

**Mirosław Adam Supruniuk**

(Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń)

ORCID: 0000-0002-4509-9011

## “Permanence and Liquidity.” Polish Art in Great Britain in the 20th Century – Introduction to a Description

### STATE OF RESEARCH (DOCUMENTS AND SOURCES)

The Polish artistic community in Great Britain in the 20th century, if only for the fact that it was the largest outside Poland in terms of numbers and permanence, deserves separate research and its own history. Despite the passage of more than 20 years, the primary document on Polish artistic events in the British Isles in the 20th century is still the sketch-lecture by Stanisław Frenkiel – a painter, art historian, and art theoretician who died in London in 2001 – titled “Polskie malarstwo i rzeźba w Wielkiej Brytanii 1945–1985” [Polish painting and sculpture in Great Britain 1945–1985], delivered at the Congress of Polish Culture in Exile in September 1985 in London.<sup>1</sup> A slightly modified version of that lecture appeared in the

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<sup>1</sup> S. Frenkiel, “Polskie malarstwo i rzeźba w Wielkiej Brytanii 1945–1985” [Polish painting and sculpture in Great Britain 1945–1985], in: M. Paszkiewicz, ed., *Prace Kongresu Kultury Polskiej* [The works of the Congress of Polish Culture], vol. VIII: *Polskie więzi kulturowe na obczyźnie* [Polish cultural ties in exile], London 1986, pp. 108, 125. The main theses of that article were repeated by Frenkiel in his report on the Third Congress of Polish Culture in

London-based *Tydzień Polski* magazine in two parts published on April 12 and 19, 1986.

It was later reprinted in 1998 in the volume *Kozuchy w chmurach i inne eseje o sztuce* [Skins in clouds and other essays on art], alongside Frenkiel's other sketches on émigré artistic figures and events.<sup>2</sup>

Marian Bohusz-Szyszko's sketches on Polish émigré visual arts previously published in the collection *On Art*, which contains mostly reviews of exhibitions in London, are of much less cognitive value.<sup>3</sup> All later attempts, i.e., those made after 1986, to assimilate the visual arts output of "Polish London" in art criticism in Poland were either free summaries of Frenkiel's theses,<sup>4</sup> or their uncritical replication and addition of details from the biographies of individual painters and sculptors on the basis of a random collection of works.<sup>5</sup> Publications devoted to the art of "Polish diaspora" visual artists, written in Poland before 1989, are of little value and generally omit the "Polish diaspora in Great Britain." They are, of course, an important testimony to the censored cultural policy of the state with regard to the history and achievements of Polish culture abroad, but the information contained in them is fragmentary and mainly concerns painters who visited Poland after 1945 and exhibited in domestic galleries: Feliks Topolski, Tadeusz P. Potworowski, Marek Żuławski, Henryk Gotlib, and Piotr Mleczko.<sup>6</sup> Only a few researchers had the courage to demand

Exile in 1998 – see: S. Frenkiel, "Polskie malarstwo i rzeźba w Wielkiej Brytanii" [Polish painting and sculpture in Great Britain], in: K. Rowiński, ed., *Polska poza Polską. Sprawozdanie z III Kongresu Kultury Polskiej na Obczyźnie* [Poland outside Poland. A report on the 3rd Congress of Polish Culture in Exile], London 1998, pp. 78–82.

<sup>2</sup> S. Frenkiel, *Kozuchy w chmurach i inne eseje o sztuce* [Skins in clouds and other essays on art], introduction and selection by J. Koźmiński, Toruń 1998, pp. 193–200.

<sup>3</sup> M. Bohusz-Szyszko, *O sztuce* [On art], London 1982.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. e.g.: D. Wróblewska, "Wokół Londynu" [Around London], in: M. Fik, ed., *Między Polską a światem. Kultura emigracyjna po 1939 roku* [Between Poland and the world. The émigré culture after 1939], Warsaw 1992, pp. 301–304.

<sup>5</sup> A. Prugar-Myślik, "Polscy malarze w Wielkiej Brytanii" [Polish painters in Great Britain], in: *Polscy malarze w Wielkiej Brytanii* [Polish painters in Great Britain] [exhibition catalog], Polish Diaspora House in Pułtusk, July–September 1989, Pułtusk 1989, pp. 5–11.

<sup>6</sup> Cf.: J. Ziemiński, "Polonijni artyści plastycy" [Polish visual artists], *Przegląd Zachodni* 1975, no. 5/6, pp. 190–207; idem, "Artyści plastycy jako specjalna kategoria emigracji" [Visual artists as a special category of émigrés], in: A. Kubiak and A. Pilch, eds., *Stan*

a comprehensive study of various aspects of the émigré culture and saw a special place in that study for visual art.<sup>7</sup>

Jan Wiktor Sienkiewicz was wrong when he wrote that the years 1990–2003 were not lost in “research on art in exile.” His optimism, expressed in an otherwise very valuable study titled *Polskie galerie sztuki w Londynie w drugiej połowie XX wieku* [Polish art galleries in London in the Second Half of the 20th Century], is not justified by the sketches cited there – most of which are contributory or devoted to émigré biographies.<sup>8</sup> What Sienkiewicz failed to see was that this output, published for the most part in elite journals and university publications, did not enter the bloodstream not only of science in Poland, but also of popular knowledge, as evidenced by publications such as the 1996 *Leksykon sztuki polskiej XX wieku* [Lexicon of Polish art of the 20th century], which, among 30 names of émigré visual artists, notes only seven from Great Britain: Jankiel Adler, Gotlib, Potworowski, Stefan and Franciszka Themerson, Topolski, and Żuławski. Moreover, no Polish galleries, periodicals, art associations and groups, or painting schools in England were described in the *Lexicon*; no attention was paid to émigré art historians and critics.<sup>9</sup> The output of Polish painters from Great Britain is equally poorly presented in the second volume of the *Słownik malarzy polskich* [Dictionary of Polish painters], which focuses on the 20th century.

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*i potrzeby badań nad zbiorowościami polonijnymi* [The status and needs of the research on Polish diaspora communities], Wrocław 1976, pp. 126–133.

<sup>7</sup> P. Taras, “Rola polskiej emigracji wśród innych narodów” [The role of the Polish diaspora among other nations], in: *Wkład Polaków do kultury świata* [The contribution of Poles to the world’s culture], Lublin 1976, p. 803 – the author lists the following persons among the painters working in London: Topolski, Knapp, Frenkiel, Turkiewicz, and Bobrowski; W. Sobisiak, “Emigracyjne instytucje upowszechniania polskiej kultury w Wielkiej Brytanii” [Émigré institutions popularizing Polish culture in Great Britain], in: *Kultura skupisk polonijnych. Materiały z II Sympozjum Naukowego, Warszawa, 11 i 12 czerwca 1984 r.* [The culture of Polish diaspora communities. Materials from the 2nd Scientific Symposium, Warsaw, June 11 and 12, 1984], Warsaw 1987, pp. 137–159.

<sup>8</sup> J. W. Sienkiewicz, “Londyn polskich artystów i polskich galerii” [The London of Polish artists and Polish galleries], in: idem, *Polskie galerie sztuki w Londynie w drugiej połowie XX wieku* [Polish art galleries in London in the 2nd half of the 20th century], Lublin 2003, pp. 11–34.

<sup>9</sup> J. Chrzanowska-Pieńkos, A. Pieńkos, *Leksykon sztuki polskiej XX wieku* [Lexicon of Polish art of the 20th century], Poznań 1996.

It features biographical notes of only 15 “Englishmen.” Adler, Bohusz-Szyszko, Frenkiel, Gotlib, Mieczysław Janikowski, Rajmund Kanelba, Stefan Knapp, Antoni Markowski, Potworowski, Zdzisław Ruszkowski, F. Themerson, Topolski, Kazimierz Zielenkiewicz (Caziel), Żuławski, and Aleksander Żyw.<sup>10</sup> The promising Lublin-based *Leksykon kultury polskiej poza krajem od roku 1939* [Lexicon of Polish culture outside the country since 1939], edited by Krzysztof Dybciak and Zdzisław Kudelski, is the only one that – apart from a few biographical entries: Adler, Bohusz-Szyszko, Roman Jakubowski, and Wiktor Niemczyk (photographers) – published short essays on “Polish sculptors in London” and the “Association of Polish Photographers in London.”<sup>11</sup>

The presence and activity of Polish visual artists in the British Isles is also omitted in all synthetic studies of contemporary Polish art, up to the recent book by Wojciech Włodarczyk titled *Polish Art 1918–2000*,<sup>12</sup> as well as – which sounds paradoxical – academic books describing the cultural and social life of the “Polish London.” Particularly puzzling is the absence of even a single sentence about the artistic output of more than eight hundred Polish visual artists in Rafał Habielski’s monograph titled *Polish London*. The book, which mentions politicians, writers, journalists, actors, and singers, lacked space to note the names of painters of such stature as Marek Żuławski, Henryk Gotlib, Tadeusz P. Potworowski, Stanisław Frenkiel, Zdzisław Ruszkowski, and Janina Baranowska, and to describe just one Polish exhibition, in just one Polish gallery.<sup>13</sup>

It is therefore difficult to agree with Stanisław Frenkiel, who wrote in the work cited above:

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<sup>10</sup> *Słownik malarzy polskich* [Dictionary of Polish painters], vol. 2: *Od dwudziestolecia międzywojennego do końca XX wieku* [From the twenty interwar years until the end of the 20th century], Warsaw 2001.

<sup>11</sup> I. Grzesik-Olszewska, *Rzeźbiarze polscy w Londynie* [Polish sculptors in London], in: K. Dybciak and Z. Kudelski, eds., *Leksykon kultury polskiej poza krajem od roku 1939* [Lexicon of Polish culture outside the country from 1939], vol. 1, Lublin 2000, pp. 381–384; K. Łyczywek, *Stowarzyszenie Fotografików Polskich w Londynie* [Association of Polish Photographers in London], in: *ibidem*, pp. 418–420. Unfortunately, only the first volume of the *Lexicon* was published.

<sup>12</sup> W. Włodarczyk, *Sztuka polska 1918–2000* [Polish art 1918–2000], Warsaw 2000.

<sup>13</sup> R. Habielski, *Polski Londyn* [Polish London], Wrocław 2000.

In general, Polish art in Great Britain is very well documented. The Tate Gallery has an extensive library of catalogs and rubrics of all important artists, including press commentaries, as well as an archive of Halima Nałęcz.<sup>14</sup> Extensive documentation is held by the Polish Library. Works by Polish artists are in state collections: Topolski, Werner, and Beutlich in the Victoria & Albert Museum; Potworowski and Frenkiel in the collection of the University of London.<sup>15</sup>

The phrase – “all important artists” – distorts the picture. In the context of the knowledge about nearly eight hundred artists living and working in the British Isles in the 20th century, focusing on the dozen or so names mentioned by Frenkiel provides little or no knowledge about the art of Poles in Great Britain.

In 1957, writing “Parę uwag o krytyce i malarstwie polskim w Anglii” [A Few Remarks on Polish Criticism and Painting in England], Bogdan Czaykowski used the phrase “Polish painting criticism in exile is virtually non-existent.” While he appreciated the journalistic and popularizing activities of Alicja Drwęska in *Dziennik Polski*, the reviews of Stefania Zahorska in *Wiadomości*, and the texts of M. Bohusz-Szyszko and especially Józef Czapski in *Kultura* (which concerned “Londoners” to a small extent), he pointed out the limited knowledge of the Polish community in Great Britain about the activities and artistic output of painters living in the British Islands.

For Czaykowski, the lack of Polish criticism was all the more incomprehensible because there were many painters living in London at the time who had successful exhibitions in renowned English galleries.<sup>16</sup> A consequence of this opinion was the initiative presented in 1960 by the magazine *Kontynenty – Nowy Merkuriusz* to launch a competition for the best

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<sup>14</sup> L. Bobka, “Archiwum Halimy Nałęcz w Tate Gallery” [Halima Nałęcz’s archive in Tate Gallery], *Dziennik Polski* 2001, no. 2, p. 4.

<sup>15</sup> S. Frenkiel, “Polskie malarstwo” [Polish painting], p. 124.

<sup>16</sup> [B. Czaykowski] bc, “Parę uwag o krytyce i malarstwie polskim w Anglii” [A few comments about Polish criticism and painting in England], *Merkuriusz Polski. Życie Akademickie* 1957, no. 1/2, pp. 31–32. For 1956, he listed five major art events: exhibitions of the works of Żuławski at the Zwemmer Gallery, Potworowski at the Gimpel Fils Gallery, Wiesław Pilawski at the Leicester Gallery, Tadeusz Znicz-Muszyński at the Related Arts Gallery, and Stefan Knapp at the Hanover Gallery.

criticism of works of visual artists.<sup>17</sup> It seems that the initiative failed, because Czaykowski repeated his negative opinion in his book *Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii* [Poles in Great Britain]<sup>18</sup> that was published a year later.

Our knowledge today allows us to verify Czaykowski's opinion and supplement his findings. From the 1940s to the 1980s, art events in Great Britain had their chroniclers and more or less critical reviewers in the persons of the aforementioned Henryk Gotlib, who wrote regularly in 1940–1944 for *Dziennik Polski* and *Wiadomości Polskie, Polityczne i Literackie*;<sup>19</sup> Alicja Drwęska, whose discussions and reviews appeared in *Dziennik Polski*, *Orzeł Biały*, *Kultura*, and *Wiadomości*; Stefania Zahorska, who published critical articles written with great meticulousness in *Wiadomości* and *Dziennik Polski*, and who also taught at the Painting School headed by Bohusz-Szyszko and compiled introductions to catalogs and albums; Zygmunt Turkiewicz, the author of sophisticated historical sketches published in *Orzeł Biały* and *Życie*, and of regular series: “From London Exhibitions” and “Polish Exhibitions in London,” written for the Paris-based *Kultura*; and Marian Bohusz-Szyszko, whose insightful reviews of Polish exhibitions in London appeared in *Wiadomości*, *Kultura*, *Orzeł Biały*, *Życie*, and *Dziennik Polski*. Less regular reviews of London exhibitions, but also separate critical and historical sketches were published in *Wolna Polska*, *Życie*, *Orzeł Biały*, *Kontynenty*, *Wiadomości*, and *Oficyna Poetów* by Teresa Jeleńska, Antoni Wasilewski, Bogdan Czaykowski, as well as Tymon Terlecki, Bronisław Przyłuski, Adam Kossowski, Marek Żuławski, Józef Natanson,<sup>20</sup> Mieczysław Paszkiewicz, Czesław Dobek, Stanisław Kowalski, Stefan Arvay,<sup>21</sup> Józef Czapski, Teresa Skórzewska, and Stanisław Frenkiel (Żuławski and Frenkiel also read their

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<sup>17</sup> “Komunikat” [Message], *Kontynenty - Nowy Merkuriusz* 1960, no. 20, p. 15.

<sup>18</sup> B. Czaykowski, B. Sulik, *Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii* [Poles in Great Britain], Paris 1961, p. 352.

<sup>19</sup> E.g.: H. Gotlib, “Wystawa artystów narodów sprzymierzonych” [Exhibition of artists of the allied nations], *Wiadomości Polskie, Polityczne i Literackie* 1942, no. 24, p. 4.

<sup>20</sup> E.g.: J. Natanson, “Wystawa Żuławskiego, Gotliba i Kopera” [Exhibition of the works of Żuławski, Gotlib, and Koper], *Wiadomości Polskie, Polityczne i Literackie* 1942, no. 42, p. 4.

<sup>21</sup> Stefan Arvay wrote reports on the artistic life in London for *Kalendarz Dziennika Polskiego i Dziennika Żołnierza*; see, e.g.: S. Arvay, “Malarstwo. Grafika. Rzeźba” [Painting. Graphic art. Sculpture], *Kalendarz Dziennika Polskiego i Dziennika Żołnierza* 1953, pp. 52–53.

own and press reviews in broadcasts of the Polish section of the BBC), and occasionally even Marian Hemar and Stefania Kossowska. In the 1980s, the group of art critics in London was joined by: Andrzej Dzierżyński (BBC) and, most importantly, Andrzej Borkowski (*Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza*, BBC), and later Jarosław Koźmiński. It seems that no important Polish exhibitions in Great Britain, and especially in London, have escaped the attention of the reviewers, columnists, and critics of the most important émigré periodicals.

