Sunday at 11am at St Albert's Dominican Chapel in George Square. When the number of Poles in Edinburgh began to increase in 1942, Archbishop MacDonald offered a small church, St Ann's Oratory on Randolph Place in the West End of Edinburgh, for the exclusive use of the growing Polish Catholic

⁵³¹ Ibid., 367.

⁵³² Antoni Kępiński's letter to his mother, 26 Feb 1946, quoted in Ryn, 'Kępiński w Polskim Wydziale Lekarskim', p. 102.

⁵³³ Tweed, *Our Lady of the Exile*, p. 96.

⁵³⁴ Gula, *Roman Catholic Church*, p. 153; Zubrzycki, *Polish Immigrants in Britain*, pp. 123-124.

community. Father Pyszkowski moved there and wanted the Polish staff and students to attend the Mass at St Ann's Oratory. However, the Faculty Council of the PSM declined and the chaplaincy was taken over by Father Giles Black, the University Chaplain from the Dominican Priory in George Square. In response, Father Pyszkowski sent an angry letter to the Faculty Council arguing that the Dominican chapel was only a surrogate and that Poles in exile should not easily abandon the Polish language and the specifically Polish forms of Catholic piety.⁵³⁵

The conflict with the chaplain was not, however, caused by a lack of patriotism on the part of Polish professors. Wiktor Tomaszewski, who incidentally came from the same region of Poland as Father Pyszkowski, points out in his memoirs that the real reason was the difficult personality of the Polish priest. Father Pyszkowski was not popular among medical refugees at the PSM because of his aggressive behaviour and political opinions. He apparently claimed that Christianity could be reconciled with Communism and dialectic materialism. Tomaszewski has even likened him to Girolamo Savanarola, the heretical Dominican preacher from Renaissance Florence.⁵³⁶ When Father Pyszkowski returned to Communist Poland in 1945, he instantly became one of the leaders of the so-called Patriot-Priest movement. In defiance of the Polish Episcopate, Pyszkowski openly supported the post-war regime and served as the General Dean (equivalent of the pre-war Field Bishop) of the Polish People's Army from 1947 to 1950.⁵³⁷ Taking into account that many medical refugees arrived in Britain after surviving Soviet prisons and forced labour camps, it is hardly surprising that Father Pyszkowski's personality had an adverse effect on the PSM's involvement with trans-locative Polish religious institutions in wartime Edinburgh. However, the lack of a Polish chaplain did not prevent Roman Catholics at the PSM from participating in typically Polish religious rituals.

⁵³⁵ EUA, GD46/Box 9: Tadeusz Fabiański's chronicle of the PSM, 1945, Vol. 5b, p.1.

⁵³⁶ Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, pp. 183-184. See also Gawlina, *Wspomnienia*, pp. 164-165.

⁵³⁷ Piotr Łuczak, 'Ks. Plk Waclaw Pyszkowski – Generalny Dziekan Wojska Polskiego 1947-1950', *Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne*, 41.1 (2008), pp. 119–136; Patrycja Kaczmarek, 'Generalny Dziekanat Wojska Polskiego w latach 1945-1989', *Rocznik Archiwalno-Historyczny Centralnego Archiwum Wojskowego*, 32.3 (2010), p. 179.

Religious rituals of Polish medical refugees

Diasporic rituals help exiled devotees to forge horizontal bonds with others in the homeland and in exile. Using shared national and religious symbols, Cuban Catholics in Miami can ritually align with their compatriots and coreligionists who remain on the home island.⁵³⁸ Polish Catholics in Edinburgh also engaged in rituals that united them with their families and homes back in occupied Poland. Christmas and Easter celebrations were marked by special dinners, usually held in the Polish Students' Hostel in 5 Grosvenor Crescent, which were attended by members of staff and students of the PSM.⁵³⁹ The Christmas Eve vigil supper, arguably the most important family ritual for all Catholic Poles, was an especially poignant rite for those exiles who were separated by war from their loved ones. Instead of joyfully singing Christmas carols, many refugees immersed themselves in recollections of their parents, siblings and friends who were left behind in Poland or were scattered across the four corners of the world.⁵⁴⁰ Some Christmas Eve rituals, however, reconnected the exiles with their families not only symbolically but also materially. At the beginning of the Christmas Eve vigil supper, Polish families would traditionally break off and exchange pieces of a special rectangular wafer, called *oplatek*. This non-sacramental bread not only reminds one of the Host, which Roman Catholics believe to be the Body of Christ, but also symbolises forgiveness and reunion of the family. Antoni Kępiński's letter to his mother, dated 8 December 1946, reveals that, around Christmas time, some Polish refugees engaged in a trans-locative ritual of sending pieces of *oplatek* by post to their relatives in Poland.⁵⁴¹

Diasporic rituals often surround rites of passage, such as births, marriages and funerals. The function of diasporic funeral rites is to preside over the future of the departed and to revitalise the exiled group which has been disturbed by the death.⁵⁴²

⁵³⁸ Tweed, *Our Lady of the Exile*, p. 97.

⁵³⁹ Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, p. 166.

⁵⁴⁰ EUA, GD46/Box 5: Memoirs of Stefan Grzybowski, 1943-1945, p. 11; Diary of Zdzisław Golarz (Teleszyński), 25 Dec 1942, 25 Dec 1943 and 26 Dec 1944. See also Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, pp. 77-79; Mitus, *A Long Episode*, pp. 476-477; Antoni Kępiński's letters to his mother, December 1946, quoted in Ryn, 'Kępiński w Polskim Wydziale Lekarskim', p. 106.

⁵⁴¹ Antoni Kępiński's letter to his mother, 8 December 1946, quoted in Ryn, 'Kępiński w Polskim Wydziale Lekarskim', p. 105.

⁵⁴² Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling*, pp. 143-147.

A typically Polish ritual was observed at the funeral of Waclaw Stocki, lecturer in pathological anatomy at the PSM, who was buried in Mount Vernon Roman Catholic Cemetery in Edinburgh on 25 March 1942. This rite of passage was attended by other medical refugees and a delegate of the Polish government-in-exile.⁵⁴³ During the graveside service, which was conducted by Father Dick of the Dominican Priory in George Square, a piece of Polish soil was thrown into the grave of Dr Stocki. An article from *The Scotsman*, which announced the funeral, points out that the observance of this custom 'fully met the sentiment of Polish mourners'.⁵⁴⁴ Wartime reminiscences reveal that many refugees actually stopped just before crossing the Polish border in order to pick up a piece of their native land, which would then be taken with them into exile.⁵⁴⁵

Religious artefacts of Polish medical refugees

Last but not least, religious artifacts, such as utilitarian objects, art works, architecture and cultural landscape, have the ability to transport followers of a diasporic religion to the homeland's constructed past and imagined future.⁵⁴⁶ The use of religious artifacts with encoded national meaning was not uncommon among Polish medical refugees, as illustrated by the example of Aleksander Jabłoński's medallion. Jabłoński was born into a Polish noble family in the Kursk province of the Russian Empire in 1898. Before he left the parental manor in Woskresenowka to study at a private Russian gymnasium in Kharkov (now Kharkiv in Ukraine), he had received from his father a medallion with the image of Our Lady of Częstochowa and an inscription on the reverse: 'Remember that you are a Pole'.⁵⁴⁷ This famous icon of the Virgin Mary, who is venerated by Roman Catholics as the Queen of Poland, was also invoked by a batch of students who graduated from the PSM in 1942. They offered a special gift to Professor Sydney Smith as a token of their gratitude for his role in preserving Polish science and learning. The students carved

⁵⁴³ Anon., 'Ś.P. Dr. Med. Waclaw Stocki', *Lekarz Wojskowy*, 34.4 (1942), pp. 254-255.

⁵⁴⁴ Anon., 'Polish Doctor's Funeral: Piece of His Native Soil Thrown into Grave', *The Scotsman*, 26 Mar 1942, p. 4.

⁵⁴⁵ Rudolf Arend, 'Emigracja polska na Węgrzech w latach 1939-1943', *AHM*, 27.4 (1964), p. 420; Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, pp. 255-256.

⁵⁴⁶ Tweed, *Our Lady of the Exile*, pp. 97-98.

⁵⁴⁷ Jabłońska-Fraćkowiak, *Pomruki wojny*, p. 38.

their signatures and a dedication on a silver ornamental pectoral plate with the image of Our Lady of Częstochowa on one side, and the White Eagle, the coat of arms of Poland, on the other.⁵⁴⁸ A similar combination of national and religious symbols was used by soldiers from the Polish garrison in Edinburgh who commissioned and donated a monstrance to St Mary's Cathedral in 1944. This late Baroque-style religious artifact was ornamented with emblems of different Polish provinces and adorned with stones brought from Poland.⁵⁴⁹

Return, settlement or re-emigration?

A belief that Divine providence would one day guide them back to their lost homeland was enshrined in the religious items, rituals and narratives that were employed by Polish Roman Catholic exiles in wartime Edinburgh. Secular long-distance nationalist projects pursued by medical refugees at the PSM likewise presupposed an eventual return to liberated Poland. The end of the war in 1945 opened up three possible choices for Polish refugees: return to Communist-dominated Poland, permanent settlement in Britain or re-emigration to another country. British authorities encouraged and facilitated repatriation and, while the attitude of the post-war government in Warsaw towards the Polish Armed Forces in the West was complex and inconsistent, ordinary soldiers and civilians were generally not prevented from going back to their homeland. However, only 53 Polish medical refugees (13%) permanently returned to Poland between 1945 and 1949 (see Table 13 in the Appendix).

On the surface it would seem that political reasons were the most important rationale behind the refusal of repatriation. When asked directly about their decision, many Polish medical refugees, especially those who previously experienced deportations and slave labour in the USSR, would mention unwillingness or inability to return to a Communist-dominated homeland.⁵⁵⁰ This applied in particular to those who originated from pre-war Poland's Eastern Borderlands which were annexed by

⁵⁴⁸ Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, p. 280.

⁵⁴⁹ Anon., 'Poland's Gift to Edinburgh', *Catholic Herald*, 29 Sept 1944, p. 4.

⁵⁵⁰ MRC: Personal questionnaires of medical refugees from the PSM. See also short biographies of graduates in Gąsiorowski, *Story of graduates*, pp. 89-222.

the Soviet Union in 1945. The Polish government-in-exile advised against return migration, while military officers loyal to the London authorities discouraged and sometimes even tried to prevent repatriation of demobilised Polish soldiers. Those who were willing to return were often ostracised by their colleagues and regarded as traitors and Communist fellow travellers.⁵⁵¹ Alarming news about the persecution of returnees was at the same time disseminated via informal communication with relatives and friends in Poland as well as through wild rumours that circulated among Polish refugees in Britain.⁵⁵² Halina Lewicka recalls that she made up her mind about not returning to Poland ‘around February 1945, at the time of the Yalta conference. The Priest who was the Head of Education in Poland, Z. Kaczyński [sic!], went back and was shot.’⁵⁵³ This partially inaccurate information refers to Fr Zygmunt Kaczyński, Polish Minister of Education in London from 1943 to 1945, who returned to Poland but was later arrested by the Communists and died in prison.⁵⁵⁴ Fr Kaczyński’s wartime duties included supervision over the PSM, and thus his fate must have been an especially discouraging example for Polish medical refugees in Edinburgh.

Post-war correspondence reveals that many of those who remained in exile were virulent anti-Communists who rejected all formal and informal contacts with representatives of the new regime. This ostracism applied not only to diplomats from the Embassy of the People’s Republic of Poland in Britain but even to wartime colleagues from the PSM who returned home and became high ranking academics at Polish universities.⁵⁵⁵ Some medical refugees, such as Bronisław Śliżyński, Henryk Wójcicki and Jan Kafel, were involved in the activities of the Polish government-in-exile which continued to operate in London until 1990, despite worldwide diplomatic de-recognition.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵¹ Sword et al., *Formation of the Polish Community*, p. 193.

⁵⁵² Stefan Artymowski, ‘Motywacje do powrotu żołnierzy PSZ na Zachodzie’, *Studia Migracyjne – Przegląd Polonijny*, 1 (2010), pp. 20-21.

⁵⁵³ MRC: Interview with Halina Lewicka by Rebecca Lewis, 4 Oct 1999, pp. 4-5.

⁵⁵⁴ WBIS: Ks. Zygmunt Kaczyński.

⁵⁵⁵ EUA, GD46/Box 1: Correspondence concerning the 35th Anniversary of the PSM, 1969-1975.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ogłoszenie z dnia 15 grudnia 1954 r. Głównego Komisarza Wyborczego o składzie Rady Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, Dz.U. 1954 nr 15 poz. 88; Kobos and Wójcicki, ‘Śladami wielkich Polaków: Czas zapisany’, retrieved on 17 May 2012; Nowak, *Udział krakowskich lekarzy*, pp. 27-30.

Notwithstanding the genuine anti-Communism of many medical refugees at the PSM, their decisions to repatriate, remain in Britain or emigrate further cannot simply be explained by opposition to or support for the emerging regime in post-war Poland. Stefan Artymowski points out that it is impossible to define one or two criteria that motivated soldiers of the Polish Armed Forces in the West who returned to Poland after 1945. Each decision was in a way individual and unique.⁵⁵⁷ In the case of many Polish medical refugees, there was no causal relationship between individual political beliefs or wartime experiences and the post-war decision whether to repatriate, resettle or re-emigrate. While some of those who returned to post-war Poland could be classified as more or less radical socialists, others remained in the Capitalist West despite pre-war associations with the extreme Left.⁵⁵⁸ Wartime experiences in the Soviet Union likewise did not predetermine a decision to remain in exile. Professor Straszyński and senior lecturers (docents) Missiuro and Jabłoński returned to Poland from Edinburgh even though they spent two years in Soviet POW camps.⁵⁵⁹ Jabłoński was not even deterred by the fact that his brother had been killed in the Katyń massacre. Alicja Bober-Michałowska and Adam Michałowski both came from the pre-war Eastern Borderlands and survived deportation to the USSR, but they nonetheless decided to return to Poland in 1947.⁵⁶⁰

A deeper analysis of the biographies of medical refugees at the PSM reveals that, in making the decision about post-war settlement, family considerations were paramount to political beliefs and idiosyncratic experiences. Proponents of the so-called 'new economics of labour migration' suggested in the 1980s that decisions to emigrate are not made by individuals but rather by families and households in order to diversify income, manage crisis situations or obtain investment capital.⁵⁶¹ It seems that, with all the necessary modifications, this observation could be applied to

⁵⁵⁷ Artymowski, 'Motywacje do powrotu', p. 7.

⁵⁵⁸ For some examples, see Włodzimierz Ostrowski, 'Bolesław Skarżyński 1901-1963', *Postępy Biochemii*, 10.2 (1964), pp. 171-179; Quinodoz, *Listening to Hanna Segal*, pp. 161-170; Lawley and Segal, 'Dr Hanna Segal', retrieved on 14 May 2012; Mirabel and Medvedeva-Nathoo, 'Conversations', pp. 32-44

⁵⁵⁹ WBIS: Włodzimierz Missiuro, Aleksander Jabłoński.

⁵⁶⁰ Bober-Michałowska, *W gościnnym Albionie*, pp. 176-249.

⁵⁶¹ Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, p. 24

refugees who make decisions about repatriation, settlement in the country of asylum or further emigration. Research on medical refugees at the PSM demonstrates that such decisions were often made by whole families or by individuals in consultation with relatives in Poland or abroad. Many younger students arrived in Edinburgh together with their families, and thus the eventual decision about post-war settlement belonged to their parents. Halina Lewicka recalls that her decision to remain in Britain was a collective one: ‘we did not consider Poland to be a free country. My parents feared for their safety and I had to remain where they were’.⁵⁶² Family decision making is also visible in the case of Halina Bobińska. She initially settled in London with her parents but later married an Australian physician and emigrated to her husband’s homeland.⁵⁶³ Kazimierz Parkita whose parents survived the war in German-occupied Sosnowiec chose to reunite with his family despite pressures from his Polish military commander in Britain who tried to prevent repatriations to Communist Poland.⁵⁶⁴ Bolesław Rutkowski tried to bring his relatives from Romania to Britain but when this efforts failed, he decided to return to Poland where his family was allowed to resettle.⁵⁶⁵ In many cases, it was the parents and relatives in post-war Poland who advised their children in Edinburgh against coming back home. Zdzisław Szulec settled in Britain and never visited his homeland on the advice of his father who survived the war in Poland.⁵⁶⁶ Kazmierz Durkacz contemplated repatriation but was convinced by letters from his parents not to return to a Communist-ruled homeland.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶² MRC: Halina Lewicka file.

⁵⁶³ National Library of Australia, Canberra, 2011046: Halina Bobinska interviewed by Barry York in the Polish Australians oral history project, 15 Sept 1998, sound recording available at: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.oh-vn2011046>.

⁵⁶⁴ Kazimierz Parkita, *Wspomnienia lekarza okrętowego, ze służby na „Batorym” 1943-1944*, Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Morskie, 1987, p. 20.

⁵⁶⁵ Interview with Bolesław Rutkowski by Aleksander Rutkiewicz, Gliwice, 6 Oct 2011, transcript in possession of the author.

⁵⁶⁶ MRC: Zdzisław Szulec file.

⁵⁶⁷ Interview with Kazimierz Durkacz, Edinburgh, 25 Sept 2012, minutes in possession of the author.

In the case of Polish Jewish medical refugees, it is known that some of them lost their entire families in the Holocaust.⁵⁶⁸ Those relatives who managed to survive were often outside of Poland at the end of the war. For example, Jakub Chazan's parents and sister escaped from Soviet-occupied Vilna thanks to transit visas issued by Chiune Sugihara, the Japanese Consul-General in Kaunas.⁵⁶⁹ They eventually found asylum in Australia, where Chazan joined them after completing his medical studies at the PSM.⁵⁷⁰ In some cases the annihilation of Jewish life in Poland strengthened the previous experience of alienation from Polish society. Those who left Poland because of anti-Jewish discrimination several years before the war were unlikely to permanently return, even if their families had survived the Holocaust. At any rate, the memories of pre-war anti-Semitism and wartime genocide meant that even a temporary visit to post-war Poland could have been a traumatic experience for Polish Jews. George Arendt, who settled in London after the war, recalled in 1999:

I went back to Poland 4 years ago with my wife and three grown-up children because my wife and I wanted the children to know the places that we were born and where we came from. We first visited Danzig, where my wife was born. We then went to Warsaw and Krakow. It was like going to a wake. Warsaw was ghastly, so sad. We also visited Auschwitz [sic!], which was worse than you can imagine. It has become so sanitised. There is nothing Jewish there except for one prayer shawl. Some years ago the Catholic Church in Poland erected crosses all around the camp but the Pope requested that they be removed. Those who say that there is or was no anti-Semitism in Poland, live naïve, sheltered lives.⁵⁷¹

Although the exact rationale behind their decision is not always known, the available sources reveal that none of the Jewish students of the PSM returned to Poland after the war.

⁵⁶⁸ Gašiorowski, *Story of graduates*, pp. 89-222; Gebertt, 'Groby lekarzy polskich', p. 399; Kryszek Chard, *Reminiscences of Stanley Kryszek*, pp. 43-44; Mirabel and Medvedeva-Nathoo, 'Conversations', p. 41.

⁵⁶⁹ Ancestry.com genealogical database: Lithuania, Jews Saved by Passports From the Japanese Diplomat Chiune Sugihara, 1940. Cf. Gašiorowski, *Story of graduates*, p. 99.

⁵⁷⁰ Ancestry.com genealogical database: Fremantle, Western Australia, Passenger Lists, 1947; JewishGen Online Worldwide Burial Registry; Australia, Death Index, 1787-1985. Cf. Gašiorowski, *Story of graduates*, p. 99.

⁵⁷¹ MRC: Interview with George Arendt by Rebecca Lewis, 4 Oct 1999, p. 3.

Polish medical refugees who established their own families by marrying British citizens or other Poles who remained in exile were also less likely to return to Poland. Most of them settled permanently in Britain but some migrated further to British colonies or largely Anglophone countries, such as the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. However, the so-called ‘mixed marriages’ were not pre-determined to remain in Britain. Zbigniew Czajkowski was transferred from the PSM to the University of Edinburgh in 1946 but discontinued his studies soon after and returned to Poland, together with his Scottish wife, Wendy Cochrane-Czajkowska. Czajkowski became an accomplished fencing coach and trained several Olympic medalists.⁵⁷² In 1951, Wendy Cochrane-Czajkowska, published an article in *Przegląd Sportowy*, a leading state-owned sport daily, in which she praised the provision of sport facilities in People’s Poland, in comparison with capitalist Britain where physical education was a privilege of rich university students.⁵⁷³ The motivations behind Mrs Czajkowska’s ponderings are questionable, as it is known from other sources that Polish returnees from Britain who wished to make a career in post-war Poland were sometimes asked to publicly condemn the living conditions of the working class in Capitalist countries.⁵⁷⁴ The fact that a Scottish spouse of a Polish wartime refugee chose emigration to People’s Poland might have been especially useful for propaganda purposes of the Stalinist regime in Poland.

Apart from general political reasons, family decision making was often influenced by secondary factors, such as employment prospects and attitudes towards the host society. In the eyes of many Polish refugees, the British government’s commitments made at Yalta were tantamount to a betrayal of Britain’s most faithful ally. The feeling of alienation was augmented by xenophobia and anti-Polish prejudices which were especially widespread in early post-war Scotland.⁵⁷⁵ Medical

⁵⁷² Zbigniew Borysiuk, ‘Book Reviews: Zbigniew Czajkowski, *Understanding Fencing. The Unity of Theory and Practice*, SKA SwordPlay Books, Staten Island, New York, 2005’, *Studies in Physical Culture and Tourism*, 18.1 (2011), pp. 83-88; Grzegorz Muzia, ‘Od kadeta po profesora’, in *Piast Gliwice* website, (2012), retrieved on 1 Dec 2014 from: <http://www.piastr.gliwice.pl/site/?p=4311>.

⁵⁷³ Wendy Cochrane Czajkowska, ‘Żelazna kurtyna idzie w górę’, *Przegląd Sportowy*, 8 Mar 1951, p. 2.

⁵⁷⁴ Bober-Michałowska, *W gościnnym Albionie*, p. 249.

⁵⁷⁵ EUA, GD46/Box 5: Memoirs of Jan Biskupski, 1983, p. 2. See also Bober-Michałowska, *W gościnnym Albionie*, pp. 105-190.

refugees from the PSM often faced many problems in securing gainful and satisfactory employment in Britain. Their post-war professional careers will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Conclusion

This chapter argued that the PSM's relations with the homeland should be analysed in the context of the destruction of universities and the extermination of the intelligentsia inside occupied Poland. It was demonstrated that, for various reasons, German atrocities against Polish intellectuals attracted much more public attention at the PSM than the genocide of Polish Jews or Soviet war crimes, such as the Katyń massacre. This chapter examined the way in which day-to-day activities of medical refugees at PSM were affected by long-distance nationalist projects of preserving Polish science in exile, raising awareness of German crimes, providing material support for Polish victims of war and training cadres for the Polish Armed Forces in the West. A lot of those wartime endeavours had a symbolic meaning for the refugees themselves rather than any practical effect for their compatriots who remained in occupied Poland. Short-term requirements of the Polish war effort at times compromised the long-term teaching and research commitments of the PSM. However, the exile mission benefited Polish medical refugees by pressurizing many of them to concentrate on their studies more than they would have normally done in pre-war Poland, and by preventing the resurfacing of anti-Semitism at the PSM. While the Jews deliberately maintained a low profile, Roman Catholic refugees emphasised their identity via the use of religious narratives, rituals and artifacts that allowed them to symbolically move across time and space to the homeland of their memories and dreams. This chapter, finally, analysed the complex reasons why the vast majority of medical refugees at the PSM did not return to Poland after 1945, but instead, chose resettlement in Britain or re-emigration to a third country. Family decision making was emphasised as more important for understanding post-war settlement outcomes than the more conventional explanations that stress individual factors, such as ideological opposition to the Communist regime or previous experience of life under Soviet rule.

Chapter 4: PSM and the Diaspora(s)

Introduction

The previous two chapters analysed the multifaceted and dynamic relations between medical refugees at the PSM and their hosts at the University of Edinburgh, on the one hand, and their Polish homeland during and immediately after the war, on the other hand. The remaining dimension of a diasporic relationship, that is links between medical refugees in Edinburgh and the global Polish diaspora, can be explored by analysing the PSM's involvement with different 'migrant networks'. Douglas Massey et al. define migrant networks as 'sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through bonds of kinship, friendship and shared community origin'.⁵⁷⁶ Scholars accordingly employ network theory to examine familial, religious, political, and economic links that transcend the boundaries of nation-states and connect the migrants' country of origin with their country of settlement.⁵⁷⁷ In a similar fashion, this chapter will analyse structural relations and personal connections between the PSM and other Polish medical facilities and institutions of higher learning in Britain and beyond as well as academic and professional associations of Polish refugees.

It will first be demonstrated that the PSM was a nucleus of a broader Polish medical centre in wartime Edinburgh, which included the Paderewski Hospital and its Teaching Department, the Institute of Blood Transfusion of the Polish Red Cross, and the Examining Board in Pharmacy. The PSM will then be compared and contrasted with other Polish academic schools in Britain as well as Polish medical education centres in Switzerland, Lebanon and Italy. This chapter will then discuss the involvement of the Polish medical refugees in the structures and activities of academic and professional organisations, such as the Association of Polish Professors and Docents, the Polish Students' Association, the Polish Military Medical Society, and the Polish Medical Association.

⁵⁷⁶ Douglas S. Massey et al., *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006, p. 42.

⁵⁷⁷ Delaney, 'Transnationalism, Networks and Emigration', pp. 425-466.

This chapter will also argue for the inclusion of a fourth dimension of diasporic relations. In addition to analysing migrants' connections with the host society, homeland and diaspora itself, it seems necessary to take into account conflict and cooperation between different diasporas within the same host society. The potential importance of studying this dimension will be demonstrated by analysing Polish-Czechoslovak and Polish-Yugoslav contacts at the PSM.

Network of Polish medical institutions in Edinburgh

The PSM can be seen as a nucleus of a Polish network of medical institutions in Edinburgh. The medical centre that arose around the PSM during and immediately after the Second World War included the Paderewski Hospital and its Teaching Department, the Institute of Blood Transfusion of the Polish Red Cross, and the Examining Board in Pharmacy. The PSM's relations with this most immediate network will be analysed in more detail below.

Paderewski Hospital

The Paderewski Hospital in Edinburgh was named after Ignacy Jan Paderewski, a Polish virtuoso pianist, composer, diplomat and politician, who represented Poland at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and was one of the signatories of the Versailles Treaty. In November 1940, Paderewski moved from his home in Switzerland to the USA, where he used his great popularity to obtain aid for Polish refugees in Britain. Roman Wapiński argues in his biography that between the 1890s and 1930s Paderewski was the most recognisable Pole in the world. The Polish pianist was a genuine 'superstar' on both sides of the Atlantic and upper class American women were conspicuous among his numerous admirers.⁵⁷⁸

After the German invasion of Poland in September 1939, the American friends of Paderewski, headed by Mrs Kellogg and Mrs Schelling, set up the Paderewski Testimonial Fund in New York. At the request of Professor Jurasz, the Fund contributed \$33,000 worth of equipment to the Polish hospital in Edinburgh. Further material support was provided by an Anglo-American charity, 'Refugees of

⁵⁷⁸ Roman Wapiński, *Ignacy Paderewski*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 2009.

Poland', and by prominent individuals from the USA, such as Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, Mrs Louise Carnegie, wife of the steel magnate and philanthropist Andrew Carnegie, and J.P. Morgan, son of the famous banker of the same name.⁵⁷⁹ Pope Pius XII also donated £5,000 towards the establishment of the hospital.⁵⁸⁰ The cost of treating Polish patients in Edinburgh was covered by the Department of Health for Scotland.⁵⁸¹

Professor Jurasz was invited by the Paderewski Testimonial Fund to visit the USA in November 1942. During a three-month tour across the country, Jurasz held 55 public meetings, which were attended not only by Polish-Americans but also by members of the Scottish diaspora.⁵⁸² Jurasz obtained further donations during this visit and was able to purchase a 400-bed mobile hospital. This state of the art medical equipment was then brought to Britain with the intention of transferring it to Poland after the end of the war.⁵⁸³ Polish fundraising efforts were, however, not always successful, as exemplified by the failure to obtain financial aid from the Rockefeller Foundation which supported many projects in pre-war Poland. First overtures towards the Foundation were made by highest Polish authorities even before the formal opening of the PSM. On 4 December 1940, General Sikorski informed the University of Edinburgh that he 'talked on this subject with Lord Lothian [British Ambassador in the USA] and obtained his promise of help in case you approach the Rockefeller Foundation with a demand for a grant'.⁵⁸⁴ Indeed, during his fundraising tour across the USA in 1942, Professor Jurasz initially

⁵⁷⁹ Ignacy Jan Paderewski's correspondence concerning the foundation of a Polish hospital in Edinburgh, Mar-May 1941, quoted in Adam Grzegorz Dąbrowski, Marian Marek Drozdowski, Małgorzata Perkowska-Waszek and Xymena Pilch (eds), *Archiwum Polityczne Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego*, Tom VI: 1915-1941, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2007, pp. 351-365. See also Anon., 'Hospital Named for Paderewski', *New York Times*, 11 June 1941, p. 22; Anon., 'The Paderewski Exhibit', *New York Herald Tribune*, 26 July 1941, p. 10.

⁵⁸⁰ HIA, 800/33/0/-/96/6: Correspondence between Archbishop William Godfrey and Count Edward Raczyński, Mar-May 1941. See also Anon., 'The Pope's Gift to Polish Hospital', *The Scotsman*, 8 May 1941, p. 4; Anon., 'Rest of the News', *Catholic Herald*, 16 May 1941, p. 6.

⁵⁸¹ HIA, 800/33/0/-/96/6: Report on the Polish Hospital in Edinburgh, 9 May 1941.

⁵⁸² HIA, 800/42/0/-/315/5: Personal file of Antoni Jurasz, 1942-1943. See also Anon., 'Accent on Scotland', *The Scotsman*, 20 Feb 1943, p. 4.

⁵⁸³ Antoni Jurasz's letter to his family in Poland, 31 July 1958, quoted in Antia Magowska (ed.), 'Listy Prof. Antoniego T. Jurasza i jego dotyczące z lat 1944-1961', *Acta Medicorum Polonorum*, 2 (2012), pp. 159-162; Wojcik, 'Time in Context', pp. 69-76.

⁵⁸⁴ Brodzki, *PSM*, p. 14.

obtained from this source a donation of \$72,000 for the Paderewski Hospital. However, the grant was later withdrawn because the Rockefeller Foundation believed that Polish refugees had already received sufficient funding from other organisations.⁵⁸⁵

The Paderewski Hospital in Edinburgh was organisationally independent from the PSM but 31 out of 38 members of the hospital's medical staff were simultaneously employed at the medical faculty as lecturers or assistants. The hospital included five specialist wards and outpatients' departments as well as an X-ray laboratory, a pharmacy and a small library.⁵⁸⁶ The overlaps between the teaching staff of the PSM and the medical staff of the Paderewski Hospital are represented in Table 14 in the Appendix. The proximity of a Polish hospital in Edinburgh provided PSM students with many opportunities to gain practical experience through obligatory clinical internships.⁵⁸⁷ Table 14 also suggests that some of them managed to secure more permanent employment in the hospital after graduation. However, the Paderewski Hospital was more than just a teaching ward of the PSM. It served as a medical centre for the whole Polish diaspora in Britain.

Wiktor Tomaszewski recalls in his post-war memoirs that, although Polish civilian refugees were entitled to use healthcare services at their local British hospitals, they preferred to travel to Edinburgh and receive medical treatment at the Paderewski Hospital.⁵⁸⁸ Between 1942 and 1945 the number of patients in the wards increased from 1,203 to 1,503 per year. In the same period of time, the annual number of visits in the out-patient's departments grew from 12,354 to 34,129.⁵⁸⁹ Apart from catering to civilian refugees and dependants of military personnel, the

⁵⁸⁵ Wojcik, 'Time in Context', p. 71. See also Anon., 'U.S. Gift to Polish Medical School', *The Scotsman*, 18 Dec 1942, p. 3 and Anon., 'Medical News', *BMJ*, 16 Jan 1943, p. 88.

⁵⁸⁶ Anon., 'To Help Poles...', *The Scotsman*, 19 Aug 1941, p. 4; Eastwood and Jenkinson, *Western General Hospital*, pp. 68-81; Tomaszewski, 'Szpital im. Paderewskiego', pp. 115-126; Wojcik, 'Time in Context', pp. 69-76.

⁵⁸⁷ EUA, GD46/Box 9: Tadeusz Fabiański's chronicle of the PSM, Vol. 5, p. 5.

⁵⁸⁸ Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, p. 128.

⁵⁸⁹ EUA, GD46/Box 9: Tadeusz Fabiański's chronicle of the PSM, Vol. 5, p. 4; Tomaszewski, 'Szpital im. Paderewskiego', p. 123.

Paderewski Hospital also received the more severe cases from Polish military hospitals in Britain.⁵⁹⁰

The presence of Polish-speaking staff was apparently a major incentive for Polish patients, whose knowledge of English was usually limited. At the same time, the Scottish capital offered a relatively peaceful and comfortable environment which could hardly be found in the frequently bombed London, the other major centre of Polish civilian life in wartime Britain. Tomaszewski recalls that, apart from patients who genuinely required medical attention, the Paderewski Hospital attracted all sorts of hypochondriacs and draft dodgers who would find there at least a few days of peace and quiet.⁵⁹¹

Sometimes, PSM students and members of staff would themselves become patients of the Paderewski Hospital. Łukasz Kulczycki, who graduated from the PSM in 1944, had his tonsils removed there on 3 January 1947. He recalls that Dr Iwaszkiewicz performed the surgery when Kulczycki 'was still under [his] New Year's Eve anaesthesia'.⁵⁹² Unfortunately, despite the efforts of the staff, medical treatment could not always save the lives of seriously ill patients. In 1944, for instance, two members of the PSM's teaching staff, Bernard Czemplik and Tadeusz Boguliński, died in the Paderewski Hospital.⁵⁹³

Teaching Department of the Paderewski Hospital

After the end of the war, thousands of Polish demobilised soldiers and displaced persons began to arrive in Britain from Germany, Italy, the Middle East and Africa.⁵⁹⁴ This wave of refugees included senior students of clandestine medical schools in occupied Poland who were deported to POW and concentration camps in Germany after the Warsaw Uprising of 1944.⁵⁹⁵ They wished to continue their

⁵⁹⁰ Anon., 'To Help Poles...', *The Scotsman*, 19 Aug 1941, p. 4.

⁵⁹¹ Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, p. 128.

⁵⁹² Kulczycki, *From Adversity to Victory*, p. 24.

⁵⁹³ Gebertt, 'Groby lekarzy polskich', p. 398.

⁵⁹⁴ Tomaszewski, 'Szpital im. Paderewskiego', p. 123.

⁵⁹⁵ For some examples, see Archiwum Historii Mówionej, Muzeum Powstania Warszawskiego, Warsaw: Interview with Halina Jędrzejewska, 27 Mar 2006, available at: http://ahm.1944.pl/Halina_Jedrzejewska; Interview with Zbigniew Szulczewski, 2 June 2006, available at: http://ahm.1944.pl/Zbigniew_Szulczewski.

studies in Edinburgh and some were provisionally admitted to the PSM in the summer of 1945.⁵⁹⁶ However, when the Senatus Academicus of the University of Edinburgh decided in November 1945 that new students could not be admitted to the PSM, those who had already begun to attend classes were denied the opportunity to complete their medical studies and to receive Polish degrees.⁵⁹⁷ Fifty years later, Kazimierz Tuleja still remembered the day when he was informed about his relegation from the PSM. Ironically, he received this news while attending a university lecture. He described his ensuing reaction as a ‘moral breakdown’.⁵⁹⁸

In response to this crisis, Professor Jurasz, acting as the Superintendent of the Paderewski Hospital, decided to open a private medical school for senior medical students who were denied a place at the PSM.⁵⁹⁹ This institution became known in English as the Teaching Department of the Polish Paderewski Hospital in Edinburgh. Clinical teaching was conducted inside the hospital by Professor Jurasz and other lecturers of the PSM. The programme of studies was identical to the one that was realised at the regular faculty. Examinations were conducted by a board composed of Professor Jurasz, Professor Koskowski and Dr Godłowski. However, this unofficial medical school did not have the right to confer degrees. In total, 37 students attended the Teaching Department from December 1945 until the Paderewski Hospital was closed in 1947 (see Table 15 in the Appendix). In the meantime, five women and twelve men managed to complete their studies and passed all final exams. Instead of a regular Polish medical diploma, they received special bilingual certificates, which declared, in Polish and English, that the graduate of the Teaching Department had:

attended the same theoretical and practical courses as required in the five-year curriculum of the Polish Medical Faculty and he (she) passed successfully, before an Examination Board, examinations of the standard which would entitle him (her) in Poland to the Degree of Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery.⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁶ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 26 June 1945. See also Tomaszewski and Tuleja, ‘Studium Lekarskie’, pp. 325-333.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 327.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 328.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid.; Tomaszewski, ‘Szpital im. Paderewskiego’, p. 123; Wojcik, ‘Time in Context’, pp. 69-76.

⁶⁰⁰ See a reproduction of the certificate in Tomaszewski and Tuleja, ‘Studium Lekarskie’, p. 331.

Thanks to Professor Jurasz's efforts these certificates were recognised in post-war Poland and could be exchanged for a diploma of the University of Warsaw. In this way, six graduates of the Teaching Department received Polish diplomas, but only one of them decided to return to Poland. Those who remained in Britain were allowed to take licensing exams of the English Conjoint Board, which recognised the certificate of the Teaching Department as proof of completion of medical studies. Holders of the Licence of the Royal College of Physicians of London and the Membership of the Royal College of Surgeons of England (LRCP Lond, MRCS Eng) diploma could then be registered as medical practitioners by the General Medical Council. Those students who did not manage to complete their studies at the Paderewski Hospital were accepted to universities in Sheffield, Cardiff, Dublin and Toronto.⁶⁰¹ Only four former students of the Teaching Department returned to post-war Poland, where they completed their medical education at the newly opened universities in Poznań, Wrocław and Warsaw (see Table 15 in the Appendix).

In comparison with the PSM, the students of the Teaching Department experienced many more difficulties and uncertainties before they finally managed to obtain a desired medical qualification. Although it was a small-scale and rather ephemeral enterprise, thanks to the magnanimous efforts of Professor Jurasz, the Teaching Department made it possible for a group of desperate refugees to complete their medical studies, which had more than once been interrupted by forces far beyond their control. Speaking on behalf of his colleagues, Dr Tuleja admitted that it was Professor Jurasz to whom the students of the Teaching Department of the Paderewski Hospital owed their future medical careers.⁶⁰²

Polish Institute of Blood Transfusion

Within the nexus of the Polish medical centre in Edinburgh, the PSM was also connected to various agencies of the Polish Red Cross. This close collaboration was facilitated by Professor Koskowksi who was the President of the Polish Red Cross in London. In April 1941, the Polish Red Cross established an Institute of Blood

⁶⁰¹ Tomaszewski and Tuleja, 'Studium Lekarskie', p. 332.

⁶⁰² Ibid., p. 328.

