Abstract. Professor Tadeusz Sulimirski – a co-organiser of Polish education in exile in the years 1941–1947

The aim of the article is to present the achievements of an archaeologist, professor Tadeusz Sulimirski, in the area of organising and managing the Polish education in exile in the years 1941–1947. The biographical method was mainly applied in the research paper, with the author presenting one of the leading figures in the Office of Education and School Matters and Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment of the Polish government in exile. He demonstrated a lot of initiatives which aimed at developing and streamlining any forms of Polish education in exile. He cooperated particularly closely with general Józef Haller. He devoted much attention to Polish higher education in exile. After the recognition of the Polish government in London was withdrawn by the British government, professor Tadeusz Sulimirski became the manager of the Department of Education formed on 7th July 1945 of the British Interim Treasury Committee for Polish Questions. Holding that position, he showed great creativity and organisational skills. He coordinated very skilfully the gradual closing down of Polish education in Great Britain and also, to some extent, in some of its domains. He took much care of the financial situation of the Polish students in Great Britain and in the Middle East. He participated in the action of receiving on the British land students and schools of General Anders 2nd Corps evacuated from Italy. In the post-war years he actively participated in the work of Polish scientific circles. He rendered considerable services to the development of Polish education in exile and contributed to strengthening the Polish identity among those in exile due to the war.

Keywords: exile, education, management, schools, initiatives
In Poland

Tadeusz Józef Marian Sulimirski (Lubicz-Sulimirski), lawyer, archaeologist, academic lecturer, one of the organisers of Polish school and higher education abroad, in particular in Great Britain since the second half of the 1940s to the beginning of the 1990s. He was born in the family of a crude oil magnate and landowner on April 1st, 1898, in Kobylany near Krosno. During his childhood, he lived for five years with his parents in the city of Grozny in the north Caucasus. He undertook secondary school-level education in the years 1908–1910 at the prestigious Jesuit educational facility in Khyriv (present-day Ukraine; his younger brother, Witold, attended this facility in 1909–1910), following by learning in Lviv and the German gymnasium in Celje (present-day Slovenia), to pass his maturity exam in Lviv in the year 1916. In the years 1916–1918 he served in the 2nd Uhlan Regiment of the Polish Legions. He then took part in the defence of Lviv, for which he received the honorary distinction of the *Eaglets* (*Orlęta*), after which he attended a three-month cadet school; he then served in the 9th Uhlan Regiment of Małopolska, participated in the Polish–Soviet War of 1919–1920, in course of which he was wounded in August of 1920 near Radziechów. He concluded his army tour with the rank of *rotmistrz* (Cavalry master). He witnessed the death of his brother Witold, with whom he was very close, who fell in September of that year in Zasław in the Volhynia region.

In the year 1918 he was accepted as a student at the Faculty for Machinery Construction of the Technical University of Lviv. In fact, he did not follow through with his studies. He studied law and economy in 1921–1924 at the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv, achieving the title of doctor of law. In the year 1925 he commenced at the Faculty of Humanities of this university studies in his major – ancient archaeology, under guidance of prof. Leon Kozłowski, along with additional fields of anthropology (prof. Jan Czekanowski) and ethnography (Adam Fischer), crowned by the title of doctor of ancient archaeology (prehistory) in 1929. Expanding his interests in this area of knowledge, he received his habilitation in the year 1931. In that same year he replaced prof. Leon Kozłowski as head of the Chair of Prehistory at the University of Lviv. Soon, docent Tadeusz Sulimirski became a member of several scientific associations and social organisations, including the Committee of Anthropology and Polish Prehistory of the Kraków Academy of Learning. In the year 1936, following the death of his cousin, docent Józef Żurowski, who was just about to be employed as head of the Chair of Prehistoric Polish Archaeology at the Jagiellonian University of Kraków, he started as a lecturer there. He soon became associate professor and head of this Chair1.

1 Chyrowiacy. Słownik biograficzny wychowanków Zakładu Naukowo-Wychowawczego OO. Jezuitów w Chyrowie, 1886–1939, Wydawnictwo WAM, WSF-P “Ignatianum”, ed. L. GRZEBIEŃ, J. KOCHANOWICZ, J. NIEMIEC, p. 540; ROJEK, W., W służbie Polski i nauki Tadeusz Sulimirski (1898–1983), in: Kimerower, Scytowie i Sarmaci. Księga poświęcona pamięci profsora Tadeusza Sulimirskiego, ed. by J. CHOCHOROWSKI, Uniwersytet Jagielloński Instytut Archeologii, Kraków 2004, pp. 33–35; JAZDZEWSKI, K., “Z okazji 70-lecia urodzin profsora Tadeusza Sulimirskiego”, Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi, Seria Archeologiczna 1968, no. 15, pp. 7–8.
Professor Tadeusz Sulimirski

Working at universities in Lviv and Kraków, he conducted broad research in the area of archaeology, mainly in the south-eastern Kresy (borderlands) of then-contemporary Poland (voivodeships of Lviv, Stanisławów, Tarnopol and Wołyń). He also conducted research in the regions of Kraków, in the Karpaty and in the Silesian voivodeship. The latter research area in particular, omitted by individuals spreading knowledge of the achievements of prof. Tadeusz Sulimirski, became important and key in his scientific research in the final years leading up to World War II. After the death of docent Józef Żurowski, who was also State Prehistoric Monument Conservator in Kraków, whose area of responsibility also encompassed Silesia, and who for this reason was bestowed with the task of managing prehistoric work of the Committee of Silesian Publications of the Polish Academy of Learning (he sketched out a detailed programme of prehistoric research in Silesia), became a member and took over general management of this research. The archaeological work of the Academy of Learning was conducted in Silesia by four, and later three teams of archaeologists; they included such illustrious scholars as prof. Józef Kostrzewski of Poznań, prof. Włodzimierz Antoniewicz of Warsaw, Dr hab. Roman Jakimowicz of Warsaw and Dr Rudolf Jamka of Kraków.

In order to acquaint himself with the status and organisation of prehistoric research on the German side of Silesia and the activity of the local archaeological museums, he toured Germany as manager of prehistoric works of the Committee of Silesian Publications of the Polish Academy of Learning, between January 23rd and February 18th, 1938. The results of the survey were to contribute to better archaeological exploration of Polish Silesia. Regrettably, they were not used sufficiently due to the outbreak of World War II. They indicate great care, however, with which Sulimirski approached the execution of the task he was bestowed with. His trip to German Silesia was also substantiated by the fact that on the other side of the border, Germans provided high-level protection for historic monuments, and there was a great need to keep up with them in this regard.

Archaeological research conducted under the management of Sulimirski in Silesia towards the end of the interbellum brought good results. This is proven by five volumes of results of archaeological research published in the publishing series Prace Prehistoryczne.

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2 GURBA, J., “Profesor Tadeusz Sulimirski (1 IV 1898 – 21 VI 1983)”, Rocznik Polonijski, 1984–1985, no. 5–6, p. 356.

3 HULEWICZ, J., Wydawnictwa śląskie Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, in: Polska Akademia Umiejętności 1872–1952. Nauki humanistyczne i społeczne. Materiały z sesji jubileuszowej, Kraków, 3–4 V 1973, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1974, p. 60.

4 Scientific Archives of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Polish Academy of Learning in Kraków (in the text as: AN PAN and PAU), file no. PAU I-39, Protokół posiedzenia Komitetu Wydawnictw Śląskich Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności w dniu 30 listopada 1938; Rocznik Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności Rok 1937/1938, Nakł. Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, Kraków 1939, p. 6; Sprawozdanie z działalności Komitetu Wydawnictw Śląskich Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności za czas od 28 listopada 1935 do 21 listopada 1936 oraz program prac na rok budżetowy 1937/38. Printed as a manuscript, Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 1937, p. 1.

5 AN PAN and PAU, file no. PAU I-39, Protokół posiedzenia Komitetu Wydawnictw Śląskich Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności w dniu 30 listopada 1938.

6 HULEWICZ, J., op. cit., p. 61.
(Prehistoric Papers) of the Committee of Silesian Publications of the Polish Academy of Learning under the supervision of Roman Jakimowicz\(^7\) and the publication of the first issue of the Atlas Grodzisk i Zameczysk Śląskich (Atlas of Silesian Fortresses and Castles)\(^8\). The fruit of these scientific initiatives is also clearly visible in archaeological publications after the year 1945\(^9\). Noteworthy is also the fact that it was possible to create, among others, thanks to efforts by Tadeusz Sulimirski, a prehistoric department at the Museum of Silesia in Katowice, as he encouraged, along with the designation of a prehistoric department caretaker, as which M. Sc. Jan Bartys was named\(^10\).

The outbreak of World War II interrupted prosperous scientific and research work of this young scholar. It changed his life plans and made him leave his home country, permanently, as future showed.

**Activity of Polish education authorities in London**

In September of 1939, Tadeusz Sulimirski left Poland, via Romania, for France, where he served in the army from October 1939 until June 1940, among others, he worked among the general staff of gen. Stanisław Maczek. Towards the end of June, after France fell, he came aboard the passenger liner “Batory” to the British Isles. Until April of 1941 he served in England and Scotland in military units of the 1st Polish Corps. During this time he was engaged in the creation of the Polish–Czechoslovak federation, supporting the concept for a Polish-German border along the Odra and Nysa rivers\(^11\). Supporters of this political concept, headed by the Professor, gathered around the Western-Slavic Bulletin published in the years 1940–1942\(^12\). It is noteworthy that ideas of close cooperation or even federalisation of Poland and Czechoslovakia were quite common abroad and not alien to the head of Polish education in exile under minister Lt. Gen. Józef Haller, and foremost to the general himself\(^13\). Official contacts concerning closer cooperation between Polish and Czecho-Slovak education authorities in exile in Great Britain were initiated

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\(^7\) CHMIELEWSKI, W., “Z działalności Komitetu Wydawnictw Śląskich Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności w latach 1933–1939”, Studia Śląskie, Seria nowa, 1976, vol. XXIX, pp. 341–342.