In the 1990s, the group of critics of émigré art was enlarged by, among others, Jan W. Sienkiewicz, the author of a work on Marian Bohusz-Szyszko (as well as numerous articles about him printed in Poland and in the Polish diaspora press) and a comprehensive study on émigré galleries,<sup>22</sup> as well as Sławomir S. Nicieja, Tadeusz Chrzanowski, Paweł Kądziała, and others – who wrote about Adam Kossowski,<sup>23</sup> Jarosław Kilian,<sup>24</sup> as well as Mirosław A. Supruniuk and Joanna Krasnodębska who prepared exhibitions and studies in Toruń's Emigration Archive.<sup>25</sup>

One of the most interesting attempts to familiarize Polish readers with the figures and works of émigré visual artists was the series of texts ini-

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<sup>22</sup> J. W. Sienkiewicz, *Marian Bohusz-Szyszko. Życie i twórczość 1901–1995* [Marian Bohusz-Szyszko. Life and works], Lublin 1995; idem, *Polskie galerie sztuki w Londynie* [Polish art galleries in London].

<sup>23</sup> S. S. Nicieja, *Adam Kossowski – Artifex Dei*, in: *Człowiek i Kościół w dziejach* [Man and the Church in history], Opole 1999, pp. 267–277; T. Chrzanowski, "Adam Kossowski," *Tygodnik Powszechny* 1987, no. 44, p. 7; P. Kądziała, "Wspomnienie o Adamie Kossowskim (1905–1986)" [A memory of Adam Kossowski], *Przegląd Katolicki* 1987, no. 18, p. 6; J. Kossakowski, "Mistrz sakralnej ceramiki – Adam Kossowski" [A master of religious ceramics – Adam Kossowski], *Słowo Powszechne* 1991, no. 279/280, p. 5; L. Lameński, "O polskiej sztuce religijnej" [On Polish religious art], *Kresy* 1993, no. 14, pp. 189–192.

<sup>24</sup> J. Kilian, "Feliks Topolski – kronikarz XX wieku" [Feliks Topolski – a chronicler of the 20th century], in: *Między Polską a światem* [Between Poland and the world], pp. 177–184.

<sup>25</sup> The result of this work is the biographic entries in the *Encyklopedia polskiej emigracji i Polonii* [Encyclopedia of the Polish émigré communities and the Polish diaspora], vol. 1–5, ed. K. Dopierała, Toruń 2003–2005, the catalog of the exhibition *Mała Galeria Sztuki Emigracyjnej ze zbiorów Archiwum Emigracji* [Small gallery of émigré art from the collection of the Archives of Emigration] by M. Supruniuk and J. Krasnodębska (Toruń 2002) and a collection of sketches titled *Sztuka polska w Wielkiej Brytanii 1940–2000. Antologia* [Polish Art in Great Britain 1940–2000. An Anthology], ed. M. A. Supruniuk, Toruń 2006.



tiated in 1968 by the aforementioned B. Czaykowski in *Kontynenty* titled “Sketches for Portraits.” However, only a sketch about Tadeusz Znicz-Muszyński was published.<sup>26</sup>

Reports on Polish artistic events in Great Britain, mainly in London, were published by the London-based émigré daily press, literary, cultural, and political weeklies and monthlies, magazines and newsletters of various organizations, and even *Kalendarz Dziennika Polskiego i Dziennika Żołnierza* and the Paris-based *Kultura* located away from London.

Texts focused on Polish art abroad were generally limited to a reporting description of an exhibition, album, or artistic event, and rarely analyzed the place of Polish painters in English, European, and world art. The first attempt to describe Polish visual arts in the British Isles was Czesław Poznański’s sketch published in English in 1944 in a brochure edited by T. P. Potworowski and M. Żuławski, published by *Nowa Polska*.<sup>27</sup> The same article appeared a year later in Polish in the monthly magazine.<sup>28</sup> The sketch *Polish artists in Great Britain* contains information about 21 Polish visual artists who stayed in the British Isles during the war.

In 1945, A. Kossowski, J. Natanson, and T. P. Potworowski edited a special issue of the monthly magazine *The Studio*. In addition to an extensive sketch on the history of Polish art from the Middle Ages to the 1940s, the issue focused on Polish art and included an important text by Potworowski titled “The Society of Polish Artists in Great Britain,” which was illustrated with reproductions of works by 13 Polish visual artists. It was in fact information on the establishment of the Association of Polish Artists, but with its rich graphic design it foreshadowed the artistic potential of the Polish colony in England.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> B. Czaykowski, “Tadeusz Znicz-Muszyński,” *Kontynenty* 1962, no. 39, pp. 12–13.

<sup>27</sup> C. Poznański, *Polish artists in Great Britain with an essay on Polish art*, T. Potworowski and M. Żuławski, eds., London 1944.

<sup>28</sup> Idem, “Plastycy polscy w Wielkiej Brytanii” [Polish visual artists in Great Britain], *Nowa Polska* 1945, book 1, pp. 64–74.

<sup>29</sup> T. P. Potworowski, “The Society of Polish Artists in Great Britain,” *The Studio* (Special Polish Issue) 1945, vol. 129, no. 622, pp. 31–32.



The above-mentioned texts described the activities of Polish artists and art organizations during the war, focusing on the presentation of the artworks created after 1939.

The first attempt in the historical literature to provide a synthetic description of the Polish artists' community in Great Britain after 1945 was a chapter in Bogdan Czaykowski and Bolesław Sulik's book titled *Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii* [Poles in Great Britain], published in 1961 in Paris. The description is fragmentary and includes the names of those artists who were active primarily in the Polish community and had their exhibitions in the Grabowski Gallery. In addition to the dozen or so painters mentioned by name (and very generally characterized), the authors mention that there were more than 50 Polish painters, graphic artists, and sculptors living in London in 1961, who "do not yet have a position."<sup>30</sup> Of the "young" artists in 1961 (35–50 years old), Czaykowski and Sulik's book lists the following painters: Tadeusz Beutlich, Piotr Mleczeko, Marian Kościółkowski, Stanisław Frenkiel, Kazimierz Dźwig, Leon Piesowocki, Zygmunt Turkiewicz, Aleksander Werner, Stefan Starzyński, Tadeusz Znicz-Muszyński, and Adam Kossowski, and the following sculptors: Andrzej Bobrowski and Tadeusz Koper.<sup>31</sup>

This should be supplemented by the numerous speeches and lectures on topics related to Polish art abroad (but not exclusively) by writers, journalists, and visual artists, which have not been published in print. This is especially true of the lectures, discussions, and talks about art given at the Polish Club Room of the YMCA. All presentations were, admittedly, recorded, but the fate of the recordings is unknown.<sup>32</sup> Readings and lectures were also held at such venues as Klub Orła Białego, Instytut Badania Zagadnień Krajowych, and Dom Kombatanta. Among those giving lectures on art were Marian Bohusz-Szyszko and Kazimierz Pacewicz. In 1952 there was a major

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<sup>30</sup> B. Czaykowski, B. Sulik, *Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii* [Poles in Great Britain], pp. 351–352. However, the authors point out that equating the Polish community with Grabowski's gallery is a misunderstanding. The gallery did not exhibit such important painters as Potworowski, Żuławski, Herman, Ruszkowski, Topolski, Gotlib, and Knapp.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 532.

<sup>32</sup> [J. Ostrowski] (n), "Polskie życie kulturalne" [Polish Cultural Life], *Orzeł Biały* 1958, no. 3, p. 3.

exhibition of paintings by Jerzy Faczyński, a drawing teacher at the Polish University College (PUC) and a professor at the School of Handicraft in Hammersmith, which was preceded by a speech by Jerzy Pietrkiewicz discussing the painter's works.<sup>33</sup>

A separate issue is the reports on and discussion of events concerning the art of Polish émigrés in Great Britain published in British publications and magazines. The largest Polish exhibitions, especially in large renowned galleries, attracted the interest of the professional English press, even the most prestigious periodicals such as: *The Arts Review* – a richly illustrated biweekly magazine describing art life in Britain; *Art News and Review* – a biweekly magazine published in London, almost entirely devoted to reviews of exhibitions; and *The Studio* – a monthly magazine that also published more extensive monographic sketches. The Polish presence in such periodicals was noted by London-based émigré periodicals. Let us mention, for example, Bohdan Czaykowski's reporting article published in *Merkuriusz*: in 1956, in the March issue of *Art News and Review*, he placed a review of Stefan Knapp's exhibition and a note on Halima Nałęcz's work; the October–November double issue presented reviews of exhibitions by Mieczysław Janikowski, Potworowski, Znicz, and Pilawski.<sup>34</sup>

Also Turkiewicz's texts in *Kultura* noted Polish successes in the British press, e.g. the largely Polish July 21, 1963 issue of *The Arts Review* was devoted to the work of S. Knapp and F. Themerson.<sup>35</sup> Large articles and reviews of Polish exhibitions were also occasionally noted by Mieczysław Grydzewski in *Wiadomości* and by chroniclers of cultural life in *Dziennik Polski* and *Oficyna Poetów*. However, it must be acknowledged that this matter still requires detailed study. In 1964, the presence, activities, and achievements of a large group of Polish émigré painters were recognized and appreciated by British critics. The "Two Worlds" exhibition at the Grabowski Gallery

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<sup>33</sup> Idem, "Życie kulturalne w kraju i na obczyźnie" [Cultural life in Poland in exile], *Orzeł Biały* 1953, no. 1, p. 3.

<sup>34</sup> [B. Czaykowski] bc, "Parę uwag o krytyce i malarstwie polskim w Anglii" [A few comments about Polish criticism and painting in England], *Merkuriusz Polski - Życie Akademickie* 1957, no. 1/2, p. 32.

<sup>35</sup> Z. Turkiewicz, "Wystawy polskie w Londynie" [Polish exhibitions in London], *Kultura* 1963, no. 11 (193), p. 127.

showed works of artists from Poland, confronting it with works of émigré artists from London. Although the English press praised the painters from Warsaw, stressing that "they were ahead of the Polish artists from London in their achievements," the very fact that English magazines mentioned the names of dozens of Polish artists from England, while calling them "nostalgic painters" – in contrast to the painters from Poland described as "rebellious against the dictates of state patronage" – had a great propaganda significance. As Frenkiel stressed – never again had the work of Polish visual artists been discussed in such detail in England.<sup>36</sup> Symptomatically, not a single painting from the "Two Worlds" exhibition was sold. Poles attended the exhibition in large numbers, but did not buy the paintings. Nor did any Polish or British institution stepped forward to buy a painting and support an artist. Interest in that exhibition on the part of the British press and critics was exceptional. Independent reviews were published in all major London-based newspapers and specialized periodicals: *Sunday Times*, *The Studio*, *The Tatler*, *Art Review*, *The Connoisseur*, *The Times*, *Jewish Chronicle*, *Fortnightly Review*, and others.<sup>37</sup> The exhibition was also noted by Polish newspapers and magazines.<sup>38</sup>

Even more rarely were Poles a supplement to a broader study of British or world art. One of the few exceptions was the 1955/1956 volume of the *Modern Publicity* annual magazine, dedicated to applied art and graphic design. Among the nearly 700 artists cited by name and illustration, there were ten Polish émigrés, including the following from England: Jerzy Brzeziński (alias Karo), Jerzy Him, Jan LeWitt, Zygmunt Kowalewski, Stanisław Król, T. Piesakowski, L. Piesowocki, and W. R. Szomański.<sup>39</sup> Polish émigrés in Great Britain are generally not listed in international biographical dictionaries devoted to 20th century art. An important precedent that must be noted is David Buckman's *The dictionary of artists in Britain since 1945*

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<sup>36</sup> S. Frenkiel, "Po wystawie 'Dwa światy'" [After the "Two Worlds" exhibition], in: idem, *Kożuchy w chmurach* [Skins in clouds], p. 201.

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem, p. 201.

<sup>38</sup> [J. Ostrowski] (n), "Polskie życie kulturalne" [Polish cultural life], *Orzeł Biały* 1964, no. 17, p. 5 – this publication contains information about other reviews.

<sup>39</sup> M. Paszkiewicz, "Zestawienia i liczby" [Fact sheets and numbers], *Merkuriusz Polski* 1956, no. 2, p. 9.

(London 1998), which contains more than 100 short biographies of visual artists, both Polish and of Polish descent.

An important source for research on the biographies and works of Polish visual artists in the British Isles is exhibition archival materials and catalogs as well as art collections. Larger collections of such materials can be found in the Polish Library in London (catalogs and folders), the Victoria and Albert Museum (e.g., Adam Kossowski's archive), the library of the Tate Gallery (catalogs and folders), the Polish Institute and the Gen. Sikorski Museum in London (mainly materials related to events during the war can be found there), and the Polish Social and Cultural Association (POSK) (materials related to the art collection). The collections gathered in Poland are also of great research value, especially the archival collections and the art collection stored in the Emigration Archive of the University Library and the University Museum in Toruń.

One of the most valuable art collections is Marian (Jan) Kościałkowski's archive and collection of drawings, gouaches, pastels, sculptures, and oil paintings (donated by his widow Lidia Kruszyńska-Kościałkowska). It came to Toruń in batches: in the summer of 1997 and in the autumn of 2002. The archive is complete and consists of two independent parts. The first is a collection of literary manuscripts (mainly poems written in Polish and French), manuscript diaries (in two large volumes), hundreds of pages of notes and notebooks, a small collection of correspondence with family, painters and writers, including Sergiusz Piasecki, memorabilia, photographs, and biographical materials, including documentation of painting and sculpture exhibitions, correspondence with exhibitors, documentation of military service, etc. The second part, incomparably larger, consists of sketchbooks from 1942–1977 and several thousand drawings, graphic art, gouaches, pastels, watercolors, and oil paintings from the entire period of the artist's painting activity from his student years – in Vilnius and Rome – until the 1970s. That part also includes published works, including a copy of L. Sterne's *A sentimental journey through France and Italy* from 1948 with Marian's drawings, in which the painter added dozens of new illustrations in the same style as that of the book and the era.

Of note is the huge collection of paintings as well as several hundred pieces of graphic art, drawings, and sketches by Zygmunt Turkiewicz (a gift

from Pooka Kępińska), a painter living in Great Britain after the war. Turkiewicz – whose exhibition at the National Museum in Cracow in the 1980s was a major event – was also an art historian and critic. Equally important for researchers is the archival collection of Aleksander Werner, a painter, graphic artist, draftsman, and sculptor, extremely versatile in his search for artistic expression. The collection donated to the Emigration Archive by the artist includes more than a thousand drawings, pieces of graphic art, sculptures, and oil works, in addition to documents of artistic activity (reviews, catalogs, photographs, etc.). In addition, as a gift from the artist, the Archive acquired a collection, comprising nearly 200 items, of sculpture, glass, jewelry, weapons, and ceramics from various parts of the world, which may provide interesting material for those studying the sources of Werner's artistic inspiration.

Extremely valuable, in the context of potential scientific research, seem to be the materials on "Group 49." The most valuable is a collection of drawings, graphic art, and, most importantly, painstakingly collected documents on the activities of a group of Polish painters-soldiers studying and exhibiting in Rome (1945–1947) and later in Great Britain, donated by Ryszard Demel, a painter now living in Padua. The archive contains correspondence, documentation of exhibitions and meetings, flyers, press clippings, personal documents, photographs, videos, etc. The collection of Kazimierz Dźwig's works, as well as his handy book collection and archival materials, was donated in 2004 by Mary Dźwig. The gift also included works by other Polish painters studying with Dźwig in Rome and London. A sizable and valuable collection of paintings by Tadeusz Znicz-Muszyński was donated by the painter's widow. Numerous works of his own and his friends were donated to the Archive by Leon Piesowocki.

The archive of Władysław R. Szomański, a painter, graphic artist, and advertising designer, contains materials on the history of the Association of Polish Artists Abroad and full documentation of artistic activities. In addition to a detailed collection of photographic documentation from exhibitions, correspondence with principals and art institutions around the world, opinions and reviews of designs and graphic works, there is a set of printed small works by the author: posters, placards, postcards, book

covers, mastheads of wartime magazines and newspapers, and hundreds of satirical drawings cut from émigré magazines, mainly from *Pokrzywy* (1950s). Separately stored are the original watercolors, sketches, pieces of graphic art, collages, drawings and graphic signs, designs of large paper-art forms, etc., as well as documentation of performances of the “Zielony Krokodyl” Theater.

