half generation," the generation of children who emigrated at a very young age and grew up in the country of immigration. However, instead of being equally at home in their Polish and English-speaking environments, they consciously chose Polish language and literature as their primary tradition. This placed them in opposition to both the Polish "London" exiles of their parents' generation and to the sympathizers of the communist government in Poland. In spite of maintaining close ties with the Paris-based Instytut Literacki and *Kultura* circles, members of the Kontynenty group became intellectually isolated and had to serve each other as readers and critics. This turned out to be a lifelong task; though the group did not survive when its members left London, many of the friendships continued as private and professional alliances. The émigré poets who grew up outside Poland became writers and readers, or the interpretive community for both their own poetry and the writings of others. Those Poles who themselves experienced exile were their implied "other" readers. For Polish readers abroad it was the experience shared with the writers that was of primary importance; however, the poets themselves aimed at a wider audience in hopes of eventually reaching readers in their Polish homeland.

When Busza began to write his poems exclusively in English, he worked with Czaykowski on their Polish versions. After Czaykowski's death Andrzej Busza has continued to translate and promote his older colleague's poetry in English translation. Moreover, in absence of his lifetime poetic colleague, Busza chose an aspiring émigré writer living in Canada instead a professional translator to render his own poems into Polish. One may only speculate as to the extent this has served to fulfill the need to recreate the mutual roles Busza and Czaykowski played for each other during their long literary friendship.

Pasterski rightly discusses both poets together. The critic sees them primarily as intellectuals "positioned between two cultures" and by the same token "occupying a liminal space where two sets of values meet and often permeate each other" (358). The fact that they belonged to Polish and Canadian cultures becomes the main argument that allows Pasterski to adopt a "bicultural perspective." However, a lack of a clear definition of biculturalism provokes several questions and undermines many of the arguments. Canada itself is a bicultural country with two official languages and heritage cultures. Its social policies are quite different from those in the United States, making many of Pasterski's observations based on the situation in the United States irrelevant to that of Czaykowski and Busza. Also, policies regarding minorities differ from province to province, allowing only limited generalizations. Moreover, contrary to Pasterski's claims (93–94) Canada, and especially British Columbia where the two poets lived, did not abolish official policies of multiculturalism in the 1990s. Just the opposite; the last twenty years brought significant demographic changes to its population, resulting in Caucasians being a minority in today's Vancouver. When Czaykowski and Busza came to Vancouver, Canada was a British dominion in all meanings of the term. In some ways, as newcomers from Great Britain both of them cherished a certain sense of superiority (for instance, they considered their British MAs superior to American PhDs). In their encounters with the rising Canadian multiculturalism, they initially saw themselves primarily as Europeans and only then as Poles. This attitude changed over the years.

Similarly, the *Kresy,* or eastern borderlands of Poland where Czaykowski spent his early childhood, were characterized by their multiculturalism. Additionally, both poets grew up among Polish exiles of different cultural backgrounds. In Czaykowski's case the situation was further complicated by the fact that the political changes after the war removed his birthplace (Równe) from its location in Poland and shifted it first to the Soviet Union, and then to independent Ukraine. Thus Busza's and Czaykowski's connections with Polish culture are multilayered and conditioned by their unique position in their heritage culture. Unfortunately, Pasterski's focus on the poets' childhoods and its importance for their later poetic development proves too feeble a tool. It does not allow him to look at the complexity of Czaykowski's and Busza's positions as writers living in various multicultural settings; nor is it able to do justice to their lifelong struggle to find an audience (and critics) who could understand their poetic task. One can only hope that the critic will continue his interest in Busza's and Czaykowski's oeuvres and will eventually examine their works from the standpoint of those approaches that are characteristic of the English-speaking countries in which the two poets spend most of their lives. Δ

Scotland and Poland
Historical Encounters 1500-2010

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This volume's thirteen contributors presented fourteen papers at an international conference on diaspora studies in Edinburgh in October 2009, then gathered them into a volume. The authors and editors offer a wealth of vignettes, some of them tantalizing, and a scholarly promise of future research on the relationship between Scotland and Poland over the past five hundred years. By and large, they made good on coauthor Robert I. Frost's aim that "we should not project too rose-tinted an image of Polish-Scottish interaction across the ages" (22). The book consists of two chronologically arranged parts on the interaction of Scots with Poland between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, and on Polish encounters with Scotland in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The overarching theme is migration and assimilation, or its lack, against the background of incomplete mutual knowledge.

