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Słowo wstępne

W 1996 roku Muzeum i Archiwum Polonii Australijskiej (MAPA) wydało pierwszy *Rocznik Muzeum i Archiwum Polonii Australijskiej*. Kolejne tomy ukazały się w 2007 r. (t. II), 2009 r. (t. III), 2010 r. (t. IV), 2012 (t. V).

Obecnie oddajemy do rąk naszych Czytelników szóste wydanie *Rocznika Muzeum i Archiwum Polonii Australijskiej*. Zamieszczamy w nim artykuł Josepha Poprzecznego „From *Ostarbeiter* to New Australians: A post-war Western Australian Migrant Family - the Poprzcznys of Wyalkatchem, 1950-70”, w którym prezentuje on fragment rodzinnej historii.

Natomiast Stefan Mystkowski publikuje w tym wydaniu częściowo uzupełnioną i poprawioną biografię swojego ojca Zbigniewa W. Mystkowskiego, dziennikarza i m.in. redaktora „Głosu Polskiego” w Melbourne, która została opublikowana w bogato ilustrowanej książce pod tym samym tytułem *Zbigniew Wiktor Józef Mystkowski. A Short Biography*, wydanej przez autora w bardzo ograniczonym nakładzie. W tym miejscu wyjaśniamy, że książka zawiera ponadto historię rodziny Mystkowskich i rodzin z nimi spowinowanconych, jak też liczne załączniki.

Z kolei Matthew Poprzczyzny w swoim eseju dokonuje porównania amerykańskiego *filibuster* (obstrukcjonizmu) i *liberum veto* w Sejmie I Rzeczypospolitej.

W dziale „Wspomnienia” zamieszczamy opowieść niezwykłej już Janiny Kamińskiej o jej przeżyciach w czasie II wojny światowej.

W „Materiałach” przedstawiamy słuchowisko radiowe pt. „Strzelecki” napisane przez Władysława Noskowskiego, dziennikarza, krytyka muzycznego działacza politycznego i społecznego w USA i Australii.

Ponadto zamieściliśmy sprawozdania prezesa Muzeum i Archiwum Polonii Australijskiej za lata 2010-2015 oraz prezentacje książek autorów pochodzenia polskiego mieszkających w Australii, a wydanych w latach 2014-2015.

Niniejszy tom zamykamy prezentacją książek, które otrzymaliśmy.

Zgodnie z zasadą przyjętą w tomie II *Rocznika Muzeum i Archiwum Polonii Australijskiej* nadal zamieszczać będziemy artykuły dotyczące historii społeczności polskiej w Australii niezależnie od miejsca zamieszkania ich autorów. Ponadto zamierzamy publikować materiały dotyczące historii, w ogólnym tego słowa znaczeniu, autorów pochodzenia polskiego, którzy mieszkają w Australii. Teksty będą publikowane w różnych językach, przeważnie jednak w języku polskim i angielskim.

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Komitet Redakcyjny

Joseph Poprzeczny
(Perth)

From *Ostarbeiter* to New Australians: A post-war Western Australian Migrant Family - the Poprzeczny of Wyalkatchem, 1950-70

This paper will focus on the history of the Poprzeczny family from the joint Nazi and Soviet conquest of Poland in late 1939 until their arrival in Fremantle in 1950 and then their two decades as Wyalkatchem residents.

It highlights several of the Nazi's brutal demographic programs of enslavement and genocide, Organisation Todt, Fritz Sauckel's Labour Deployment and their top secret genocidal *Generalplan Ost*. The creation of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), initiated by the Roosevelt administration, and the International Refugee Organization (IRO) greatly assisted the many people dislocated by this war. Australia was a foundation member of both organizations and this led to its acceptance, from 1947 until 1953, of non-English speaking European migrants. Among them were the author and his parents, Józef and Helena, who were Wyalkatchem residents until 1970.

The Poprzeczny's spent their first years, after leaving the Northam migrant transit camp, living in two tents within Wyalkatchem's government rail workers' camp. From 1950 to 1970 Józef worked as a railway track repairer while Helena held a series of positions; firstly at the Wyalkatchem hotel, followed by two years at the town's drycleaners, and finally at Wyalkatchem District Hospital. Their son Joseph initially attended Wyalkatchem State School, transferring to the Presentation Sister's Convent School in 1953. Wyalkatchem, over the two decades 1950 to 1970, was home for just over 20 migrant families, the majority of them being Polish. However, by the late 1960s most had relocated to other towns across the wheatbelt and coastal centres, including Bunbury and Perth. The Poprzeczny's would be the last family to depart Wyalkatchem with Józef transferring to work as a gardener with the Education Department.

Encountering the *Ostarbeiter* Problem, 1944-45

One of the truly enormous challenges that would face the Western Allies following their expected conquest of the Hitler Third *Reich* sometime during 1945 was what should be promptly done with the millions of non-German workers from eastern Europe (*Ostarbeiter* or *Arbeiter aus dem Osten*, Eastern Workers) who, in most cases, had been press-ganged into serfdom or slavery in the *Reich* between early 1940 and the turn of 1944/45.

This would mean confronting a range of challenges including especially nourishing and providing medical supplies and services.

Europe, for the second time in a generation, was largely destroyed, with a sizeable segment of its inhabitants, especially city and town dwellers, once again facing famine or extreme food and fuel shortages.

According to Florida State University historian and Third Reich specialist, Robert Gellately: "By August 1944 there were no less than 5,721,883 foreign workers in Germany, of whom 1,659,764 were Poles — about two-thirds of them used in agriculture. These were the new social outsiders. Given the long history of anti-Slavism in Germany, Poles and others from the East were anything but

welcomed by many citizens of Germany. Not only that, but Slavic workers were regarded by the regime that so desperately needed them as posing both a racial danger and a potential social threat behind the lines.”¹

Worth recalling is the fact that up to one million Polish citizens – primarily ethnic Poles – were forcibly deported during 1940 and 1941 into Siberia and Kazakhstan by Stalinist police units since conquered Poland’s eastern half was, under various treaty additions and refinements to the August 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, bequeathed by Hitler to Stalin for incorporation into the latter’s empire.²

Even before war’s end it was suspected, if not realized or fully appreciated, that many, if not most, of the Reich’s non-Germanic slaves (*niewolnicy*) who hailed either from the Baltic nations of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Poland and Yugoslavia, were unlikely to seek repatriation to those homelands. The first five mentioned above had been fully re-incorporated into the Stalin-led Soviet Union during 1944 - as in 1940 - whereas Poland and Hungary were destined to become what eventually became known as satellites whose territory the Red Army would occupy and their new administrations became staffed by selected cliques of generally their own nationals who had teamed-up with their tiny indigenous Communist Parties. All became subservient to Moscow’s *diktats*, issued either by the Soviet Bolshevik Party’s politburo or its various policing agencies, the NKVD (political police), *Smersh* (killing anyone designated a spy), and GRU (military intelligence).

It should be noted that another episode ran alongside the post-war Allied humanitarian commitment since secret arrangements had been made at the highest level to forcibly repatriate many tens of thousands of people eastwards, into the hands of Soviet and Communist Yugoslav authorities.³

It is because the Bolshevized northern European entities between Berlin and Moscow had been occupied by German military and police units that so many of their citizens were so easily press-ganged into rural or factory labouring within the *Alt Reich*. Also noteworthy is the fact that the three Baltic States, Belarus, Ukraine and Poland constituted what Yale University historian Timothy Snyder so aptly describes in his book titled: *Bloodlands – Europe between Hitler and Stalin*. It was across this vast segment of Eastern Europe that most of the war’s and immediate pre-war’s killings had occurred. Snyder estimates that 14 million innocent, meaning non-combatants, people, most being women and children - about double Australia’s wartime population – perished between Adolf Hitler’s rise to power in January 1933 and his suicide in May 1945, with his erstwhile ally Josef Stalin responsible for a sizeable portion of these killings.

Hitler’s Eleven (11) Unintended and Two (2) Envisaged Campaigns.

What’s called the Second World War, especially across lands east of Berlin - Poland and beyond – was essentially a conflict that targeted civilians. Demographically speaking, 1942 was the most significant year both for dismembered Poland and the *Reich’s* territorial and long-term demographic ambitions towards the eastern peoples and their homelands. During that year it was still believed across the Hitler Movement’s upper echelons that “the East” - Poland and the Soviet Union (Baltic States, European Russia, Belarus and Ukraine) - were destined to be transformed into permanently settled Germanic terrain.

This was the first calendar year following Hitler’s invasion of the Soviet Union, *Operation Barbarossa*. That Napoleonic-style manoeuvre, launched on June 22 1941, and the September 1

¹ Robert Gellately, *Police Justice, Popular Justice and Social Outsiders in Nazi Germany – The Example of Foreign Workers*” [Chapter 12.] in: *Social Outsiders in Nazi Germany*, ed. Robert Gellately and Nathan Stoltzfus. (Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 2011. p. 256.

² Tadeusz Piotrowski (Ed), *The Polish Deportees of World War II: Recollections of Removal to the Soviet Union and Deported Throughout the World*. (McFarland & Company Inc., Publishers, Jefferson, North Carolina and London.) See p. 5, (The figure is based on estimates made by Bohdan Podoski).

³ See authors: Nikolai Tolstoy (*Victims of Yalta*); Nicholas Bethell (*The Last Secret*); Julius Epstein (*Operation Keelhaul*) and M Stanton Evans & Herbert Romerstein (*Stalin’s Secret Agents*). All consider in great depth this aspect of the fate of foreign nationals detained and subsequently expelled eastwards by the victorious Western Allies.

1939, campaign against Poland, with Soviet connivance and military and other assistance, were the **only two** attacks – both eastwards – which Hitler intended launching.

He neither foresaw nor intended becoming militarily embroiled in campaigns against:

- Denmark (April 1940);
- Norway (April-June 1940);
- Luxembourg (May 1940);
- Belgium (May 1940);
- Holland (May 1940);
- France (May-June 1940);
- United Kingdom (May-September 1940); and
- The Balkans (April 1941),
- Greece (April-June 1941); as well as . . .
- North Africa/Mediterranean (February 1941, with the arrival of Erwin Rommel, until November 1942, the Battle of *El Alamein*), and
- The North Atlantic (September 1939 to mid-1943), where submarines (U-Boats) would eventually engage allied convoys.

The first seven were fought across north-western Europe, the next two, south-eastern Europe, while the North Atlantic and North African/Mediterranean campaigns were concurrently fought beyond Europe's shoreline.

Hitler was drawn into both the Balkans and North African/Mediterranean campaigns by someone he'd greatly admired since the early 1920s, Benito '*Il Duce*' Mussolini, who'd set about in the mid-1930s to create a neo-Romanesque Empire stretching across Northern Africa and linking the Atlantic to Indian Oceans, with Rome also dominating the entire Mediterranean Sea, once seen as a Roman "lake".

Prior to these 11 campaigns and two long-intended eastern *blitzkriegs* – against Poland in Sept 1939 and the Soviet Union in June 1941 - Hitler had engineered, through Fifth Column, diplomatic and other activities, five Germanic consolidation annexations, namely:

- Incorporation, in 1935, of the Saarland by plebiscite;
- The *Anschluss Österreichs* of March/April 1938 that incorporated Austria in his *Alt Reich*;
- Acquisition of Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland, October 1938; (The Munich Agreement).
- Annexation of remnant Czechoslovakia, March 1939, and its dismemberment into the German-occupied Protectorate of Bohemia/Moravia alongside a newly-declared Slovak State; and
- Acquisition in March 1939, of the Lithuanian Baltic coastal strip, Memelland (Klaipeda).