Of great research and artistic value are dozens of oil works and dozens of drawings, sketches, and pieces of graphic art by Marek Żuławski donated by Maryla Żuławska from London. The painter’s widow also donated a part of his archive to Toruń, including diaries and sketchbooks, as well as a collection of paintings, drawings, and archives of Żuławski’s second wife, Halina Korn-Żuławska. In addition, together with Halima Nałęcz, she donated to the Archive of Emigration the papers of the London-based Drian Gallery, as well as numerous paintings, pieces of graphic art, drawings, and sculptures by H. Nałęcz, Feliks Topolski, Józef Piwowar, David Messer, Jerzy Stocki, Lutka Pink, Witold G. Kawalec, Andrzej Kuhn, Tadeusz Wąs, and several other artists.

Of the other archives and art collections collected in Toruń, a few more are worth noting. These include a collection of paintings and sculptures by Janina Granowska-Rennie from London, who works with alternative artistic techniques in addition to traditional ones. These include compositions created on fabric (paint, colored threads) using her own technique (*off-beat*), but also works in the batik technique, and small porcelain sculptures. Documents and photographs are an important part of the archive.

A collection of memorabilia and extensive photographic documentation of the artistic activities of her husband, Adam Kossowski, was donated to the Archive by Stefania Kossowska, a Polish writer and journalist living in London since 1940. The collection of materials also includes original paintings, drawings and sketches, pieces of graphic art, and small ceramic sculptures, as well as some of the painting studio equipment (personal items) and part of the book collection. In addition, Kossowska donated drawings and pieces of graphic art by Zdzisław Ruszkowski.

A part of Marian Kratochwil’s archive, donated by his brother, Zbigniew Kratochwil, contains documents, i.e. publications about the painter, ex-

hibition catalogs, diplomas, letters (primarily to his brother, and correspondence with institutions holding Kratochwil's works), an album of photographs, and cassettes with documentaries about the artist. Particularly valuable is Zbigniew Kratochwil's book on his brother's artistic work, recorded on a CD, which contains dozens of reproductions of paintings, as well as detailed lists of museums and private collections around the world where Marian Kratochwil's works are kept. Completing the archive are two pre-war sketchbooks, a collection of dozens of drawings from the 1920s and 1930s, and five canvas paintings.

Few Polish visual artists have books about their paintings published in Britain. Two independent monographs on Jankiel Adler's works came out in 1948; he was perhaps the first Polish painter in England to have a book on his work in English, prepared and published by English authors during his lifetime.<sup>40</sup> Zdzisław Ruszkowski<sup>41</sup> and, just before his death, Stanisław Frenkiel,<sup>42</sup> had a similar publication twenty years later. The output of several other painters – such as Józef Herman<sup>43</sup> and Adam Kossowski<sup>44</sup> was recognized only after their deaths. In 1977, the Drian Galleries published an album of paintings by Marian Bohusz-Szyszko.<sup>45</sup>

Albums of Feliks Topolski's works from various periods have also been published, including a volume showing works for Buckingham Palace.<sup>46</sup> In Poland, scholarly studies and monographs on the works of Marian Bohusz-Szyszko, Stanisław Gliwa, Henryk Gotlib, Marek Żuławski, Stefan and Franciszka Themersons, and Caziell have been published. Aleksander Żyw,

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<sup>40</sup> S. W. Hayter, *Jankiel Adler*, London 1948; P. Fierens, *Jankiel Adler*, London 1948; A. Klapheck, *Jankiel Adler*, Recklinhausen 1966.

<sup>41</sup> J. P. Hodin, *Ruszkowski. Life and Work*, London 1966; *The Paintings of Ruszkowski*, introduction by M. Simonov, London 1986.

<sup>42</sup> A. Dyson, *Passion and Paradox. The Art of Stanisław Frenkiel*, London 2001.

<sup>43</sup> P. Davies, *Josef Herman. Drawings and Studies*, Bristol 1990.

<sup>44</sup> Adam Kossowski. *Murals and Paintings*, introduction by B. Read, London 1990.

<sup>45</sup> M. Wykes-Joyce, *Seven Archangels. The Art of Marian Bohusz*, London 1977.

<sup>46</sup> See, among others: *The World's Styles: Drawings and Paintings by Feliks Topolski*, London 1985; *Topolski's Buckingham Palace Panoramas*, London 1977.



Marek Żuławski,<sup>47</sup> Halina Korn,<sup>48</sup> Adam Kossowski, Feliks Topolski,<sup>49</sup> and Stefan Knapp<sup>50</sup> published their diaries, memoirs, and autobiographies, and Marian Bohusz-Szyszko and Stanisław Frenkiel published a collection of sketches on art.

Of great cognitive value are catalogs of exhibitions of the Association of Polish Artists in Great Britain. Although not without errors, they are a valuable source of information for biographies of painters and sculptors. The first large catalog was published in 1970; it contained nearly 70 black-and-white reproductions of works by painters, mostly from London.<sup>51</sup> However, it did not contain any biographical information about the artists. In 1983, the Association of Polish Artists in Great Britain and the Grabowski Gallery published the album *Contemporary Polish artists in Great Britain*, edited by Janina Baranowska, with a foreword by Marek Żuławski and Stanisław Frenkiel. The album contains 46 color reproductions and short biographic notes. Unfortunately, the publication is devoid of any historical analysis, and the biographic notes are full of inaccuracies. In the album *Polska sztuka współczesna na obczyźnie* [Polish contemporary art in exile], with an introduction by Alicja Drwęska and graphic design by Szomański, published two years later on the occasion of the Congress of Polish Culture, biographies of the painters were also omitted, most likely due to lack of finances, and only illustrations of poor quality were provided. The most interesting catalog is a brochure published in 1995 by the POSK Gallery titled *Forma i kolor. Wystawa sztuk plastycznych Kongresu Kultury Polskiej na Obczyźnie* [Form and color. An exhibition of visual art of the Congress of Polish Culture in Exile]. In addition to good quality photographs

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<sup>47</sup> M. Żuławski, *Studium do autoportretu [I]* [A study for a self-portrait [I]], Warsaw 1980; idem, *Studium do autoportretu II* [A study for a self-portrait II], Warsaw 1990.

<sup>48</sup> H. Korn-Żuławska, *Wakacje kończą się we wrześniu* [Holidays end in September], Warsaw 1983.

<sup>49</sup> F. Topolski, *Fourteen letters - autobiography*, London 1988.

<sup>50</sup> S. Knapp, *The square sun*, London 1956; Polish edition: *Kwadratowe słońce* [A square sun], translated by M. Tarczyńska, Warsaw 1987; this is an autobiography covering wartime experiences.

<sup>51</sup> *Polska sztuka współczesna na obczyźnie / Contemporary Art by Polish Artists in Exile*, London 1970.

of nearly fifty paintings, it is supplemented by as many biographic notes of the members of the Association of Polish Artists in Great Britain (APA), including the deceased ones. In 1995, on the occasion of an exhibition of the output of Polish paper crafts in the British Isles at the Polish Cultural Institute in London, a folder was published, which included an extensive sketch by Andrzej Borkowski and biographic notes of the artists.<sup>52</sup>

## POLISH ARTISTS IN ENGLAND – A DEFINITION

According to Stanisław Frenkiel, when geographical rather than stylistic criteria are taken into account – as is done in the case of the designation of the cosmopolitan “École de Paris” or analogous phenomena in the United States and Great Britain before World War II – it is fully legitimate, as is done in England, to use the name “School of London” to refer to the collective of artists grouped in the London artistic community, collectively creating, exhibiting, and affiliated with British institutions in the British Islands, even though they came from other countries: Germany, Sweden, Italy, Poland, or Ghana.<sup>53</sup>

“École de Paris,” however vague its definition is, was not a specific school of painting, but was a term that encompassed a group of artists who were united only by their common residence in Paris and by the fact that all of them – to different extent and in different ways – were influenced by the French art and tradition and their own works contributed to that art and tradition.<sup>54</sup> This also applied to the Polish colony in the “École de Paris” in the 20th century and – most likely – to the group of

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<sup>52</sup> A. Borkowski, “O papieroplastyce polskiej” [On Polish paper crafts], in: H. Mausch and T. Jeśmanowa, eds., *Polish Paper Sculpture* [an exhibition catalog], Polish Cultural Institute, London 1995, pp. 21–35.

<sup>53</sup> S. Frenkiel, *Polskie malarstwo i rzeźba w Wielkiej Brytanii 1945–1985* [Polish painting and sculpture in Great Britain 1945–1985], pp. 108, 125 – Stanisław Frenkiel proposed in 1985 to write a history of Polish art in Great Britain; see also: S. Frenkiel, “Sztuka kopciuszkiem kultury” [Art as a Cinderella of culture], in: idem, *Kožuchy w chmurach* [Skins in clouds], p. 127.

<sup>54</sup> A. Wierzbicka, *École de Paris. Pojęcie, środowisko, twórczość* [École de Paris. Concept, environment, works], Warsaw 2004, pp. 11–14.

Polish artists working in France in the 19th century.<sup>55</sup> Referring to such a definition, Alicja Drwęska, when describing the creative output of Polish painters in London (Potworowski, Topolski, Żuławski, F. Themerson, and Gotlib) suggested the statement that the “London Group” was “one of the offshoots” of the “École de Paris” – and added – “not a very interesting one – that is true.”<sup>56</sup>

With regard to the most outstanding Polish visual artists living in England in the 20th century, the transfer of the calque of the term “École de Paris” to London seems questionable in many respects. Many of the painters concerned arrived in England already fully formed artistically, mainly precisely in France, and the English influence on their work was limited to aesthetic and thematic sensations. Only a few collaborated with each other, had contacts with the same British or Polish art communities, exhibited together, and met in the same organizations or associations. In the years just after the war, which were perhaps the most important in Polish art in Britain, London took a leading role in the development of modern art. In England, new directions emerged and outstanding artists were active, whose work set the paths of the painting of the last half century. And although the most famous of them – Freud, Bacon, Kitaj, Hockney, Burra, Frink, Moore, and Butler – still favored figurative art, several new directions emerged in British art during this period, such as the “Kitchen Sink School,” the “Euston Road” school, as well as abstract expressionism and geometric abstraction. At the same time as in the United States in the New York School, pop art, and just moments later op-art, appeared in London.<sup>57</sup> Polish painters and sculptors created independently of current and dominant trends or succumbed to their influence, not always finding in abstraction the fullness of artistic expression.

Thus, we would have to – following Frenkiel’s suggestion – impoverish the definition of the “School of London” by eliminating from it these

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<sup>55</sup> E. Bobrowska-Jakubowska, *Artyści polscy we Francji w latach 1890–1918. Wspólnoty i indywidualności* [Polish artists in France in 1890–1918. Communities and individuals], Warsaw 2004 [actually 2006].

<sup>56</sup> A. Drwęska, “Polscy malarze w ‘London Group’” [Polish painters in the “London Group”], *Orzeł Biały* 1951, no. 9.

<sup>57</sup> S. Frenkiel, “Polskie malarstwo” [Polish painting], pp. 108–109.

important elements of influence and co-creation. Moreover, since many Polish artistic events took place at various times (including especially the most interesting one, i.e. the time of war) outside London – mainly in Scotland – and had no connection with painting schools or circles in the British capital, it would be more appropriate to use the term “School of Britain” and, with regard to the Poles, the “Polish School of Britain.”

There is another important difference between the concepts described herein: unlike the “École de Paris,” which has been covered in many valuable monographic studies in several languages and hundreds (if not thousands) of contributory sketches, memoirs, and album publications,<sup>58</sup> the “School of London” (or “School of Britain”) is only an emerging and almost unexplored concept. The Polish participation in the “School of London” does not have any critical descriptions. Stanisław Frenkiel was right to point out in his only attempt so far to describe this phenomenon:

Despite extensive and rich documentation in the form of catalogs and reviews, articles and critical essays, and, most importantly, in the form of sculptures and paintings held in private and public collections, this creative work has not received a historical study. And it is, in fact, an unprecedented phenomenon, because so far no nation has formed its own artistic community outside its own country. No nation has formed a creative environment in another society that has maintained resilience, vitality, and hope for the future. The characteristic feature of this environment is its permanence and fluidity. It has not become exhausted by the death of the artists of the initial wave, but is constantly supplied by young newcomers born in Poland or England. Some of the older ones have returned to the country, while others are in loose contact with it, depending on their views and orientation. They are a part of the Polish culture and some hold exhibitions in the country, and their works adorn museums in various parts of Poland.<sup>59</sup>

Let us supplement Frenkiel’s assessment with another characteristic feature of the emigration fate that was alien to painters of the “École de Paris” and was rarely discussed: entanglement in politics. This was most aptly illustrated in a conversation with Bogdan Czaykowski by Tadeusz

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<sup>58</sup> A. Wierzbicka, *École de Paris*, pp. 325–354 (references).

<sup>59</sup> S. Frenkiel, “Polskie malarstwo” [Polish painting], pp. 107–108.

Znicz-Muszyński who said that émigré painters in England do not represent either Poland or Great Britain, and thus do not have access to the most prestigious international exhibitions. This is well illustrated by the example of Tadeusz P. Potworowski, who was able to participate in the Venice Biennale only after returning to Poland, as its representative, and to win the 1960 prize.<sup>60</sup> In the entire history of the Venice Biennale, only once did Polish painters from England exhibit their work in the British pavilion – it was Leopold Pilichowski and Stanisława Karłowska in 1924. The attempt to show Jankiel Adler’s and Felix Topolski’s paintings in 1956 in the Polish exhibition failed.<sup>61</sup>

Due to this lack of knowledge about the fate, lives, and output of Polish visual artists in Great Britain among historians, collectors, and gallery owners in Poland, the original exhibition of works by (then living) Polish artists working abroad, organized at the Zachęta gallery in 1991, titled “We are,” included the works of just nine painters and sculptors from England (Janina Baranowska, Marian Bohusz-Szysko, Stanisław Frenkiel, Magda Kozarzewska, Małgorzata Levittoux, Marysia Lewandowska, Antoni Malinowski, Jan Pieńkowski, and Rosław Szaybo)<sup>62</sup> and two who were already living outside the British Isles at the time: Tadeusz Koper from Italy and Krystyna Sadowska from Canada.<sup>63</sup>

When defining the term “Polish School of Britain” we are forced to specify the size and limits of the phenomenon. In his description of the output of Polish painters and sculptors in Great Britain between 1945 and 1985, Stanisław Frenkiel noted three groups of Polish visual artists active in the British Isles:

- artists who arrived in the British Islands before 1945;

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<sup>60</sup> B. Czaykowski, *Tadeusz Znicz-Muszyński*, p. 12.

<sup>61</sup> J. Sosnowska, *Polacy na Biennale Sztuki w Wenecji 1895–1999* [Poles at the Art Biennale in Venice 1895–1999], Warsaw 1999, p. 225.

<sup>62</sup> These artists had a joint exhibition in London in 1992: *Here and There – Jesteśmy* [We are] [catalog], February 1992, London 1992, p. 11.

<sup>63</sup> *Jesteśmy. Wystawa dzieł artystów polskich tworzących za granicą, wrzesień–październik 1991* [We are. An exhibition of the works of Polish artists working abroad, September–October 1991], Warsaw 1991.

- artists who came with the military and civilian exiles between 1945 and 1950; and
- artists who individually emigrated to and settled in England.<sup>64</sup>

The subordination to one group of everything related to Polish art in Great Britain before 1945 seems to be due to the fact that Frenkiel's sketch concerned the post-war years. However, it is difficult to understand why the author failed to recognize the clear generational change in Polish art in England at the end of the 1960s, which was due to the appearance of post-war graduates of the Easel Painting School at the Academic Community of Stefan Batory University Abroad. Also, the names of the most famous artists, artistic and organizational activities, and spectacular achievements cited by Frenkiel do not explain the proposed division, which, considering the entire 20th century – does not fully correspond to the complex structure of events and artistic biographies of Polish visual artists in Great Britain.

Taking into account the political events that had a decisive impact on the waves of emigration and, consequently, on the appearance of newcomers in the British Isles – as well as – the research conducted for many years at the Toruń-based Emigration Archive on the biographies of individual artists who left their mark on British (and world) art, we can suggest a slightly different chronology and division:

- artists who, by various routes, reached the British Islands before 1918;<sup>65</sup>
- artists who arrived in Great Britain in the interwar years (1918–1939);<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> S. Frenkiel, "Polskie malarstwo" [Polish painting], p. 114.

<sup>65</sup> In his book *The Dictionary of Artists in Britain Since 1945* (London 1998), D. Buckman lists the following artists, among others: Alfred Wolmark, Stanisława de Karłowska, Franciszek K. Black, Lena Pilichowska, and Leopold Pilichowski.