Transfusion in the biochemistry lab of the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh.⁶⁰³ The purpose of this endeavour was to train Polish medical staff in the modern technology of blood transfusion, and to produce dried plasma for the use of the Polish army. A Polish Medical Officer, Wit Maciej Rzepecki, recalls in his post-war memoirs that he attended a few-day course on blood transfusion at the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh in 1941.⁶⁰⁴

The Institute of Blood Transfusion was in the long run supposed to collect supplies of dried plasma for post-war use in liberated Poland. In the meantime, the staff of the Institute managed to analyse and identify blood groups of around 40,000 Polish soldiers in Britain. The Institute also recruited donors and prepared supplies of dried plasma for Polish military units.⁶⁰⁵ Jan Kafel, who joined the Institute after graduating from the PSM in 1943, describes in his memoirs the enthusiasm of simple Polish soldiers who were willing to donate even one litre of their own blood to save the lives of comrades fighting against the hated Germans.⁶⁰⁶ Wiktor Tomaszewski recalls that a container of plasma produced by the Polish institute in Edinburgh was dropped over Warsaw during the Uprising of 1944.⁶⁰⁷

Official supervision over the Polish Institute was performed by Dr C.P. Stewart, director of the Scottish Institute of Blood Transfusion. Stewart also gave lectures on blood transfusion to the staff and students of the PSM in 1943.⁶⁰⁸ The Polish staff included Dr Jarosław Czekałowski, who wrote a doctoral dissertation based on the research he had carried out at the Polish Institute of Blood Transfusion. On 5 April 1943, Czekałowski became the first postgraduate student of the PSM to receive an MD degree.⁶⁰⁹ He was then appointed Director of the Institute, and simultaneously worked at the PSM as a senior assistant in bacteriology and public

⁶⁰³ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 11 Apr 1941.

⁶⁰⁴ Rzepecki, *Skalpel ma dwa ostrza*, p. 134.

⁶⁰⁵ Wiktor Budzyński, 'Bez blackout', *Polska Walcząca – Żołnierz polski na obczyźnie*, 48 (1944), p. 7.

⁶⁰⁶ EUA, GD46/Box 5: Memoirs of Jan Kafel, 1944, p. 18.

⁶⁰⁷ Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, pp. 115-116.

⁶⁰⁸ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 26 Nov 1943.

⁶⁰⁹ EUA, IN14/6: Book of Doctoral Promotions, Dipl. No. 1.

health.⁶¹⁰ When the Polish Institute of Blood Transfusion in Edinburgh was closed in 1947, Dr Valis, another graduate of the PSM who worked in the Institute, brought the whole equipment to Poland.⁶¹¹

Examining Board in Pharmacy

Professor Koskowski also played an important role in a collaborative scheme that connected the PSM with Polish refugee pharmacists in Britain. The Polish Army in Scotland included some advanced students of pharmacy whose studies were interrupted by the outbreak of the war. Wiktor Tomaszewski recalls that in 1943, three final-year pharmacy students approached Professor Koskowski in the hope of completing their final exams and receiving university diplomas.⁶¹² Koskowski was a director of the pre-war School of Pharmacy at the John Casimir University in Lwów. He therefore had the necessary qualifications and expertise to conduct such examinations. The Faculty Council of the PSM accordingly resolved to create a special Examining Board that would enable pharmacy students to pass exams that were required for the degree of Master of Pharmacy.⁶¹³ The Board would also issue provisional diplomas, certifying that a given student passed his missing exams at the PSM. Back in Poland, the student's pre-war university would presumably exchange this certificate for an original Master of Pharmacy diploma. The Faculty Council's resolutions of 26 June and 16 October 1943 were approved by the Polish Ministry of Education in London.⁶¹⁴

The Examining Board for the Attainment of the Master of Pharmacy Degree at the PSM in Edinburgh (*Komisja egzaminacyjna dla uzyskania stopnia magistra farmacji przy Polskim Wydziale Lekarskim w Edynburgu*) conducted three examining sessions on 21 February 1944, 18 October 1945 and 1 February 1946. Professor Koskowski was the Chair of the Examining Board. Other examiners were Tadeusz Mann and Bolesław Skarżyński, both senior lecturers (docents) in biochemistry at

⁶¹⁰ WBIS: Jarosław Wiktor Czekałowski. See also Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, pp. 27-35; Teleszyński, 'Polski Wydział Lekarski', p. 56.

⁶¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

⁶¹² Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, p. 147.

⁶¹³ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 26 June 1943 and 16 Oct 1943.

⁶¹⁴ PISM, A.19. II/76: Records of the Dean's Office of the PSM, 1942-1944.

the PSM, Jerzy Dekański, lecturer in pharmacology and general therapeutics at the PSM, and Professor Adam Skąpski from London. The Board examined five pharmacy students: Waclaw Chrzaszcz, Jerzy Liedke, Kazimerz Król, Jan Godysz and Maciej Wierzbęta. They all passed their missing exams and received provisional diplomas.⁶¹⁵ Four of them eventually returned to Poland. Jerzy Liedke and Maciej Wierzbęta received original diplomas from their pre-war universities in Poznań and Warsaw, while Waclaw Chrzaszcz and Jan Godysz had their PSM diplomas recognised by the newly created University of Wrocław, which took over the traditions of their pre-war *alma mater*, John Casimir University in Lwów.⁶¹⁶

The activities of the Examining Board were also connected to an even more ambitious scheme which has not been mentioned before in the literature on the PSM. In September 1944, the Polish Military Pharmaceutical Society (*Towarzystwo Naukowe Farmaceutów Polskich Sił Zbrojnych*) sent a letter to the Faculty Council of the PSM. The Society suggested extending the scope of the existing Examining Board and establishing a whole School of Pharmacy that would be affiliated to the PSM.⁶¹⁷ This would have been in accordance with pre-war practices in Poland, where a separate Faculty of Pharmacy existed only at Joseph Piłsudski University in Warsaw. The remaining four universities had subdivisions of pharmacy within other faculties. A School of Pharmacy was a part of the Faculty of Medicine at the Stephen Bathory University in Vilna and the John Casimir University in Lwów. Professor Koskowski was actually the organiser and director of the pre-war School of Pharmacy in Lwów.⁶¹⁸ The Faculty Council of the PSM replied favourably to the Society's letter, but at the same time, made it clear that the proposal would be seriously considered only if at least twenty pharmacy students could be delegated to study in Edinburgh. The Society was asked to determine the number of potential

⁶¹⁵ EUA, IN14/7: Records of the Examining Board in Pharmacy, 1944-1946.

⁶¹⁶ Zbigniew Woźniewski (ed.), *Polski Almanach Medyczny na rok 1956*, Warsaw: Państwowy Zakład Wydawnictw Lekarskich.

⁶¹⁷ EUA, IN14/7: Records of the Examining Board in Pharmacy, 1944-1946.

⁶¹⁸ *Skład Uniwersytetu w latach 1936/37 i 1937/38*, p. 30; *Skład Uniwersytetu w roku akademickim 1938/1939*, p. 140.

candidates, and it seems that a sufficient quota of applicants was never reached, because this ambitious scheme eventually failed to materialise.⁶¹⁹

Network of Polish academic schools in Britain

The Polish School of Pharmacy in Edinburgh quickly sank into historical obscurity but Polish refugees did succeed in establishing several institutions of higher learning in Britain. They were all either directly modelled on or at least inspired by the pioneering example of the PSM, which can therefore be seen as a nucleus of the wartime network of Polish academic schools in Britain. The structural parallels and personal connections between these institutions demonstrate that they should not be analysed in isolation from one another. The historical significance of the PSM can at the same time be properly assessed and appreciated only in relation to other similar endeavours.

The Polish University Abroad in Paris

Even before the opening of the PSM in early 1941, the fate of universities in occupied Poland prompted Polish refugee academics in Western Europe to organise systematic efforts to preserve Polish science and learning in exile. Professor Jurasz was involved with the Polish University Abroad which was inaugurated on 1 December 1939 in the building of the Polish Library in Paris. The teaching staff of the University included around 80 professors and docents as well as 60 assistants. These refugee academics taught more or less systematic courses and gave irregular lectures to around 100 Polish students, half of whom were women. As the legal status of the University was never formally confirmed by the Polish government-in-exile, it did not have the right to conduct examinations and confer degrees.⁶²⁰ The University was established with only two subdivisions: a Faculty of Arts and a Faculty of Law and Economics. A Faculty of Medicine and Natural Sciences was in the process of being organised by Jurasz and Stanisław Runge, another professor of

⁶¹⁹ EUA, IN14/7: Records of the Examining Board in Pharmacy, 1944-1946.

⁶²⁰ Tadeusz Sulimirski, 'Uniwersytet Polski za Granicą w Paryżu', *Nauka Polska Na Obczyźnie*, 1 (1955), pp. 14-18; Jan Draus and Ryszard Terlecki, *Polskie szkoły wyższe i instytucje naukowe na emigracji 1939-1945*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1984, pp. 8-11; Mauersberg, 'Nauka i szkolnictwo wyższe', p. 379; Łuczak, *Polska i Polacy*, p. 645.

the pre-war University of Poznań, when the Germans captured Paris in late May 1940, thus putting a sudden and premature end to the Polish University Abroad.⁶²¹

The idea of creating a complete Polish university in exile was incidentally revived by Sir Thomas Holland in December 1940. The Polish government in London rejected that scheme at the time but the successful pattern of Polish-British academic cooperation, which was established by the PSM, served as an inspiration and model for similar institutions that soon sprang up all over Britain.⁶²² They all shared the same aim of preserving Polish science and learning by allowing Polish refugees to continue pre-war studies in those subjects that were seen as essential for the post-war reconstruction of Poland. Polish authorities in Britain accordingly set up academic institutions to train professional cadres in law and administration, architecture, veterinary medicine, education and various technical subjects. Table 16 in the Appendix demonstrates that in terms of the number of students, the PSM was not the largest Polish academic school in Britain. Its proper significance therefore lies in the fact that it paved the way for the others by proving that Polish-British academic cooperation in wartime conditions was not only practically feasible but also yielded measurable achievements, such as the number of undergraduate and postgraduate degrees, and the number of scientific publications.

Polish Faculty of Law in Oxford

The Polish Faculty of Law at the University of Oxford resembled the PSM the most in terms of structure and mode of teaching. This institution was established in 1944 and replaced an ephemeral Polish School of Law and Administration at the University of St Andrews.⁶²³ The Polish Faculty of Law was organised in accordance with an agreement between the Polish government-in-exile and the University of Oxford.⁶²⁴ Just like its counterpart in Edinburgh, it was an autonomous one-faculty

⁶²¹ Meissner, 'Polski Wydział Lekarski', p. 342.

⁶²² Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, pp. 152-155.

⁶²³ Draus and Terlecki, *Polskie szkoły wyższe*, pp. 29-30; Mauersberg, 'Nauka i szkolnictwo wyższe', p. 389.

⁶²⁴ Tadeusz Brzeski, 'Polski Wydział Prawa przy Uniwersytecie w Oxfordzie (1944-1947)', *Nauka Polska Na Obczyźnie*, 1 (1955), pp. 56-69; Draus and Terlecki, *Polskie szkoły wyższe*, pp. 41-42; Mauersberg, 'Nauka i szkolnictwo wyższe', pp. 389-390; Janusz W. Cywiński, Tadeusz Rojewski and

academic school, which was associated with a British university. The Faculty Council in Oxford had the prerogatives to confer undergraduate and doctoral degrees, and did not have the right to promote habilitations and nominate new professors. Both Faculty Councils included professors and docents from pre-war Polish universities as well as British professors from the host university. The majority of Polish students in Edinburgh and Oxford were temporarily released from active military service. In both cases, most of the students had already begun their studies before the war. Students in Edinburgh and Oxford also received the same monthly allowance of 20£ from the Polish government-in-exile. After July 1945, these stipends were paid by the ITC. Finally, both institutions collected their own scientific libraries. The PSM amassed 1,706 volumes, while the Polish Faculty of Law gathered 538 books (see Table 16 in the Appendix).

The similarity between the PSM and the Polish Faculty of Law in Oxford was observed by contemporary press. For instance, the *Church Times* wrote that:

Oxford has thus now become a centre where Polish lawyers can receive the legal education and degrees normally obtained in their own country, just as at Edinburgh, with its Polish Faculty of Medicine, Polish doctors can receive their full medical training and degrees.⁶²⁵

Some important differences between the PSM and the Polish Faculty of Law should also be mentioned. There were fewer civilian and female students in Oxford than in Edinburgh. In 1945 there were only 13 civilian men and 9 women out of 152 students. Moreover, unlike the hybrid Polish-Scottish programme of the PSM, the curriculum of the Polish Faculty of Law basically resembled the pre-war Polish programme. It was supplemented by several lectures given by British professors in subjects, such as introduction to English law, international law, constitutional and Roman law.⁶²⁶ The Polish Faculty of Law existed from 1944 to 1947, and in this time conferred 257 undergraduate and 8 doctoral degrees as compared to 227 MB, ChB and 19 MD degrees granted by the PSM between 1941 and 1949 (see Table 16 in the Appendix). However, unlike Polish medical degrees, which were recognised in

Wiesław Toporowski (eds), *Monograph: Polish Faculty of Law at the University of Oxford, 1944-1947*, London: Polish Cultural Foundation and Cladra House Publishers, 1997.

⁶²⁵ Anon., 'The Universities: Oxford', *The Church Times*, 28 Apr 1944, p. 226.

⁶²⁶ Brzeski, 'Polski Wydział Prawa', p. 58; Draus and Terlecki, *Polskie szkoły wyższe*, pp. 41-42; Mauersberg, 'Nauka i szkolnictwo wyższe', pp. 389-390.

Britain after the war, the qualifications gained in Oxford would only be valid in Poland because the English and Polish legal systems were quite different.

Polish School of Veterinary Medicine in Edinburgh

Following the model of the PSM, a Polish School of Veterinary Medicine was established at the Royal (Dick) Veterinary College in Edinburgh in 1943. The School was supervised by the Polish Board of Academic Studies in Veterinary Medicine, which was endowed with prerogatives similar to the rights of Faculty Councils in Edinburgh and Oxford. The patterns of Polish-British cooperation at the new institution also resembled those at the PSM. Lecturers and examiners in the School of Veterinary Medicine included professors of both nationalities. The Polish staff used the hospitality of Scottish clinics and laboratories, while the Board of Academic Studies in Veterinary Medicine provided Polish departments with their own equipment and a small library of less than 100 volumes. The curriculum largely resembled the pre-war Polish programme of study, but Polish students were allowed to attend lectures in the Royal (Dick) College. 22 men and 1 woman out of a total of 63 students managed to graduate before lectures and classes were suspended at the end of the academic year 1945/1946. The remaining senior students and a few selected junior students were allowed to continue their studies at the Royal (Dick) Veterinary College.⁶²⁷

Polish School of Architecture in Liverpool

The Polish School of Architecture in Liverpool was inspired by the success of the PSM but followed a slightly different organisational model. It was established in 1942 as a separate faculty within the University of Liverpool School of Architecture, but originally did not have the right to grant Polish degrees. The School was governed by a Board of Studies which comprised Polish lecturers and delegates of

⁶²⁷ Stanisław Mglej, 'Komisja Akademickich Studiów Medycyny Weterynaryjnej w Edynburgu (1943-1948)', *Nauka Polska Na Obczyźnie*, 1 (1955), pp. 44-49; Jerzy Preibisch, 'Polska uczelnia weterynaryjna w Szkocji', *Życie weterynaryjne*, 1 (1986), pp. 23-28; Paul Watkins, 'The Polish-Committee of Medical-Veterinary Study in Great Britain', *Veterinary History*, 17.2 (2014), pp. 168-183.

the University of Liverpool. Unlike Edinburgh and Oxford, a proper Faculty Council could not be convoked in Liverpool because at the time there were no Polish professors of architecture in Britain. Consequently, the curriculum of the School followed the English programme and Polish students attended basic lectures at the Liverpool School of Architecture. Only specifically Polish subjects, such as building legislation, regional planning and the history of Polish architecture, were taught in Polish.⁶²⁸ Unlike the PSM, the number of female students was very small. In June 1946, there were only 5 women out of 66 students (see Table 16 in the Appendix).

Matriculation fees as well as the purchase of books and teaching aids for Polish students of architecture were sponsored by the British Council. On the other hand, staff salaries, stipends and student accommodation were funded by the Polish government-in-exile and later the ITC. In 1944, the School was organisationally subordinated to the newly created Board of Academic Technical Schools in London, which had the right to confer Polish engineering degrees. Two years later the School was moved to London and eventually became a part of the Polish University College, which was associated with the University of London.⁶²⁹ In total, 49 students graduated with engineer degrees before the Polish School of Architecture moved to London. The staff of the School published ten textbooks and worked on special projects for the Polish Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Shipping (see Table 16 in the Appendix).

Polish School of Pedagogy in Edinburgh

The Polish School of Pedagogy at the University of Edinburgh was opened in 1943. This three-year school was specifically set up for graduates of previous four-month courses which had been organised for Polish teachers in Moray House Teachers' Training College in Edinburgh between 1941 and 1943. Polish students were matriculated in the Faculty of Arts of the University of Edinburgh and attended

⁶²⁸ AAN, sygn. 503, 1588/189: Letter from the Director of the Polish Research Centre to Count Edward Raczyński, 30 July 1942. See also Draus and Terlecki, *Polskie szkoły wyższe*, pp. 30-33; Mauersberg, 'Nauka i szkolnictwo wyższe', pp. 386-387; Przemysław Kaniewski, *Polska Szkoła Architektury w Wielkiej Brytanii 1942-1954*, Warsaw: Marek Woch, 2003, pp. 77-110.

⁶²⁹ Draus and Terlecki, *Polskie szkoły wyższe*, pp. 30-33; Mauersberg, 'Nauka i szkolnictwo wyższe', pp. 386-387; Kaniewski, *Polska Szkoła Architektury*, pp. 110-112.

regular university lectures in psychology and pedagogy. In the first two years of study, Polish staff of the School conducted additional lectures and tutorials in the history of education, history of philosophy, theory of knowledge and logic, biology and Latin. The programme of the third year included only British lectures. Until 1945, the Polish School of Pedagogy was funded by the Polish Ministry of Education, and after the de-recognition of the Polish government-in-exile, the supervision of the School was taken over by the ITC. The School was eventually closed in 1946, but thirteen senior students were allowed to continue their studies at the University of Edinburgh. The teaching staff of the School also published several scientific works between 1943 and 1946 (see Table 16 in the Appendix).⁶³⁰

Board of Academic and Technical Schools

The only Polish academic institution that was not formally affiliated to a British university was the Board of Academic Technical Schools, which supervised studies and conferred degrees in mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, chemistry, mining, architecture and other technical subjects. Unlike academic schools which were modelled after the PSM, the more independent Board was actually able to enlarge and increase its number of students after the end of the war.⁶³¹ In 1947, the Board merged with the Polish School of Architecture, thus creating the Polish University College, London. The aim of this institution was to prepare Polish refugees for settlement in Britain rather than to train cadres for the post-war reconstruction of Poland. The Polish University College introduced English as the language of instruction and taught students in accordance with the programme of the University of London. When the Polish University College was closed in 1953, the remaining engineering students were admitted to Battersea Polytechnic, while the Polish School of Architecture merged with Regent Street Polytechnic.⁶³²

⁶³⁰ Draus and Terlecki, *Polskie szkoły wyższe*, pp. 33-35; Mauersberg, 'Nauka i szkolnictwo wyższe', pp. 388-389.

⁶³¹ Łuczak, *Polska i Polacy*, pp. 646-647.

⁶³² Draus and Terlecki, *Polskie szkoły wyższe*, pp. 35-40; Mauersberg, 'Nauka i szkolnictwo wyższe', pp. 404-407.

Reactivation of the Polish University Abroad

The idea of establishing a Polish university-in-exile began to resurface in Edinburgh in the last years of the war.⁶³³ In the summer of 1944, the Faculty Council of the PSM suggested to the Polish government-in-exile that the existing academic schools should be united into a single body, a 'Polish University in Great Britain'. Initial negotiations were even held at a congress of Polish Deans in London.⁶³⁴ However, the scheme once again failed to materialise. Wiktor Tomaszewski suggests that the project was dropped due to the geographical dispersal of Polish academic institutions and an imminent end of the war.⁶³⁵

A Polish university in Britain was eventually inaugurated in 1953, four years after the closing of the PSM. The Polish University Abroad (*Polski Uniwersytet na Obczyźnie*) in London was a financially independent institution established by the Polish government-in-exile. The teaching was mostly concentrated on humanities, especially Polish history, language and Polish philosophy, disciplines which were perceived to be deliberately falsified in Communist Poland and insufficiently represented at foreign institutions. The University later offered postgraduate programmes in law, social sciences, economics, natural sciences and technical studies. The curriculum was mostly based on pre-war Polish programmes but the teaching methods were adjusted to the specific needs of the post-war diaspora. This 'smallest University in the world'⁶³⁶ still remains in existence today, and can perhaps be seen as a last remnant of the network of Polish academic schools in Britain that was initiated by the founding of the PSM in 1941.

Personal connections with the PSM

The PSM not only served as a role model and example of successful Polish-British academic collaboration but the medical refugees also cooperated more directly with other Polish institutions and individual scholars. Due to geographical proximity, contacts were closest with the two schools which were set up in Edinburgh. Dean

⁶³³EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 26 June 1943, 16 Oct 1943 and 18 Mar 1944.

⁶³⁴ PISM, A.19. II/26: Minutes of the Congress of Deans, 26 Sept 1944.

⁶³⁵ Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, p. 96.

⁶³⁶ See the website of the Polish University Abroad in London at <http://www.puno.edu.pl/english.htm#1>, retrieved on 18 Apr 2014.

Jurasz and professors of the PSM attended the official inauguration of the Polish School of Veterinary Medicine on 11 October 1943. The first chairman of the Board of Academic Studies in Veterinary Medicine was Professor Stanisław Runge, who had previously collaborated with Jurasz at the short-lived Polish University Abroad in Paris. Polish academic schools in Edinburgh also shared some members of the teaching staff. Veterinarian Czesław Rayski, who was a senior assistant in biology at the PSM, served as an examiner in parasitology at the Polish School of Veterinary Medicine from 1943 to 1945.⁶³⁷ Bronisław Śliżyński conducted lectures in biology at the Polish School of Pedagogy where this course was part of the first year of studies.⁶³⁸ After the closing of the Polish School of Veterinary Medicine in 1946, Dr Stanisław Mglej donated the equipment of his department to the PSM, which continued to operate for three more years.⁶³⁹

Lecturers from other Polish academic schools assisted in the work of the PSM. On 24 November 1945, physicist Józef Mazur, one of the founders of the Board of Academic Technical Schools in London, conducted a make-up exam in physics for a first year student at the PSM.⁶⁴⁰ Mazur's assistance was required because the Chair of Physics at the PSM was discontinued after Dr Czemplik died and Dr Jabłoński returned to Poland.⁶⁴¹ Professor Skapski, also from the Board of Academic Technical Schools, served as a member of the Examining Board in Pharmacy at the PSM.⁶⁴²

Network of Polish medical education centres

The PSM was the only Polish medical teaching centre in Britain but there were analogous educational schemes in Switzerland, Lebanon and Italy. Former Polish soldiers and POWs also studied medicine in Allied-occupied Germany and Austria as well as in liberated Belgium and France. However, detailed information and precise

⁶³⁷ Mglej, 'Komisja Akademickich Studiów', pp. 44-49.

⁶³⁸ Mauersberg, 'Nauka i szkolnictwo wyższe', p. 389.

⁶³⁹ Mglej, 'Komisja Akademickich Studiów', p. 45.

⁶⁴⁰ EUA, IN14/7: Student record schedule of NN 45 (pseudonym).

⁶⁴¹ Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, p. 27.

⁶⁴² EUA, IN14/7: Records of the Examining Board in Pharmacy, 21 Feb 1944.

data about those medical refugees is not available.⁶⁴³ The well-researched centres of Polish medical education in Switzerland, Lebanon and Italy did not provide, in contrast to the PSM, an opportunity to pursue a complete programme of undergraduate and post-graduate medical studies with mostly Polish-language instruction. Moreover, unlike graduates of the PSM, Polish students at Swiss, Lebanese and Italian universities did not receive medical qualifications that were recognised both in the homeland and in the host country.⁶⁴⁴ Some of the more tangible achievements of the PSM, as compared to other centres of Polish medical education, are presented in Table 17 in the Appendix.

Polish medical students in Switzerland

In Switzerland, the so-called ‘university camps’ were established for the benefit of 12,000 Polish soldiers who were interned in that country after the evacuation of the entire Second Infantry Fusiliers Division from France on 20 June 1940. Pre-war medical students from among the internees were allowed to resume their studies at the ‘University Camp’ in Winterthur, which was affiliated to the Federal Technical University and the University of Zurich. The idea of establishing these ‘field universities’ apparently originated with André de Blonay, General Secretary of *Le Fonds européen de secours aux étudiants*. Additional funding came from various charitable organisations, such as the Kościuszko Foundation from New York, which also provided material support for Polish medical refugees in Edinburgh. Unlike the PSM, the Swiss ‘university camps’ followed a different model of organization, which was largely determined by the internee status of their students and the wartime neutrality of the host country. The ‘university camps’ did not have the right to grant degrees and the teaching was conducted mostly in French or German. The curricula of the ‘university camps’ tended to follow Swiss rather than pre-war Polish programmes of study.⁶⁴⁵

⁶⁴³ Mauersberg, ‘Nauka i szkolnictwo wyższe’, p. 410; Wojtkowiak, *Lancet i karabin*, p. 189.

⁶⁴⁴ Italian medical degrees were recognised in Britain but graduates of foreign universities who wished to practice medicine in Poland were obliged to undergo the often complicated process of ‘nostrification’ which could involve re-examination.

⁶⁴⁵ Józef Smoliński, ‘Polskie obozy uniwersyteckie w Szwajcarii w czasie drugiej wojny światowej’, in Zaniewska, *Przez burze pod wiatr*, pp. 38-51; Agnieszka Pruszyńska, ‘Żołnierze – studenci medycyny w Szwajcarii, Libanie i we Włoszech w latach 1940-1951’ in Zaniewska, *Przez burze pod*

Medical studies in Winterthur were initially conducted inside the internment camp. Once a week Swiss professors would commute from Zurich to give two-hour lectures in German. More advanced Polish students were responsible for providing an intensive language course for those colleagues who were not proficient in German. The Poles were allowed to leave the camp and attend regular classes at the University of Zurich only in 1943, and therefore the quality of teaching in Winterthur initially suffered from the lack of access to laboratories and clinics. Examination records and certificates of completion, which were issued by the 'University Camp' in Winterthur, had a very dubious value until 1944, when Swiss federal authorities finally allowed the Polish internees to matriculate at the University of Zurich. Polish students could then exchange their camp certificates for regular university diplomas. In total, between 1940 and 1945, 57 Polish exclusively male internees studied medicine at the Winterthur 'University Camp'. Sixteen students managed to complete their education before the liquidation of the camp in December 1945. Thirteen graduates also received MD degrees from the University of Zurich after submitting doctoral dissertations in German. Some of these theses were later published in Swiss medical journals or in a special volume which was edited by Polish internees in Switzerland. Only four graduates of the Winterthur 'University Camp' decided to return to post-war Poland (see Table 17 in the Appendix). At least thirteen former internees remained at the University of Zurich as civilians, and received their MD degrees in 1947 or 1948. Eventually four of them returned to Poland.⁶⁴⁶

Polish medical students in Lebanon

Another cohort of around 400 Polish military and civilian refugees, mostly evacuees from slave labour camps in the Soviet Union, who found a safe haven in the Middle East were admitted to various universities in Beirut, the capital of Lebanon. As in the case of the PSM, wartime studies at Lebanese universities were supposed to

wiatr, pp. 75-87; Wojtkowiak, *Lancet i karabin*, pp. 161-174; Draus and Terlecki, *Polskie szkoły wyższe*, pp. 11-14; Mauersberg, 'Nauka i szkolnictwo wyższe', pp. 379-381; Łuczak, *Polska i Polacy*, pp. 647-648.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid.

prepare young Poles for post-war work in liberated Poland. In an interview for the *Palestine Post*, Henryk Strassbuger, Polish Minister of State in the Middle East, pointed out that training centres in Lebanon were set up ‘to prepare the intelligentsia for their part in Polish reconstruction’.⁶⁴⁷ Irena Beaupré-Stankiewicz, who studied history in Beirut, recalls that ‘medicine, nursing, architecture, economics were all subjects that had a future and would be useful to Poland, where we still hoped to return’.⁶⁴⁸ The Polish authorities consequently provided stipends for Polish students in Lebanon, organized language courses, purchased teaching aids and paid for accommodation in student hostels. After the de-recognition of Polish government-in-exile, the International Refugee Organisation took over the care of the remaining Polish refugee students, who continued to study at various Lebanese universities until 1952.⁶⁴⁹

Polish medical students in Lebanon attended *Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth* and the American University of Beirut. Curiously enough, the French-Catholic St Joseph University was founded in 1840 by a Polish Jesuit, Father Maksymilian Ryłło. It was affiliated to the University of Lyon and was following a French model of medical education. Polish students were admitted to study medicine based on the agreement between the Polish Army in the East and the Free French in the Levant. Soldiers with at least four years of pre-war medical studies and adequate knowledge of French were preferred.⁶⁵⁰ After completing the programme of clinical classes, passing all the required exams and taking a medical oath, Polish graduates of St Joseph University received temporary certificates that could be exchanged after the war for an official French state medical diploma, *Diplôme d’État Français de Docteur en Médecine* (DMed). However, as recalled by Waclaw Netter, one of the Polish students in Beirut, this diploma would not allow its holder to practice medicine in Metropolitan France. Netter points out that the remaining barriers were ‘the lack of a French baccalauréat, and not having done military service in the French

⁶⁴⁷ Anon., ‘Polish-Jewish Cooperation’, *The Palestine Post*, 21 July 1944, p. 3.

⁶⁴⁸ Irena Beaupré-Stankiewicz, ‘University Years’, in Irena Beaupré-Stankiewicz, Danuta Waszczuk-Kamieniecka and Jadwiga Lewicka-Howells (eds), *Isfahan: City of Polish Children*, s.l.: Association of Former Pupils of Polish Schools, Isfahan and Lebanon, 1989, p. 457.

⁶⁴⁹ Pruszyńska, ‘Żołnierze – studenci medycyny’, pp. 80-83.

⁶⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

army, obligatory for French citizens'.⁶⁵¹ 42 Polish students attended St Joseph University between 1941 and 1952, including 9 women, out of whom 33 men and 6 women graduated with the DMed diploma (see Table 17 in the Appendix).⁶⁵²

The American University of Beirut, which was established as a Protestant mission college in 1866, was affiliated with Columbia University during the Second World War. Consequently, the language of instruction was English and the curriculum was American. Unlike St Joseph University, the American University recruited Polish students for full time studies in accordance with an agreement signed by the Polish Legacy in Lebanon. After completing four years of study, undergraduates would receive a BA degree, which could then be followed with an MD. At least five Polish women and one man attended the American University of Beirut, out of whom three women graduated with a BA degree. Two of them also managed to obtain further MD degrees. Only five medical graduates from Lebanon returned to post-war Poland (see Table 17 in the Appendix).⁶⁵³

Polish medical students in Italy

After the end of the Second World War, around 1,300 soldiers of the Second (Polish) Corps, which played a heroic role in the liberation of Italy, were admitted to various Italian universities. Bologna became the major centre of Polish medical studies in Italy.⁶⁵⁴ Four Polish soldiers allegedly studied medicine in Rome in 1946; however, detailed information about them is not available. In December 1945, Colonel Tadeusz Sokołowski, a former lecturer in traumatic surgery at the PSM, organised a four-day congress of Polish physicians, which was held in one of the halls of the University of Bologna. Sokołowski suggests in his memoirs that the choice of location was not accidental, as he wanted to invoke the memory of numerous Poles who had studied in Europe's oldest university many centuries before.⁶⁵⁵ This ancient

⁶⁵¹ Waclaw Netter, 'Polish students in Beirut', in Beaupré-Stankiewicz et al., *Isfahan*, p. 449.

⁶⁵² For the list of Polish students in Beirut, see Beaupré-Stankiewicz et al., *Isfahan*, pp. 527-535.

⁶⁵³ Ibid.; Pruszyńska, 'Żołnierze – studenci medycyny', pp. 80-83; Wojtkowiak, *Lancet i karabin*, pp. 188-189.

⁶⁵⁴ See Władysław Essigman, 'Studenci medycyny w II Korpusie 1941-1947', *AHiFM*, 62.3 (1997), pp. 243-249; Agnieszka Pruszyńska, 'Polskie ośrodki akademickie we Włoszech po II Wojnie Światowej (komentarz do wspomnień dr Władysław Essigmana)', *ibid.*, pp. 251-254.

⁶⁵⁵ Sokołowski, 'Fragment pamiętnika', p. 135.

tradition was revived in February 1946, when the medical faculty of the University admitted 227 Polish students, including 33 female soldiers from the Polish Auxiliary Women's Service. However, the evacuation of the Second (Polish) Corps to Britain in the summer of 1946 meant that only 79 senior students were allowed to remain in Italy to continue their studies with the financial support of the Polish government-in-exile. In total, around 60 Polish medical students graduated from the University of Bologna between 1946 and 1951 (see Table 17 in the Appendix). Limited knowledge of Italian and different teaching methods probably made it relatively more difficult to study medicine in Bologna than in Edinburgh. Only seven graduates from Bologna returned to post-war Poland, while many emigrated further to the USA and Canada.⁶⁵⁶ Władysław Essigman, one of the Polish medical students in Bologna, claimed that a few of his colleagues were transferred to the PSM.⁶⁵⁷ However, this is highly unlikely because the PSM was not allowed to admit new students after 1945. Essigman probably meant the Teaching Department of the Paderewski Hospital, which might have admitted some ex-soldiers of the Second (Polish) Corps.

Personal connections with the PSM

Direct cooperation between the PSM and the centres of Polish medical education in Switzerland, Lebanon and Italy would have been difficult to establish because of the geographical distance and problems in communication during and immediately after the war. Nevertheless, some interesting personal connections reveal that Polish medical refugees in different corners of the globe were indeed members of a single migrant network. The Faculty Council of the PSM was interested in transferring to Edinburgh senior medical students who were evacuated to the Middle East after their release from the Soviet labour camps in 1941.⁶⁵⁸ Negotiations with the military authorities began in September 1942, and the issue was also discussed during Prime Minister Mikołajczyk's visit to Edinburgh on 19 March 1943.⁶⁵⁹ The Faculty

⁶⁵⁶ Essigman, 'Studenci medycyny', pp. 243-249; Pruszyńska, 'Polskie ośrodki akademickie', pp. 251-254; Idem, 'Żołnierze – studenci medycyny', pp. 84-87; Wojtkowiak, *Lancet i karabin*, p. 187.

⁶⁵⁷ Essigman, 'Studenci medycyny', p. 248.

⁶⁵⁸ PISM, A.XII.10/28: Correspondence on the transfer of medical students from the Middle East to the PSM, 1942-1943.

⁶⁵⁹ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 9 Sept 1942 and 19 Mar 1943.

Council's 'wish list' included, among others, two female students from Lebanon, Anna Tylko from the American University of Beirut and Halina Rutkowska from St Joseph University.⁶⁶⁰ However, for unknown reasons they never arrived in Edinburgh, and instead completed their studies in Lebanon. Although her name is not included in Roman Jakubski's list of Polish students in Beirut,⁶⁶¹ the examinations records of Ilona Schwarzbart reveal that she studied medicine at the American University of Beirut before coming to Edinburgh in 1944.⁶⁶² Ilona was admitted to the first year of medical studies at the PSM, but unfortunately never had the chance to complete her education. In 1946 she died suddenly at a dinner with her friends, at the age of only 22 years. On a more positive note, one of the Polish graduates of St Joseph University in Beirut, Karol Sławiński, married in Britain a former student of the PSM, Krystyna Andrzejowska.⁶⁶³

PSM and the network of Polish academic and professional associations

The PSM maintained all sorts of contacts with Polish academic and professional institutions in Britain and beyond. Medical refugees in Edinburgh cooperated with their colleagues mostly in the framework of various associations of émigré academics, university students as well as military physicians and civilian medical practitioners. The most important of those organisations will be discussed in more detail below.

Polish academic associations

Senior members of the PSM's teaching staff cooperated with their colleagues from other Polish academic schools in Britain within the framework of the Association of Polish Professors and Docents. The statutory aims of this organisation included working for the reconstruction of Polish science, collaborating with British and other Allied colleagues and providing support for destitute academic refugees from Poland. Between 1942 and 1948, Oxford University Press published seven volumes of the

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid.: 1 Mar 1944. Cf. the list of Polish students in Beirut in Beaupré-Stankiewicz et al., *Isfahan*, pp. 527-535.

⁶⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 527-535.

⁶⁶² EUA, IN14/7: Student record schedule of Ilona Schwarzbart.

⁶⁶³ See the list of naturalised aliens in *The London Gazette*, 17 Feb 1953, p. 978.

Association's quarterly scientific journal, *Polish Science and Learning*. In 1944, members who represented the PSM prepared a medical issue of the journal, which included thirteen English-language articles on the questions of public health in Poland.⁶⁶⁴

Shortly after the end of the war, the Polish Association of Professors and Docents, in cooperation with the Faculty Council of the PSM, organised a university-level course in pre-medical subjects at Duddingston Camp, near Edinburgh. This scheme was designed for more than 200 candidates, mostly soldiers and liberated POWs, who applied in the summer of 1945 to the first year of medical studies at the PSM, but could not be accepted because of the decision of the University of Edinburgh to stop further admissions of Polish students. Bronisław Śliżyński was appointed the organiser and director of the course, while the majority of lecturers were also drawn from the ranks of the PSM's teaching staff. Beginning in April 1946, 44 Polish soldier-students, including 2 women, attended lectures and tutorials in physics, chemistry, biology, botany, genetics, histology and anatomy. Classes were held in the barracks of Duddingston Camp but the students were allowed access to the library and laboratories of the PSM. Although envisaged to cover the first two years of medical and natural science studies, the course was prematurely closed in January 1947 because the ITC refused to provide financial support for its further existence. Thirteen students managed to pass first year examinations before the liquidation of the course, and it is known that seven of them were later admitted to the second year of medical studies at various universities in Poland, Britain and Ireland, while four chose a different career path.⁶⁶⁵

The student bodies of different Polish academic schools also cooperated with each other in the framework of voluntary organisations. The Polish Students' Association in Britain, a single union for all Polish students in Britain, was established in January 1943, even though the 'Jędrzejewicz Act' of 1933 forbade the

⁶⁶⁴ Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, p. 147; Tadeusz Radzik, *Z dziejów społeczności polskiej w Wielkiej Brytanii po drugiej wojnie światowej (1945-1990)*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 1991, p. 86; Witold Brzeziński, 'Polish Medical Journals Published in Exile During the Second World War', *AHiFM*, 57.3 (1994), p. 392.