While none of the 11 campaigns were on Hitler's agenda, either in 1935, 1938, or as late as 1939, the undeclared Polish and Soviet *blitzkriegs* of 1939 and 1941, respectively, were always intended, not just in 1939, but as early as 1925. Here it must be noted that Hitler was not the only German political figure to have envisaged vast eastern annexations that would require determined military action.⁴

Also not to be forgotten is the fact that the first plank in the National Socialists' platform, which had been drawn-up before Adolf Hitler took control of the then tiny German National Socialist Workers' Party during late 1919 and early 1920, stated: "We demand the union of all Germans, on the basis of the right to self-determination of peoples, to form a Great Germany."⁵

Hitler, territorially speaking, was thus only ever interested in what became widely referred to as "the East". Poland, was viewed as being akin to an "ante room" to that East, while the component parts of the Soviet Union, up to the western face of the Ural Mountains, together formed what can be described as the historic Germanic "mansion"; the Germanic people's *nirvana*.

⁴ See Joseph Poprzeczny & Carolyn Simmonds: *Origins of Nazi Plans for Eastern Settlement and Extermination*, in *Power and Freedom in Modern Politics*, Ed. Jeremy Moon & Bruce Stone. University of WA Press, 2002. pp. 189-208.

⁵ Douglas Reid, *Nemesis?* (The Right Book Club), London, 1942, p. 340.

Yet, between the invasions of Poland and the USSR – September 1939 to June 1941 – he'd either initiated or participated in those 11 other or unforeseen campaigns, with a major inevitable outcome being ever-increasing demand for man and woman power that, following *Barbarossa*, witnessed a marked boosting of effort to press gang foreigners, especially from across “the East”, into slavery and/or serfdom.

That explains why so many *Ostarbeiter* would forcibly work in Hitler's expansive and increasingly besieged and belligerent slave-based national entity.

Being cognisant of these easily ignored contours of World War II's seemingly complicated and inter-connected series of concurrent military engagements and resultant growing labour demands makes the arrest of Józef Poprzeczny, in March 1942, and eviction of Helena (then Krępinska) from her cottage and village of Skierbieszów on November 28, 1942, and their subsequent enslavement easier to comprehend.

United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administrations (UNRRA) & International Refugee Organization (IRO).

Two international agencies would form the front line to progressively resolve – perhaps unscramble is a more appropriate term - Europe's mid-century demographic dislocations and associated problems: the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) formally launched by President Franklin Roosevelt in the White House in November 1943; and the International Refugee Organisation (IRO), established in April 1946, and becoming fully operational during 1947. Both were short-lived and largely funded by American taxpayers.

This, incidentally, was what had occurred, with slight variations, after 1918 when then US Commerce Secretary, Herbert C. Hoover, and onetime mining engineer in Western Australia's eastern goldfields, headed what was named the American Relief Administration (ARA).

However, Hoover's ARA, unlike IRO, did not participate in what can be described as population transfers, that is, permanent relocation of peoples, especially to distant or New World lands like the United States of America, Australia, Canada, Argentina, Venezuela and Brazil.

And secondly ARA, as well as feeding many millions across Europe and Asia Minor after the Armistice of 1918, between 1921 and 1923 went on to feed many millions of Bolshevik-controlled Russians and Ukrainians, where Europe's worst famine since the Middle Ages had struck.

UNRRA, a relief agency, involved forty-four (44) nations as members, including Australia.

Then, on June 6 1944, D-Day, just seven months after UNRRA's creation, allied forces landed on Normandy's beaches.

By then the United States, primarily, was again ready and able to help meet the needs of millions of non-combatants, many of whom were *Ostarbeiter*. UNRRA, however, was an interim agency, established to fulfil enormous immediate humanitarian needs once Europe was liberated.

Its charter required it to: “plan, co-ordinate, administer or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services”.⁶

This was somewhat akin to the aim and purpose of Hoover's ARA. And like it, UNRRA co-operated with private charitable agencies, ones that were generally based upon the Churches.⁷

A crucial early step that needed to be confronted by the major Western Allies was the prompt housing of these millions generally at or as near as possible to where they'd been living during all or part of the war as forced workers or prison camp dwellers. This generally meant that after V-E Day they found themselves dwelling either in former German Army (*Wehrmacht*) or other military facilities and *ad hoc* establishments, be these work or detention camps or even requisitioned monasteries, resorts, *pensions*, or hotels.

⁶ Agreement for United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, November 9th, 1943. <http://www.ibiblio.org/pha/policy/1943/431109a.html>

⁷ See: George Woodbridge, *UNRRA: the History of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration*, Columbia University Press, New York 1950.

As time passed with concentration and swelling of numbers across the American, British and French occupation zones of western and central conquered Germany and Austria the inevitable question was asked; namely, what's to be done with these homeless millions? And here one should be mindful that the numbers began growing - despite a small portion opting to return to their homelands - due to marriages in those camps and births following. This, of course, explains why a sizeable proportion - well over a quarter I believe - of those reaching Western Australia during 1949-53 were children, aged from near infancy to, generally, 3-4 years.

UNRRA's replacement came about during 1947 with the emergence of three specialised agencies; namely, IRO, the World Health Organization and the Marshall Plan.

Twenty-six (26) countries, including Australia, became IRO members.⁸

IRO moved promptly towards grappling with Europe's, meaning primarily occupied Germany, refugee population, by setting about removing, scattering, these people, worldwide. And like UNRRA, IRO was also expected to work fast, which it did. In 1952, we see the emergence of IRO's replacement, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), by which time Australia was well on the way to having accepted just over 180,000 onetime *Ostarbeiter* as settlers. And of these, Western Australia's intake was in the order of 10 percent, some 20,000 persons, with a significant number being children who added to Western Australia's then booming primary - public and private - school attendance numbers.

Problems facing the Allies were compounded by the emergence of the Cold War that relatively quickly intensified with the most dramatic event being Moscow blocking access to the non-Soviet administered zone of West Berlin, giving rise to the West launching The Berlin Airlift (June 24 1948 to May 12 1949). Among other things, this further confirmed the realization that refugee relocation was destined to call for their acceptance as residents of the allied occupying powers, most especially in the United States and Canada with Australia, New Zealand, Venezuela, Brazil and Argentina also having intakes.

Australia, an IRO Member and Refugee Recipient, 1947-53

Australia joined the shift from mere emergency or humanitarian aid-giving towards acceptance of a sizeable portion of Europe's human "flotsam and jetsam of the war" primarily because of the scare undergone from Imperial Japan's attempt, during 1942-43, to establish a Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, the Western Pacific's equivalent of Adolf Hitler's Thousand Year *Reich* vision that envisaged complete germanization - actual settling of so-called Aryans - across all lands from at least the Rhine River basin in the west to the western slopes of the Ural Mountain range. This was Adolf Hitler's *Generalplan Ost*, which envisaged expulsion, into Western Siberia, beyond the Ural Mountain range, of some 80-100 million, perhaps more, non-Aryans, primarily Slavs.⁹

More specifically Australia moved towards becoming a significant refugee destination because the immediate post-war "Populate or Perish" concern. Amongst other things this resulted in prompt heeding across the country's political spectrum once the sun had set on V-J Day. In 1945 Australia's predominantly Anglo-Celtic population stood at just 7.4 million and the decision to embark upon accepting a predominantly if not wholly Slavic then certainly Eastern European component was a significant break with the past, even though Australia's highest mountain, Mt Kosciuszko, was named after a patriotic Pole by another wandering Pole and geologist, Count Pawel Edmund Strzelecki.

Australia's annual total (refugees plus others) arrivals for the years 1947-1953 were:-

1947: 31,765
1948: 65,739
1949: 167,727

⁸ See: Louise W. Holborn, *The International Refugee Organizations, a Specialized Agency of the United Nations: its History and Work, 1946-1952*, Oxford University Press, New York 1956.

⁹ For a succinct outline of the history of this little-known but pivotal wartime demographic plan see: *World War II: The Occupied East - NAZI Generalplan Ost/General Plan East*.
<http://histclo.com/essay/war/ww2/leb/east/sov/es-gpe.html>

1950: 174,540
1951: 132,542
1952: 127,824
1953: 74,915¹⁰

Clearly, the four big-intake years of 1949-52, saw what can only be described as a huge gross national intake – over 600,000 people - made more so because of the significant additional refugee component within that figure.

Finally, of the three quarters of a million people reaching Australia over the seven year period 1947-53, the slightly more than 182,000 classified as “displaced persons” were the direct outcome of Australia’s membership of IRO and its newly-created Immigration Department, headed by inaugural Immigration Minister, Arthur Calwell, who implemented the pivotal decision to boost Australia’s population by one percent annually through increased – meaning beyond only Anglo-Celtic - immigration.

According to another and more historically focused source, the 182,000 figure was “more than the number of convicts transported to Australia in the first 80 years after European settlement”.¹¹

That 182,000 intake is Australia’s contribution to the IRO program of emptying of central European camps of their long-term dwellers.

“About 20,000 Displaced Persons settled in Western Australia. Over 12,000 arrived in 1950, including 8,236 from Poland, 2,892 from the former Yugoslavia, and 1,956 from Latvia. The remainder were from Estonia, Lithuania, Hungary, White Russia, the Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria and Italy.”¹²

To slightly complicate matters it is worth noting that the term “refugee”, during the time IRO was operational, 1947-52, appears not to have been officially encouraged in Australia. Instead the “displaced person(s)” moniker came into vogue. And Minister Calwell is credited with having certainly popularised the phrase “New Australians”, if not perhaps having coined it, apparently to replace the then widespread usage of less genteel terms like “pommies”, “wogs”, and “refos”.

Displaced persons were defined as: “People made homeless and stateless as a result of war, civil war, or the changing of borders by international treaty” while New Australians were such people who had landed at one of Australia’s ports during the late 1940s and early 1950s.

The Poprzeczny: A “Displaced Persons” Family

The primary breadwinner of the Poprzeczny family, Józef (1915-1989), hailed from Gielniów, a village situated some 100 kilometres directly south of Warsaw, roughly equidistant between the sizeable central Polish towns of Opoczno and Przysucha.

His wife, Helena (1917-2008, nee Węcławik) hailed from Poland’s historic Zamość Lands, from the village of Skierbieszów, 17 kilometres north-east of the early 17th century Italian-style market town of Zamość, 230 kilometres south-east of Warsaw.

Although both were conscripted into *Ostarbeiter* ranks – Józef, from March 1942 until November/December 1944, Helena from December 1942 until September/October 1944 – their pathway into enslavement differed markedly. It’s fair to say Józef’s life was never actually threatened, with the over-riding qualification, of course, that no Pole’s life was ever truly secure under occupying Nazism, whereas Helena’s, during her more than 20-months incarceration in Auschwitz-Birkenau’s main camp, a nearby sub-camp, Babice, and finally in Natzweiler-Ebingen situated in what is today’s French Lorraine, was at high risk each and every day that good health and utter obedience minimized. Neither her first husband, Władysław Krępiński, nor her mother, Maria Węcławik, nor several relatives, survived that harsh enslaving internment.

¹⁰ *Parliament of Australia, Department of Parliamentary Services, Migration to Australia since federation: a guide to the statistics. Table 6: p. 19.*

<http://www.aph.gov.au/binaries/library/pubs/bn/sp/migrationpopulation.pdf>

¹¹ Tündern-Smith, Ann, “What is the Fifth Fleet?” (*Fifth Fleet Press, Retrieved 2008-07-21*);

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Post-war_immigration_to_Australia#cite_note-5thFleet-3

¹² <http://northarmycamp.org.au/storylines/migrant/northam-accommodation-centre/>

Józef Poprzeczny (1915-1989)

Józef was arrested without cause in March 1942 while waiting for a Warsaw-bound train at the railway junction town of Koluszki, south-west of the capital, and soon afterwards was dispatched by rail; with several hundred other similarly press ganged Poles, to the *Reich*. He was, so to speak, “in the wrong place at the wrong time”, when returning from Gielniów to his home and business premises, he was a tailor, in Piastów, a township on Warsaw’s western approaches.