<sup>66</sup> The artists who arrived in the British Islands during that period included, among others: Arthur Horowicz, Roman Black, Rajmond Kanelba, Stanisław Reychan, Feliks Topolski, Adam Turyn, Stefan and Franciszka Themerson, Marek Żuławski, Jerzy Him, Jan Le Witt, and Henryk Gotlib.

- artists who were evacuated from France in 1940, came from the military in the Middle East, got out of the European continent or camps and reached Great Britain by the end of 1945;<sup>67</sup>
- artists who came from Italy with the 2nd Corps in 1946 and from the European continent until 1952 – they were both soldiers and civilians, including refugees from Poland;<sup>68</sup>
- artists who studied at Polish painting schools in England or graduated from British schools after 1952, or came to England from France (and other countries where they stayed as émigrés);<sup>69</sup>
- artists educated after the war in the Polish People’s Republic, who emigrated to Great Britain after 1956, mainly after 1968 and 1981;<sup>70</sup>
- artists born in Great Britain (or elsewhere outside Poland) to Polish families who acknowledge their Polish roots and the Polish cultural traditions.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> These included: Zdzisław Ruszkowski, Jankiel Adler, Józef Natanson, Marian Kratochwil, Leszek Muszyński, Aleksander Żyw, Janina Konarska, Witold Mars, Adam Bunsch (in 1940–1945 he used the pseudonym Andrzej Wart), Józef Sekalski, Maria Seyda, Zygmunt Haupt, Tadeusz Janikowski, Tadeusz Koper, Bronka Michałowska, Zygmunt Henelt, Antoni Wasilewski, Tadeusz Piotr Potworowski, Adam Kossowski, Józef Herman, Kazimierz Pacewicz, Stefan Knapp, Marek Szwarc, Stefan Osiecki, Tadeusz Lipski, and Oktawian Jastrzebski.

<sup>68</sup> These included: Stanisław Gliwa, Marian Kościałkowski, Zygmunt Turkiewicz, Zygmunt Kowalewski, Halina Nałęcz (after the war she used the first name Halima), Tadeusz Zieliński, Aleksander Werner, Andrzej Bobrowski, Antoni Dobrowolski, Kazimierz Dźwig, Leon Piesowocki, Ryszard Demel, Janusz Eichler, Jan Głowacki (Laterański), Marian Bohusz-Szyszko, Andrzej Kuhn, Tadeusz Beutlich, Tadeusz Znicz-Muszyński, Władysław Fusek-Forosiewicz, Janina Baranowska, Władysław Szomański, Jerzy Stocki, Tadeusz Ilnicki, Jan Kępiński, Marek Łączyński, and Stanisław Frenkiel.

<sup>69</sup> These included, for example, the graduates of the Studio of Painting, among others: Ludwik Dygat, Jan Pieńkowski, Wiesław Szejbal, Witold Szejbal, Irena Fusek-Forosiewicz, Irena Jakubowska, Stasia Kania, Zofia Pierzchało-Piasecka, Maria Jarmułowicz-Hutton, Ewa Wnęk, Halina Sukiennicka, Karolina Borchardt, Zygmunt Kłóś, Stefan Stachowicz, Stanisława Witorzeniec, and Wojciech Falkowski.

<sup>70</sup> These included: Caziell, Andrzej Dzierżyński, Ewa Drevet, Tadeusz Czerwinke, Magda Kozarzewska, Rosław Szaybo, Antoni Malinowski, Marysia Lewandowska, and Małgorzata Levittoux.

<sup>71</sup> Among the many artists, let us mention members of the BIGOS group: Martin Blaszk, Tessa Blatchley, Maria Chevaska, Ruth Jacobson, Louise Severyn Kosinski, Simon



Regardless of the chronological division applied to events and names, the Polish "School of Britain" included phenomena occurring over many years, which were common to the entire 20th century, so to speak, although they were caused by individual waves of emigration. We are talking mainly about Polish art unions and groups (or those where Poles constituted a large share of members), of which only a few were active in the British Islands. The role of these institutions has not yet been studied. A separate description is also required of the activities and involvement of the Polish governmental (both of the government in exile and of the Warsaw-based government in 1918–1939 and after 1945), social, and private institutions in the promotion of, and financial support for, Polish artists. This was particularly important during World War II and after it, during the formative years of Polish cultural institutions abroad. These issues have not been studied so far. The sketches contained in the book *Mobilizacja uchodźstwa do walki politycznej 1945–1990* [Mobilization of the émigré community for political struggle 1945–1990], published in 1995 and edited by Leonidas Kliszewicz, merely highlight the problem.<sup>72</sup> However, it seems that Stanisław Frenkiel was right when stating in the aforementioned sketch that:

The Polish émigré community showed an indifferent attitude to artists in the postwar years. In those days (1945–1960), as a rule, Poles did not buy paintings or sculptures; they were working their way up, settling down, and starting families, and did not have enough money to support art, or to invest cash in works of as yet undetermined value.<sup>73</sup>

This situation changed slightly with the end of the 1950s, when Polish galleries began to emerge. The most important one, operating from the beginning of 1959 until 1975, was the Grabowski Gallery (at 84 Sloane Avenue SW3). In 1961, riding the wave of the London gallery's success, Grabowski

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Lewandowski, Rosita Matyniowa, Jamoula KcKean, Ondre Nowakowski, Margaret Ochocki, Jozefa Rogocki, Jola Scicinski, Stefan Szczelkun, and Silvia C. Ziraneck.

<sup>72</sup> I am referring in particular to sketches on the Polish YMCA, the POSK, and military and government organizations.

<sup>73</sup> S. Frenkiel, "Polskie malarstwo" [Polish painting], p. 118.

even opened a similar one in Bournemouth in southern England.<sup>74</sup> The Grabowski Gallery held individual exhibitions of M. Bohusz-Szysko, J. Baranowska, M. Łączyński, T. Beutlich, A. Werner, T. Koper, T. Znicz-Muszyński, P. Mleczo, S. Frenkiel, Antoni Dobrowolski, L. Piesowocki, A. Bobrowski, and Caziel.<sup>75</sup> In just 16 years of its operation, the gallery held more than 100 exhibitions. The history of Polish galleries in the British Isles has been comprehensively described by Jan W. Sienkiewicz. This is most likely the only reasonably correctly described aspect of the artistic life of Poles in England.<sup>76</sup> However, Sienkiewicz's study should be supplemented with the information that the Themersons also intended to create a kind of art gallery. The Gaberbocchus Club, established in the 1950s on premises next to a publishing house, held an exhibition of paintings by several artists, including Halima Nałęcz.<sup>77</sup>

Frenkiel lists the following Polish collectors who bought works of art: Adam Stahl, Ernest Wistreich – the president of the European Movement, Władysław Jarosz – an architect, Mateusz Grabowski – a pharmacy owner, and Jerzy Rhatiner. To this group we should add Mieczysław Paszkiewicz and Halima Nałęcz, whose ties to art stemmed from their professional relationships. None of these collections have been studied or described.

An interesting form of institutional patronage – poorly implemented and eventually abandoned – was the 1956 initiative of *Kultura*. In an effort to “tighten the ties between Polish artists and the émigré society,” *Kultura* came up with the idea of subscriptions for “works of graphic art,” similar to what was happening with regard to books.<sup>78</sup> The idea of creating a collection of paintings and sculptures by Polish émigré artists in *Kultura* had a slightly greater resonance. This was to be implemented in the form of a competition: *Kultura* allocated a certain amount of money each year for the purchase of a work selected from those submitted for the competition.

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<sup>74</sup> B. Czaykowski, B. Sulik, *Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii* [Poles in Great Britain], p. 319.

<sup>75</sup> S. Frenkiel, “Pożegnanie Galerii Grabowskiego” [Farewell to the Grabowski Gallery], in: idem, *Kożuchy w chmurach* [Skins in clouds], pp. 224–228.

<sup>76</sup> Cf: J. W. Sienkiewicz, *Polskie galerie sztuki w Londynie* [Polish art galleries in London], passim.

<sup>77</sup> B. Czaykowski, B. Sulik, *Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii* [Poles in Great Britain], p. 359.

<sup>78</sup> “‘Kultura’ dla artystów” [Kultura for visual artists], *Kultura* 1956, no. 2 (100), p. 121.

The purchase of a painting or sculpture was also a form of financial support for the artists, as well as a kind of promotion, since the purchased works were reproduced in the monthly magazine along with a note about the artist.<sup>79</sup> Over time, the competition took the shape of "Kultura's Visual Art Prize" awarded until 1964. The Polish painters from England who received the prize were Zygmunt Turkiewicz (1957), Marek Żuławski (1963), and Marian Kościałkowski (1964).<sup>80</sup>

The "patrons of art" also included Polish commercial and social institutions, as well as the Church, although we know very little about how they supported artists. In the few émigré public and cultural spaces in England, paintings by Poles were presented at various times. One of them is the Daquise restaurant and café located near the South Kensington subway station, where large-scale paintings by Felix Fabian were presented; another is the Polish hotel in Glencourt, where paintings by Zygmunt Kłóś were presented in the 1960s in the waiting and dining rooms.<sup>81</sup> It was noted above that works by Polish artists adorned primarily Polish churches and cultural centers. Only few works of art were made to order. One of them is Adam Bunsch's stained glass windows, created during the war, in the Church of Our Lady of Częstochowa and St. Casimir at Devonian Rd. in London.<sup>82</sup> At the London home of the Catholic Center in Ealing, two sculptors, Andrzej Bobrowski and Aleksander Werner, designed and decorated the chapel; the stations of the Lord's Passion at the Polish School of the Marian Fathers in Fawley Court was designed by Magda Sawicka; and Tadeusz Zieliński made an altarpiece with a figure of Christ for the Church of Andrzej Bobola (the

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<sup>79</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>80</sup> [J. Czapski] J.Cz., "O Z. Turkiewiczu" [About Z. Turkiewicz], *Kultura* 1957, no. 4 (114), pp. 110–112; J. Czapski, "Marek Żuławski – Nagroda Plastyczna 'Kultury' za rok 1963" [Marek Żuławski – *Kultura's* visual art prize for 1963], *Kultura* 1964, no. 6 (200), pp. 150–151; Editorial Office, "Nagrody 'Kultury' za rok 1964. Nagroda Plastyczna – Marian Kościałkowski" [*Kultura's* prizes for 1964. Visual art prize – Marian Kościałkowski], *Kultura* 1965, no. 1–2 (207–208), p. 205.

<sup>81</sup> M. Bohusz-Szyszkó, "Zbiory sztuki polskiej w Londynie" [Collections of Polish art in London], in: idem, *O sztuce* [On art], p. 180.

<sup>82</sup> B. Czaykowski, B. Sulik, *Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii* [Poles in Great Britain], pp. 260–261.

same church houses a bas-relief of Zieliński “Our Lady of Kozielsk”).<sup>83</sup> We do not know whether in these cases, too, it was an order from the Church or an initiative of the artists.

This situation did not change in the second half of the 1960s either, during a period of some financial stability for Polish émigrés and the relative “British success” of the visual artists living in Great Britain.

After the famous “Two Worlds” exhibition at the Grabowski Gallery in 1964, embittered by the fact that not a single painting by an émigré artist was sold, Stanisław Frenkiel wrote:

It was recently calculated that Polish organizations in London alone have a total capital of about one million pounds, restaurants, bars, and meeting rooms. There are at least 10 buildings with large halls, decorated with conventional junk: boring prints, emblems, views of lost cities, folk cut-outs, photographs of military leaders, images of peasant girls from the Cracow region and highlanders with pipes, and other similar cheap folk art imitations. In those institutions, you can count on the fingers of one hand the paintings purchased from contemporary artists. [...] Works from decades are accumulating that nobody cares about and nobody needs. There are valuable artists in London who live in dark holes with gas lights, wash pots in restaurants and nightclubs, or paint train cars, whose paintings are not seen by anyone except their closest friends.<sup>84</sup>

## ARTIST ORGANIZATIONS AND GROUPS

The formation of and membership in artist unions and groups resulted largely not so much from a community of artistic views or traditions learned at school, but from the need to protect one’s position in the free market. The most “benefits” could be gained from membership in British professional organizations, but – which seems to be noteworthy – only a few Poles managed to meet the requirements of the largest unions and groups of visual artists in Great Britain, such as the Royal Academy of Arts

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<sup>83</sup> M. Bohusz-Szysko, “Problemy polskiej plastyki na emigracji” [The problems of Polish émigré visual art], in: idem, *O sztuce* [On art], pp. 213–216.

<sup>84</sup> S. Frenkiel, “Po wystawie ‘Dwa światy’” [After the “Two Worlds” exhibition], pp. 201–202.

(Ruszkowski, J. Lubelski, Baranowska, and Znicz-Muszyński), the London Group (Karłowska, Potworowski, Gotlib, F. Themerson, Adler, Żułowski, Frenkiel, Herman, and Baranowska), the Royal West of England Academy (Potworowski and Frenkiel), the National Society of Artists (Znicz-Muszyński and Baranowska), and the Royal Society of Artists,<sup>85</sup> as well as smaller ones, the members of which were many painters from outside England: the Free Painters Group (Z. Adamowicz, H. Nałęcz, J. Baranowska, Olga Karczewska, Tadeusz Wąs, Lutka Pink, D. Giercuszkiewicz, and T. Ilnicki)<sup>86</sup> and the Artists' International Association (Jan Wieliczko and Maryla Michałowska).

Several Polish visual artists were members of international artist groups, such as the "Group Espace," a grouping of painters and architects formed in Switzerland, whose members included artists from England, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden, and France. The only Pole in that group was Jerzy Faczyński.<sup>87</sup>

This resulted in the need to form Polish artistic trade unions. The idea to establish The Society of Polish Artists in Great Britain first emerged still during World War II; its author was Potworowski, who also became the first president of that organization. On December 12, 1943, a meeting of members of the pre-war Polish Visual Artists' Trade Union was held at the Polish Center (Ognisko Polskie) in London. During the meeting, a decision was made to reactivate the Union in Great Britain, the text of its new charter was adopted, and an interim board of directors was elected. In addition to Potworowski, the Union's authorities included: M. Żułowski – as the vice president, J. Natanson – as the secretary, and K. Pacewicz and A. Kossowski – as board members.

Maciej Mars became the Union's delegate for Scotland. The objectives of the Union's activities stipulated in the statute included organizing as-

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<sup>85</sup> Cf. S. Frenkiel, "Londyn – targowisko sztuki" [London – an art marketplace], in: idem, *Kożuchy w chmurach* [Skins in clouds], pp. 117–118.

<sup>86</sup> Free Painters Group (FPG) formed in 1954 at the Institute of Contemporary Art (ICA). See: [J. Ostrowski] (n), "Polskie życie kulturalne" [Polish Cultural Life], *Orzeł Biały* 1957, no. 44, p. 3.

<sup>87</sup> Ibidem. It should be noted that the presence of Polish émigrés in international art organizations has not yet been studied.

sistance for artists staying in Poland during the war, providing financial and material aid to artists and art schools after the war, and cooperating with the artist community of Great Britain and planning “cultural exchanges for independent Poland in the future.”<sup>88</sup> In 1944, the Union organized a major exhibition of paintings and sculptures by 20 artists: painters and sculptors with names recognized in interwar Poland, who temporarily arrived in Great Britain due to the war, including F. Topolski, Z. Haupt, A. Żyw, M. Szwarc, J. Henelt, T. Lipski, A. Kossowski, M. Żuławski, Rajmund Kanelba, H. Gotlib, W. Jastrzębowski, W. Mars, J. Konarska, J. Natanson, Z. Ruskowski, and T. Koper.<sup>89</sup>

However, the Union was unable to fulfill the obligations it had at the end of the war and the new international situation, especially the severance of contacts with the artist community in Poland. Young artists and those who decided to remain in exile needed to establish a professional organization that would represent their interests before the British authorities. In 1948, The Young Artists’ Association, headed by Stefan Knapp, was established. Most of the Association’s members were recent graduates of Marian Bohusz-Szyszko’s painting school. The Association’s greatest achievement was the organization of an exhibition at the Kingly Gallery at Piccadilly Circus in central London, which showcased the works of dozens of painters, sculptors, and graphic artists who were just entering the British art market. However, the Young Artists’ Association disintegrated after a year due to lack of funds for its activities and lack of interest from both émigré institutions and visual artists with high-profile names, for whom the Association’s members were a competition.<sup>90</sup>

Embittered by the failure to form a professional organization that would defend the interests of all Polish artists, in 1949, the young painters and sculptors gathered around Professor Marian Bohusz-Szyszko – then the head of easel painting courses organized under the auspices of the Asso-

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<sup>88</sup> “Związek Artystów Plastyków” [Society of Visual Artists], *Dziennik Polski* 1943, no. 1059.

