

JOLANTA GUZY-PASIAK

INSTYTUT SZTUKI, POLSKA AKADEMIA NAUK

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POLISH MUSICAL LIFE IN GREAT BRITAIN  
DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR<sup>1</sup>

**T**he most important chapter in the history of Polish emigrants to the United Kingdom was opened in mid-1940. It was then that fugitives from France, which had been conquered by Nazi Germany, arrived in London. Among them was the Polish government, which became the focus of political actions in support of the Polish cause. That moment was also a watershed. From then on until 1989 London would be for Poles – those living in Poland and those outside its borders – and for the entire world what Paris had been in the previous century.<sup>2</sup> During the Second World War, after France's fall in 1940, the Polish Government-in-exile and the Polish Armed Forces moved to London. Initially, there were around 30,000 Polish troops in Great Britain and around 3,000 civilians, but towards the end of the war the number rose to around 95,000 (Poles from General Anders' army, volunteers from both Americas, fugitives from Europe).<sup>3</sup> There emerged various associations and scholarly, cultural, religious and educational institutions as well as trade unions and charities (including the Polish Hearth and Polish Library). Many journals and newspapers, e.g. *Wiadomości Polskie* [Polish News] and *Dziennik Polski* [Polish Daily], were published regularly.

To quote Jacek Gołębiowski, who studies the Polish community abroad,

it should be said that what characterised the Polish community in Great Britain after the Second World War was an extraordinarily high percentage of intelligentsia and landed gen-

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1 I was able to conduct research in the archives of Polish institutions and other libraries in London thanks to a scholarship from the Robert Anderson Research Charitable Trust, London, United Kingdom. I am deeply grateful to the late Robert Anderson and to Howard Davies.

2 Jan Maciejewski, 'Historia obecności Polaków w Wielkiej Brytanii' [The history of Polish presence in Great Britain], article published on the website of the Jagiellonian University Polish Research Centre in London, [http://www.pon.uj.edu.pl/?page\\_id=104](http://www.pon.uj.edu.pl/?page_id=104), accessed 12 December 2018.

3 Tadeusz Radzik, *Z dziejów społeczności polskiej w Wielkiej Brytanii po drugiej wojnie światowej (1945–1990)* [From the history of the Polish community in Great Britain after the Second World War (1945–1990)], Lublin 1991, p. 9.

try (elites of the Second Polish Republic who had escaped the murderous hands of the Nazis and the communists). According to the data of the Polish Resettlement Corps, around 10,000 Polish émigrés had a higher vocational education qualifications [...]. This was the elite of the Polish nation, people whose sense of Polish identity, profound historical awareness and strong identification with the Catholic religion influenced the development and forms of activity of numerous Polish organisations in Britain, Polish schools and Polish press. The predominance of the intelligentsia among Polish emigrants contributed to the emigrants settling in big cities, with 80% of Poles settling in London, a true phenomenon<sup>4</sup>

(it is, therefore, quite understandable that the majority of the information presented below will concern the British capital).

Although there have been numerous studies exploring the history of emigration and the Polish community abroad, and although London is called the capital of the Polish émigré community, many topics remain virtually untouched, a fact deplored by historians.<sup>5</sup> Such topics include the presence of Polish music and the activity of Polish musicians in Great Britain during the Second World War, although it has to be added straight away that the other artistic disciplines (theatre, film), too, are yet to be sufficiently explored by scholars, in view of the huge corpus of publications devoted to émigré literature. Scholarly publications discussing the history of cultural institutions, the content of Polish journals published abroad and the work of eminent Poles often fail to include musical topics, which means that the picture of the cultural life of Poles living abroad often appears incomplete to us, musicologists (a notable exception is the article by Jolanta Chwastyk-Kowalczyk ‘Muzyka i teatr na łamach londyńskiego *Dziennika Polskiego* w latach 1940–1943’)<sup>6</sup>. The present article is the first attempt to provide a comprehensive – as much as the available sources allow – presentation of Polish music in Great Britain during the war, without any claims to completeness. On the contrary, the author hopes to prompt further studies into the history of migrations of artists and work on monographs on the various composers and performers. Undoubtedly, there is a need to bring this part of our musical culture to light, especially given the fact that interest in Polish music abroad has been growing in recent years.<sup>7</sup>

4 Jacek Jan Gołębiowski, ‘Elity polskie w Londynie po II Wojnie Światowej’ [Polish elites in London after the Second World War], *Studia Polonijne* 36 (2015), pp. 89–102.

