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Antoni Bogusławski —  
zapomniany dziennikarz,  
poeta, pisarz, tłumacz, autor  
literatury dla dzieci, krytyk  
literacki, oficer

**Antoni Bogusławski  
— the forgotten  
journalist, poet, writer,  
translator, author  
of children literature,  
literary critic, officer**

Instytut Dziennikarstwa i Informacji  
Uniwersytet Jana Kochanowskiego  
ul. Świętokrzyska 21D  
PL 25-406 Kielce  
e-mail: chwastyk@ujk.edu.pl

**Jolanta  
CHWASTYK-  
-KOWALCZYK**

**SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:**

Antoni Bogusławski (1889–1956), dwudziestolecie międzywojenne, Warszawa, Londyn 1940–1956, emigracja polska, Radio Wolna Europa, dziennikarz, literat, krytyk, tłumacz, oficer

**KEY WORDS:**

Polish literary biographies of the 20th century, Antoni Bogusławski (1889–1966), Polish culture in the interwar period, Polish émigré community in London, 1940–1956

**ABSTRAKT**

Artykuł przypomina zapomnianą, barwną postać wielu talentów międzywojennej Warszawy i emigracyjnego „polskiego” Londynu — Antoniego Bogusławskiego (1889–1956) — wyjątkowego publicyście prasowego i radiowego, pisarza, poety, krytyka literackiego, autora literatury dla dzieci, tłumacza, zawodowego oficera.

**ABSTRACT**

The aim of this article is to bring back from oblivion Antoni Bogusławski, a man of multiple talents and a distinguished figure of the interwar Warsaw and the Polish community in London. He was a brilliant journalist, writer, poet, literary critic, author of children's literature, translator, officer of the Polish Army.

## Summary

Artykuł przypomina zapomnianą, barwną postać wielu talentów międzywojennej Warszawy i emigracyjnego „polskiego” Londynu — Antoniego Bogusławskiego (1889–1956) — wyjątkowego publicysty prasowego i radiowego, pisarza, poety, krytyka literackiego, autora literatury dla dzieci, tłumacza, zawodowego oficera. Podczas II wojny światowej w rządzie emigracyjnym pełnił funkcję szefa Cenzury Wojennej w Ministerstwie Obrony Narodowej, a następnie szefa Kwatery Prasowej w Gabinetcie Naczelnego Wodza. Po zakończeniu wojny pozostał na emigracji w Wielkiej Brytanii, gdzie aż do śmierci w 1956 r. niestrudzenie uprawiał czynnie dziennikarstwo (był m.in. współpracownikiem Radia Wolna Europa, londyńskiego „Dziennika Polskiego”, a następnie „Dziennika Polskiego i Dziennika Żołnierza”), literaturę oraz krytykę literacką, a także brał udział w życiu polskiej diaspory.

The 128 year birthday anniversary constitutes the opportune time and background for the reminiscence of activities performed by a person gifted with myriad talents that happens to be Antoni Jan Bogusławski. He was born on the 28<sup>th</sup> November 1889 in Warsaw in a patriotic family, with rich traditions of national freedom fighting, he excellently combined his passion for writing, as a poet, and translation with the functions of a professional officer. Historian professor, general Marian Kukiel in one of Radio Free Europe transmissions in July 1965 recalled his certified subordinated Lt. Colonel as a “charming person with an immense intellectual culture, excellence in jokes and writing. In spirit as a soldier and writer at the same time, but above all as a poet”<sup>1</sup>.

Participation of the sixteen year old Antoni, a pupil of gen. P. Chrzanowski Secondary School, in a school strike led to the termination of his schooling in Cracow and enrolment into the Law School in Montpellier in France (1909–1913). This accounts for his good command of the French language and admiration of the charms of culture this country offers. During the first World War he was conscripted into the Russian army, where he graduated from the Cavalry Officers School in Elizawegrad. In 1917 when the opportunity came for the detachment of the Polish unit (I Polish Corps) from the czarist army, a 160 man<sup>2</sup> cavalry squadron was formed and together his way into the Grochowicki Uhlan regiment. He was quickly acknowledged as a unique liaison officer with representatives of the French armed forces and diplomats from various countries in emancipated Warsaw. During the twenty-year interwar period he performed the functions of an officer receiving instructions from ministers in the Polish government, Kazimierz Sosnowski and Władysław Sikorski, graduated from the Higher Education War School in Warsaw, was called for military service at the Polish-Bolshevik war front, for which he was awarded the Cross of Virtuti Militari<sup>3</sup>. From 1923 he was assigned to the historical

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.polishradio.pl/39/156/Article/1300528,Antoni-Boguslawski-%E2%80%93-Literati-soldier> — access: 22.04.2017.

<sup>2</sup> Information from gen. Zygmunt Podhorski, who recalled A. Bogusławski during the evening dedicated to the memory of the late poet, quoted from: (k.), *Evening in honour of Antoni Bogusławski*, “Polish Daily and Soldier’ Daily” 1956, no. 251, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Death of Col. Antoni Bogusławski*, “Polish Daily and Soldiers’ Daily” 1956, no. 209, p. 1, 4; J. Sakowski, *Antoni Bogusławski*, “Polish Daily and Soldiers’ Daily” 1956, no. 212, p. 2; *While available „Daily” — I am.....* Joint publication under the editor, K. Bzowska, London 2000, p. 318; *Small dictionary of polish writers in exile 1939–1980*, editor, B. Klimaszewski, Warsaw 1992, p. 38.

section of the general staff where he served as head of department<sup>4</sup>. On the 1<sup>st</sup> November 1924 he was transferred to the I Grochowiecki Uhlan regiment. From 1928 he became the commander of the 24<sup>th</sup> Uhlan regiment squadron. During this period he came out with the excellent outline of the 1870–1871 Franco-Prussian war<sup>5</sup>, interpreted “the march for Vistula by Michael Tuchaczewski<sup>6</sup>, but above all these duties he cherished poetry”<sup>7</sup>.