Since, as Robert Gellately reports, nearly 1.7 million Poles endured such an ordeal it is not surprising that wartime Poles had a word for it; *Łapanka*, meaning, a round-up, generally for enforced work purpose, including in the Reich. A *Łapanka* could, or course, be to round-up the unsuspecting for mass execution.

The word, *Łapanka*, fully explained why one’s father, mother, son, daughter, husband, wife, or any other relative or friend failed to reach home. And this happened nearly 1.7 million times over a five year period, from 1940 until the turn of 1944/45, in the case of Poles, and several million times more involving Ukrainians, Belarusians, Balts and Yugoslavs.

Now, one of the agencies that had helped ensure Germany’s attainment of full employment, which was achieved by Hitler within about two years of gaining power in January 1933, was the little-highlighted Organization Todt (OT), named after its chief executive officer, Fritz Todt, who died in a February 1942 air crash, to be succeeded by Hitler’s favourite architect, Albert Speer.

Between 1933 and 1938 OT, using conscripted German labour was involved in constructing the Reich’s *autobahn* network that was, amongst other things, viewed as essential for rapid movement of *Wehrmacht* armoured and other units east-west across the Reich to promptly engage potential enemies. After 1938 OT’s purpose became more overtly militarily oriented. This would involve some two million workers. OT, after 1942, under Speer as Reich Minister for Armaments and War Production (*Reichsministerium für Rüstung und Kriegsproduktion*), diversified its labour force to include guest workers (*Gastarbeitnehmer*), military internees (*Militärinternierte*), civilian workers (*Zivilarbeiter*), “volunteer” POWs (*Hilfswillige*) and last of all eastern workers (*Ostarbeiter, or Arbeiter aus dem Osten*).

“Approximately 1.4 million labourers were in the service of the [Todt] Organisation. Overall, one percent was Germans rejected from military service, and 1.5 percent were concentration camp prisoners; the rest were prisoners of war **and compulsory labourers from occupied countries [Ostarbeiter]** [Emphasis added]. All were effectively treated as slaves (*niewolnicy*) and existed in the complete and arbitrary service of a ruthless totalitarian state. Many did not survive the work or the war”.¹³

The Hitler created Reich therefore increasingly took on the appearance of a vast work-oriented entity, with slavery – something Europe had discarded a millennium or so earlier – playing a pivotal role. This, incidentally, also occurred in that other contemporary totalitarian entity that, for a time, was the Reich’s ally, Stalin’s Soviet Union. Both were slave states, indeed, slave-based empires.

March 1942, the month Józef was “tapped on the shoulder” while snoozing on a cold hard wooden bench at a central Poland railway station, thus saw widespread press-ganging of Poles.

But that’s not all, for, on March 21, the month of Józef’s arrest and dispatch into the labour-starved and war-embroiled Reich another Hitler favourite, Fritz Sauckel, was appointed General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment (*Generalbevoll-mächtigter für den Arbeitseinsatz*), further evidence of the desperate need for man and woman power.

“Of the 5 million foreign workers brought to Germany, around 200,000 came voluntarily according to Sauckel himself in his testimony at Nuremberg. The majority of the acquired workers originated from the Eastern territories, especially Poland and the Soviet Union where the methods used to gain workers were very harsh. The *Wehrmacht* was used to press-gang local people, and most were taken by force to the Reich. Conditions of work were extremely poor, and discipline severe, especially for concentration camp prisoners. All the latter were unpaid and provided with starvation rations, barely keeping those workers alive. Such slave labour was widely used by swathes of

¹³ See: John Christopher, *Organisation Todt: From Autobahns to the Atlantic Wall*, Amberley Publishing, Gloucestershire 2014.

German industry, coal mining, steel making, armaments manufacture and so on. It was to be one of the main accusations against Sauckel when he was brought before the Nuremberg trial for his crimes.”¹⁴

Because of this coincidence of Todt’s succession in February 1942 of Speer and Sauckel’s emergence in late March as another “labour czar” it’s not possible to say from whence the order that led to Józef’s arrest originated. But it matters little whether from Organisation Todt or Sauckel’s Labour Deployment since it was one or other; I suspect the latter, which transformed him into an *Ostarbeiter* from early 1942 until the end of 1944, some 32 months. Both agencies enslaved people which is why Speer and Sauckel were arraigned before the post-war International Military Tribunal convened in Nuremberg where each was declared guilty of crimes against humanity. Slave master Speer was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment, while his confrère, Sauckel, was executed by hanging.

At Nuremberg American prosecutor Thomas Dodd declared: “The Nazi foreign labour policy was a policy of mass deportation and mass enslavement . . . of under-feeding and over-working foreign labourers, of subjecting to every form of degradation, brutality, and inhumanity . . . a policy which constituted a flagrant violation of the laws of war and the laws of humanity.”¹⁵

The prime reason for the marked boosting of *Ostarbeiter* numbers was, of course, that nine months before Speer and Sauckel emerged as wartime slave masters, on June 22 1941, Hitler had given the order for the launching of *Operation Barbarossa*, his second long-intended eastward thrust that he believed would be successfully concluded in about the same time as he’d taken to defeat, with Soviet help, Poland, so six weeks. But, as we know, that hope was not realized. It would, in fact, be reversed during mid-1943 and this second eastern venture ended in May 1945, with the Red Army occupying Berlin and Hitler suiciding in his Chancellery’s bunker. But notwithstanding that, this Napoleonic miscalculation meant an increasingly desperate need for labour to ensure the *Reich’s* economy met growing wartime needs. And food, all farm output, was essential not only to help nourish the *Reich’s* Home Front, but also the Eastern Front, manned by several million *Reich* Germans, *Volksdeutsche*, plus men from an array of allied states, including Finland, Bulgaria, Italy, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, with smaller units from Denmark, Croatia, Spain, Ukraine, Norway, Albania, and Vichy France.

Poland was, of course, absent from this alliance. Hundreds of thousands of Poles instead fought alongside Winston Churchill’s lonely Great Britain and soldiers of the several other exiled governments of north-western and south-eastern Europe whose forces had similarly fled to Great Britain during 1940 and 1941. These so-called “London Poles” established a functioning government, a parliament, and military headquarters with clandestine links – radio and couriers - to Europe’s largest continental resistance movement, their *Armia Krajowa* (Home Army). But on the largely *Reich*-controlled continent there were over 1.6 million Polish *Ostarbeiter* unwillingly assisting Poland’s then main enemy and occupant that set about in September 1939, with the Soviet Union’s assistance, to annihilate the Polish nation.

Within this continent-wide bloody hurly-burly, Józef’s humble role would be ploughing, sowing, harvesting and otherwise cultivating several small fields near what is again the French Lorrainian village of Kemplich during much of 1942, all of 1943, up until late 1944, when soldiers of the legendary General George Patton’s Third Army, XX Corp, arrived, five months after it had landed on Normandy’s now famous beaches.

Helena Poprzeczna (1917-2008)

Helena’s forcible entry into *Ostarbeiter* ranks also arose due to a Hitlerite program, which, like Organization Todt and Sauckel’s Labour Deployment, moved into full flight during 1942.

The program, known of in more recent years, but not during the war, when it was unheard of in the *Reich* and the West, was called *Generalplan Ost*. Its origins can be dated to at least 1925, or more specifically, to the following paragraph in Adolf Hitler’s famous book, *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle).

¹⁴ See: Steffen Rassloff, *Fritz Sauckel: Hitlers “Muster-Gauleiter” und “Sklavenhalter”*. Schriften der Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Thüringen, Bd. 29, Erfurt 2007.

¹⁵ <http://histclo.com/essay/war/ww2/cou/ger/eco/total.html>

“And so we National Socialists consciously draw a line beneath the foreign policy tendency of our pre-War period. We take up where we broke off 600 years ago. We stop the endless German movement to the south [Balkans] and west [United States of America and Canada], and turn our gaze toward the land on the east [Poland and Soviet Union]. At long last we break off the colonial and commercial policy of the pre-War period and shift to the soil policy of the future. Our task, the mission of the National Socialist movement, is to bring our own people to such political insight that they will not see their goal for the future in the breath-taking sensation of a new Alexander’s [the Great] conquests, but in the industrious work of the German plough, to which the sword need only give soil.”¹⁶



Helena Krępińska-Poprzeczny (nee Węclawik). Source: Auschwitz Museum's Archives.

The top secret *Generalplan Ost* was overseen after war's outbreak by *Reichsführer-SS* Heinrich Himmler, who, as his title suggests, was in charge of the expanding Hitler Black Guard. He was also in charge of all police forces in the *Reich* and, after 1939, in all occupied lands.

Crucially, in October 1939 – the month of Poland's dismemberment and occupation - he emerged to head a little-highlighted agency, the *Reichskommissariat für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums*, [*Reich* Commission for the Strengthening of Germanism], whose task was set down by Hitler as being “to reorganize the ethnographic conditions” of Europe. This meant Himmler oversaw all the *Reich's* racial and demographic (as opposed to labour deploying) programs. Himmler would thus administer all expulsions of non-Germans and the settling of Germans in their place. Expulsion of Slavs and the resettling of Germans was the core aspiration – nothing superseded it - of wartime Nazidom which is why *Generalplan Ost* was so assiduously worked upon in Himmler's Berlin SS headquarters and added to and refined in the occupied Polish city of Lublin where Himmler's ardent district *SS-Brigadeführer* Odilo Globocnik had been based since November 1939.

During 1942 Globocnik thus emerged firstly as an ethnic cleanser of Poles, and secondly as head of the Jewish genocide now known as the Holocaust which meant he planned, built, and administered the three primary killing (meaning gassing) centres of the top secret Hitler/Himmler Jewish exterminating program codenamed *Aktion Reinhardt*: Treblinka, Sobibor and Belzec.

Aktion Reinhardt was viewed as the Final Solution of Europe's so-called Jewish Question whereas the less well-known *Generalplan Ost* was to be the demographically far larger Final Solution of the so-called Slavic Question.

Less well-known beyond today's Poland, and virtually unknown in the western world, including in its academies, until very recent time, is the fact that in November 1942, Globocnik launched across the region called *Zamojszczyzna* – Poland's Zamość Lands – which are south of Lublin, a large trial

¹⁶ *Mein Kampf*, (Paperback), Adolf Hitler, Ed. Donald Cameron Watt, pp 598-90.

run for *Generalplan Ost* that involved forcible removal of Polish peasants from some 300 villages, including Helena's Skierbieszów, the first village to be so "ethnically cleansed".¹⁷

All up some 110,000 Zamość Lands peasants would be expelled from their homes – the intended figure being near 600,000. Among them were 30,000 children who were separated from families. Helena's 18-month old daughter, Zofia, my half-sister, was one of these.

Most of the expellees found themselves being dispatched into the *Reich*, as *Ostarbeiter*. If elderly or infirmed, they were cast away, sometimes with their or others' children, to live in vacated villages across occupied Poland. Other children were scattered far and wide, including some even into the *Reich* following racial examination and classification because their appearance deemed them as racially valuable.