5 For more on the subject, see Waldemar Grabowski, ‘Nieznany rząd Polski Walczącej 1939–1945’ [Unknown government of Fighting Poland 1939–1945], *Dzieje Najnowsze* 64 (2012) no. 2, pp. 153–156. The author complains about, among others, lack of a monograph devoted to the Ministry of Information and Documentation, which organised various propaganda campaigns. Were this gap to be filled, this would certainly benefit scholars studying émigré culture.

6 Words of appreciation should go to Jolanta Chwastyk-Kowalczyk for her pioneering study on music in one of the main émigré newspapers, ‘Muzyka i teatr na łamach londyńskiego *Dziennika Polskiego* w latach 1940–1943’ [Music and theatre in London’s ‘Dziennik Polski’ (‘Polish Daily’) in 1940–1943], *Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis / Studia ad Bibliothecarum Scientiam Pertinentia* 3 (2005), pp. 107–119.

7 See e.g. Beata Bolesławska-Lewandowska and Jolanta Guzy-Pasiak, eds., *Twórcy – źródła – archiwa*. [Creators – sources – archives], Warsaw 2017 (= *Muzyka polska za granicą* [Polish music abroad]).

The main institution attracting Poles in London was, practically from the beginning of the war, Ognisko Polskie [Polish Hearth], founded by Polish artists, scholars and writers, who applied to the British Council to create a Polish House in London. The house at 55 Prince's Gate, leased from Sir Frank Newnes, became the headquarters of the Polish Research Centre under the auspices of the Polish Relief Fund, thanks to the help of Lord Moyne, members of Chatham House and the Polish ambassador. On 10 December 1939 Ambassador Raczyński and Lord Lloyd signed a memorandum on the establishment of the Polish House and the Polish Library (the Polish Library has been constantly in operation since 1942, since 1967 as the Polish Library of the Polish Social and Cultural Association in London, specialising in collecting publications about Poland). Even before the official opening on 16 July 1940 by Prince George, Duke of Kent, in the presence of the President of the Republic of Poland Władysław Raczkiewicz, General Władysław Sikorski and Edward Earl of Halifax, on 6 March 1940 Ignacy Jan Paderewski gave a concert at Queen's Hall (destroyed during a bombing in 1941) under the auspices of the Polish Relief Fund in support of the Polish refugees and the Polish House.<sup>8</sup> The Hearth, located in the elegant district of South Kensington, was next to the Brompton Oratory – during the war and in the first few years after the war one of the most important Polish churches in the British capital. The club was the centre of social and cultural life of the émigré community. Unfortunately, apart from numerous references in the press and the literature concerning musical soirées and lectures organised there, it has proved impossible to determine their detailed repertoire or the list of performers.<sup>9</sup>

While evenings at the Polish club sought to integrate the community, concerts organised by the Polish Relief Fund were to raise funds to help those in need (an earlier event, featuring Paderewski, has already been mentioned). The stars of two such widely publicised concerts included the conductor Grzegorz Fitelberg, whose conducting style and interpretation were enthusiastically received. Praise also went to the young violinist Josef Hassid and a work composed by Michał Kondracki. In the extensive concert review one can read:

A concert in aid of the Polish Relief Fund on [1940] April 25 brought Gregor Fitelberg, formerly of the Warsaw Radio, to the platform of Queen's Hall. Rarely do we see a con-

8 My information about the history of the Polish Hearth comes from the institution's website (<http://www.ogniskopolskie.org.uk/about/history.aspx>, accessed 12 December 2018) and Anna Maria Stefanicka's book *Spieszmy z pomocą. Historia Towarzystwa Pomocy Polakom* [Let's rush to the rescue. The story of the Relief Society for Poles in London], London 2016, pp. 4–8.