After the May revolution in 1926 Bogusławski, an adherent of national democracy, for political reasons, was transferred to the reserve, which he considered as a huge personal injustice and humiliation<sup>8</sup>.

In the opinion of Marian Kukiel, Antoni Bogusławski was a second rejuvenated personification of Or-Ota. His poetry was “similarly straightforward, permeated with polishness and antiquity, but it always contained the same youthful panache, lightness, cracking jokes and enjoyment of military service, lots of smiles through tears”<sup>9</sup>. His moral attitude and faith are manifested in a volume of poetry entitled *Honour and Homeland*, was published by the F. Hoesick Publishing Press in Warsaw in 1927, when major Bogusławski hanged his military uniform. During the 20-year interwar period the following issues were published for soldiers, children and other readers: *Soldiers' christmas carols* (Warsaw 1923, Polish Bookshop), *Military prose and reading texts* (Warsaw, Military Institute of Scientific Press), *At the camp (songs)* (Warsaw 1925, Military Institute of Scientific Press). *The Okruszynka Knight* (Warsaw 1925, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition Warsaw 1933, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition London 1940, 4<sup>th</sup> edition London 1946), *Manor house* (Poetry) (Warsaw 1929, F. Hoesick), *Mirror* (Poetry) (Warsaw 1929, F. Hoesick), *Different tales* (Warsaw 1929), *Hares* (Warsaw 1929; English translation Glasgow 1945, Polish Library), *Living words* (Warsaw 1929), *How little drake Kwaczorek swam through Gdańsk to Gdynia* (Warsaw 1929), *Tereska* (Warsaw 1933; English translation Glasgow 1942, Polish Library), *Drummer boy Grześ* (Songs) (Warsaw 1935, Main Military Bookshop), *It began from under the Solferino*, *Concerning the Red Cross* (Warsaw 1937), *Cherry flower* (Poetry) (Warsaw 1939, F. Hoesick).

<sup>4</sup> <http://myslkonserwatywna.pl/antoni-boguslawski/> — access: 10.04.2017.

<sup>5</sup> *Franco-Prussian war 1870–1871, An introduction*, Warsaw 1925, Course in war history, vol. 2.

<sup>6</sup> The full title is: *The march for Vistula. Lectures given in a supplementary course at the Military Academy R.K.K.A. in Moscow 7–10 Feb. 1923*. Presented by Antoni Bogusławski certified major, Warsaw 1924. In 1989 an edition came out, which — just like the first one in 1924 which was in the Polish language. — it also contained the text of *1920 the Year* of Joseph Piłsudski. They constitute the two views of the 1920 war jointly published in one volume: *1920 the Year* of Józef Piłsudski, *1920 the Year* of Michał Tuchaczewski, Łódź Publishing Press, Łódź 1989.

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.polskieradio.pl/39/156/Artykul/1300528,Antoni-Boguslawski-%E2%80%93-literat-i-zolnierz> — access: 22.04.2017.

<sup>8</sup> *Death of Antoni Bogusławski...*, p. 4: „While available, “Daily” — I am...”, p. 318.

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.polishradio.pl/39/156/Article/1300528,Antoni-Boguslawski-%E2%80%93-literat-i-zolnierz> — access: 22.04.2017.

During the Second World War and after its completion he published: *Soldiers crib* (London 1940, “Soldiers Library”), *Field lover* (Poetry) (London 1940, M.I. Kolin; 2<sup>nd</sup> edition London 1942), *Mist before dawn* (Poetry), English translation L.E. Girlgud, (London 1942, Allen and Unwin), *In the English park* (London 1943, Kohorta, translated by the author), *Carillon* (Poetry) (London 1945, The World Association of Poles Living Abroad), *Strings on trees* (Poetry) (London 1948, ZPPnO), *Fables from worldwide* (London 1953, 1955), fairy tales adaptation (see footnotes nr 30). His works are conspicuous in several anthologies published in London and Warsaw. The most significant include: *The years of. Selections from Polish poets now in Britain* (English translation, F. Notley, London 1943, John Swain and Son), *Memories and reminiscences* (London 1945, Library “Yesterday and Today”), *Warsaw in songs. Poems and poetry*, compiled by M. Grydzewski (London 1947, A. Borman), *Living Mickiewicz. Joint publication*, compiled by H. Naglerowa (London 1955, B. Świdorski), *Memory of Jan Lechon* (London 1958, “News”), *Anthology of parachuting poetry* (London 1978, Association of Polish Paratroopers), *Supplication of the war era. Anthology of polish religious poetry 1939–1945*, compiled by J. Szczyпка (Warsaw 1983, PAX), *Anthology of aviation poetry*, edited by P. Moskwa (London 1987, PFK).

This magnificent narrator, unparalleled mate leading an eventful social life was actively practising journalism from 1931, as a member of the “Warsaw courier” company where he was editor of the best in the country (apart from Janusz Korczak’s supplement in “Our Review”) — children’s supplement until 1939, when he published poems, stories, critiques. He ran a radio broadcast for soldiers under the auspices of the Military Scientific Institute, as well as being one of the first sports commentators of the Polish radio.