However, three trainloads of these adults each carrying several hundred peasant expellees – including Helena (her Auschwitz-Birkenau Prisoner Number 26,950), her husband, mother, uncles, and aunts - were dispatched from a Zamość transit camp to Auschwitz-Birkenau where only she survived.¹⁸

While there, from mid-December 1942 until August 1944, she briefly lived in the main camp and later in sub-camp, Babice, quite near the main camp and killing centre around which she and hundreds of other women drained and cultivated the swampy Silesian terrain planting and harvesting rape seed, potatoes and beetroot.

Auschwitz-Birkenau was essentially an enormous Maoist-style Communard with working internees involved in horticultural task to help feed internees, administrators and the guard contingent.

However, in August 1944, 500 women were transferred by rail to Lorraine, France, then incorporated into the *Reich*, to work in a munitions factory near Thionville (renamed Diedenhofen during the German occupation of 1940-45) alongside sub-camp Natzweiler-Ebingen. These women were designated to work at *Westmark GmbH, Reich Works Hermann Goering, Canton Hayingen*.¹⁹

However, this was a relatively short-lived affair since several Allied armies – including a Polish one - were advancing eastwards from Normandy's beachheads where they'd landed the previous month.

Consequently, German authorities decided to withdraw with these women *Ostarbeiter* eastwards, back into Germany proper – the *Alt Reich* - during which many if not all escaped into nearby forests when their column was strafed by Allied fighter aircraft. Helena, with several others, hid out for some time below ground in the deserted, since 1940, tunnels of France's Maginot Line.

She and the others slowly surfaced – they, in fact, did so late each day to scavenge nearby fields for food, such as uncollected potatoes - and with help and advice of *Ostarbeiter* field workers living in and around the village called Kemplich eventually decided to enter it to "try their luck". There she became a housekeeper, housemaid, *haus frau*, to an elderly *Volksdeutsche bauer* (farmer), Herr Herder, whose cottage was a little way from another such farming homestead, Herr Mutti's, where Józef had been living since April 1942.

Matters, at long last, commenced progressing favourably for them.

United States Third Army units would reach Kemplich just before the outbreak of the desperate Hitler-initiated fight-back known as, The Battle of the Bulge (December 16 1944 to January 25 1945). Despite this fighting to Kemplich's north, liberated *Ostarbeiter* across Lorraine were on the brink of

¹⁷ Helena Kubica, *The Extermination at KL Auschwitz of Poles Evicted from the Zamość Region in the Years 1942-1943*, (Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, Oswiecim), 2006. See also: *Hitler's Man in the East, Odilo Globocnik*, Joseph Poprzeczny (McFarland Publishers, (London & Jefferson, North Carolina) 2004, especially pp. 244-255.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* (Helena Krępinska's [nee Węclawik]) passenger train entry destined for Auschwitz-Birkenau is shown at page 50). See also: **Danuta Czech**, *Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939-1945*, From the Archives of the Auschwitz Memorial and the German Federal Archives. (Foreword by Walter Laqueur); Henry Holt & Company, an Owl Book, New York. 1997. pp. 284-85. [Primary source for this entry shown as: Report of the Transport of 644 Poles to the Labor Camp Auschwitz on December 10, 1942, by SS Second Lieutenant Heinrich Kinna of December 16, 1942.] Entry for December 13, 1942.

¹⁹ <http://www.tenumbergreinhard.de/05aaff9bed0fa4003/05aaff9bfd089ea2f/05aaff9bdc090c41f.html> and, *Ibid.* **Danuta Czech**, p. 693. [Primary source for this entry is shown as "Materials of the Resistance Movement, vol. VIIIId. pp. 71-75, 89ff., List of Names."] Entry for August 21, 1944.

being processed for relocation into UNRRA holding camps within the *Reich* as soon as the front recommenced moving eastwards.

UNRRA & IRO Take over

Józef and Helena with other *Ostarbeiter* across eastern Lorraine were gradually evacuated by US Army truck to the ancient, in fact, onetime Roman city, of Trier – birthplace of Karl Marx – to live in a camp, commandeered from the *Wehrmacht* by UNRRA and subsequently utilised by IRO in what was designated as the French Zone of the conquered *Reich*.

This would be their home until late 1949 when assessment and acceptance by Australian immigration officials for entry into Australia occurred. By way of an aside three things impressed my father about his prospect of emigrating to Australia; firstly, he looked favourably upon Australia, seeing it as a British country; secondly, Australia was a long way from Europe, which had undergone two continent-wide wars within 31 years both of which had adversely impacted upon his family, he becoming an *Ostarbeiter* and his father, a conscript in Czarist Russia's Army, and a prisoner-of-war of the Austro-Hungarians, (meaning he spent much of World War I compelled to work as a coal miner) and thirdly, he learned that Australia's then Prime Minister, Ben Chifley, had been a locomotive driver.

Professor Klaus Neumann of Swinburne University of Technology, in the introduction to his published extensive bibliography, *The Resettlement of Refugees in Australia*, summarises well migrant processing: "Between the late 1940s and the late 1950s, refugees who had been selected by Australian officials overseas in collaboration with the IRO, the UNHCR and the Intergovernmental Organisation for European Migration (ICEM) and were resettled in Australia, were considered to be an integral part of the overall migrant intake. They had to meet criteria similar to those developed for other components of the immigration program: they had to pass stringent medical tests, and the adults among them had to have good employment prospects."²⁰

The latter point, having "good employment prospects" in fact meant accepting to work for two years wherever one was assigned.

Displaced people, refugees, call them what you will, had not opted to come to Australia to merely settle. No. They'd come to become New Australians, and like their Older Australian predecessors – from convicts to miners to farmers, and the like – they were expected to work, care for themselves and their families, something virtually all DPs, including in most cases their wives, promptly did so as to make-up for their "lost", meaning unpaid or little paid, *Ostarbeiter* years.

Western Australia & Wyalkatchem, (1950-70)

Things moved rapidly since Australian taxpayers had taken over. This meant prompt relocation – feeding and housing at Canberra's expense – from Trier to a transit camp in Dietz, near Frankfurt-am-Main. Then, by rail again, to Camp Bagnoli, near Naples, Italy, with one's chattels in several large homemade pinewood chests, after which came boarding the refitted German cargo ship, *Nurnberg*, which Great Britain acquired after V-E Day as war trophy and which was subsequently purchased by the Irish Bay Line and renamed Dundalk Bay. Next, via the Suez Canal, Aden and Colombo, came disembarkation at Fremantle's Victoria Quay. From there, again by rail, to a Northam migrant camp for six months and in September 1950 further eastwards to Wyalkatchem following assignment for two years work with the Western Australian Government Railways (WAGR), a condition of entry into Australia. Wyalkatchem would be home until 1970.

Life during those first two years meant living in two white canvas tents, with wooden plank flooring, that faced each other, alongside a similar sized corrugated iron kitchen. The tents were located near bushland south of Wyalkatchem's railway station within a camp housing 15 or so displaced persons families, all living in dual tent arrangements. To these dwellers, all non-English speakers, the complex quickly became known as "*de kemp*". But the next 18 years saw Józef, Helena,

²⁰<http://apo.org.au/files/Research/resettlement%20bibliography%2010%20December%202013.pdf> p.1

and family living in two low-rent WAGR houses within the town, on Flint Street and Railway Terrace.

By 1970 Józef, a pre-war trained tailor and successful small business proprietor, had assisted in laying jarrah, karri and wandoo railway sleepers, if not everyone then close to that on WAGR's narrow gauge tracks between Wyalkatchem and midway to Dowerin, Koorda and Trayning. Helena also worked during those years, either as chambermaid or cook at Wyalkatchem Hotel and/or Hospital and at the town's dry cleaners.

Looking Back: An Overview

One can easily argue that life for Wyalkatchem's post-war migrants was difficult, with some perhaps even tempted to contend it was arduous. All the evidence for promoting victimhood is, on first inspection, there for easy presentation.

Wyalkatchem was situated well inland from Perth, capital of a state then and long afterwards considered to be Australia's "Cinderella", meaning it was the poorest of the states, the one most needing a degree of central government funding. Although Wyalkatchem's town residents had electricity, those living in the railway camp did not. Camp dwellers relied on candles and kerosene lamps. No one, as far as I can recall, had a refrigerator, just one of those ingenious Western Australian inventions, the "Coolgardie Safe". People lived, in the main, under canvas, not beneath tiles or corrugated iron. And there were encounters with all those other things that made one quickly realize you were in or near the Australian bush: tiger snakes, red-back spiders, bobtail goannas, lots of mice, and hot, very hot, summers, from early November until mid-March. Wyalkatchem was certainly not noted for having relief from early evening breezes like Perth's suburban "Fremantle Doctor".

For a migrant the English language was not only a strange one, but a damn difficult one to grasp. Germans, Dutch and even Scandinavians found English far less difficult to master. But for Slavs, its irregular grammar, syntax and the definite article were completely unfamiliar and proved to be extremely difficult to firstly comprehend and then master. Notwithstanding this, all the adult migrants watched their children rapidly mastering their new language, to the point where some of these offspring eventually ceased using their mother tongue, even in the home.

All the migrants earned what was then called the Basic Wage, whereas farmers at the time, especially during the early 1950s, were experiencing, for the first time in their farming careers it should be added, big and growing incomes. Farming families generally had summer holidays away from the town, at the coast, in or near Mandurah, Rockingham or another such resort, whereas migrant families remained in the town over hot summer months. But let's not forget that only a quarter of a century earlier, during the 1920s and before, forebears of those Wyalkatchem farmers lived under even more arduous circumstances in the bushland surrounding the township where they were carving out family farms.

Farmers' problems in the early 1950s were instead focused upon minimizing income tax because of the wool boom, sparked by the unexpected outbreak of the Korean War, the western world's first post-war military encounter with Soviet Bolshevism via proxies – China and North Korea. This, of course, confirmed to some of Wyalkatchem's new residents that they'd chosen well by not returning to a Bolshevised or "people's" Poland.

And it was this decision, which is *the invisible crux* of migrants' lives in Wyalkatchem during the early 1950s, when, yes, being a migrant was relatively tough, if not arduous. *All, and their children, were, if nothing else, free.*

The visible benefits for Józef and Helena were: steadily rising real incomes, educating their children, home and automobile ownership in Perth after 1970, access to ever-improving medical services, becoming naturalised Australians, and tranquil retirement.

Simple outcomes perhaps, but ones far removed from their *Ostarbeiter* and UNRRA/IRO camp years.

It would be 45 years, 1989, before Bolshevism was expunged from Poland, when *Solidarność*, a purposive patriotic and civic-minded *pospolite ruszenie* force,²¹ that mobilised virtually all of Polish society – including many long-time Communists - to effect, by non-military means, a historic transformation of society and its governance.

Neither Józef nor Helena, nor their children, ever contemplated emigrating to Poland. On the contrary, Helena's daughter from her first marriage, Zofia, from whom she'd been separated in a transit camp in Zamość in early December 1942, emigrated to Perth in 1981 with her husband, John Rurka and daughter, Basia. All of the Poprzeczny's saw themselves as Australians; and no longer as "new" ones. But well before the turn of the 21st century official policy had long ago discarded emphasis on Australianness – opting instead to sideline it for an 'ism' in an age of 'isms'; multiculturalism.