The original wave of physical encounters occurred when the Scots arrived in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the early sixteenth century. Coauthor Waldemar Kowalski claims that they came for economic, political, and confessional reasons. It is uncertain how many came, but the high estimate of 30,000 should be discounted since this would have been "nearly ten percent of Scotland's population," according to Neal Acherson (8). Most prominent were high-profile merchants and mercenaries. The average immigrant seems to have been a single and impoverished young man with excellent recommendations from home. Their fellow Scots, already established in the Commonwealth, wanted to give them the gift of a better life in the flourishing Polish-Lithuanian realm, and thus vouched for them and facilitated their progress. David Worthington has established that many of the newcomers were from the penurious Highlands, although, until recently, scholars had erroneously assumed the eastern shores as their primary domicile (102). The first immigrants often engaged in trade, selling trinkets and small wares in the countryside. Only a few became bankers and powerful grain merchants, some of them ascending to the status of patricians, such as the Chalmers (Alexander "Czamer" was a lord mayor of Warsaw). There were also a few scholars and diplomats, most notably the anti-Ottoman crusader William Bruce described by coauthor Anna Kalinowska. Parallels have been drawn between the Jewish and Scottish communities. In contrast, the early nineteenth-century Scottish emigrants to Russian-occupied Poland were mostly engineers and technical experts. Most of them left after the Russians thwarted Prince Drucki-Lubecki's modernization project of the 1820s; a remnant found employment at Count Zamoyski's estates.

According to Acherson, Poland's Scots were not interested in "political imperialism." They had a penchant for "high risk banking—hazardous lending at low interest." They tended "to reinvest profits locally," and usually did not send their savings back home (10). Like Jews, Wallachians, Armenians, and Tartars, the Scots enjoyed self-government in the Commonwealth. They organized themselves in "fraternities" along religious lines. A few Scots were Catholics; most were Protestants. Although they usually belonged to the Presbyterian and Calvinist confessions which also included Germans, French, Swedish, and English, the Scots maintained their distinct ethnocultural identities and institutional structures. For example, a Scottish confessional group existed in Kraków. The Scots tended to intermarry with other Scots.

The influx of Scottish immigrants dried up as the fortunes of the Commonwealth declined after the mid-seventeenth century and great opportunities opened up back home owing to the growth of the British empire. Meanwhile, assimilation followed and the Scots turned into Poles (even if, in the process, they "overwhelmingly sided with" the Swedish invader in 1655–1656) (81). Scots benefited from Poland's tolerance and the opportunities that the Commonweath provided, yet they also experienced confessional prejudice and even, sporadically, physical violence. However, according to the preliminary conclusions of Peter P. Bajer (73) they refused to play the role of victims and usually gave back what they received from the attackers.

All this was largely unknown to their kith and kin back in Scotland. Transmission to the world of information regarding Scottish endeavors in the Commonwealth failed abysmally. The dearth of sources on Polish Scots in Scottish libraries attest to a lack of publications coming from Poland. Edinburgh and Glasgow remained ignorant of Warsaw and Kraków. Between 1500 and 2010 the level of awareness of Poles about Scots and Scotland was higher than the other way around. On the Polish side, the learned tended to address the slights, real and imagined. Published in 1648, Łukasz Opaliński's sneering rebuttal of John Barclay's vacuous musings on Poland is a case in point. On the Scottish side, the commentary on Poland tended

to reflect Scotland's domestic concerns using the alleged evils of the Commonwealth as an excuse to excoriate supposedly analogous ills of the Scots, the putatively reactionary Highlanders in particular. For example, David Hume and Adam Smith were woefully misinformed about the Commonwealth, its people, and its system, but this did not stop them from pontificating freely on the topic. This was true of other Scottish commentators during the Enlightenment. Their anti-Polish prejudices have colored the educated Scotland's (and the West's) perception of Poland ever since, yet "the great paladins of the Enlightenment were mistaken" (127–28). Hence one can appreciate the urgent poignancy of Robert I. Frost's observation that we should pay less attention to popular philosophers than to archives and case studies.