⁶⁶⁵ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 13 Apr 1946, 29 Apr 1946, 17 May 1946, 7 June 1946, 9 Dec 1946 and 17 Mar 1947. See also Bronisław M. Śliżyński, 'Kurs przyrodniczy w Duddingston (1946)', *Nauka Polska Na Obczyźnie*, 1 (1955), pp. 39-42.

establishment of central student organisations which, before the war, were dominated by the extreme nationalist opposition to the *Sanacja* regime. The Edinburgh Branch of the Association was open to male and female students from the PSM, the Polish School of Veterinary Medicine and individual Polish refugees who pursued other disciplines at the University of Edinburgh. A medical student, Mieczysław Szamocki, served as the President of the Edinburgh Branch. Among its many activities, the organisation administered the Polish Students' Hostel at 5 Grosvenor Crescent, which became a Polish hub of social, cultural and patriotic events in Edinburgh.⁶⁶⁶

There were also some interesting personal connections between the student bodies of the PSM and other Polish academic schools in Britain. Henryk Hamerski, who graduated from the Polish School of Veterinary Medicine in 1944, was later enrolled at the PSM and obtained an MB, ChB degree in 1947. The PSM allowed Hamerski to fulfil his youthful dream of becoming a physician, which he was not able to realise in pre-war Poland due to the highly competitive admission requirements at medical faculties.⁶⁶⁷ Another student, who had been expelled from the PSM in 1943 for providing false information about his pre-war studies, was able to graduate from the Polish School of Veterinary Medicine in 1945. Several refugees who studied medicine in Edinburgh had relatives at other Polish academic schools in Britain. For instance, Regina Goldstein's daughter and Wanda Piłsudska's sister both studied at the Polish School of Architecture in Liverpool.⁶⁶⁸

Polish medical associations

The majority of PSM's professors and lecturers belonged to the Polish Military Medical Society (*Towarzystwo Naukowe Lekarzy Wojska Polskiego w Zjednoczonym Królestwie Wielkiej Brytanii*) which was established on 10 May 1941 as the first Polish medical association in wartime Britain. Although membership was open to all

⁶⁶⁶ PISM, A.19. II/46: Records relating to the Edinburgh Branch of the Polish Students' Association, Sept 194; PISM, A.19. II/53: Records relating to the Polish Students' Hostel in Edinburgh, Sept 1945. See also Teleszyński, 'Polski Wydział Lekarski', pp. 45-63; Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, p.170; Gebertt, 'Życie studentów', p. 342.

⁶⁶⁷ Gąsiorowski, *Losy absolwentów*, p. 144.

⁶⁶⁸ Nowak, *Udział krakowskich lekarzy*, p. 54.

medical personnel of the Polish Army in Scotland, candidates were required to obtain formal authorisation from the military authorities.⁶⁶⁹ The statutory aim of this association was to deepen medical knowledge and promote the professional development of its members. To meet this end, frequent scientific meetings were held in Edinburgh, which became an important centre of Polish medical life in the early 1940s. From July 1940 to December 1946, the Society published its own scientific journal, *Lekarz Wojskowy*, which was a continuation of a pre-war Polish medical-military journal of the same name. When Henryk Kompf, Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz and Wiktor Tomaszewski, all members of the PSM's staff, joined the editorial board in the autumn of 1942, the journal started to publish announcements and annual reports of the PSM. The editorial office was even moved from Perth to the premises of the Paderewski Hospital. The impact of the journal was not limited to Edinburgh or Scotland but, with the help of the Kościuszko Foundation and the Association of Polish Physicians and Dentists in the USA, copies of *Lekarz Wojskowy* reached Polish refugees and Polish-American doctors across the Atlantic. Members of the Society who were transferred to the Second (Polish) Corps in the Middle East published their own journal, *Lekarz Wojskowy na Wschodzie*. Colonel Sokołowski, former lecturer at the PSM, regularly contributed to the clinical section of the journal.⁶⁷⁰

After the end of the war and the demobilisation of Polish Armed Forces in Britain, the Polish Military Medical Society merged with the Polish Medical Association in the British Empire.⁶⁷¹ The latter was established in 1944 in London and, at the time, was the only organisation representing the professional interests of Polish medical refugees.⁶⁷² Its first headquarters were located in the British Medical Association House in Tavistock Square, London.⁶⁷³ Apart from local chapters in England and Scotland, the Polish Medical Association also established branches in France, Germany, Egypt, Palestine, Lebanon, Italy and Africa. From the moment of

⁶⁶⁹ Idem, *50 lat Związku Lekarzy Polskich na Obczyźnie, 1944-1994*, London: Polish Medical Association, 1994, pp. 17-34.

⁶⁷⁰ W. Brzeziński, 'Polish Medical Journals', pp. 385-393

⁶⁷¹ Nowak, *50 lat Związku Lekarzy Polskich*, pp. 17-34.

⁶⁷² Ibid., pp. 28-29.

⁶⁷³ Anon., 'Medical News', *BMJ*, 15 Apr 1944, p. 544.

its inception, physicians who were associated with the PSM played an important role in the activities of the Polish Medical Association. The first membership application was submitted on 22 March 1944 by Leon Lakner, Professor of Dentistry at the PSM.⁶⁷⁴ The office of the Scottish branch of the Polish Medical Association was located in the Scottish-Polish House at 7 Greenhill Gardens, Edinburgh.⁶⁷⁵ Members of this local branch included many former lecturers and students of the PSM, such as Wiktor Tomaszewski, who became its President in the 1950s, and Kazimierz Durkacz, who for many years served as its Secretary.⁶⁷⁶

Throughout the history of the Polish Medical Association, numerous Polish physicians from Edinburgh served in its central authorities. Jan Ruszkowski, Assistant Professor of Ophthalmology at the PSM, was elected President of the Polish Medical Association in 1946. Other lecturers and graduates of the PSM frequently held the offices of Vice-President, Secretary or Treasurer and sat in the Peer Tribunal. There were at least 90 graduates of the PSM among the 607 known members of the Polish Medical Association in 1950.⁶⁷⁷

Kazimierz Nowak's account of the history of the Polish Medical Association demonstrates that the character of the Association, its statutory aims and even the name of the organisation has been repeatedly changed since its founding in 1944.⁶⁷⁸ Consequently, the types of benefit that were associated with membership in the Association also differed over time. In the last years of the war, the Polish Medical Association was basically a scientific organisation that tried to prepare its members for the post-war reconstruction of medical services in Poland. On 25 April 1944, for instance, the Association organised a scientific conference in the Great Hall of the British Medical Association. The invited speakers included Professors Koskowski and Crew. Local branches of the association in England and Scotland also organised similar conferences and lectures.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁴ Nowak, *50 lat Związku Lekarzy Polskich*, p. 24.

⁶⁷⁵ Anon., 'Medical News', *BMJ*, 7 Oct 1944, p. 484.

⁶⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 37; Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, pp. 253-254; Gąsiorowski, *Losy absolwentów*, p. 125.

⁶⁷⁷ Nowak, *50 lat Związku Lekarzy Polskich*, pp. 22-100.

⁶⁷⁸ See copies of the Statutes of the Polish Medical Association from 1949, 1962 and 1992 in *ibid.*, pp. 120-136.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

However, after 1945, when it became clear that the majority of refugee physicians would not return to Communist-dominated Poland, the Polish Medical Association adopted an increasingly professional character. The principal statutory aim in the second half of the 1940s was to facilitate the post-war settlement of Polish medical refugees in Britain and overseas. The Polish Medical Association lobbied for the the right of Polish physicians to permanently register as medical practitioners in Britain.⁶⁸⁰ These efforts were crowned with success when the British Parliament passed the *Polish Resettlement Act of 1947* and the *Medical Practitioners and Pharmacists Act of 1947*. Among other generous provisions, these legislative acts recognised diplomas of the PSM as equivalent to the MB, ChB degrees conferred by the University of Edinburgh.⁶⁸¹

Polish medical refugees in Britain, including graduates of the PSM, who remained in Britain after the war, were allowed to apply for permanent registration with the General Medical Council. Candidates were then screened by a special committee, which included the President of the Polish Medical Association. In total, 786 Polish physicians were put on the Foreign List of the Medical Register. However, all applicants were required to be resident in Britain before 31 December 1948 when wartime regulations authorising temporary registration of foreign medical practitioners expired. This provision proved to be especially challenging for those Poles who had already emigrated to British colonies in Africa, West Indies or Asia.⁶⁸² Stanley Kryszek, a PSM graduate, had to come back to Britain all the way from Bulawayo in Bechuanaland (modern-day Botswana) just to re-register with the General Medical Council.⁶⁸³

Cooperation with Slavic medical refugees in Britain

Medical refugees at the PSM came into contact not only with British society but also with émigré scholars and students from various Allied nations, such as

⁶⁸⁰ TNA, MH 76/338: Letter from the Polish Medical Association to Aneurin Bevan, 19 July 1946.

⁶⁸¹ *Polish Resettlement Act, 1947*, 10 & 11 Geo. 6, c. 19; *Medical Practitioners and Pharmacists Act, 1947*, 11 & 12 Geo. 6, c. 11. See also Anon., 'Alien Doctors', *BMJ*, 16 Aug 1947, pp. 258-259; Anon., 'Medical Notes in Parliament', *BMJ*, 29 Nov 1947, p. 890.

⁶⁸² Nowak, *50 lat Związku Lekarzy Polskich*, pp. 24-49.

⁶⁸³ Kryszek Chard, *Reminiscences of Stanley Kryszek*, p. 58.

Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Cooperation and conflict with other refugee communities in wartime Britain transcends the triadic relationship of diaspora, homeland and host society, and might potentially be seen as a fourth dimension of diasporic relations. The Polish Association of Professors and Docents in Britain, for example, contributed to the founding of the International Association of University Professors and Lecturers in June 1945.⁶⁸⁴ The first General Assembly of the Association condemned German scientists and academics who took part in the persecution and extermination of subjugated peoples in German-occupied territories, conducted inhumane experiments on prisoners of concentration camps, and organised the looting of cultural artefacts. In 1950, the Polish Association created a Central European Society of Professors and Lecturers which grouped academic refugees from Communist countries, especially Poles and Hungarians. The Society established a Central European School in London, where the history, economy and contemporary politics of Central European countries was taught in English.⁶⁸⁵ Medical refugees at the PSM cooperated most closely with colleagues from other Slavic countries, such as Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

Polish-Czechoslovak relations at the PSM

Professor Koskowski suggested to the Faculty Council on 24 May 1941 that the PSM should organise a Polish-Czechoslovak scientific conference. The Congress of Polish and Czechoslovak Physicians was accordingly held on 11-12 September 1941 in the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh. The meeting was attended by several hundred Polish and Czech physicians and surgeons as well as representatives of Polish, Czechoslovak and British military and civilian authorities. The Free French were represented in the persons of Professor and Madame Cordier and Professor Cathala. The complete proceedings of the Congress were published in Polish or Czech, with English synopses, in *Lekarz Wojskowy*.⁶⁸⁶ The editors of the first

⁶⁸⁴ Draus and Terlecki, *Polskie szkoły wyższe*, pp. 46-47; Mauersberg, 'Nauka i szkolnictwo wyższe', pp. 396-397; Luczkak, *Polska i Polacy*, p. 650.

⁶⁸⁵ Mauersberg, 'Nauka i szkolnictwo wyższe', pp. 396-411.

⁶⁸⁶ Bohdan Hejduk and Jakub Rostowski (ed.), 'The Report of the Congress of the Polish and Czechoslovak Doctors in Edinburgh, 11-12 September 1941', *Lekarz Wojskowy*, 34.3 (1942), pp. 95-

wartime issue of this Polish military-medical journal had previously announced that they were 'ready to serve the common purpose of the Polish-Tchechoslovakian [sic!] friendly collaboration in the domain of medicine'⁶⁸⁷ The Congress inspired the creation of a joint Polish-Czechoslovak committee which was working on a post-war reform of medical studies. The observation of British teaching methods perhaps influenced the Polish postulate to put more emphasis on the practical side of medical education.⁶⁸⁸

The existence of the PSM attracted Czechoslovak medical students who were unable or unwilling to gain access to British universities. Pauline Osusky, daughter of a Czechoslovak minister, enquired about the possibility of resuming her pre-war medical studies at the PSM even before its formal inauguration.⁶⁸⁹ A few months later Professor Jurasz received a similar request from the Central Union of Czechoslovak Students on behalf of 27 final-year medics of that nationality who were at the time in Britain. The idea of admitting Czech students to the PSM was accepted by both Polish and Scottish Faculties and formal applications were received from several candidates in August 1941. One of the prospective students explained that, while many of his compatriots prioritised British universities, he preferred to collaborate with the Poles for ideological, political and national reasons. However, only one candidate actually appeared in Edinburgh at the beginning of the academic year 1941/1942. Walter Politzer, a Czech citizen of Jewish religion who studied medicine before the war at the University of Vienna, the Masaryk University of Brno, and the German University of Prague, signed his matriculation card, received a student ID and never showed up again at the PSM. A similar situation occurred with two more applications in 1943.⁶⁹⁰ Polish records suggest that a negative attitude of Czechoslovak authorities could have been responsible for the ultimate withdrawal of

191. See also Anon., 'Poles and Czechs. Doctors of Two Nations to Collaborate', *The Scotsman*, 13 Sept 1941, p. 6; Anon., 'Medical News', *BMJ*, 27 Sept 1941, p. 464.

⁶⁸⁷ Anon., 'Editorial', *Lekarz Wojskowy*, 34.1 (July 1941), p. 3.

⁶⁸⁸ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 22 Jan 1942.

⁶⁸⁹ EUA, GD46/Box 5: Letter from Pauline Osusky to Prof. Jurasz, 6 Feb 1941.

⁶⁹⁰ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 15 Aug 1941, 17 July 1941, 9 Dec 1942 and 18 Mar 1943, EUA, GD46/Box 9: Tadeusz Fabiański's chronicle of the PSM, 1945, Vol. 4b; EUA, IN14/7 Student records schedule of Walter Politzer.

those candidates.⁶⁹¹ A reluctance to endorse studies at the PSM might have been related to the fact that the Czech Department of Education in London obtained separate arrangements for the admission of their medical students to various English and Welsh universities. Paul Weindling has identified 44 refugees who graduated with a Czechoslovak degree of Doctor of Medicine from the University of Oxford.⁶⁹² Walter Politzer and two other students who applied to the PSM in 1941 appear in the Foreign List of the British Medical Register as holders of ‘MD Czechoslovakia’ degrees from 1942 and 1943.⁶⁹³

The ups and downs of Polish-Czechoslovak medical cooperation should be seen in the broader context of a failed federal project. A post-war union of the two states was proposed by the Polish government-in-exile in 1940, and serious negotiations were held until 1943. The Czechoslovak side eventually rejected the scheme in favour of a defence alliance with the USSR which vigorously opposed the idea of an independent bloc in post-war Eastern Europe.⁶⁹⁴ Piotr Wandycz suggests that the federal enthusiasm of some officials trickled down to the respective refugee communities during the war year.⁶⁹⁵ There is no evidence of a direct governmental inspiration for Polish-Czechoslovak cooperation at the PSM, but Professor Koskowski, who suggested the organisation of the medical congress in Edinburgh, was involved in émigré political circles as the President of the Polish Red Cross in London. At any rate, Polish-Czechoslovak cooperation in the field of medicine predated the First World War. At the first meeting of the Polish Military Medical

⁶⁹¹ PISM, A.19. II/46: Correspondence on Czechoslovak students at the PSM, July 1942; EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 9 Sept 1942.

⁶⁹² Weindling, ‘Medical Refugees and British Medicine’, p. 56; idem, ‘Medical Refugees from Czechoslovakia’, pp. 391.

⁶⁹³ See Walter Matthew Politzer, Karel Zdenek Novak and Alfred Kozdon in the Foreign List of *The Medical Register for 1944*, London: General Medical Council, 1944.

⁶⁹⁴ For more details on these federal projects, see Piotr S. Wandycz, *Czechoslovak-Polish Confederation and the Great Powers, 1940-1943*, Indiana University Publications, 1956; Vojtech Mastny, ‘The Czechoslovak Government-in-Exile During World War II’, *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 27.4 (1979), pp. 548-563; Thomas Lane, ‘Integrating East Central Europe: The Polish-Czechoslovak Plans and the Opposition of the Great Powers, 1939-1945’, *Central and Eastern European Review*, 1 (2007), retrieved on 11 May 2012 from: <http://spaces.brad.ac.uk:8080/download/attachments/716/Lane0407.pdf?version=1&modificationDate=1178284164000>.

⁶⁹⁵ Wandycz, *Czechoslovak-Polish Confederation*, pp. 110-113.

Society in June 1941, Dr Bohdan Hajduk of the Czechoslovak Army reminded his Polish colleagues about Czech scholars who flocked to the medical faculty in Lwów when both Bohemia and Galicia were still part of the Austrian Empire.⁶⁹⁶ Professor Koskowski pointed out in his closing address at the medical congress in Edinburgh that academics from both countries called for a normalisation of diplomatic relations between Poland and Czechoslovakia, which were extremely tense in the interwar period due to the border conflict over Teschen.⁶⁹⁷

Polish-Yugoslav relations at the PSM

Pan-Slavic sentiments were strong among some medical refugees at the PSM. Professor Jurasz, for instance, was an honorary member of the Czechoslovak Society of Surgeons, a deputy president of the Polish-Yugoslav Society, and a proponent of a Pan-Slavic medical association.⁶⁹⁸ Both his public utterances and private correspondence suggest that Jurasz believed that common struggle against Germanic enemies in the Second World War would usher a new era of Slavic cooperation and predominance in Europe.⁶⁹⁹ A desire to promote Pan-Slavic solidarity can also be seen in the PSM's contacts with Yugoslav refugees in Britain. The Ambassador of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia paid an unofficial visit to the PSM on 5 February 1942.⁷⁰⁰ Applications from two Yugoslav citizens to the first year of studies at the PSM were discussed in early 1945 at the behest of the Polish Students' Association in Britain.⁷⁰¹ Their admission was accepted by the University of Edinburgh but they never arrived at the PSM. Wiktor Tomaszewski recalls that the Yugoslav duo had to

⁶⁹⁶ Bohdan Hejduk, quoted in Anon., 'Sprawozdanie z pierwszego posiedzenia Towarzystwa Naukowego Lekarzy Wojska Polskiego w Zjednoczonym Królestwie W. Brytanii (Dnia 19. Vi. 41)', *Lekarz Wojskowy*, 34.1 (1941), p. 22.

⁶⁹⁷ Włodzimierz Koskowski's speech, 12 Sept 1941, quoted in *Lekarz Wojskowy*, 34.3 (1942), pp. 189-190.

⁶⁹⁸ WBIS: Antoni Tomasz Jurasz.

⁶⁹⁹ For some examples, see Anotni Jurasz's speech, 11 Sept 1941, quoted in *Lekarz Wojskowy*, 34.3 (1942), p. 97; Antoni Jurasz's letter to his family in Poland, 12 June 1961, quoted in Magowska, 'Listy Jurasza', p. 163.

⁷⁰⁰ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 5 Feb 1941.

⁷⁰¹ Ibid.: 15 Jan 1945, 27 Jan 1945 and 1 Mar 1945; PISM, A.19. II/26: Polish Foreign Ministry's positive opinion about Darko Lazarevitz, 19 Feb 1945.

withdraw because they could not secure stipends to cover matriculation fees and other expenses.⁷⁰²

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated that the history of the PSM cannot fully be understood without the broader context of the Polish wartime diaspora in Britain and beyond. The significance of the Polish medical faculty in Edinburgh can be properly assessed only in close comparison with other similar institutions. The PSM was above all a pioneering venture which established a pattern of Polish-British collaboration that was later adopted by all the other Polish academic schools in Britain, except the Board of Academic Technical Schools in London. The PSM maintained a high academic standard throughout its eight years of existence. Unlike the ‘University Camp’ in Winterthur or the Polish School of Architecture in Liverpool, the PSM had the right to conduct examinations and confer degrees from the very beginning. Compared to their colleagues in Lebanon and Italy, Polish medical refugees in Edinburgh could, at least partially, study in their native language and in accordance with pre-war Polish university traditions. The PSM was comparatively more successful than the majority of similar institutions in terms of international recognition of diplomas, scientific publications, library collections, and number of female graduates.

This chapter also demonstrated that the concept of migrant networks can be useful in analysing the structural parallels, institutional connections and personal contacts between the PSM and other wartime and immediately post-war medical, academic, and professional associations of Polish émigrés. It seems that active involvement in the abovementioned networks allowed medical refugees at the PSM to maintain, and exploit for their own benefit, the triadic relationship between the Polish homeland, British host society and global diaspora. By actively participating in various Polish initiatives in Britain, they could promote the long-distance nationalist project of preserving Polish medical science and learning, while membership of Polish professional associations facilitated their post-war settlement

⁷⁰² Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, p. 200.

and social integration. The Polish Medical Association, for instance, served as a liaison between Polish refugee physicians and British medical institutions, such as the BMA or the General Medical Council.

This chapter, finally, discussed the PSM's relations with other refugee communities in Britain, especially the Czechoslovaks and Yugoslavs. Linguistic and cultural affinity rather than alliance against Nazi Germany was a factor that promoted collaboration between medical practitioners and students from different Slavic nations, as evidenced by the lack of closer dealings with Norwegian, French, Dutch or Belgian exiles. Polish-Czechoslovak contacts at the PSM emanated as much from the short-lived enthusiasm for a post-war federation as from pre-war traditions and Pan-Slavic sentiments of leading figures, such as Professor Jurasz. However, idiosyncratic sympathies of Polish medical refugees were not enough to overcome political and material obstacles that eventually prevented the PSM from opening its doors to refugee students from fraternal nations. Despite the ultimate fruitlessness of all the wartime schemes of Pan-Slavic collaboration in Britain, the case study of the PSM suggests that it is worthwhile to add a fourth dimension to the triadic relationship of diaspora, homeland and host society. The experiences of Polish refugees in wartime Britain should not be analysed in isolation from the analogous, even if not exactly comparable, fates of other European exiles.

Chapter 5: The Legacy of the PSM

Introduction

The experiences of medical refugees at the PSM should be analysed as a part of the broader phenomenon of Polish wartime diaspora and within the context of the forced migration of intellectuals in the mid-twentieth century. Mitchell Ash and Alfons Söllner point out that traditional research on academic refugees in the 1930s and 1940s has mostly been shaped by a ‘discourse of loss and gain’. In accordance with this paradigm, scholars weigh the émigrés’ contribution to American and British culture and science against the assessed losses of intellectual capital in Central and Eastern Europe.⁷⁰³ For instance, Antonín Kostlán and Soňa Štrbáňová, who have analysed the case of academic fugitives from Czechoslovakia, conclude that the more positive consequences of exile, such as the global dissemination, circulation and cross-fertilization of ideas, have barely outweighed the disastrous loss inflicted upon Central Europe by the emigration of its finest scholars.⁷⁰⁴

Ash and Söllner claim, however, that such a discourse presupposes a static view of science and culture and ignores the fact that forced migration made possible some careers that otherwise might not have happened in the more restrictive and less innovative university systems in the émigrés’ homelands. They suggest, therefore, that we replace the ‘discourse of loss and gain’ with a broader perspective on the global circulation of scholars in the twentieth century and the resulting multinationalisation of knowledge. They also argue that traditional studies, which almost exclusively focus on the contributions of the outstanding and atypical émigrés, should be supplemented with broader research on the careers and achievements of the less prominent scholars.⁷⁰⁵ Mitchell Ash is aware that this proposed approach to the study of intellectual migration might also have some potential drawbacks. He cautions, for instance, that the transfer of elites and scientific change does not always happen automatically as a result of forced migration. After all, not every German-speaking Jewish refugee from Central Europe was able to continue scientific work

⁷⁰³ Ash and Söllner, *Forced Migration and Scientific Change*, pp. 1-19.

⁷⁰⁴ Kostlán and Štrbáňová, ‘Czech Scholars in Exile’, p. 254.

⁷⁰⁵ Ash and Söllner, *Forced Migration and Scientific Change*, pp. 1-19.

after 1933. The refugees' contributions to scientific change were facilitated, or obstructed, by different institutional, social and economic factors that were present, or absent, in the host societies, such as Britain or the USA.⁷⁰⁶

Paul Weindling's 'total population' approach offers a remedy to the methodological drawbacks of the previous two analytical perspectives. Based on a database of more than 5,250 medical refugees who arrived in Britain between the 1930s and the 1950s, Weindling's studies reveal a broad spectrum of individual responses to the predicament of exile, ranging from successful elites who managed to achieve outstanding professional success in their adopted homeland to tragic stories of individuals who failed to find a meaningful place in the new society, and sometimes even committed suicide.⁷⁰⁷ A 'total population' approach to medical refugees at the same time deepens our understanding of what Colin Holmes calls the 'complexity of responses' towards aliens in wartime Britain. Holmes argues that 'attitudes towards minorities are at all times full of ambiguity and ambivalence: hostility and toleration, antipathy and sympathy, whichever terms are used, were capable of co-existing simultaneously'.⁷⁰⁸

The significance of the PSM for the post-war professional and academic careers of Polish medical refugees will be analysed within the broader theoretical debate on forced migration of scholars in the twentieth century. Firstly, one will test the validity of applying the traditional discourse of 'loss and gain' to the legacy of the PSM. Secondly, post-war professional careers and scientific contributions of the PSM's graduates and former members of the teaching staff will be scrutinised within the paradigm of a 'global circulation of scholars'. Thirdly, a 'total population' approach will be used to integrate varying experiences of Polish medical refugees in the post-war period. The application of three different analytical perspectives will allow one to evaluate the legacy of the PSM in a comprehensive and multi-faceted way.

⁷⁰⁶ Mitchell G. Ash, 'Forced Migration and Scientific Change After 1933: Steps Towards a New Overview', in Edward Timms and Jon Hughes (eds), *Intellectual Migration and Cultural Transformation: Refugees from National Socialism in the English Speaking World*, Springer-Verlag: Vienna, 2003, p. 248.

⁷⁰⁷ Weindling, 'Medical Refugees and the Modernisation', pp. 489-511; idem, 'Total Population Approach to Psychiatric Refugees', pp. 6-8; idem, 'A Case Study of Oxford', pp. 86-114.

⁷⁰⁸ Holmes, 'British Government Policy', p. 26.

Discourse of loss and gain

The traditional discourse of ‘loss and gain’ would seem to be particularly applicable to the case study of the PSM. Only 53 (or 13%) medical refugees at the PSM came back to post-war Poland, while almost 90% of them remained in exile in Britain or emigrated further to other countries of settlement. Their unwillingness to repatriate was a loss for a country where 45% of physicians were killed or died during the Second World War.⁷⁰⁹ Three lecturers (Wacław Stocki, Edmund Mystkowski and Bernard Czemplik), one senior assistant (Tadeusz Boguliński), one graduate (Wojciech Jedlina-Jakobson), and five students (Irena Schwarzbart, Stefan Ember, Zygmunt Wępa, Zbigniew Bartel and Mieczysław Bilik), who died in exile during or immediately after the war, can also be seen as war-induced losses to Polish medicine. These information and the statistics provided below with regard to the post-war settlement of medical refugees from the PSM were collected from various primary and secondary sources which are all listed in the Bibliography (see also Table 18 in the Appendix).

Lost opportunities in post-war Poland

Not all of the returnees were able to fully contribute to the post-war reconstruction of Polish medical education and the healthcare system. At least four PSM graduates and two non-completing students were reportedly subjected to some form of political persecution and discrimination in Poland. Stanisław Bartosiewicz and Władysław Olesiński, apparently seen as ideologically suspect by the Communist authorities, were harassed by state apparatus and forcibly transferred to second-rate health centres in provincial towns and villages.⁷¹⁰ Władysław Gałęcki, a veteran of the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, was declined a military pension and did not receive invalid status even though wartime experiences had impaired his health.⁷¹¹ Alicja Bober-Michałowska and Adam Michałowski returned to Poland in 1947 with the

⁷⁰⁹ Leon Dmochowski, ‘Losses of Polish Medicine’, *BMJ*, 22 Dec 1945, p. 896; Leslie, *The History of Poland*, p. 216; Richard C. Lukas, *The Forgotten Holocaust: The Poles under German Occupation, 1939-1944*, 4th ed., New York: Hippocrene Books, 2010, p. 9.

⁷¹⁰ Gąsiorowski, *Story of graduates*, p. 175; Maria Kolesiewicz, ‘Puławscy lekarze ubiegłego wieku’, *Moje Miasto to Puławy*, 3 Apr 2010, retrieved on 12 May 2014 from: <http://www.mmpulawy.pl/artykul/pulawscy-lekarze-ubieglego-wieku>.

⁷¹¹ Gąsiorowski, *Story of graduates*, p. 115-116.

intention of completing their medical education. However, Adam was not allowed to resume his studies in Cracow, allegedly because he declined membership in the local branch of the Communist-dominated Union of Polish Youth (*Związek Młodzieży Polskiej*). He also refused to publicly condemn the living conditions of the working class in Britain. He grudgingly decided to train as a feldsher and was only allowed to work in village healthcare centres. Alicja could not find gainful employment for many years, until a brother-in-law arranged for her a job as a librarian in a provincial town in south-eastern Poland. She eventually obtained a university degree in Polish philology from the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin in 1968.⁷¹²

The fate of Professor Jurasz and the failed transfer of the Paderewski Hospital are probably the best illustrations of losses suffered by Polish medicine as a result of post-war political developments. Professor Jurasz, acting as a representative of the American Fund which owned the equipment of the Paderewski Hospital, visited Poland twice in 1946 and 1947 to discuss the move of the hospital's staff and equipment from Scotland to Upper Silesia. Jurasz negotiated with the organising committee of the Silesian Medical Academy, provincial authorities from Upper Silesia and the Minister of Health in Warsaw.⁷¹³ He proposed an ambitious scheme to set up a so-called Paderewski Institute, which would combine an American-funded hospital with a post-graduate teaching centre and modern laboratory facilities.⁷¹⁴

All the necessary preparations to transfer the hospital were made in early 1947 when the Paderewski Hospital was closed down, the equipment packed into 1,200 boxes and moved to storage in Newcastle.⁷¹⁵ The negotiations meanwhile stalled over the issues of financing and supervision. The Paderewski Testimonial Fund insisted that an American specialist would have to be the superintendent of the proposed medical centre in Upper Silesia.⁷¹⁶ The Polish Communist authorities were, however, interested only in the hospital's modern equipment, and were reluctant to

⁷¹² Bober-Michałowska, *W gościnnym Albionie*, pp. 249-251.

⁷¹³ AAN, Sygn. 644, 50: Correspondence on Prof. Jurasz's visit to Poland, Mar-June 1947. See also Teleszyński, 'Polski Wydział Lekarski', pp. 61-62.

⁷¹⁴ Antoni Jurasz's letter to his family in Poland, 31 July 1958, quoted in Magowska, 'Listy Jurasza', pp. 159-162; Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, p. 220.

⁷¹⁵ Magowska, 'Doctor Facing Turbulent Times', p. 2170.

⁷¹⁶ Antoni Jurasz's letter to his family in Poland, 31 July 1958, quoted in Magowska, 'Listy Jurasza', p. 160.

implement Jurasz's more ambitious schemes that called for American involvement.⁷¹⁷ After his unsuccessful second visit to Poland in late 1947, Jurasz travelled to the USA and informed the Paderewski Testimonial Fund's Board of Directors in New York that no preparations had been made in Upper Silesia for the reception of the Paderewski Institute. The Americans then decided that the hospital would not be transferred to Poland but would rather serve for the benefit of Polish refugees. However, Professor Jurasz's relentless efforts to find a new home for the Paderewski Hospital in different locations, such as the USA, Canada, Costa Rica and Puerto Rico, proved futile. The medical equipment which was stored in boxes for several months was perceived to be outdated and useless, and the American Fund eventually sold it off to an international trading company.⁷¹⁸

Antoni Jurasz was in the meantime dismissed from the chair of surgery at the re-established University of Poznań. Before the war Jurasz left a promising academic career in Germany to organise the surgical clinic of this institution, and even purchased some of its equipment out of his own pocket. His creative energy, administrative skills and trans-cultural competency could have been used in the post-war reconstruction of Polish universities and healthcare services. Alas, Jurasz was, in his own words, 'kicked out like a dog' from the University of Poznań.⁷¹⁹ Officially, the Faculty Council in Poznań dismissed him because he travelled to the USA without authorised leave of absence.⁷²⁰ Jurasz's private papers reveal that he blamed the manipulations of a certain pro-Communist professor in Poznań for his dismissal.⁷²¹ To add insult to injury, Jurasz's role in the failed transfer of the Paderewski Hospital was misinterpreted in the Polish press. An article published in 1948 in the influential weekly *Przekrój* accused Jurasz of misappropriating the

⁷¹⁷ Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, p. 220.

⁷¹⁸ Antoni Jurasz's letter to his family in Poland, 31 July 1958, quoted in Magowska, 'Listy Jurasza', p. 159-162; Wojcik, 'Time in Context', pp. 74-75; Magowska, 'Doctor Facing Turbulent Times', p. 2170. See also Sir George Waters, 'The Paderewski Hospital', *The Scotsman*, 15 Feb 1950, p. 6.

⁷¹⁹ Antoni Jurasz's letter to his family in Poland, 12 June 1961, quoted in Magowska, 'Listy Jurasza', p. 163.

⁷²⁰ WBIS: Antoni Tomasz Jurasz.

⁷²¹ EUA, GD46/Box 9: Unfinished memoirs of Antoni Jurasz, 1960. See also Antoni Jurasz's letter to his family in Poland, 12 June 1961, quoted in Magowska, 'Listy Jurasza', p. 163.

equipment of the hospital and acting to the benefit of foreign countries.⁷²² Embittered and disillusioned with post-war Poland, Jurasz emigrated to the USA and applied for American citizenship. A letter which was smuggled to his family in Poland demonstrates that Jurasz refused to even temporarily visit the homeland as long as it was occupied by Communists.⁷²³ He died of a heart attack in 1961 at the age of 79 but his ashes were brought back to Poland in 1977, and were buried in a family crypt at the Citadel Cemetery in Poznań.⁷²⁴

Post-war Poland's loss of Professor Jurasz and the Paderewski Hospital should be understood in the context of the ensuing Cold War. The Communists treated with suspicion anyone who returned from the West, especially if they could be accused of real or alleged dealings with the rival Polish government in London. Jurasz's ideologically suspect status could have been exacerbated by his links to the Paderewski Testimonial Fund which was supported by members of the American political and financial elite.⁷²⁵ Wiktor Tomaszewski speculates in his memoirs that Jurasz's optimistic (or actually fantastic) plans of a Polish-American medical centre in Upper Silesia failed because the new Polish authorities were not at all interested in any schemes that would allow for Western influence in post-war Poland.⁷²⁶ The refusal to deal with the Paderewski Testimonial Fund could perhaps be seen as analogous to the Communist block's rejection of the so-called Marshall Plan. The specific conditions of American aid were perceived as an encroachment into the Soviet sphere of influence in Eastern Europe.⁷²⁷ At any rate, the possibility of cooperation between the Paderewski Testimonial Fund and the Communist authorities in Poland disappeared when Arthur Bliss Lane replaced Mrs Charlotte Kellogg as the chairman of the Fund's Board of Directors in 1948. Bliss Lane, the former US ambassador in Poland, had previously resigned from his office in protest

⁷²² Mieczysław Wionczek, 'Historia haniebna', *Przekrój*, 180 (19-25 Sept 1948), p. 5.

⁷²³ Antoni Jurasz's letter to his family in Poland, 12 June 1961, quoted in Magowska, 'Listy Jurasza', p. 163.

⁷²⁴ WBIS: Antoni Tomasz Jurasz.

⁷²⁵ Anon., 'Hospital Named for Paderewski', *New York Times*, 11 June 1941, p. 22.

⁷²⁶ Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, p. 220.

⁷²⁷ Charles S. Meier, 'The Marshall Plan and the Division of Europe', *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 7.1 (2005), pp. 168-174.

against the fraudulent parliamentary elections in 1947.⁷²⁸ After his return to the USA, Bliss Lane became an anti-Communist crusader who opposed any financial dealings with the regime in Warsaw.⁷²⁹

The role of the political climate of the early Cold War should not be overestimated, as it seems that personal idiosyncrasies might have played a role in the case of Professor Jurasz and the Paderewski Hospital. Zdzisław Teleszyński, who worked as an assistant at the Polish hospital in Edinburgh and was actively interested in its transfer to Poland, recalls that it was rumoured at the time that some personal affairs of Professor Jurasz were responsible for the failure of the project.⁷³⁰ Jurasz's correspondence with his family reveals, in turn, that he blamed professional jealousy and competition for the mistreatment he had received in Poland. In one of these letters, Jurasz accuses the Communist authorities of deliberately sabotaging the financial plans of the envisioned Paderewski Institute. He speculates that this was probably done in order to take away in advance his possibility of success.⁷³¹

Contribution to medicine in post-war Britain

As a result of post-war developments, Polish universities and healthcare services could not fully capitalise on the achievements of the PSM. If the People's Republic of Poland was the 'loser', then it could be argued that Britain and British medicine 'gained' from the influx of Polish medical refugees. Around 47% (or 190 people) settled down in Britain after the closing of the PSM. The recognition of PSM diplomas in Britain coincided with the establishment of the NHS in 1948. The newly introduced socialised medicine created new opportunities of employment, especially for GPs and hospital specialists. Young Polish doctors who were trained at the PSM helped to fill the gaps in the NHS, which in the early years suffered from a shortage of qualified staff.⁷³²

⁷²⁸ Arthur Bliss Lane, *I Saw Poland Betrayed: An American Ambassador Reports to the American People*, Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1948, p. 7.

⁷²⁹ John N. Cable, 'Arthur Bliss Lane: Cold Warrior in Warsaw, 1945-47', *Polish American Studies*, 30.2 (1973), pp. 66-82.

⁷³⁰ Teleszyński, 'Polski Wydział Lekarski', pp. 60-61.

⁷³¹ Antoni Jurasz's letter to his family in Poland, 12 June 1961, quoted in Magowska, 'Listy Jurasza', p. 163.

⁷³² Anon., 'Edinburgh's Polish School', *BMJ*, 28 May 1966, p. 1316.

Jakub Gąsiorowski points out in his study of the lives and careers of PSM graduates that they ‘were more fortunate than the majority of Polish soldiers and refugees as the medical diploma offered them a much better opportunity to find suitable employment and social position’.⁷³³ Gąsiorowski estimates that around 60% of PSM graduates who settled in Britain became GPs. Most of them joined existing practices as assistants or junior partners after shorter or longer spells of clinical practice. Gąsiorowski argues that, in the early years of the NHS, young Polish physicians who had just begun their professional careers were in worse starting positions than their British colleagues.⁷³⁴ However, their situation would usually change after obtaining a first job ‘because the good work was appreciated by the authorities and good testimonials and recommendations made future job seeking much easier’.⁷³⁵ Polish refugees could take over as principal GPs when vacancies occurred, and some managed to set up their own practices.

The degree of professional success of Polish GPs in Britain could be measured by the size of their practice (i.e. number of partners and patients) and the tokens of appreciation which they received from the local community. For instance, Adam Jarosz, a survivor of Soviet labour camps, developed the largest medical practice in Bradford. He had three partners, two assistants and around 12,000 registered patients. After his retirement in 1986, the Polish doctor was honoured with an official dinner reception by the city of Bradford.⁷³⁶ The Parish Council of Claverley, a village in east Shropshire, participated in the retirement presentation of Ferdynand Solich.⁷³⁷ The Polish doctor’s medical skills and sense of humour have even been remembered in the reminiscences of the local milkman.⁷³⁸

⁷³³ Gąsiorowski, *Story of graduates*, p. 69.

⁷³⁴ Idem, ‘Graduates of the Polish Faculty of Medicine in Edinburgh – the pioneers of family medicine in the United Kingdom’, *Problemy Medycyny Rodzinnej*, 14.3 (2012), pp. 74-78.