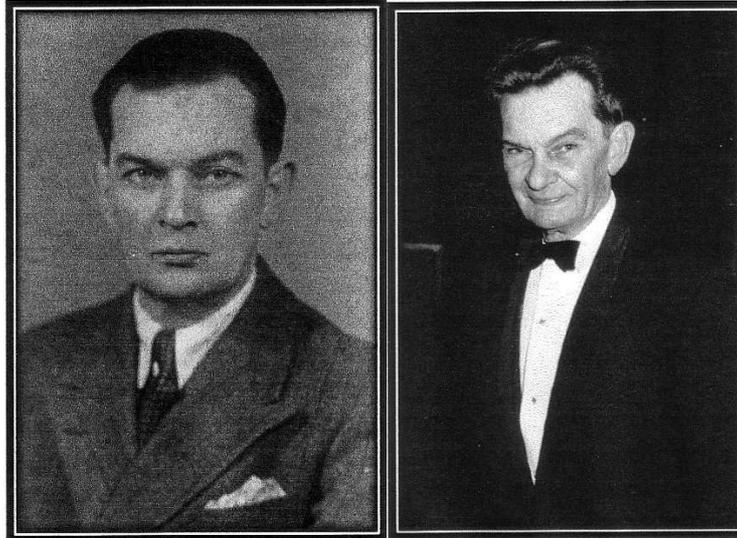
If, as some argue, Australia's convict era can or should be viewed as the 19th century's most successful prisoner reform program ever, then surely Anglo-Celtic Australia's mid-20th century *Ostarbeiter* intake can be similarly judged a success. Whether the same will be able to be said of what has followed is less certain.

Joseph Poprzeczny was born in Trier, West Germany, and lived in Wyalkatchem from late 1950 until early 1965, when he left to study full-time in Perth. He has taught at several universities, served on the personal staffs of three federal parliamentarians, was research director at the Perth Chamber of Commerce, and has been a reporter with numerous newspapers and political commentator with Curtin University's-FM Radio. His biography of Hitler's most vicious genocidal killer and ethnic cleanser, *Hitler's Man in the East, Odilo Globocnik* (McFarland Publishers, Jefferson, North Carolina & London, 2004) has been re-released by the Czech Academy of Sciences in the Czech language, under the title, '*Hitleruv kat na Vychode, Odilo Globocnik*' in 2009.

²¹ The nearest English equivalents of "pospolite ruszenie" are probably: "Summoned to the defence of the realm" or "A call to Arms".

Stefan Mystkowski
(Melbourne)

Zbigniew Wiktor Józef Mystkowski **A Short Biography**

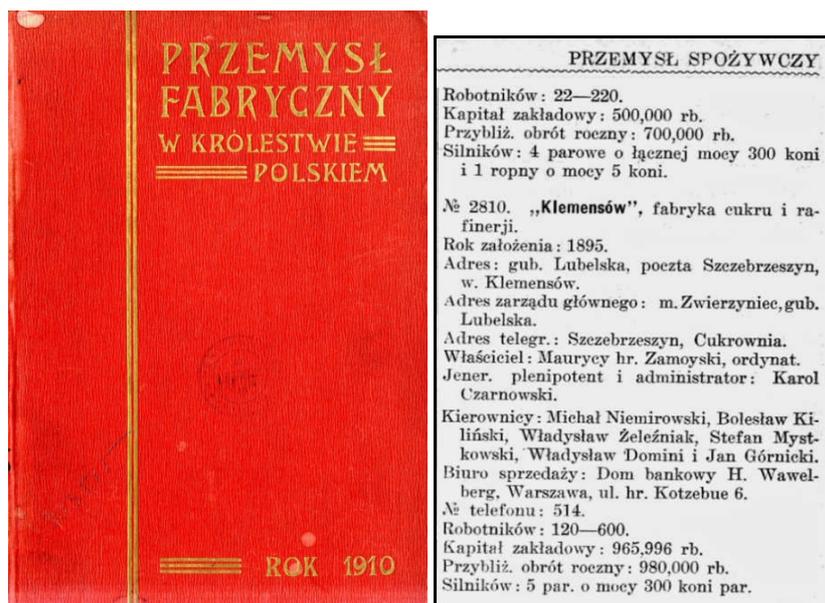


Poland as we know it today didn't exist in the early days of the twentieth century; the area that it now covers was divided between the Russian Empire, the Kingdom of Prussia and Hapsburg Austria. Within the Russian Empire there existed the Kingdom of Poland, theoretically an autonomous area known as Congress Poland it was, in effect, a puppet state of the Russian Empire.



Congress Poland or Kingdom of Poland was part of the Russian Empire, west of the dotted line, 1815-1921

A hundred years earlier to the west, in Prussian-held Silesia, Franz Karl Achard established the world's first beet sugar factory. In 1895 Count Maurycy Klemens Zamoyski (1871-1939), who prior to WWII was the largest landowner in Poland, established a beet sugar factory in Klemensów, about 250 km south-east of Warsaw.



This entry in the 1910 edition of the publication “Manufacturing Industry in the Kingdom of Poland” is virtually identical to those in the 1906 & 1908 versions. Each shows Zamoyski as owner (właściciel) and Stefan Mystkowski as one of the managers (kierownicy) of the firm

Stefan Wiktor Józef Mystkowski was born in Cisew, near Turek, on March 21st, 1873, one of seven siblings to Paweł Jan Mystkowski and his wife Maria (nee Leinweber).



Maria and Paweł Jan Mystkowski

Stefan married Anna-Maria Schellenberg on August 13th, 1904 in Poznań. Anna was born in Poznań on July 27th, 1877 one of four siblings to Hugo Fryderyk and Helena (nee Kunkel) Schellenberg.¹ They resided in a company house on the premises of the Klemensów Sugar Factory.

¹ Parents of Anna Maria Schellenberg married in the St. Mary Magdalene Parish (record 58/1868) in Poznań in 1868. Hugo was a distiller (of vodkas and liqueurs), living in Poznań at St. Martin 29. He died on February 16, 1902. Helena died on March 4, 1910 in Klemensów.



Stefan in 1899 aged 26



Stefan's wife, Anna-Maria

Klemensów owed its development to the existence of the sugar factory. It was a small village close to the city of Szczepieszyn into which it was eventually absorbed in 1934. Originally it had been the summer residence of the Zamoyski family and from 1809 to 1941 served as their seat of power. The founder of the factory and XVth Ordynat of Zamość, Count Maurycy Klemens Zamoyski², was a nobleman, politician, social activist, ambassador in Paris 1919-1924, candidate for the Polish Presidency in 1922, and for a short time in 1924 Minister for Foreign Affairs of Poland. He died on May 5th 1939.

Zamoyski's influence on Stefan Mystkowski's political thinking cannot be gauged today, but what is known is that Stefan was on the board of Towarzystwo Gimnastyczne Sokół (Falcon Gymnastic Association) in Szczepieszyn and was president of Liga Morska i Kolonialna (Maritime & Colonial League) in Klemensów.

Towarzystwo Gimnastyczne Sokół (Falcon Gymnastic Association) was a Polish youth organization whose motto was, "*In a healthy body, a healthy mind*". It started as an organisation promoting physical fitness, communal spirit and patriotic values. Originally concentrating on gymnastics, it expanded to horse riding, shooting and other activities. Originally banned in the Kingdom of Poland it developed a paramilitary character taking part in the push for national freedom. The organisation was again banned from 1939-1988 by, in turn, the Nazis and then the Soviets.

Liga Morska i Kolonialna (Maritime & Colonial League) was a Polish social organisation, supported by influential politicians, whose purpose was to educate the Polish nation about maritime issues. It actively supported the development of both a merchant fleet and navy, as well as the creation of Polish colonies and overseas possessions. Originally, the League was a public body, with limited membership, soon afterwards, it was taken over by the government, and some say, it became a tool for its propaganda.

Research on Polish Coats of Arms has revealed that the Mystkowski family is entitled to use one of three coats of arms; these are the Jastrzębiec, Rawicz and Puchała. It was the latter of these that in 1969 was carved, in Poland, into onyx on a signet ring as a 21st birthday gift for Stefan, and in 2014 confirmed by Ewa Mystkowska as the one that our Mystkowski family used. Documents later uncovered show that the Mystkowski family were using *herb* Puchała as early as the first half of the 18th century.

² Maurycy Klemens Zamoyski (1871-1939), 15th Lord of Zamość estate (the largest in the pre-World War II Poland), member of the (Polish) National League (1905) and the National Democracy, co-founder and chairman of the Agricultural Society (1903), member of the 1st Russian Duma (1906), vice-chairman of the Polish National Committee in Paris (1916-19), ambassador of Poland in Paris (1919-1924), Minister of Foreign Affairs (1924). He married Princess Maria Róża Sapieha on 18 July 1906.



Puchala



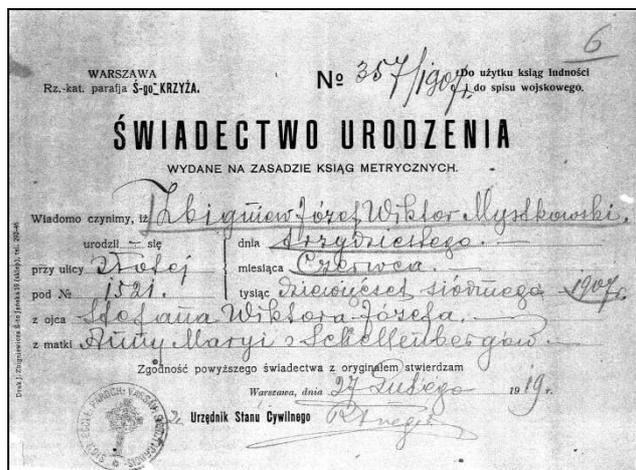
Mystkowski coat of arms

The Russian Empire had continued the use of the Russian Orthodox-based Julian calendar until after the 1917 revolution. As part of Lenin's secularisation of the country they then joined the rest of the world in the use of the Gregorian calendar.

Zbigniew Wiktor Józef Mystkowski was born to Stefan & Anna-Maria in Warsaw's Holy Cross parish in 1907. Therefore his original birth certificate was not only in Russian, but it also showed two birth dates, June 17th (Julian) and June 30th (Gregorian) with the date of the certificate shown as both June 21st and July 4th. The later Polish copy shows the birth date as June 30th 1907.



Russian version of birth certificate



1919 copy in Polish

Zbigniew lived with his parents at the sugar factory in Klemensów for the first seven years of his life, and was raised as a Roman Catholic. The photo below is of a family gathering c.1910, with Zbigniew sitting on a chair holding his mother's hand and his father standing behind her.

In 1914 Zbigniew relocated to Russia and stayed there until 1919. The reasons for this are unknown but at least one document notes that he went as a refugee; this is feasible as much of the fighting on the eastern front during WWI was on Polish soil and, according to one report, about one million Poles fled behind the Russian front to escape the ravages of war.

In 1919 he was, as a result of successful entrance exams, accepted into the private Gimnazjum (High School) of Humanities named Ludwika Lorentza³ which was located at ul. Bracka 18, reportedly one of the best schools in inter-war Warsaw.

³ Ludwik Karol Lorentz (1869-1930), educator and linguist. Married to Maria Schoen. Father of prof. Stanisław Lorentz (1899-1991), director of the National Museum in Warsaw (1936-1982).



(L-R): Back Row: Kazimierz Mystkowski, his wife Zofia (nee Gorczycka), his brother Stefan Mystkowski, their sisters Julia, and Maria Mystkowski, two other brothers names unknown (one is possibly Stanisław), Alicja (Lilka) Binder (daughter from Maryla's first marriage). Second Row: Tadeusz (son of Kazimierz and cousin of Zbigniew), Anna-Maria (nee Schellenberg, wife of Stefan), Maria Mystkowski (nee Leinweber, wife of Paweł), Paweł Mystkowski (grandfather of Tadeusz, Zbigniew and Bohdan), Maryla Mystkowski (nee Kaetzler, previously Binder, wife of Józef), her husband Józef (brother of Stefan and others). Front Row: Zbigniew (son of Stefan and Maria), Bohdan (son of Maryla and Józef, cousin Zbigniew). These names were supplied by Ewa Mystkowska-Bączkowska, daughter of Bohdan.