9 For example, a press announcement of regular Tuesday concerts at 6.30 only said that there would be alternating performances by Polish and British artists, and that on 26 May 1942 the Polish Musicians of London would present songs and piano trios, 'London Concerts Source', *The Musical Times* 83 (1942) no. 1191 (May), pp. 159–160: 'The Polish Hearth Musical arrangements now consist of concerts on Tuesdays at 6.30 by Polish and British artists in alternation [...] Songs and Piano Trios will be given on May 26 by the Polish Musicians of London'.

ductor so sparing of gesture. He seemed bent on proving how little of the customary signalling was really needed to keep an orchestra like the London Philharmonic up to the mark. And a very convincing demonstration it was. Details of phrasing, rhythm and style took shape from within the orchestra, while the conductor watched and gave hints and now and then took active control as his practical sense required it. Thus the statement that the L.P.O. played Tchaikovsky's *Violin Concerto* and Beethoven's *Seventh Symphony* under the guidance of Mr. Fitelberg has more than the usual truth in its wording. The solo part of the Concerto was played by the young Polish violinist Josef Hassid. He showed an adult's grasp of the music and a technical assurance that betokened a special gift fostered by good training. National music was represented by a "Polish March" composed by Michał Kondracki out of marching songs of the Polish army. His method is original and sure-handed. The melodies are not presented separately and successively in the manner of many wrongly-named fantasias. They are worked together, with dovetailings and key-changes, or rather key-surprises, and modern off-the-note harmonies.<sup>10</sup>

Both this event and its second instalment (on 19 September) was broadcast by BBC Radio (Polish Relief Fund Concert, Part 1 and Part 2) – this time the BBC Orchestra was conducted by Sir Adrian Boult.

The BBC Radio played a huge role in the popularisation of the Polish repertoire and Polish artists, broadcasting complete performances. It is worth mentioning programmes featuring highly regarded artists like Maria Dońska – piano (11 June 1940, 17 December 1940, 18 January 1941, 19 August 1941, 3 May 1942), Alfred Orda – baritone (8 June 1942), Marian Zygmunt Nowakowski – bass (17 October 1943), Jerzy Sulikowski (3 May 1945), patriotically performing music by Chopin, Szymanowski, Moniuszko and Paderewski<sup>11</sup>. Polish composers were also performed by British artists. Arrangements of Polish folk dances for piano were presented by Tomasz Gliński and Wincenty Rapacki. There were also very frequent broadcasts of performances by the Polish-Austrian duo Marjan Rawicz and Walter Landauer, extremely popular at the time and presenting a lighter repertoire (Strauss' waltzes). It should be noted that from 1939 BBC Radio had a Polish service, which also broadcast cultural programme and on Sundays a programme devoted to music. National and religious holidays (e.g. 3 May Constitution Day, Christmas) received a special treatment on air, with patriotic concerts or Christmas carols being broadcast at the time.

The most important figure in professional musical life, responsible for representing Polish classical music in Great Britain was undoubtedly Tadeusz Jarecki. He was especially aware of the need to preserve national heritage during the war and expressed it in his statement in *The Times*: 'The case of Polish music is essentially a unique one. Because of the ban place upon it by Nazism all occupied Europe, it

10 'London Concerts Source', *The Musical Times* 81 (1940) no. 1167 (May), pp. 227–229.