\(^8\) Atlas Grodzisk i Zameczysk Śląskich, vol. 1, ed. J. ŻUROWSKI, R. JAKIMOWICZ, Nakł. Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, Kraków 1939.

\(^9\) CHMIELEWSKI, W., “Z działalności Komitetu...”; p. 342; HULEWICZ, J., op. cit., p. 61.

\(^10\) AN PAN and PAU, file no. PAU I-39, Protokół posiedzenia Komitetu Wydawnictw Śląskich Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności w dniu 30 listopada 1938.

\(^11\) ROJEK, W., op. cit., pp. 35–36; RADZIK, T., Profesor Tadeusz Sulimirski – archeolog (1898–1983), in: Kimmerowie, Scytowie i Sarmaci. Księga poświęcona pamięci profesora Tadeusza Sulimirskiego, ed. J. CHOCHOROWSKI, Uniwersytet Jagielloński Instytut Archeologii, Kraków 2004, p. 17.

\(^12\) GRABSKI, S., Pamiętniki, vol. 2, ed. W. STANKIEWICZ, Czytelnik, Warszawa 1989, p. 396, 482.

\(^13\) CHMIELEWSKI, W., “Działalność oświatowa Urzędu Ministra Gen. Broni Józefa Hallera”, Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy, 2013, no. 3–4, pp. 56–69.
at the Educational Conference of Allied States organised in Oxford on January 4th and 5th, 1941, by British scholars. By initiative of the heads of exile delegations participating in the conference from Czechoslovakia – Dr Beneš jr., and from Poland – docent Marian Jedlicki, head of the Department (initially, the Section) of Education at the offices of minister Lt. Gen. Józef Haller, a meeting was organised between the representatives of both states. The meeting saw the passing of a joint resolution and the formulation of a range of statements, with a view to implement them in the future. Among others, cooperation was suggested between both states in terms of cultural cooperation by the creation of correspondence groups, mutual visits and lectures and the development of self-study books for the Polish and Czech languages. The plan was also to develop and publish brochures about mutual cultural relations, and to organise a joint conference of teachers from both states. The practical implementation of the idea of cooperation was the participation of the delegation of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile, headed by the minister of the interior, the last parliament member of this country in pre-war Poland, Juraj Slavík\(^\text{14}\).

As for the issue of the border along the Odra and Nysa and the reclaimed lands and their coverage by Polish administration even before the post-war peace treaty, prof. Tadeusz Sulimirski proposed the interim solution of accepting the latest administrative division of these areas introduced by Germans. He was of the opinion that

> the German administrative subdivision is not bad. It reconnected historic provinces artificially divided by the Partitions of Poland. It created Greater Silesia, in which the fully conscious Polish component, even if not superior, is holding sufficient power anyway to cover all of Silesia. The same applies to Greater Pomerania and Western Prussia\(^\text{15}\).

It is quite possible that the similarity of interests and views in the area of Polish-Czechoslovakian cooperation could have been one of significant factors taken into account when prof. Tadeusz Sulimirski got employed beginning May 1941 at the Department of Education and School Affairs and permanently released from the army as of the end of April. In line with the decree of the President of Poland of May 1st, 1941, the Department of Education and School Affairs was established\(^\text{16}\). This authority was headed by Lt. Gen. Józef Haller, still minister holding his authority as a minister for Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment. The material tasks of the new administrative body were set out in art. 2 of the decree, which stated that its powers encompass:

1) Care for the education and upbringing of Polish youths in exile in terms of secondary-level and public education.

2) Registration of secondary-level and public school teachers in exile and care for them.

\(^{14}\) Polish Institute and the Władysław Sikorski Museum in London (in the text as: IPMS), set: Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment (in the text as: MWRiOP), file no. A. 19. 1/7, Sprawozdanie z działalności Urzędu Ministra Gen. Broni Józefa Hallera za czas od 15 sierpnia 1940 do 15 marca 1941.

\(^{15}\) IPMS, Coll. 548/8, note by T. Sulimirski of September 11th, 1941.

\(^{16}\) Dekret Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej z dnia 1 maja 1941r. o utworzeniu Urzędu Oświaty i Spraw Szkolnych, Journal of Laws of the Republic of Poland (in the text as: DzURP) 1941, no. 3, item no. 5.
3) Cooperation with military authorities in the education of Polish soldiers.
4) Care for publications for secondary-level and public education.
5) Preparation of materials concerning secondary-level and public education in Poland\textsuperscript{17}.

The organisation of work of the Department of Education and School Affairs was determined by the Cabinet of Ministers on May 6th, 1941 in its statutes, conf.: annex no. 1. It described two sections: one for general affairs and one for school affairs. The head of the first (general) one was prof. Tadeusz Sulimirski, the other – Dr Franciszek Lenczowski, a lower secondary school teacher from Chorzów, once in the “Blue Army’ in France, headed by gen. Haller. Both people played an immense part in the organisation of work of Polish education in exile. Their significance was the greater as gen. Józef Haller, a man feeling great obligations as a patriot and a soldier, supportive of the education of Polish youths to become enlightened and reasonable citizens in line with the spirit first preached by Stanisław Konarski and then the Polish Commission of National Education, from his youth related to the scouting movement, had no experience in the management of complex processes that govern all levels of education, in particular under the difficult conditions of life in exile\textsuperscript{18}.

Recalling the issue of employment of prof. Sulimirski to replace docent Marian Jedlicki, unjustly evaluated negatively, gen. Haller wrote years later:

\textit{I hence had to search for a suitable man to replace the head of the general education section. For this, I had to return to Perth in Scotland, where the head of the Polish Army Corps was gen. [Marian] Kukiel, who among his staff had captain Sulimirski, a professor of the Jagiellonian University. He was, in fact, no educator, and did not deal in the education of youths as a pre-historian and archaeologist, but I was able to win him over, and I must concede that it was a good choice, as the open mind of this serious professor easily overcame all difficulties, in particular if he had my full support and the aid of the teaching staff}\textsuperscript{19}.

Prof. Tadeusz Sulimirski, in his responsible function, made every effort for Polish education in exile to function well and to educate Polish children and youths with a view to return to Poland, and then to work for its development. Due to the fact that the Education Department was located, due to the location of Polish schools, in Scotland, in Perth, and was also the education authority, prof. Tadeusz Sulimirski, working from London, was also an informal deputy of gen. Józef Haller and represented him during government sessions (the general’s absence was due to frequent illnesses) and in working contacts between ministries; he also frequently conveyed decisions and resolutions from the Department of

\textsuperscript{17} Ibidem.

\textsuperscript{18} IPMS, MWRiOP, file no. A. 19. 1/13 c. Przemówienie generała broni Józefa Hallera wygłoszone na Zjeździe Nauczycieli Szkół Średnich i Powszechnych w Perth dnia 6 marca 1941 CHMIELEWSKI, W., “Poglądy gen. Józefa Hallera na wychowanie w latach 1940–1943”, Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy, 2009, no. 4, pp. 190–193.

\textsuperscript{19} HALLER, J., Pamiętniki z wyborem dokumentów i zdjęć. Wydawnictwo LTW, Łomianki 2015, p. 373. Within the structure of the Department of Education and School affairs, the main department was the organisational unit dealing with general matters that hitherto fell under the competences of the section for schooling headed by M. Jedlicki.
Education and School Affairs in London to the School Section in Perth, e. g. concerning the teaching of religion in organised Polish education facilities beside public schools in Britain in the area of Scotland by Olga Biernacka and Joanna Jurgaś. The supervisory auditor for religion was father Stanisław Sinkowski, head of the church structure of the 1st Polish Corps in Scotland\(^{20}\). Through his hands passed all draft legal acts, key documents and analyses as well as speeches of gen. Józef Haller. He was his right-hand man.

Officially, however, prof. Tadeusz Sulimirski wasn’t, contrary to what was written\(^{21}\), deputy minister, head of the Department of Education and School Affairs. The organisational structure of this government entity did not include such a post.

Wanting to fulfill his duties as best as possible, he frequently wanted to personally take care of emerging problems. Between August 8th and 19th of 1941, he accompanied gen. Józef Haller on his official trip to Polish schools in Scotland. At the Polish the girls’ lower and upper secondary school he participated in negotiations on possible changes in the management of this school and a possible new rent contract for its seat at Scone Palace near Perth. At the boys’ lower and upper secondary school in Dunalastair House, the issue of renting a new building was taken up, in order to expand the dormitory; issues of the budget and economy were analysed. The school facility in Glasgow saw discussions related to the establishment of a lower secondary school. He also visited the staff of the 1st Polish Corps concerning granting the soldiers leave to attend the maturity courses organised in Glasgow. He talked with former headmaster of the trade lower secondary school in Poland, M. Sc. Władysław Jędral on the latter organising correspondence courses in trade craft. He also visited the isolation camp in Rothesay on the Isle of Bute near Glasgow, where he suggested conducting courses in trade craft for military personnel interned there\(^{22}\).

He opinionated the issue of increasing financial aid for the public school of Castlemains managed by Olga Małkowska. He made the increase of aid dependent on the results of the audit of this facility\(^{23}\).