After the outbreak of the World War II, he got back into the uniform and reported as a volunteer into the army. He was enlisted to the very close staff of general Władysław Sikorski, his longstanding friend with whom he shared common personal and political views. They reached Paris together and to Great Britain after the French capitulation. Bogusławski was the head of military censorship, commander of the press section (1943–1945)<sup>10</sup>, as well as the head of Polish war correspondents until the abolishment of the Polish Armed Forces in the west. After the war he served as head of the Association of Polish Journalists in Exile (1945–1947) and Union of Polish Writers Abroad (1949). He interacted with most of the polish emigration magazines. From 1945 he became a member of the “Polish Daily and Soldiers’ Daily” Foundation, which was established with the purpose of ensuring the daily circulation of the magazines in Great Britain (after the withdrawal of recognition for the polish government in exile by the alliances) and its permanent editor<sup>11</sup>. In recognition of

<sup>10</sup> While available “Daily” — *I am...* joint publication under editor, K. Bzowska, London 2000, p. 99.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 123–124.

his accomplishments in maintaining the continuity of magazine circulation he was appointed Board Chairman of this Foundation (1945–1956)<sup>12</sup>. In 1954 he received the Union of Polish Writers Abroad<sup>13</sup> award. At the emigration school of political and social studies in London, he gave lectures in journalism laying emphasis on ethics, diligence, honesty and courage needed in the execution of this profession<sup>14</sup>.

In London, Colonel Boguslawski in a natural manner joined an editorial staff of “The Polish Journal”, created on the 12<sup>th</sup> of July 1940, the journal being an official agenda of the Ministry of Information and Documentation of the Polish Government in exile<sup>15</sup>. The editorial board stated then: “In the present state of war a (written) word constitutes a weapon as powerful as tanks and aeroplanes. [...] The Polish expatriate community is a fraction of the (Polish) Nation [...]. May the Journal at least partially substitute for Polish books to the expatriate Polish masses and army units”<sup>16</sup>.

A large part of Polish community in exile, both military men and civilians, belonged to the intelligentsia and, being accustomed to reading as such, couldn't cope without books. In the Polish Daily Antoni Boguslawski expressed his sheer admiration and recognition to both the Kolin Company for publishing classical Polish literature, being in the highest demand at that moment, and to “The Polish News” paper for reprinting “the most valuable pieces of prose and poetry”<sup>17</sup>. Apart from the classical Polish literary works, Polish emigrants were interested in the contemporary Polish literature in exile, describing the latest events and a war-determined fate. The connection with Poland was scarce, besides, the German occupant authorities had closed existing Polish publishing houses and flooded the country with agitational literary works of low quality, designed to serve propaganda purposes. Publishing achievements of the Underground Movement were rather modest. Therefore it became evident more than ever that it was the community in exile which would shoulder the responsibility of representing Polish literature. Literary men were largely represented in the emigrant community. In 1941 Boguslawski counted approximately 200 journalists and literary men in the emigrant army itself. It should be said that working conditions concerning literary field were very difficult. The atmosphere of nervousness, the necessity of setting oneself up from the scratch in an unknown country made focussing on writing much more difficult. Boguslawski, being a literary man himself, stated:

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<sup>12</sup> While available, “Daily” — *I am...*, pp. 16, 23, 318; *Small dictionary of polish writers in exile 1939–1980...*, p. 38.

<sup>13</sup> R. Wasiak-Taylor, *History of the Association of Polish writers in exile awards 1951–2011*, London 2011, p. 20.

<sup>14</sup> Z. Nowakowski, *Colonel!* “Polish Daily and Soldiers’ Daily” 1956, no. 219, p. 27.

<sup>15</sup> J. Chwastyk-Kowalczyk, *London „Polish Daily” 1940–1943*, Kielce 2005, p. 27.

<sup>16</sup> *From editorial board*, “Polish Daily” 1940, no. 1, p. 3.

<sup>17</sup> A. Boguslawski, *Leading Poland for emigration*, “Polish Daily” 1941, no. 198, p. 3.

Creating poetry, based on a brilliant literary device, yet more consistent in its nature thus letting polish a poem faster, is the least of our worries. Creating a short story, describing a fragment, an episode of life, is the least of our worries. Even creating a theatrical piece — if there were people to stage and play it, is the least of our worries. [...] The greatest difficulties pile up when it comes to creating a novel<sup>18</sup>.

Bogusławski understood that the writing process was interrupted by conditions of war, by “each (dropping) bomb, every piece of news in a daily paper. Really, one cannot blame novel writers for staying silent”. A fragment of literary spectrum in “The Polish Journal” in the years 1940–1943 constituted poems, short stories, novels in instalments, personal diaries, essays, literary features and reportages<sup>19</sup>.

It should be noted that the war fate made many poets cross the borders and they managed to arrive in Paris in the spring of the year 1940. In one of his papers Bogusławski pointed out that out of more than twenty poets who took part in a big literary soiree in the Polish Library in Paris only a small fraction found their place in the British environment<sup>20</sup>. Others dispersed widely and seldom made their voice heard. Poets Kazimierz Wierzyński, Jan Lechoń, Julian Tuwim and Józef Wittlin were in America. Their poems were published in “The Polish News” from time to time only, as war conditions hindered regular contacts. In both Americas a considerable publishing movement had existed, yet it was beyond grasp of the Polish refugees. Pieces of the European publishing appeared in America only occasionally. Hence in 1941 the Polish publishing houses in Great Britain shouldered the necessity of representing the Polish literature. This is the reason why “The Polish News”, “The Fighting Poland” and — partially “The Polish Daily” let poets publish their works. According to Bogusławski, the most important were small collections of poems, novels and short stories, essays and historical dissertations, as they made visible the transformation of creators, who faced war-induced exile and traumatic experiences.

Until the end of December 1940 there was no indication that poems would become a permanent part of the governmental paper. The first harbinger of this tendency was the poem by Antoni Bogusławski entitled *A golden oriole*, being a reminiscence of the lost Poland<sup>21</sup>. From then on the mentioned poet supported The Polish Daily with his poems, he penned reviews, discussed different aspects of the literary life in exile, and last but not least, created The Supplement for Children.

The vast majority constituted works applauding the notion of serving the Polish nation, describing the beauty of the local Polish nature (the poem entitled *Crocuses*),

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> See Appendix in: J. Chwastyk-Kowalczyk, *London “Polish Daily” 1940–1943*, Kielce 2005, p. 27.