11 Programmes broadcast by BBC Radio in 1923–2009 have been digitised and are available on <https://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk/>, accessed 12 December 2018. The website is the source of all information about BBC programmes presented in the article.

is doomed to oblivion as we look on, unless it can be kept alive in Britain'. Jarecki (born 1 January 1889 in Lviv, died 2 May 1956 in New York) deserves a separate study because of his artistic and organisational activities.<sup>12</sup> This eminent composer, conductor and journalist, who studied e.g. with Stanisław Niewiadomski in Lviv, and then in Russia and Germany, achieved success in the United States before the Second World War (as conductor and arranger of the National Broadcasting Company in New York). During the war he was active in the government of the Republic of Poland in London as department head at the Ministry of Information and Documentation (1940). As part of his official duties he founded and headed the Polish Musicians of London association (1940–43), which organised classical music concerts and published contemporary works by Polish composers. The organisation was instrumental in the founding of the London Polish String Quartet, led by Fryderyk Herman (and the fine violinist with Polish roots Suzanne Rozsa, invited to stand in for Fryderyk Herman, when he was ill: 'As my mother was Polish they reckoned I was an honorary Pole'<sup>13</sup>). Artists who played in the ensemble included Fryderyk Herman – violin, Zygmunt Dymant – violin, Zygmunt Jarecki (Tadeusz's brother) – viola/cello and Paul Blumenfeld – cello. Information about the group's performances (mostly in London's Wigmore Hall) did appear in the press (such as *The Times*, *Dziennik Polski*), but the scarce and random sources available at the moment prevent me from reconstructing the quartet's programme line or its tours. Tadeusz Jarecki himself appeared as a conductor, for example, leading the BBC Orchestra in Karłowicz's *Returning Waves* and 'Highlanders' Dances' from Moniuszko's *Halka* (1 January 1943, a concert broadcast by the BBC). He also had an opportunity to conduct his own *Suite* during a Polish evening featuring Stojowski's *Suite*, Karłowicz's *Lithuanian Rhapsody*, Wieniawski's *Violin Concerto* and Elgar's *Polonia*. Manchester's Hallé Orchestra was conducted then by Sir Harold Malcolm Sargent, with the young Polish violinist Ida Haendel appearing as the soloist.<sup>14</sup>

What became an extremely attractive form of promoting Polish art were the performances of the Anglo-Polish Ballet, founded by Czesław Konarski and Alicja Halamina in 1940, an ensemble supported by the Polish Government-in-exile and meant to manifest the Polish free spirit through energetic dances and colourful costumes – a task the company successfully accomplished, according to British critics.<sup>15</sup> The organisers of the enterprise had some serious stage experience under their belt (before the war Konarski was a member of the company Polish Ballet, led by Bronislava

12 Archive material associated with Jarecki can be found at the Indiana University, Bloomington, Cook Music Library Special Collections. For more of the musician, see e.g. Paul Krzywicki, *From Paderewski to Penderecki: The Polish musician in Philadelphia*, Raleigh, North Carolina 2016, pp. 323–324.

13 Margaret Campbell, 'Suzanne Rozsa – Violinist, teacher and co-founder of the Dumka Trio', *Independent* 20 (2005), 2 December 2005 (Obituaries).

14 'Music in the provinces', *The Musical Times* 83 (1942) no. 1192 (June), pp. 190–192.

15 Karen Eliot, *Albion's dance. British ballet during the Second World War*, Oxford 2016, p. 104.

Nijinska), but less so in the finances and soon the group began to be managed by the entrepreneur Jan Cobel. The ensemble performed every day, giving also two matinées and touring various towns and cities in Britain. It is, therefore, not surprising that after two years the company already celebrated its 500th performance.<sup>16</sup> It is by no means easy to determine its repertoire, because although the performances were either announced or reviewed in the press, the information given there was often incomplete. As far as we know, during the war the ballet performed the following works: *Cracow Wedding* (choreography by Czesław Konarski, music arranged by Włodzimierz Launitz), *Pan Twardowski* [Polish 'Faust'] (choreography by Czesław Konarski, music arranged by Włodzimierz Launitz), *Umarł, Maciek umarł* [Maciek is dead] (choreography by Czesław Konarski, music by Tomasz Gliński), *Peasant Weekend* (choreography by Loda Halama, traditional music), *Swan Lake* (choreography by Marius Petipa, music by Peter Tchaikovsky), *Les Sylphides* (choreography by Michel Fokin, music by Fryderyk Chopin/Roy Douglas), *Le Spectre de la rose* (choreography by Michel Fokin, music by Carl Maria von Weber/Hector Berlioz).<sup>17</sup>