He worked towards the establishment of secondary-level and public teaching facilities (for children of military personnel) covering, as he put it, key Polish “airborne units”. During his three-day trip to Blackpool he noted that this facility, just as the emerging similar unit at Hamswel have capacities, despite significant personnel shortages, to conduct education. Both facilities were also foreseen for Polish airmen from other nearby localities\(^{24}\).

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\(^{20}\) IPMS, MWRiOP, file no. A. 19. I/10/ a-d, Writing by T. Sulimirski of June 23rd, 1941, to the schooling section on the organisation of teaching of religion during Polish classes.

\(^{21}\) Jasnowski, J., “Prof. Tadeusz Sulimirski jako organizator szkolnictwa polskiego na emigracji”, Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego na Obczyźnie, XXVII (London) 1984, p. 123.

\(^{22}\) IPMS, MWRiOP, file no. A. 19. I/9. SULIMIRSKI, T., Sprawozdanie z podróży służbowej odbytej z P. Ministrem gen. Broni Józefem Hallerem w czasie od 8 VIII do 19 VIII 1941 roku.

\(^{23}\) Ibidem, file no. A. 19 I/ 11, Writing of T. Sulimirski of August 21st, 1941 to the schooling section on the increase of aid for the primary school of Olga Małkowska in Castlemains.

\(^{24}\) Ibidem, file no. A. 19. I/9. SULIMIRSKI, T., Sprawozdanie z podróży służbowej do Blackpool w dniach 1–3.X.1941.
During his official trip to Scotland on October 20th, 1941, he noted a range of organisational and material problems in the organisation of the course by the Independent Department for Propaganda and Education of the 1st Polish Corps, in addition, without any agreement with the Department of Education and School Affairs. The comments for the course organisers were so significant and influenced the further cooperation of the education authorities with the military so strongly that Lt. gen. Józef Haller decided to inform the Chief of State about them. In the subsequent days of the trip he visited a few schools and held a lecture for 150 persons at Glasgow University on the history of Poland. He devoted much attention to the organisation of courses for teachers serving in the military, and many times he was forced to resolve complex organisational, financial or personal issues in the complex situation of the exile. By order of gen. Haller he visited Willingdon College at Milborne Port. The objective of this visit, in response to repeated invitations of the school management, was to get to know the activities of this private facility, organised like a public school.

During subsequent visits of Polish facilities in Scotland between June 19th and 26th of 1942, he made decisions on many organisational and financial affairs concerning Polish vocational education facilities in this part of Great Britain and analysed the possibility of organising a trade craft upper secondary school in Glasgow. He discussed with Dr Jan Konopnicki and Władysław Jędral the issue of facilitation of research on the British school system, up to now conducted without particular effect. One must note that this research became quite extensive, considering the available personnel and the wartime situation. He discussed the issue of organising a several-month-long pedagogical course for teachers serving in the military spanning topics of education (on the basis of the graduates of the course, and considering the experience collected during it, 1943 shall see the establishment of the Polish Pedagogical Study College at the University of Edinburgh). He also held talks with a publishing house on printing textbooks for schools in Poland after the conclusion of the war. He was one of the first representatives of Polish authorities in great Britain to visit and care for 629 Poles who arrived from the Soviet Union placed at the camp in Anchtortool (95 graduates of general lower secondary schools, 22 – of technical lower secondary schools, 152 – of vocational lower secondary schools (trade craft),

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25 Ibidem, file no. A. 19. I/11, Writing of J. Haller of November 19th, 1941 to the Chief of State on the organisation of a course by the independent Department for Propaganda and Education of the 1st Polish Corps.

26 Ibidem, file no. A. 19. I/9, SULIMIRSKI, T., Sprawozdanie z podróży służbowej, odbytej od dnia 18 X 1941 wieczorem do dnia 28 X 1941 rano.

27 Ibidem, SULIMIRSKI, T., Sprawozdanie z podróży służbowej, odbytej dnia 2 grudnia 1941 do Willingdon College w Milborne Port.

28 SULIMIRSKI, T., “Studium Pedagogiczne w Edynburgu (1943–1946)”, Nauka Polska na Obczyźnie, 1955, vol. 1, p. 50; CHMIELEWSKI, W., Przygotowanie kadr oświatowych na uchodźstwie, Series: Monografie z Dziejów Oświaty, vol. XVIII, Instytut Historii Nauki im. Ludwika i Aleksandra Birkenmajerów Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa 2013, pp. 53–61.

29 SULIMIRSKI, T., “Studium Pedagogiczne...”, pp. 50–53; CHMIELEWSKI, W., Przygotowanie kadr, pp. 75–84, 176–184.
75 – of general upper secondary schools, 275 – of primary schools and ten persons holding higher education) 30.

In the beginning of the 1940s, the decisive majority of teachers was active in the Polish military units in Great Britain, in particular in Scotland. For this reason, many problems emerged related to the cooperation of education authorities with the individual military units. In this situation, prof. Tadeusz Sulimirski devoted much attention to direct relations with the military commands of various levels to discuss the most pressing, current issues of education and personnel, with respect to e. g. uniformed teacher leave for work or their participation in various forms of education activities. He used his stay in the vicinity of military unit camps in Scotland to deal with such affairs. On May 16th of 1942, for instance, he talked with gen. Marian Kukiel, the head of the 1st Corps. The subject of the meeting was the case of transfer of soldiers to the new tour and the presentation to the general of the management of the Polish Teachers’ Union in Great Britain (head – Wilhelm Nowicki, deputy head – Jadwiga Święcicka, secretary – Michał Stopa). Additionally, at the Independent Department for Propaganda and Education of the 1st Corps, he discussed the issue of permitting teachers at lower secondary schools to hold their identity cards and military uniforms; the issue of provision of school textbooks for participants of courses at primary schools; he analysed complaints submitted by military personnel against the residents of the Polish girls’ dormitory at Scone Palace 31. During his stay in Scotland towards the end of June of 1943 he continued his May talks with the military, in particular looking to secure financing for the publication of a basic reading book and learning scripts for primary schools, necessary for courses for soldiers 32.

He appreciated the role and significance of preschool education of children. This is proven by his meeting with the renowned psychologist, Toronto University professor Blatz and head of the Child Study Institute at this facility, who conducted in Great Britain courses for ten thousand educators of children evacuated from their places of residence due to the war. During the meeting, prof. Blatz suggested training a staff of 5–7 Polish female lecturers over a year-long course in Canada. Candidates for this course, using a Canadian scholarship, should generally hold university education and be prepared to transfer their knowledge to female educators directly working with children 33. Sadly, this bold educational initiative based on British experiences was not made use of.

In August of 1942, the scope of activity of the general section headed by Tadeusz Sulimirski was expanded to cover new tasks. These stemmed from the extended activity of the Department of Education and School Affairs. As part of the section, the secretary

30 IPMS, MWRiOP, file no. A. 19. I/15. SULIMIRSKI, T., Sprawozdanie z podróży służbowej do Szkocji, odbytej w czasie 19–26 czerwca 1942 roku.
31 Ibidem, SULIMIRSKI, T., Sprawozdanie z podróży służbowej do Szkocji, odbytej w czasie 12–17 maja 1942 roku.
32 Ibidem, SULIMIRSKI, T., Sprawozdanie z podróży służbowej do Szkocji, odbytej w czasie 19–26 czerwca 1942 roku.
33 Ibidem, file no. A. 19. I/15 Notatka z konferencji z Prof. Blatzem Prof. Uniwersytetu Toronto i jego 3 asystentami z prof. Sulimirskim i por. [Józefem] Follprechtem, odbytej dnia 19 IX 1942.
office of the entire authority fulfilled its tasks, dealing in particular with affairs ordered by gen. Józef Haller and the following sections: budgeting, publishing, administration and vocational schools. Prof. Sulimirski edited the publishing series of the Department of Education and School Affairs: “Pomniki Literatury Ojczystej” [Monuments of Polish Literature] and “Nauka i Wychowanie” [Education and Upbringing] as well as the Committee for the Assessment of Textbooks and a publishing facility in Edinburgh, as well as the publishing facility in Palestine headed by docent Łukasz Kurdybacha, gaining significance since 194334. All issues related to the publication of textbooks and reading material as well as paedagogical literature, in particular devoted to working methods, were a priority. The general section created budget drafts for the entire field of education and supervised the management of all education facilities. A very important task was the drafting of acts of law concerning education in exile and the establishment of internal organisation of the Department of Education and School Affairs, and the preparation of the reconstruction of the school administration in Poland after the war, with particular attention to regained territories (prof. Sulimirski handled this issue personally). It must be noted that the proponents of reclaiming of these areas, which included the professor, did not think at that time about deporting Germans from the western and northern areas of present-day Poland. They thought that the German population inhabiting Silesia and Western Pomerania, which, they believed, to be of Polish nationality, the feeling of being Polish shall naturally be established in the second generation35. Tasks of the section also included care for vocational courses and schools and cooperation with military authorities in the education of soldiers, as well as the preparation of the concept of reconstruction of vocational education in the country after the war36.

Prof. Sulimirski belonged to the five-person committee coordinating work related to educational radio announcements for youths. The topics of the shows were broad, and covered, among others, the struggle for independence, work on oneself according to the Polish Filaret Association, education of youths, abandoning cafe life, expanding the rules of scouting, countering alcohol addition and pornography, facilitating a healthy life style and conducting physical exercises over the radio, organising of radio shows for parents and teachers, teaching Polish history and encouraging the learning of foreign languages37.