<sup>89</sup> T. P. Potworowski, “The Society of Polish Artists in Great Britain,” pp. 31–32.

<sup>90</sup> S. Frenkiel, “Polskie malarstwo” [Polish painting], p. 198; *Contemporary Polish artists in Great Britain*, p. 6.

ciation of Professors and Docents of Polish Academic Schools – and Marian Kościałkowski, who was slightly older than them, established the artist group “Group 49” (the name was modeled on the German “Gruppe 47”). The initiator of Group 49 was Tadeusz Beutlich. Membership in this elite organization was based on the similarity of past experience, age, and social relations. The tasks of the new group were not specified in detail, but it was to deal with both the promotion of art (exhibitions) and assistance with affairs of life.<sup>91</sup> “Group 49” was the most interesting Polish artist group abroad. It mainly included students and graduates of painting courses organized by Marian Bohusz-Szyszko in Rome and England: Andrzej Bobrowski, Piotr Mleczo, Janina Baranowska, Aleksander Werner, Marian Kościałkowski, Leon Piesowocki, Kazimierz Dźwig, Stefan Starzyński, Tadeusz Znicz-Muszyński, Antoni Dobrowolski, Janusz Eichler, Mieczysław Chojko, and Ryszard Demel.<sup>92</sup> The composition of the group changed during the ten years of its activity (in 1956 it had 16 members); some painters left Great Britain, and others chose their own path; the founding members remained the most strongly connected to the group.

In 1949–1959, “Group 49” held many exhibitions, mostly in Polish communities (the Polish YMCA). Each was combined with lectures on the history of art and aesthetic issues; for example, in 1951, Bohusz-Szyszko gave a speech on “Valuation in art.”<sup>93</sup> The last, anniversary exhibition of the “Group” in 1959 was organized at the then established Grabowski Gallery.<sup>94</sup> Its participants were 14 painters: Baranowska, Beutlich, Bobrowski,

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<sup>91</sup> F. Strzałko, “Z życia kulturalnego emigracji. Wystawa ‘Grupy 49’” [On the cultural life of the diaspora. Exhibition of “Group 49”], *Życie* 1949, no. 33 (112), p. 7.

<sup>92</sup> *Polscy studenci żołnierze we Włoszech 1945–1947* [Polish students – soldiers in Italy 1945–1947], London [year missing], pp. 121–129; R. Demel, “O żołnierzach polskich – artystach i studentach sztuk pięknych w Rzymie” [On Polish soldiers – artists and students of fine arts in Rome], *Pamiętnik Literacki* (London) 1993, vol. 18, pp. 95–97; idem, “O polskich żołnierzach artystach i studentach sztuk pięknych w Italii i Anglii” [On Polish soldiers – artists and students of fine arts in Italy and England], in: M. Morka and P. Paszkiewicz, eds., *Między Polską a światem. Od średniowiecza po lata II wojny światowej* [Between Poland and the world. From the Middle Ages until the years of World War II], Warsaw 1993, pp. 427–445.

<sup>93</sup> [J. Ostrowski] (n), “Życie kulturalne w kraju i na obczyźnie” [Cultural life in Poland and in exile], *Orzeł Biały* 1951, no. 28, p. 3.

<sup>94</sup> J. W. Sienkiewicz, *Polskie galerie sztuki* [Polish art galleries], p. 164.



Bohusz-Szyszek, Demel, Dobrowolski, Dźwig, Chojko, Kościałkowski, Mleczko, Znicz-Muszyński, Piesowocki, Starzyński, and Werner.<sup>95</sup>

Around 1950, Leopold Kielanowski established the Artists' Circle Ltd. at the Polish Centre in London, which was still in existence in 1951. Its members mainly included stage artists: actors, musicians, and writers. The circle's activities, which focused on organizing theatrical performances, also involved artists who designed sets, costumes, and posters.<sup>96</sup>

Another attempt to create a professional community of émigré painters and sculptors took place in the mid-1950s. The originator of the idea was Władysław R. Szomański, who, together with Zygmunt Kowalewski, initiated the "Thursday evenings" held initially in Szomański's studio and later in the premises of the Polish YMCA and other venues. The "evenings" were organized every two weeks and, in addition to painters, were attended by journalists, publishers, writers, and people of theater.<sup>97</sup> Meetings with lectures and discussions on topics related to art, theater, and literature attracted Szomański's friends, mainly painters and graphic artists who, like him, had experienced deportation in the Soviet Russia, the Polish Army in the East, and the 2nd Polish Corps: M. Kościałkowski, Tadeusz Piotrowski, M. Bohusz-Szyszek, Stanisław Niczewski, A. Werner, A. Drwęska, and H. Nałęcz.<sup>98</sup> During their discussions, they talked about the need for an artist organization and the ways to support young artists.<sup>99</sup> After the formation of the Association of Polish Visual Artists, the club meetings moved to the Grabowski Gallery at Sloane Avenue.<sup>100</sup>

After 1955, a few young artists – Nałęcz, Baranowska, and Kościałkowski – who exhibited their works in prominent private galleries in

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<sup>95</sup> S. Kowalski, "Jubileusz Grupy 49" [A jubilee of Group 49], *Kontynenty - Nowy Merkuriusz* 1960, no. 13, p. 22.

<sup>96</sup> *Rocznik Polonii 1950* [Polish diaspora's yearbook 1950] (London), 1950, p. 49.

<sup>97</sup> W. R. Szomański's Archive; University Library in Toruń, Archives of Emigration.

<sup>98</sup> [J. Ostrowski] (n), "Polskie życie kulturalne" [Polish Cultural Life], *Orzeł Biały* 1957, no. 44, p. 3.

<sup>99</sup> Idem, "Polskie życie plastyczne" [Polish visual art life], *Orzeł Biały* 1956, no. 11, p. 3; *Contemporary Polish artists in Great Britain*, p. 3.

<sup>100</sup> (mc), "Rozmowy plastyków" [Conversations of visual artists], *Orzeł Biały* 1959, no. 17, p. 3.

England, began to think about the need to establish a union organization to support painters who created but did not exhibit their works. In 1957, an agreement was reached with artists who had already been recognized in England (Topolski, Gotlib, Żuławski, Ruskowski, and Koper) and the Association of Polish Artists in Great Britain was established.<sup>101</sup> The first chairman was Tadeusz Koper, an outstanding sculptor, who, however, resigned after a few months; as a result, the authority was passed to the Board, which was originally headed by Marian Bohusz-Szyszko, Zygmunt Kowalewski, Halina Sukiennicka, Aleksander Werner and Tadeusz Znicz-Muszyński, and from 1960 by Janina Baranowska. The position of the president was not restored until 1979 with the appointment of Stanisław Frenkiel and Marian Bohusz-Szyszko (appointed for life as an honorary president).

From 1980, the president was Janina Baranowska.<sup>102</sup> The association was established as an institution operating at the Polish YMCA in London, in the premises located at 46/47 Kensington Gdns Sq.<sup>103</sup> It was to be a professional organization that looked after the interests of all its members and assisting them in their contacts with British authorities and institutions. This included artistic activities (organization of and participation in exhibitions), as well as copyrights and welfare issues. The Association's exhibitions were held annually, originally in the building of the Polish Library at Princes Gate and since the mid-1970s in its own gallery in the POSK building at King Street.

The Association of Polish Artists, with 80 members at the time of its inception, became a British and, in time, actually a worldwide organization of Polish visual artists working around the world. Artists from France, Italy, Germany, Sweden, and even the United States participated in the exhibitions organized by the APA.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> *Rocznik Polonii 1958–1959* [Polish diaspora's yearbook 1958–1959] (London) 1958, p. 194; *Contemporary Polish artists in Great Britain*, p. 6; S. Frenkiel, "Polskie malarstwo" [Polish painting], p. 119.

<sup>102</sup> S. Frenkiel, "Polskie malarstwo" [Polish painting], p. 119.

<sup>103</sup> *Rocznik Polonii 1958–1959* [Polish diaspora's yearbook 1958–1959], p. 194.

<sup>104</sup> In 1961, the Association had about 60 members, see: B. Czaykowski, B. Sulik, *Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii* [Poles in Great Britain], p. 352.

At the annual exhibitions of the Association of Polish Artists in Britain, usually held in the reading room of the Polish Library in Kensington, and later at the Grabowski Gallery, the Technicians' House, and the Drian Galleries, Poles made up a small percentage of the visitors, and even fewer Poles visited exhibitions of Polish painting in British galleries. In the 1960s, this was clear evidence of the lack of interest in the Polish community in the fate and development of Polish painting in England.<sup>105</sup> Concerned that a lack of interest might condemn the achievements of many artists to oblivion, the Association, in consultation with the POSK, began collecting its members' works of art in 1965 with a view to documenting its own artistic output. In 1968, this collection of about 100 items (works by 27 artists at the time) was transferred to the POSK, although the formalities were not completed until 1972. These works are a permanent exhibition in the POSK building, and are cared for by the APA. Some art critics suggested the need to constantly supplement the collection with works by younger artists.<sup>106</sup>

In 1974, the POSK's Visual Arts Committee was established. The construction of the new POSK building resulted in the renaming of the Committee as the Visual Arts Section, with Halina Sukiennicka as its head. The Section was tasked with caring for and enlarging the art collection donated by the APA. The planned permanent exhibition of the collection of Polish art abroad was never implemented; the paintings were hung without a special arrangement on the walls of a staircase.<sup>107</sup>

Long before painters formed their own association, a professional association was formed by photographers – professional and amateur, including many who were already known before the war. In 1949, the first photography exhibition was held in the club of the Polish YMCA, organized by a group of photographers residing in London.<sup>108</sup> A year later, the Association of Polish Photographers (APP) in Great Britain (it had this name

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<sup>105</sup> M. Bohusz-Szyszko, *Zbiory sztuki polskiej* [Collections of Polish art], p. 175.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 176.

<sup>107</sup> H. Sukiennicka, "Sprawozdanie Komisji Sztuk Plastycznych" [Report of the Visual Arts Committee], *Wiadomości POSK* 1976, no. 23, pp. 50–52.

<sup>108</sup> A. Drwęska, "Wystawy listopadowe w Londynie" [November exhibitions in London], *Orzeł Biały* 1950, no. 50, p. 3.

from 1958) was founded at the Polish YMCA in London – initially as the Photographic Club – which brought together such prominent photographers as Adam Arvay, Stefan Arvay, Eugeniusz Baziuk, Jerzy S. Lewiński, L. Santon-Święcicki, Władysław M. Marynowicz, and Henryk Mietkowski.

Exhibitions of the Club, and later the Association, were held in the YMCA Circle Room, and the Association's tasks included organizing trainings for amateurs, meetings, and lectures, and promoting photography by way of competitions.<sup>109</sup> The seat of the APP was the Circle of the Polish YMCA at 46/47 Kensington Gardens Square. During the following years, the APP showed its works in Polish and English clubs, galleries, and museums, photographers took part in international competitions<sup>110</sup> and won top prizes, and some of them were elected to become members of the Royal Photographic Society (e.g., W. Marynowicz, Ludwik Meller, and Witold Pohlman). The retrospective exhibition organized on the occasion of the 1985 Congress of Polish Culture Abroad featured more than 120 works by 37 photographers.<sup>111</sup>

For many years, painters and sculptors of "Polish origin" created and exhibited outside the Association of Polish Artists in Great Britain and Polish galleries. It was not until the mid-1980s that some consolidation took place of the activities carried out jointly by painters, sculptors, and graphic artists of Polish origin and Polish-born artists. It can hardly be ruled out that this occurred for political reasons, and the sudden increase

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<sup>109</sup> B. Czaykowski, B. Sulik, *Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii* [Poles in Great Britain], p. 336; [J. Ostrowski] (n), "Polskie życie kulturalne" [Polish Cultural Life], *Orzeł Biały* 1964, no. 8, p. 3.

<sup>110</sup> [J. Ostrowski] (n), "Polskie życie plastyczne" [Polish visual art life], *Orzeł Biały* 1956, no. 11, p. 3; idem, "Światowa Wystawa Fotografiki Polskiej na Obczyźnie" [World exhibition of Polish photography in Exile], *Orzeł Biały* 1961, no. 8, pp. 1, 3.

<sup>111</sup> *Wystawa retrospektywna Stowarzyszenia Fotografików Polskich, Polska YMCA, Londyn 1950-1985* [A retrospective exhibition of the Association of Polish Photographers, Polish YMCA, London 1950-1985] [exhibition catalog], London 1985; B. T. Lesiecki, "Prace Stowarzyszenia Fotografików Polskich Polskiej YMCA" [Work of the Association of Polish Photographers of the Polish YMCA], in: E. Szczepanik and Z. Wałaszewski, eds., *Prace Kongresu Kultury Polskiej* [Work of the Congress of Polish Culture], vol. I: *Ojczyzna w sercach: pokłosie kongresowe* [Home country in the hearts: the outcome of the congress], London 1986, pp. 72-76.

in interest in the search for Polish roots was related to a certain curiosity about events in Poland and the new emigration from Poland. The idea of such cooperation came precisely from the artists of the new emigration of the Solidarity period. In the autumn of 1985, on the initiative of Kasia Januszko and Stefan Szczelkun, the first meeting took place, at which a loose association was established and it was decided to publish a newsletter and intensify work aimed to organizing a joint exhibition. Early in the following year, the discussion held in the newsletter led to the development of a program and the establishment of an Anglo-Polish Artists Exhibition Group. After the exhibition “Our Wonderful Culture” held in January 1986 at “The Crypt” of St. George’s Church at Bloomsbury Way in London, in which some members of the group participated, and especially after an exhibition of six female painters of Polish origin at the POSK gallery<sup>112</sup> in April of that year, the grouping assumed the name BIGOS – Artists of Polish Origin.<sup>113</sup>

The “BIGOS” brought together Polish artists who came to England mainly in the 1980s and the children of émigrés – visual artists born and educated in Britain. They differed in their views on art, schools, the media, and affiliation with other groups. Not all of them spoke Polish.

The first major joint exhibition organized by the 22 members of the “BIGOS” was the one held at the Brixton Art Gallery in August and September 1986 (it was later moved to “The Crypt” at St. George’s Church). It was attended by Poles – Lydia Bauman, Andrzej Borkowski, Krystyna Borkowska, Margaret Białokoz Smith, Jerzy (George) Bort, Leszek Dabrowski, Michał Dymny, Kasia Januszko, and Ewa Mann, and children of Polish émigrés – Martin Blaszk, Tessa Blatchley, Maria Chevaska, Ruth Jacobson, Louise Severyn Kosinski, Simon Lewandowski, Rosita Matyniowa, Jamoula KcKean, Ondre Nowakowski, Margaret Ochocki, Józefa Rogocki, Jola Scicinski, Stefan Szczelkun, and Silvia C. Ziraneck.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> The participants of the exhibition included: E. Mann, K. Borkowska, K. Januszko, J. Scicińska, R. Jacobson, and L. Bauman.

<sup>113</sup> A. Borkowski, ed., *Bigos – Artists of Polish Origin*, London 1986.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibidem*.

In the following years, the group's activities were subordinated to work on further exhibitions in Great Britain and to propaganda activities in Polish and British circles, also using the Internet and electronic media. In 1989, these activities began to extend to Poland. Notable exhibitions include those at the Watermans Art Centre in Brentford (1990), the Cartwright Hall in Bradford (1991), The Huddersfield City Art Gallery (1992), and the Polish Cultural Institute at the Portland Place in London (1998). The exhibitions were linked to performances and workshops.