<sup>20</sup> A. Bogusławski, *Polish poetry in emigration*, “Polish Daily” 1941, no. 364, p. 2.

<sup>21</sup> A. Bogusławski, *Golden oriole*, “Polish Daily” 1940, no. 140, p. 3.



the yearning for Poland, occasional poetry, concerning Catholic feasts, such as *On the Candlemass*, *The Eternal Mana*, *The All Souls Poem — a prayer for a sword*. Bogusławski in his poem entitled *The Service* commands to his compatriots:

If by wandering in distant countries  
 It is forgotten about the homeland servitude  
 If for a while it might seem to you  
 You have got to the port, and not on a journey,  
 If you have forgotten about the shameless violence  
 The subjugated agony and bleeding wounds —  
 Let Pilsudski's apparition curse you  
 Somewhere in the Savanna, shattered with a broadsword!  
 If you serve only yourself and not the homeland,  
 If selfishness tarnishes the holy cause,  
 If you are cognizant of your bragging —  
 Not in dignity recalling the martyrdom of Warsaw,  
 And if surrendering to self-serving demons that tarnish agreements and churn up efforts,  
 Then let spirit of Kosciuszko in ambush spurn you!  
 Serve, as did serve in the years back your fore-fathers — the only mighty ones,  
 The omnipotent woman, who, by virtue of her care,  
 While she could, protected her sons,  
 Like Dąbrowski, the Legion soldier,  
 You are, by the fate of war, destined to sacrifice your life,  
 Proud of your blood and not sparing your head,  
 If you want come back to Poland in fame!<sup>22</sup>

In another poem entitled *Crocus* Bogusławski, strolling along the streets of London, nostalgically recalled the flowers of Zakopane:

Crowd of flowers, lily smiling,  
 Spurting goblets and lawn wilderness.....  
 Crocus [..]  
 I am under the impression that the crocus flowers are being crowded in  
 [...] as if they are waning<sup>23</sup>.

When Poles and their allies entered the fourth year of the war, conscious of the incessant fight on all fronts, as well as the various means employed by compatriots, Bogusławski offered his support for their fighting spirit:

<sup>22</sup> A. Bogusławski, *The Service*, "Polish Daily" 1941, no. 147, p. 3.

<sup>23</sup> A. Bogusławski, *Crocus*, "Polish Daily" 1941, no. 211, p. 3.



Up to the very end before breathing the dead beat  
 Will remember this moment of the rousing town  
 The first standing [...]  
 Instigating [...]  
 Gleam of swords, fluttering lances with Uhlan proportions,  
 Embodied appeal to the military —  
 We, the first Krechowiecki bone for bone from Warsaw!<sup>24</sup>

Antoni Bogusławski, in several emigration magazines during and after the war insisted on the best of Polish literature for children. Already in 1940 during the Christmas time, he enclosed a special 8-page, separately numbered supplement to volume nr 142 of the Polish Daily of December 24<sup>th</sup> entitled, *To Polish children in Great Britain at Christmas in 1940*. The author of the text was Antoni Bogusławski while the drawings were undertaken by Irena Łukaszewicz and Marian Walentynowicz. Bogusławski was the good children literature ambassador, as well as the chaperon of children.

On the first page (of the supplement) it reads:

We publish this editorial created especially for you, so that you could recall Christmas in Poland. Let your thoughts reach our Homeland and those who stayed there. We encourage you to think warmly of your peers [...] Poor Polish children. The enemies would like to make those children in their image. But it won't come to pass! As one cannot turn a baby eagle into a raven chick or a lion cub into a wolf cub, one won't change a Polish child into a German child or a Russian one. During the previous long period of national bondage, which your parents recall, our enemies tried to Germanize us, to Russify us, but they didn't manage to do so. This is why, when the time came, we regained freedom for our independent homeland. We never ceased being Poles, we never gave up neither our faith nor the language of our fathers, we were ready to act. We remind you of these facts, as we want you to know how important it is to preserve our mother tongue.[...] The Nation which kept its mother tongue, holds the key to its own prison! [...] Remember to learn hard, in our Country the enemy in order to dishearten the nation, shut down many schools or opened up facilities in which false things are taught. Please take advantage of living in a free, enlightened country, where science is kept on a very high level, living in the country where no one persecutes you. Everything you've learnt here will be needed and appreciated in Poland<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> A. Bogusławski, *Revenge (Recollection of 1918)*, "Polish Daily" 1943, no. 658, p. 6.

<sup>25</sup> "Polish Daily" 1940, nr 142 — supplement for children; *For Polish Children in Great Britain at Christmas Time 1940*, p. 1.

After a compulsory fusion — due to political reasons — fusion of the governmental Polish Journal and “Soldiers Journal”, published in Scotland in December 1943<sup>26</sup>, for many years monthly there would have been published the supplement named “The Polish Journal for Children”<sup>27</sup>, secured with great effort by Antoni Bogusławski. The first edition of the abovementioned supplement was published on the 31<sup>st</sup> of July 1950<sup>28</sup>. It contained poems, short stories, fairy tales from all over the world, riddles, Polish legends and folk tales, literary rebuses, adaptations, quizzes, Polish Christmas carols. One could find there also fragments of classical Polish literary works penned by notable authors, such as Adam Asnyk, Aleksander Fredro, Jan Kasprówicz, Maria Konopnicka, Ignacy Krasicki, Teofil Lenartowicz, Adam Mickiewicz, Władysław Orkan, Lucjan Rydel, Mikołaj Sęp-Sarzyński, Henryk Sienkiewicz, Stanisław Wyspiański. The supplement had regular columns — *A repetition of the history of Poland, We read by ourselves, We write by ourselves, 5 questions to elder children, intellectual puzzles for children, Answers from the editorial staff*. There were publications in that supplement by renowned authors and columnist, such as: Józef Bazylewicz, Maria Belina, Zofia Bohdanowiczowa, Antoni Bogusławski, Marian Czuchnowski, Mieczysław Lisiewicz, Beata Obertyńska, Tadeusz Nowakowski, Irena Poczoska, as well as: Anna Bogusławska, Jan Czerski, Halina Dubicka, Ada Dziewanowska, St. Eichler, Professor Tadeusz Felsztyn, Adolf Fierla, Szymon and Pelagia Firanek, Stanisław Jachowicz, Alina Kaczmarska, Alfred Kolator, M.L. Kolbuszewska, Zofia Kozarynowa, J.A. Kozłowski, Stefan Legeżyński, Tadeusz Kryśka-Karski, Teodozja Lisiewicz, Barbara Mękarska-Kozłowska, Władysław Olszowski, Jadwiga Otwinowska, A. Parys-Lewicka, Maria Przybytek, Stanisława Rogalska, Jerzy (George) Rutkiewicz, Edward Skalski, H. Smoleńska, Józef Smoleński, Ludwik Stańczykowski, H. Suchos, Józef Szkudłowski, Krystyna Szymańska, Janina Wiedman, Jerzy Żuławski.