⁷³⁵ Idem, *Story of graduates*, p. 77

⁷³⁶ Ibid., p. 132.

⁷³⁷ Claverley Parish Council, *Minutes of the Parish Council meeting held in the Village Hall on Monday, 16th April 2012 at 7.30 p.m.*, Paragraph 53/12, retrieved on 22 May 2014 from:

http://www.claverley.net/assets/applets/Parish_council_Minutes_April_2012.pdf.

⁷³⁸ Black Country Bugle User, ‘People, places and friendly faces - on the round with Stan the Claverley milkman’, *Black Country Bugle*, 18 Mar 2004, retrieved on 22 May 2014 from:

<http://www.blackcountrybugle.co.uk/People-places-friendly-faces-round-Stan-Claverley-milkman/story-20120071-detail/story.html#tuElhsAm3DudDXEf.99>.

A smaller group of Polish medical refugees obtained specialisations and pursued professional careers in British (mostly NHS-run) hospitals. At least a dozen graduates and former students of the PSM achieved the coveted rank of consultant, mostly in obstetrics and gynaecology and various surgical specialties. Jadwiga Karnicki (née Mickiewicz) was arguably one of the most successful Polish doctors in post-war Britain. Admitted as a final-year student of the pre-war Joseph Piłsudski University in Warsaw, she was in the first batch of graduates who received their diplomas at the PSM in December 1941. She passed specialisation exams of the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists in 1945, and three years later, at the age of 31, joined the nascent NHS in the rank of consultant at Lewisham Hospital in London. The Polish doctor made this institution world-famous in November 1963, when she was the first in Europe to perform an intrauterine transfusion to an unborn foetus with Rhesus isoimmunisation. Dr Karnicki's meteoric rise through the hospital ranks was, however, rather atypical for Polish medical refugees in Britain. Apart from the PSM diploma, she also obtained an MB, ChB degree from St. Andrews University. It was a *cum laude* mark in obstetrics and gynaecology from the Scottish medical school that allowed her to secure clinical internships in top women's hospitals in London.⁷³⁹

Other medical refugees from the PSM, mostly former members of the senior teaching staff, pursued professional careers at British universities and research institutes. Polish scientists often managed to continue wartime collaboration with their British colleagues. Bronisław and Helena Śliżyńscy, who conducted the teaching of biology and genetics at the PSM, carried on their work at the University of Edinburgh's Institute of Animal Genetics for the next 20 years.⁷⁴⁰ Jerzy Dekański continued experimental research at the Department of Pharmacology in Edinburgh.⁷⁴¹ He also worked in the Research Department of Bristol Mental Hospitals and was the Head of Pharmacology at Organon Laboratories, a

⁷³⁹ MRC: Jadwiga Karnicki née Mickiewicz file. See also Imperial War Museum, London, Catalogue No. 16486: Interview with Jadwiga Karnicki, 20 Feb 1996, sound recording available from: <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80015957>.

⁷⁴⁰ SPSL, MS 205/6: Bronislaw Slizynski file, 1939. See also Nowak, *Udział krakowskich lekarzy*, pp. 27-30. 41.

⁷⁴¹ Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, p. 42.

pharmaceutical company based in Lanarkshire. As a result of his research on hormones, histamine and the synthesis of drugs, Dr Dekański published more than 20 scientific papers in English-language journals.⁷⁴² Czesław Rayski obtained a doctorate from the University of Edinburgh in 1945 after submitting a dissertation on the larval stages of certain parasites present in Scottish pastures.⁷⁴³ Rayski later received a British Council scholarship to study parasites as vectors of tapeworm in sheep, and as an expert in his field, was appointed lecturer in parasitology at the Department of Zoology in Edinburgh.⁷⁴⁴

Other Polish refugee academics, such as Jerzy Fegler and Tadeusz Mann, continued their scientific careers outside Scotland. Professor Fegler moved to the Agricultural Research Council's Institute of Animal Physiology in Babraham, near Cambridge, in 1950, together with his wartime colleagues, Dr Hebb and Professor Ivan de Burgh Daly. As the Principal Scientific Officer at the Institute, Fegler conducted independent research on respiratory and cardiovascular physiology. He developed a new thermodilution method for the simultaneous measurement of blood flow in various parts of the body. Fegler's method was later used by other British laboratories as an aid in clinical investigation.⁷⁴⁵ Tadeusz and Cecylia Mann remained in Cambridge after the war, where Tadeusz worked as Director of the Agricultural Research Council's Unit of Reproductive Physiology and Biochemistry, and was later appointed the Marshall-Walton Professor of the Physiology of Reproduction at the University of Cambridge. On behalf of the Agricultural Research Council, Mann worked on spermatozoa and semen. He became a leading authority on the biochemistry of semen and male reproductive functions, and published over 250 scientific papers and several monographs.⁷⁴⁶ Graduates and former students of

⁷⁴² Józef Hornowski, 'Niecodzienny jubileusz', *Gazeta Lekarska*, 11 (1997), retrieved on 19 Ar 2012 from: <http://www.oil.org.pl/xml/nil/gazeta/numery/n1997/n199711/n19971122>.

⁷⁴³ EUA, Special Collections, Theses Section: Czesław Rayski's PhD thesis, 1945. See also Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, p. 28.

⁷⁴⁴ Gebertt, 'Groby lekarzy polskich', p.403.

⁷⁴⁵ MRC: Jerzy (George) Fegler file. See also obituaries written by Professor Fegler's colleagues, Ivan de Burgh Daly, 'George Fegler: Cardiovascular Physiology', *The Times*, 15 Oct 1958, p. 15; Anon., 'George Fegler, M.D.', *BMJ*, 18 Oct 1958, p. 981; Catherine O. Hebb, 'Prof. George Fegler', *Nature*, 25 Oct 1958, pp. 1128-1129.

⁷⁴⁶ WBIS: Tadeusz Robert Rudolf Mann; BSC: Thaddeus Mann in Conversation with Robin Harrison, 24 Oct 1989. See also Chris Polge, 'Obituary: Professor Thaddeus Mann', *The Independent*, 9 Dec

the PSM also pursued academic careers in post-war Britain but Henryk Urich was the only alumnus who achieved a professorship in this country. Urich specialised in neuropathology at hospitals in Bristol and London, and was appointed professor of neuropathology at the London Medical College in 1968. He (co)authored 112 scientific articles and 11 textbook chapters. His most important work was *Cancer and the Nervous System* published in 1982.⁷⁴⁷ Urich's outstanding professional achievement in post-war Britain might have been a logical consequence of his above average record at the PSM. Professor Davidson declared at a Polish-Scottish Faculty meeting in March 1943 that, in his whole fifteen-year long career as an examiner in medicine, it was Henryk Urich who attained the best ever result in the final exam in this subject.⁷⁴⁸ Urich later admitted that Davidson 'laid the foundation of all [his] subsequent career' by allowing him to work as a Resident House Physician at the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh.⁷⁴⁹

The majority of Polish medical refugees in Britain settled down in the industrialised Midlands, a region with a large demand for doctors in the post-war period. London was another popular destination as it had a huge population and a thriving Polish diaspora. Other refugee practitioners settled down in different parts of England, Wales and Scotland.⁷⁵⁰ Relatively few remained in Edinburgh after the closing of the PSM. Wiktor Tomaszewski established a practice at Wilton Road. He became a well-known figure among the local Polish community and was highly respected by Scottish patients as a competent and devoted physician.⁷⁵¹ Kazimierz Durkacz was the last surviving graduate of the PSM resident in Edinburgh, until his death in July 2014. He established a successful and popular dental practice. Błażej Marczak, a Polish photographer working in Edinburgh, recalls an interesting episode about Dr Durkacz from 2012:

1993, retrieved on 12 May 2014 from: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/obituary-professor-thaddeus-mann-1466305.html>.

⁷⁴⁷ MRC: Henryk Urich file. See also Gąsiorowski, *Story of graduates*, pp. 205-206.

⁷⁴⁸ EUA, GD46/Box 9: Tadeusz Fabiański's chronicle of the PSM, 1945, Vol. 1, p. 11.

⁷⁴⁹ Henryk Urich's speech on 5 June 1966, quoted in Tomaszewski, *University of Edinburgh and Poland*, p. 82.

⁷⁵⁰ Gąsiorowski, 'Graduates of the Polish Faculty', p. 75.

⁷⁵¹ Stanisław Gebertt, 'Dr Wiktor Tomaszewski (1907-1995)', *AHiFM*, 58.3 (1995), pp. 221-223.

One day when I was helping [Dr Durkacz] with shopping, a Scottish lady (born to Ukrainian father) recognized him and said: ‘I remember this gentleman; he was the best dentist in Edinburgh’.⁷⁵²

The abovementioned examples illustrate the range of ways in which Britain ‘gained’ on the post-war settlement of medical refugees from the PSM.

At the same time, the application of a dichotomous discourse of Polish ‘loss’ and British ‘gain’ to the careers of Polish medical refugees overlooks several significant aspects of their collective experience of forced migration. Escape or evacuation to Britain allowed them to survive the war and the PSM enabled them to continue their medical studies, didactic work or scientific research in more comfortable conditions than those endured by their colleagues involved in clandestine education in occupied Poland. Despite political persecution and harassment of some returnees, many of those who repatriated to Communist Poland were able to utilise their wartime experiences in the reconstruction of medical education and healthcare services. Medical refugees from the PSM participated in the restoration or organisation of almost every medical school in post-war Poland.

Contribution to medicine in post-war Poland

Professors Adam Straszyński and Leon Lakner returned to their pre-war departments at the University of Poznań. Straszyński pioneered the use of sulphonamides and penicillin in the treatment of skin diseases in Poland, and participated in Operation ‘W’ (*Akcja W*), a state-sponsored public health campaign aimed at combating venereal diseases, which were rampant in the post-war period. He published almost 60 scientific papers, mostly on syphilis and the history of dermatology and venereology, and supervised 20 doctoral and 4 habilitation (higher doctorate) dissertations.⁷⁵³ Lakner promoted dental health in post-war Poland, and supervised 11 doctoral theses in the field of dentistry.⁷⁵⁴ Professor Józef Dadlez, unable to return

⁷⁵² Photographic Museum of Humanity: Blazej Marczak, *Dr Kazimierz Durkacz*, 2012, available online at: <http://www.phmuseum.com/marczak/photo/70067>.

⁷⁵³ WBIS: Bolesław Antoni Skarzyński. See also A. Burda, ‘Wspomnienie pośmiertne o prof. Adamie Straszyńskim’, *Przegląd Dermatologiczny*, 61.1 (1974), pp. 1-7.

⁷⁵⁴ WSBI: Leon Maksymilian Lakner. See also Włodzimierz Witczak, ‘Lakner Leon’, *Gazeta Poznań* website, 19 July 2002, retrieved on 3 June 2014 from: <http://poznan.gazeta.pl/poznan/1,36048,941075.html#ixzz33ZezRxfc>.

to his pre-war *alma mater* in Lwów, which was then in Soviet Ukraine, also joined the University of Poznań. Several editions of his popular textbook on pharmacology and toxicology were published in post-war Poland.⁷⁵⁵

Professors Tadeusz Rogalski and Brunon Nowakowski returned to the restored Jagiellonian University. Senior lecturers (docents) Henryk Reiss and Bolesław Skarżyński also repatriated to Cracow and became professors in the post-war period. Skarżyński founded the Polish Biochemical Society and authored 54 scientific and popular publications on biochemistry and the history of medicine.⁷⁵⁶ Antoni Kępiński, a pre-war student of the Jagiellonian University and graduate of the PSM, returned to Cracow in 1947 and joined the local Department of Psychiatry. He was appointed a professor shortly before his death in 1972. Himself a veteran of Miranda de Ebro, Kępiński participated in a research programme on concentration camp survivors. The results of this famous project were regularly published between 1962 and 1972 in a special journal, *Przegląd Lekarski – Oświęcim* (Medical Review – Auschwitz). Kępiński was arguably the most prominent of the 21 graduates of the PSM who returned to post-war Poland. He was renowned as a pioneer of group psychotherapy and the founder of the ‘axiological psychiatry’ approach. He also popularised the theory of informational metabolism in Eastern Europe.⁷⁵⁷

In 1950, following the Soviet model of higher education, Polish medical and pharmaceutical faculties were detached from their maternal universities and turned into separate medical academies, under the supervision of the Ministry of Health.⁷⁵⁸ Tadeusz Rogalski, who had the experience of being the Dean of the PSM in the academic year 1945/1946, became the first Rector (Principal) of the newly-

⁷⁵⁵Anita Magowska, ‘Dadlez Józef’, in Janina Chodera, and Feliks Kiryk (eds), *Słownik biograficzny historii Polski, Tom 1 A-K*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 2005, p. 285.

⁷⁵⁶WBIS: Bolesław Antoni Skarżyński. See also Ostrowski, ‘Bolesław Skarżyński’, pp. 171-179; Jerzy Ryszard Milik, ‘W 20 rocznicę śmierci Bolesława Skarżyńskiego o jego zasługach w rozwoju historii medycyny w Polsce’, *Wiadomości Lekarskie*, 36.18 (1983), pp. 1561-1562.

⁷⁵⁷Ryn, ‘Mistrz Antoni Kępiński’, retrieved on 19 Apr 2012; Jacek Bomba, ‘Heritage of Antoni Kępiński’, *Archives of Psychiatry and Psychotherapy*, 1-2 (2007), pp. 69–72; Andrzej Kapusta, ‘Life circle, time and the self in Antoni Kępiński’s conception of information metabolism’, *Filosofija. Sociologija*, 18.1 (2007), pp. 46-51; Witold Lisowski, ‘Preskursorzy medycyny polskiej: Antoni Kępiński’, *Skalpel*, 18.1 (2009), pp. 23-28; Maciej Michalski, ‘Antoni Kępiński: Lęk – Teoria – Doświadczenie – Tekst’, *Ślupskie Prace Filologiczne: Seria Filologia Polska* 7, (2009), pp. 161-178.

⁷⁵⁸John Connelly, *Captive University: The Sovietization of East German, Czech, and Polish Higher Education, 1945-1956*, Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000, p. 60.

established Medical Academy in Cracow.⁷⁵⁹ Brunon Nowakowski, another former professor of the PSM, became the organiser and first Rector of the Silesian Medical Academy, which was located in the highly industrialised conurbation of Upper Silesia. He organised and supervised the Institute of Occupational Medicine in the Mining and Steel Industry, and carried out fieldwork on the endemic of goitre (thyroid swelling) in the Subcarpathian region. He authored around 120 publications, including 10 textbooks on hygiene and occupational medicine, and supervised 40 doctorates and habilitations.⁷⁶⁰

Józef Japa continued his wartime research on haematology at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow. He obtained a habilitation in 1947, based on a dissertation on the proliferation of blood cells in the spleen which he had already prepared during his work at the Institute of Animal Genetics in Edinburgh. Japa was subsequently appointed to the chair of medicine at the Silesian Medical Academy, and eventually became the Dean of its Faculty of Medicine. In the 1970s and 1980s, he served in the Scientific Council of the Institute of Haematology in Warsaw, and was a chairman of the Polish Society of Haematologists and Transfusiologists.⁷⁶¹ In a similar fashion, Włodzimierz Missiuro was appointed to the chair of physiology of work at the Medical Academy in Łódź, and later the chair of physiology at the Academy of Physical Education in Warsaw. He conducted research on the physiology of work, sport and physical education. He founded the Institute for Research in Physical Culture in Warsaw and was the chair of the Polish Society of Sport Medicine.⁷⁶²

⁷⁵⁹ WBIS: Tadeusz Teodor Rogalski. See also Franciszek Kłapkowski and Jan Kuś, 'Prof. Dr Tadeusz Rogalski', *Przegląd Lekarski*, 13.12 (1957), pp. 353-355; idem, 'Prof. dr Tadeusz Rogalski jako naukowiec i organizator (Wspomnienie pośmiertne)', *Folia Morphologica*, 9/17.2 (1958), pp. 165-169.

⁷⁶⁰ WBIS: Brunon Antoni Nowakowski; Centrum Dokumentacji Dziejów Medycyny i Farmacji Górnego Śląska online database (hereafter CDDMIF): Brunon Anotni Nowakowski, available at: <http://dokument.slam.katowice.pl/biogramy.asp#1>. See also Henryk Jakólecki and Zygmunt Stęplewski, 'Brunon Nowakowski - człowiek i jego dzieło', *Annales Academiae Medicae Silesiensis*, 18-19 (1989), pp. 225-232; Alfred Puzio, 'Brunon Nowakowski, wybitny przedstawiciel polskiej higieny i medycyny pracy, organizator i pierwszy rektor Śląskiej Akademii Medycznej', *AHiFM*, 51.3 (1988), pp. 359-72.

⁷⁶¹ WBIS: Józef Japa vel Jappa; CDDMIF: Józef Japa. See also Nowak, *Udział krakowskich lekarzy*, pp. 32-34.

⁷⁶² WBIS: Włodzimierz Jan Missiuro.

Tadeusz Sokołowski was appointed to the chair of surgery at the newly-founded Pomeranian Medical Academy in Szczecin (pre-war Stettin).⁷⁶³ He became a mentor of Polish traumatic surgeons and wrote almost 60 scientific publications.⁷⁶⁴ Henryk Kompf, former senior assistant at the PSM, also settled down in post-war Szczecin, and was a local pioneer of laryngological treatment in outpatient clinics.⁷⁶⁵ Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, the favourite lecturer of medical students at the PSM who called him 'the Master' (*Mistrz*),⁷⁶⁶ also returned to Poland and became a professor of otorhinolaryngology at the newly-established Medical Academy in Gdańsk (pre-war Danzig). He published 75 articles and conference papers, supervised 28 doctorates and 7 habilitations on diseases of the ear, nose and throat, and trained 4 future professors of otorhinolaryngology.⁷⁶⁷

While members of the PSM's teaching staff participated in the post-war reconstruction of Polish medical education and research, former students contributed more to the reorganisation and modernisation of Polish healthcare services. Bohdan Adamski settled in the Kuyavia-Pomerania region, modernised a district hospital in the small town of Łasin, and organised local healthcare centres.⁷⁶⁸ Ignacy Brejdygant left the PSM in 1947 and completed his medical studies at the University of Poznań in 1950. He obtained second-degree specialisation in phthisiatry and became the superintendent of a tubercular sanatorium in Sokołowsko, near Wałbrzych (pre-war Waldenburg).⁷⁶⁹

Polish medicine gained not only from the expertise and skills of returnees but also from material resources of the PSM and affiliated medical institutions in Edinburgh which were transferred to Poland after the end of the war. The modern semi-mobile hospital which was purchased by Professor Jurasz in the USA was

⁷⁶³ Sokołowski, 'Fragment pamiętnika', p. 135.

⁷⁶⁴ WBIS: Tadeusz Sokołowski.

⁷⁶⁵ Bogusław Kompf, 'Filozofia', *Szczecińska Klinika Dzienna* website, retrieved on 28 Febr 2014 from: <http://www.szczecinskaklinikadzienna.pl/filozofia>.

⁷⁶⁶ EUA, GD46/Box 5: Memoirs of Stefan Grzybowski, 1944, p. 12; Memoirs of Jan Kafel, 1944, p. 15.

⁷⁶⁷ WBIS: Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz.

⁷⁶⁸ Woźniewski, *Polski Almanach Medyczny*, p. 2; Gąsiorowski, *Story of graduates*, pp. 89-90; Łysiak, 'Śladami toruńskich absolwentów', retrieved on 13 Feb 2012.

⁷⁶⁹ EUA, IN14/7: Student record schedule of Ignacy Brejdygant. Cf. Woźniewski, *Polski Almanach Medyczny*, p. 28.

shipped to Poland in 1946.⁷⁷⁰ The hospital was dismantled and the equipment was distributed to establish a new 120-bed hospital in Oświęcim (Auschwitz) and to furnish private Catholic hospitals in Opole and Poznań as well as some other medical centres in the so-called 'Recovered Territories' in the North and West of Poland. The hospital's stock of vaccines was also used to combat tuberculosis in central Poland.⁷⁷¹

Emil Valis, who obtained at the PSM an MB, ChB degree in 1943 and an MD degree in 1945, returned to Poland in 1947. He brought with him the equipment of the Polish Institute of Blood Transfusion in Edinburgh and handed it over to the Polish Red Cross. Dr Valis later used parts of that equipment to organise a blood transfusion centre in Upper Silesia, the first service of this kind in post-war Poland.⁷⁷² After the closing of the PSM in 1949, 819 volumes which were originally donated to its library by the Kościuszko Foundation were sent to the Faculty of Medicine in Warsaw, together with those books that were bought by the Polish government-in-exile. The laboratory equipment, medical instruments and furniture, which were all purchased by the Polish authorities during the war, were also transferred to Poland after 1945.⁷⁷³

Polish-British academic collaboration in the post-war period

Polish and British founders of the PSM hoped that their wartime collaboration would be extended to the post-war period. Although their plans did not fully materialise, international academic contacts were maintained to a certain degree despite the political division of Europe. In the 1950s and 1960s, Polish researchers and students, usually sponsored by the British Council, regularly visited various departments of the University of Edinburgh. They were warmly received by people who still cherished the memories of wartime cooperation with Polish medical refugees. Around 10 medical professors of the University of Edinburgh were, in turn, invited to conduct lecture tours in Poland between 1949 and 1966.⁷⁷⁴ Professor Derreck Dunlop, who

⁷⁷⁰ Wojcik, 'Time in Context', p. 71; Magowska, 'Doctor Facing Turbulent Times', p. 2170.

⁷⁷¹ Meissner, 'Polski Wydział Lekarski', p. 362.

⁷⁷² Gąsiorowski, *Story of graduates*, p. 207; idem, *Losy absolwentów*, pp. 249-250.

⁷⁷³ Rostowski, *History of the PSM*, p. 35.

⁷⁷⁴ Tomaszewski, *University of Edinburgh and Poland*, p. 90.

served as an examiner in medicine at the PSM, was invited to visit Poland in March 1949 under an exchange scheme which was organised by the Polish Ministry of Health and the British Council.⁷⁷⁵ Catherine Hebb, who worked a senior assistant in physiology at the PSM, was an editor of several scientific journals in post-war Britain. Her former student and biographer points out that:

as a result of her involvement with the [PSM], Catherine had a particular concern for authors in Eastern Europe. Her visit to Warsaw in 1966, and the reports from the Polish, Yugoslavian and Czechoslovakian scientists who came to work with her, led her to recognize the difficult conditions under which many papers were written. So long as the experiments were well designed, she would not make unrealistic demands for more data before accepting an exciting paper.⁷⁷⁶

Polish medical refugees who remained in exile after the war also contributed to the development of Polish medicine. Although he refused to come back in person to a Communist-dominated homeland, Professor Jurasz donated surgical tools to his old clinic in Poznań and bequeathed an extensive private library to the Main Medical Library in Warsaw.⁷⁷⁷ Professor Łukasz (Lucas) Kulczycki, a graduate of the PSM who settled in the USA, organised the Polish-American Health Association in Washington, DC in order to maintain connections with doctors and hospitals in Poland.⁷⁷⁸ Stanisław Gebertt, a PSM alumnus who remained in Scotland after the war, served as a regional chairman of Medical Aid for Poland from 1988 to 1998 and coordinated many humanitarian actions, such as donating ophthalmological supplies to hospitals in the Bydgoszcz region.⁷⁷⁹ Several other PSM graduates from Britain and the USA also participated in the Medical Aid for Poland campaigns of sending medicaments, clothes and equipment to Poland during the economic crisis of the late 1980s.⁷⁸⁰

⁷⁷⁵ Anon., 'Medical News', *BMJ*, 12 Mar 1949, p. 461.

⁷⁷⁶ Ann Silver, 'Catherine Olding Hebb (1911-1978)', in Lynn Bindman, Alison Brading, and Tilli Tansey (eds), *Women Physiologists: An anniversary celebration of their contributions to British physiology*, London and Chapel Hill: Portland Press, 1993, p. 125.

⁷⁷⁷ WBIS: Antoni Tomasz Jurasz.

⁷⁷⁸ Kulczycki, *From Adversity to Victory*, pp. 37-43.

⁷⁷⁹ MRC: Stanisław Gebertt file. See also Gąsiorowski, *Story of graduates*, p. 120.

⁷⁸⁰ EUA, GD46/Box 6: Wiktor Tomaszewski's correspondence, 1988-1989.

The abovementioned examples demonstrate that, although nearly 90% of medical refugees from Edinburgh were unwilling to return to post-war Poland, Polish universities and healthcare services nevertheless ‘gained’ considerably from the legacy of the PSM. Conversely, it can be argued that British medicine was not able to fully profit from the human capital of those refugees who preferred to remain in Britain rather than to be repatriated to Communist-controlled Poland. Unable to find suitable employment in Britain, many PSM students and members of staff emigrated further to France, the Netherlands, Canada, the USA, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand or settled permanently in former British colonies in Africa, Asia and the West Indies. This truly global dispersion of Polish medical refugees encourages one to try to evaluate the legacy of the PSM within the paradigm of a ‘global circulation of scholars’.

Paradigm of global circulation of scholars

Beginning one’s professional career in post-war Britain was difficult for Polish medical refugees. Joining the colonial medical service was therefore an attractive employment option for several reasons. There was much less competition for jobs with native practitioners in the remote provinces of the British Empire. For example, in the late 1940s there were only around 200 doctors in the whole of Nigeria, Africa’s most populous country.⁷⁸¹ After serving for 15 years as a medical officer in the colonies, one was entitled to an agreeable government pension.⁷⁸² It was sometimes possible to secure additional income by establishing private practice aside from the regular government job. 34 graduates of the PSM, i.e. more than 15% of those who remained in exile after the war, joined the Colonial Medical Service, and were posted to British colonies and protectorates in Africa, Asia, West Indies and the South Atlantic.

⁷⁸¹ Jacek Machowski, Zygmunt Łazowski, and Witold Kozak (eds), *Polacy w Nigerii*, Wydawnictwo Akademickie DIALOG: Warsaw, 1997, p. 37.

⁷⁸² Tomaszewski, ‘Pięćdziesiąt lat PWL’, p. 303.

Polish medical refugees in the Colonial Medical Service

Although primarily motivated by economic rather than altruistic motives, PSM graduates brought modern medical knowledge to areas of the globe which suffered from a shortage of qualified staff and were often extremely inaccessible. A global dimension of the post-war dispersion of Polish medical refugees can be emphasised by enumerating specific geographical localities to which they were dispatched as employees of the British colonial service. In Africa, Edinburgh-trained Polish doctors found work in one or more of the following countries: Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Gold Coast (now Ghana), Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar (now part of independent Tanzania), Nyasaland (now Malawi), Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia), Bechuanaland Protectorate (now Botswana) and Seychelles. In Asia, Polish doctors found employment with the colonial governments of the Federation of Malaya, North Borneo and Sarawak (now all parts of independent Federation of Malaysia) as well as in Singapore and the Trucial States (now the United Arab Emirates). In the West Indies, they served as medical officers in Grenada and St Vincent in the Windward Islands, Nevis, Anguilla and Montserrat in the Leeward Islands, and in the Bahamas. Two graduates were posted to the South Atlantic, one to the Falkland Islands and another to St Helena.

Most of them served as medical officers who provided basic healthcare services to the population of a specific area, such as a district or a province. These areas usually corresponded to local administrative units. Jan Zygmunt Słomiński's medical district covered the small island of Carriacou, part of the colony of Grenada.⁷⁸³ In much larger Northern Rhodesia, Bolesław Wittek was responsible for supervising medical services in the vast Northern Province, which covers approximately one fifth of the whole country's land surface.⁷⁸⁴ A vivid passage from Stanley Kryszek's reminiscences illustrates the experience of working as a colonial medical officer in the remote parts of the African hinterland:

I used to visit my rural dispensaries, two of them by car, and [the] other, about a hundred kilometres away, on foot. The name of that dispensary was Mura, and it was one of my most rewarding experiences in

⁷⁸³ *Grenada Government Gazette*, 17 November 1956, p. 450.

⁷⁸⁴ Gąsiorowski, *Story of graduates*, pp. 213-214.

Nyasaland, or Malawi. I only went there once a month, because it took a three days' walk each way. We had a real safari, walking through the sand, carrying bags with my chief assistants, while behind us about 26 carriers, carrying everything starting from their own food and water to the ten medical tents and the little tent in which I slept. ... We walked from village to village, stopping and opening our medicine boxes, and seeing the patients, and then the local headmen would come in, greet me, and I usually got a gift in the form of chicken.⁷⁸⁵

Some Polish doctors found employment in specific segments of the colonial administration. Krystyna Gottlieb was appointed a Schools Medical Officer in Northern Rhodesia in 1953.⁷⁸⁶ Maria Chrzyszcz (Chauncey) worked as a school and railways physician in Lagos, Nigeria from 1951 to 1961.⁷⁸⁷ Before coming to Nyasaland, Stanley Kryszek served as a medical officer for the Choke Timber Concessions in the Protectorate of Bechuanaland. Those who managed to pass specialisation exams before leaving for the colonies, took the posts of specialist officers. Józef Łomaz who obtained the Fellowship of the Faculty of Anaesthetists, was appointed a specialist officer (anaesthetist) in the Federation of Malaya in 1955.⁷⁸⁸ Antoni Chrzyszcz (Chauncey) worked as an orthopaedic surgeon and director of the Greek Hospital in Lagos, Nigeria.⁷⁸⁹

The influx of Polish refugees to the colonial medical service coincided with the post-war demise of the British Empire, and thus only a few PSM graduates were actually able to work for the prescribed 15 years in government service. The occasionally violent decolonisation process forced many of them to leave the newly independent states in Africa, Asia and the West Indies. Tadeusz Kłosowski (Derola) and his wife Alina, along with many other foreign-born residents, had to flee Zanzibar after a violent revolution swept over this island country in 1964.⁷⁹⁰ 15 Polish colonial medical officers returned to Britain and mostly continued their professional careers as GPs. Rather than returning to the faraway British Isles, others

⁷⁸⁵ Kryszek Chard, *Reminiscences of Stanley Kryszek*, p. 61.

⁷⁸⁶ Anon., 'Colonial Medical Service', *Supplement to the BMJ*, 21 Feb 1953, p. 51.

⁷⁸⁷ Machowski et al., *Polacy w Nigerii*, p. 364.

⁷⁸⁸ Anon., 'Colonial Medical Service', *Supplement to the BMJ*, 19 Feb 1955, p. 60; Anon., 'Her Majesty's Oversea Service', *Supplement to the BMJ*, 5 Nov 1955, p. 118. Please note that in the second article his name is incorrectly spelled as 'Lomez'.

⁷⁸⁹ Machowski et al., *Polacy w Nigerii*, p. 365.

⁷⁹⁰ Gąsiorowski, *Story of graduates*, pp. 139-140.

chose to retire from colonial service in the geographical (and perhaps climatic) proximity of their former outposts. Dr Słomiński moved from Grenada to Florida, USA, while Dr Łomaz left the Federation of Malaya for Sydney, Australia.⁷⁹¹

Some graduates remained in the former colonies after decolonisation and continued to pursue professional careers in the newly independent states. Henryk Podlewski was the first specialist in psychiatry to work in colonial Bahamas,⁷⁹² and was appointed an Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire in 1968 in recognition of his excellent work in local medical services.⁷⁹³ Podlewski remained in the islands after the country was given independence in 1973. He continued to work as the Chief Psychiatrist of the Bahamian Ministry of Health, and also served as the Registrar of the Bahamas Medical Council from 1985 until 1998. Podlewski gained international recognition after he had warned about an impending epidemic of free-based cocaine abuse which spread from the Bahamas to the neighbouring USA in the late 1980s.⁷⁹⁴ His revelations about the new pattern of drug abuse were quoted in the American press.⁷⁹⁵ An article co-authored by Podlewski, and published in *The Lancet* in 1986,⁷⁹⁶ was even mentioned in the US Senate. At the behest of Senator David Patrick Moynihan, the full text of the article was printed in the record of a Senate session on drug control policy on 21 March 1991.⁷⁹⁷

⁷⁹¹ Ancestry.com genealogical database: records of Jan Z. Slominski; records of Joseph Lomaz.

⁷⁹² Anon., 'Local News in Brief: Sanity Opinion Changed in Bahamian Slaying', *The Milwaukee Journal*, 11 Mar 1976, Part 2, p. 3; Anon. 'Podlewski Ward', *Sandliands Rehabilitation Centre website*, retrieved on 21 May 2014 from: <http://www.src.phabahamas.org/patient-services/psychiatric-services/podlewski-ward/>.

⁷⁹³ *Supplement to the London Gazette*, 1 Jan 1968, p. 21.

⁷⁹⁴ MRC: Henry Podlewski file.

⁷⁹⁵ See for example, Dan Sewell, 'Highly Addictive Cocaine Free-Basing Sweeps Bahamas', *The Dispatch* (Lexington, North Carolina), 1 Jan 1986, p. 11; Daniel Patrick Moynihan, 'Crack Epidemic Deserves as Much of Our Attention as AIDS', *New York Times*, 2 July 1991, retrieved on 21 May 2014 from: <http://www.nytimes.com/1991/07/02/opinion/1-crack-epidemic-deserves-as-much-of-our-attention-as-aids-077091.html>.

⁷⁹⁶ James F. Jekel, David F. Allen, Henry Podlewski, et al., 'Epidemic Free-Base Cocaine Abuse: Case Study from the Bahamas', *The Lancet*, 1 Mar 1986, p. 459.

⁷⁹⁷ US Congress, *Congressional Record – Senate*, 21 Mar 1991, pp. 7123-7124.

Re-emigration of Polish medical refugees from post-war Britain

Apart from those who settled permanently in former British colonies, at least 100 medical refugees from the PSM emigrated from Britain between the late 1940s and early 1960s. Like their colleagues in Britain and the colonies, Polish medical refugees in other countries of post-war settlement pursued professional careers as academics, medical practitioners and healthcare administrators. North America was the most popular destination outside of Britain. Around 40 of them settled permanently in Canada, and a similar number chose the USA.

Polish economic migrants have been coming to North America since the nineteenth century, and both Canada and especially the USA have had sizeable Polish diasporas. Large numbers of refugees and displaced persons followed the path of these earlier migrants in the wake of the Second World War. The existence of Polish migrant networks in North America might have facilitated the decisions of individual medical refugees to emigrate further to Canada or the USA. Bolesław Ziętak, a PSM graduate, was the founder and first president of the Polish Medical Alliance in Chicago, while his colleagues Jan Danek and Tadeusz Drozdowski founded *Medicus*, a Polish medical society in New York. Both organisations helped many newly arriving Polish doctors to start a new life in the USA by lending teaching aids and organising preparatory sessions for state licensing examinations.⁷⁹⁸

North America was attractive to Polish medical refugees for several other reasons. With hundreds of 'native' doctors returning from the forces, it was believed in early post-war Britain that foreign medical scientists were more likely to obtain suitable employment in the USA or Canada. In April 1946, Antoni Fidler, senior lecturer (docent) in internal medicine, approached the SPSL and asked for assistance in finding a medical academic or research post in Britain or in the Dominions. J.B. Skemp, the Secretary of SPSL, referred Fidler's case to Professor John Alfred Ryle, chair of the Institute of Social Medicine at the University of Oxford. Professor Ryle

⁷⁹⁸ Nowak, *50 lat Związku Lekarzy Polskich*, p. 111; Gašiorowski, *Losy absolwentów*, p. 122; Małgorzata Kot, 'Związek Lekarzy Polskich w Ameryce', *Monitor*, 4.10 (1996), retrieved on 19 Apr 2014 from: http://www.monitorpl.com/monitorarticle/1996_04_10_Zwiazek_Lekarzy_Polskich_w_Ameryce.qb; Bronisław Orawiec, 'Historia Związku Lekarzy Polskich w Chicago', *Polish-American Medical Society website* (2009), retrieved on 19 Apr 2012, from: <http://zlpchicago.org>.

expressed an opinion that if the University of Edinburgh was not able to find Fidler a place, then it was very unlikely than any English university would be able to do so. Ryle advised the Polish refugee to look for employment in the USA, as there were more universities and much more money available. Fidler did not have any contacts in the USA, and instead implored the SPSL to explore on his behalf suitable positions in British Dominions, particularly in Canada.⁷⁹⁹ In July 1947 he eventually moved across the Atlantic to Canada, where he was appointed Professor of Physiology in the newly established Roman Catholic Medical Faculty of the University of Ottawa.⁸⁰⁰ Fidler also worked as Physician-in-Chief in the Ottawa General Hospital, published several scientific papers in North American journals, was a member of 12 Canadian and American medical societies, and served as an advisor to the Alcoholism and Drug Addiction Research Foundation and the Ontario Cancer Treatment and Research Foundation.⁸⁰¹

Career paths in North American hospitals were seen, in a similar fashion, as less competitive than in post-war Britain. Ludwik Mirabel recalls his motivations for emigrating to Canada in the following words:

I did five postgraduate years in England. One year in research and four specializing in internal medicine. Under the British system in order to be appointed a consultant with hospital beds in your care you had to succeed to the post held by a retiring or dead predecessor. The competition was fierce. A foreign-born physician who did not train as a resident in one of the teaching hospitals did not have a chance of the proverbial snowball in hell. Canada seemed like a good alternative and I met several people who praised Vancouver climate and situation. I got used to the rain in London and had no particular desire to return to Warsaw kind of winters in Ontario or Quebec.⁸⁰²

Mirabel eventually became a consultant in cardiology in Surrey, a suburb of Vancouver. The more multicultural environment of Canada appealed to other graduates, such as Władysław Wielhorski. According to his daughter, this Polish

⁷⁹⁹ SPSL, MS 390/1: Antony Fidler file, 1946.

⁸⁰⁰ EUA, IN14/3: Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 24 July 1947. See also Paul Weindling, *John W. Thompson: Psychiatrist in the Shadow of the Holocaust*, Rochester, NY: Rochester University Press, 2010, p. 150. Weindling points out that Fidler was viewed as Jewish at the University of Ottawa, even though he was, at least formally, a Roman Catholic, see SPSL, MS 390/1: Antony Fidler file, 1946.

⁸⁰¹ WBIS: Antoni Władysław Fidler. See also Anon., 'Dr. Antony Fidler', *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 29 July 1967, p. 263.

⁸⁰² Mirabel and Medvedeva-Nathoo, 'Conversations', p. 44.

refugee from an aristocratic family loved Montreal because in the 1950s and 1960s ‘nearly everyone spoke English with an accent’ like him.⁸⁰³

North America, and especially Canada, were proportionally more conducive to professional success of Polish medical refugees than Britain. Around 40% of PSM graduates and former members of staff who settled in Canada obtained the highest academic or clinical posts. 5 obtained full professorships at the University of Ottawa, the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon, the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, and the University of Alberta in Edmonton, while 8 others obtained the posts of consultant and/or chairperson of a hospital department. Out of the 28 who emigrated to the USA, 3 refugees obtained full professorships and 2 associate professorships, while 4 others worked as hospital consultants.