Information about publishing activities in Great Britain during the war is provided by bibliographic databases and reviews published in journals.<sup>18</sup> Studies devoted to music were not numerous at the time – just a few monographs and a dozen or so editions of classical music scores. Nor was the Polish-language press full of articles dealing with music, limiting itself usually to providing concert life reports – worthy of note in this respect is *Dziennik Polski*, which informed its readers about both important artistic events and jubilees of eminent composers.<sup>19</sup>

The most important Polish composer, from the point of view of both his compatriots in occupied Poland, where his music was banned, and the British, was Fryderyk Chopin. There were several monographs devoted to him and published in the analysed period: Gerald Abraham's *Chopin's musical style* (London 1942 Oxford University Press, reprint from 1939) and Tadeusz Alf Tarczyński's *Homage to Chopin. Hold Chopinowi* (Glasgow 1942 Książnica Polska), and Törnborn Gösta Zetterberg's

16 'Nowy Rok w polskim balecie' [New year in Polish ballet], *Wiadomości* 3 (1942) no. 1, p. 5.

17 The repertoire is partly included in *The London stage 1940–1949: A calendar of productions, performers, and personnel*, ed. J.P. Wearing, 2nd ed., Littlefield 2014. Joy Camden, a dancer in the Anglo-Polish Ballet mentioned some titles in her memoirs: 'We had a program – *Sylphides* [...]. *Divertissement*, in which we did Birger Bartholin's *Satire espagnol*. And also I did solos and the final thing was *Cracow wedding* which was a fantastic Polish ballet with the two Polish stars Halama and Knaski [sic] dancing the lead roles. We just packed the theatre and we brought the house down and then we set off on a fifty week tour of England in January 1941', see Joy Camden, *Survival in the dance world*, Bloomington, 2005, p. 25.

18 See *Rocznik bibliograficzny druków w języku polskim oraz w językach obcych o Polsce wydanych poza terytorium Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej / Bibliographical Year Book, Works in Polish and works relating to Poland, 1939–1943*, vols. 1–3, ed. Tadeusz Sawicki, Edinburgh 1943, as well as Jan Kowalik, *Bibliografia czasopism polskich wydanych poza granicami kraju od września 1939 roku* [A bibliography of Polish periodicals published abroad before September 1939], vol. 5, Lublin 1988 and Stanisława Lewandowska, *Prasa polskiej emigracji wojennej 1939–1945* [The press of the Polish war emigration 1939–1945], Warsaw 1993.

19 J. Chwastyk-Kowalczyk, op. cit.

*Chopin* (Stockholm 1943 Albert Bonniers) – published in Scandinavia, but reviewed in the London press.<sup>20</sup> Polish ballet, its history and main figures was examined in *Ballet – To Poland* edited by Arnold L. Haskell (London 1940 Adam and Charles Black), published as a testimony to the support for the Polish cause in Britain.