In his own study Frost compares the lot of Polish peasants and Scottish Highlanders. While doing so, Frost notes the influence of Marxist dogma and communist propaganda on the persistence of the "black legend" of the Polish village in the Commonwealth. The Marxist interpretation holds that the feudal and reactionary nobility introduced the so-called "second serfdom" (a term coined by Friedrich Engels) and exploited peasantry to the detriment of Poland's modernization project. This interpretation fails to account for market mechanisms that made peasant life easier, for basic fairness in the noble administration of justice, and for family division of labor that allowed most peasants to work their own land while delegating a few to the lord's demesne. Starting with the Enlightenment, scholars have routinely ignored the aforementioned factors. Poland's progressive intelligentsia swallowed it hook, line, and sinker because the prejudice originated in the West, which came to symbolize progress and democracy. Eventually this interpretation became standard and was reinforced through terror, censorship, and propaganda in Soviet-occupied Poland (1944–1991). Because Polish academia did not conduct a postcommunist vetting, some professors still teach it in Polish classrooms.

This book challenges these received ideas. One researcher remarks that "it seems that. . . the demands of the *polskie pany* [Polish lords] may have been rather less onerous to their serfs than those of the Highland chiefs on their supposed kin in the great family of the clan. . . . It is, perhaps, time. . . to reappraise the black and white legends, and to look anew at the rural economies of Poland-Lithuania and the Highlands from below, not above, with peasants as economic actors, rather than passive victims of oppression, or

romanticized figures in a mythical, timeless world" (127–28).

In Scotland the Enlightenment's excoriation of "feudalism" and "the reactionaries" of the Highlands enjoyed only a brief ride as a viable paradigm. It was rejected by the Scottish Romantics starting with Sir Walter Scott, and further questioned by native scholars. Scottish patriots lacked the parochial timidity of the "progressive" Polish intelligentsia and rejected misinterpretations of their past while promoting "the white legend." It is significant that neither Eric Hobsbawm nor Ernest Gellner or even Benedict Anderson are mentioned in *Scotland and Poland*'s discourse of nationalism. Instead, the Scottish contributors to the volume celebrate Scottish nationhood. One of the conributors, a professor of archeology makes a bid for Polish support of Scottish membership in the European Union, "if the day comes" (16).

Such self-appreciation is lacking on the Polish side, with the exception of Peter Stachura. He discusses the postwar history of Poles in Scotland and the tenacious mission of the Polish Ex-Combatants' Association (SPK) with its "steadfast Catholicism, legitimate pride and unquenchable patriotism expressed in its inspirational motto, 'God, Honour and Fatherland'" (168). While Poland's elites were virtually wiped out in the Second World War, the sons and daughters of Polish immigrants to Scotland survived. They and their parents "became involved in the SPK as a way of sustaining the traditional values and heritage of their country" (163). The SPK facilitated assimilation that would not dismiss Polish roots: "Integration into indigenous society, however, had to be complemented by the maintenance of the Poles' own cherished national identity" (168). The SPK remained faithful to the ethos of the Second Republic by defying both Hitler and Stalin. Professor Stachura conveys the resilience of Polish wartime émigrés faced with increasing hostility in postwar Scotland. They were assaulted by both communists and ethnonationalist extremists, including the Protestant Action. The "Poles Go Home" campaign was unleashed to assault Polish "competition for jobs and housing" in the era of scarcity. The Poles were denounced as "foreign papists" and interlopers undermining the "Scottish way of life" (160). They had to "report weekly to the police station with details of their address and employment" (161).