Career opportunities, well-equipped facilities and material resources which were available in Canada and the USA allowed Polish refugees to contribute to the development of local medical science and healthcare systems. For example, Professor Witold Zaleski, a PSM graduate, was a co-founder and director of the Alvin Buckwold Centre at the University of Saskatchewan. It was a federally funded university-based diagnostic, treatment and research centre for children with developmental disabilities. Lumdiła Anna Zaleska, the professor’s wife and also a PSM graduate, worked as a paediatrician and research associate in the same Centre. Zaleski pioneered early intervention programmes and community-based services for children with multiple disabilities in the province of Saskatchewan. He initiated so-called ‘travelling clinics’, i.e. multidisciplinary teams of professionals who took medical services to remote indigenous communities in the north of the country where local people often did not have the financial resources to seek professional healthcare in the south. Zaleski also established the first biochemical laboratory in Saskatchewan to diagnose individuals with metabolic disorders. He pioneered the recognition of Foetal Alcohol Syndrome as a leading cause of developmental

⁸⁰³ Ron Csillag, “‘Modest Polish gentleman’ was a hero in war, medicine’, *The Globe and Mail*, 17 Feb 2009, retrieved on 19 Apr 2012 from: <https://secure.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/story/LAC.20090217.OBWIELHORSKI17/BDASStory/BD A/deaths>.

disabilities in the province.⁸⁰⁴ South of the US-Canadian border, Lucas Kulczycki, professor of paediatrics at Georgetown University Medical School in Washington, DC, became the world's leading authority on cystic fibrosis (mucoviscidosis). He wrote 190 scientific publications and is a co-author of the Shwachman-Kulczycki Scoring System for grading the stages of cystic fibrosis.⁸⁰⁵

Smaller numbers of Polish medical refugees settled in other English-speaking countries. Ten graduates and at least four non-completing students emigrated to Australia. Emanuel Wilder worked as regional pathologist in the Gippsland Base Hospital in Sale, Victoria. He was the Chairman of the Commission and Master in Community Practice Development at the Victorian Academy of General Practice.⁸⁰⁶ Wiktor Rosenberg (Roseverne) joined the Royal Australian Naval Volunteer Reserve in the rank of Surgeon Lieutenant Commander. In 1966 he worked as a visiting specialist in radiology at the University of Sydney.⁸⁰⁷ Four medical refugees from the PSM emigrated to New Zealand. Roman Rejthar, lecturer in anaesthesiology, settled in Te Awamutu on the North Island in 1951.⁸⁰⁸ Józef Pieńkowski (Josef Ashley), a graduate, moved to Nelson on the South Island.⁸⁰⁹ Helena Truszkowska (Truscoe), senior assistant in obstetrics and gynaecology, emigrated from Britain in 1957 and worked in the chemistry department of the Victoria University of Wellington.⁸¹⁰

Relatively few Polish medical refugees settled in non-Anglophone countries. Five graduates and at least one non-completing student emigrated to France after the end of the war. There have been long-lasting historical and cultural relations between Poland and France, and most educated Poles spoke French fluently. Four refugees who settled in France had previously studied medicine at French universities. For instance, Tadeusz Schops (Szops), a Polish Jew from Lwów, attended the University

⁸⁰⁴ Wilma Clark and Donna Fraser, 'Beloved founder of children's services remembered', *Dialect: Newsmagazine of the Saskatchewan Association for Community Living*, Fall/Winter (2008), p. 5.

⁸⁰⁵ Gąsiorowski, *Story of graduates*, pp. 151-153.

⁸⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

⁸⁰⁷ Anon., 'Royal Naval Reserve', *Supplement to the BMJ*, 1 Feb 1964, p. 35; *The Navy List, September 1974*, Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1974, p. 34; University of Sydney, *Calendar of the University of Sydney for the Year 1966*, Sydney: V.C.N. Blight, 1965, p. 584.

⁸⁰⁸ E.W.S., 'Dr Roman Rejthar', *BMJ*, 14 Jan 1956, pp. 117-118

⁸⁰⁹ Gąsiorowski, *Story of graduates*, pp. 178-179.

⁸¹⁰ Ancestry.com genealogical database: UK, Outward Passenger Lists, 1957. See also *The Medical Directory 1960*, Vol. 2, London, J. & A. Churchill, 1960, p. 2323.

of Paris in the 1930s, and volunteered to join the French Foreign Legion after the outbreak of the war. He served as a Legionnaire in Morocco before joining the Polish Armed Forces in 1943. He was then transferred to Britain where he completed his studies at the PSM. Schops returned to France after the war and worked as a radiologist in St. Germain-en-Laye.⁸¹¹ He published several books and scientific articles in French on gastric and duodenal ulcers and cancers.⁸¹²

Another Polish-Jewish graduate, Abraham Günsberg, emigrated to the Netherlands, a country he helped to liberate as a Medical Officer of the First (Polish) Armoured Division under the command of General Stanisław Maczek. His PSM diploma apparently was not recognised by the Dutch because he pursued medical studies once again at the University of Utrecht. He received Dutch citizenship in 1950 and found work in the Catholic Hospital in Oldenzaal in the province of Overijssel.⁸¹³ In the same year, he was accepted as a member of the Royal Dutch Medical Association (*Koninklijke Nederlandsche Maatschappij tot bevordering der Geneeskunst*).⁸¹⁴

Polish medical refugees and the globalisation of medical knowledge

By analysing professional achievements and scientific contributions only in particular geographical regions and individual countries of settlement, one cannot fully grasp the more 'global' legacy of the PSM. Global phenomena are usually defined as historical processes, social movements, ideological currents, population transfers, or cultural and material flows that connect two or more continents. Capitalising on the trans-cultural competency gained at the PSM, Polish refugees were often able to practice medicine in several different countries on two or more continents. For example, Olgierd Lindan, former junior assistant of physio-pathology at the PSM, researched poisonous fish in Africa for the British Medical Research

⁸¹¹ Gaşiorowski, *Story of graduates*, p. 201.

⁸¹² PubMed database of biomedical literature: List of publications by T. Schops, available online at: <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/?term=schops+t>.

⁸¹³ Staten-Generaal, *Kamerstuk Tweede Kamer 1949-1950*, kamerstuknummer 1593 ondernummer 3, p. 2-3; Staten-Generaal, *Handelingen Tweede Kamer 1949-1950*, 12 May 1950, p. 1829; Staten-Generaal, *Handelingen Eerste Kamer 1949-1950*, 6 June 1950, p. 751; Staten-Generaal, *Kamerstuk Tweede Kamer 1949-1950*, kamerstuknummer 1593 ondernummer 1, p.1.

⁸¹⁴ Anon., 'Personalialia', *Medisch Contact*, 5.35 (1950), p. 679.

Council and worked on early psychiatric drugs at McGill University in Montreal before settling down in Ohio. He became a professor of medicine and engineering at the Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland. There he conducted studies of bedsores and artificial kidneys and helped to make devices to analyse blood and automatically monitor patients. Lindan published dozens of scientific papers and several textbook chapters, and presented his research at international conferences as far away as China.⁸¹⁵

Even if permanently settled in one country, the scope of professional activities and research interests of Polish medical refugees sometimes transcended political borders and geographical barriers. Stefan Grzybowski, a PSM graduate, became a Professor of Pulmonology at the University of British Columbia and published around 100 scientific works on tuberculosis, industrial pulmonary diseases and pulmonary rehabilitation. He also found the time to work as an expert on tuberculosis for the World Health Organisation and the International Union Against Tuberculosis in several countries, such as India, Ethiopia, Philippines, and South Africa.⁸¹⁶ Another graduate, Zbigniew Soból, worked as the chairman of the orthopaedic department in St Joseph's Medical Centre in South Bend, Indiana. His most gratifying professional experience was the opportunity to help desperately poor patients during short-time service with the Christian Medical Society in hospitals in Kenya and Jamaica.⁸¹⁷

Ash and Söllner point out that forced migration of intellectuals contributed to the multi-nationalisation of scientific knowledge in the twentieth century. In a similar fashion, it could be argued that the dispersion of Polish medical refugees added to the globalisation of medical knowledge and practice in the post-war world. The contribution of the PSM to the development of anaesthesiology in several different countries is a good example of this phenomenon. Anaesthesiology was not a separate medical specialty in Poland until 1951, and anaesthesia was often administered with

⁸¹⁵ Grant Segall, 'Dr. Olgierd Lindan', *Cleveland.com*, 13 Mar 2009, retrieved on 28 Feb 2014 from http://www.cleveland.com/obituaries/index.ssf/2009/03/dr_olgiard_lindan.html; idem, 'The late Dr. Olgierd Lindan of South Euclid was a leading collector of quackery', *Cleveland.com*, 6 July 2009, retrieved on 28 Feb 2014 from: http://blog.cleveland.com/metro/2009/07/the_late_dr_olgiard_lindan_of.html.

⁸¹⁶ Gąsiorowski, *Story of graduates*, pp. 125-126.

⁸¹⁷ MRC: Zbigniew Sobol file. See also Gąsiorowski, *Story of graduates*, pp. 191-192.

the use of limited and sometimes primitive techniques.⁸¹⁸ In contrast, anaesthesiology in Britain had already been established as a separate speciality in 1912. Influenced by the British model of medical education, the PSM was the first Polish medical faculty to introduce lectures on anaesthetic methods in the undergraduate curriculum. Aleksander Rutkiewicz et al. point out that Polish students in Edinburgh were only taught about the basic methods and techniques of anaesthesia because the PSM lacked experienced teachers and sophisticated machines. The real opportunity to gain more advanced knowledge was therefore available only after graduation, during the mandatory internships in well-equipped British hospitals.⁸¹⁹

At any rate, it was a medical diploma obtained at the PSM that allowed Polish medical refugees access to modern clinical facilities in Britain. Bolesław Rutkowski, a PSM graduate, settled down in Upper Silesia and was among the first six specialist anaesthetists who were registered in Poland.⁸²⁰ Rutkowski assisted in anaesthetic procedures in various Silesian hospitals, and served as a chief anaesthesiologist in the provinces of Katowice and Kielce from 1961 to 1975. He conducted research, published scientific papers and attended international conferences devoted to his speciality. Rutkowski was also a pioneer of pain management in Poland. In the 1970s, he founded the first outpatient clinic for pain treatment in Gliwice, Upper Silesia.⁸²¹ Stanisław Gańczakowski and Władysław Wielhorski, both PSM graduates who received specialist training in wartime Britain, contributed to the further development of anaesthetic knowledge and techniques in Britain and Canada.⁸²² Gańczakowski helped to develop anaesthesiology in Bedford,⁸²³ while Dr Wielhorski administered the anaesthesia for the first heart transplant in Canada at the Montreal Heart Institute in 1968.⁸²⁴ One could add to this list even more names of PSM

⁸¹⁸ Rzepecki, *Skalpel ma dwa ostrza*, p. 160.

⁸¹⁹ Rutkiewicz et al., 'Anaesthesiology in the Polish Armed Forces', pp. 214-220.

⁸²⁰ Rutkiewicz, *Bolesław Rutkowski*, pp. 23-81.

⁸²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-92.

⁸²² Rutkiewicz et al., 'Anaesthesiology in the Polish Armed Forces', pp. 214-220.

⁸²³ Mary Ganczakowski, 'Stanislaw Ganczakowski', *BMJ*, 18 July 2009, p. 174.

⁸²⁴ MRC: Władysław Alexander Wielhorski file. See also Anon., 'Wladyslaw Alexander Wielhorski', *Toronto Star*, 24-29 Jan 2009, retrieved on 12 May 2014 from: <http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/thestar/obituary.aspx?page=lifestory&pid=123196980>.

graduates. Józef Łomaz, who practiced as an anaesthetist in North Borneo, Malaya and Australia, published several scientific articles on endotracheal and paediatric anaesthesia in Malayan, Australian and British medical journals. Jerzy Miecz-Cyrkowicz (George Francis Conway) worked as a consultant anaesthetist in Nigeria, Uganda, Zambia, Malawi and Seychelles.⁸²⁵ Henryk Hamerski worked in St Mary's General Hospital in Timmins, Ontario, and published *The Intensive Care Unit and the Anaesthesiologist* in 1963.⁸²⁶ Elias Grubstein and Mieczysław Wojciechowski specialised in anaesthesiology in post-war Britain, while Ludwika Sawicka, Herbert Staniszewski and Bolesław Ziętak practiced this speciality in the USA.⁸²⁷ It could therefore be argued without much exaggeration that, as a result of their post-war dispersion, medical refugees from the PSM helped to diffuse modern knowledge and techniques of anaesthesia to all corners of the world.

Unexpected opportunities of forced migration

Another important tenet of Ash and Söllner's paradigm of 'global circulation of scholars' is the idea that forced migration allowed for careers which otherwise would have not been possible in countries of origin. This thesis is also confirmed in the case of medical refugees from the PSM. Above all, escape or evacuation to Britain not only allowed Polish Jews and Polish Christians of Jewish origin to continue their medical studies and didactic work at the PSM but most likely saved their lives. The majority of Polish-Jewish refugees in Edinburgh had previously studied medicine at foreign universities in France, Belgium, Switzerland or Italy because of anti-Semitic discrimination and violence in pre-war Poland. In a sense, Polish medicine had 'lost' these men and women even before the German invasion. None of the Jewish students of the PSM returned to post-war Poland, but even if they had repatriated, it is unlikely they would have stayed for long. The majority of Holocaust survivors left Poland in the early post-war years. Following a state-sponsored anti-Semitic

⁸²⁵ M.J. Kettler, 'George Francis Conway (formerly Miecz-Cyrkowicz)', *BMJ*, 21 Mar 1992, p. 773.

⁸²⁶ Gašiorowski, *Story of graduates*, pp. 127-128; Anon., 'Death Notices', *Timmins Daily Press*, 18 Aug 2012, retrieved on 1 Feb 2012 from:

http://global.factiva.com/aa/?ref=TMNSDP0020110818e78i0000w&pp=1&fcpil=en&nacp=S&sa_fro

m=;

⁸²⁷ See their biographies in Gašiorowski, *Story of graduates*, 89-222.

campaign in 1968, the remaining Polish Jews were purged from employment in public service, including universities, and in most cases were forced to leave the country.

In contrast, Polish-Jewish graduates of the PSM who remained in the West after the war were usually able to pursue successful professional careers. George Arendt settled down in London after the war and worked as consultant in obstetrics and gynaecology at the Newham General Hospital and the *Dispensaire Francais*. In recognition of his work at the outpatient clinic for French speakers, Dr Arendt was honoured with the *Chevalier de l'Ordre du Merite* decoration bestowed by the government of France in 1997.⁸²⁸ Stanisław Gebertt (formerly Goldberg), a Polish protestant of Jewish origins whose parents and siblings were all murdered by the Germans, survived the war at the PSM. He later worked as a consultant ophthalmologist at Perth Royal Infirmary and Ninewells Hospital in Dundee. He also served as the BMA's branch president in Perth and Kinross and the regional chairman of the Society for the Blind.⁸²⁹

The outbreak of the war and the subsequent forced migration from Poland could paradoxically have improved career opportunities for some female medical refugees. While women's access to medical education was restricted in pre-war Poland by discriminatory measures and stereotypes about gender roles, female students made up almost one third of the student body at the PSM. This was significantly more than the average 20% of female medical students at pre-war Polish universities. Although women were allowed equal access to education after the war and even constituted the majority of Polish medical practitioners in post-war Poland, there were still few women in top clinical and scientific positions.⁸³⁰ There were equally few female university professors and hospital consultants in post-war Britain, Canada and the USA but Polish female refugees who remained in the West could sometimes use their trans-cultural competency to facilitate their post-war careers. Anna Sokołowska became one of the first women to obtain a high hospital

⁸²⁸ MRC: George Arendt file; Interview with George Arendt by Rebecca Lewis, 4 Oct 1999.

⁸²⁹ MRC: Stanisław Gebertt file. See also Gąsiorowski, *Story of graduates*, p. 120.

⁸³⁰ Halina Kulik, 'Feminizacja zawodu lekarza w Polsce', in Roman K. Meissner (ed.), *Medycyna i farmacja XIX i XX wieku: zagadnienia wybrane*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMKM, 2007, pp. 243-249.

position in Canada. She organised the psychiatric unit of the Royal Ottawa Sanatorium, began crisis interventions at Ottawa Civic Hospital, served as a consultant in the Ottawa Heart Institute, and even advised the Canadian Department of Immigration. According to Jakub Gąsiorowski's short biography based on a questionnaire completed by Dr Sokołowska, she acknowledged a positive influence of wartime experiences on her professional career. The Polish-born doctor pointed out that immigrant origins and wartime experiences were helpful in dealing with patients in multicultural Canada. She specifically mentioned that several years spent in Britain helped her to recognise Protestant culture and customs, and thus enabled her to better understand the psychology of her patients.⁸³¹

Hanna Segal was another example of a PSM graduate whose professional career was unlikely to happen in Poland. Segal was a female psychoanalyst of Jewish origin who had already acquired an interest in Freud's theories before the Second World War but was unable to receive proper psychoanalytic training before her forced relocation to Britain where Sigmund Freud and his entourage found refuge after the Nazi *Anschluss* of Austria. There were only two psychoanalysts in Poland before the war but during her studies at the PSM Segal met W.R.D. Fairbairn who introduced her to British psychoanalytical circles. After graduation, she moved to London which became the headquarters of two competing factions within the psychoanalytic movement, the followers of Anna Freud and Melanie Klein. Segal took up training with Klein whose ideas and techniques informed much of Segal's own practice and theoretical work. She later developed original ideas on the use of psychoanalysis in the understanding of aesthetic questions. Segal eventually became the president of the British Psychoanalytic Association and one of the world's leading authorities in her field.⁸³²

Analysing the legacy of the PSM within the paradigm of 'global circulation of scholars' allows one to portray the contributions of Polish medical refugees in a broader and more transnational perspective than the bipolar and rather simplistic

⁸³¹ Gąsiorowski, *Story of graduates*, p. 193.

⁸³² Quinodoz, *Listening to Hanna Segal*; Pick and Roper, 'Psychoanalysis, Dreams, History', pp. 161-170; David Bell (ed.), *Reason and Passion: A Celebration of the Work of Hanna Segal*, New York: Routledge, 1997, pp. 1-36; Lawley and Segal, 'Dr Hanna Segal', retrieved on 14 May 2012.

‘discourse of loss and gain’. At the same time, focusing too much on those who contributed to the multi-nationalisation of medical knowledge and participated in the development of healthcare services in several countries on different continents overshadows the fact that some Polish medical refugees experienced many vicissitudes in the post-war period and were not always able to accommodate themselves in the countries of settlement. The ‘total population’ approach calls for a more nuanced picture of refugee lives and careers. One needs to analyse some of the institutional factors, environmental forces and personal decisions that inhibited the refugees’ integration with host societies and adversely affected their professional careers and scientific contributions.

‘Total population’ approach

Medical refugees from the PSM generally experienced more or less serious difficulties in finding suitable employment in early post-war Britain, and in many cases encountered anti-Polish sentiments and xenophobic prejudices that were on the rise in certain segments of British society.

Responses to xenophobia and discrimination

Polish medical practitioners sometimes came across open discrimination. Zygmunt Michałowicz (Milford), a PSM graduate who settled down in Sheffield as a GP, was initially welcomed to the town with much hostility. Dr Milford’s wife remembers that:

He encountered much opposition from some local GPs and many patients who referred to him as an upstart, intruder, bloody Pole, bloody foreigner, etc. He eventually won them all over through hard work and dedication.⁸³³

Olgierd Rymaszewski, who received a doctorate at the PSM in 1946, encountered less conspicuous discrimination. He wanted to specialise in neurology at Belmont Road Hospital in Liverpool but, after two years of working as a Resident House Physician, he was passed over for promotion in favour of a younger British colleague. Rymaszewski then resigned from his hospital career and decided to

⁸³³ MRC: Zygmunt Milford file.

become a GP.⁸³⁴ It was still difficult for him to find suitable employment as there were several candidates for each post. Rymaszewski was finally accepted as an assistant by Donald Moore, an ex-Colonel of the RAF in Oldham. Dr Moore was sympathetic to the Poles because of remarkable contributions made by Polish airmen during the Battle of Britain. Even in such a friendly environment, Rymaszewski took 10 years to become a full partner and improve his financial position.⁸³⁵ Some Polish medical refugees consciously resigned from promotion to avoid conflict with the local medical establishment. Władysław Wielhorski settled down in Quebec in the 1950s and gained professional respect after participating in Canada's first open-heart surgery in 1954. However, according to his obituary, published in *The Globe and Mail*:

When he was in line to become the first chief of anaesthesiology at the Montreal Heart Institute, he balked and advised a much younger Dr. Paiement: 'This is a French-Canadian hospital. It is more appropriate that a French-Canadian become the first anaesthesiology chief.' As Dr. Paiement recalled, 'My teacher became my assistant.'⁸³⁶

In order to avoid discrimination, many Polish physicians were impelled to Anglicise or completely change their distinctively foreign names. Wiktor Tomaszewski recalls that job applications from his friend, Antoni Chrzęszcz, were rejected 40 times in post-war Britain. After he had changed his surname from the unpronounceable 'Chrzęszcz' to a more familiar 'Chauncey', he easily found employment.⁸³⁷ At least 50 Polish medical refugees changed their surnames in the late 1940s and early 1950s, including both female and male refugees who adopted the surnames of their non-Polish spouses. Many others generally left their Polish surnames intact but often Anglicised the spelling of the given names and/or abandoned the use of Polish diacritical signs. For example, Jerzy Fegler changed to George Fegler, Tadeusz Węcłowicz to Thaddeus Weckowicz, Jan Rajmund Michniewski to John Raymond Michniewski, Władysław Żarski to Walter Zarski, and Ludmiła Anna Zaleska to Ludmila Anne Zaleski. Sometimes cosmetic changes

⁸³⁴ Gąsiorowski, *Losy absolwentów*, pp. 221-223

⁸³⁵ Idem, *Story of graduates*, pp. 186-187.

⁸³⁶ Csillag, 'Modest Polish gentleman', retrieved on 19 Apr 2012.

⁸³⁷ Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, pp. 242-243.

were introduced to preserve the correct Polish pronunciation of surnames, e.g. Zbigniew and Zofia Szarnagiel changed the spelling of their name to Sharnagiel. Some of these alterations were much more elaborate and creative, as in the cases of Tadeusz Nowosielski who became Tadeusz Newland (his Polish surname comes from a toponym meaning ‘new village’), or Tadeusz Roman Mogiła-Stankiewicz who changed his name to Theodore Roman Graves-Stanwick (*mogiła* means grave in Polish). While it seems that some of these aliases were informal and interchangeably used in different documents, there is evidence that name alteration was often official and publicly announced. For instance, *The London Gazette* informed its readers on 10 June 1949 that Helena Bronisława Maria Rębalska ‘renounced and abandoned the use’ of her previous names and adopted instead the name of Helen Maria Roberts.⁸³⁸

Lost opportunities in exile

While most Polish refugees eventually managed to find a suitable job in their countries of settlement and sometimes even obtained high academic and clinical posts, several Poles were unable to fulfil their professional potential in the post-war period. Some could not resume their academic careers on the same level as in pre-war Poland. The scientific contributions of others were not recognised or they were not able to pursue research interests which they acquired during their work at the PSM. Antoni Jurasz and Jakub Rostowski, both professors and former deans, were not able to continue their academic careers. Jurasz could not find any teaching position in the USA and ended up working in small private hospitals in New York state. Local regulations concerning foreign practitioners even forced him to endure the humiliating experience of having all of his surgeries supervised for a year by an American member of staff.⁸³⁹ Rostowski was luckier to secure employment as a consultant neurologist in the Royal Edinburgh Hospital for Nervous and Mental Disorders. He also occasionally worked as locum consultant psychiatrist in Morgannwg Mental Hospital in Bridgend, Wales.⁸⁴⁰

⁸³⁸ *The London Gazette*, 10 June 1949, p. 2905.

⁸³⁹ EUA, GD46/Box 9: Unfinished memoirs of Antoni Jurasz, 1960.

⁸⁴⁰ W.T., ‘J. Rostowski M.D., LL.D.’, *BMJ*, 17 July 1971, p. 193.

Their post-war employment was obviously a professional degradation, but one has to take into account that both men were in their sixties when the war ended, and, despite their obvious qualifications and international prestige, it would have been quite difficult for them to obtain tenure at British or American universities. Jurasz remarked bitterly about his post-war ‘career’ in the USA that ‘the fate of a refugee is a hard one; particularly so, if you have passed the middle age’.⁸⁴¹ Jurasz and Rostowski nevertheless maintained scientific interests even after their forced retirement from active academic life. Shortly before his death in 1961, Jurasz still managed to attend an International Conference of Surgeons in Dublin.⁸⁴² Rostowski regularly followed the progress of the neurological sciences and maintained contacts with the neurological clinic in Wrocław, which inherited the traditions of his pre-war department at the John Casimir University in Lwów. Henryk Urich, one of his students at the PSM, pointed out that retirement from academic and hospital work finally allowed Rostowski to find the time to pursue his youthful interest in the arts.⁸⁴³ In the 1950s and 1960s, Rostowski’s sculptures were regularly exhibited in Edinburgh, London and Warsaw. A symbolic artwork entitled *Forced Labour* was accepted by the Royal Scottish Academy in 1952.⁸⁴⁴

Other members of the PSM’s senior teaching staff managed to continue academic careers after the war but their contributions were not recognised in Britain. Professor Koskowski was a respected and internationally renowned medical scientist in the interwar period. He left Britain after the war and moved to Egypt where he worked as professor of pharmacology and physiology at the University of Alexandria. His *The Habit of Tobacco Smoking*, published in 1955, pointed to the carcinogenic properties of noxious substances in cigarettes several years before this fact became widely known around the world. Koskowski returned to Britain in 1963 and worked as a GP in Swindon, Wiltshire until his death two years later. Colin Blakemore, Professor of Neuroscience at the University of Oxford, suggests that

⁸⁴¹ EUA, GD46/Box 9: Unfinished memoirs of Anotni Jurasz, 1960, p. 4/3.

⁸⁴² Magowska, ‘Doctor Facing Turbulent Times’, p. 2170.

⁸⁴³ Henryk Urich, ‘Wspomnienie o Jakubie Rostowskim Profesorze Polskiego Wydziału Lekarskiego’, *AHiFM*, 65.1 (2002), pp. 55-57.

⁸⁴⁴ Maria Demianowska, Stanisława Falkiewiczowa, Wiktor Stein, and Stanisław Teppa, ‘Profesor Jakub Rotfeld-Rostowski’, *Neurologia i Neurochirurgia Polska*, 7.1 (1973), pp. 140-142.

Koskowski was not as internationally recognized as he should have been because many of his most important papers were written in Polish.⁸⁴⁵ He was forgotten in Britain until his legacy was re-discovered in 2011 by Peter Green, a native of Swindon's Old Town and the director of the AlphaGallileo Foundation Ltd, an independent research news service.⁸⁴⁶ Following Green's initiative, Koskowski's life and scientific contributions were publicly commemorated on the 46th anniversary of his death by the local Polish Community and representatives of world medicine and science.⁸⁴⁷ In a eulogy given at the Polish Centre in Swindon, Professor Blakemore expressed his desire that those commemorative events would 'start to set the record straight and will secure Dr Koskowski's proper place in medical and scientific history'.⁸⁴⁸

In addition to senior academics, some younger researchers were not able to resume their careers after the closing of the PSM. The experimental study of vitamins and nutrition was high on the research agenda of the PSM. In the 1940s this was still a relatively uncharted scientific territory. Incidentally, the study of vitamins was pioneered by a Polish biochemist, Kazimierz Funk, who invented the name 'vitamin' in 1912. Zygmunt Menschik, Tadeusz Szczeniak, Olgierd Rymaszewski and Magdalena Munk wrote doctoral dissertations and obtained MD degrees at the PSM based on experimental work on the various effects of vitamin E on mice.⁸⁴⁹ The *Annals of the New York Academy of Science* published in 1949 a general summary of results of vitamin E studies which were conducted by the four young researchers between 1941 and 1946 in the Department of Anatomy and Embryology of the PSM, under the supervision of Professor Rogalski and with the

⁸⁴⁵ Colin Blakemore's eulogy of Prof. Koskowski, 20 May 2011, available at:

<http://www.alphagalileo.org/ViewItem.aspx?ItemId=103532&CultureCode=en>.

⁸⁴⁶ Flicky Harrison, 'Voyage of discovery for Swindon man into the life of a Polish pioneer in medicine', *Swindon Advertiser*, 20 May 2011, retrieved on 1 Feb 2012 from:

http://global.factiva.com/aa/?ref=NQTDAA00020110520e75k0008d&pp=1&fcpil=en&napc=S&sa_from=

⁸⁴⁷ Programme of the celebration of the contribution to science of Prof. Koskowski, Swindon, 20 May 2011, available from: <http://www.alphagalileo.org/ViewItem.aspx?ItemId=103532&CultureCode=en>.

⁸⁴⁸ Colin Blakemore's eulogy of Prof. Koskowski, 20 May 2011, available at:

<http://www.alphagalileo.org/ViewItem.aspx?ItemId=103532&CultureCode=en>.

⁸⁴⁹ EUA, IN14/6: Book of Doctoral Promotions, 1942-1949.

technical assistance of Jan Olszowski.⁸⁵⁰ However, only Zygmunt Menschik was able to continue working in this field after the war. He was appointed assistant professor of anatomy at the University of Ottawa in 1947 and received a grant from the National Research Council to investigate the influence of vitamin E on embryonic and foetal development. In 1951, Menschik moved south to the USA where he replaced Othmar Solnitzky as Professor of Anatomy at Georgetown University in Washington, DC. There he obtained several grants from the National Institute of Health to investigate aspects of vitamin E deficiency in experimental animals. Before his untimely death in 1969, he managed to publish several papers in the field of nutrition.⁸⁵¹ The other three promising researchers became GPs in Britain after the closing of the PSM and never returned to the study of vitamins and nutrition.⁸⁵² The post-war fate of Jan Olszowski, the technical assistant who helped with their laboratory research, remains unknown.

Failed re-emigration attempts

One of the strategies adopted by medical refugees from the PSM in order to escape fierce competition and xenophobic sentiments in post-war Britain was to re-emigrate to other countries. However, there were countries or regions where they were not able to permanently settle down. After the end of the war, two PSM graduates unsuccessfully tried to settle in South Africa and left the country within a few years of arrival. Stanley Kryszek arrived in Durban in 1946 with little money and a few contacts with Britons and Poles who had previously emigrated to South Africa. He immediately set out to obtain a permit to practice, and in the meantime, was looking for jobs not only in Durban but also in other cities. He recalls the miserable effects of this job hunting in his reminiscences:

Things weren't going very well. I filled some forms in Johannesburg, and then I went to Pretoria, which was rather a beautiful, monumental city. In

⁸⁵⁰ Z. Menschik, M. K. Munk, T. Rogalski, O. Rymaszewski, and T. J. Szczesniak, 'Vitamin E studies on mice with special reference to the distribution and metabolism of lipids', *Annals: New York Academy of Science*, 52 (1949), pp. 94-103.

⁸⁵¹ EUA, GD46/Box 1: Curriculum vitae of Zygmunt Menschik, undated (ca. 1969); Othmar Solnitzky, 'Zygmunt Jozef Kazimierz Menschik: 1914-1969', *The Anatomical Record*, 168.2 (1970), p. 245.

⁸⁵² See their biographies in Gąsiorowski, *Story of graduates*, 89-222.

Pretoria, I filled more forms, and I waited. I went back to Johannesburg ... and I sat there, unhappily wasting time.⁸⁵³

When things started to get desperate, Kryszek came across an advertisement for the job of medical officer in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. He successfully applied and left South Africa with no regrets. He later worked in Nyasaland (Malawi) and Nova Scotia in Canada before finally settling down as a physician and board member of the Harcourt Clinic in Indianapolis, Indiana.⁸⁵⁴

Wanda Vogelfänger (née Zajęc) emigrated to South Africa in the early 1950s, and tried to settle down in Johannesburg. She was married to Henryk Vogelfänger, better known as 'Tońko', the star of pre-war Poland's most popular radio show, *Wesoła Lwowska Fala*, which was aired by Polish Radio in Lwów. They returned to Britain in 1960 and assumed the surname 'Barker', taken from their friends from Zululand in South Africa, Anthony and Margaret Barker, who were physicians, philanthropists and anti-Apartheid activists.⁸⁵⁵ Three years later Wanda Vogelfänger died tragically in a car accident in London.⁸⁵⁶

Other Poles tried to start a new life in South America. Wiktor Tomaszewski recalls that many of those who had emigrated to Brazil, Argentina or Venezuela later came back completely disappointed.⁸⁵⁷ For example, Alicja Lubicz-Sawicka (*secundo voto* McInnes), a PSM graduate, emigrated to Argentina in 1949 but soon came back, and after obtaining the Diploma of the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists in 1952, worked for many years in Sudan and Kenya. She finally settled in Britain in the mid-1970s.⁸⁵⁸ Another student, Andrzej (Andrew) Paklikowski, left the PSM on 1 August 1947 and emigrated to Venezuela.⁸⁵⁹

⁸⁵³ Kryszek Chard, *Reminiscences of Stanley Kryszek*, p. 52.

⁸⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 50-69.

⁸⁵⁵ Adam Redzik, 'Tońko', *Cracovia Leopoldis*, 4 (2007), retrieved on 8 July 2014 from: <http://www.cracovia-leopolis.pl/index.php?pokaz=sylwetki&id=1665>.

⁸⁵⁶ Gašiorowski, *Story of graduates*, pp. 219-220.

⁸⁵⁷ Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, p. 225.

⁸⁵⁸ Anon. 'Universities and Colleges', *BMJ*, 10 May 1952, p. 1036; *The Medical Register for 1954*, London: General Medical Council, 1954, p. 2527; *The Medical Directory 1975. 131st Annual Issue*, Edinburgh and London: Churchill Livingstone, 1975, p. 1617; Anon., 'Alicja Lubicz-Sawicka', *Polish in Argentina* website, retrieved on 20 May 2014 from: http://www.polishinargentina.info/ALICJA_ANNA-LUBICZ_SAWICKA.

⁸⁵⁹ EUA, IN14/7: Student record schedule of Andrzej Paklikowski.

Apparently unable to start a new life there, he returned to Communist Poland and in 1950 managed to complete his studies at the Medical Academy in Gdańsk.⁸⁶⁰ He briefly worked for the Polish Merchant Marine before leaving Poland for Africa. He worked in a leper colony in Kenya and in a missionary hospital in Nigeria. He returned to Edinburgh for retirement in the 1960s.⁸⁶¹

Conflict with the host society

The social integration and professional development of medical refugees from the PSM in the post-war period was inhibited or even completely stalled when they came into open conflict with the host society by breaking the laws of their adopted homeland. The most drastic example of this was the case of a male graduate who was struck from the Medical Register by an order of the General Medical Council in February 1951. This harsh penalty followed from the fact that he was convicted by a criminal court 'on six charges of indecent assault and one charge of attempted indecent assault upon male persons, and had been ordered to be imprisoned for 12 calendar months on each charge, to run concurrently'.⁸⁶² Further activities of this refugee remain unknown but the prison sentence effectively ended his medical career in post-war Britain. Other offences committed by Polish medical refugees were perhaps less drastic but could also have serious consequences. A female graduate of the PSM was convicted in 1946 of offences against the Dangerous Drugs Acts, 1920 to 1932. The nature of her misdeed is not clear but the Home Secretary, James Chuter Ede, withdrew her right to be in possession of, or to give prescriptions for, dangerous drugs, such as raw opium and morphine.⁸⁶³ A publicly announced decision of this kind probably undermined the prospects of a successful professional career in Britain. She returned to Poland and worked as a specialist radiologist in Sosnowiec.⁸⁶⁴

⁸⁶⁰ Woźniewski, *Polski Almanach Medyczny*, p. 252.

⁸⁶¹ Gebertt, 'Groby lekarzy polskich', p. 404; Machowski et al., *Polacy w Nigerii*, p. 426. See also the list of naturalised aliens in *The Edinburgh Gazette*, 1 Aug 1975, p. 1043.

⁸⁶² Anon., 'General Medical Council', *Supplement to the BMJ*, 17 Mar 1951, p. 85.

⁸⁶³ J. Chuter Ede, 'Dangerous Drugs Act, 1920 to 1932: Withdrawal of Authorities', *The London Gazette*, 29 November 1946, p. 5852.

⁸⁶⁴ Woźniewski, *Polski Almanach Medyczny*, p. 329.

In the 1950s, a graduate resident in Birkenhead was twice convicted for driving a car under the influence of alcohol. After the second offence, he was sentenced to spend three months in prison and was disqualified from driving for five years. The Medical Disciplinary Committee of the General Medical Council deliberated over this case and the Polish refugee was faced with the serious possibility of losing his license to practice medicine in Britain. A lawyer representing the Polish physician pleaded for clemency, pointing to his client's wartime experiences, such as capture by Soviet troops in September 1939, aptitude and resilience shown during his studies at the PSM, decorations for bravery on the battlefield, as well as severe wounds and partial disability incurred as a medical officer of a tank battalion in Normandy. The lawyer also presented a petition signed by around 600 'grateful patients' of the Polish doctor. The disciplinary committee decided to postpone its verdict for one year in order to give the defendant an opportunity to overcome his tendency to abuse alcohol, and, when the 12 months had passed, dismissed the case altogether in view of satisfactory information about the Polish doctor's conduct.⁸⁶⁵ A PSM graduate who obtained specialisation in obstetrics and gynaecology and worked in Walsall was convicted in 1984 of two cases of tax fraud. He was ordered to pay a rather substantial fine of £5,000 and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment (suspended for two years). The Polish doctor was admonished by the General Medical Council's professional conduct committee but he did not lose the right to practice medicine in Britain.⁸⁶⁶

Environmental and health factors

Professional careers of Polish medical refugees could also be negatively affected by environmental forces, such as impaired health and an unfavourable climate. Jarosław Kołcan's contract with the colonial medical service in St Vincent was terminated on medical grounds, less than 7 months after the Polish doctor's arrival in the Windward

⁸⁶⁵ Anon., 'Judgment Postponed: Influence of Drink', *Supplement to the BMJ*, 6 Dec 1958, p. 238; Anon., 'Cases Concluded', *Supplement to the BMJ*, 5 Dec 1959, p. 184.

⁸⁶⁶ Anon., 'GMC's Professional conduct committee', *BMJ*, 4 Aug 1984, p. 334.

Islands. Dr Kołcan left for Britain in June 1954 but his further fate is unknown. Perhaps the tropical climate of the Caribbean somehow diminished his health.⁸⁶⁷

Two radiologists from the PSM suffered from long-term effects of working in dangerous conditions. Bernard Czemplik, a lecturer in physics at the PSM, worked before the war as an X-ray machine operator in a tubercular hospital in Oborniki, near Poznań. Apparently due to the lack of financial resources, the director of this hospital refused to provide Dr Czemplik with a protective lead apron. Wiktor Tomaszewski recalls that the reason for his friend's chronic illness in Scotland became clear when a blood test revealed aplastic anaemia, a bone marrow disease that frequently develops as a consequence of prolonged exposure to Roentgen radiation.⁸⁶⁸ Czemplik died in the Paderewski Hospital in 1944 and was buried in Mount Vernon Cemetery.⁸⁶⁹ Adam Elektorowicz, senior lecturer (docent) in radiology at the PSM and head of the radiology department of the Paderewski Hospital, also suffered from a post-radiation cancer. He had several fingers amputated and was forced to retire from hospital work in 1958. The harsh Scottish climate further impaired Elektorowicz's fragile health as he suffered from chronic pneumonia and other respiratory diseases. He died in Dundee in 1961 at the age of 73.⁸⁷⁰ The notorious Scottish weather apparently continued to haunt Polish medical refugees even after they returned to Poland. Following a chronic illness which he developed in the humid and misty climate of Scotland, the health of Henryk Reiss greatly deteriorated in post-war period and inhibited his previously prolific professional and scientific activity. Professor Reiss died in Cracow in 1958 at the age of 59.⁸⁷¹

Traumatic wartime experiences, such as prolonged stays in internment camps, slave labour in extreme climatic conditions, and anxiety about friends and family

⁸⁶⁷ *St. Vincent Government Gazette*, 27 July 1954, p. 258; Anon., 'Annual Medical and Sanitary Report for the Calendar Year. St. Vincent – Windward Islands', *St. Vincent Government Gazette*, 10 Apr 1956, p. 9.