In mid-2005, the members of the "BIGOS" group included: A. Borkowski, Basia Janowska, Danuta Sołowiej-Wedderburn, Ela Ciecierska – born in Poland, as well as Britons: Basia Muslewska, Karen Strang, Krystyna Shackleton Dzieszko, L. S. Kosińska, and S. Szczelkun.<sup>115</sup>

The few organizational initiatives and actions in defense of their own professional interests, in which Poles participated, included the action of Polish artists with studios in the Paddington district. Threatened with the closing of the studio, together with other painters (mostly from outside Great Britain), in 1951 they founded the "Paddington painters." The initiator of the joint action was H. Korn, who was assisted by M. Żuławski and F. Topolski.<sup>116</sup>

In the period after 1956, émigré artists began cooperating with the trade unions of visual artists in Poland. These contacts resulted mainly in exhibitions of "domestic" painters in London and a few exhibitions of "Londoners" in Poland. One of the few exhibitions of a "Londoner" in a renowned museum in Poland was that of F. Topolski at the National Museum in Warsaw. In 1961, an émigré and domestic group of artists called "Kraąg" (Circle) was also formed, the members of which included J. Baranowska, S. Frenkiel, and M. Łączyński. A large exhibition of the "Circle" was organized in Zielona Góra, and in 1963 in London.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> "Artists of Polish origin BIGOS," <http://www.bigos-art.org.uk> (accessed in November 2005).

<sup>116</sup> A. Drwęska, "Półroczny bilans malarski" [Semi-annual painting balance sheet], *Orzeł Biały* 1951, no. 38.

<sup>117</sup> [J. Ostrowski] (n), "Polskie życie plastyczne" [Polish visual art life], *Orzeł Biały* 1961, no. 45, p. 3; S. Frenkiel, "Dwie wystawy" [Two exhibitions], *Kontynenty* 1963, no. 52, p. 18.

In 1979, the last attempt to reactivate the “Circle” took place: it was an exhibition with the participation of émigrés, which took place again in Zielona Góra.<sup>118</sup>

## PAINTING SCHOOLS

In the 20th century, there were several Polish or Polish-led schools in Britain that educated painters. As a rule, these were private schools, the graduates of which did not receive diplomas. However, there were also schools of a quasi-university nature. Various academic studies note schools established after 1939, mainly in London; we know nothing about schools existing before World War II, although their existence cannot be ruled out. Many outstanding Polish artists and artists of Polish origin achieved spectacular success during that period, also as indicated by the positions they held in artist organizations (Pilichowski) and painting schools (Bomberg). The ambition of prominent painters is to educate students, although this does not necessarily involve institutional teaching.

Polish artists who arrived in England after the war were able, with the help of the Polish government, to obtain scholarships and complete studies at British schools in England and Scotland in art, architecture, and artistic decoration.

Access to the most elite universities, such as the Royal Academy of Arts, the Royal College of Art, the Bath Academy, and the Slade School of Art at the University of London, where studies were reserved for well-connected people and – just after the war – RAF pilots, was difficult. Taking advantage of their connections and military service, Stefan Knapp, Jan Lubelski, Jan Wieliczko, and Andrzej Bobrowski enrolled in those schools. Most Poles studied at less known schools, though often characterized by a high quality of education. The most important center for artistic studies for Poles was Sir John Cass College, a renowned art academy in London. In 1947, thanks to the help of the English Interim Treasury Committee for Polish Questions, some 50 Polish students of painting were granted scholarships

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<sup>118</sup> “Wystawa ‘Kręgu’” [An exhibition by “Circle”], *Wiadomości* 1979, no. 23 (1732), p. 4.



there. Most of them were students and graduates of the painting school at the 2nd Corps. Thanks to the favor of Rector Edward Bainbridge Copnall, a former British Army officer who “had a great weakness for Poles, dating back to the African campaign,” almost all of them graduated successfully between 1947 and 1953.<sup>119</sup> The students of the Sir John Cass College included Beutlich, Piesowocki, Werner, Mleczek, Dźwig, Dobrowolski, Kościałkowski, Znicz-Muszyński, and Eichler, but also those not affiliated with the School of Rome: Tadeusz Zieliński, Danuta Głuchowska, and S. Frenkiel.

Enumerating all the art schools where Poles studied does not seem possible due to lack of sources. However, the most important can be listed: the students at the Borough Polytechnic included J. Baranowska (she was taught by the aforementioned David Bomberg, one of the main protagonists of the British avant-garde), as well as M. Łączyński and D. Giercuskiewicz (Gierc); the Central School of Arts and Crafts was the alma mater of Krystyna Sadowska and Ewa Lubaczewska; the Ackland Burghley Comprehensive School was the alma mater of J. Piwowar; the Camberwell School of Art was the alma mater of T. Beutlich; the Glasgow School of Art was the alma mater of Stefan Baran; and the West Surrey College of Art was the alma mater of Leszek Muszyński. Other schools include the Chelsea School of Art in London (its students were A. Kuhn, Stasia Kania, and Ewa Wnęk; the St. Martin’s School of Art (D. Głuchowska, Zofia Pierzchało-Piasecka, Maria and Jarmołowicz-Hutton); the Ealing Art School in London (Emilia Kiknadze); and the Loretta College of Art in Manchester (S. Kania). Many artists graduated from several schools, thus supplementing their knowledge in various fields of artistic expression.

The first Polish and institutional attempt to organize artistic life also in the area of teaching (both in the expansion of the knowledge of art history and in the correction of artistic work) was the establishment of the “Polish painting studio” in London in 1942. It served as a studio for “homeless” painters and sculptors. It was used by B. Michałowska – a student of Tymon Niesiołowski in Vilnius, Aniela Szymańska – a pupil of Tadeusz Pruszyński; A. Kossowski, Rimma (Zofia) Szturm de Sztrem, Elżbieta Horodyńska, T. P. Potworowski, Jadwiga Walker, Władysław Mirecki, Z. Haupt,

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<sup>119</sup> S. Frenkiel, “Polskie malarstwo” [Polish painting], p. 116.

and T. Koper. The manager of the studio was H. Gotlib, who also – at the request of the artists using the studio – corrected the works, and also gave lectures to young painters on Polish art before 1939. A library was also created in the studio, and the painters wanted it to become a part of any of the destroyed Polish libraries after the war.<sup>120</sup>

At the end of 1943, a New Art Studio was opened by the Exhibition Section of the Ministry of Information and Documentation of the Polish Government in Exile. It was located at 63 Old Brompton Rd and was intended to serve as a space for exhibitions and lectures, and a place for community gatherings.<sup>121</sup>

The establishment of the New Studio resulted in the studio headed by Gotlib being renamed in 1944 as Polish Studio of Painting – a private painting school. Gotlib ran his painting school until 1949. In 1946, its official patronage was assumed by the Institute of Culture of the Polish People's Republic. The teachers at Gotlib's first Studio included Aniela Dynaburska and R. Szturm de Sztrem. The names of the school's graduates are not known. In 1949, driven by ambition, Gotlib returned to Poland and became a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow. However, when it became clear that he was unable to pursue "free teaching" in Poland, the painter returned to England and settled in Godstone, Surrey county.<sup>122</sup> He re-established a painting school there, which functioned until the painter's death in 1967. Its students included K. Dźwig and Chrzanowski.<sup>123</sup>

The most interesting and institutionally most enduring initiative to create Polish art schools in England was the successive art schools established by Marian Bohusz-Szyszko. The Polish School of Painting and Applied Graphic Art was established in 1947 on the initiative of Bohusz and with the support of Gen. Władysław Anders. The school was a unique phenomenon. It was established as a continuation of the Rome School of

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<sup>120</sup> "Pracownia malarska w Londynie" [Painting studio in London], *Dziennik Polski* 1943, no. 1031, p. 3.

<sup>121</sup> "Otwarcie Pracowni Artystycznej" [Opening of the Art Studio], *Dziennik Polski* 1943, no. 1017, p. 3.

<sup>122</sup> S. Frenkiel, "Słowo o Henryku Gotlibie" [A word about Henryk Gotlib], in: idem, *Kożuchy w chmurach* [Skins in clouds], pp. 220–221.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibidem*.

Painting established at the 2nd Corps in 1945 in Cechignola for the care of Polish soldiers-students of the Academy of Fine Arts in Rome.<sup>124</sup> Besides Bohusz-Szyszko, the School's Scientific Council included Karolina Lanc-korońska and Kazimierz Pacewicz. When the School was transferred with the entire Corps to Great Britain in 1946, its guardian established first the Artists' Company in Sudbury (at the Polish Training and Deployment Corps (PKPR) camp) and then at Kingwood Common Camp near Reading in Suffolk. The Company was joined by artists residing in England and together they created the Painting and Graphic Arts School under the auspices of the Association of Professors and Docents of Polish Universities. Both students and teachers (including Wojciech Jastrzębowski) had to overcome the difficulties associated with the fact that soldiers were moved between camps and had to combine physical labor with their studies. In 1947–1948, there were 49 students at the School. The first diplomas were handed out on July 28, 1948 on the occasion of an exhibition in the barracks at the PKPR camp. At that time, 19 first visual artists graduated from the school, with 13 receiving their graduation diploma (T. Beutlich, R. Demel, K. Dźwig, J. Eichler, Filip Kaufmann, Napoleon Kłosowski, Henryk Paar, L. Piesowocki, Kazimierz Stachiewicz, S. Starzyński, Alfred Szeliga, A. Werner, and T. Znicz-Muszyński), three completed their third year of study (A. Dobrowolski, Stefan Łukaczyński, and Alojzy Mazur), and others completed two years of study (Zbigniew Adamowicz, A. Bobrowski, and Marian Panas). The exhibition showcased 350 works by all the students. The exhibition, which was visited by Polish Prime Minister Gen. Tadeusz Bór-Komorowski, Gen. Władysław Anders with his staff, and Ambassador Edward Raczyński, was a spectacular success.<sup>125</sup>

In 1950, the Academic Community of the Stefan Batory University Abroad took over the care of the school, treating the School as a continuation of the tradition of the Faculty of Fine Arts of the SBU in Vilnius. The school changed its name to the Easel Painting School and gained the status

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<sup>124</sup> J. W. Sienkiewicz, *Marian Bohusz-Szyszko*, pp. 73–78.

<sup>125</sup> "Szkoła sztuk pięknych w Kingwood" [School of fine arts in Kingwood], *Przegląd Polski* 1948, no. 9, pp. 52–53; [C. Bednarczyk] Cz. B., "Dziwne pokolenie malarzy" [A strange generation of painters], *Życie* 1948, no. 29 (62), p. 3.

of a quasi-university. All subsequent graduation exhibitions were held as part of the official October Inaugurations of the Community's academic year, usually on the premises of the Polish YMCA. Classes at the School were held in three-day cycles on Saturdays, Sundays, and part of Mondays.

Lectures on art history were given by M. Bohusz-Szyszeko and Stefania Zahorska, graphic art was taught by A. Werner, and material technology by R. Demel.<sup>126</sup> In addition to teaching, the school conducted intensive popularization activities among students. Bohusz-Szyszeko organized excursions to museums every Sunday, and shows of Polish photography, posters, graphic art, and art dolls were held at the school. In the early 1960s, graduates and alumni of Bohusz-Szyszeko's painting schools, including "Group 49" and the 1948 graduates, made up the majority of painters exhibiting their works in London.<sup>127</sup>

In 1978, the School became a part of the Polish University Abroad (PUNO) and was affiliated as one of its faculties – the Faculty of Painting (since 1986 – as a faculty committee of Fine Arts). The first graduates of the school organized with the SBU Academic Community were such artists as Tadeusz Ilnicki (1906), a graduate of the art school in Odessa (1926–1927) and the Paris schools in the 1930s, who received the first diploma of the School in 1952; H. Nałęcz, who studied in Vilnius and Paris before the war and graduated in 1953; Jerzy Stocki, a graduate of the State Institute of Art in Poznań; Jan Pejsak, who first studied in Vilnius; E. Kiknadze, a graduate of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw; Olga Karczewska, who first studied in Cologne and Paris, and later at the London School of Art and the Chelsea School of Art; and J. Piwowar (1904), a graduate of the State Institute of Industrial Design in Poznań. Among the graduates of the School were artists who in the 1960s–80s determined the shape and quality of Polish painting in the British Isles, including: J. Baranowska, Ludwik Dygat, Jan Pieńkowski, Wiesław Szejbal, Witold Szejbal, Irena Fusek-Forosiewicz, Irena Jakubowska, S Kania, Zofia Pierzchało-Piasecka, Maria Jarmułowicz-Hutton, Ewa Wnęk,

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<sup>126</sup> "Z życia Y.M.C.A." [From the life of YMCA], *Poradnik Kulturalno-Oświatowy* 1952, no. 146/147, p. 30.

<sup>127</sup> [J. Ostrowski] (n), "Polskie życie kulturalne" [Polish Cultural Life], *Orzeł Biały* 1961, no. 45, p. 3.

H. Sukiennicka, Maryła Michałowska, Helena Wawrzekiewiczowa, Karolina Borchardt, Z. Kłóś, S. Stachowicz, Stanisława Witorzeniec, and Wojciech Falkowski. By 1978, the School had issued 93 diplomas (102 students had graduated from the School, including 26 foreigners), and 650 students of various nationalities had studied there. During the most dynamic period, 48 students studied there simultaneously.<sup>128</sup> Despite the attendance of international students, it was a Polish school. Lectures were held in Polish, although the M. Bohusz-Szyszko corrected the works by non-Polish students in English. The teachers included Stefania Zahorska, Alexander Werner, and Ryszard Demel. The tradition of the Vilnius Faculty of Fine Arts was also preserved by requiring the students – including foreigners – to pass an exam in art history as well as the history of the Stefan Batory University before receiving their diploma. Classes were initially held at the “White Eagle” Club, and after the fire at the Club in 1954, they were moved to the seat of the Polish YMCA. In 1979, the artist’s studio, and thus the classes, were moved to the building of St. Christopher’s Hospice on the outskirts of London (the artist married the hospice founder Dame Cicely Saunders).<sup>129</sup> Bohusz-Szyszko’s best paintings serve as furnishings for the patients’ modest rooms there.

In 1961, a painting school for beginners and advanced painters was established in Chelsea. The founders of the school named Kathleen Browne Painting School were Kathleen Browne and Marian Kratochwil. One of Kratochwil’s famous students was Kay Hinwood.

In addition to lecturing on art history and theory, and practical classes at his own school, Kratochwil taught at the Epsom School of Art. He spent four years preparing a textbook on art in English.<sup>130</sup>

A completely separate issue, also not previously researched, is the extent of the influence and impact of the work of Polish painters and sculp-

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<sup>128</sup> M. Bohusz-Szyszko, “Dyplomanci Studium Malarstwa Stalugowego Społeczności Akademickiej U.S.B.” [Graduates of the easel painting school of the SBU Academic Community] [1978], typescript; Archives of Emigration.

<sup>129</sup> Józef Piłsudski Institute in London, B. Podoski’s archive, collection 107, file 12.

<sup>130</sup> Z. Kratochwil, “Twórczość Mariana Kratochwila” [The creative work of Marian Kratochwil], *Archiwum Emigracji. Studia, szkice, dokumenty* 2002/2003, vol. 5/6, pp. 63–72; D. Buckman, *The Dictionary of Artists in Britain Since 1945*, London 1998, p. 586.

tors living in England on the work of British visual artists and – in general – British art. This involves more than the influence that teachers of art schools founded or run by Poles (Gotlib, Bohusz-Szyszko, and Kratochwil) made on non-Polish graduates, but the influence resulting from reading the theoretical works of, e.g., Potworowski, one of the most important landscape painters of the so-called Bath school, or the sensations that arise from interacting with works of visual art.

The first person to allow himself to hint at such influences – based solely on press releases – was David Buckman, the author of a dictionary of British artists after 1945. Buckman's dictionary states that painter Mary Fox (1922), worked under the great influence of the works of Polish and German painters, including in particular Zdzisław Ruszkowski, Walter Nessler, and Jan Wieliczko;<sup>131</sup> Paul Bird (1923–1993) created under the influence of Walter Sickert and the color theory of Tadeusz Piotr Potworowski;<sup>132</sup> and Millie Frod (1900–1988) – a painter and teacher – drew her inspiration from the work of Józef Herman and Jankiel Adler.<sup>133</sup> This issue requires much more detailed research based also on an analysis of the creative output.

## EXHIBITION ACTIVITIES

With the outbreak of the war between Poland and Germany, interest in Polish affairs in Great Britain increased. This included cultural events: musical concerts, theatrical performances dedicated to the fighting Poles, and art exhibitions. The first exhibitions of Polish art took place even before the defeat of France and the mass emigration of Poles to England. Importantly, exhibitions were organized not only in London. In March and April 1940, an “Exhibition of Polish Art” was prepared at the City of Manchester Art Gallery.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> D. Buckman, *The Dictionary*, p. 442.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 151.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 495.