He participated in the talks between gen. Józef Haller with the Belgian government minister of education M. Hoste on April 7th, 1943, on the implementation of issues touched upon at the conferences of the Ministers of Education of the Allied States38.
On June 11th, 1943, he headed the meeting of the Polish inter-ministerial team on the implementation of the results of the continued work of the Conference of the Ministers of Education of the Allied States. The scope of this work was broad, very advanced, and covered future cultural relations, the reconstruction of the school system, in particular higher education, in the countries presently occupied, the reclaiming of cultural goods and scientific equipment taken by the occupying forces of the individual states\textsuperscript{39}. In this issue, he remained in contact with the Polish Ministry of Congress Work, in particular directly with minister Marian Seyda. In a letter sent to prof. Tadeusz Sulimirski, the minister asked him about the opinion of the Polish authorities on the report of the Joint Committee of the London International Assembly and Council for Education in World Citizenship. Minister Seyda stressed that the document was drawn up by members of influential British bodies aiming to establish rules and directions of the future reconstruction and organisation of the world. The report dealt with such important issues as: a) establishment of the Office of the United Nations for the reestablishment of education; b) the establishment of the International Organisation of Education, whereby it is assumed that Germans will be drawn into this organisation; c) establishment of a High Commissioner and a separate Inter-Allied Committee for the Reeducation of Germany\textsuperscript{40}.

The example initiatives of prof. Tadeusz Sulimirski at the Department of Education and School Affairs described here (it is impossible to list them all) show just how intense and comprehensive his activity was in the field of organisation and management of school education. This also proves his excellent cooperation with gen. Józef Haller, whom he would frequently replace when solving problems and making decisions.

His work hitherto, his experience and his thorough knowledge of the complex issues of Polish education in exile and the care for the perspectives of its reconstruction and the reformation in the country after the conclusion of the war allowed prof. Tadeusz Sulimirski to draw up in June of 1943 a working, yet important, document, entitled Co należy czynić w przyszłości w obrębie Urzędu Oświaty i Spraw Szkolnych? [What to do in the Future in the area of the Department of Education and School Affairs?]\textsuperscript{41}. In 13 items, he sketched out the tasks that in his opinion were key, and which needed to be implemented. He suggested that the conducted studies on the British education system should focus on several of its most important forms, e. g. camp schools. He suggested that experienced teachers with organisational skills should be sent to British entities to perform several-month-long internships. The knowledge and skills acquired in this manner would be used for the organisation and management of similar schools or school camps in Poland.

He suggested the development of activities aimed at the broad use of the British experience in terms of pre-school education. He valued the initiatives of Amalia Maria Stöcker

\textsuperscript{39} Ibidem, file no. A. 19.I/18, Writing of T. Sulimirski of June 17th, 1943, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the work of the Conference of Ministers of Education of Allied States.

\textsuperscript{40} Ibidem, Writing by M. Seyda of July 1st, 1943, to T. Sulimirski, on conclusions in the report of the Joint Committee of the London International Assembly and the Council for Education in World Citizenship.

\textsuperscript{41} Ibidem, file no. A.19. I/17, Co należy czynić w przyszłości w obrębie Urzędu Oświaty i Spraw Szkolnych?
undertaken for a while in this regard. He also suggested that after the war, persons dealing with the education of personnel for pre-school education should be trained in Poland by the mentioned prof. Blatz of Canada. Amalia Maria Stöcker should in the future facilitate a Polish visit by English specialists in pre-school education.

He devoted particularly much attention to the education of teachers. He believed that in this regard as well, British experiences, in particular, Edinburgh Experiences, should be used (*Training College for Teachers*). He foresaw an important role in this regard for Dr Jan Konopnicki, the head of the Polish Study College at the University of Edinburgh. He was of the opinion that state policy towards youths should undergo a deep analysis and that actions should be taken to facilitate systemic education and development of the character of the young generation in Poland after the war.

He believed it necessary to elevate the level of education of society and to establish a system of amendment of school education by modern information media. In this regard, he believed correspondence learning would play a key role, coupled with learning over the radio. He believed that after the war, one should establish in Poland a Correspondence Education Institute that would determine the methods and forms of such education. He encouraged the utilisation of rich British experience as well as the experiences of Polish courses in exile on trade and technical topics in the execution of this task. The key person planned to play such a leading role in this education was Dr Jan Dąbrowski, who had great achievements in this field at the Polish education facility he managed in Glasgow.

Tadeusz Sulimirski paid particular attention to the issue of reconstruction and reformation of Polish education after the war. This issue was reflected in intense work of the Committee of Organisation of Education in the Interim Period (after the war), headed by Dr Franciszek Lenczowski. Assessing the work of the committee highly, he concluded that the concept of reactivation of education formulated by him will be very useful in liberated Poland.

He cared similarly strongly for the issue of providing the post-war school with modern teaching aids. He believed it necessary to purchase for every school a radio received, and to develop a special radio network meant only for the education system. He suggested creating and qualifying by specialists of suitable films for school use. He postulated quick development of school libraries.

As an outspoken proponent of the Polish border on the Odra and Nysa Łużycka, he believed that the work of the Committee of Organisation of Education in the Interim Period should in particular include unique work of the subcommittee dealing with education in reclaimed lands, presently found within Germany. He believed it fitting to develop suitable manuals on the topic. The outline of education policy in this area was included in his special paper (sadly, this paper could not be found).

He considered the all-round support for Polish affairs in Great Britain to be very significant. He believed that the popularisation of Poland within British society should take place through Polish pupils at British schools, equipped with propaganda material, as well as through lectures and concerts for British youths. All these activities should be coordinated by the Ministry of Information and Documentation. Polish youths learning at British schools should not forget their nationality. For this purpose, suitable clubs should be estab-
lished, suitable youth magazines should be published that would interest the young generation of Poles learning at various kinds of schools in Scotland and England.

In terms of publishing and textbook policy, he supported the publication or preparation for print after the war of a great number of British books and textbooks in all areas of knowledge, in particular from the area of technology. He believed that textbooks useful for current education should be published primarily at the Polish publishing house in Palestine, because the most Polish schools are found in the Near and Middle East, and primarily in Africa. He was of the opinion that the library of the Department of Education and School Affairs should purchase and collect all publications on education and upbringing and provide them to interns, students and persons interested in such issues.

The ultimate requirement included in the working concept of education tasks formulated by prof. Tadeusz Sulimirski took on the issue of Poland’s participation in the work of the Ministers of Education of the Allied States. He believed that the special committee within it will focus its attention on aid for states occupied by Germans in terms of post-war reconstruction of schooling, science, libraries and other education and cultural institutions.

The aims and plans of prof. T. Sulimirski sketched out in general could not be developed or made more precise in certain cases. However, many of the tasks he designed were implemented in a different personal situation of management in exile. Inevitably the time of Lt. Gen. Józef Haller leading Polish education came to an end. Towards the end of May of 1943 he received a letter from the Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers, gen. Władysław Sikorski, worded as follows:

*I notify Mr Minister that the Cabinet of Ministers had during its meeting of May 22nd, 1943, repealed its resolution of July 29th, 1940, on bestowing Mr Minister with issues of national education, and had passed the resolution of bestowing Mr Minister with the authority of Government Delegate for Polish Affairs in the East. The rights of Mr Minister as Government Delegate are explained in the instruction passed by the Cabinet of Ministers on May 17th, 1943. A copy of the instruction is attached for information of Mr Minister.*

The resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers was not implemented, as several weeks later, gen. Władysław Sikorski died in the Gibraltar crash. Its implementation was also hindered by the health and age of gen. Haller. In the meantime, a new government was called headed by Stanisław Mikołajczyk. It saw on July 14th, 1943, the creation of the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment. The minister became father prelate and papal chaplain Dr Zygmunt Kaczyński. The following day, gen. J. Haller

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42 Ibidem.

43 Polish Army Museum in Warsaw (in the text as: MWPL), file no. mwp2467c. Writing by W. Sikorski of May 24th, 1943, to J. Haller on the removal from the post of head of Polish schooling.

44 GAJEWSKI, R., *Ks. Zygmunt Kaczyński Kaplan i polityk*, System Graf, Lublin 2013, pp. 167–263; CHMIELEWSKI, W., *Polska administracja szkolna w latach 1944–1950*, Piotrków Trybunalski, Uniwersytet Jana Kochanowskiego w Kielcach Filia w Piotrkowie Trybunalskim, 2nd ed., Piotrków Trybunalski, pp. 49–71.
addressed a farewell letter to persons, to whom he was particularly close in the last years. In it, he wrote:

*To all my co-workers of the Department of Education and School Affairs, who showed so much diligent effort to fulfil their duties well and who were driven by real love for the Motherland, willing to serve it as best they could, I express my appreciation to the hands of my closest co-workers and heads of the two most important sections, prof. Dr Tadeusz Sulimirski and Dr Franciszek Lenczowski*.45

The structure of the newly created ministry foresaw the position of a secretary general, actually the minister’s deputy. This post was taken by an up-and-coming scholar from Kraków, related to the Jagiellonian University and the Mining Academy [presently the AGH University of Science and Technology – translator’s note], prof. Adam Skąpski46. Prof. Tadeusz Sulimirski remained head of the general section, the most extensive in the new Ministry (a section corresponded to a former department in the organisational structure of the ministry). This administrative body was a managerial and organisational one. It dealt with personnel issues, education of youths through extrascholar learning, international contacts in education, management of the library. It was composed of the following units: studies (handling work related to the future reform of the education system), youth, publishing and libraries47.