Allen Carswell and Rachel Clements further confirm anti-Polish bigotry in Scotland and tie it to official British and Soviet propaganda, which operated uninterruptedly from the summer of 1941 until the onset

of the cold war. Yet, concentrating mainly on the period between 1939 and 1942, Carswell judges the Scottish attitude in the early days of the Second World War as "positive." Initially, spontaneous effusion greeted the Polish fighters. Carswell commends the "educated young officers" on "their generally impeccable manners and behaviour, matched by their elegant appearance" (153). The Poles could also count on the Catholic Church and a few fellow Catholics in Scotland, as well as on all anticommunists. Poles remain grateful to Sir Patrick Dollan, Scotland's staunchest supporter of the cause of Poland's freedom.

Rachel Clement discusses the Scottish press between 1940–1946 and 2006–2009. Her conclusions about the first period concur with those of Stachura and Carswell. She details anti-Polish propaganda techniques in the press: "Including Poles in stories on crime and politics presented them as deviant and a threat to the status quo. Poles went from being portrayed as 'gallant heroes'. . . to increasingly dysfunctional" (178). The author states that initial reluctance of the press to report the size of the Polish community in Scotland yielded to the increasing use and abuse of statistics about the Polish exiles, in particular after 1945, which indicated "that Polish exiles began to lose favour in the press" (176). Her assumption is that inflating the numbers of foreigners engenders fear in the mainstream. She notes that "in 1946 . . . Polish exiles were presented as an alleged threat to the interests of a majority group, putting pressure on postwar resources, in this case jobs and housing. This technique is commonly used in the press to discredit minority groups, creating an implicit connotation that 'we' (the majority group) will get less (or worse) because of 'them' (the minority group)" (176). Her comments on Poland's accession to the EU in 2004 are worth noting, Compared to the general British press, "the Scottish press were much less satirical, and received post-2004 Polish migration with great enthusiasm". Clements detects "a wider nationalist agenda" (181): "Polish presence in Scotland was resoundingly celebrated for addressing two Scottish specific issues, population decline and skills shortage" (182). Yet this scholar fails to consider that Poles were also preferred over third-world immigrants. Why else would the press refer to Poles rather than Pakistanis as "the new Scots"? Not everything was lovely, of course. I recall reading in a Polish paper that the Protestant soccer hooligans of the Glasgow Rangers were invariably infuriated at Glasgow Celtic's goalie, Polish and Catholic Artur Boruc, who routinely crossed himself   during games. Clemens mentions him but

not the hostility that the soccer player encountered (182).

The final paper reports on post-1989 Poland's consular activities, and also contains a touching personal account of Scotland by art historian Grażyna Fermi that is very flattering to the SPK.   Δ

Ruch ludowy przed, w czasie i po wojnie
(Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej)

Anna Gąsienica-Byrcyn

This double issue of the INR *Bulletin* offers conversations and reminiscences of people who had been active in the Peasant Party of Poland (*Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe,* or PSL), a party renamed by the communists as the United Peasant Party, and then renamed again as the Polish Peasant Party (even though, according to one of the conversationalists, in the 2000s the reins to the party were still held by those who controlled it in the communist period).

In the initial conversations Andrzej Kaczorowski, Franciszek Gryciuk, Antoni Kura, and Mateusz Szpytma reflect on different visions of Peoples' Poland by the PSL and PPR (the name the communist party bore in the 1940s) in the area of land reform, forced collectivization, disintegration of Stalin's economic and political system, the role of women who opposed collectivization of farms (which never succeeded in Poland), the function of activites of representatives of the Polish farmers' movement abroad, and the communists' efforts to divide and dysfunctionalize the Polish émigré milieu.

In "Peoples' Movement during World War II," Tomasz Skrzyński emphasizes that the *Stronnictwo Ludowe* (Peasant Party) was a major political power with over 150,000 members before 1939. After the invasion of Poland by Germans and Soviets, many SL leaders were arrested either by the Gestapo or NKVD. Nonetheless, the party continued to operate integrating young people from the countryside *Wici* movement and eventually developing into the largest political party in occupied Poland, while also creating structures known as SL *Roch* in Paris and London. The party's main goal was to liberate Poland. The military units of SL *Roch* operated mainly in