<sup>134</sup> *Exhibition of Polish art 20<sup>th</sup> March to 28 April 1940*, Manchester [1940], p. 19.

With the evacuation of the government and the army in May 1940, many Polish painters and sculptors arrived in the British Isles, having never visited Britain before, unfamiliar with the local art community, museums, and galleries – they did not even know the language. The duty to help organize the artistic life of visual artists fell, on the one hand, upon the Ministry of Information and Documentation of the Polish Government-in-Exile, and on the other hand, upon The British Council,<sup>135</sup> which facilitated discussions with museum institutions and professional organizations of British visual artists.

One of the first exhibitions on British soil involving new émigrés took place as early as in November 1940 in the Scottish town of Dunfermline.<sup>136</sup> Its organizer was, immensely active during the war, Oktawian Jastrzembski (1899–1982), a watercolorist who, after studying at the SBU in Vilnius, worked for seven years as a Foreign Ministry official in Paris, where the war found him.

After the Battle of Narvik, he arrived in Scotland, where he was involved in organizing numerous exhibitions of Polish soldiers-painters. He also organized exhibitions of his own works. In 1949, he moved permanently to Canada. He was an art connoisseur and collector.<sup>137</sup>

The exhibition in Dunfermline aroused great interest among the Scottish public, which resulted in the invitation of Polish artists the following summer to participate in the 115th annual exhibition of the Royal Scottish Academy in Edinburgh. Poles showed 74 works (out of the total of 729 exhibited works) by painters, sculptors, and architects such as A. Żyw, S. Kowalczewski, K. Skrzypecki, Z. Ruskowski, A. Wasilewski, H. Gotlib, M. Żuławski, F. Topolski, E. Wiczorek, A. Wart (A. Bunsch), E. Horodyński, E. Jakubowski, S. Mikuła, O. Jastrzembski, J. Sekalski, J. Faczyński, W. Kasperski, J. Żakowski, T. Rytarowski, J. S. Pągowski, C. Kopeć, R. Sołtyński, S. Jankowski, T. Siecz-

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<sup>135</sup> The full name of the institution: The British Council for Aid to Refugees, London, 19 Dunraven St.

<sup>136</sup> W. Cz., "Edinburgh as a Polish Art Center," *The Voice of Poland* 1947, no. 18, p. 14.

<sup>137</sup> H. Bartnicka-Górska, J. Szczepińska-Tramer, *W poszukiwaniu światła, kształtu i barw. Artyści polscy wystawiający w Salonach paryskich w latach 1884–1960* [In search of light, shape, and colors. Polish artists exhibiting in Paris Salons in 1884–1960], Warsaw 2005, p. 315.



kowski, B. Szmidt, S. Tyrowicz, Z. Borysowicz, W. Lalewicz, and B. Rudzki.<sup>138</sup> The presence of Poles in the “summer and autumn salons in Scotland,” i.e. the Royal Scottish Academy and National Gallery exhibitions, between 1941 and 1947, was the most significant contribution of Polish art to the Scottish culture during the war. This presence, however, diminished with each passing year: only Jadwiga Walker, Z. Kruszelnicka, Z. Haupt, O. Jastrzembski, J. Faczyński, Z. Ruszkowski, S. Przespolewski, Brochwicz-Lewiński, Dzierminowicz, Żyw, and Szwarz<sup>139</sup> took part in the 117th exhibition in the summer of 1943, and Gotlib, Żuławski, Mars, Natanson, W. Sadowska-Wanke, H. Korn, G. Kamieńska, K. Sadowska, Kulesza, W. Mirecki, B. Leśniewicz, and E. Horodyński additionally exhibited their works in the “autumn salon” of that year.<sup>140</sup> In 1947, the 121st exhibition of the Royal Scottish Academy included only three works by artists living in Scotland: two drawings by S. Przespolewski and a sculpture by W. Kasperski.<sup>141</sup>

The presence of soldiers from many allied armies on Scottish soil, among whom Poles were the majority, meant that the organization of artistic events largely became the duty of the commanders of Polish troops in Scotland. In 1941, in cooperation with The British Council, the military authorities organized an exhibition of the works of painters, sculptors, and draftsmen of the allied armies, both soldiers and civilians. The exhibition was held almost simultaneously with the “summer salon,” in a building adjacent to the Royal Scottish Academy – the National Gallery of Scotland. The exhibition at the Scottish National Gallery, titled “The Exhibition of Works by Artists of our Allies,” which was opened on May 30, brought together works by artists from Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, Yugoslavia, the Netherlands, Norway, and Poland, with works by Polish authors accounting for more than half (259) of the total of 428 works by art-

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<sup>138</sup> W. Cz., “Edinburgh as a Polish Art Center,” p. 14.

<sup>139</sup> [T. Jeleńska] Jel., “Salon i sala odczytowa” [Salon and lecture room], *Dziennik Polski* 1943, no. 875, p. 3.

<sup>140</sup> Eadem, “Salon jesienny w Edynburgu” [Autumn salon in Edinburgh], *Dziennik Polski* 1943, no. 1030, p. 3.

<sup>141</sup> W. Cz., *Edinburgh as a Polish Art Center*, s. 14.

ists of the "allied nations."<sup>142</sup> The exhibitions included paintings, drawings, and sculptures of such artists as Mieczysław Podgrabiński, Zdzisław Ruszkowski, Aleksander Żyw, Witold Mars, Józef Natanson, Jerzy Faczyński, Him, Rajmund Kanelba, Stefania Gorczyńska, Marek Szwarc, Zygmunt Haupt, Roman Sołtyński, and Oktawian Jastrzembki.

An analogous exhibition of "allied" painters, supplemented by works by artists living in London, was prepared a year later at the London-based National Gallery, from whose walls the museum works were removed. In March 1942, the reviewer Teresa Jeleńska wrote: "There is now a war reigning in the National Gallery."<sup>143</sup> The exhibition included works by Marek Szwarc, Kuszelnicka-Langowska, Wart (Bunsch), Skrzypecki, Żyw, Mars, Ruszkowski, Jastrzębowski, Jakubowski, Paprotny, Klocek, Sterling, Żuławski, Henelt, Grotowski, Natanson, Turyn, Faczyński, Haupt, Topolski, Gleb-Kratochwil, Wasilewski, Mikuła, and Kowalczewski.

Great propaganda success was achieved in 1941–1943 by an exhibition of 170 works by five Polish artists-soldiers from the 10th Armored Cavalry Brigade stationed in Scotland: Zygmunt Haupt, Stanisław Mikuła, Andrzej Warta (Bunsch), Antoni Wasilewski, and Aleksander Żyw.<sup>144</sup> Organized in August 1941 by the Polish government's Ministry of Information, it was expected to tour Great Britain. It was shown in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and London, where the exhibition was combined with a lecture by Henryk Gotlib, as well as in small towns away from big cities and in military units.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> "Malarze polscy w Edynburgu" [Polish painters in Edinburgh], *Wiadomości Polskie, Polityczne i Literackie* 1941, no. 35, p. 4; *Exhibition of works by artists of our allies: Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, Yugoslavia, Netherlands, Norway, Poland*, Under the Auspices of The British Council, May 1941, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh 1941.

<sup>143</sup> *Allied nations art exhibition for the forces*, London 1943, p. 19; [T. Jeleńska] Jel., "Oblicze wojny" [The face of war], *Dziennik Polski* 1942, no. 523, p. 3; H. Gotlib, "'Forces Exhibition' w Londynie" ["Forces Exhibition" in London], *Polska Walcząca* 1942, no. 14/15, p. 5; [T. Jeleńska] Jel., "Wystawa sprzymierzonych" [Exhibition of the allies], *Dziennik Polski* 1942, no. 564, p. 3.

<sup>144</sup> *The art of five Polish soldiers serving with the 10<sup>th</sup> Polish Mech. Cavalry Brigade. Catalogue*, Great Britain [1942].

<sup>145</sup> [A. Wasilewski] Tony, "Wystawa Pięciu" [An exhibition of five], *Dziennik Polski* 1943, no. 878; H. Gotlib, "Polski miesiąc w Leicester" [A Polish month in Leicester], *Polska Walcząca*

In March 1942, a major exhibition of photography took place in Edinburgh, at the National Gallery of Scotland, titled “Through Polish Eyes,” which included art and documentary photography of the war years. The published catalog contains information that the exhibition was co-organized by the Edinburgh Photographic Society, with the patronage of the British Council.<sup>146</sup> The exhibition “toured” 15 cities across Great Britain during the year.

The numerous wartime exhibitions included, for example, the exposition reviewed in the Polish press at the YMCA premises at the Charing Cross Station held in February 1943, with the participation of Gotlib, Koper, and Konarska.<sup>147</sup> Also noteworthy was the participation of Polish painters in the “summer salon” at the Royal Academy of Arts at Piccadilly. Among more than a thousand works by painters and sculptors – mainly British, works of R. Kanelba, T. Koper, Herbert Markiewicz, Maria Seyda, F. Topolski, and M. Żuławski were shown.<sup>148</sup>

The most famous Polish exhibition held during the war was an exhibition organized between January 19 and February 2, 1944 by The Society of Polish Artists in Great Britain on the premises of The Allied Circle in London. Twenty Polish painters and sculptors showed their artistic achievements created after 1939. The exhibition included works by A. Dynaburska, H. Gotlib, Z. Haupt, J. Henelt, R. Kanelba, J. Konarska, B. Michałowska, S. Miłkuła, J. Natanson, T. P. Potworowski, HOG (Helena Okołowicz-Oneszczyk), Z. Ruskowski, R. Szturm de Sztrem, F. Topolski, M. Żuławski, and A. Żyw.

Probably the last exhibition of soldiers’ works was the exposition, held with the participation of Polish artists in uniform, of art and ornamentation of the 1st British Corps in early 1947 in Iserlohn, Scotland. Poles – soldiers of the 1st. Armored Division, which was part of the British Corps – won

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1942, no. 51, p. 3.

<sup>146</sup> *Through Polish eyes. Exhibition of Polish artistic and record photographs under the patronage of the British Council and with help of the Edinburgh Photographic Society, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, from 6<sup>th</sup> to 29<sup>th</sup> March 1942, Edinburgh 1942.*

<sup>147</sup> E. Markowa, “Sztuka dla żołnierza z udziałem artystów polskich” [Art for the soldier with the participation of Polish artists], *Dziennik Polski* 1943, no. 796, p. 3.

<sup>148</sup> [A. Wasilewski] T., “Salon letni” [The summer salon], *Dziennik Polski* 1943, no. 873, p. 5.

nine first prizes at that exhibition: in the painting section, the first prize went to Tarpowa, and in the drawing section, to S. Repeta.<sup>149</sup>

The exhibition of paintings by H. Gotlib and M. Żuławski, and sculptures by T. Koper, organized on September 8–30, 1942 at the Agnews Gallery at Old Bond Street, where Topolski usually exhibited before the war, was a great success.<sup>150</sup>

In October 1944, a collective "Polish Exhibition" was held at the Graves Art Gallery in Sheffield.<sup>151</sup> The catalog for that exhibition lists works by Polish artists living in London before 1939, as well as wartime émigrés. Most of them were at the time members of the Trade Union of Polish Visual Artists in Great Britain. The exhibition showed works by Gotlib, Koper, Natanson, Kossowski, Ruszkowski, Topolski, and Żuławski.<sup>152</sup>

For many post-war years, the only institution that regularly organized Polish exhibitions and took an interest in the development and achievements of Polish painters in Great Britain was the Polish YMCA in London. The YMCA's exhibition hall at Bayswater Road (not far from Paddington) hosted exhibitions by beginning and mature painters. In addition, on behalf of the YMCA, still in the 1960s, tours of London galleries were organized every Sunday for Poles interested in learning about art. Usually, the guide to the exhibitions was Marian Bohusz-Szyszko, who benefited from the hospitality of the YMCA to conduct classes and exhibitions of the Painting School on its premises.<sup>153</sup>

In 1949, the Poets and Painters' Publishing House (OPiM) was founded, with a logo designed by Zygmunt Turkiewicz. The OPiM was to be a kind of "commune," cooperative, and workshop for writers and painters, where poets, novelists, and graphic artists would participate in the creation of their own books. The statute of the OPiM, drawn up by Czesław Bednarczyk,

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<sup>149</sup> "Sukces I Dywizji Pancerniej na wystawie I Korpusu Brytyjskiego" [Success of the 1st Armor Division at the exhibition of the 1st British Corps], *Przegląd Polski* 1947, no. 3, p. 54.

<sup>150</sup> *Catalogue: Henryk Gotlib, Marek Żuławski, Tadeusz Koper, 8<sup>th</sup>-30<sup>th</sup> September 1942*, [London 1942]; [T. Jeleńska] Jel., "Gotlib, Żuławski, Koper," *Dziennik Polski* 1942, no. 670, p. 3.

<sup>151</sup> Adam Kossowski. *Murals and paintings*, p. 126.

<sup>152</sup> "Wystawa malarzy polskich" [An exhibition of Polish painters], *Polska Walcząca* 1944, no. 6 (204).

<sup>153</sup> B. Czaykowski, B. Sulik, *Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii* [Poles in Great Britain], p. 335.

assumed the financial participation of the “members” of that cooperative in the form of contributions and bearing the costs of distribution of publications, and probably this was the reason why only a few painters decided to cooperate more closely with the new publishing house. In 1950, Bednarczyk, thanks to his collaboration with Stanisław Gliwa, began publishing books in Mabledon Park, where they were working at the time. The two printers’ differing views on the role of illustrations in a book caused them to part ways after publishing only a few volumes together. Gliwa continued to operate the print shop under his own name, and the OPiM became independent by working with other graphic artists. For several visual artists, this was an opportunity to publish their own graphic art or illustrate their friends’ books. The OPiM provided “employment,” or rather the opportunity to publish their own works, to such artists as, among others, Z. Turkiewicz, M. Kościałkowski, M. Bohusz-Szyszko, A. Werner, Krystyna Herling-Grudzińska, and S. Baran. Two others, T. Piotrowski and F. Topolski, had the opportunity to publish their own art books.<sup>154</sup> Despite strong ties with artists of “Group 49” – manifested, among others, in the publication of their works in OPiM’s columns in the press – the album-folder of “Group 49” members’ drawings, planned for 1952, did not appear.<sup>155</sup>

The output of Polish graphic artists and illustrators, typographers, book and press illustrators, as well as authors of specific publishing forms, such as F. Topolski’s “Chronicle,” is an important contribution to the artistic output of “Polish London.” More than a dozen major publishing houses operated in the British capital in the post-war period, with output numbering in the hundreds or even thousands of titles. As a rule, the graphic design of Polish books was handled by Poles, among them prominent painters, draftsmen, or graphic artists, for whom the preparation of illustrations or cover design was a courtesy or incidental activity.

Such visual artists include S. Frenkiel, who designed the cover for Marian Pankowski’s book at the OPiM, Z. Turkiewicz, who designed the cover

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<sup>154</sup> J. Kryszak, M. A. Supruniuk, *Oficyna Poetów i Malarzy 1949–1991* [Poets and Painters’ Publishing House 1949–1991], Toruń 1992, p. 17.

<sup>155</sup> “Oficyna Poetów i Malarzy” [Poets and Painters’ Publishing House], *Życie* 1952, no. 4, p. 3; M. Bohusz-Szyszko, “Plastyka” [Visual art], *Życie* 1952, no. 4, p. 4.

for poems by Jan Olechowski (OPiM), A. Kossowski, who designed covers for Jerzy Kossowski, S. Kossowska, and Antoni Boguslawski, and the anniversary books of *Wiadomości*, A. Werner, who cooperated for a time with the Polish Cultural Foundation, and S. Knapp, who designed Stanisława Kruszelnicka's book *Dziwy życia* [Life's wonders] (Veritas 1948). In most cases, the authors of covers and illustrations were visual artists less or not at all familiar with the exhibition business, who specialized in that form of artistic expression. This group of graphic artists and illustrators includes: S. Gliwa (Gryf, Oficyna S. Gliwy, PFK, Veritas, Dziennik Polski), Tadeusz Terlecki (Gryf, PFK, Veritas, Orbis, B. Świdorski), Janina Chrzanowska (Sikorski Institute, PFK, Veritas), Danuta Laskowska (OPiM, PFK, Veritas), Andrzej Krauze (Kontra, Aneks), W. R. Szomański (Libella, PFK), Grzegorz Sowula (PFK), Irena Ludwig (PFK, Veritas), Jerzy Faczyński (Veritas), Maria Skibińska (PFK), Tadeusz Orłowicz (Gryf, PFK).<sup>156</sup>

In mid-1951, the London branch of the Association of Polish Students Abroad organized a small exhibition of art by Polish students in Great Britain. The exhibition was not very successful in artistic terms and was more of a social and community event, but after a year it turned out that the number of students willing to show their work increased significantly. The purpose of the subsequent exhibitions was to exchange experiences and provide a kind of mutual organization of the young artists' community, and to a lesser extent to promote artistic values. Other exhibitions, which showcased works by art, architecture, and industrial design students, were held at the Gen. Sikorski Historical Institute or the Veterans' House, where the Association had its seat, until the late 1950s and even longer, although after 1955 the exhibition activities were taken over by the Polish Association at the University of London.<sup>157</sup> The 3rd Annual Exhibition of Works by Art Students in 1953 had a particularly great resonance in the émigré press. Of the approximately 3,000 students, both Poles and Britons

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<sup>156</sup> *Okładki książek polskich w Anglii* [Covers of Polish books in England] [exhibition catalog compiled by J. L. Englert], London 1981.