The Polish Musicians of London association published works by contemporary Polish composer in the Contemporary Polish Music series by the London music publishers J. and W. Chester Ltd. Works published in 1943 included Tadeusz Jarecki's *Fugato and Aria for Piano, Violin and Cello (or Viola)*, Michał Spisak's *Caprice No. 1. and No. 2 for Violin and Piano*, Antoni Szałowski's *Trio for Oboe, Clarinet and Bassoon*, Wawrzyniec Żuławski *Partita for Piano Solo*. Works by earlier Polish composers published by Książnica Polska in Glasgow (founded in 1940 and run by Jadwiga Harasowska) in 1941–42, included Stanisław Moniuszko's four-act *Halka* (orchestral score of the overture and piano score (reduction)), Mieczysław Karłowicz's *Six Songs* from op. 1, and a selection of Ignacy Jan Paderewski's songs from op. 18 (*Piper's Song* and *By Waters Mighty*). Chopin's songs from op. 74 (*Seventeen Polish Songs (opus 74) in their original keys with English and Polish words. Preface and English version by Jan. Śliwiński*) were published in 1941 by Paterson's Publications Ltd (today part of Novello & Co). Chopin's music inspired Richard Addinsell, when he composed his popular *Warsaw Concerto*, used in the British film *Dangerous Moonlight*;<sup>21</sup> the work was published in London in 1942 by Keith Prowse & Co., Ltd. The *Poradnik dla Pracowników Świetlic Żołnierskich* [Guide for the Staff of Soldiers' Clubs] published in 1941–45 by the Polish YMCA (Young Men Christian Association) had thematic supplements, including the 'Choice of Polish Music' featuring pieces by Polish composers from Mikołaj Gomółka, Wacław of Szamotuły to Karol Szymanowski and Roman Maciejewski.

The post-war reality meant that most of the scores published at the time were not of ambitious contemporary music nor music of earlier periods, but arrangements of soldiers', historical, folk and popular songs characterised by simple musical means suited to the capabilities of army bands, but conveying the spirit accompanying the soldiers of the Polish Armed Forces during the Second World War. Many of them were published by Jadwiga Harasowska's already mentioned Glasgow-based Książnica Polska, including *Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła* [Poland Is Not Yet Lost] (1940), *Jak to na wojence ładnie. Zbiór polskich pieśni żołnierskich i patriotycznych w łatwym układzie fortepianowym* ['It's so pretty in the war.' A Collection of Polish soldiers' and patriotic songs in easy arrangements for the piano] by J. Barański (1942), and Adam Harasowski's *Polish Christmas Carols. Najpiękniejsze polskie Kolendy* (1942) and *Kierunek: Wisła! Wiersze i Pieśni 1939–1942* [Destination: Vistula river! Poems and songs 1939–1942], by Adam Kowalski (1943). The London company M.I. Kolin (Publishers) Ltd., founded in 1940 (it operated until 1944) by Ignacy Lindenfeld

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 109.

<sup>21</sup> Directed by Brian Desmond Hurst.

(owner of Minerva Publ.) and Maurycy Kohn, the publisher of e.g. Mieczysław Grydzewski's *Wiadomości Polskie*, also published collections of Polish songs, from a reprint of Walerian Adamski's 1918 *Polski śpiewnik narodowy z melodiami* [Polish national songbook with melodies] (1940), to *Christmas Carols* (1940), *Memories of Poland (A collection of its best-loved melodies with English and the original Polish text*, reprint from 1937) arranged by Zygmunt Stojowski or Marian Hemar's famous song written in Latrun, Palestine,<sup>22</sup> *Karpacka Brygada* [Carpathian Brigade] (1943).

The repertoire was build up very quickly, with pre-war arrangements being sometimes reconstructed from memory, because there was not enough sheet music for soldiers' singing groups springing up everywhere. It is no coincidence that the question of the semi-amateur musical movement has been left until the end of the article, as it is clear that in this case it is not strictly artistic achievements that are to be judged but the huge significance of soldiers' and patriotic songs in bolstering the national spirit and the troops' morale. The most characteristic element of the soundscape of Polish émigrés in wartime Britain were national, patriotic and religious songs performed by soldiers' choirs. The most famous among them was the Polish Army Choir established, as the first among such ensembles, in 1940 in Scotland on Jerzy Kołaczkowski's initiative.<sup>23</sup> The choir's *maestro* had earlier served as music director of the Polish Radio in Lviv and conductor of the Lviv Academic Choir. The 40-strong choir sang pieces by Zygmunt Noskowski, Stanisław Moniuszko and Waław Lachman, as well as patriotic, soldiers' and religious songs, performing first in Glasgow and its environs. They have been acclaimed by the critics both for their singing and language skills: 'the Poles have acclimatised themselves so thoroughly that the Polish Army Choir sings *Duncan Gray* and other Scottish songs with such perfection of pronunciation as to make respects of their concerts in demand everywhere in Scotland'.<sup>24</sup> In 1941 they were invited to London, even appearing in the Catholic Westminster Cathedral in 1942.