Of particular importance for the activity of the Polish education system in exile was at that time the issue of providing pupils with textbooks and reading material. This task was executed by two publishing bodies. A smaller one in Great Britain, and a much larger one, headed by *docent* Łukasz Kurdybacha in Palestine48. Work in this regard was conducted almost from the very beginning of Polish education authorities, but greatest successes were achieved within the period of operation of this new Ministry.

Prof. Tadeusz Sulimirski participated actively in the works of the Committee for the Reconstruction of Education and the Reforms of the School System as created by the father minister; for instance, he chaired the Subcommittee for Libraries, Textbooks and Teaching Aids as well as for Schooling Construction49. The committee’s members were: Captain F. Babirecki, eng. Tadeusz Cwynarski, M. Sc. Maria Danilewiczowa, Dr Józef Jasnowski, *docent* Dr Marian Książkiewicz, Arkadiusz Malinowski, T. Sawicki, J. Święcicka, prof. Dr F. Zweig50. The broad work of the committee conducted under his guidance covered

45 MWPL, file no. mwp13258c, J. Haller, *Do moich współpracowników i ukochanej młodzieży*, July 15th, 1943.

46 CHMIELEWSKI, W., *Przygotowanie kadr...*, p. 52.

47 Ibidem, *Polska...*, p. 51, 52.

48 DRAUS, J., “Działalność oświatowa Łukasza Kurdybachy w latach 1940–1946”, *Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty*, 1984, vol. XXVI, pp. 218–227; CHMIELEWSKI, W., *Działalność wydawnicza...*, pp. 5–16.

49 IPSM, MWRiOP, file no. A. 19. III/58, Writings by T. Sulimirski of April 12th and November 7th of 1944 to members of the Subcommittee on the meeting on radio at schools.

50 Ibidem, file no. A. 19.II/3, *Posiedzenie Podkomisji Bibliotek, Podręczników Szkolnych i Pomocy Naukowych, Dnia 16 czerwca 1944 r.*
not only current affairs in exile but also included plans of solutions of the issue of textbooks, very detailed concepts of school construction\textsuperscript{51} and suggestions of supplies of libraries in Poland following the end of the war. The efforts of the Polish library in London during the war, under the kind guidance of the Professor and very good management of Maria Danilewiczowa deserves particular attention at this point\textsuperscript{52}. T. Sulimirski was also a member of the Committee for Libraries, established by father Zygmunt Kaczyński on November 12th, 1943. The objective of the commission, chaired by the secretary general of the Ministry, prof. Adam Skąpski, was to issue opinions on the purchase and collection of books, textbooks and scientific publications for domestic libraries\textsuperscript{53}.

As a devoted patriot, prof. T. Sulimirski did not shy away from work towards maintaining the eastern Kresy within the reborn Polish state. At the organisational summit of the Union for South-Eastern Lands of the Republic of Poland in Edinburgh of October 17th, 1943, he was chosen to be a member of its audit committee\textsuperscript{54}. Towards the end of 1944 the Polish authorities in exile saw significant changes that influenced the situation of prof. Sulimirski at the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment. Due to lack of acceptance for his political work on November 24th of that year prime minister Stanisław Mikołajczyk submitted his cabinet’s resignation. A new government was formed under Tomasz Arciszewski, father Zygmunt Kaczyński declined to work in this new government\textsuperscript{55}. On November 29th, 1944, the president of the Republic of Poland named prof. Władysław Folkierski, named that day as Minister of Congress Work, as head (not minister) of the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment\textsuperscript{56}. Prof. Skąpski soon left the ministry. The scope of duties of prof. Sulimirski as head of the General Section expanded greatly. In April of 1945 he became secretary general at the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment, and he was left to handle all current affairs related to the functioning of Polish education in exile\textsuperscript{57}.

He was to fulfil this position in a time that was exceedingly difficult for the Polish Government in exile. From the very beginning the year appeared to be very difficult in financial terms, there were drastic cuts in spending on education. On April 17th, the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Poland passed the resolution that stated, among others:

\begin{quote}
Remuneration standards for lectures at schools and courses organised by the state authorities and subsidised institutions must be reduced [...] New schools and courses can be organised in
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{51} Ibidem, file no. A. 19. II/47 Komisja Odbudowy Szkolnictwa i Reformy Ustroju Szkolnego. Teza XII: Zagadnienie budynków szkolnych; Teza XVIII: Tezy budownictwa szkolnego.

\textsuperscript{52} DANILEWICZ, M., “Biblioteka Polska w Londynie”, \textit{Nauka Polska na Obczyźnie}, 1958, vol. 2, pp. 103–108.

\textsuperscript{53} CHMIELEWSKI, W., \textit{Polska administracja...}, p. 53. Members were also Paweł Skwarczyński, Jan Hułewicz and Maria Danilewicz.

\textsuperscript{54} IPMS, Coll. 548/11, Writing of P. Siekanowicz of October 22nd, 1943, to T. Sulimirski, informing of his election as member of the Audit Committee.

\textsuperscript{55} GAJEWSKI, R., Ks. Zygmunt Kaczyński..., p. 259.

\textsuperscript{56} \textit{Dział urzędowy. Zwołnienia i mianowania ministerów}, DzURP, November 30th, 1944, no. 14, part II.

\textsuperscript{57} CHMIELEWSKI, W., \textit{Przygotowanie kadr...}, p. 29.
every individual case solely by resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers, even if they were foreseen in the current valid budget preliminary. [...] All own and subsidised publication activity should be limited.

There were also other limitations concerning the functioning of all of life in exile that indirectly affected the situation of education.

The budget for the year 1945 was not passed. Spending was settled in monthly periods set out on the basis of the 1944 budget. The situation lasted until the withdrawal of recognition for the Polish Government by the UK on July 5th, 1945. These facts significantly complicated the work of the head of the General Section, and then the secretary general, and required much organisational effort to ensure fluidity of operations of the ministry and the subordinate units on several continents, with very limited communication that was almost exclusively irregular.

Despite such difficult financial conditions and ever worsening political situation of Poland, Tadeusz Sulimirski continued to support new education initiatives in exile. In light of the issue of lack of teachers becoming ever clearer both abroad and in Poland, he inspired Dr Jan Konopnicki to develop a design for a large teacher education facility in exile. Konopnicki accepted and expanded upon this suggestion, which he himself had pondered for two months at that time. Thus, on January 12th, 1945, he suggested to Sulimirski an initial concept of opening a Pedagogic Facility in Africa. It would include, per the original assumptions, a three-year pedagogical upper secondary school, a one-year pedagogical course for senior graduates of the four-year lower secondary school and a correspondence course for active yet unqualified teachers of primary schools. Konopnicki wanted to head a teacher education facility organised this way in Africa with 7–8 teachers with high pedagogical qualifications. These persons should also: a) develop curricula for all kinds of courses, b) possibly develop or translate pedagogical textbooks, c) publish a pedagogical weekly, d) train active, qualified and unqualified teachers in Africa, e) prepare and adapt for Polish children diverse kinds of mental tests (intelligence and knowledge-related). Large-scale studies of Polish children [at various localities spread out over Africa – note by W. Ch.] could be conducted alongside extended training of teachers during short courses, so that a single trip could be used for both purposes.

Jan Konopnicki wanted to implement this project practically already in June of 1945. He turned with a plea to “Tadzio” [affectionate diminutive of Tadeusz – translator’s note] for aid in publishing his book and a publication translated from English into Polish. The

58 IPMS, MWRiOP, file no. A.19. III/58, Odpis. Uchwała Rady Ministrów z dnia 17 kwietnia 1945 r. w sprawie ograniczenia wydatków budżetowych.

59 SULIMIRSKI, T., Fundusz Kultury Narodowej, “Nauka Polska na Obczyźnie 1939–1960” 1961, vol. 3, p. 55.

60 IPSM, Coll. 548/13, Writing by J. Konopnicki of January 12th, 1945, to T. Sulimirski, containing the initial concept of the Education Facility in Africa.

61 Ibidem.
concept was expanded with knowledge and approval of prof. Tadeusz Sulimirski. He positively reacted to the initiative of starting up in the Spring of 1945 of a higher teacher course in London in Great Britain. Stressed must be the fact that graduates of this course received certificates issued pursuant to a regulation of the president of the Republic of Poland. He suggested creating for former pupils of pedagogical upper secondary schools remaining in the British Isles the possibility of concluding education at such schools in the designed three-year pedagogical upper secondary school in Glasgow. To acquire candidates for this teachers’ school he made contact with the military command. Despite much effort, this initiative did not flourish due to lack of finances.

In December of 1945, however, he acquired a loan from the British Authorities to train teachers in the area of improvement of professional qualifications. He decided to utilise the assigned financial resources appropriately and arrange in January and February of 1946 a two-month course for candidates for school inspectors and junior inspectors from among attendees of the higher teacher course in London serving in Polish military units in the British Isles.

It is impossible to list all initiatives of prof. Sulimirski that he expressed during his work at the bodies of Polish education authorities in exile. There were many, and they were always filled with great care for the education of the young generation to be good Polish citizens. They always considered the good of every Pole abroad. By his engagement, thoroughness and precision of work he commanded respect and appreciation of the entire community in exile.

**Leading the Education Department of the ITC**

A significant development in the life of Poles in exile was the withdrawal of recognition of the Polish government in London by the UK on July 5th, 1945 and at that time by other Western states along with the United States. This act, so significant in its effects for Poland, changed the situation of Poles abroad.