<sup>157</sup> B. W., "Nie od razu Kraków zbudowano" [Cracow was not built in a day], *Życie Akademickie* 1952, no. 6/7, p. 2; [note], *Życie Akademickie* 1953, no. 4, p. 8; B. Czaykowski, B. Sulik, *Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii* [Poles in Great Britain], p. 539.

of Polish descent, as many as 250 studied art or architecture at universities in Great Britain during that period. The submitted works were selected by Topolski and Pacewicz, which probably guaranteed the exhibition's high level. Of the artists active in later years, Głuchowska and Giercuskiewicz made their debuts at the time.<sup>158</sup>

There is no doubt that Polish exhibitions, both group and individual, in Polish galleries or buildings with gallery halls, were the only way to ensure a reasonably permanent presence of Polish art in the émigré community and the British environment. Poles rarely held exhibitions in major English galleries, and even more rarely participated in group exhibitions of British artists organized by the Royal Academy of Arts, the Royal Society of Artists, the London Group, and other organizations and associations. The major British galleries where Poles exhibited after 1945 listed by Frenkiel are Wimpel & Fils (Adler, Potworowski, Żuławski, and Kościałkowski) and Zwemmer (Łączyński).<sup>159</sup>

Among the great museums, the exhibitions at the Victoria & Albert Museum were of particular importance, but the participation of Poles in those exhibitions was sporadic (Potworowski, Żuławski).<sup>160</sup> In 1960, the only Polish exhibition was held at Buckingham Palace; F. Topolski decorated one of the rooms of the royal palace with his frescoes.

The participation of Poles in English exhibitions outside Great Britain was completely sporadic. It should be noted, however, that after the early 1950s there was a steady increase in the number of small exhibitions in small private galleries and auction houses featuring Polish artists individually or together with British painters and sculptors. Poles were also present in major art events in the British Isles, such as the South-Bank Exhibition and the International Theater Festival in Edinburgh.<sup>161</sup> That presence was

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<sup>158</sup> M. Wróblewski, "Wystawa prac polskich studentów sztuki" [Exhibition of works of Polish art students], *Życie* 1953, no. 20, p. 3.

<sup>159</sup> S. Frenkiel, "Polskie malarstwo" [Polish painting], p. 122.

<sup>160</sup> [J. Ostrowski] (n), "Polskie życie kulturalne" [Polish Cultural Life], *Orzeł Biały* 1961, no. 1, p. 3.

<sup>161</sup> A. Drwęska, "Półroczny bilans malarski" [Semi-annual painting balance sheet], *Orzeł Biały* 1951, no. 38, p. 3; W. S-ki, "Polskie życie kulturalne" [Polish Cultural Life], *Orzeł Biały* 1957, no. 37, p. 3.



so significant that in the late 1950s and early 1960s, reviewers describing Polish cultural events noted: "as far as exhibitions by Polish visual artists are concerned, it is quite difficult to keep up noting them,"<sup>162</sup> "we live in a veritable kaleidoscope of exhibitions by Polish visual artists,"<sup>163</sup> "Polish art events have multiplied,"<sup>164</sup> "an unbroken chain of exhibitions and shows,"<sup>165</sup> and "in visual arts, there is a continuous string of inaugurations of exhibitions by Polish artists."<sup>166</sup>

The annual exhibitions of Polish visual artists, mainly from Great Britain for financial reasons, organized by the APA were the only opportunity to present their artistic output from the late 1960s. From 1968, an exhibition was linked to "The Garby Prize" (Garby Award) for the best exhibitor (a medal and reimbursement of the cost of an individual exhibition) handed by Roman Garby-Czerniawski.<sup>167</sup> The winners of the first medals were K. Dźwig, W. Fusek-Forosiewicz, M. Bohusz-Szyszko, Magda Sawicka, Z. Turkiewicz, Ewa Rusiecka, S. Witorzeniec, J. Baranowska, and T. Znicz-Muszyński.<sup>168</sup>

In the mid-1960s, the number of art events involving Poles in Great Britain stabilized. Its regular features included an annual exhibition of painters and sculptors affiliated with the APA, an exhibition of the work of students and graduates of the Easel Painting School, and an exhibition of the output of the Association of Photographers. Each year, smaller or larger Polish exhibitions – individual, group, and with the participation of Poles – were organized by Polish galleries: the Grabowski Gallery, the Drian Gallery, and the Cassel Gallery, and by the Polish YMCA in its Club Room. Also, group exhibitions were held each year of British art groups with Polish members,

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<sup>162</sup> [J. Ostrowski] (n), "Polskie życie kulturalne" [Polish Cultural Life], *Orzeł Biały* 1957, no. 50, p. 3.

<sup>163</sup> Idem, "Polskie życie kulturalne" [Polish Cultural Life], *Orzeł Biały* 1959, no. 16, p. 5.

<sup>164</sup> Idem, "Polskie życie plastyczne" [Polish visual art life], *Orzeł Biały* 1956, no. 11, p. 3.

<sup>165</sup> Idem, "Polskie życie kulturalne" [Polish Cultural Life], *Orzeł Biały* 1961, no. 25, p. 3.

<sup>166</sup> Idem, "Polskie życie kulturalne" [Polish Cultural Life], *Orzeł Biały* 1961, no. 1, p. 3.

<sup>167</sup> *Association of Polish Artists in Great Britain - 7-25 October 68* [exhibition folder], Drian Gallery.

<sup>168</sup> B. O. Jeżewski, *Polski Londyn / Polish guide to London 1973/1974*, London 1973, p. 89; B. O. Jeżewski, *Polski Londyn / Polish guide to London 1976*, London 1976, p. 94.

notably the London Group, the Free Painters Group, and the National Art Society. To those listed above, one should add individual exhibitions of the works of some of the most outstanding Polish painters and sculptors living abroad, such as Topolski, Żuławski, Ruszkowski, Kossowski, Knapp, Black, Koper, Nałęcz, and Baranowska (as well as a growing number of painters from Poland in that period) held in small and large galleries throughout the Britain. One can venture a statistical assessment, according to which nearly 80 Polish visual artists participated in about 20 events during that period (some in several events a year).<sup>169</sup>

Many initiatives related to the promotion of Polish art abroad were undertaken by young writers, journalists, and publishers, gathered around student and graduate magazines such as *Życie Akademickie*, *Merkuriusz Polski*, and *Kontynenty*, as well as the Association of Polish Students Abroad. In the early 1950s, they organized exhibitions of works of art by students, but they were accused of having no respect for Polish culture. An attempt to reconcile tradition and “modernity” was the art supplement to *Merkuriusz Polski*. Several issues of the periodical from the first half of 1956 featured Marian Kratochwil’s “Szkicownik Kresowy” [Borderland sketchbook] in the form of separate panels and drawings in the text.<sup>170</sup> In the early 1960s, a group of writers gathered around the *Kontynenty* magazine ran the Klub “Piątego Koła” (“Fifth wheel” club) in London, which brought together people who were “alienated from the émigré cultural community.” One of the founders of the Club was Zdzisław Broncel. Among those attending the Club’s meetings were numerous painters, including S. Frenkiel and A. Werner.<sup>171</sup>

In September 1970, on the occasion of the Congress of Contemporary Polish Science and Culture Abroad, the visual arts section of the Congress prepared two major exhibitions of contemporary art by Polish visual artists living abroad: at the Imperial College at the Exhibition Road (September

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<sup>169</sup> J. Ostrowski, “Życie kulturalne polskiego Londynu” [The cultural life of the Polish London], *Orzeł Biały* 1966, no. 2, pp. 43–45; J. W., “Letnia wystawa w Cassel Gallery” [The summer exhibition at the Cassel Gallery], *Kronika* 1964, no. 31, p. 2.

<sup>170</sup> *Merkuriusz Polski* 1956, no. 2, p. 1; no. 5, panel.

<sup>171</sup> B. Czaykowski, B. Sulik, *Polacy w W. Brytanii* [Poles in Great Britain], p. 365.

9–12) and the same exhibition at the POSK (September 15–October 6). They showcased the works of nearly 60 Polish artists from all over the “émigré” community – exclusively easel paintings. The artists residing in England whose works were presented are Baranowska, Beutlich, Bohusz-Szysko, Bobrowski, Karolina Borchardt, Krystyna M. Czelyny, Dobrowolski, Barbara Domańska, Dźwig, Frenkiel, Władysław i Irena Fusek-Forosiewicz, Głuchowska, Gotlib, Andrzej Grabowski, Ewa Ilnicka, Irena Jakubowska, Karczewska, Kłóś, Korn, Kossowski, Kościałkowski, Roland A. Łubieński-Wentworth, Halina Martin, Nałeczowa, Piesowocki, Piwowar, Anna Przyłęcka, Stanisław Reychan, Maria Rogoyska, Ruszkowski, Stasia Stachowicz, Stocki, Sukienicka, Szomański, Terlecki, Turkiewicz, Tadeusz Wąs, Werner, Stanisława Witorzeniec, Zieliński, and Znicz-Muszyński. Illustrations of their works were shown, unfortunately in black and white, in a separate catalog titled *Polska sztuka współczesna na obczyźnie* [Polish contemporary art in exile]. For incomprehensible reasons, the exhibition lacked paintings by Topolski, Żuławski, and several other painters of the older generation.<sup>172</sup> The next Congress held in 1985 was also an occasion for an exhibition and even several separate presentations.<sup>173</sup>

In the mid-1970s, the Confraternity of Polish Artists in Great Britain was established in London on the initiative of Ewa and Stanisław Rusiecki.<sup>174</sup> It benefited from the care of the POSK, where all its art events were held. One of the most famous events was the great exhibition of visual artists held on May 3–11, 1975 at the POSK Party Hall. It showcases more than 150 exhibits (paintings, drawings, photographs, and sculptures) by the following artists: S. Baran, Wojciech Cichocki (drawings), Eugeniusz Kokosiński (photographs), D. Kozłowska-Głuchowska, Irena Kuhn (paper sculptures), Stefan Legeżyński, W. Marynowicz (photographs), Maria Aniela Pawlikowska, Maria Luisa Pawlikowska (graphic art), Maria Rajecka

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<sup>172</sup> *Polska sztuka współczesna na obczyźnie / Contemporary art by Polish artists in exile*, London 1970.

<sup>173</sup> *Prace Kongresu Kultury Polskiej* [Works of the Congress of Polish Culture], vol. 1, pp. 59–76.

<sup>174</sup> C. Bednarczyk, *W podmostowej arkadzie* [In the under-bridge arcade], London 1988, p. 105.

(graphic art), Maria Rogoyska (textiles), Ewa Rusiecka, Stanisław Rusiecki, Maria Dowling-Skibińska, Jerzy Stocki (sculptures), Helena Waszczukowa, S. Witorzeniec, and Barbara Zielińska.

The Confraternity also organized individual exhibitions: an exhibition of paintings by Jadwiga Rostowska and sculptures by Czesław Kelsey-Koładynski was held in 1980.<sup>175</sup>

The year 1981 was a brief period of “flirtation” between domestic and émigré artists. Greater freedom of artistic expression and ease of receiving a passport meant that exhibitions by painters living in Poland were possible in Polish galleries in London or Paris. The numerous joint initiatives included, for example, the “AK w sztuce” (the Home Army in art) competition held in London in March 1981. The jury, chaired by M. Bohusz-Szyszek and Z. Ruszkowski, awarded four prizes: two each to Polish and émigré artists. The prizes were awarded to M. Łączyński and J. Stocki.

The 1985 Congress of Polish Culture Abroad, prepared on a grand scale, included in its program several artistic events in various fields. These included music concerts, theatrical performances, three bibliophilic exhibitions – of émigré diaries, émigré ex-libris, and covers of Polish books published abroad, a stamp collection exhibition, and an exhibition of the output of the 35 years of existence of the Association of Polish Photographers.<sup>176</sup> It seems that the most important artistic endeavor was an exhibition of paintings, graphic art, and sculptures by 62 artists residing in Great Britain titled “Polish contemporary art abroad,” shown at the POSK Gallery between September 14 and 20. The fact that the exhibition was limited only to works of art created in Great Britain was due to financial and technical considerations.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> “Plastyka” [Visual art], *Przegląd Powszechny* 1980, no. 9, p. 24.

<sup>176</sup> *Prace Kongresu Kultury Polskiej* [Works of the Congress of Polish Culture], vol. 1, pp. 59–76; 111 *Wystawa retrospektywna Stowarzyszenia Fotografików Polskich, Polska YMCA, Londyn 1950–1985* [A retrospective exhibition of the Association of Polish Photographers, Polish YMCA, London 1950–1985] [an exhibition catalog], London 1985; J. L. Englert, *Ex-libris polski na obczyźnie* [Polish ex-libris in exile] [an exhibition catalog], London 1985.

<sup>177</sup> J. Baranowska, *Polska sztuka współczesna na obczyźnie* [Polish contemporary art in exile], in: *Prace Kongresu Kultury Polskiej* [Works of the Congress of Polish Culture], vol. 1, p. 67.

It should be added that also on the occasion of the Congress of Polish Culture Abroad held in August 1995, an exhibition of paintings and sculptures by almost 50 émigré artists was held at the POSK Gallery.<sup>178</sup>

## CONCLUSION

This sketch is just an introduction to a description of an extremely rich and complex phenomenon. Thanks to many years of efforts and endeavors, it has been possible over the past 10 years to gather in the Emigration Archive at the University Library in Toruń a comprehensive and unique documentation of the lives, activities, and output of more than 800 visual artists, photographers, and architects, both Polish and of Polish origin, who lived, exhibited their works, and created in Great Britain throughout the 20th century. The collected documentary material, which includes entire art archives, parts of painters' legacies, large collections of works of art, as well as individual paintings, sculptures, and works of graphic art, documents on Polish galleries, art groups and publishing houses, and art historians, as well as folders of press clippings and excerpts from books, a collection of catalogs, posters, and exhibition folders, and memorabilia of visual artists, is organized and supplemented with materials copied in Polish archives, museums, galleries, and private collections. Work is underway at the Emigration Archive to prepare a dictionary of Polish visual artists in Great Britain, but the archival material that has been collected is already now an important source for studying the biographies of the different artists.

In 1964, S. Frenkiel wrote in *Tygodnik Polski*:

In 40 years, they will write monographs about us, dedicate their master's theses, and look in dumpsters and attics for materials. Someday history will

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<sup>178</sup> J. Baranowska and S. Frenkiel, eds., *Forma i kolor / Form and colour. Wystawa sztuk plastycznych* [Form and color. An exhibition of visual arts], London 1995.

judge this society not by the achievements of politicians and soldiers, but on the basis of the art and literature it has left behind.<sup>179</sup>

It has been 40 years since then, and the only tangible result of the increased interest in the study of the art created by artists from England are the master's theses written at Prof. Jan W. Sienkiewicz's seminar at the Catholic University of Lublin, dedicated to the art of F. Topolski, J. Baranowska, H. Nałęcz, and the Drian Gallery, M. Żuławski and the collection of Polish art in London, as well as at Prof. Krzysztof Pomian's seminar at the Department of the History of Art and Culture of the NCU in Toruń, dedicated to A. Kossowski, A. Werner, L. Piesowocki, S. Gliwa, and M. Kratochwil.

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<sup>179</sup> S. Frenkiel, "Po wystawie 'Dwa światy'" [After the "Two Worlds" exhibition], in: idem, *Kożuchy w chmurach* [Skins in clouds], p. 202.