The Polish Army Choir gave over 600 concerts in England, Wales and Scotland under the direction of Jerzy Kołaczkowski, Henryk Hosowicz, Adam Harasowski and Otto Schaffer, as well as English conductors like Adrian Boult, Malcolm Sargent and Ian White. The choir's chief accompanist was Bernard Czaplicki, and the soloists – Edward Bolesławski (tenor), Władysław Huczek (baritone), Kazimierz Zajac (bass) and Marian Nowakowski (bass) – a soloist with London's Covent Garden, a pupil of Adam Didur.<sup>25</sup>

22 Mirosław Adam Supruniuk, *Zbiory i prace dotyczące emigracji i Polonii w Bibliotece Uniwersyteckiej oraz Książnicy Miejskiej w Toruniu. Informator* [Collections and writings on the Polish diaspora at the Nicolaus Copernicus University Library and Municipal Library in Toruń], Toruń 1999, p. 156.

23 More information about the beginnings of the Polish choral movement in Britain can be found in the introductory part of Katarzyna Fuksa's article 'Cześć pieśni! – z dziejów polskich chórów w Londynie po II wojnie światowej' [May the song be honoured! – From the history of Polish choirs in London after the Second World War], *Studia Polonijne* 28 (2007), pp. 193–213.

24 'Scotland Invaded', *The Manchester Guardian* 110 (1941) January 17, p. 3.

25 K. Fuksa, op. cit., p. 198.



The choir performed at various venues, including concert halls and theatres, as well as hospitals and schools, supporting numerous charities. Announcements and reviews of these performances were regularly published by *The Observer*, *The Manchester Guardian*, *Dziennik Polski*. The Polish Army Choir recorded 55 pieces for BBC Radio (broadcast by local stations as well as stations in Europe and America), seven songs for His Masters Voice, and six for Polska Wytwórnia Płyty. The recordings were presented by the BBC more frequently than performances of professional musicians playing chamber or orchestral classical music.

It can be assumed that nearly all artists who found refuge in London during the war were involved in providing repertoire that was patriotic in nature. The Polish Library of the Polish Social and Cultural Association in London<sup>26</sup> houses a notebook with hand-written names of artists writing for army ensembles and providing them with texts and scores, so need at the time. Among them are famous and lesser-known artists as Zygmunt Andrzejowski, Wiktor Budzyński, Leon Cymmerman, Bernard Czaplicki, Marian Doroczyński, Zbigniew Gedl, Tadeusz Gliński, Czesław Halski, Adam Harasowski, Henryk Hausman, Henryk Hosowicz, Zbigniew Krukowski, Stanisław (Stanley) Laudan, Juliusz Leo, Jan Markowski, Zygmunt Romberg, Alfred Longin Schuetz and Maurycy Władysław Stark. Some of them have files in a very valuable collection in the Library, the so-called Bohdan Jeżewski Poles Abroad Archives, while in other cases it is difficult to find any detailed information.

Given the current state of research into musical émigré circles and still under-explored sources, kept mostly in London, we should for the moment refrain from providing summaries of the situation of Polish music in Great Britain during the Second World War. Information obtained in the course of surveys of various archives does not yet create a panorama of events and people, but it does provide suggestions as to further research to be conducted.<sup>27</sup> We can, nevertheless, go as far as to say that the topics examined in the present article show that the musical culture of the émigré community was surprisingly rich and varied, providing stimuli to both ordinary listeners and music lovers seeking more sophisticated artistic experiences. Artists tried to keep up the national spirit among their compatriots, not giving up, as far as the situation allowed them, their artistic development and forms of cultural life known from before the war.