*The withdrawal of recognition of the Polish government – wrote prof. T. Sulimirski – weighed in heavily on educational and cultural affairs of Poles in exile. In truth, the government of the Republic of Poland did not cease to exist due to the recognition being withdrawn by hitherto allies, however, it did not have capacity to develop as it did before. The activity of the Minister of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment must have, by the nature of things, become limited only to attempts at coordinating various independent Polish activities.*

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62 CHMIELEWSKI, W., *Przygotowanie kadr...*, pp. 123–125.
63 Ibidem, p. 130, 131.
64 IPMS, MWRIOP, file no. A.19.II/29, Writings of T. Sulimirski of December 17th to the general staff in London on relieving six officers and nine NCOs who are teachers for the course.
65 SULIMIRSKI, T., “Nauka polska na obczyźnie 1939–1954”, *Nauka Polska na Obczyźnie*, 1955, vol. 1, pp. 6–7.
The UK government wanted to remove the organisational structures of the Polish government in Exile in the UK as quickly and swiftly as possible, starting with the administrative bodies of the Polish government. It also wanted the activity of the subordinate educational, scientific, socio-cultural and care facilities to cease. The implementation of this objective took place in an increasingly hostile atmosphere of the British populace towards migrants, who were pressed to leave the Isles after the concluded war and return to Poland. However, Polish citizens, a significant proportion of whom came from among inhabitants of the eastern borderlands of the Second Polish Republic, having been stripped of their little motherlands, did not want to return to Poland governed by a small group of people who implemented policies of the Soviet Union. The implementation of the listed tasks, in particular the liquidation/settlement of financial obligations of the Polish Government, was to be taken care of by the Interim Treasury Committee for Polish Questions, founded on July 7th, 1945, known commonly as the ITC. As head of the ITC, Wilfrid Eady, deputy secretary of state in the Ministry of the Treasury of the UK government, was appointed. The main Polish representative was named to be ambassador Edward Raczyński, who always had the trust of the British. The position of head administrator was filled in order by the following: David B. Pitbla and Henry H. Eggers of the Ministry of the Treasury. The head of the office of the main Polish representative was Stanisław W. J. Szydłowski. Section heads were: Finances – J. Łuba, Education – prof. T. Sulimirski, Work and Care – W. Mohl; Audits – S. Okoniewski. On September 16th, 1946, Edward Raczyński also created the Section for Emigration.

The creation of the ITC was notified by the head of the Section of Education to the education institutions subordinate to the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment. He announced that the ITC wanted to retain for a while all presently active education facilities in the UK. Talks are currently ongoing aimed at the determination of the mode of financing of these facilities. He also assured that every effort is being made for the payout of remuneration and other benefits for work to be made in August at the usual time. He appealed to heads of education facilities, lecturers and students to consider the present unique conditions, remain fully calm and continue working as usual.

The tasks of the Section of Education were broad and covered such issues as:

– execution of paedagogic oversight over all education facilities in exile,
– appointing headmasters and heads of preschools and all types of schools in agreement with military authorities,
– issue consent to organise and run educational facilities, to approve their bylaws and curricula,
– call and dissolve examination committees,

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66 SZYDŁOWSKI, S., “Studia wyższe Polaków w Wielkiej Brytanii”, Nauka Polska na Obczyźnie 1939–1960, 1961, vol. 3, p. 37.

67 IPMS, MWRiOP, file no. A.19.III/68, Okólnik Nr 36 w sprawie utworzenia i organizacji Działu Emigracyjnego Tymczasowego Komitetu do Spraw Polskich. Londyn 16 września 1946 r.

68 Ibidem, Writing of T. Sulimirski of July 19th, 1945, distributed per the distribution list.

69 Ibidem.
– determine the qualifications and rights of graduates of schools and courses,
– execute oversight over the publication of school certificates,
– finance supervised preschools and schools and provide scholarships to Polish students at foreign facilities and Polish faculties,
– finance scientific, art activities, traineeships, internships and learning English\textsuperscript{70}.

The newly created Educational Branch of the ITC, had an extensive structure. In September of 1945 is covered the following: higher education section (head: Dr Marian Książkiewicz), general education section (Dr Franciszek Lenczowski), vocational education section (Władysław Jędral), section for education outside of the UK (Dr Ignacy Wieniewski), religious denominations section (Wiktor Piotrowicz), legal and organisational section (Dr Tadeusz Bugayski), budget section (Bohdan Piechowski), publishing section (Herman Wellik), section for extrascholar education and youth organisations (Władysław Donigiewicz), administrative education section (Dr Mieczysław Seydlitz); library (M. Sc. Maria Danilewicz), general chancellery (Dr Zdzisław Stabrawa)\textsuperscript{71}. This organisational structure of the Educational Branch lasted only a few months. Due to the changing situation of the community in exile, and the closure, in particular in domains, of many education facilities, some sections were closed and their work taken over by others that continued operating. By resolution of May 18th, 1946, a new structure of the Educational Branch was created. Necessary personnel changes were made, also due to the fact of some people returning to Poland\textsuperscript{72}. Dr Mieczysław Giergielewicz became the first deputy of prof. Sulimirski, the second being M. Sc. Witold Łęgowski. The educational branch consisted of the following sections: general – personnel, legal and organisational affairs (Dr Tadeusz Bugayski), higher education – Polish higher education facilities in Great Britain, Polish language courses, aid to students, cooperation with institutions as well as scientific and art societies, writers, artists and others (headed by Dr Marian Książkiewicz, later prof. Bogdan Zaborski); general teaching and education – preschools, primary schools and secondary general education schools, organisation and supervision of extrascholar education facilities for adults, youth organisations (Dr Jan Dąbrowski); vocational education – all types of vocational education (Władysław Jędral); budgeting – budget and accounting issues, administrative and management issues, control of spending by the Educational Branch and by facilities (Bohdan Piechowski); publishing – publication and purchase of books and textbooks, scripts and teaching aids, running a collection of books and other school aids (Herman Wellik); library – collection and cataloguing of scientific works, textbooks and other books as well as manuscripts, magazines, running a library and reading room (M. Sc. Maria Danilewicz); general chancellery – correct

\textsuperscript{70} RADZIK, T., 
\textit{ Brytyjska pomoc edukacyjna}, in: \textit{ Mobilizacja uchodźstwa do walki politycznej 1945–1990}, Polskie Towarzystwo Naukowe na Obczyźnie, London 1995, pp. 354–355.

\textsuperscript{71} IPMS, MWRiOP, file no. 19. III/67, Okólnik Nr w sprawie organizacji Działu Oświaty Tymczasowego Komitetu Treasury do Spraw Polskich, London, September 1945.

\textsuperscript{72} Ibidem, file no. 19. III/6. Regulation by T. Sulimirski of November 22nd, 1945, on the employment of former heads of departments M. Seydlitz and W. Piotrowicz on lower positions in other sections of the Educational Branch.
internal routing of incoming writings, correspondence, archives, drawing up typescripts (M. Sc. Marian Wlekliński)\(^{73}\). The broad scope of activities of the individual sections proves that the Educational Branch of the ITC fulfilled many important tasks concerning the cultural and education life in a very difficult time. Its competences spanning the issues handled and the specific topics were not much smaller than tasks of the ministry of education. However, the fundamental objective of operations was different; it also didn’t have authority to undertake initiatives in the form of acts of law. The Educational Branch employed 61 people. For the most part, they were hitherto employed as good professionals at the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment\(^{74}\).

Thanks to this, many people with sufficiently good English skills were protected from losing their source of income. Dr Mieczysław Giergielewicz became deputy to prof. Sulimirski. The structure of the Educational Branch of the ITC is presented in annexes no. 2 and 3. The external missions of the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment and their subordinate Polish education facilities outside of the UK managed for a short time by the ITC moved on to financing by the United Nations Relief and Reconstruction Administration (UNRRA), and then the International Refugee Organization (IRO)\(^{75}\). This concerned Polish education institutions (preschools, schools, day care centres and dormitories) in Iran (Tehran office), India (Bombay), Africa (Nairobi, Kenya) and the Near East (Jerusalem – Palestine). Polish schools in Mexico (Santa Rosa) were transferred to the care of the United States, and in New Zealand (Pahiatua) – the government there. Everywhere, however, in particular in the first period of activity of the ITC, many significant decisions were made following consultation and opinions on each important affair provided by prof. Tadeusz Sulimirski and the team around him\(^{76}\).

According to the concept of the British, the general rule in force was that the Educational Branch supports the conclusion of a specific type of activity, and not the initiation and development of new projects. This rule, among others, thanks to the creativity of prof. Sulimirski and many of his colleagues, was not always adhered to. This situation was the result of care for the maintenance of the status of Polish education for as long as possible, to protect it from premature removal in the UK and its domains, and primarily stemmed from the patriotic attitude of migrants in exile and the relentless conviction

\(^{73}\) Ibidem, file no. 19. III/68, Okólnik Nr33 w sprawie organizacji Działu Oświaty Tymczasowego Komitetu Treasury do Spraw Polskich, London, May 18th, 1946.

\(^{74}\) Ibidem, file no. MWRiOP, file no. A. 19. III/68, Lista pracowników Działu Oświaty, March 2nd, 1946.

\(^{75}\) SULIMIRSKI, T., Nauka polska..., p. 6.