On the 19<sup>th</sup> of July 1955 the editorial staff of joint “The Polish Daily and Soldiers’ Daily” announced that the supplement for children would be published not monthly, but every three weeks<sup>29</sup>. Since 1959 the supplement, re-named “The Children’s Weekly”<sup>30</sup>, transformed later into “The Children and youth’s weekly”, became a part of a bigger supplement, a Saturday edition called “The Polish Week”<sup>31</sup>. The content of youth editorial supplement created authors mentioned above. The volume of the supplement diminished gradually through the years, finally reaching half a page. With

<sup>26</sup> See: J. Chwastyk-Kowalczyk, *London “Polish Daily and Soldiers’ Daily” 1944–1989. Daily Newspaper as a means of cultural communication media*, Kielce 2008.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 482; see: J. Sakowski, *Antoni Bogusławski*, “Polish Daily and Soldiers’ Daily” 1956, no. 212, p. 2.

<sup>28</sup> “Polish Daily” *For Children*, “Polish Daily and Soldiers’ Daily” 1950, no. 180, p. 3.

<sup>29</sup> *Editorial classified advertisement*, “Polish Daily and Soldiers’ Daily” 1955, no. 170, p. 3.

<sup>30</sup> “Polish Daily and Soldiers’ Daily” 1959, no. 9, p. 11.

<sup>31</sup> *Weekly for children and the youth*, “Polish Daily and Soldiers’ Daily” 1978, no. 147, p. 11.

the time passing by, increasingly more literary works were published anonymously, still, the supplement kept the spirit of patriotic upbringing and tradition, basing on the literature and history of Poland. The succeeding generation of young Poles living in Great Britain has more and more assimilated, hence the existence of the supplement for the emigrant children and youth, aiming at preserving Polish culture and tradition, seemed to lessen in value, no longer needed. In the mid-1978, on the 24<sup>th</sup> of June the said supplement was published for the last time<sup>32</sup>.

The Polish generation “the indomitable” that settled in Great Britain after the II World War boasts of several publication initiatives<sup>33</sup>. In the interim period lasting to the first half of the 50s in the XX century, there was an ongoing discussion among the Polish diaspora in the press, concerning the subject of “returning or not returning” to the homeland. During this period a former Polish armed forces officer in the West, simultaneously a poet — Antoni Bogusławski, drew his attention to the subject of children and youth upbringing in the national spirit<sup>34</sup>. He envisaged the continuation of Polish life in emigration for this generation. He wondered how long and in which direction Polish emigration could benefit the homeland that had fallen under communist rule. He never denied the fact that assimilation in the new country of abode could be attractive. His main cause of concern was related to the possibilities of existing conditions and realities not being favourable for the emigrants. In his opinion the impact of the foreign schools and society should be taken into consideration. He cited the cases of the peasants’ economic emigration to the USA who, after the fourth generation still maintain the mother tongue. He further

<sup>32</sup> This topic has from different perspectives appeared in the following publications: J. Chwastyk-Kowalczyk, *London “Polish Daily” 1940–1943*, Kielce 2005; J. Chwastyk-Kowalczyk, *London “Polish Daily and Soldiers Daily” 1944–1989. Daily Newspaper as a means of cultural communication transmission*, Kielce 2008; J. Chwastyk-Kowalczyk, *Katyń, dipisi, PKPR in the Polish emigration press*, Kielce 2011; J. Chwastyk-Kowalczyk, *Education of Poles in exile in the emigration magazines*, Kielce 2014; J. Chwastyk-Kowalczyk, *“Technology and Science” — elite magazine of the Association of Polish Technicians in Great Britain*, Kielce 2015; O.S. Czarnik, *“On the way to the lost Itaka”*, Warszawa 2012; M. Danilewicz-Zielińska, *Essays about the literary of exile*, Paris 1978; R. Habielski, *Emigration “The News” (1940–1981)*, Warszawa 1991; *While available “Daily” — I am.....* joint publication under editor, K. Bzowska, London 2000; *Polish literature in exile*, editor, J. Bujnowski, vol. 4, London 1988; *Polish literature in exile 1940–1960*, editor, T. Terlecki, vol. 1 — London 1964, vol. 2 — London 1965; *Poland beyond Poland, Report of the III Congress of Polish culture in exile*, editor, K. Rowiński, London 1998; T. Radzik, *History of the Polish community in Great Britain after the II World War (1945–1990)*, Lublin 1991; J. Kowalik, *World Index of Polish Periodicals Published Outside of Poland Since September 1939*, vol. 1–5, Lublin 1976, 1988; J. Zabielska, *Bibliography of books in Polish or relating to Poland published outside Poland since September 1st 1939*, vol. 1: 1939–1951, London 1954 and continuation: vol. 8, *Supplements to 1939–1982*, London 2001.