*Translated by Anna Kijak*

26 I would like to sincerely thank Mr Grzegorz Pisarski, Director of the Library, for his help during my research.

27 This should start from preliminary research at the BBC Archives, Central Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw, Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum in London, and the Polish Library of the Polish Social and Cultural Association, as well as study of annual volumes of *Wiadomości Polskie* and *Dziennik Polski*.

## POLSKIE ŻYCIE MUZYCZNE W WIELKIEJ BRYTANII W CZASIE II WOJNY ŚWIATOWEJ

Mimo iż powstało wiele opracowań odnoszących się do dziejów wychodźstwa i Polonii, a Londyn nazywany jest stolicą polskiej emigracji, to kwestii obecności muzyki polskiej i aktywności polskich muzyków w Wielkiej Brytanii w czasie drugiej wojny światowej nie poświęcono dotąd wystarczającej uwagi w pracach naukowych.

W niniejszym tekście opisano działalność głównych instytucji służących zachowaniu naszego dziedzictwa w okresie wojny, takich jak np. wspierana przez Rząd Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej na uchodźstwie organizacja The Polish Musicians of London (1940–43), pod auspicjami której odbywały się koncerty muzyki klasycznej i która wydawała współczesne kompozycje polskie. Ogromną rolę w popularyzacji polskiego repertuaru i polskich wykonawców odegrało radio BBC i założona już w 1939 r. jego polska sekcja. Niezwykle atrakcyjną formę promocji rodzimej sztuki stanowiły występy, założonej przez Czesława Konarskiego i Alicję Hałamę w 1940 r., grupy Anglo-Polish Ballet. Najbardziej charakterystycznym elementem życia muzycznego polskiego emigranta w wojennej Wielkiej Brytanii były śpiewy narodowe, patriotyczne, religijne, wykonywane przez żołnierskie chóry, z najsłynniejszym Chórem Wojska Polskiego (Polish Army Choir) na czele, rozpowszechniającym swój repertuar poprzez występy w całym kraju, koncerty radiowe i nagrania płytowe. Szeroką działalność kulturalną prowadziło Ognisko Polskie (Polish Hearth) w Londynie.

Z pewnością istnieje potrzeba przybliżenia czytelnikowi tej części naszej kultury muzycznej, zwłaszcza, że w ostatnich latach wzrasta zainteresowanie tematyką muzyki polskiej za granicą. Po raz pierwszy podjęto próbę całościowego – na tyle, na ile pozwalały na to dostępne źródła – ujęcia polskiego życia muzycznego w Wielkiej Brytanii w okresie wojennym, w nadziei stworzenia punktu wyjścia do kontynuowania prac nad dziejami migracji artystycznej i monografiami poszczególnych kompozytorów i artystów.

*Jolanta Guzy-Pasiak*

Słowa kluczowe / keywords: muzyka polska za granicą / Polish music abroad, życie muzyczne w Wielkiej Brytanii / musical life in Great Britain, historia muzyki polskiej / history of Polish music, polscy uchodźcy w czasie II wojny światowej / Polish refugees in the Second World War, Rząd Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej na uchodźstwie / Polish Government-in-exile

**Dr Jolanta Guzy-Pasiak**, a musicologist, employee of the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences (Department of Musicology). She taught at the Collegium Civitas in Warsaw (2002–15). Her teaching for the Postgraduate Studies of Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences includes course on twentieth-century music. Jolanta Guzy-Pasiak is co-editor of *Muzyka*. Research interests in twentieth century music, Polish émigré composers of the first half of the twentieth century (especially Karol Rathaus and Ludomir Michał Rogowski), Pan-Slavism in music.  
jolanta.guzy-pasiak@ispan.pl