\(^{76}\) IPMS, MWRiOP, file no. A. 19. III/13, Writing of T. Sulimirski of October 9th, 1945, to F. Sobota on the dissolution of his official relationship with the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment as delegate of this ministry in Mexico; ibidem, Writing of T. Sulimirski of March 27th, 1946, to F. Sobota on the ban on him using the name of delegate of the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment in Mexico and the usage of letterheads with the name of the delegation in his correspondence; Central Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw, set: envoy of the Republic of Poland in Mexico, file no. 179. Writing of T. Sulimirski of July 9th, 1946, to H. Stębełski on the financial audit of the former delegation of the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment in Mexico. T. Sulimirski also sent the instruction on the settlement of the financials of the former delegation.
that the decision of western powers to leave Poland in the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union greatly harmed the motherland and its citizens. The low moods among Poles in Great Britain were made worse by the fact that in order to survive and adapt to live in exile they had to learn English to an ever greater extent. Beginning with the end of September of 1946, the British at the ITC, and, following, the main Polish representative, ambassador Edward Raczyński, recommended to conduct all official correspondence if possible in Polish. Correspondence in English was unconditionally required for all financial affairs of organisational bodies and education facilities.

Irrespective of the increasing international difficulties and the adverse atmosphere around the Polish circles, prof. Tadeusz Sulimirski engaged himself with great devotion both in fundamental, great affairs as well as in those seemingly without significance, but important after the withdrawal of recognition of the Polish government, to reinforce awareness and the spirit of Poland, e.g. upon a motion by Jan Konopnicki he made sure that Polish certificates of students of the pedagogical college of Edinburgh of the academic year 1944/45, which were official for the heads of the University of Edinburgh, were issued by the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment, even though they bore the date of July 31st, 1945, meaning, already after the withdrawal of recognition of the Polish government in exile. He was the one whose help was sought in many affairs requiring clever and efficient interventions (e.g. pay out of remuneration to authors for the development of a curriculum for a paedagogical upper secondary school). Writings with his signature are found in archives of all Polish settlements across several continents, where education activity was conducted. Due to his function and the authority he held, he frequently opinionated local problems, ordinary interpersonal issues, or issues of teacher qualifications, useful for work at a specific type of school.

In leading the Educational Branch of the ITC he not only cared for Polish educational and cultural institutions existing until then in Great Britain, but he also made efforts to organise new forms of education. An example of this was the acquisition from the UK authorities of a loan to organise a two-month course for future school inspectors and junior inspectors being graduates of the higher teacher course in London. He continued his initiatives undertaken before the withdrawal of recognition for the Polish government in exile that were to facilitate education and the expansion of teacher qualifications. There emerged the concept of creating a pedagogical upper secondary school in Crieff, a second higher teacher course was started and preparations were made to start a specialised teacher course, which developed already under a different system of management of Polish education.

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77 Ibidem, file no. A. 19. III/68, Writing of T. Sulimirski of October 14th, 1945, distributed according to the distribution list.

78 IPMS, Coll. 548/13, Writing of J. Konopnicki of July 26th, 1945, to T. Sulimirski on current affairs; CHMIELEWSKI, W., Przygotowanie kadr..., p. 184.

79 IPMS, MWRiOP, file no. A. 19.III/17, Writing of T. Sulimirski of December 8th, 1945, to father M. Wilniewczyc on the employment of Jadwiga Żerebecka.

80 CHMIELEWSKI, W., Przygotowanie kadr..., pp. 132–134.
He devoted much of his attention to the improvement of the financial situation of students in the second half of 1945 and in later years, so difficult for Polish migrants. This found its expression in him heading the Scholarship Committee of the Association of Professors and Lecturers of Polish Higher Education Facilities in Great Britain, which managed the Scholarship Fund of this organisation. The fund supported youths released from Polish armed forces who studied at British higher education facilities. The work of Tadeusz Sulimirski in this regard brought excellent results, significantly extending beyond the original concept.\textsuperscript{81}

He led to the naming of the Committee for Academic Studies that included the head of the Higher Education Section of the Educational Branch, prof. Bohdan Zaborski. The Committee dealt with coordinating, within its modest capacities, of the difficult task of ensuring funding and aid from various sources (ITC, UNRRA, IRO, Rockefeller Foundation, National Culture Fund, foreign foundations and Polish organisations, e. g. YMCA Poland, Polish Red Cross).\textsuperscript{82}

Caring for the correct management of free time as well as socio-cultural and educational development of persons accommodated in hostels, the Educational Branch developed the \textit{Guidelines on schooling and extrascholar education in exile}.\textsuperscript{83}

In the beginning of 1946, when it became clear that the broad majority of Polish citizens found in Great Britain, its domains and in Italy does not want to return to the country governed by people related to the Kremlin, foreseeing their longer stay in Great Britain that was difficult to estimate, the section for extrascholar education and youth organisations headed by Władysław Donigniewicz, existing in the first year of activity of the Educational Branch of the ITC developed in the first quarter of 1946 the \textit{Guidelines on schooling and extrascholar education in exile}. The document presented objectives and tasks of Polish schooling and education for adults spanning the maintenance in exile of ties with Polish culture. The demands formulated in them were worded so that their implementation would be aligned to the education and assimilation needs of both the exiled community abroad as well as the domestic economy. It was considered appropriate that for

\begin{quote}
the purpose of fulfilment of its educational and cultural tasks, the exiled community should create, secure and maintain a plan-based education and upbringing system, covering:
\begin{itemize}
  \item[a)] assurance of care for Polish families on the basis of mutual aid, in particular in terms of care for the language and personal cultivation,
  \item[b)] maintenance of existing preschools as well as the creation of and support for new ones,
  \item[c)] operating fully capable Polish primary and general secondary schools,
  \item[d)] organising teacher education facilities,
  \item[e)] organising vocational education on various levels at own or other schools,
\end{itemize}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{81} SULIMIRSKI, T., \textit{Nauka polska...}, p. 7.

\textsuperscript{82} IPMS, MWRIOP, file no. A. 19 III/44, Writing of T. Sulimirski of July 23rd, 1946, to B. Zaborski on the meeting of the Committee for Academic Studies; ibidem. \textit{Projekt. Wnioski Komisji.}

\textsuperscript{83} Ibidem, file no. A. 19. VI/20, \textit{Wytyczne w sprawie szkolnictwa i oświaty pozaszkolnej na uchodźstwie}, London 1946.
f) assuring and enabling learning about Polish life and culture for persons attending other educational facilities through regular courses and continuous cultural care, and the provision of the possibility of taking suitable exams,
g) utilisation of forms of correspondence-based learning wherever direct learning would be impossible,
h) usage of extrascholar forms of education to as broad an extent as possible,
i) enabling talented individuals to attend higher-level studies: encouraging scientific work within Polish culture and creating permanent study facilities in this regard wherever conditions would allow this.

It was suggested that teaching at school should be conducted in Polish, with simultaneous stress on the learning of English so that exiled youths could in this way be provided with a means to continue learning at British schools. It was suggested to pay particular attention to the acquisition of technical vocabulary. The maintenance and protection of Polish culture against deformations and presenting its familiar and western properties should be the task of every kind of educational activity abroad.

In terms of the maintenance of Polish culture, it was recommended to assume the rule that it should always be based on Christian ethics and the centuries-long wealth of ancient Greece and Rome. One must strive to make close ties with the West, in particular with Anglo-Saxon and Romance nations. It was suggested that schools should include, as part of the course on “contemporary life issues”, information about modern Poland, in particular the years 1918–1939, as well as about its current political, social, economic and cultural situation. It was suggested that youths studying in Polish technical and medical faculties abroad should be provided with lectures on Polish culture.

It was recommended that centres for teaching Polish culture should be created at the higher education level, if only conditions would allow this. It was deemed that they could take the form of studies in humanities covering such basic subjects as the Polish language, literature and culture or studies in Polish culture, whereby beside strictly Poland-related courses history, philosophy, classical culture would be taught as well.

In the emerging living conditions of the Polish migrant community, much attention was paid to vocational education. Its role was to be the preparation of the young generation of Poles for independent professional work, both abroad as well as after any possible return to Poland. Maintaining vocational schools existing hitherto, recommendations were made to open new ones, adapted to the real and actual needs of the migrants, to the developing branches of the industry in the United States and Western Europe and to the economic conditions in Poland. Calls were made to organise short-term courses on professional topics and internships at modern industrial plants. It was deemed that pupils should be enabled to get to know foreign professional terminology and to make use of local learning aids, equipment for practical classes, through:

a) organisation of extended courses,
b) introduction, where necessary, of teaching certain vocational topics in the local language alongside Polish-language classes,

Ibidem.
c) a suitable local language learning programme,

d) closer cooperation with local schools, industrial and trade plants and professional organisations85.

Foreseen were also correspondence-based vocational training for youths without regular school education and for adults wanting to improve or change their vocational qualifications.

Issues of extrascholar education in exile were particularly extensively treated in the guidelines. Its fundamental objective was the inclusion of the entire society in exile in participation in the joint civilisational and cultural life, the transfer of values and properties characteristic of the Polish nation, stemming for its history and cultural heritage, but primarily instilling universal values within it. Extrascholar education should be conducted at local folk houses, libraries, reading rooms, clubs, day care centres, educational course centres, at scouting facilities, sports centres, theatres, event and musical facilities. At Polish settlements lacking cultural and educational facilities or schools, particular attention should be turned to preschool education and teaching of religion, Polish language, history, literature and geography for children and youths attending non-Polish schools. Larger Polish facilities should publish magazines, form choirs and singing organisations. Organised and activated should be the work of youth organisations, in particular – of scouts. The sketched out guidelines of the development of extrascholar education significantly expanded beyond the objectives and tasks of the ITC, and decidedly did not aim for the gradual reduction of operation of the Polish migrant communities86.