<sup>33</sup> A. Bogusławski, *Publication for children*, “Polish Daily and Soldiers’ Daily” 1948, no. 82, p. 2.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

ascertained that Polish emigration after the Second World War in Great Britain still functions, but under different conditions. It is above all, intellectual emigration that involves the requirement of a high level of intellectual responsibilities from Poles. He regarded the maintenance of an independent scouting movement as the most important activity which will, otherwise, have been the continuation of the pre-war scouting movement. The Warsaw regime with its ideological restrictions would have ruled them out as an international movement and replace them with their own youth organizations. He outlined the significance of the family, which “must be integrally Polish” that is conscious upbringing in the national spirit, speaking Polish, subscription for Polish magazines as well as encouraging children and the youth to read Polish literature. He required young Poles to be sent to Saturday schools and scouting camps. He believed they would come back home in full strength as the incoming next generation.

Antoni Bogusławski deading with the shortage of good children literature in his works, observed that the young generation in the near future, would be assimilated and depart from their roots. He was not alone in this point of view. This opinion in articles was shared by academicians, educationalists as well as feature writers. During the ten-year period of the emigration magazines, such as: “News”, “White Eagle”, “Polish Daily and Soldiers Daily”, “Lviv and Vilnius” the most staunch defender of the Polish language was professor Ignacy Wieniewski. Polish children and youth, their education and upbringing in a patriotic spirit in addition to the love for the Polish language were the subjects of special attention in emigration. Michał Goławski in the London “Polish Daily and Soldiers’ Daily” expressed the view that “the purpose of teaching and upbringing should be the education of the young generation for independent Poland, maintenance of Polish cultural links with the western culture, learning and moulding future social and cultural activists, champions of independence attainment idea”<sup>35</sup>.

Bogusławski often appeared in the “Polish Daily” and later in the “Polish Daily and Soldiers’ Daily” with his works, as well as supplements for children and the youth in both magazines. From where the idea of the adaptation of the four classical fairy tales was engendered. They were: *Snowball princesses, Red Hood, Cinderella, Dwarf Izydor and Teddy bear*, published as — Antoni Bogusławski, *Red Hood, Dwarf Izydor and Teddy bear, Cinderella, Snowball princesses*, London 1955, Tern Book (Rybitwa)<sup>36</sup>. According to the “Daily’s” reviewer hiding behind the initials

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<sup>35</sup> M. Goławski, *Education of children in exile is an urgent national matter*, “Polish Daily and Soldiers’ Daily” 1951, no. 179, p. 3.

<sup>36</sup> The former adaptations A. Bogusławski were not presented in “Polish Daily and Soldiers’ Daily”: *Fairy tales from the world*, London 1953, 1955, *Baba Jaga*, London 1954, Tern Book (Rybitwa), *Princess Margaret*, London 1954, Tern Book (Rybitwa), *Wolf and the 7 billy goats*, London 1954, Tern Book (Rybitwa) — after *Small dictionary of polish writers in exile 1939–1980...*, p. 39.

B.M., they were “written in good Polish language in the poetry prose perspective, suitable for children. A child can learn Polish language from them”<sup>37</sup>.

The urgent problem of creating difficult literature for children, the necessity of writing patriotic poems, especially for the younger Polish generation that had never been to the homeland were also undertaken by Zygmunt Nowakowski.<sup>38</sup> He lamented “the country’s poems for the children are dreadful for a hoof having a six-year plan as a topic, tractors, Bierut and the red flag”, appealed publicly in the daily to “the Lechons and Wierzyńskis, to the Balińskis and Hemars, to Bohdanowiczowa, to the Bogusławskis and Łobodowskis, to all good, real poets that we have a lot of. Ladies and gentlemen, write something nice. After all, it is for children! For Polish children in exile! There is need for a strong Vitamin P”<sup>39</sup>. It must be mentioned that shortage of emigration publication for children has been an issue for columnists of the Paris “Culture”. Zofia Romanowiczowa warned against the adoption of foreign models by the young Polish generation, diverging from Polishness and the mother tongue:

How can we lay emphasis on these few books poorly illustrated,  
 Printed in small letters, thus illegible, of elaborated and  
 Pretentious content, senile or inept, just any. Writings are rather  
 becoming guide books for teachers again, who are under  
 permanent terror of academic anniversaries, that constitute  
 no attractions for children, in no case therefore can they equal  
 the magnitude of attraction that “Tintin” or Mickey Mouse<sup>40</sup>.

It was only during his emigration to London that Antoni Bogusławski started writing novels. They were initially printed in installments in the “Polish Daily and Soldiers Daily”<sup>41</sup>. In 1951 in volumes 49–69 — *Fiodor*, a novel about a Russian soldier Fiodor with the outbreak of the January uprising as background. It came out entitled *Fiodor, Picture* in 1956 in Hove by Calder House. The author wrote about what he had good knowledge of, that is the spirit in the Russian army, the mentality of the Russian soldier. It portrays an unhappy man, his reclusion, behaviour according to natural instincts while in captivity. The second novel entitled *Here and there* in the same year in volumes 226–298. The background consists of the events of the Stanisławowska’s era, where the author takes the reader to Patiokin, Suworow, Istanbul, Venice, Poland near Zieleń. He presents characters having enough

<sup>37</sup> B.M., *Four fairy tales A. Bogusławski*, “Polish Daily and Soldiers’ Daily” 1956, no. 81, p. 2.

<sup>38</sup> Z. Nowakowski, “*Staś stained the dress...*”, “Polish Daily and Soldiers’ Daily” 1956, no. 81, p. 2.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> Z. Romanowiczowa, *Vitamin P*, „Kultura” 1956, no. 5/103, p. 97.