⁸⁶⁸ Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, p. 199.

⁸⁶⁹ Gebertt, 'Groby lekarzy polskich', p. 398.

⁸⁷⁰ W. Zawadowski, 'Wspomnienie pośmiertne: Doc. dr med. Adam Elektorowicz (1888-1961)', *Polski Przegląd Radiologii i Medycyny Nuklearnej*, 40.5 (1976), pp. 365-366.

⁸⁷¹ K. Lejman, 'Wspomnienie pośmiertne – Henryk Reiss', *Przegląd Dermatologiczny*, 46.2 (1959), pp. 230-231.

back in occupied Poland, could also have an adverse effect on the long-term physical and mental health of medical refugees at the PSM. H.B.M. Murphy demonstrates that wartime displacement resulted in higher mortality, suicide, and mental hospitalisation rates among refugees, as compared to the native population of Britain. These conditions were likely to be produced by the psychological strains associated with breaking away from an old culture and becoming established in a new one.⁸⁷² Murphy's psychiatric study of different refugee groups reveals that the newcomers showed a higher occurrence of mental breakdown than the rest of British society, with the Poles having the highest rate of schizophrenia. The psychological effects of social isolation, the language barrier, the hostile attitude of the natives, and the resulting lack of acceptance and interaction could partially explain the deviance in the mental sanity of Polish refugees.⁸⁷³ In the case of the PSM, three students never recovered from the anxieties of forced migration and committed suicide during or after the war.⁸⁷⁴ A survivor of the concentration camp in Miranda de Ebro resigned from his studies at the PSM in January 1945, ostensibly due to lack of progress. However, he was later treated for schizophrenia in the Polish psychiatry ward of the military hospital in Carstairs, the very same institution where his fellow students received clinical instruction in mental diseases. W.J. Mitus, who remembered this colleague as a fencing champion in pre-war Warsaw, recalls how his sanity gradually deteriorated during his medical studies in Edinburgh:

When [he] first came to us to take up his studies, apathy, not enthusiasm dominated his attitudes, not an unusual reaction, we thought, in one who had wasted five years of his life in a Spanish jail. But instead of easing with time his moods and depression continued. He usually stood, or sat, at the very edge of a circle of friends, mute and withdrawn and though clear of mind did not take part in sometimes vociferous and often argumentative discourse contributing only a simple yes or no when directly approached, consumed more in his own thoughts than in anything else. But it was only later when his accusatory suspicions became more than obvious; 'They are always whispering behind my back' he complained to me, his eyes pleading for understanding, 'I don't

⁸⁷² H.B.M. Murphy (ed.), *Flight and Resettlement*, Paris: Unesco, 1955, pp. 11-22.

⁸⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 173-194.

⁸⁷⁴ Anon., 'In Memoriam – Jerzy Cyrankiewicz', *Der Spiegel*, 2 (1961), p. 63; Tomaszewski, *Na szkockiej ziemi*, p. 113; Nowak, *Udział krakowskich lekarzy*, p. Gąsiorowski, *Story of graduates*, pp. 202-203; Interview with Halina Marszałek-Lewicka, London, 22 Oct 2012, minutes in possession of the author.

like to be talked about like that! I don't deserve it, I haven't done any harm to anybody,' that the diagnosis of schizophrenia was entertained and later confirmed.⁸⁷⁵

Not only mental but also physical ailments could haunt the lives of Polish medical refugees in the post-war period. Danuta Garczyk-Słowik, a PSM graduate who settled in the Canadian province of Manitoba in 1959, was not able to continue her promising career as a psychiatrist after she developed a chronic and disabling illness just four years after her arrival in North America.⁸⁷⁶ Another female graduate, Gertruda Kolibabka (Collie), who was a glider pilot, artist and president of the University of Edinburgh Women's Union, worked as a part-time gynaecologist in her husband's surgery in London. She had never been able to work full-time in post-war Britain because she was disabled by polio in the 1950s.⁸⁷⁷

Family employment strategies

Unlike those who were forced to retire from professional work because of chronic illness or disability, some female medical refugees made a conscious decision to devote themselves to family life. Irena Szeliga-Prażmo (Irene Bradley) was admitted to the PSM as a third year student in 1941. While in Edinburgh, she met and fell in love with a Polish medical officer of the Royal Air Force. They were married in April 1942, and Irena subsequently left her medical studies to become a full-time housewife and mother.⁸⁷⁸ Janina Czekałowska, who graduated from the PSM in 1944, did not practice medicine in the post-war period, and instead focused on her family responsibilities. She kept two households, one in Edinburgh, for her two children and parents who arrived from Poland, and one in Leeds, where her husband, Jarosław Czekałowski, worked as a virologist.⁸⁷⁹ Other women did not completely abandon their professional work but chose to prioritise family over career. Halina Marszałek-Lewicka recalls:

⁸⁷⁵ Mitus, *A Long Episode*, p. 744.

⁸⁷⁶ MRC: Danuta Maria Graczyk file.

⁸⁷⁷ Ibid.: Interview with Gertruda Kuklinska Collie-Kolibabka by Rebecca Lewis, 12 Jan 2000.

⁸⁷⁸ Anon. 'Irene Bradley: Notice', *The Edmonton Journal*, 8 Sept 2010, retrieved on 6 Sept 2012 from: <http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/edmontonjournal/obituary.aspx?n=irene-bradley&pid=145180230#fbLoggedOut>.

⁸⁷⁹ Gąsiorowski, *Losy absolwentów*, pp. 114-115.

I did not become a consultant because I married in 1952 and I had responsibilities to my family: my parents and my daughter. I tried to get my MRCP [Membership of the Royal College of Physicians] but in 1956 I failed the exam. I did a postgraduate course in Edinburgh in that year but I was unable to give it sufficient time. Maybe also I was not academically good enough, but I was a good doctor. I had to prioritise and so I never aimed at being a consultant.⁸⁸⁰

Polish female academics, such as Helena Śliżyńska and Cecylia Lutwak-Mann, developed a different strategy to combine professional career and family life. Helena Śliżyńska collaborated in the scientific research of her husband, before the war as a student at the Carnegie Institution of Washington in Cold Spring Harbor in the USA, during the war as senior assistant in the Department of Biology and Genetics at the PSM, and after the war as a researcher at the Institute of Animal Genetics in Edinburgh.⁸⁸¹ Cecylia Lutwak-Mann also collaborated with her husband, both in Edinburgh and in Cambridge. The Manns co-authored in 1981 the *Male Reproductive Function and Semen - Themes and Trends in Physiology, Biochemistry and Investigative Andrology*, which at the time was the most comprehensive and authoritative book on the subject.⁸⁸² The existing literature on the PSM hardly ever mentions the contributions of Cecylia Lutwak-Mann but her husband admitted in a video interview:

I would never have dreamt of sending a paper off to the publishers without Lila [Cecylia] going through to that paper and telling me ‘this is not quite clear, you have to change that’. She had that extraordinary ability for improving the style and answering that question of clarity, and that I appreciated ... also that she was able to criticise my work and be a judge of my own work. You know, it is very difficult to judge yourself at work ... but if you have a devoted wife who is also trained similarly and has similar interests, you can take that judgement from her. And that was very important!⁸⁸³

Conclusion

This chapter evaluated the legacy of the PSM for the post-war professional and academic careers of Polish medical refugees within the broader theoretical debates

⁸⁸⁰ MRC: Interview with Halina Marszałek by Rebecca Lewis, 4 Oct 1999, p. 5.

⁸⁸¹ SPSL, MS 205/6: Bronisław Śliżyński file, 1939. See also Nowak, *Udział Krakowskich Lekarzy*, p. 41.

⁸⁸² Polge, ‘Professor Thaddeus Mann’, retrieved on 12 May 2014.

⁸⁸³ BSC: Thaddeus Mann in Conversation with Robin Harrison, 24 Oct 1989.

on the forced migration of scholars in the twentieth century. Three different analytical perspectives were applied to the case study of Polish lecturers, researchers and students who were forcibly displaced to Edinburgh during and immediately after the Second World War. The legacy of the PSM was first analysed with the use of the traditional discourse of 'loss and gain'. The professional careers and scientific contributions of Polish refugees were then placed within the paradigm of a 'global circulation of scholars'. Finally, Paul Weindling's 'total population' approach towards the refugee predicament was applied to the case study of the PSM. It could be argued that the academic qualifications, clinical skills, and above all, the trans-cultural competency gained through work and study at the PSM allowed many of the uprooted Poles to settle down in a new environment, and prepared them well to pursue rewarding professional careers not only in Britain, the place of their wartime asylum, but everywhere from Saskatoon in Canada to Mombasa in Kenya to Te Awamutu in New Zealand to wherever else they eventually found peace after the horrors of war and traumas of forced migration. At the same time, this chapter pointed out that the successful careers and outstanding scientific contributions of the more fortunate Polish refugees should not overshadow the stories of those lecturers, graduates and students who died in exile far away from home, never recovered mentally from the traumas of war, suffered from impaired health and a hostile climate, fell victim to political persecution and xenophobia, or for any other reason were not able to fully realise their human potential in a post-war world. The poignant stories of these men and women should not be forgotten.

Conclusion

The PSM will ultimately be remembered as a symbol of hope in humanity. The existence of an autonomous Polish medical faculty in Edinburgh between 1941 and 1949 was a paradoxically benevolent by-product of the displacement of millions of Poles during and immediately after the Second World War. In the midst of the worst carnage in modern history, men and women of various generations, nationalities, religious creeds and political beliefs were able to overcome their many differences in order to cooperate for the benefit of medicine, which has always been the antithesis of indiscriminate murder. While millions of human beings were being slaughtered because of their perceived race, religion or social class, the University of Edinburgh magnanimously allowed Polish refugees to learn how to heal wounds and save lives.

This dissertation argued that the involvement of medical refugees with the PSM between 1941 and 1949 can only be understood fully as a part of their broader experience of involuntary migration. The conditions of departure from Poland and circumstances of arrival in Britain of Polish medical refugees were analogous to the broader wave of 250,000 Poles who found a safe haven on British soil during or immediately after the Second World War. Few of them left their homes with the intention or hope of pursuing medical studies, scientific research or didactic work at the University of Edinburgh. Their war-induced displacement was in most cases sudden and unexpected. Even those who arrived in Western Europe or America before the war as students, guest researchers or tourists came to Britain primarily as soldiers or civilian dependants of the Polish Armed Forces in the West.

The application of Kunz's and Johansson's models to the case study of the PSM allowed one not only to locate the wartime experiences of medical refugees at the PSM within the broader context of Polish wartime migration to Britain but also to establish a methodological connection between the more insular Polish sources and the broader historiographical debates on involuntary migration in mid-twentieth-century Europe. An opportunity to empirically test the explanatory power of those two models reveals that victims of forced migration can be analysed not only as 'helpless pawns' of structural forces, but also as agents who sometimes have the

possibility to decide their own fate. The wartime movement of Polish medical refugees was initiated by the policies of German and Soviet invaders, but the subjective motivations and individual resources of the refugees themselves allowed them to complete their journey towards Edinburgh. This dissertation would therefore recommend that future researchers try to apply Kunz's and Johansson's models to other similar cases of wartime and post-war refugee movements in Europe.

The setting up, internal organisation and day-to-day activities of the PSM between 1941 and 1949 were analysed within the framework of a triadic relationship between Polish medical refugees, their British hosts, their lost homeland, and the global Polish diaspora. Informed by the analysis of the PSM's contacts with Czechoslovak and Yugoslav medical refugees in wartime Britain, it was also suggested that a fourth dimension of the diasporic relationship, i.e. conflict and cooperation between different migrant communities within the same host society, should be taken into account by scholars of involuntary migration. This dissertation demonstrated that attempts to present the PSM as a unique and unprecedented institution or a wartime continuation of one or another Polish medical faculty are not only very loosely based on historical facts but also threaten to undermine the international legacy of friendship and scientific cooperation which the British and Polish founders of the PSM strove to establish in the dark days of 1941.

In fact, although there were many obvious continuities with pre-war medical education in Poland, the PSM was, in essence, a hybrid, 'transnational' institution. It was created and successfully operated for eight years thanks to the concerted efforts of professors and lecturers from all five pre-war universities in Poland as well as English, Scottish, Canadian and New Zealander professors, research assistants, laboratory technicians and janitors from the University of Edinburgh. The PSM's student body included Polish citizens of different ethno-religious backgrounds as well as ethnic Poles who were born and/or educated in Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, France, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, the USA, Canada, the Middle East and even China. Several Czechoslovak and Yugoslav students were admitted to the PSM, and even though they were eventually withdrawn, their initial applications point to the potentially supranational appeal of opening an autonomous medical faculty for a group of Eastern European refugees in the Scottish capital.

This dissertation also emphasised that wartime activities of Polish medical refugees in Edinburgh were primarily oriented towards the homeland. After all, the PSM was established to preserve Polish science and learning in exile, to train medical personnel for the post-war reconstruction of Polish academic medicine and healthcare services, and to foster future academic cooperation between the University of Edinburgh and a liberated Poland. The PSM's relationship with Poland was primarily analysed in the framework of a long-distance nationalist project, a more universally applicable rendering of the concept of 'exile mission'. The case study of the PSM points out that diasporic nationalism does not have to be limited to propagating, sponsoring, and arming rebel groups and terror campaigns in the ancestral homeland, but can also have a more benevolent side that symbolically and practically benefits victims of war and forced migration.

It was also demonstrated that Thomas Tweed's theory of 'diasporic religion' can, with some necessary modifications, be applied to the historical case study of Roman Catholic exiles at the PSM. It seems that, similarly to their Cuban coreligionists in late-twentieth-century Miami, Polish Catholics in wartime Edinburgh used religious narratives, diasporic theology, religious institutions, rituals and artifacts to symbolically move across time and space between the lost fatherland and their adopted home in Scotland. In accordance with Tweed's methodological caveats, it seems that cause and length of displacement, environment of exile in Scotland and pre-war religious traditions in Poland, all had some effect on the development of a Polish variety of diasporic Roman Catholicism. On the other hand, this case study reveals that very specific factors, such as the personality of a local priest, could sometimes influence the religious practices of exiled devotees. The findings of this case study of the religious practices of Polish Catholic refugees at the PSM could therefore encourage future researchers to look at the spiritual lives of other predominantly Roman Catholic immigrant and refugee groups through the lens of Tweed's theory of 'diasporic religion'.

In the context of the relationship between Polish medical refugees and the broader Polish diaspora in Britain and beyond, it was demonstrated that the PSM was a pioneering and model institution that established a successful pattern of Polish-British academic cooperation. It was also emphasised that, at the moment of its

creation in early 1941, the PSM was the only officially existing Polish institution of higher education in the world. However, within a few years the Polish medical faculty in Edinburgh became the nucleus of a whole network of Polish academic schools in Britain which was, in turn, related to a global system of high schools in exile. During and immediately after the war, thousands of Polish refugees were given the opportunity to pursue higher education in different disciplines not only in autonomous Polish schools in Edinburgh, Oxford, Liverpool and London but also at various British universities in Scotland, England, Wales and Ireland. Polish students beyond Britain were at the same time allowed to study medicine in Switzerland, Lebanon and Italy. Medical refugees at the PSM were by no means a unique subgroup of the Polish wartime diaspora in Britain, even if their social origins and level of education were higher than those of an average Polish soldier, sailor or airman.

In comparison with the whole Polish wartime migration to Britain, medical refugees at the PSM were characterised by an overrepresentation of the intelligentsia, a relatively high percentage of women, and a low ratio of return migration after 1945. Only 13% of them decided to repatriate to a homeland that was liberated from a murderous Nazi grip only to be subjugated to a Communist yoke. In contrast, Sword et al. estimate that 105,000 (47%) soldiers of the Polish Armed Forces in the West returned to Poland, while 114,000 (53%) joined the Polish Resettlement Corps in Britain.⁸⁸⁴ What made Polish medical refugees in Edinburgh really stand out from other subgroups of the Polish wartime diaspora in Britain was the fact that professional qualifications, transferable skills and trans-cultural competency obtained at the PSM enabled the majority of them to overcome, to a varying extent, their refugee predicament by pursuing professional and academic careers in different countries of post-war settlement. Despite initial difficulties and instances of discrimination, most graduates and former members of the PSM's teaching staff were able to practice medicine outside of Poland as GPs, hospital specialists and medical officers, or to pursue didactic work and biomedical research at foreign universities. In contrast, very few graduates of the Polish Faculty of Law in Oxford

⁸⁸⁴ Sword et al., *Formation of the Polish Community*, pp. 79-80.

who remained in exile were able to find gainful employment in their originally chosen profession.⁸⁸⁵

Polish medical qualifications were recognised in post-war Britain as a part of the broader Polish resettlement scheme but, unlike the majority of Polish ex-servicemen and civilians, graduates of the PSM entered a relatively well-paid and socially respected profession. The recognition of PSM diplomas in Britain also opened the possibility of finding temporary or even permanent employment in British dominions and colonies in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean. Fluency in English and familiarity with the Anglo-Saxon medical tradition also facilitated emigration to countries such as the USA, where licensing exams were required.⁸⁸⁶ The PSM was a temporary wartime venture but the level of education received by its graduates was by no means subpar. Holders of a PSM diploma additionally benefitted from an association with the world-famous medical school of the University of Edinburgh.⁸⁸⁷

The post-war careers of PSM students who were transferred to other British universities were analogous to those who completed their studies at the PSM. The two samples vary considerably in size (227 graduates and 38 transferred students) but the proportion of high achievers and failures in both groups are comparable and no obvious disadvantage to the holders of a PSM degree is discernible. The essential difference that a lack of a Polish or British diploma made for the lives of medical refugees is exemplified by the poignant story of Henryk Bilakiewicz, a survivor of the notorious Soviet labour camp in Vorkuta, who was among the nine students who failed the last final exams in March 1949. Almost ten years after the closing of the PSM, Bilakiewicz was still looking for financial support that would allow him to prepare for the licensing exams of the English Conjoint Board.⁸⁸⁸ The testimony of Bilakiewicz's struggles to complete medical studies in post-war Britain, which he submitted in 1958 to a Resettlement Officer of the British Legion in Scotland, is worth quoting at length:

[PSM] was liquidated in March 1949. So I not had fair chance to pass my finals. The Examining Board in England accepted my application and

⁸⁸⁵ Cywiński et al., *Polish Faculty of Law*, p. 12.

⁸⁸⁶ Kulczycki, *From Adversity to Victory*, p. 24.

⁸⁸⁷ Gebertt, 'Życie studentów', p. 344; Kryszek Chard, *Reminiscences of Stanley Kryszek*, p. 21.

⁸⁸⁸ EUA, IN14/8: Letter from Major William Hendry to Sydney Smith, 14 Nov 1958.

permitted me to enter Final L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S. examinations. I took as first subject surgery. But being at Assistance Board it was impossible to attend London session. By borrowing £13 I have been at examination but failed. Committee returned only my expenses, £13. I returned to Edinburgh and started to work at North British Rubber Co. Ltd. as labourer. The Examining Board in England asked me to attend practical courses in surgery at Royal Infirmary Edinburgh. My forman in North British Factory promised to change my shift to enable attendance to Royal Infirmary. I made arrangements with my surgical tutors and they put my name on the list of students. But, when lectures started North British Co. Labour Officer refused to change shift and sacked me. So I had been unemployed till 1954, I past my tuition but spend also my small savings. In August 1954 still in view to go for Examination in Surgery I started work at London Road Foundry and worked there to 12 I 1957, when my application to British Railways was accepted. During training courses as shanter [?] and guard I fall ill 19 I 1957. Having my final medical certificate to resume work, I called on Superintendent Office and had been told, that, as a Pole, I am not on staff list and so again I had lost my job. And I am again unemployed with all my savings again spend during my illness and with additional, paramount difficulty – poor health [original spelling].⁸⁸⁹

The further fate of this unlucky refugee is unknown but a survey of British Medical Registers from the 1950s and 1960s did not return the name of Henryk Bilakiewicz, and therefore it seems that he was ultimately unable to complete his quest for a British medical degree. This professional setback followed an earlier personal tragedy. While still studying at the PSM, Bilakiewicz was abandoned by a newly-wedded British wife who took their daughter with her.⁸⁹⁰

The importance of PSM diplomas for the lives of Polish medical refugees is perhaps best visible in the gratitude expressed to the University of Edinburgh on the occasion of global reunions and anniversary celebrations which have been organised every five years since 1966. Although scattered across the globe, the surviving Polish medical refugees have regularly gathered in the capital of Scotland to pay tribute to their *Alma Mater Edinburgensis* for lighting a beacon of hope for Polish science and learning in the dark days of 1941. Professor Crew, who has been remembered by the Poles as their great friend and benefactor, was invited to attend the first global reunion of graduates in 1966. He was apparently struck by the emotional manner in

⁸⁸⁹ EUA, IN14/8: Henryk Bilakiewicz's diary, undated (ca. 1958).

⁸⁹⁰ EUA, GD46/Box 6: Letter from Wiktor Markiewicz to Wiktor Tomaszewski, 7 Dec 1990.

which middle-aged Polish medical practitioners who came to Edinburgh from all over the world expressed their gratitude for allowing them to complete their studies in the darkest days of modern Polish history. Crew recalled this event in an interview from 1969: ‘a couple of years ago I went back to Edinburgh to the 25th anniversary of the foundation of [the PSM], a very highly charged atmosphere altogether, people crying all over me’.⁸⁹¹

Twenty years later, inspired by the legacy of wartime friendship and academic collaboration, a group of graduates from Britain and the USA founded the PSM Memorial Fund. The aim of this still-existing scheme is to foster links between the University of Edinburgh and Polish centres of medical education. The accumulated capital is used to provide generous scholarships for competitively selected young Polish physicians to pursue six months of specialist medical studies at the University of Edinburgh. The Fund also sponsors annual ‘Antoni Jurasz lectures’ which are delivered by professors of the University of Edinburgh at the Poznań University of Medical Sciences and another selected Polish medical school. During their visits to Poznań, the Scottish guests traditionally pay their tributes at the grave of Professor Jurasz at the Citadel Cemetery.⁸⁹² Seperate scholarship programmes for Polish medical students at the University of Edinburgh were set up in the early 1990s by Bożena Bain (née Ziółkowska) and by the widows of Władysław Kulesza and Józef Witek.⁸⁹³

The Polish Historical Collection in the Erskine Medical Library in Edinburgh was opened in 1986. Dr Tomaszewski had been gathering items for the collection for the previous 20 years. This museum of Polish-Scottish medicine was built around a series of commemorative medals that were presented to the University of Edinburgh by various universities and medical academies from Poland in appreciation of the help given to the Polish nation during the Second World War. The collection also includes photographs of the founders of the PSM, sculptures by Professor Rostowski

⁸⁹¹ EUA, IN1/ACU/S1/1: Interview with Prof. Crew by Margaret Deacon, 1969.

⁸⁹² Tomaszewski, ‘Pięćdziesiąt lat PWL’, p. 309; Kazimierz Nowak, ‘Znaczenie Polskiego Wydziału Lekarskiego w Edynburgu’, *AHiFM*, 62.3 (1999), p. 225. See also the *Polish School of Medicine Memorial Fund* website, available at: <http://www.ed.ac.uk/schools-departments/student-funding/postgraduate/uk-eu/medicine-vet-medicine/polish>.

⁸⁹³ EUA, GD46/Box 6: Correspondence of Wiktor Tomaszewski, 1988-1993.

and other Polish artists, oil paintings, military decorations and badges as well as many other miscellaneous items.⁸⁹⁴ When the Erskine Medical Library was closed in 2002, the Polish collection was moved to the so-called 'Polish Room' of the Chancellor's Building in Little France campus. The official rededication of the collection in the new location was attended by surviving graduates, their families and friends as well as representatives of the University of Edinburgh and the Poznań University of Medical Sciences.⁸⁹⁵ Cairns Aitkin, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine and Vice-Principal of the University of Edinburgh, commented on these developments in 1991:

The [PSM] ceased to exist over 40 years ago but spiritually it lives on in a different form. Its heart-beats are now the Memorial Fund for Scholarships, the Dr. Antoni Jurasz Lectureship and the Polish Historical Collection in the Erskine Medical Library. The greatest asset left by the School at the University of Edinburgh, however, is the continuing goodwill.⁸⁹⁶

This idea of a historical *longue durée* of the PSM was fully expressed during the Golden Jubilee celebrations in 1991. This was the first commemorative event in Edinburgh after the fall of Communism and was attended by the Ambassador and General Consul of the Republic of Poland, high-ranking medical officers of the Polish Armed Forces, and delegates of medical academies from Poland. Apart from distinguished guests who attended the Golden Jubilee in person, messages of congratulations and appreciation were sent by the Rectors of medical academies in Poznań, Warsaw, Cracow, and Wrocław, the Rector of the Military Medical Academy in Łódź, the President of the City Council of Warsaw, the Rector of the Polish University Abroad in London, the President of the Polish Medical Association in Great Britain, and Mr Lech Wałęsa, leader of the Solidarity movement and democratically elected President of the Republic of Poland. The programme of the

⁸⁹⁴ Wiktor Tomaszewski, 'Polskie zbiory historyczne na Uniwersytecie w Edynburgu', *AHiFM*, 58.3 (1995), pp. 329-344.

⁸⁹⁵ Maria Dlugolecka-Graham (ed.), *The Rededication of the Polish School of Medicine Historical Collection at the University of Edinburgh, 5th April 2005*, Edinburgh: Polish School of Medicine Historical Project at the University of Edinburgh, 2005.

⁸⁹⁶ Wiktor Tomaszewski (ed.), *In the Dark Days of 1941. Fifty Years of the Polish School of Medicine 1941-1991: The University of Edinburgh Jubilee Publication*, Edinburgh: Wiktor Tomaszewski, 1991, p. xi.

Golden Jubilee included the screening of *A Magnanimous Gesture/Wspaniały Dar*, a bilingual documentary film on the fifty years of the PSM.⁸⁹⁷ The name of the movie alludes to a small booklet that was published in 1987 under the title *A Magnanimous Gesture in Wartime* by John Harvey, a medical graduate of the University of Edinburgh. The pamphlet was written as a personal tribute to graduates of the PSM whom the author had first met on the battlefields of Normandy in 1944.⁸⁹⁸ Dr Harvey was in turn elected an honorary member of the Graduates' Association of the PSM during the global reunion in 1991.⁸⁹⁹

The Golden Jubilee culminated with a special graduation ceremony. Wiktor Tomaszewski, who did more than anyone to keep the memory of the PSM alive in Edinburgh, was awarded by the University with an honorary Degree of Doctor of Medicine. Among many guests from Britain, Poland and beyond, the University of Edinburgh invited Keith O'Brien, the Archbishop of St. Andrews and Edinburgh. Dr Tomaszewski claims that this was the first time in history that a Roman Catholic hierarch took part in an official ceremony at the University of Edinburgh.⁹⁰⁰ Archbishop O'Brien assisted the University in acquiring a special blessing from John Paul II, and agreed to personally deliver the Polish Pope's message.⁹⁰¹ On behalf of the Holy Father, Bishop Giovanni Battista Re wrote to the participants of the Golden Jubilee celebrations that:

The founding of the [PSM] in 1941 bore eloquent witness to bonds of solidarity existing between the Polish and Scottish peoples amid the violence and sufferings of the Second World War. His Holiness expresses the hope that a similar spirit of generous concern for the needs of others will inspire the School's graduates in their efforts to bring healing and hope to the people of their native Poland, the British Isles and other countries throughout the world. ... Invoking God's abundant graces upon the staff, students and graduates of the [PSM], His Holiness

⁸⁹⁷ Royal Infirmary Library, Edinburgh, LF 1042 Mag 1991: Wiktor Tomaszewski, narration by Dr Gordon Leitch, *A Magnanimous Gesture: The Polish School of Medicine: An Historical Review on the 50th Anniversary of the School 1941-1991* [videorecording], Edinburgh: Audio Visual Services, University of Edinburgh, 2012. See also Tomaszewski, *In the Dark Days*, p. 9.

⁸⁹⁸ John Harvey, *A Magnanimous Gesture in Wartime: A Personal Tribute to Medical Colleagues of a Gallant Nation*, Brisbane: The Department of Child Health, Royal Children's Hospital, Brisbane, 1987.

⁸⁹⁹ Tomaszewski, *In the Dark Days*, p. 10.

⁹⁰⁰ Tomaszewski, 'Pięćdziesiąt lat PWL', p. 310.

⁹⁰¹ SCA, DE 67/102/7: Letter from Rüdiger Echl to Archbishop Keith O'Brien, 28 May 1991.

willingly imparts to them and to their families the requested Apostolic Blessing.⁹⁰²

Tomaszewski notes that the Polish Pope's blessing was 'received with appreciation and great satisfaction by the Polish participants'.⁹⁰³ On behalf of the Organising Committee of the PSM, Tomaszewski later conveyed thanks to Archbishop O'Brien for his 'taking part in the Golden Jubilee Ceremony and delivering the message of His Holiness John Paul II, an event for which [the Organising Committee] were particularly proud and grateful.'⁹⁰⁴

The special graduation ceremony in 1991 was recorded on video and all the speeches have been transcribed by Dr Tomaszewski in the official jubilee publication.⁹⁰⁵ A characteristic yellow cover of this booklet depicts the crests of the PSM and the University of Edinburgh as well as a Thistle, the official flower of Scotland. The title of the album, *In the Dark Days of 1941*, alludes to the expression that was first used in the inscription on the memorial plaque in the quadrangle of the Old Medical School in Edinburgh. Wiktor Tomaszewski commented on the significance of the Golden Jubilee in the following words:

Recent political developments in Eastern Europe have at last opened the door to a free and full exchange of people and ideas. The wartime dreams of the initiators and organisers of the University of Edinburgh's humanitarian gesture are being fulfilled. The future can be viewed with hope and confidence.⁹⁰⁶

The most recent global reunion of Polish medical refugees was held in May 2011 by a few surviving graduates, their families and friends who gathered in Edinburgh to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the founding of the PSM. Halina Marszałek-Lewicka from London, Anna Sokołowska from Canada and Zbigniew Soból from the USA arrived in person, while Henryk Urich and Lucas Kulczycki sent their

⁹⁰² Letter from Bishop Giovanni Battista Re to Archbishop Keith O'Brien, 13 Feb 1991, reproduced in Tomaszewski, *In the Dark Days*, p. 70.

⁹⁰³ Ibid., p. 31.

⁹⁰⁴ SCA, DE 67/102/15: Letter from Wiktor Tomaszewski to Archbishop Keith O'Brien, 15 June 1991.

⁹⁰⁵ Royal Infirmary Library, Edinburgh, LF 1042 Gol 2012: Jim Colvin, *Golden jubilee of the Polish School of Medicine 1941-1991* [videorecording], Edinburgh : Audio Visual Services, University of Edinburgh, 2012. See also Tomaszewski, *In the Dark Days*, pp. 21-36.

⁹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 38.

greetings over the telephone and Internet.⁹⁰⁷ The global reunion in 2011 inspired a number of commemorative events, memorial publications, historical exhibitions and projects in both Poland and Scotland.⁹⁰⁸

Summing up, this dissertation argued that the founding of the PSM was possible thanks to the trans-cultural competency of many individuals who were involved in this remarkable venture in international scientific collaboration. This trans-cultural competency is understood as an embodied experience of living, studying and working in an international environment. It can be argued, in turn, that the PSM endowed its graduates and former members of the teaching staff with a similar experience. The hybrid nature of the PSM was a benevolent by-product of the wartime conditions of arrival of Polish medical refugees in Britain. The PSM was envisioned as a completely autonomous Polish faculty and was supposed to prepare its students for an eventual return to Poland, but the lack of Polish cadres and clinical facilities meant that the teaching of certain subjects was taken over by appropriate departments of the University of Edinburgh. The creative combination of Polish and Scottish curricula and teaching methods as well as bilingual instruction and examinations proved to be a blessing when the political situation after the war prevented the repatriation of the vast majority of Polish medical refugees.

The PSM never became a Polish academic 'ghetto' that would isolate Polish students from the British medical tradition and university system. Most of the graduates had minimal, if any, familiarity with English language and British culture before the war, but the knowledge, experience and skills gained in the lecture halls, teaching wards and laboratory facilities of the University of Edinburgh prepared them well for the challenges of post-war work in all the corners of the English-speaking world, from Vancouver in the West to Singapore in the East and from Thurso in the North to the Falkland Islands in the South. The undoubtedly Polish national character of the PSM at the same time protected the refugees from alienation

⁹⁰⁷ Anna Moniuszko-Malinowska, '70-lecie Polskiego Wydziału Lekarskiego w Edynburgu', *Medyk Białostocki*, 100 (2011), p. 11.

⁹⁰⁸ See for example, Programme of the *Exhibition: 70th Anniversary Polish School of Medicine at The University of Edinburgh*, 4 May – 25 June 2011, retrieved on 11 May 2014 from: <http://doestore.mvm.ed.ac.uk/Events/PSM/English.pdf>; Programme of the exhibition, *Polski Wydział Lekarski w Edynburgu i jego poznańskie konotacje, 1914-2001*, Mar – Sept 2011, retrieved on 11 May 2014 from: <http://www.wkn.com.pl/index.php?start=25>.

and homesickness. Rather than exposing Polish students to a linguistically and cultural different environment, the hybrid nature of the PSM gradually prepared them for integration with the host society, without severing their psychological ties to the homeland. A measured transition from the Polish to the Scottish model of medical education was incidentally facilitated by the fact that the number of English-language courses and exams intensified only in the higher years of study, while the pre-clinical subjects were mostly taught in separate Polish departments in the Bristo Street building. The significant presence of women among medical students at the PSM moreover allowed many lonely and often orphaned refugees to find a life partner from the same religious and cultural background.

It can only be hoped that the lessons learnt from the history of the PSM and other Polish academic schools in Britain might one day serve as a universal model for the successful integration of refugees. Hybrid educational institutions seem to be an ideal solution to the problems of ghettoisation and alienation of migrant youth. The profound emotional attachment that many graduates of the PSM have felt for the University of Edinburgh demonstrates that magnanimity of the host society is a more effective way of buying loyalty of foreign-born residents than restrictions and surveillance. It is perhaps appropriate to conclude this dissertation by quoting the Latin maxim which, in accordance with Polish university tradition, was used to symbolically open and close the activities of the PSM:

Quod Felix Faustum Fortunatumque Sit!

(May the outcome be lucky, propitious and successful!)

APPENDIX

Table 1. Social structure of Poland in 1938

SOCIOECONOMIC STRATUM	ESTIMATED POPULATION	PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL
Landed gentry	0.1 million	0.3%
Bourgeoisie	0.3 million	0.9%
Intelligentsia	2.0 million	5.7%
Petit bourgeoisie	4.1 million	11.8%
Peasants	17.4 million	50.0%
Agricultural labourers	3.1 million	8.9%
Workers	7.4 million	21.3%
Chronically unemployed and other marginalised people	0.4 million	1.1%
TOTAL	34.8 million	100%

Source: Janusz Żarnowski, *Spółeczeństwo Drugiej Rzeczpospolitej 1918-1939*, Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1973, p. 32.

Table 2. Social origins of Polish university students in the academic year 1934/1935

SOCIOECONOMIC STRATUM	PERCENTAGE OF ALL STUDENTS
Landed gentry	3%
Bourgeoisie	6%
Intelligentsia	58%
Petit bourgeoisie	14%
Peasants	11%
Agricultural labourers	<1%
Workers	6.5%
Others	<1%

Source: Estimates based on Stanisław Mauersberg, 'Społeczne uwarunkowania dostępu do szkoły w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej', in Karol Poznański (ed.), *Oświata, szkolnictwo i wychowanie w latach II Rzeczypospolitej*, Lublin, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 1991, p. 40; Janusz Żarnowski, *Społeczeństwo Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej 1918-1939*, Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1973, p. 206.

Table 3. Jewish medical students at Polish universities in the academic year 1921/1922

Faculty of Medicine	Number of medical students	Number of Jewish students	Percentage of Jewish students
University of Warsaw	1683	628	37%
Jagiellonian University (Cracow)	848	249	29%
John Casimir University (Lwów)	1225	598	49%
University of Poznań	288	3	1%
Stephen Bathory University (Vilna)	398	87	22%
TOTAL	4442	1565	35%

Source: Antoni Cieszyński, 'Czy i jak należy przeciwdziałać nadmiernemu przyrostowi lekarzy w Polsce,' *Polska Gazeta Lekarska*, 11 (1923), p. 195.

Table 4. Functional categories of medical refugees at the PSM

FUNCTIONAL CATEGORY	NUMBER OF REFUGEES
SENIOR TEACHING STAFF	37
Professors	9
Assistant Professors	1
Senior lecturers (docents)	11
Lecturers	16
AUXILIARY TEACHING STAFF	39
Senior assistants	33
Junior assistants	6
STUDENTS	361
MB, ChB graduates	227
MD graduates	19
Non-completing students	122
Pharmacy graduates	5
TOTAL	406

Note: Some refugees belonged to more than one functional category, see Table 18.

Source: Edinburgh University Archives, EUA IN14/7: Records of the PSM, Record schedules of non-completing students, 1941-1947; Jakub Rostowski, *History of the Polish School of Medicine*, Edinburgh: The University of Edinburgh, 1955, pp. 42-66. Please note that Rostowski gives an erroneous number of 228 undergraduates. His list actually provides 227 names but omits number 111. Please also note that the number of 122 non-completing students used in this table includes 13 students whose record schedules are available in Edinburgh University Archives but who, for unknown reasons, are not listed in Rostowski's book.

Table 5. Professional affiliation of Polish medical refugees in August 1939

INSTITUTIONS	SENIOR TEACHING STAFF		AUXILIARY TEACHING STAFF	
	No.	%	No.	%
Polish universities:	30	81.1%	8	20.5%
Jagiellonian University, Cracow	8	21.6%	2	5.1%
Joseph Piłsudski University, Warsaw	7	18.9%	3	7.7%
University of Poznań	7	18.9%	0	0.0%
John Casimir University, Lwów	5	13.5%	2	5.1%
Stephen Bathory University, Vilna	3	8.1%	1	2.6%
Hospitals and private medical Practice	2	5.4%	3	7.7%
Military medical institutions	2	5.4%	1	2.6%
Other Polish institutions			2	5.1%
Foreign universities	2	5.4%	1	2.6%
No pre-war professional affiliation	1	2.7%	17	43.6%
No data available			7	18.0%
TOTAL	37	100%	39	100%

Note: Category ‘no pre-war professional affiliation’ refers to members of staff who were still students before the war, while category ‘no data available’ refers to members of staff whose pre-war professional affiliation is unknown.

Source: Data compiled from a variety of sources listed in the Bibliography.