At the same time, the changing international situation of the year 1946, primarily the worsening of relations with the Soviet Union, solidifying its position in the world, improved the situation of Poles in Great Britain. First, the government of the United Kingdom and then its society started to look upon the unwillingness of Poles to return to their homeland with understanding, as it was under the immense influence of the eastern neighbour87. The British government undertook a project hitherto unknown in UK history, namely to move from Italy to the Isles the 2nd Polish Corps along with families and dependents (according to British sources ca. 160,000 people)88. The decision was also made to transfer schools maintained by the 2nd Corps along with the military89.

Already a few weeks of the beginning of the effort to transfer units of the 2nd Corps to Great Britain, the Educational Branch of the ITC took the first steps aimed at accepting civilian and military educational institutions as best as possible. Thinking about cultural and educational work among Polish citizens remaining in Great Britain and its do-

85 Ibidem.
86 Ibidem.
87 SULIMIRSKI, T., Nauka polska..., p. 6–7.
88 LEITGEBER, W., “1946 – rok decyzji w sprawie rozwiązania polskich sił zbrojnych na zachodni w świete dokumentów brytyjskich”, Zeszyty Historyczne (Paris) 1977, vol. 42, p. 72, 79.
89 IPMS, MWRiOP, file no. A.19.III/28, Sprawa przybycia do W [ielkiej] Brytanii szkół polskich, zorganizowanych i nadzorowanych przez wojsko we Włoszech i na Bl[iskim] Wschodzie.
mains that were to be gradually grouped in several hundred hostels (camps) under the care of the Polish Corps for Adaptation and Location, the document Draft of organisation of the common cultural and educational activity for soldiers of the 2nd Corps in Great Britain was drawn up.

Prof. Sulimirski turned to lt. col. prof. Jerzy Alexandrowicza heading the department of education of the 2nd Corps to send a detailed information on the schools to actually be transferred to the British Isles, and about their equipment with teaching and learning aids. Together with Edward Raczyński and prof. Zaborowski they also held talks with a delegation of Polish students in Italy, headed by Edward Franciszek Szczepanik, being under the care of the 2nd Corps, on them moving to Great Britain in order to continue studies.

The arrival of a large number of Polish citizens in the British Isles as part of the 2nd Polish Corps caused further precise determinations by the UK authorities for the migrants in terms of education policy for the coming near term. This found its expression in the guidelines included in the letter of August 23rd, 1946, sent by Henry H. Eggers, representing the Ministry of the Treasury and the ITC on the British side, directly to prof. Tadeusz Sulimirski.

Beginning in the last months of 1946, Poles from Germany, India, Eastern Africa and Lebanon started arriving on the British Isles. Migrant transports gained momentum in the years 1947 and 1948, and lasted until 1950. Among those arriving were many school-age children and youths. Schools would frequently arrive with their organisation intact. This situation forced the Education Branch headed by Sulimirski to conduct further organisational work.

The quickly-rising number of Polish families in Great Britain made the parliament of this country deal with the issue of education of the young generation of Polish migrants, and pass the Polish Settlement Act in March of 1947. On the basis of this act of law, the minister of education and secretary of state for Scotland created on April 1st, 1947, the Committee for the Education of Poles in Great Britain. It existed until September 30th, 1954. It always included three Poles. The Polish general manager of this body was named as Stanisław Szydłowski. Prof. Tadeusz Sulimirski became educational advisor. Initially,

90 LEITGEBER, W., op. cit., p. 92. British sources indicate that in April of 1946 228,000 Polish citizens waited to be demobilised.

91 IPMS. MWRiOP, file no. A. 19. III/ 116 (part 1), Projekt organizacji powszechnej akcji kulturalno-oświatowej dla żołnierzy II Korpusu w Wielkiej Brytanii, London, July 15th, 1945.

92 Ibidem, MWRiOP, file no. A. 19. III/116 (part 1), Writing of T. Sulimirski of July 23rd, 1946 to J. Aleksandrowicz on sending of information about schools of the 2nd Polish Corps.

93 Polscy studenci – żołnierze we Włoszech 1945–1947, ed. R. LEWICKI, Caldera House, 1996, p. 168, 171; A. Sudół, Edward Franciszek Szczepanik. Ostatni premier rządu RP na uchodźstwie, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, Bydgoszcz 2009, p. 47.

94 IPMS, MWRiOP, file no. A.19.III/68, Writing by H.H. Eggers of August 23rd, 1946, to T. Sulimirski, containing guidelines on education Polish of the British government with respect to Polish refugees.

95 CZAYKOWSKI, B., SULIK, B., Polacy w W. Brytanii, Instytut Literacki, Paris 1961, pp. 107–109.
the Committee employed 130 people, this number rising to 750 in 1951, including field offices. At the same time, March 31 of 1947 saw the closing of the ITC.

Ending its operations, the Education Branch left to the Committee 21 preschools and schools attended by 1607 children and youths. There also existed, even if these were gradually reduced, Polish faculties at English and Scottish higher education facilities. British funds were used to pay scholarships to 488 persons studying at British higher education facilities. More detailed information on this topic are included in table 1 below.

Table 1. Polish schools managed by the Committee for the Education of Poles in Great Britain on April 1st, 1947

| Facility type                                      | Count   |
|---------------------------------------------------|---------|
| Preschools                                        | 6       |
| Primary schools                                   | 8       |
| Technical secondary schools                       | 1       |
| Agricultural school                               | 1       |
| Foreign Trade and State Administration School     | 1       |
| Total vocational schools                          | 3       |
| Total schools                                     | 21      |
| Scholarship recipients of the Committee at English facilities | –       |

Source: Ministry of Education, *Education in Exile. History of the Committee for the Education of Poles in Great Britain*, Her Majesty’s Stationer Office, London 1956, p. 52; T. RADZIK, *Brytyjska pomoc...*, p. 360.

After the British authorities announced the end of activity of the Interim Treasury Committee for Polish Questions, T. Sulimirski cared for the future employment of the historic employees of the Education Branch by the new body handling issues of education of Poles. He asked all managers of departments and educational facilities, whose superior he was, to care for the teachers and all employees under them, without exceptions, to continue their work for the benefit of education. The wording of this plea, aimed at Poles in Great Britain in such a difficult time, is testimony to the great patriotic spirit of prof. Tadeusz Sulimirski.

Running the Educational Branch of the ITC he showed many initiatives to consolidate the migrant community; he cared for the education of children and youths and did not lead to a quick closing down, as was historically assumed, but to the development of

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96 SZYDŁOWSKI, S., *Studia wyższe...*, pp. 37–38. A description of the activity of the Committee for the Education of Poles is found in: Ministry of Education, *Education in Exile*.

97 IPMS, MWRiOP, file no. A. 19.III/44, Writing of T. Sulimirski of March 11th 1947 to subordinate heads on the continuation of work after March 31st, 1947 and taking care of all employees in this regard.
Polish schooling in Great Britain He made much effort to provide financial aid to students at Polish faculties and British higher education facilities.

It must also be noted that the management of the Education Branch and the subordinate educational institutions in the years 1944–1947 was hindered by disputes and discussions on the future of Polish migrants and the issue of their return to Poland. Many famed personalities from migrant life in education decided to return to Poland. This was the case of, among others, former minister father Zygmunt Kaczyński, docent Jan Hulewicz, docent Marian Książkiewicz, Dr Jan Konopnicki and a few graduates of paedagogical and psychological studies in Edinburgh, among them known future professors, Aleksander Hulek and Bolesław Hornowski. The departure of them as well of several other people weakened the intellectual potential of schooling in exile.

Conclusion

Prof. Tadeusz Sulimirski elected to remain in exile. He brought his family to Great Britain. As advisor, he worked at the Committee for the Education of Poles until 1950, however, his position was not a decision-making one. In the years 1950–1953 he earned his living through translations into English. He was, among others, lecturer for Eastern European Archaeology at the University of Cambridge in 1953–1955, and from 1957 until 1969 he worked at the University of London, from which he retired. At this time he also held lectures and readings on archaeology in the United States and many countries of Europe. He organised trips of students of the University of London and conducted archaeological studies in the Soviet Union. He maintained relations with Polish archaeological facilities. He gained fame in Europe with his scientific achievements. He published over 200 scientific papers, including a few books.

He was one of the founders of the Polish University in Exile and its rector in 1967–1978. He co-founded the Polish Scientific Council in Exile, and then the Polish Scientific Society in Exile, being its chairman for a few years. He was a member of many other scientific and societal organisations. In the years 1951–1964 he was editor-in-chief of the Annual publication of the Polish Scientific Society in Exile and published three issues of the journal “Nauka Polska na Obczyźnie” [Polish Science in Exile].

Prof. Tadeusz Sulimirski served the organisation and management of Polish education in exile in the years 1941–1947 very well. He was one of the leading personalities of the Department of Education and School Affairs and the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment. He had many initiatives aimed at the development and improvement of operation of all forms of Polish schooling abroad. He worked particularly closely with gen. Józef Haller. He devoted much of his time to Polish higher education in exile. When recognition of the Polish government in London by the UK government was withdrawn, he became head of the Educational Branch of the Interim Treasury Committee for Polish Questions. There, he showed great creativity and organisational skills.

98 W. Rojek, op. cit., pp. 33–41.
He coordinated skilfully the gradual reduction of Polish schooling in Great Britain, and, to some extent, in its dominions. He cared greatly for the financial situation of Polish students in Great Britain and the Near East. He participated in the action to receive in Britain of the schools and pupils of the 2nd Polish Corps of gen. Władysław Anders evacuated from Italy. In post-war years he actively participated in the life of the Polish scientific community in Great Britain.

He died suddenly on June 20th, 1983, in London. He is buried in Kobylany in the region of Rzeszów, in his beloved homeland whom he served faithfully throughout his long, uniquely active and fruitful life.

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