<sup>41</sup> See Table 1 Novels, memories, commonplace books coming out in installments in “Polish Daily and Soldiers’ Daily” in the years 1944–1989, in J. Chwastyk-Kowalczyk, *London “Polish Daily and Soldiers’ Daily” 1944–1989...*, p. 183–184.

knowledge of the realities of the period, especially of Russians and Russian soldiers. The publication came out in London in 1963 and was financed by the Polish Cultural Foundation. The last novel *January again* was printed in the daily in 1953 in volumes 99–115. It gives an account of the school strike in 1905 in Warsaw, full memories of the youthful days where biographies interweave with fiction. The publication came out in London in 1961 at the Hornsey Printers. In 1959 the novel entitled *Palace and the sword* came out in London published by “Veritas”.

Antoni Bogusławski took an active part in Polish emigration magazines as a literary critic. As a permanent reviewer of “Polish Daily” and later of the “Polish Daily and Soldiers’ Daily”, he repeatedly emphasized in his statements that various books sent from different parts of the world to Great Britain (though not possessing bookshop significance, as they came in single copies), indicate the vitality of the Polish spirit showing signs of its existence in the literary field during the wandering on earth. That is why according to him they deserve to be discussed. He on several occasions he made complex reviews of newly published volumes of poems and prose<sup>42</sup>. He highly valued all of the Jerzy Pietrkiewicz’s novels, Stanisław Baliński’s poems and Antoni Słonimski’s poems (before he left for Poland)<sup>43</sup>.

He did not spare severe criticism of the newly published novels in contemporary times. An instance constitutes the sensational publication by Aleksandra Junoszy-Gałeczki entitled *I accuse* (London 1941 Milder and Sons) — Bogusławski accuses the novel of lacking literary value: “Polish language — lacklustre, ordinary, how distant it is from the splendid models of Reymont or Zeromski. The structure is flawed. The author leads a person who is lost during action [...]”<sup>44</sup>. The content itself was based on the fate of civilians evacuated from Poland whose journey was hampered by the war. The reviewer accuses the author of shallowness and triviality. “From Poland only the crowded roads are mentioned. In Romania (where the heroes spent nine months) — there was nothing. In France — only the reception at the border and the medical commission, during the French defeat. With the arrival in England — only a small group of soldiers, lots of French forces etc.”<sup>45</sup> Bogusławski was irritated by the solemn conclusion, in which Janusz-Gałeczki condemned everyone and everything: those in Poland, France, those who arrived in Great Britain, Bogusławski ascertained that if the author of this book “should take it to the homeland today he would have brought a lot of joy, but not to the compatriots”. He acknowledges this novel as worthless and harmful, as “a little part of the truth has been presented as the whole truth”. Another novel entitled *Tenement of red bricks* written by Kazimierz Lipnicki (London 1941, Milder and Sons; author of the cover Marian Smarzewski)

<sup>42</sup> For example: A. Bogusławski, *Poland in emigration*, “Polish Daily” 1941, no. 198, p. 3.

<sup>43</sup> A. Bogusławski, *Word of two poets*, “Polish Daily” 1942, no. 514, p. 3.

<sup>44</sup> A. Bogusławski, *Polish novel in emigration*, “Polish Daily” 1941, no. 198, p. 3.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.



— dedicated to the pre-war Łódź, does not satisfy the reviewer. He accuses the author, that in the Reymont's *Promised land*, after *Miss Mery Tetmajer*, his novel is pale, anaemic and devoid of honour" in short, boring; full of language errors, literary deficient.

A lot of noise and confusion in the Polish diaspora was caused by the book entitled *The road goes through Narvik* written by Ksawery Pruszyński (London 1941, M.I. Kolin). In the emigration press it was severely criticized by Stanisław Mackiewicz and Antoni Bogusławski. The poet observed that this "novel" was about a map of the road covered by the Podhalians beneath the Narvik, as well as the dedication of his team which gives this novel an element of authenticity<sup>46</sup>. The contents — the facts are interwoven with imagined or so varied that they cease to be true. But the reader has to remain with the belief that everything is true. For "contriving" the reviewer also observed that the author usurps in the preface the exclusive right of representing "junior officers from France", who are supposed to be significantly different from other Polish soldiers, professional junior officers, especially about the announced and printed in instalments the writer's works, which, thanks to the pen, became a type of enfant terrible of Polish journalism in Great Britain. Bogusławski discovered another literary shortcoming committed by Pruszyński — the division of the characters into "black" and "white", into good and bad. The good ones are obviously the "junior officers from France", the bad ones are — adherents of Piłsudski, enemy number one of those "junior officers from France". With regards to other soldiers, they have barely been referred to. Only one remains a positive type, an old trouper of the red army in Spain, an enemy of all officers. Bogusławski accuses Pruszyński that in his *Narvik* novel there is not a single positive account of officers. The general commander — "parader without feelings", during a funeral ceremony of his soldiers filmed their coffins for fun; the company commander — even — and not foolish, but hard, unapproachable, without feelings; platoon commander — blockhead, disloyal to subordinates, sheltering traiters, regretting the scoundrel slaughter. Only one, a little better, but briefly protectively treated. He odium of these is transferred to everything shown and associated with professional military service. A professional junior officer, who was seen for a while, just before his death — was their younger brother. Professional sergeant — is a German spy. Bogusławski did not hide his outrage, that all this was against the background of the suggestion of an instilling reader, that the truth was spoken about Narvik. The reviewer pondered over the reason why Pruszyński presented so much falsehood, "what is the sick fantasy, with such hatred, chasing anyone that fate has put in a high military position"<sup>47</sup>. He added that in Poland there were different military groups, such as Legionaries, general Dowbor group, general Haller group, but there was no military cast system. He asserted that

<sup>46</sup> A. Bogusławski, *New books published in London*, "Polish Daily" 1941, no. 350, p. 4.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*



he was not consciously harmfully accusing Pruszyński, but only postulating that the writer “controlled the movement of his pen”, as it is the responsibility of each writer during the war. Bogusławski however appreciated the artistic description of the battle and heroic death of junior officer Płużański, being the work of fantasy, so good that the reviewer would not hesitate “to print it in schoolreaders”. He regreted that a good pen downgrades low feelings of hatred.