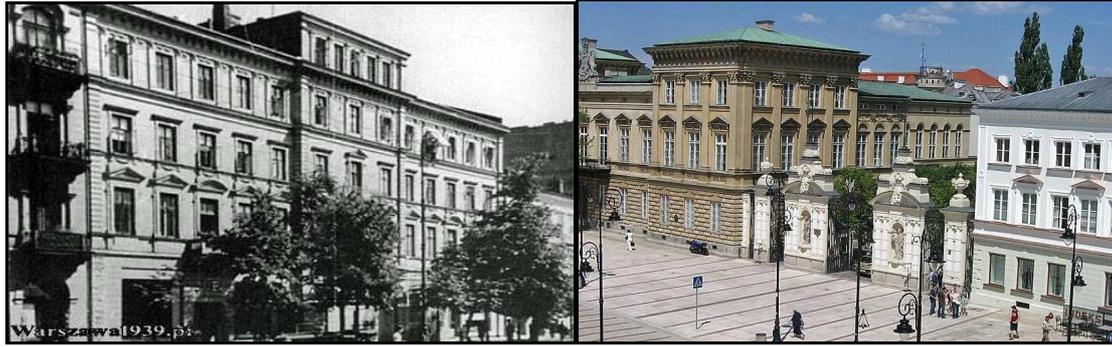
Zbigniew, September 3rd 1918



Ul. Bracka 18, Warsaw

Upon the return of his parents from Russia in 1922 he moved back to Klemensów with them and transferred to the fourth year of the public Gimnazjum of Humanities named Jan Zamoyski in nearby Zamość.

In 1925 he transferred to the seventh year of the co-educational public Gimnazjum of Mathematics and Natural Sciences named Mikolaja Kopernika (Nicholas Copernicus) in Włodzimierz Wołyński (now Volodymyr-Volynskyi in Ukraine).



Alje Jeruzolimskie 20

University of Warsaw main gate

In those relatively early days of the newly-reborn Polish State finances were tight. So whilst the University did receive funds to modernise and grow, they were insufficient to provide free education. Students had to pay annual tuition fees which equated to approximately one month's average salary for a white collar worker. Three quarters of the students supported themselves by working as only 3% of them had stipends. 70% of the students came from outside Warsaw but only one in seven could rely on a place in academic housing.

During the three trimesters, from the spring of 1927 to autumn 1928, Zbigniew studied Algebra, Physics, Analysis, Set Theory and Geometry, obtaining a graduation certificate in September of 1928. His lecturer in Set Theory and Analysis had been Waclaw Sierpiński (1882-1969), the noted Polish mathematician.⁴

L. porz.	PRZEDMIOT	WYKŁADAJĄCY	Ilość godzin
1	Trimester jesienno-zimowy roku ak. 1927/28		
1	Algebra	Biecki	3
2	Fizyka	Piekurowski	5
3	Analiza	Sierpiński	3
4	Teoria mnogości	"	2
5	Geometria	Zorawski	3
6	Trimester wiosenny roku ak. 1927/28		
1	Algebra	Biecki	3
2	Fizyka	Piekurowski	5
3	Analiza	Sierpiński	3
4	Teoria mnogości	"	2
5	Geometria	Zorawski	3
6	Trimester jesienno-zimowy roku ak. 1927/28		
1	Algebra	Biecki	3
2	Fizyka	Piekurowski	5
3	Analiza	Sierpiński	3
4	Teoria mnogości	"	2
5	Geometria	Zorawski	3

University of Warsaw graduation certificate

⁴ Waclaw Franciszek Sierpiński (1882-1963), a Polish mathematician, known for his contributions to *set theory* (research on the *axiom of choice* and the *continuum hypothesis*), *number theory*, *theory of functions* and *topology*. He studied Mathematics and Physics at the University of Warsaw (1899-1903). He taught at the University of Lwów (19-8-1914). During the World War I he was interned by the Russian authorities in Wiatka, released in 1915 moved to Moscow, where he worked with well-known Russian mathematician Niokolai Luzin. He returned to Lwów in 1918. During the Polish-Soviet War (1919-1921), he helped break Soviet Russian ciphers for the Polish General Staff. In 1920, together with Zygmunt Janiszewski and Stefan Mazurkiewicz, he founded an influential mathematical journal *Fundamenta Mathematica*. Professor of the Warsaw University (1918-1960). Three well-known *fractals* are named after him (the *Sierpinski triangle*, the *Sierpinski carpet* and the *Sierpinski curve*, as well as the *Sierpinski crater* on the Moon. He was an author of over 700 various publications, among them: *Introduction to General Topology* (1934) and *General Topology* (1952), *Elementary theory of numbers* (1964).

It is believed however that he continued studies for the following year, 1928/9, as the Warsaw University Archive's records show that that he completed three trimesters in that academic year and that the fees had been duly paid.

In the inter-war period in Poland a series of Cadet Officer Training Schools were established to prepare candidates for the Army Reserve. The candidates were drawn from secondary and higher educational facilities and conscripted for 12 months. During that period their training consisted of both classroom and field disciplines with examinations held at the end of the period with graduates receiving a degree and title of Cadet Corporal. They were then released to the Army Reserve, and upon subsequent practical training with a military unit in the art of command they were commissioned as officers in the Reserve.

In Zambrów, about 100 kilometres N.E. of Warsaw, was situated one of the most famous of these schools, Szkoła Podchorążych Rezerwy Piechoty w Zambrowie (Infantry Reserve Officer Cadet School in Zambrów).

Zbigniew was a member of the 6th Company, 2nd Strzelecki Battalion at this school for the scholastic year 1930/31 attaining qualifications in general combat, rifle and other weapons training, the disciplines of close and open drills, bayonet and grenade combat, pioneering (field engineering), communications, cartography, weaponry, service, gas warfare, army organisation and physical education.



Main gate of the school in Zambrów

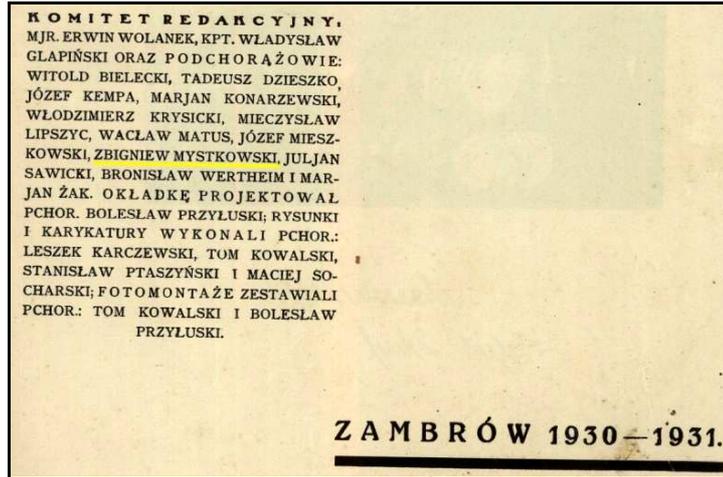
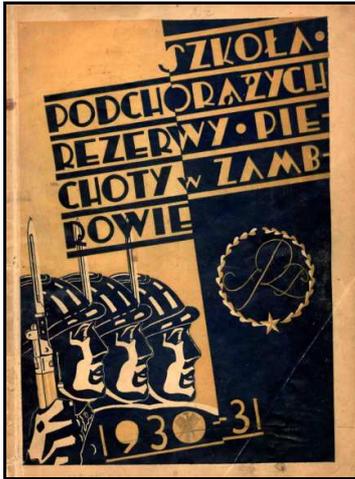


Zbigniew, in cadet uniform c.1930/31

The assessment of his Company Commander (Captain Jarosz Andrzej)⁵ stated that he was highly intelligent, had adequate discipline and education, was smart, bright, occasionally bent the truth to suit himself and that he treated military aspects with less interest than extracurricular activities. Andrzej deemed his efforts could be uneven, as he liked the good life, but he maintained a high morale and loyalty, with good presentation and decision making. He closed with the observation that, with supervision during training, Zbigniew would make good officer material.

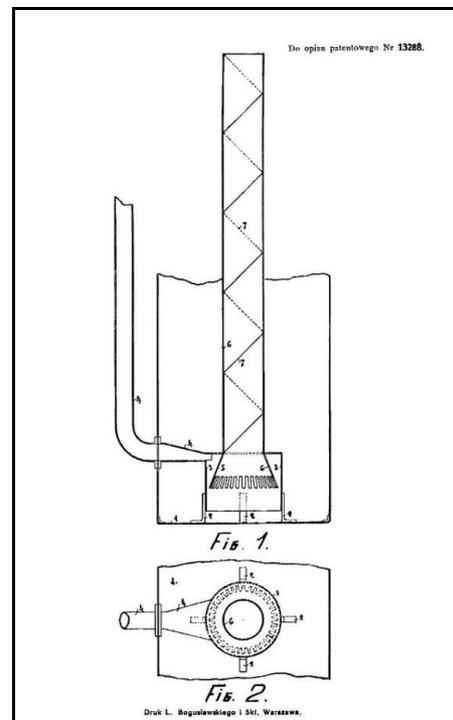
It was there also that the first known record of him as an editor occurs. He is listed as a member of the editorial committee for the 1930/31 yearbook of the school (shown below). He also contributed two articles entitled "Urlop" (Furlough) and "Pierwsze z Ostatnich" (The First of the Last)

⁵ Mjr Andrzej Jarosz, son of Antoni and Aniela (nee Cedził) born on 30 November 1895 in Białobrzegi (County Łańcut). In 1914 soldier of the Eastern Legion (Legion Wschodni) and next of the Austro-Hungarian Army, POW in Russia (1916–1918), soldier of the Polish 5th Siberian Rifle Division (1918-19) under command of Walerian Czuma. Before the World War II he served as an office in the 52nd Infantry Regiment and 17th Infantry Regiment, Infantry Reserve Officer Cadet School in Zambrów and Communications Training Centre. From April 1937 he served in the Regiment "Sarny" of the Border Protection Corps (Korpus Ochrony Pogranicza) and in 1938 he was chief of communications in the "Grodno" Brigade of the Border Protection Corps). In 1939 he was chief of communications of the 33rd Infantry Division (Reserve). Became POW in the Soviet Union and shot dead by NKVD in April 1940 in Piatichatki near Charkiv. He was promoted to the rank of Major on 19 March 1938. Awarded Cross of Independence, Cross of Valour.



Having graduated from the school he continued over the ensuing years to undertake further training with the 36 Pułk Piechoty Legii Akademickiej (36th Infantry Regiment of the Academic Legion).⁶ This was the original name of the unit when it was formed on November 11th, 1918 comprising students from the universities of Warsaw. It was formally accepted into the Polish army in December of that year and on April 5th 1919 was re-named the 36th Infantry Regiment, but was allowed to keep its former name as an honorary title. It was with this unit that Zbigniew finally achieved the rank of Second Lieutenant in the Army Reserve.

Meanwhile Stefan Mystkowski was still working at the sugar factory in Klemensów. What his managerial role was remains a mystery but a clue lies in the fact that on August 16th 1930 he lodged an application for a patent entitled: “**Device for the saturation of foaming liquids, especially sugar beet juice**”.