Table 6. Educational background of PSM students

PREVIOUS UNIVERSITY EDUCATION	NUMBER OF STUDENTS
Polish medical faculties	172
Austria-Hungary (pre-1918):	1
Jagiellonian University, Cracow	1
Second Polish Republic (1918-1939):	168
Joseph Piłsudski University, Warsaw	48
incl. the School of Medical Officer Cadets	22
John Casimir University, Lwów	46
Jagiellonian University, Cracow	34
University of Poznań	28
Stephen Bathory University, Vilna	23
German-occupied Poland (1939-1945):	3
(Clandestine) University of the Western Lands	3
Medical faculties abroad	55
France	34
Belgium	7
Italy	7
Czechoslovakia	3
Germany	3
Lithuania	3
Switzerland	2
Austria	2
UK	1
USA	1
Canada	1
Lebanon	1
Romania	1
Hungary	1
Other faculties in Poland and abroad	36
Veterinary medicine	13
Pharmacy	6
Law	4
Natural science	4
Agriculture	3
Physical education	3
Humanities and social science	3
Fine arts	1
No previous university education	75
Unknown previous education	36
TOTAL	361

Note: Some students attended more than one university in Poland and/or abroad. This table only refers to the 361 students of the PSM and not to all 406 medical refugees who were associated with the PSM.

Source: Data compiled from a variety of sources listed in the Bibliography.

Table 7. Age and gender structure of medical refugees at the PSM

Decade of birth	Percentage of births	Number of births:	<i>men</i>	<i>women</i>
1880s	2.7%	11	<i>10</i>	<i>1</i>
1890s	4.2%	17	<i>17</i>	<i>0</i>
1900s	13.8%	56	<i>47</i>	<i>9</i>
1910s	61.8%	251	<i>201</i>	<i>50</i>
1920s	16.3%	66	<i>21</i>	<i>45</i>
Unknown	1.2%	5	<i>1</i>	<i>4</i>
TOTAL	100%	406	<i>297</i>	<i>109</i>

Source: Data compiled from variety of sources listed in the Bibliography. For cross-referencing purposes, see also Table 18.

Table 8. High school education of the '1.5 generation' of medical refugees at the PSM

TYPE OF HIGH SCHOOL	TOTAL NO. STUDENTS	NO. OF BOYS	NO. OF GIRLS
Polish High Schools	43	11	32
Scotland	20	7	13
Palestine	16	1	15
France	5	2	3
England	1	0	1
Romania	1	1	0
Non-Polish High Schools	10	2	8
British	8	2	6
French (in Britain)	1	0	1
Canadian	1	0	1

Source: Edinburgh University Archives, EUA IN14/7: Record schedules of non-completing students of the PSM; Koło Byłych Uczennic Żeńskiego Gimnazjum i Liceum im. Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej w Scone Palace, Dunalastair House and Grendon Hall, *Niezwykła Szkoła na Wypnaniu 1941-1951. A Remarkable School in Exile*, London: Veritas Foundation, 2003; Alicja Bober-Michałowska, *Życie autorem*, Kolbuszowa: Miejska i Powiatowa Biblioteka Publiczna w Kolbuszowej, 2005; Jakub Gąsiorowski, *Losy absolwentów Polskiego Wydziału Lekarskiego w Edynburgu*, Toruń: MADO, 2004.

Table 9. Religious affiliation of medical refugees at the PSM

RELIGION	ALL REFUGEES		STUDENTS	
	NO.	%	NO.	%
Roman Catholic	345	85.0%	305	84.5%
Jewish	37	9.1%	35	9.7%
Lutheran	10	2.5%	10	2.8%
Christian Orthodox	1	0.2%	1	0.3%
No religious affiliation	7	1.7%	5	1.4%
No information available	6	1.5%	5	1.3%
TOTAL	406	100%	361	100%

Source: Data compiled from a variety of sources listed in the Bibliography. For cross-referencing purposes, see also Table 18.

Table 10. Parallel lives of Antoni Jurasz and Francis Crew

LIEUT.-COL. PROF. ANTONI TOMASZ JURASZ	LIEUT.-COL. PROF. FRANCIS ALBERT ELEY CREW
Born in 1882 in Heidelberg to an English mother	Born in 1886 near Birmingham
MD, University of Heidelberg (1907)	MB, ChB, University of Edinburgh (1913)
House Surgeon, German Hospital in London	First World War: RAMC in France and India
First World War: Western and Eastern Front	
Chair of Surgery, University of Poznań (1920-1939)	Institute of Animal Breeding, University of Edinburgh (1921-1944)
Scientific contacts with England, USA, France, Germany, Romania, Italy, Czechoslovakia and Brazil	International team of researchers, incl. refugees from Germany and Italy
	Collaboration with Stefan Kopeć
	VII International Congress of Genetics
Second World War: Medical Officer in Polish Army	Second World War: Edinburgh Castle Military Hospital
Mission to England on behalf of the Polish government-in-exile	Two-week internships for Polish medical personnel
	Visits to Polish Army camps in Scotland
Organiser and first Dean of the PSM	Initiator of the PSM

Source: Edinburgh University Archives, EUA IN1/ACU/S1/1: Interview with Prof. Crew by Margaret Deacon, 1969; EUA GD46/9: Unfinished memoirs of Antoni Jurasz, 1960; Society for the Protection of Science and Learning Archive, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. S.P.S.L. 205/6: Bronislav Slizynski file, 1939; MS. S.P.S.L. 423/7: Antoni Jurasz file, 1940-1944; World Biographical Information System Online: Francis Albert Eley Crew, Antoni Tomasz Jurasz, available at: <http://db.saur.de/WBIS>; Antoni Jurasz, 'The Foundation of the Polish Medical Faculty within the University of Edinburgh, Scotland', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 35 (1941), pp. 136-137; Józef Brodzki (ed.), *Polish School of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1942, pp. 1-24; Lancelot Hogben, 'Francis Albert Eley Crew. 1886-1973', *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Royal Society*, 20 (1974), pp. 135-153.

Table 11. Non-Polish professors at the PSM

NAME	CHAIR	YEARS
Leybourne Stanley Patrick DAVIDSON	Medicine	1941-1949
Alexander Murray DRENNAN	Pathology	1941-1946
Richard White Bernard ELLIS	Children's Diseases	1947
Robert William JOHNSTONE	Obstetrics and Gynaecology	1941-1946
Robert James KELLAR	Obstetrics and Gynaecology	1946-1949
James Rögnvald LEARMONTH	Surgery	1947-1949
Thomas Jones MACKIE	Bacteriology	1941-1946
Guy Frederic MARRIAN	Chemistry and Biochemistry	1941-1946
Charles McNEIL	Children's Diseases	1941-1947
Sydney Alfred SMITH	Forensic Medicine	1941-1949

Source: Jakub Rostowski, *History of the Polish School of Medicine*, Edinburgh: The University of Edinburgh, 1955, pp. 27-34; Wiktor Tomaszewski, 'Profesorowie szkoccy na Polskim Wydziale Lekarskim w Edynburgu', *Archiwum Historii i Filozofii Medycyny* 57.3 (1994), pp. 313-324.

Table 12. Departmental chairs at the PSM compared to medical faculties in Edinburgh and pre-war Poland

PSM	EDINBURGH	CRACOW	LWÓW	WARSAW	VILNA	POZNAŃ
1. Physics						1. Physics
<i>Lecturer</i> Bernard Czemplik <i>Senior Lecturer</i> Aleksander Jabłoński						<i>Senior Assistant</i> Bernard Czemplik
2. Chemistry and Biochemistry	1. Chemistry in Relation to Medicine	1. Medicinal Chemistry	1. Medicinal Chemistry	1. Physiological Chemistry	1. Physiological Chemistry	2. Chemistry 3. Physiological Chemistry
<i>Professor</i> Guy F. Marrian	<i>Professor</i> Guy F. Marrian					
3. Biology	2. Botany 3. Natural History	2. Biology and Embryology	2. General Biology	2. Biology		4. General Biology
<i>Senior Lecturer</i> Bronisław Śliżyński						
4. Anatomy and Embryology	4. Anatomy	3. Descriptive Anatomy 4. Physical Education and Applied Anatomy	3. Proper Anatomy	3. Proper Anatomy 4. Operational Surgery	2. Descriptive Anatomy 3. Topographic Anatomy and Operational Surgery	5. Proper and Topographic Anatomy 6. Anthropology
<i>Professor</i> Tadeusz Rogalski		<i>Professor</i> Tadeusz Rogalski	<i>Senior Lecturer</i> Marian Kostowiecki			

PSM	EDINBURGH	CRACOW	LWÓW	WARSAW	VILNA	POZNAŃ
5. Histology		5. Histology	4. Histology and Embryology	5. Histology and Embryology	4. Histology and Embryology	7. Proper Histology and Embryology
<i>Senior Lecturer</i> Marian Kostowiecki						
6. Physiology	5. Physiology	6. Physiology	5. Physiology	6. Physiology	5. Physiology	8. Physiology
<i>Professor</i> Jerzy Fegler					<i>Professor</i> Jerzy Fegler	
7. Pharmacology	6. Materia Medica 7. Therapeutics	7. Pharmacology	6. Experimental Pharmacology	7. Pharmacology	6. Pharmacology	9. Pharmacology
<i>Professor</i> W. Koskowski			<i>Professor</i> W. Koskowski			
8. Pathology	8. Pathology	8. Pathological Anatomy	7. Pathological Anatomy	8. Pathological Anatomy	7. Pathological Anatomy	10. Pathological Anatomy and Pathological Histology
<i>Professor</i> Alexander M. Drennan	<i>Professor</i> Alexander M. Drennan					
9. Bacteriology	9. Bacteriology	9. Bacteriology	8. Medicinal Microbiology	9. Serology and Microbiology	8. Bacteriology	11. Medicinal Microbiology
<i>Professor</i> Thomas J. Mackie	<i>Professor</i> Thomas J. Mackie					
10. Physio-Pathology		10. General and Experimental Pathology	9. General and Experimental Pathology	10. General Pathology	9. General Pathology	12. General and Experimental Pathology
<i>Professor</i> Jerzy Fegler <i>Lecturer</i> Zbigniew Godłowski						

PSM	EDINBURGH	CRACOW	LWÓW	WARSAW	VILNA	POZNAŃ
11. Forensic Medicine	10. Forensic Medicine	11. Forensic Medicine	10. Forensic Medicine	11. Forensic Medicine	10. Forensic Medicine	13. Forensic Medicine
<i>Professor Sydney Smith</i>	<i>Professor Sydney Smith</i>		<i>Professor Józef Dadlez</i>			
12. Public Health	11. Public Health	12. Hygiene	11. Hygiene	12. Hygiene	11. Hygiene	
<i>Professor Brunon Nowakowski</i> <i>Professor Józef Dadlez</i>		<i>Professor Brunon Nowakowski</i>				
13. Medicine	12. Medicine 13. Clinical Medicine	13. Internal Diseases I 14. Internal Diseases II	12. Internal Diseases I (Propedeutic) 13. Internal Diseases II (Therapeutic)	13. Internal Diseases I 14. Internal Diseases II	12. Internal Medicine	14. Internal Diseases I 15. Internal Diseases II (Therapeutic)
<i>Professor L.S.P. Davidson</i>	<i>Professor L.S.P. Davidson</i>	<i>Senior Assistant Zbigniew Godłowski</i>				
	14. Tuberculosis					
14. Children's Diseases	15. Child Life and Health	15. Children's Diseases	14. Paediatrics	15. Paediatrics	13. Paediatrics	16. Children's Diseases
<i>Professor Charles McNeil</i> <i>Professor R.W.B. Ellis</i>	<i>Professor Charles McNeil</i> <i>Professor R.W.B. Ellis</i>					

PSM	EDINBURGH	CRACOW	LWÓW	WARSAW	VILNA	POZNAŃ
15. Surgery	16. Surgery 17. Clinical Surgery	16. Surgery	15. Surgery I (Propedeutic) 16. Surgery II	16. Surgery I 17. Surgery II	14. Surgery	17. Surgery
<i>Professor</i> Antoni Jurasz <i>Professor</i> James R. Learmonth	<i>Professor</i> James R. Learmonth					<i>Professor</i> Antoni Jurasz
16. Obstetrics and Gynaecology	18. Midwifery and Diseases of Women	17. Obstetrics and Gynaecology	17. Obstetrics and Gynaecology	18. Obstetrics and Gynaecology	15. Obstetrics and Gynaecology	19. Obstetrics and Gynaecology
<i>Professor</i> Robert W. Johnstone <i>Professor</i> R.J. Kellar	<i>Professor</i> Robert W. Johnstone <i>Professor</i> R.J. Kellar					
17. Skin and Venereal Diseases		18. Skin and Venereal Diseases	18. Dermatology	19. Dermatology	16. Dermatology and Syphilidology	20. Skin and Venereal Diseases
<i>Professor</i> Adam Straszyński <i>Senior Lecturer</i> Henryk Reiss		<i>Senior Lecturer</i> Henryk Reiss				<i>Professor</i> Adam Straszyński
18. Ophthalmology		19. Ophthalmology	19. Ophthalmology	20. Ophthalmology	17. Ophthalmology	21. Ophthalmology
<i>Assistant Professor</i> Jan Ruskowski				<i>Senior Assistant</i> Jan Ruskowski		
19. Neurology and Psychiatry	19. Psychiatry	20. Nervous and Mental Diseases	20. Nervous and Mental Diseases	21. Neurology 22. Psychiatry	18. Nervous and Mental Diseases	22. Neurology and Psychiatry
<i>Professor</i> Jakub Rostowski			<i>Professor</i> Jakub Rostowski			

PSM	EDINBURGH	CRACOW	LWÓW	WARSAW	VILNA	POZNAŃ
20. Diseases of Ear, Nose and Throat		21. Oto-Rhino-Laryngology	21. Diseases of Ear, Nose and Throat	23. Oto-Laryngology	19. Oto-Laryngology	23. Diseases of Ear, Nose and Throat
<i>Lecturer</i> Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz <i>Lectuer</i> Antoni Wadoń		<i>Senior Assistant</i> Antoni Wadoń				<i>Senior Assistant</i> Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz
21. Stomatology		22. Stomatology	22. Stomatology		20. Stomatology	24. Stomatology
<i>Professor</i> Leon Lakner <i>Lecturer</i> Kazimierz Durkacz						<i>Professor</i> Leon Lakner
22. Radiology				24. 1st Roentgen Institute 25. 2nd Roentgen Institute		25. Radiology
<i>Senior Lecturer</i> Adam Elektorowicz				<i>Senior Lecturer</i> Adam Elektorowicz		
		23. History and Philosophy of Medicine	23. History of Medicine	26. History and Philosophy of Medicine	21. History and Philosophy of Medicine	26. History and Philosophy of Medicine
			24. Pharmacognosy		22. Pharmacognosy and Medicinal Plant Breeding	
					23. Pharmaceutical Chemistry	
					24. Applied Pharmacy	

Sources: Data compiled from a variety of sources listed in the Bibliography

Table 13. Rate of return migration to Poland after 1945

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF RETURN MIGRANTS	PERCENTAGE OF RETURN MIGRANTS
Polish medical refugees	53	13%
Senior teaching staff	14	37,8%
Auxiliary teaching staff	3	8.3%
Graduates (MB, ChB)	21	9.25%
Graduates (MD)	1	5.3%
Pharmacists	4	80%
Non-completing students	12	9.8%

Note: This table does not include two medical refugees, Wanda Piłsudska and Jerzy Dekański, who returned to Poland after the fall of Communism.

Source: Compiled from a variety of sources listed in the Bibliography. For cross-referencing purposes, see also Table 18.

Table 14. Medical Staff of the Paderewski Hospital in Edinburgh

DEPARTMENT	NAME	PADEREWSKI HOSPITAL	POLISH SCHOOL OF MEDICINE
Children's Diseases	Dr Zdzisław Malkiewicz	Consulting Physician	Lecturer in Children's Diseases (1941-1947)
Dental Out-Patients' Department	Prof. Leon Lakner	Head of Department	Professor of Dentistry (1941-1947)
	Dr Kazimierz Durkacz	Assistant	Graduate (1943) Lecturer in Dentistry (1943-1948)
	Dr Wanda Fedoruk	Assistant	
	Dr Stanisław Dzik-Jurasz	Assistant	Senior Assistant in Dentistry (1942-1943)
	Dr Stiefel	Assistant	
	Dr Hanna Szczepańska	Assistant	
	Dr Maria Waldberg	Assistant	
	Dr Bolesław Ziętak	Assistant	Graduate (1943) Senior Assistant in Dentistry (1943-1944)
	Dr Aleksander Wojciechowski	Assistant	Graduate (1947)
Out-Patients' Department for Diseases of the Ear, Nose and Throat	Dr Jarosław Iwaszkeiwicz	Head of Department	Lecturer in Otorhinolaryngology (1941-1947)
	Dr Henryk Kompf	Assistant	Senior Assistant in Otorhinolaryngology (1942-1947)
Medical Ward	Doc. Antoni Fidler	Head of Department	Senior Lecturer in Medicine (1941-1947)
	Dr Zbigniew Godłowski	Head of Department	Lecturer in Medicine (1943-1948) Lecturer in Physio-Pathology (1941-1946)
	Dr Anastazy Landau	Head of Department	
	Dr Alfons Busza	Assistant	Senior Assistant in Physio-Pathology (1942-1946)
	Dr Olgierd Lindan	Assistant	Senior Assistant in Pathology (1943-1944)
	Dr Emil Valis	Assistant	Graduate (1943) Senior Assistant in Pathology (1944-1947)

	Dr S. Strumiński	Assistant	
Nervous Diseases	Prof. Jakub Rostowski	Consulting Physician	Professor of Neurology and Psychiatry (1941-1949)
Obstetrical and Gynaecological Ward	Dr Czesław Uhma	Head of Department	Lecturer in Obstetrics and Gynaecology (1941-1948)
	Dr Tadeusz Zieliński	Assistant	Senior Assistant in Obstetrics and Gynaecology (1941-1947)
	Dr Helena Truszkowska	Assistant	Senior Assistant in Obstetrics and Gynaecology (1941-1942)
	Dr Aleksander Hołyniec	Assistant	Graduate (1945) Senior Assistant in Obstetrics and Gynaecology (1945-1947)
	Dr Zbigniew Klich	Assistant	Graduate (1943) Senior Assistant in Obstetrics and Gynaecology (1944-1948)
	Dr Wanda Wójcik	Assistant	Graduate (1943) Senior Assistant in Obstetrics and Gynaecology (1944-1947)
Ophthalmology Ward and Out-Patients' Department	Prof. Jan Ruszkowski	Head of Department	Lecturer in Ophthalmology (1941-1948)
	Dr Józef Goldberg	Assistant	Senior Assistant in Ophthalmology (1941-1948)
Surgical Ward	Prof. Antoni Jurasz	Head of Department	Professor of Surgery (1941-1947)
	Dr Tadeusz Sokółowski	Assistant	Lecturer in Orthopaedics (1941-1942)
	Dr Roman Rejthar	Assistant	Lecturer in Anaesthetics and Surgery (1941-1948)
	Dr Wilhelm Lax	Assistant	Senior Assistant in Surgery (1942-1947)
	Dr Witold Waga	Assistant	Graduate (1942) Senior Assistant in Surgery (1945-1947)
	Dr Bernard Wroński	Assistant	Graduate (1942) Senior Assistant in Surgery (1943-1947)
	Dr Czesław Kołodyński	Assistant	Graduate (1942)
	Dr Tadeusz Kłosowski	Assistant	Graduate (1946)
X-Ray Department	Doc. Adam Elektorowicz	Head of Department	Senior Lecturer in Radiology (1941-1948)
	Dr Jan Kochanowski	Assistant	Lecturer in Radiology (1941-1942)

Source: Rostowski, *History of the Polish School of Medicine*, Edinburgh: The University of Edinburgh, 1955, pp. 19-20; Wiktor Tomaszewski, 'Szpital im. Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego w Edynburgu', *Archiwum Historii i Filozofii Medycyny*, 58.2 (1995), pp. 115-126.

Table 15. Students of the Teaching Department of the Paderewski Hospital

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	PADEREWSKI CERTIFICATE	MEDICAL DEGREE	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
1	Bętkowski, Jerzy		M	1917	2004	Yes	Warsaw* MRCS Eng, LRCP Lond, 1950	UK Canada
2	Cyberg, Jerzy	Cyberg, Jerzy	M	?	?	No	McGill, ?	Canada
3	Deresz-Gruszecka, Irena	Suszczyńska, Irena	F	1917	1995	Yes	-	UK
4	Dobrzański, ?		M	?	?	No	Warsaw, ?	Poland
5	Fijałkowski, Włodzimierz		M	1917	2003	No	Warsaw, 1946	Poland
6	Fostiak, Michał	Fostiak, Michael	M	1918	?	No	Cardiff, ?	UK USA Canada
7	Grodzicka, Hanna	Lada-Grodzicka, Hanna; Matusik, Hanna	F	1922	2011	Yes	Warsaw* MRCS Eng, LRCP Lond, 1953	UK
8	Jarzębiński, Adam	Jarzembski, Adam; Alexander, Adam	M	1910	1969	Yes	-	UK

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	PADEREWSKI CERTIFICATE	MEDICAL DEGREE	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
9	Kozieł, Kazimierz		M	?	?	No	?	?
10	Koziół, Mieczysław	Koziół, Michael	M	1916	2012	Yes	Warsaw* MRCS Eng, LRCP Lond, 1950	UK Canada
11	Kozłowska, Irena	Niegodzka, Irena; Łuniewska, Irena	F	1922	?	No	Wrocław, 1950	Poland
12	Kozłowski, Tadeusz		M	?	?	No	?	?
13	Kuczyński, Kazimierz		M	1914	?	Yes	MRCS Eng, LRCP Lond, 1949	Barbados UK
14	Kuczyński, Władysław		M	?	?	Yes	?	?
15	Lammers, Halina Władysława	Lamers, Halina Władysława	F	1923	?	No	Poznań, 1947	Poland
16	Lissowski, Jerzy	Lister, Jurek	M	1919	2004	No	MRCS Eng, LRCP Lond, 1951	UK
17	Lubomirska, Krystyna Maria	Princess Lubomirska, Krystyna Maria	F	1925	–	No	MRCS Eng, LRCP Lond, 1951	UK
18	Michalski, Piotr	Michalski, Paweł	M	?	?	No	LRCPI, LM, LRCSI, LM, 1952	Ireland
19	Mostwin, Danuta		F	1921	2010	No	–	USA

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	PADEREWSKI CERTIFICATE	MEDICAL DEGREE	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
20	Nowiak, Zofia	Łoszczyńska, Zofia; Kalinowska, Zofia	F	1918	2011	Yes	MRCS Eng, LRCP Lond, 1951	UK
21	Odachowska- Paleczek, Ewa		F	1914	-	Yes	?	Chile
22	Puchalski, Jerzy		M	1901	?	Yes	Warsaw*	Poland
23	Ramiszwili, Akaki	Ramishvili, Akaki	M	1916	1999	Yes	MRCS Eng, LRCP Lond, 1949	UK
24	Sawicki, Czesław		M	?	?	No	?	?
25	Stosio, Irena	Rytel, Irene	F	1923	2011	No	?	Venezuela USA Poland
26	Stosio, Krystyna		F	?	?	Yes	?	?
27	Szczuciński, Wacław		M	?	?	No	McGill, ?	Canada
28	Szurkawski, Adam Stanisław		M	1918	1985	Yes	MRCS Eng, LRCP Lond, 1949	UK

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	PADEREWSKI CERTIFICATE	MEDICAL DEGREE	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
29	Tuleja, Kazimierz		M	1918	2004	Yes	MRCs Eng, LRCP Lond, 1951	UK Canada USA
30	Turczyn, Anna		F	?	?	No	Sheffield, ?	UK
31	Wacek, Maria Halina	Liebich, Maria Halina; Lewandowska, Maria Halina	F	1920	2003	No	–	Canada
32	Węgielski, Zygmunt		M	1910	1997	Yes	Warsaw*	USA
33	Wojciechowska, ?		F	?	?	No	?	?
34	Woydatt, Stanisław		M	1914	1960	Yes	?	USA
35	Zawirski, Marian		M	1911	1996	Yes	Warsaw*	USA
36	?		?	?	?	No	?	?
37	?		?	?	?	No	?	?

Source: Compiled from a variety of sources listed in the Bibliography. Please note that ‘Paderewski certificate’ refers to diplomas that were issued to 17 students who passed their final exams at the Teaching Department of the Paderewski Hospital, while ‘Warsaw*’ refers to Polish medical diplomas which were sent by post to 6 students whose Paderewski certificates were recognised by the University of Warsaw between 1946 and 1948, see Wiktor Tomaszewski and K.W. Tuleja, ‘Studium Lekarskie przy Szpitalu im. Paderewskiego w Edynburgu, *Archiwum Historii i Filozofii Medycyny*, 57.3 (1994), pp. 325-333.

Table 16. Polish academic schools in Britain (1941-1953)

ACADEMIC SCHOOL	TIME PERIOD	STUDENTS		GRADUATES		DOCTORATES		PUBLICATIONS	LIBRARY VOLUMES
		ALL	WOMEN	ALL	WOMEN	ALL	WOMEN		
Polish School of Medicine, Edinburgh	1941-1949	348	105	227	49	19	1	115	1706
Polish School of Architecture, Liverpool	1942-1946	66	5	49	5	0	0	10	N/A
Polish School of Veterinary Medicine, Edinburgh	1943-1947	63	N/A	23	1	0	0	N/A	<100
Polish School of Pedagogy, Edinburgh	1943-1946	26	N/A	13*	N/A	0	0	9	N/A
Polish Faculty of Law, Oxford	1944-1947	ca. 700	>18	257	>13	8	0	N/A	538
Board of Academic Technical Studies, London	1944-1947	ca. 1000	N/A	119	N/A	12†	N/A	N/A	N/A
Teaching Department, Paderewski Memorial Hospital	1945-1947	37	13	17	5	0	0	N/A	N/A
Polish University College, London	1947-1953	ca. 1200	N/A	758	N/A	0	0	N/A	N/A

Source: Jakub Rostowski, *History of the Polish School of Medicine*, Edinburgh: The University of Edinburgh, 1955; Stanisław Mglej, 'Komisja Akademickich Studiów Medycyny Weterynaryjnej w Edynburgu (1943-1948)', *Nauka Polska Na Obczyźnie*, 1 (1955), pp. 43-49; Tadeusz Sulimirski, 'Studium Pedagogiczne w Edynburgu (1943-1946)', *Nauka Polska Na Obczyźnie*, 1 (1955), pp. 50-53; Tadeusz Brzeski, 'Polski Wydział Prawa przy Uniwersytecie w Oxfordzie (1944-1947)', *Nauka Polska Na Obczyźnie*, 1 (1955), pp. 56-69; Stanisław Konopka, 'Polski Wydział Lekarski w Edynburgu (w 35-lecie jego założenia)', *Archiwum Historii Medycyny*, 39.2 (1976), pp. 134-139; Jan Draus and Ryszard Terlecki, *Polskie szkoły wyższe i instytucje naukowe na emigracji 1939-1945*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1984, pp. 26-47; Jerzy Preibisch, 'Polska uczelnia weterynaryjna w Szkocji', *Życie weterynaryjne*, 1 (1986), pp. 23-28; Stanisław Mauersberg, 'Nauka i szkolnictwo wyższe w latach 1939-1951', in Bogdan Suchodolski (ed.), *Historia Nauki Polskiej. Tom V: 1918-1951, Część I*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1992, pp. 377-412; Przemysław Kaniewski, *Polska Szkoła Architektury w Wielkiej Brytanii 1942-1954*, Warsaw: Marek Woch, 2003; Janusz W. Cywiński, Tadeusz Rojewski and Wiesław Toporowski (eds), *Monograph: Polish Faculty of Law at the University of Oxford, 1944-1947*, London: Polish Cultural Foundation and Cladra House Publishers, 1997; Paul Watkins, 'The Polish-Committee of Medical-Veterinary Study in Great Britain', *Veterinary History*, 17.2 (2014), pp. 168-83.

* 12 graduated from the University of Edinburgh with a Master of Arts degree and 1 with a Bachelor of Education degree.

† Doctorates were conferred by the University of London.

Table 17. Centres of Polish medical education in exile (1940-1952)

MEDICAL SCHOOL	TIME PERIOD	STUDENTS		GRADUATES		DOCTORATES		GRADUATES WHO RETURNED TO POLAND
		ALL	WOMEN	ALL	WOMEN	ALL	WOMEN	
Polish School of Medicine, Edinburgh	1941-1949	348	105	227	49	19	1	22
University Camp, Winterthur	1940-1946	57	0	16	0	13	0	4
St. Joseph University in Beirut	1941-1952	42	9	39	6	0	0	5
American University of Beirut	1941-1952	6	5	3	3	2	2	N/A
University of Bologna	1946-1951	227	33	60	>2	0	0	7

Source: Jaukb Rostowski, *History of the Polish School of Medicine*, Edinburgh: The University of Edinburgh, 1955, pp. 57-66; Stefan Wojtkowiak, *Lancet i karabin: dzieje szkolnictwa medycznego w Wojsku Polskim*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1973, p. 167-187; Jan Draus and Ryszard Terlecki, *Polskie szkoły wyższe i instytucje naukowe na emigracji 1939-1945*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1984, pp. 11-16; Irena Beauprê-Stankiewicz, Danuta Waszczuk-Kamieniecka, and Jadwiga Lewicka-Howells (eds), *Isfahan: City of Polish Children*, Association of Former Pupils of Polish Schools, Isfahan and Lebanon, 1989, pp. 527-535; Stanisław Mauersberg, 'Nauka i szkolnictwo wyższe w latach 1939-1951', in Bogdan Suchodolski (ed.), *Historia Nauki Polskiej. Tom V: 1918-1951, Część I*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1992, pp. 377-412; Władysław Essigman, 'Studenci medycyny w II Korpusie 1941-1947', *Archiwum Historii i Filozofii Medycyny*, 62.3 (1997), pp. 243-249; Agnieszka Pruszyńska, 'Polskie ośrodki akademickie we Włoszech po II Wojnie Światowej (komentarz do wspomnień dr Władysław Essigmana)', *ibid.*, pp. 251-254; Józef Smoliński, 'Polskie obozy uniwersyteckie w Szwajcarii w czasie drugiej wojny światowej', in Teresa Zaniewska (ed.), *Przez burze pod wiatr: szkolnictwo i oświata polska na Zachodzie w czasie drugiej wojny światowej*, Białystok: Trans Humana, 2001, pp. 38-51; Agnieszka Pruszyńska, 'Żołnierze – studenci medycyny w Szwajcarii, Libanie i we Włoszech w latach 1940-1951' in Zaniewska, *Przez burze pod wiatr*, pp. 75-87; Przemysław Kaniewski, *Polska Szkoła Architektury w Wielkiej Brytanii 1942-1954*, Warsaw: Marek Woch, 2003; Jakub Gąsiorowski, *Losy absolwentów Polskiego Wydziału Lekarskiego w Edynburgu*, Toruń: MADO, 2004.

Table 18. Basic biographical data of medical refugees at the PSM

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
1	Adamczyk, Albert	Kwaśniewski, Maksymilian	M	1912	+	Roman Catholic	Polish	Germany	Graduate	PSM, 1948	Poland
2	Adamski, Bohdan	Nowacki, Bohdan	M	1915	2001	Roman Catholic	Polish	Germany	Graduate	PSM, 1946	Poland
3	Ajzenberg, Jewel Dawid	Eisenberg, Jewel David	M	1910	1992	Jewish	Polish	West	Graduate	PSM, 1948	UK
4	Albrecht-Berezowska, Krystyna	Wolf, Krystyna	F	1907	1989	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Graduate	PSM, 1943	UK
5	Andrzejowska, Krystyna	Sławinska, Krystyna	F	1923	2003	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Student	Edinburgh, 1949	Singapore Sarawak UK
6	Andrzejowska, Zofia Barbara	Mikulski, Zofia Barbara	F	1920	1984	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Student	–	UK
7	Arciszewski, Stanisław		M	1912	1982	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1943	UK
8	Arendt, Jerzy	Arendt, George Jerzy	M	1920	2006	Jewish	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK
9	Barański, Aleksander	Baranski, Alexander Hyacinthus	M	1902	1965	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	MD Graduate	Lwów, 1928 MD PSM, 1946	UK USA

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
10	Barczyński, Bolesław Kacper	Kendall, Bolesław Kacper	M	1918	1988	Roman Catholic	Polish	Germany	Graduate	PSM, 1948	UK
11	Bartel, Zbigniew		M	1921	1946	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	–
12	Bartosiewicz, Stanisław Zbigniew		M	1914	1961	Roman Catholic	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1944	Poland
13	Bazarnik, Konrad Helmut Wolfgang		M	1913	1985	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1941	UK
14	Bendkowski, Bolesław		M	1920	2008	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	Edinburgh, 1949	UK
15	Bielski, Jerzy		M	1926	2005	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	UK
16	Bilakiewicz, Henryk		M	1914	1973	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Student	–	UK
17	Bilik, Mieczysław		M	1908	1948	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	UK
18	Biskupski, Jan Stanisław		M	1912	1990	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1949	Canada
19	Bobak, Antoni Kazimierz	Bobak, Anthony Kazimierz	M	1917	2004	Roman Catholic	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1946	UK

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
20	Bobińska, Halina Zofia	Hobart, Halina Zofia	F	1923	2011	Roman Catholic	Polish	Iberia	Student	Edinburgh, 1949	UK Australia
21	Bobrowski, Tadeusz Jan	Bobrowski Hemel, Tadeusz Jan	M	1912	1979	Roman Catholic	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK
22	Boćkowski, Mieczysław	Barker, Mickey	M	1902	1969	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate Auxiliary	PSM, 1944	UK
23	Boguliński, Tadeusz Stanisław		M	1905	1944	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Auxiliary Student	–	–
24	Brejdygant, Ignacy		M	1902	+	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	Poznań, 1950	Poland
25	Brieger, Emanuel Sylwester	Brzeski, Sylwester	M	1912	1992	Roman Catholic	German	Other	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK
26	Browarski, Witold Janusz		M	1917	1989	Roman Catholic	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1948	UK
27	Buczek, Leon		M	1910	1999	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1949	UK
28	Burda, Roman Tadeusz		M	1913	1982	Roman Catholic	Polish	Middle East	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK
29	Bursewicz, Eugeniusz		M	1916	1979	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	UK Canada

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
30	Busza, Alfons		M	1911	2000	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Auxiliary	Poznań, 1935	UK USA
31	Christ, Jerzy Juliusz	Christ, George (Georgius) Julius	M	1920	1988	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	St. Andrews, 1949	UK CAN
32	Chrząszcz, Antoni Kazimierz	Chauncey, Anthony	M	1915	1961	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1949	Nigeria
33	Chrząszcz, Wacław Ignacy		M	1913	+	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Pharmacist	<i>PSM, 1944 (pharmacy)</i>	Poland
34	Cieńska, Paulina Maria Teresa	Rudowski, Paulina Maria Teresa	F	1911	2002	Roman Catholic	Polish	West	Graduate	PSM, 1948	UK
35	Cyrankiewicz, Jerzy Stanisław Tadeusz		M	1917	1959	Roman Catholic	Polish	Middle East	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK
36	Cyrkowiec, Jerzy	Miecz- Cyrkowiec, Jerzy; Conway, George Francis	M	1910	1991	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1948	Nigeria Uganda Kenya South Africa Zambia Malawi Seychelles Kenya

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
37	Cywicki, Zbigniew Hubert		M	1923	2007	Roman Catholic	Polish	Germany	Student	Durham, 1952	UK Australia
38	Cywiński, Cezary		M	1916	1967	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1949	Malaya Bahamas
39	Cywis, Wilhelm	Ciwis, Wilhelm	M	1913	+	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	?	?
40	Czekałowska, Janina Wanda	Dengel, Janina Wanda	F	1908	1985	Lutheran	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1944	UK
41	Czekałowski, Jarosław Wiktor		M	1914	1984	?	Polish	?	Auxiliary MD Graduate	Lwów, 1937 MD PSM, 1943	UK
42	Czemplik, Bernard		M	1906	1944	Roman Catholic	Polish	West	Staff	Poznań, 1932	–
43	Czemplik, Helena		F	1915	+	Christian Orthodox	Polish	West	Student	–	Poland
44	Czepułkowski, Edward		M	1913	1988	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK
45	Dadlez, Józef Rajmund		M	1896	1970	Roman Catholic	Polish	Germany	Staff	Lwów, 1922	Poland
46	Danek, Jan Jakub	Danek, John James	M	1917	1986	Roman Catholic	Polish	Middle East	Graduate	PSM, 1949	USA

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
47	Dąbrowski, Józef Mieczysław		M	1912	1975	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1948	Malaya/Malaysia UK
48	Dąbrowski, Ziemowit Stanisław	Monvid Dabrowski, Ziemowit Stanislaw	M	1918	1970	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	UK
49	De Costres, Elżbieta Antonia	Chmielowska, Elżbieta; de Costres, Elisabeth Antoinette	F	1921	1972	Roman Catholic	Polish	Baltic	Graduate	PSM, 1948	UK
50	Dekański, Jerzy Bazyle		M	1897	2000	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Staff	Warsaw, 1925	UK Poland
51	Dobryczycka- Kreppel, Maria Henryka		F	1915	2003	Jewish	Polish	?	Graduate	PSM, 1945	UK
52	Domańska, Irena Maria	Harding, Irene	F	1908	1987	Roman Catholic	Polish	Baltic	Graduate	PSM, 1945	UK
53	Domaradzki, Aleksander	Domar, Alexander	M	1917	2008	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1943	UK
54	Donigiewicz, Stanisław		M	1922	2009	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Student	MRCS Eng, LRCP Lond, 1950	USA Canada
55	Drobiński, Henryk		M	1915	1978	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Graduate	PSM, 1943	UK

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
56	Drozdowski, Tadeusz Wiktor		M	1917	1994	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Graduate	PSM, 1943	Poland USA Poland
57	Dubiel, Stanisław Franciszek		M	1913	1982	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1943	UK
58	Dulian, Franciszek	Dulian, Frank	M	1907	2000	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1948	USA
59	Durkacz, Kazimierz Piotr		M	1919	2014	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate MD Graduate Auxiliary Staff	PSM, 1943 PSM, 1946	UK
60	Dwankowski, Karol		M	1911	1967	Roman Catholic	US	Other	Graduate	Iowa, 1943 PSM, 1944	USA
61	Dyakowski, Stefan		M	1913	1994	Roman Catholic	Czecho- slovak	Other	Graduate	PSM, 1946	UK Canada
62	Dylówna, Lucyna Mieczysława	Matzinger, Lucyna Mieczysława	F	1918	2009	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1946	Canada
63	Działoszyński, Lech Mieczysław		M	1912	2014	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Auxiliary	–	Poland
64	Dziemidko, Michał		M	1920	1977	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
65	Dzik, Stanisław Michał	Dzik-Jurasz, Stanisław Michał	M	1909	1991	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Auxiliary	Lwów, 1939	UK
66	Elektorowicz, Adam Kornel		M	1888	1961	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Staff	Lwów, 1912	UK
67	Ember, Stefan Bela		M	1912	1945	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	–
68	Epstejn, Luba	Epsztejn, Luba	F	1920	1990	Jewish	?	West	Student	Bristol, 1951	UK
69	Essen, Bolesław		M	1917	1987	Roman Catholic	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK
70	Ettmayer, Andrzej		M	1917	1950	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1945	Grenada
71	Fegler, Jerzy	Fegler, George	M	1899	1958	–	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Staff	Warsaw, 1924	UK
72	Fidler, Antoni	Fidler, Antony	M	1901	1967	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Staff	Warsaw, 1927	Canada
73	Floręcka, Irena		F	1914	+	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	?
74	Frej, Dionizy	Frey, Dyonizy	M	1914	1974	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Student	–	UK
75	Fundament, Franciszek	Fundament, Francis	M	1919	1970	Roman Catholic	Polish	West	Graduate	PSM, 1948	UK

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
76	Gałecki, Władysław Kazimierz		M	1911	1975	Roman Catholic	Polish	Germany	Graduate	PSM, 1946	Poland
77	Gałużka, Władysław		M	1912	1987	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1941	UK
78	Gańczakowski, Stanisław Kazimierz Zbigniew		M	1916	2009	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate Auxiliary	PSM, 1944	UK
79	Gąska, Józef Kazimierz		M	1901	1970	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1943	Poland
80	Gelber, Ludwik		M	1917	1954	–	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1943	UK
81	Getta, Mieczysław Karol		M	1917	2006	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1946	Poland
82	Giedrys, Zenon		M	1914	2000	Roman Catholic	Polish	Baltic	Graduate	PSM, 1946	UK
83	Giza, Józef		M	1902	1974	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	UK
84	Godłowski, Zbigniew		M	1904	1979	Roman Catholic	Polish	Iberia	Staff	Cracow, 1930	UK USA
85	Godulski, Wiktor ¹		M	1917	–	Lutheran	Polish	Germany	Student	?	?