Antoni Bogusławski praised the talent, the ability to observe and faithfully report on important events, to describe severe, irreparable damages to the dignity on both personal and national levels, shown in a war diary penned by Marta Wańkowiczówna (Bogusławski did not mention the title of the diary, 1941)<sup>48</sup>. The author of the diary described her experiences from a hospital in the town of Chełm, the hospital in which she started her service on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of September 1939. It was there where she survived the Bolshevich occupation and the beginning of the Nazi occupation. Only the beginning of the latter, as upon their arrival the Germans brutally dissolved existing voluntary sanitary personnel. Then Maria Wańkowicz fled and managed to get to the U.S.

Bogusławski with tenderness gave his attention to the volume of poems by Józef Łobodowski, entitled *With the smoke of fires*, reminded Poles in exile of this talented poet, eager to live and act, yet left over in harsh conditions in France<sup>49</sup>. Bogusławski emphasized that despite (his) meagre existence, Łobodowski penned poems of great literary and patriotic value. [Łobodowski], the author of *A conversation with Homeland* and of *The Demons of the Night* “feels deeply and describes in strong terms the torment of Poland and the Poles during war, sings out his yearning for the land surrounding the city of Lublin”. Bogusławski thought that great simplicity of those poems made them very accessible to a reader in exile: “It is really a poetry of those in exile, deep and true, panting with and emanating intensely pain of separation. Bogusławski called for dissemination of that poetry among his compatriots, as he deemed that poetry worth it”.

Bogusławski tirelessly engaged himself into different polemics in the emigrant press, he took up different issues of the current emigrant journalism. He participated in the socio-cultural life of the Polish diaspora in the United Kingdom till the end of his life.

Antoni Bogusławski died at the age of 67 in London on the 31<sup>st</sup> of August 1956. On behalf of cultural spheres of the Polish community in London the notorious publicist Zygmunt Nowakowski addressed the valediction, he who called Bogusławski “the Grand Guardian of the Polish speech (language)! (and) the Romantic Poet”. On behalf of the Polish Army (in exile) the last speech was delivered by general

<sup>48</sup> Given under the pseudonym Marta Łużycówna, *In a hospital under occupations. Diary of polish sisters of mercy*, Chicago 1941; see: J. Czach, vol. 2, p. 140, pos. 5646.

<sup>49</sup> A. Bogusławski, *Successes of Polish books*, “Polish Daily” 1943, no. 1008, p. 2.

Marian Kukiel<sup>50</sup>. Friends of Bogusławski wrote in “The Polish Daily and Soldier’s Daily”, that the community in exile lost one of the most colourful and distinguished figures, a good and noble man:

Tony — as his friends could call him, a born storyteller [...] was a nonpareil example and embodiment of fortitude and strength of will. [...] It was evident that one could always count on Him. [...] He used to be a keen traditionalist as far as literary work was concerned. He frowned at even the slightest departure from the canon, which, in His opinion, cluttered the tradition-shaped path. He manifested predilection for a kind of Old Polish lustre. He combined in himself a lascivious, old-noble sense of humour »as if« taken from Jan Chryzostom Pasek, with a self-generated urban contemporary wit of Warsaw. The wit [...] of our youth and memories. Being an unparalleled companion, he has always had plenty witty anecdotes to tell.[...] He gained recognition as a writer no sooner than in exile. A born poet, he owned that acknowledgement to his pieces of prose published in »The Polish Daily«. “Those prose works” distinguished themselves with clarity of the Polish language and a “very” good sense of style, they combined sublime simplicity with anecdotal volubility. The same merits characterised his memoirs, articles, namely every small literary piece he penned. [...] He contributed to funding more generously »in comparison to other distinctions« literary prizes awarded by »The Polish Daily«. Bogusławski did not participate directly in the political life of the Polish community in exile. Yet, at numerous meetings he attended his opinions were listened to with attention. [...] He had an open mind and a sober judgement on everything. [...] He died as beautifully as he used to live<sup>51</sup>.

In October 1956 the Union of Polish Writers Abroad and the Association of Polish Stage Artists jointly organized a literary soiree, entitled “On a sabre and strophes”, dedicated to commemorate Antoni Bogusławski’s literary oeuvre. The soiree was held in the most representative chamber of the Sikorski Institute in London. As noted by a reporter from “the Polish Daily and a Soldier’s Daily”, the event was heavily attended, as huge crowds wanted to pay homage to the man respected even by his enemies<sup>52</sup>. Among those, who shared their memories of Antoni Bogusławski were: Tymon Terlecki, General Zygmunt Podhorski, Major Stefan Benedykt, Mieczysław Lisiewicz, Wojciech Wasiutyński and Władysław Prus-Olszowski. With regards to Bogusławski’s connections with theatre, as he belonged to the Polish Corps of Adaptation and Displacement, Bogusławski participated in 72 events, during which he read his poems to approximately 14000 spectators. At the literary soiree in 1956 poems by Bogusławski were read out loudly by Tola Korian and Wiesław Mirecki.

<sup>50</sup> Z. Nowakowski, *Colonel*, “Polish Daily and Soldiers’ Daily” 1956, no. 219, p. 2.

<sup>51</sup> J. Sakowski, *Antoni Bogusławski*, “Polish Daily and Soldiers’ Daily” 1956, no. 212, p. 2.

<sup>52</sup> (k.), *The literary soiree commemorating Antoni Bogusławski*, “Polish Daily and Soldiers’ Daily” 1956, no. 251, p. 3.