⁶ 36th Infantry Regiment of the Academic Legion, a Polish military unit, initially made up of students from the universities of Warsaw, fought in the Polish-Bolshevik War (1920), the Polish Defensive War (1939) and in the Warsaw Uprising (1944). Before the WWII the regiment was attached to the 28th Infantry Division and formed a part of the Warsaw garrison. In 1939 the regiment was mobilised under command of Col. Karol Ziemiński and attached to the Łódź Army.

do saturacji cyrkulator, który powoduje w kotle saturacyjnym ruch soku z dolnych warstw do górnych. Sok, który zetknął się z gazem w dolnej części cyrkulatora zostaje podsaturowany i wyfloczony gazem do górnych warstw saturatora. Wskutek tego zawsze świeży sok podchodzi zdołu do cyrkulatora, a przetłoczony do górnych warstw saturatora, jako podsaturowany, nie pieni się.

Im wyższa warstwa soku, tem lepsze jest wyrzucanie CO₂ bez obawy wywołania pienienia się soku.

Sposób ten może być stosowany jak do perypodycznej tak również i do ciągłej saturacji.

Urządzenie, służące do wykonania tego sposobu saturacji, jest przedstawione na rysunku, na którym fig. 1 przedstawia przekrój wzdłuż osi podłużnej cyrkulatora, fig. 2 widok cyrkulatora z góry.

Do dna kotła saturacyjnego (1), zaopieczona łap (2) przymocowana jest dolna cylindryczna część cyrkulatora (3), do górnej części której doprowadzany jest rurą i króćcem (4) gaz saturacyjny. Cylindryczna część cyrkulatora w górnej swej części służy jako zbiornik gazu, w dolnej zaś części — do zagrodzenia gazowi drogi do kotła i skierowania go wyłącznie do lejąwej części (5) cyrkulatora, zaopieczonego u

dołu w wycięciu, celem rozdzielenia gazu na możliwie dużą ilość strumieni.

Gaz saturacyjny, przedostawszy się do lejąwej części (5), tworzy z sokiem emulsję, która przetłaczana jest przez rurę cyrkulacyjną (6) do górnych części saturatora. Celem przedłużenia drogi i czasu stykania się gazu z sokiem rura cyrkulacyjna może być zaopieczona w ślimak (7) lub temu podobne urządzenie.

Zastrzeżenie patentowe.

Urządzenie do saturowania pniących się płynów, zwłaszcza soków buraczanych, oznaczone tem, że do dna kotła saturacyjnego (1) przymocowana jest na łapach (2) cylindryczna część cyrkulatora (3), do górnej części którego przymocowana jest rura (6), zakończona lejąwą częścią (5) z wycięciami u dołu, przycem gaz saturacyjny, doprowadzany króćcem (4) do górnej cylindrycznej części cyrkulatora, dostaje się do lejąwej części (5) i, tworząc emulsję z sokiem, przetłacza go przez rurę cyrkulacyjną (6) do górnych warstw saturatora, i tym sposobem powoduje ruch soków w saturatorze z dolnych warstw do górnych.

Stefan Mystkowski.



The technical nature of the submission and the accompanying drawing leads one to believe that he must have had something to do with the production/engineering side of the business. The patent was granted on March 13th 1931. In a newspaper notice of Stefan and Anna Maria's wedding it gives him the title *chemik* (chemical engineer).

Just two years later, after a long and intense period of suffering, Stefan died on December 4th 1933, aged 61. A funeral service was held in the chapel of the St. Charles Borromeo church in Warsaw, and he was buried at the nearby Powązkowski cemetery.⁷



St. Charles Borromeo church

⁷ Powązki Cemetery (*Cmentarz Powązkowski*), also known as the Stare Powązki (English: Old Powązki) is a historic cemetery located in the district of Wola, western part of Warsaw, established in 1790. There are the graves of many famous people from history of Poland, including those interred along the "Avenue of Notables" (*Aleja Zasłużonych*) established in 1925. The cemetery is often confused with the newer Powązki Military Cemetery, which is located to the north-west of the Powązki Cemetery.



Death notice, submitted by the family,
in Dec. 6th 1933 edition of the Warsaw newspaper
“Nowiny Codzienne” (Daily News)



Stefan's grave at the Powązkowski cemetery



His wife Anna at the graveside

Zbigniew was only 26 years old and single when his father died, his mother just 56 years old. She moved from the company house at the sugar factory in Klemensów to the nearby town of Szczepieszyn.

Apart from the reference to him as editor of the Cadet School yearbook nothing is known of Zbigniew's early career as a journalist even though there are references in some documents to him being in that profession as early as August 1933. By 1934 he was living at Chłodna 17, shown on the right below.



Between August 7th and September 16th 1934 he undertook further military training as a reservist. Then just two months later he married Wanda (aka Jadwiga) Kobylińska⁸ on November 17th, according to the “Nowiny Codzienne” (Daily News). They married in the Holy Cross Church in Warsaw.



Życie Czytelników

P. Zbigniew Mystkowski dn. 17
b. m. poślubił pannę Jadwigę Kobylińską.

Jadwiga according to all other references, was known as Wanda and was about 5 years his junior, having been born in Warsaw on November 1st, 1911. Not a lot is known of her but it was believed that she too was a journalist, and this is possibly how they met. However, from oral history in Poland and one record found there, I no longer believe she was a reporter but worked in some sort of clerical/administrative role.

Just six months later, in May 1935, the first edition of a new daily newspaper hit the streets of Warsaw. The politically oriented “Goniec Warszawski” (Warsaw Courier)⁹ was published seven days

⁸ Wanda (aka Jadwiga) Kobylińska-Mystkowska (1911-1942), daughter of Władysław and Helena (nee Wejroch).

⁹ “Goniec Warszawski”, Polish daily published by Wydawnictwo Goniec Warszawski between 1935-1939, owned by Tadeusz Wiktor Kobyłański (1890-1970), political activist with connections to National League (Liga Narodowa) and industrialist (owner of the factory “Gerlach” in Drzewica). The paper had its own printing shop. Tadeusz Kobyłański in 1935, due to a court action by Jerzy Zdziechowski, lost his share in other papers, “ABC” and “Wieczór Warszawski” (he retrieved his shares in these ventures in the summer of 1936 and decided to open a new daily “Goniec Warszawski”). The editorial staff comprised of former editors of “ABC” and “Wieczór Warszawski”. The editor-in-chief was Stanisław Majewski. In the autumn of 1935 the “Goniec Warszawski” had a circulation of 50-60,000. Sections of the paper, such as the news, were strongly highlighted. The paper was sold not only in Warsaw, but also in Łódź and Sosnowiec, where it was delivered daily by air. Due to the political connections of its owner (“ABC” and “Wieczór Warszawski” fell under the influence of Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny/National Radical Camp and its leader Bolesław Piasecki). “Goniec Warszawski” had a nationalistic profile and was recognised as a paper of opposition until 1938. “Goniec Warszawski” beside “ABC” and “Wieczór Warszawski” was very popular with Warsaw readers. In 1938, T. Kobyłański became a senator of the Republic of Poland. See: Andrzej Paczkowski, *Prasa codzienna Warszawy w latach 1918-1939*, PIW, Warszawa 1983, p. 76-77, 104, 108-9, 117, 129, 131, 219, 233-34, 267-268, 271, 274, 286, 306, 312, 316.

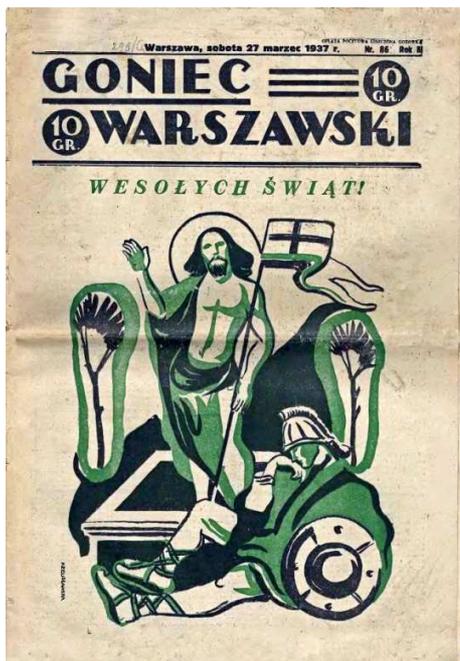
a week, with an illustrated weekly review supplement called “Z kraju i ze świata” (From this Country and the World) being added from 1937.

Family tradition has it that the paper was started by Zbigniew and a colleague but no records can be found to confirm this. The extract below from a 1938 yearbook of Polish Industry & Trade has listed the name, address and contact details (A) the Executive Committee (D) and the Director (E), capital (K) and line of activity (N).

13232. Wydawnictwo Gonic Warszawski, S-ka z o. o. Wr.
A. Warszawa, Szpitalna 12. Tif: 2-05-20, 2-06-24. Bk: B. H. w Warsz. Rejestr: Warszawa B 9957.
D. Stanisław Majewski, Jerzy Kuncewicz, Bolesław Zawadzki.
E. Czesław Krassowski.
K. Zł 40.000.
N. Wydawnictwo dziennika(4671).
P. „Gonic Warszawski”.

As can be seen, if he did in fact have a financial interest in the publication, it wasn't reflected in this record. He is however credited on the back of the newspaper itself as the Political Editor. He continued to work in that capacity up until late August 1939.

From records in London comes a list of newspapers that Zbigniew worked on “Express Poranny”¹⁰, “Kurier Czerwony”¹¹, “Nowiny Codzienne”¹² and “Gonic Warszawski”.



Easter edition, 27.3.1937 (Year 3, no. 86)

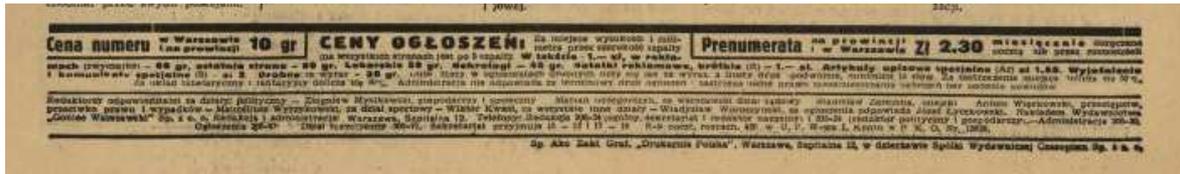


Sunday supplement, 14.8.1938 (Year 2, no. 33)

¹⁰ “Express Poranny”, Polish daily newspaper published in 1922-1939 by Dom Prasy S.A., the editorial office and printing shop were located at Marszałkowska Street 3/5 in Warsaw.

¹¹ “Kurier Czerwony”, Polish daily newspaper published between 1922 and 1939 by Dom Prasy S.A. The paper was founded by Henryk Butkiewicz (publisher and editor-in-chief). In 1932 the paper was amalgamated with “Dobry Wieczór” (established in 1929) and from that time has been known as “Dobry Wieczór. Kurier Czerwony”. The paper had pro-government and pro-Piłsudski’s orientation. The editorial office and printing shop were located at Marszałkowska Street 3/5 in Warsaw.

¹² “Nowiny Codzienne”, Polish daily newspaper, associated with the Polish national movement, published by Mazowiecka Spółka Wydawnicza (1932-1934). Editor-in-chief was Hieronim Wierzyński. From 1935 to 1939 the paper was known as “ABC Nowiny Codzienne”.



Reference to Zbigniew as Political Editor, 1939



28.8.1939 (Year 5, no. 239)



1.9.1939 (Year 5, no. 243)

From Chłodna 17, Zbigniew and Wanda moved to Środkowa 32, at which address he is listed in the Warsaw section of the 1938/39 Polish telephone directory. In the next edition 1939/40 the listing has changed to Czerniakowska 176/10, shown below as it was at that time, alongside the telephone directory extract.