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
86	Godysz, Jan Waclaw		M	1910	+	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Pharmacist	<i>PSM, 1946 (pharmacy)</i>	Poland
87	Goldberg, Stanisław	Gebertt, Stanislaw	M	1916	2001	Lutheran	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK
88	Goldberg, Józef		M	1897	1964	Jewish	Polish	?	Auxiliary	Warsaw, 1923	UK
89	Goldstejn, Regina	Goldstein, Regina	F	1890	1975	Jewish	Polish	?	Graduate	PSM, 1946	UK
90	Goldsztajn, Marian	Gilbert, Marian	M	1908	1993	Jewish	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1945	UK
91	Goleń, Zbigniew Kazimierz		M	1919	1998	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate Auxiliary	PSM, 1947	UK
92	Gonszor, Mojżesz	Gąsior, Mojżesz; Gonszor, Maurice	M	1913	1976	Jewish	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1946	UK
93	Graczyk, Danuta Maria	Graczyk-Słowik, Danuta Maria	F	1922	1986	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1949	UK Canada
94	Grey- Morawska, Maria		F	1915	+	Roman Catholic	UK	West	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
95	Grochowalski, Kazimierz Karol	Grock, Kazimierz Karol; Grock, Kenneth Karl Anthony	M	1918	2006	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1949	UK
96	Grubstein, Eliaz	Grubsztejn, Eliaz	M	1911	1977	Jewish	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1946	UK
97	Grünstein, Szlama		M	1920	2004	Jewish	Polish	Other	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK
98	Grzybowski, Stefan		M	1920	1997	Roman Catholic	Polish	West	Graduate MD Graduate	PSM, 1945 MD PSM, 1949	UK Canada
99	Günsberg, Abraham		M	1908	+	Jewish	Polish	West	Graduate	PSM, 1943 Utrecht, 1950	Netherlands
100	Gurowski, Bolesław Józef		M	1922	2000	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	NU Ireland, 1952	Ireland UK
101	Gutowski, Feliks		M	1901	+	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	?	?
102	Hamerski, Henryk Wincent		M	1915	2011	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK Canada
103	Harasymowicz, Stefan Józef		M	1911	1992	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1943	USA

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
104	Heil, Tadeusz Roman		M	1908	1967	Roman Catholic	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK
105	Herszenhorn, Borys		M	1916	1989	Jewish	Polish	West	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK France
106	Hertz, Lejb	Hurst, Leslie	M	1918	1997	Jewish	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK
107	Hławiczka, Maria Wiktoria	Dąbrowska, Maria Wiktoria	F	1911	1998	Roman Catholic	Polish	West	Graduate	PSM, 1948	Malaya UK
108	Hoja, Jan Michał		M	1915	1991	Roman Catholic	Polish	Other	Student	–	UK USA UK
109	Holman, Teresa	Horowitz, Tessa	F	1918	2015	Jewish	Polish	?	Graduate	PSM, 1948	UK New Zealand
110	Hołyniec, Aleksander Kazimierz Marian	Holmes, Alexander	M	1918	2001	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Graduate Auxiliary	PSM, 1945	Nyasaland Sierra Leone UK
111	Iwaskiewicz, Jarosław		M	1906	1985	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Staff	Poznań, 1931	Poland
112	Jabłoński, Aleksander		M	1898	1980	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Staff	–	Poland
113	Jagodziński, Jan		M	1914	1994	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	?	?

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
114	Japa, Józef	Jappa, Józef	M	1910	2006	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Auxiliary Staff	Cracow, 1934	Poland
115	Jarema, Roman Stanisław		M	1917	1997	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Student	Edinburgh, 1951	UK
116	Jarosz, Adam Tadeusz		M	1916	1997	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1946	UK
117	Jedlina- Jakobson, Zbigniew Marian	Jedlina-Jacobsen, Zbigniew Marian	M	1914	1943	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1942	–
118	Józef, Edward	Jarvis, Edward	M	1920	1981	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK
119	Juchnowicz, Władysław		M	1909	1994	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1944	UK
120	Jurasz, Antoni Tomasz		M	1882	1961	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Staff	Heidelberg, 1906	USA
121	Jurewicz, Wiktor		M	1909	1960	Roman Catholic	Polish	Baltic	Graduate	PSM, 1944	UK
122	Juzwa, Andrzej		M	1919	2000	Roman Catholic	Polish	Other	Student	–	UK
123	Kaczmarek, Marian Henryk	Kadecki, Marian	M	1923	2007	Roman Catholic	Polish	Germany	Student	Poznań, 1951	Poland

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
124	Kaczmarek, Wojciech		M	1904	1962	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1946	UK
125	Kafel, Jan Józef		M	1911	1971	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1944	UK
126	Kaliniecka, Halina Zofia	Lewińska, Halina Zofia	F	1921	2006	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	Liverpool, 1949	UK
127	Karnicki, Jadwiga	Mickiewicz, Jadwiga	F	1917	2014	Roman Catholic	Polish	West	Graduate	PSM, 1941 St. Andrews, 1942	UK
128	Kawa, Krystyna Maria	Marska, Krystyna Maria	F	1923	2003	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Graduate	PSM, 1949	UK Canada
129	Kawa, Mieczysław Zdzisław		M	1912	1998	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1948	UK Canada
130	Kawala, Brunon		M	1926	2003	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	Durham, 1950	USA
131	Kępiński, Antoni Ignacy		M	1918	1972	Roman Catholic	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1946	Poland
132	Klich, Zbigniew Józef Jerzy		M	1912	1954	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate Auxiliary	PSM, 1943	UK
133	Klimczyński, Jerzy Józef Jan		M	1918	1986	Roman Catholic	Polish	Middle East	Graduate MD Graduate	PSM, 1946 MD PSM, 1949	Canada

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
134	Kłopotowska, Janina Zofia Maria	Szamocki, Janina Zofia Maria	F	1921	2005	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	Aberdeen, 1950	UK
135	Kłosowska, Alina Jadwiga	Ślusarczyk, Alina Jadwiga; Derola, Alina	F	1919	2008	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Graduate	PSM, 1949	Gambia Zanzibar UK
136	Kłosowski, Tadeusz Stanisław	Derola, Tadeusz	M	1918	1998	Roman Catholic	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1946	Gambia Zanzibar UK
137	Knoll- Buckiewicz, Petronela Ludwika		F	1920	1975	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Graduate	PSM, 1948	Canada
138	Kocay, Zenon		M	1900	1962	Roman Catholic	Polish	Middle East	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK
139	Kochanowski, Jan	Korwin- Kochanowski, Jan	M	1897	1970	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Staff	Warsaw, 1924	UK
140	Kolibabka, Edmund	Collie- Kolibabka, Edmund	M	1916	2010	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1944	UK Canada UK

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
141	Kolibabka, Gertruda Anna	Kuklińska, Gertruda Anna; Collie- Kolibabka, Gertruda Anna	F	1920	2011	Roman Catholic	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1949	UK Canada UK
142	Kołcan, Jarosław Prokopiusz	Kolcan, Jaroslaw Procopius	M	1910	1986	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1948	St. Vincent UK
143	Kołodyński, Czesław Karol	Kelsey, Charles	M	1913	1995	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1942	UK
144	Kompf, Henryk		M	1905	1979	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Auxiliary	Poznań, 1930	Poland
145	Konopacki, Karol Tadeusz		M	1917	2002	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1943	Poland
146	Koperska, Janina Elzbieta Maria	Koperska- O'Dwyer, Janina; Durkacz, Janina	F	1924	1994	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Student	Aberdeen, 1950	UK Ireland UK
147	Koskowski, Włodzimierz		M	1893	1965	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Staff	Lwów, 1918	Egypt UK

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
148	Kostowiecki, Marian Michał Antoni		M	1904	1970	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Staff	Lwów, 1928	USA
149	Kotowski, Jarosław		M	1916	1989	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1944	Falkland Islands UK
150	Kowalewski, Robert		M	1918	1994	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1949	UK
151	Kowalska, Irmina	Frączek, Irmina; Jedlina-Jacobson, Irmina	F	1922	1964	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Student	?	?
152	Kowalska, Krystyna	Banaszek- Kozłowska, Krystyna	F	1922	2009	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Student	–	UK
153	Kozłowski, Radosław		M	1918	2004	Roman Catholic	Polish	Iberia	Student	–	UK
154	Kraszewski, Tadeusz Michał		M	1912	1993	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1942	Sarawak/ Malaysia UK
155	Krawiecki, Jurand		M	1925	2010	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Student	Edinburgh, 1949	UK
156	Kręcki, Lucjan		M	1919	1986	Roman Catholic	Polish	Germany	Graduate	PSM, 1948	Poland

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
157	Kriser, Anna Maria	Hołowacz, Anna Maria; Goodwin, Anna Maria	F	1917	1977	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	USA
158	Król, Kazimierz Jan		M	1912	1983	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Pharmacist	<i>PSM, 1944 (pharmacy)</i>	UK
159	Kryszek, Stanisław Henryk	Kryszek, Stanley	M	1914	1982	Jewish ²	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1942	South Africa Bechuanaland Canada USA
160	Kucharski, Jerzy Wiesław		M	1919	2010	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1947	Canada
161	Kuciel, Franciszek Jan	Harding, Francis John	M	1913	1984	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1943	UK
162	Kudrewicz- Łabędź, Józef		M	1917	1997	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1947	USA
163	Kulczycki, Łukasz	Kulczycki, Lucas Luke	M	1911	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate MD Graduate Auxiliary	PSM, 1944 MD PSM, 1946	UK Canada USA
164	Kulesza, Władysław Stefan		M	1915	1982	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1943	St. Vincent Malaya/Malaysia UK

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
165	Kurowski, Andrzej Czesław	Greville, Andrzej Czeslaw	M	1918	1956	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate Auxiliary	PSM, 1946	UK
166	Kutarski, Zbigniew Antoni		M	1913	+	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1942	UK
167	Lakner, Leon Maksymilian		M	1884	1962	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Staff	<i>Berlin, 1907 (dentistry)</i> Poznań, 1924	Poland
168	Lax, Wilhelm	Lax, William	M	1896	1977	?	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Auxiliary	Vienna, 1924 Warsaw, 1925	UK
169	Leyberg, Jan Teodor		M	1913	1995	?	Polish	West	Staff MD Graduate	Warsaw, 1936 MD PSM, 1945	UK
170	Liedke, Jerzy Henryk		M	1915	+	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Pharmacist	<i>PSM, 1944 (pharmacy)</i>	Poland
171	Lindan, Olgierd		M	1913	2009	–	Polish	Iberia	Auxiliary MD Graduate	Poznań, 1937 MD PSM, 1948	UK Canada USA
172	Lipski, Jan Gabriel		M	1912	1997	Roman Catholic	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1946	USA
173	Liskowicz, Zbigniew Fryderyk		M	1905	1976	Roman Catholic	Polish	Baltic	Graduate Auxiliary	PSM, 1943	UK
174	Lisowski, Wacław		M	1912	+	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	<i>PSVM, 1945</i>	UK

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
175	Lubicz-Sawicka, Alicja Anna	Mandel, Alicja Anna; McInnes, Alicia Anna	F	1919	1986	Jewish ³	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1949	Argentina UK Sudan Kenya UK
176	Lutwak-Mann, Cecylia	Mann, Cecilia	F	1909	1987	Roman Catholic	Polish	West	Auxiliary	Lwów, 1932	UK
177	Łabęcki, Tadeusz		M	1918	1997	Roman Catholic	Polish	Middle East	Graduate	PSM, 1946	UK
178	Łabno, Józef Jan		M	1914	1965	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Graduate	PSM, 1943	UK
179	Łacny, Jan		M	1915	1975	Roman Catholic	Polish	Middle East	Graduate	PSM, 1948	UK Canada
180	Ładziński, Kazimierz Franciszek		M	1925	+	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	Cracow, 1951	Poland
181	Łomaz, Józef		M	1917	1995	?	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1947	Sarawak Malaya Australia
182	Łomińska, Irena	Wohlmuth, Irena	F	1911	1997	Jewish	Polish	West	Graduate	Paris, 1941 PSM, 1944	UK
183	Łuczyński, Józef Czesław		M	1898	1950	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	UK

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
184	Maciejewski, Rudolf		M	1898	1967	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1945	Poland
185	Majeranowski, Jan Franciszek	Majeranowski, John Francis	M	1914	1990	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/Hungary	Graduate MD Graduate Auxiliary Staff	PSM, 1942 MD PSM, 1946	Canada USA
186	Maksimczyk, Konstanty		M	1914	1983	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1949	UK
187	Malicka, Krystyna Danuta	Kruk-Wantuch, Krystyna Danuta	F	1912	2011	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	UK Australia
188	Malkiewicz, Zdzisław Donat Marian		M	1893	1973	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Staff	Cracow, 1921	UK
189	Mann, Tadeusz Robert Rudolf	Mann, Thaddeus Robert Rudolph	M	1908	1993	Roman Catholic	Polish	West	Staff	Lwów, 1932	UK
190	Mańkowski, Marian		M	1913	+	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	UK
191	Marcinek, Kamila Władysława	Bałut, Kamila Władysława	F	?	1996	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK
192	Margolis, Mordchel	Martin, Mark Paul David	M	1911	1976	Jewish	Polish	West	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK USA

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
193	Markiewicz, Wiktor		M	1912	2004	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1945	Poland
194	Markiewicz, Tadeusz		M	1912	1972	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1942	UK
195	Markus, Szabsa		M	1918	1994	Jewish	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1948	UK
196	Masłowski, Henryk Aleksander	Masłowski, Henry Alexander	M	1915	2003	Roman Catholic	US	Other	Graduate MD Graduate Auxiliary	PSM, 1944 MD PSM, 1945	UK
197	Matuszewski-Topór, Michał Mateusz		M	1914	+	Roman Catholic	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1949	UK
198	Maziec, Konstanty		M	1916	2001	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1942	Canada
199	Mazur, Władysław Piotr	Mazur, Bartek	M	1921	2003	Roman Catholic	Polish	Other	Student	Edinburgh, 1950	Canada USA
200	Menschik, Zygmunt	Myszyński, Zygmunt	M	1914	1969	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/Hungary	Auxiliary MD Graduate	Cracow, 1938 MD PSM, 1944	Canada USA
201	Michałowicz, Zygmunt Mieczysław	Milford, Zygmunt Mieczysław	M	1915	1998	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1945	UK
202	Michałowska, Alicja	Bober, Alicja	F	1922	2007	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Student	–	Poland

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
203	Michałowski, Adam Mikołaj		M	1919	+	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Student	–	Poland
204	Michniewski, Jan Rajmund	Mitchell, John Raymond	M	1920	1964	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	<i>MRCVS, 1951</i>	UK
205	Milewski, Zbigniew Stanisław		M	1917	1976	Roman Catholic	Polish	Middle East	Graduate	PSM, 1946	UK
206	Mirabel, Ludwik		M	1917	2012	Jewish	Polish	West	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK USA Canada
207	Missiuro, Włodzimierz		M	1892	1967	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Staff	Saratov, 1916	Poland
208	Mitis, Liwia	Gyali, Liwia; Mitis, Livia	F	1917	1998	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1946	UK Canada
209	Mituś, Władysław Jacek	Mitus, W. Jack	M	1920	2007	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1946	UK USA
210	Mogila- Stankiewicz, Tadeusz Roman	Graves- Stanwick, Theodore Roman	M	1918	2006	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	MRCS Eng, LRCP Lond, 1952	UK
211	Mońka, Stanisław		M	1916	1990	Roman Catholic	Polish	West	Graduate	PSM, 1948	USA

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
212	Mudrewicz, Julian		M	1914	1998	Roman Catholic	Polish	Baltic	Graduate	PSM, 1943	UK
213	Munk, Krystyna Magdalena		F	1913	1999	Roman Catholic	Polish	Other	Graduate MD Graduate	PSM, 1943 MD PSM, 1946	UK
214	Mystkowski, Edmund Marcelli		M	1905	1943	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Staff	Warsaw, 1929	–
215	Nakielna, Maria	Pinczer (Pintscher), Maria; Marcinkiewicz, Maria	F	1916	1965	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate Auxiliary	PSM, 1944	UK
216	Niedzielska, Mieczysława	Pogorski, Mieczysława (Peggy)	F	1921	2012	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Student	–	Canada
217	Nieświatowski, Marian		M	1918	2010	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1947	Poland
218	NN 1		F	1926	–	Jewish	Polish	?	Student	–	USA
219	NN 2		M	1923	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	?	?
220	NN 3		F	1921	–	Lutheran	Polish	?	Student	Gdańsk, 1949	Poland
221	NN 4		M	1917	–	Jewish	Polish	West	Graduate	PSM, 1946	Australia
222	NN 5		F	1919	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1948	Nigeria UK

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
223	NN 6		F	1919	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1948	Malaya Bahamas UK
224	NN 7		M	1922	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Student	Cracow, 1950	Poland
225	NN 8		F	1920	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	?	?
226	NN 9		F	?	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Graduate	PSM, 1949	UK
227	NN 10		F	?	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	UK
228	NN 11		M	1925	–	Jewish	Polish	West	Student	Edinburgh, 1948	UK Canada
229	NN 12		F	1916	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Student Auxiliary	?	USA
230	NN 13		F	1921	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Student	–	Argentina Canada
231	NN 14		F	1917	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	Poznań, 1948	Poland
232	NN 15		F	1918	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	Br. Somaliland Hong Kong Aden UK
233	NN 16		F	1922	–	Lutheran	?	?	Student	Edinburgh, 1947	UK

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
234	NN 17		F	1918	–	?	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1948	N. Rhodesia UK
235	NN 18		F	1922	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	UK
236	NN 19		F	1920	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	MRCS Eng, LRCP Lond, 1951	USA
237	NN 20		F	1919	–	Jewish	Polish	?	Student	–	USA
238	NN 21		M	1916	–	Jewish	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1945	France
239	NN 22		F	1924	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	MRCS Eng, LRCP Lond, 1954	UK
240	NN 23		F	1920	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Student	MRCS Eng, LRCP Lond, 1951	UK Canada
241	NN 24		F	1923	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Student	–	Canada
242	NN 25		F	1922	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	Aberdeen, 1950	USA
243	NN 26		F	1921	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	?	?
244	NN 27		M	1920	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	?	?
245	NN 28		F	1922	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Student	–	USA Canada

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
246	NN 29		M	1917	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	Middle East	Graduate	PSM, 1946	Canada
247	NN 30		M	1924	–	–	Polish	?	Student	?	?
248	NN 31		M	1919	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1949	UK Canada
249	NN 32		F	1922	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Student	?	?
250	NN 33		F	1918	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	West	Graduate	PSM, 1948	Trucial States UK
251	NN 34		F	1922	–	Lutheran	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1948	Argentina Canada
252	NN 35		F	1917	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	UK
253	NN 36		F	1924	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1948	UK
254	NN 37		M	1919	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	Lublin, 1960	Poland
255	NN 38		M	1918	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	Middle East	Graduate	PSM, 1946	UK
256	NN 39		F	1924	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	Poznań, 1950	Poland
257	NN 40		F	1922	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Student	Edinburgh, 1950	USA
258	NN 41		F	1924	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	Edinburgh, 1949	UK USA

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
259	NN 42		M	1920	–	Lutheran	Polish	West	Graduate	PSM, 1947	Malaya Australia
260	NN 43		F	?	–	Jewish	Polish	?	Student	?	?
261	NN 44		F	1918	–	Jewish	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1949	UK USA Australia
262	NN 45		F	1927	–	–	Polish	?	Student	?	UK
263	NN 46		M	1926	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1948	USA
264	NN 47		F	1922	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1946	UK Canada USA Canada
265	NN 48		M	1924	–	Jewish	Polish	?	Student	–	UK
266	NN 49		F	1923	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	<i>Łódź, 1950 (dentistry)</i>	Poland
267	NN 50		F	?	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Graduate	PSM, 1945	?
268	NN 51		F	1923	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Student	–	UK
269	NN 52		M	1916	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1943	UK
270	NN 53		F	1918	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	?	?

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
271	NN 54		M	1920	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	Germany	Student	<i>Poznań, 1947 (dentistry)</i>	Poland
272	NN 55		F	1923	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Graduate	PSM, 1949	Tanganyika UK Canada
273	NN 56		M	?	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	West	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK
274	NN 57		F	1923	–	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Student	–	UK
275	Nowaczek, Edward		M	1909	1947	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	?	UK
276	Nowakowski, Brunon Antoni		M	1890	1966	Roman Catholic	Polish	Other	Staff	Munich, 1914 Cracow, 1922	Poland
277	Nowarra, Stefania Anna	Sienicka, Stefania Anna	F	1914	+	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	USA
278	Nowosielski, Tadeusz Michał	Newland, Tadeusz Michał	M	1920	+	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1948	UK
279	Okolski, Stefan		M	1915	2001	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1944	St. Helena UK
280	Olesiński, Władysław Zygmunt Tadeusz		M	1921	1989	Roman Catholic	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1948	Poland Canada Poland

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
281	Olewicz, Eugeniusz Julian	Oliver, Eugen Julian	M	1914	1972	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1943	UK
282	Orchel, Eugeniusz Adam		M	1913	1983	Roman Catholic	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK
283	Orchel, Rozalia	Wasylkowska, Rozalia	F	1920	1997	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	UK
284	Ossowski, Jan		M	1911	+	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	?	?
285	Ostrowski, Leszek Ludwik		M	1922	1997	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	Edinburgh, 1950	UK
286	Ostrowski, Tadeusz Maria		M	1917	1992	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1943	UK
287	Owczarewicz, Leon		M	1882	1951	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Staff	Cracow, 1911	Poland
288	Paklikowski, Andrzej	Paklikowski, Andrew	M	1917	1985	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	Gdańsk, 1950	Venezuela Poland Kenya Nigeria UK
289	Paleolog, Jerzy Zygmunt	Demetraki- Paleolog, Jerzy Zygmunt	M	1920	1987	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	UK

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
290	Parkita, Kazimierz Józef		M	1914	1988	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1943	Poland
291	Pawlus, Alicja	Szymkiewicz, Alicja	F	1923	+	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Student	–	USA
292	Pawłowska, Irena	Filipiec, Irena	F	1924	1999	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	<i>LDS, RCS Eng., 1953</i>	UK
293	Pieńkowski, Józef Jerzy	Ashley, Josef Jerzy	M	1918	1989	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1945	UK New Zealand
294	Pietrzyk, Mieczysław Paweł		M	1914	1980	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1944	Poland
295	Piłsudska, Wanda		F	1918	2001	Roman Catholic	Polish	Baltic	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK Poland
296	Piotrowski, Kazimierz		M	1913	1960	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	?	UK
297	Podlewski, Henryk		M	1920	2015	Roman Catholic	Polish	Middle East	Graduate	PSM, 1947	Bahamas
298	Pogonowski, Stanisław Jerzy Bolesław		M	1920	1976	Roman Catholic	Polish	Other	Graduate	PSM, 1947	Bahamas Canada
299	Prokopowicz, Zbigniew Jan	Premier, Zbigniew Jan	M	1922	1967	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1946	UK

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
300	Prorok, Tadeusz		M	1916	1992	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK
301	Przeszło, Stanisław		M	1905	+	Roman Catholic	?	?	Student	?	?
302	Raduła, Teodor	Radula-Scott, Teodor	M	1913	1993	Roman Catholic	Polish	West	Graduate	PSM, 1943	UK
303	Rafiński, Karol		M	1901	1974	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/Hungary	Graduate Auxiliary	PSM, 1944	UK Spain
304	Rawska, Maria	Grześkowiak, Maria; Szczęśniak, Maria	F	1920	1997	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	?	UK
305	Rayski, Czesław		M	1912	1978	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Auxiliary	<i>MRCVS, 1946</i>	UK
306	Reiss, Henryk		M	1899	1958	Jewish	Polish	Romania/Hungary	Staff	Cracow, 1924	Poland
307	Rejthar, Roman		M	1909	1956	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/Hungary	Staff MD Graduate	Poznań, 1936 MD PSM, 1946	New Zealand
308	Rewo, Aleksander		M	1914	1984	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	UK
309	Rogalski, Tadeusz		M	1881	1957	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/Hungary	Staff	Cracow, 1908	Poland
310	Rosenband, Leonia	Rosenband, Laja	F	1902	1970	Jewish	Polish	?	Student	–	UK

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
311	Rososińska, Julia		F	1908	+	Roman Catholic	?	?	Student	–	UK Australia
312	Rostowski, Jakub	Rothfeld, Jakub	M	1884	1971	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Staff	Lwów, 1909	UK
313	Rozenblat, Bronisław	Roberts, Charles; Pole, Charles	M	1910	+	–	Polish	USSR	MD Graduate	Vilna, 1938 MD PSM, 1948	UK
314	Ruszkowski, Jan		M	1884	1951	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Staff	Poznań, 1922	UK
315	Rutkowski, Bolesław		M	1915	2012	Roman Catholic	Romanian	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1942	Poland
316	Rydlewski, Stanisław Jerzy		M	1918	1979	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1943	UK
317	Rymaszewski, Olgierd		M	1914	2008	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate MD Graduate Auxiliary	PSM, 1945 MD PSM, 1946	UK
318	Rymsza, Janusz	Rymsza, Jan	M	1911	+	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	UK
319	Sawicki, Stanisław Jan		M	1917	1984	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	UK
320	Schmelter, Edmund	Szmelter, Edmund	M	1917	1984	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	?	UK

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
321	Schwarzbart, Irena	Schwarzbart, Ilona	F	1924	1946	Jewish	Polish	?	Student	–	–
322	Segal, Hanna	Poznańska Hanna Maria Ewa	F	1918	2011	Roman Catholic	Polish	West	Graduate	PSM, 1943	UK
323	Seid, Henryk		M	1918	1961	Jewish	Polish	West	Graduate	PSM, 1943	Singapore
324	Sędzimir, Bronisław Maria Karol		M	1919	1985	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate MD Graduate Auxiliary	PSM, 1943 MD PSM, 1945	UK
325	Sidorowicz, Antonina Julia		F	1902	1994	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	Bristol, 1952	UK
326	Skarżyński, Bolesław Antoni		M	1901	1963	Roman Catholic	Polish	West	Staff	Cracow, 1927	Poland
327	Skibiński, Bronisław		M	1916	1976	Roman Catholic	Polish	Germany	Graduate	PSM, 1949	UK
328	Skowronek, Aleksander	Skowron, Aleksander	M	1914	1981	Jewish	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK USA
329	Słomiński, Jan Zygmunt		M	1911	1992	Roman Catholic	Polish	Other	Graduate	PSM, 1942	Grenada USA
330	Słowik, Oskar Jerzy		M	1921	2001	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Graduate	PSM, 1948	UK Canada

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
331	Sojka, Yves Jan Franciszek	Soika, Yves Jean Francois	M	1920	2013	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Student	Sheffield, 1950	UK
332	Sokołowski, Tadeusz	Sokołowski, Gedeon Mieczysław	M	1887	1965	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Staff	Cracow, 1913	Poland
333	Solich, Ferdynand		M	1913	2001	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1941	UK
334	Spólnik, Stanisława	Lota, Stana	F	1924	1977	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Student	–	UK USA
335	Szrednicki, Janusz		M	1909	1986	Roman Catholic	Polish	West	Graduate	PSM, 1943	France
336	Staniszewski, Herbert	Orłowski, Herbert	M	1918	1996	Roman Catholic	Polish	Germany	Graduate	PSM, 1948	USA
337	Starczewska, Maria	Bachurzewska, Maria	F	1922	2004	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Graduate	PSM, 1949	UK
338	Starczewski, Roman Walerian		M	1916	1997	Roman Catholic	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1948	UK
339	Stocki, Wacław		M	1902	1942	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Staff	Poznań, ?	–
340	Straszyński, Adam		M	1893	1973	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Staff	Cracow, 1919	Poland
341	Sulińska, Halina	Zawadzka, Halina	F	1914	+	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Graduate	PSM, 1942	Poland

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
342	Sychta, Stanisław		M	1913	1965	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1941	N. Borneo/ Malaysia
343	Szamocki, Mieczysław Jan		M	1917	1983	Roman Catholic	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1946	UK
344	Szarnagiel, Zbigniew Marian	Sharnagiel, Zbigniew Marian	M	1917	2011	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1948	UK
345	Szarnagiel, Zofia	Węsierska, Zofia; Sharnagiel, Zofia	F	1924	2004	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1948	UK
346	Szczeńiak, Tadeusz Józef		M	1915	1992	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate MD Graduate Auxiliary	PSM, 1945 MD PSM, 1946	UK
347	Szeliga- Prażmo, Irena	Bradley, Irene Rosalie	F	1919	2010	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Student	–	Canada
348	Szifris, Borys	Szifrys, Borys	M	1914	1969	Jewish	Polish	?	Student	–	UK
349	Szłamp, Eugeniusz Ludwik		M	1919	1973	?	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1948	Bechuanaland UK
350	Szłaskowska, Jadwiga	Mońska, Jadwiga	F	1911	1990	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Graduate	PSM, 1948	USA
351	Szops, Tadeusz	Schops, Tadeusz	M	1913	+	Jewish	Polish	Other	Graduate	PSM, 1945	France

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
352	Sztabert, Karol		M	1914	+	Lutheran	Polish	Other	Graduate	PSM, 1946	France
353	Szulec, Zdzisław Jan		M	1918	2010	Roman Catholic	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK
354	Szutowicz, Stanisław		M	1915	1966	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK
355	Szwede, Aniela Anna	Trzebińska, Aniela Anna	F	1922	1980	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Graduate	PSM, 1949	UK Australia
356	Szyndler, Maria Czesława	Pohoski, Maria Czesława	F	1920	2005	Roman Catholic	Polish	West	Graduate	PSM, 1948	Canada
357	Śleszyński, Józef Zdzisław		M	1915	+	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	UK
358	Śliżyńska, Helena	Gworek, Helena	F	1908	1977	Roman Catholic	Polish	West	Auxiliary	–	UK
359	Śliżyński, Bronisław Marceli		M	1905	1983	Roman Catholic	Polish	West	Staff	–	UK
360	Światłowski, Józef Andrzej		M	1889	1976	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	?	?
361	Świtalski, Bolesław Jan		M	1917	1995	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Graduate	PSM, 1942	UK
362	Tanasiewicz, Stanisław		M	1917	1969	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	UK

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
363	Teleszyński, Zdzisław	Golarz, Zdzisław	M	1920	1970	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1946	Poland
364	Tettamandi, Konrad Witold Antoni		M	1915	1997	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	UK
365	Tomaszewska, Krystyna Maria Gabriela	Tustanowska, Krystyna Maria Gabriela	F	1920	1999	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Student	–	UK
366	Tomaszewski, Wiktor		M	1907	1995	Roman Catholic	Polish	West	Staff	Poznań, 1931	UK
367	Truszkowska, Helena	Hurda, Helena; Truscoe, Helen	F	1903	1999	Roman Catholic	UK	Romania/ Hungary	Auxiliary	Warsaw, 1928	UK New Zealand
368	Turnheim, Erwin		M	1919	2002	Jewish	Polish	West	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK
369	Uchotski, Roman	Guthrie- Uchotski, Roman	M	1908	2003	Lutheran	Polish	?	Student	–	UK
370	Uhma, Czesław Antoni Florian		M	1898	1962	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Staff	Cracow, 1927	UK Canada

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
371	Valis, Emil		M	1912	1985	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate MD Graduate Auxiliary	PSM, 1943 MD PSM, 1945	Poland
372	Wadoń, Antoni		M	1906	1991	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Staff	Cracow, 1931	UK
373	Waga, Irena	Sumowska, Irena	F	1925	1967	Roman Catholic	Polish	West	Graduate	PSM, 1948	Australia
374	Waga, Witold Jerzy		M	1912	1970	Roman Catholic	Polish	West	Graduate Auxiliary	PSM, 1942	Australia
375	Walasek, Józef		M	1914	2001	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	Ottawa, 1960	Canada
376	Walczak, Zdzisław Piotr		M	1915	1970	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1942	Nevis Anguilla Montserrat
377	Wąchała, Leon Jan	Moir, Leon Jan	M	1913	+	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1946	UK
378	Wąsowicz, Tadeusz Euzebiusz		M	1903	1966	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Auxiliary	–	Trinidad Sudan UK
379	Weitzen, Paweł	Weitzen, Paul; Wietzen, Paul	M	1908	1976	Jewish	Polish	West	Graduate	PSM, 1943	UK
380	Wępa, Zygmunt		M	1916	1945	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	–

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
381	Węcłowicz, Tadeusz Eugeniusz	Weckowicz, Thaddeus E.	M	1918	2000	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1945	UK Canada
382	Wielhorski, Władysław Aleksander		M	1918	2009	Roman Catholic	Polish	Baltic	Graduate	PSM, 1947	Canada
383	Wierzbicka, Wincenty Maciej Julian		M	1915	+	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Pharmacist	<i>PSM, 1945 (pharmacy)</i>	Poland
384	Wilczyński, Józef		M	1917	1976	Roman Catholic	Polish	Middle East	Graduate	PSM, 1946	UK
385	Wilder, Emanuel		M	1918	1983	Lutheran	Polish	Other	Graduate	PSM, 1947	Australia
386	Witek, Józef Franciszek		M	1917	1984	Roman Catholic	Polish	USSR	Graduate	PSM, 1949	USA
387	Wittek, Bolesław Antoni		M	1921	1987	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1948	N. Rhodesia UK
388	Wittek, Irena Hanna	Roth, Irena Hann; Weissman, Irena Hanna	F	1917	2005	–	Polish	West	Graduate	PSM, 1948	N. Rhodesia UK
389	Włoczewski, Adam	Wensley, Adam	M	1904	1956	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1946	UK

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
390	Włodarczyk, Zygmunt		M	1914	+	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1943	Poland
391	Wojciechowski Jerzy Kazimierz	Wojciechowski, Józef Kazimierz	M	1911	1988	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Student	–	UK
392	Wojciechowski Mieczysław Kazimierz		M	1916	2002	Roman Catholic	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1947	UK
393	Wolski, Jan	Wolski, Kazimierz	M	1914	+	Roman Catholic	?	?	Student	?	?
394	Woźniak, Hanna Helena	Wróblewska Hanna Helena; Canaris, Hanna Helena	F	1924	2012	Roman Catholic	Polish	West	Graduate	PSM, 1946	Gold Coast Australia
395	Woźniak, Stefan	Forsyth, Philip Ian	M	1918	+	Roman Catholic	Polish	Iberia	Graduate	PSM, 1946	Gold Coast UK USA
396	Wójcicki, Henryk Marian		M	1916	2006	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate MD Graduate	PSM, 1942 MD PSM, 1946	Canada
397	Wójcik, Wanda Helena	Wodzińska, Wanda Helena	F	1916	1983	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate Auxiliary	PSM, 1943	UK
398	Wroński, Bernard Antoni		M	1912	1995	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate Auxiliary	PSM, 1942	UK Canada

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
399	Zajac-Bereza, Wanda Janina	Vogelfaenger, Wanda Janina; Barker, Wanda Janina	F	1915	1963	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Graduate	PSM, 1945	South Africa UK
400	Zaleska, Ludmiła Anna	Kwiatkowska, Ludmiła Anna; Zaleski, Ludmiła Anne	F	1923	2014	Roman Catholic	Polish	West	Graduate	PSM, 1948	UK Canada
401	Zaleski, Witold Andrzej		M	1920	2008	Roman Catholic	Polish	Romania/ Hungary	Graduate	PSM, 1946	UK Canada
402	Zantara, Maria Elżbieta	Princess Światopełk- Czetwertyńska Maria Elżbieta; Rostworowska, Maria Elżbieta	F	1920	1984	Roman Catholic	Polish	Baltic	Student	Paris, ?	Belgium France
403	Zieliński, Tadeusz		M	1899	1968	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Auxiliary	Cracow, 1926	UK
404	Ziętak, Bolesław Dominik		M	1909	1968	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Graduate Auxiliary	PSM, 1943	USA

NO.	NAME	ALIAS	SEX	BORN	DIED	RELIGION	CITIZEN.	VINTAGE	CATEGORY	MEDICAL DEGREE(S)	POST-WAR SETTLEMENT
405	Ziółkowska, Bożena Barbara Krystyna	Bain, Bożena	F	1924	1989	Roman Catholic	Polish	Other	Graduate	PSM, 1948	UK
406	Żarski, Władysław	Zarski, Walter	M	1917	2005	Roman Catholic	Polish	?	Graduate	PSM, 1946	USA

¹ ‘Wiktor Godulski’ was a pseudonym used for security reasons by a student who deserted from the *Wehrmacht*. His real name remains unknown.

² Stanisław Kryszek was baptised in the Church of Scotland in 1945.

³ Alicja Lubicz-Sawicka converted to Roman Catholicism some time before 1949.

Note: Personal data of living individuals and those who might still have been alive in 2016 (presuming a lifetime of 100 years) has been pseudonymised. The names of some Polish medical refugees are missing or were misspelled in the published lists of staff and students, see Jakub Rostowski, *History of the Polish School of Medicine*, Edinburgh: The University of Edinburgh, 1955, pp. 42-66. The spelling of all names in this table is based on original student records and other primary sources.

Symbols: (?) unknown, (-) not applicable, (+) presumed to be dead.

Column CATEGORY:

Auxiliary – member of the auxiliary teaching staff (i.e. junior or senior assistant),
Graduate – student who graduated with a Bachelor of Medicine, Bachelor of Surgery (MB, ChB) degree,
MD Graduate – student who graduated with a Doctor of Medicine (MD) degree,
Pharmacist – student who obtained a provisional diploma of Master of Pharmacy at the PSM,
Staff – member of the senior teaching staff (i.e. professor, senior lecturer or lecturer),
Student – non-completing student of the PSM.

Column MEDICAL DEGREE(S):

LDS, RCS Eng – Licence in Dental Surgery of the Royal College of Surgeons of England,
NU Ireland – National University of Ireland,
MRCS Eng, LRCP Lond – Member of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians of London,
MRCVS – Member of the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons,
PSVM – Polish School of Veterinary Medicine in Edinburgh.

Source: Compiled from a variety of sources listed in the Bibliography.

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