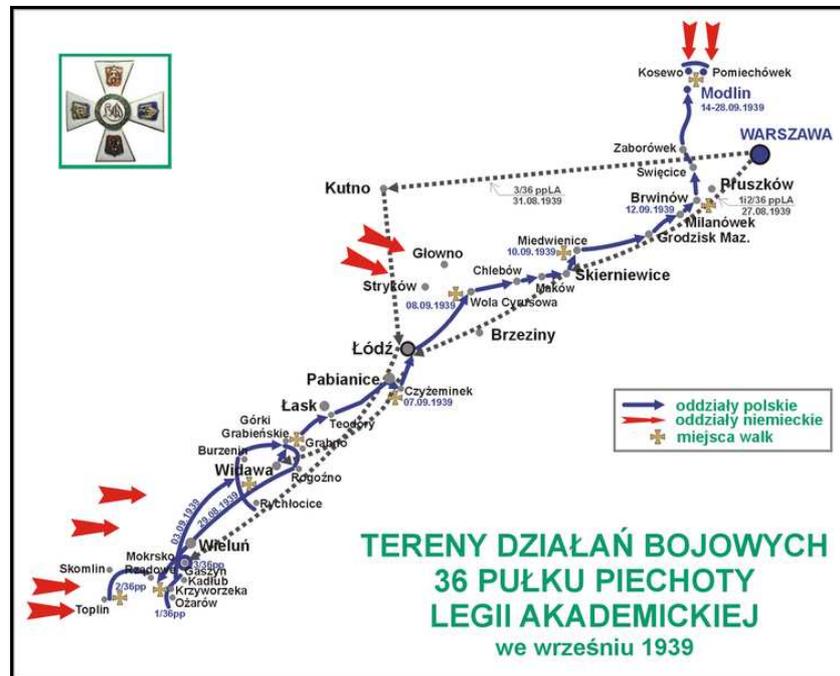


Mys	261	Nag	
9 60 11	Mystkowski Augustyn, inż., Natolińska 6	8 37 18	Myszkiewiczowa Maria, m., Koszykowa 44
7 24 58	Mystkowski Edmund, dr, docent U. J. P., Wila-nowska 4	2 02 95	Myszkorowski B., mag. kolekcji damskiej, Ma-zowiecka 1
6 39 46	Mystkowski Julian, Złota 60	3 23 60	Myszkorowski B. i Sp., dom moul. Mazow. 1
6 80 61	Mystkowski Kazimierz, m., Leszczyńska 5	9 64 44	Myszkorowski Czesław, m., Hoza 50
2 92 05	Mystkowski Stanisław, Króchmalna 45	9 55 54	Myszkorowski Jan, Ujazdowska 20
10 35 32	Mystkowski Paweł, Walecznych 12	2 25 76	Myszkowska Fabryczna, Sztucz. Jedw., T. A., skl. fabr., Focha 6
10 32 93	Mystkowski Tadeusz, m., Maia 7	8 40 35	Myszkowska Halina, Roszart 4
9 04 88	Mystkowski Zbigniew, Czerniakowska 176	4 11 91	Myszkowska Helena, hand: win i wódek; San-domierska 14
9 70 71	Myszyrowicz Maria, m., Ujazdowska 30	9 96 14	Myszkowski Adam, m., Wspólna 18
9 81 59	Myszyrowicz Tadeusz, mgr praw, 6-go Sierpnia 18	3 32 71	Myszkowski Bolesław, adwokat, Nowogrodzka 4
11 70 16	Myszałow Ch. dr i Sp., farb. futer, Miocinska 3	3 32 71	Myszkowski Roman, m., Mazowiecka 11
3 30 67	Myszałow I., m., Sienna 38	5 10 41	Myszkowski Witold, m., Ogrodowa 23
2 63 01	Myszalow Izak, skl. dykt, Ciepła 11	8 13 97	Mytkowski, zob. Cukiernia
11 43 58	Myszalow Mowsha, Nowolipki 23	8 72 97	Mytkowski Leon, m., Krucza 9
9 59 10	Myszczynski Ignacy, inż., biuro techn., Hoza 50		
8 95 80	Myszczynski Ignacy, inż., Hoza 50		

During 1939 Poland, having rejected an alliance with Nazi Germany which would have been tantamount to a total curtailment of Polish sovereignty, signed full military alliances with France and England. Meantime Germany and Russia signed the Molotov-Ribbentrop non-aggression pact on August 23rd 1939, which contained a secret deal to partition Poland between the two signatories. Two days later Britain and Poland signed a Mutual Assistance Treaty.

On the same day as the latter treaty was signed Zbigniew was called up to his army unit, as part of the general mobilization of Polish armed forces, entering with the rank of Second Lieutenant. The 36th Infantry Regiment of the Academic Legion (Pułk Piechoty Legii Akademickiej or PPLA.) was initially dispatched to central Poland.

Germany invaded Poland on September 1st 1939, and as the Nazis advanced the unit pulled back via Wieluń to Brwinów.



Thin arrow shows movements of the 36th PPLA in September 1939. Thick arrow shows German movements, the crosses are the battles.

Early in the morning on September 12th the 36th Regiment entered Brwinów and immediately came under German machine gun fire. That was the start of a day-long, ferocious battle for the control of the town; it was fought street by street and corner by corner. By late that night the remnants of the Polish forces withdrew from the town, outnumbered by a vastly better equipped foe. Behind them they left over 120 fallen comrades and in excess of 200 wounded, many of them in a makeshift field hospital in a building located in the town park.

One of those wounded was Second Lieutenant Zbigniew Mystkowski, who according to a post-war medical report had two scars on his right leg, a result of gunshot wounds. However according to oral family history the wounds were caused by an exploding grenade and were operated on by German doctors for whom Zbigniew had nothing but praise, despite carrying some shrapnel behind his right knee for the rest of his life.



1972 monument in memory of the Battle of Brwinów

So after just 12 days of battle his involvement, as a combatant in the war, was over. Once he had sufficiently recovered from his wounds, he was shipped to a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp for officers, located at Prenzlau in north-eastern Germany, and assigned prisoner number 553.



Zbigniew's POW "dog tags" and official ID photograph

Oflag II-A Prenzlau was originally built in 1936 as a barracks for a German artillery regiment and was converted to a POW camp in 1939. It was set on about seven hectares, only about 100 kilometres from Berlin, and was divided into two compounds, Lager A, which contained four three storey prisoner barracks (named Block A,B,C & D), and an administration and canteen block, all set around a soccer pitch.

Lager B contained various garages and workshops some of which were used as additional prisoner accommodation. The camp was surrounded by a double barbed-wire fence with seven watchtowers.

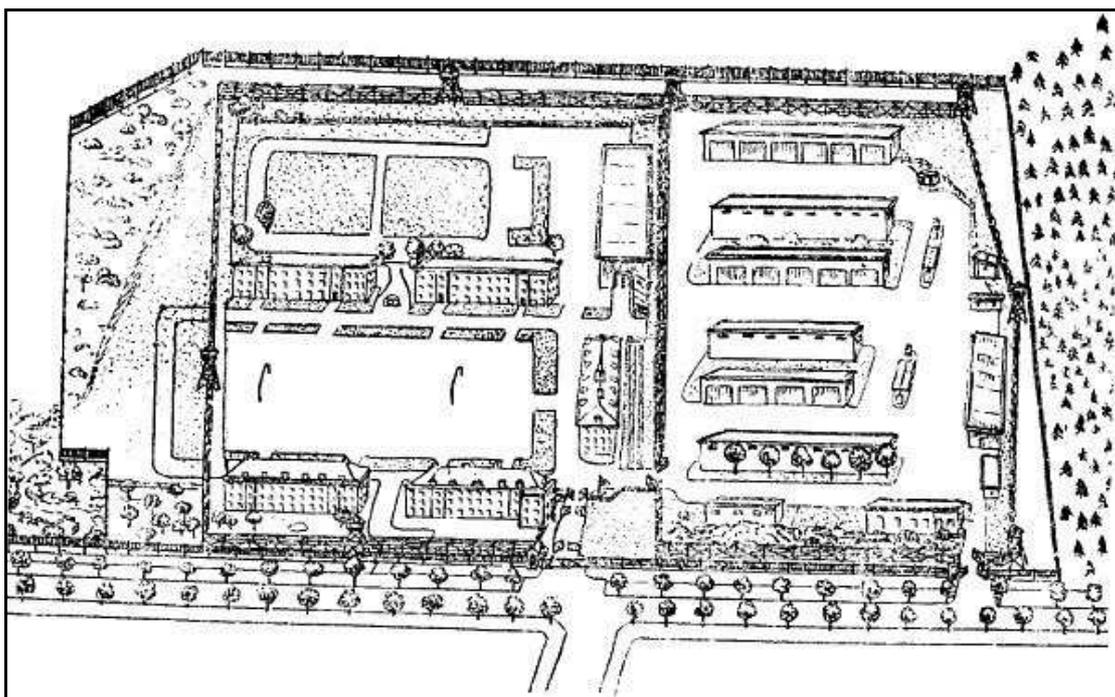
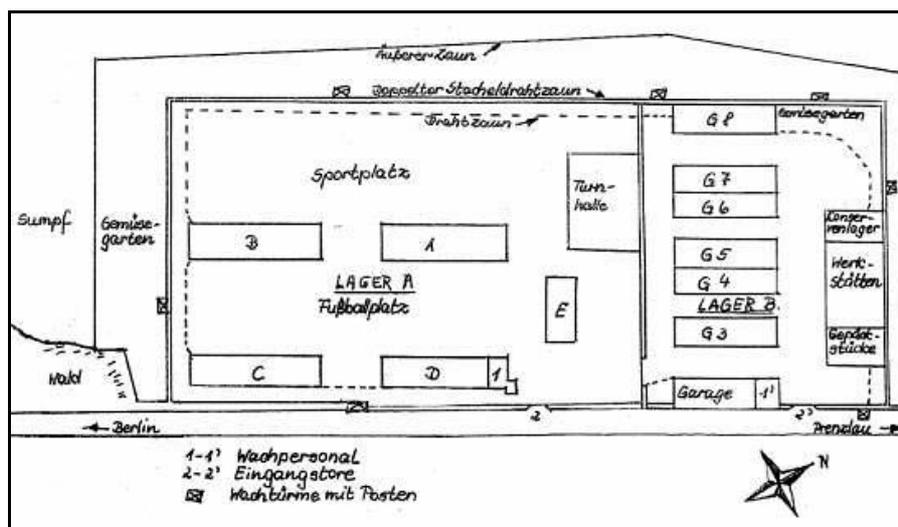


Diagram of Oflag II-A Prenzlau



Diagrams of Oflag II-A Prenzlau

On May 26th 1940 Dr. Marti¹³ from the International Red Cross in Geneva visited the camp and here are some of his observation and findings (translated from the original French by Nathalie Marchand in 2011).

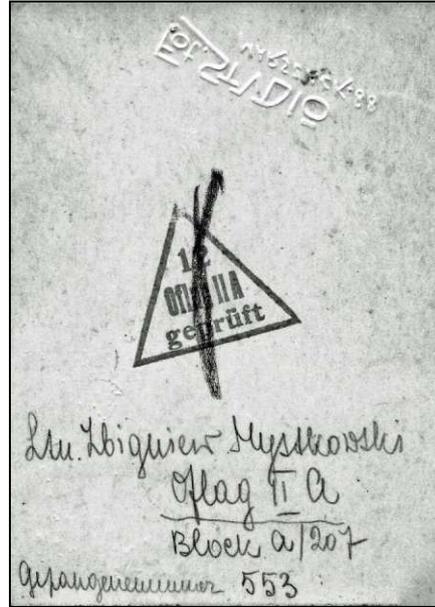
- There are a total of 3100 prisoners of various ranks being held.
- The higher ranking officers sleep on the 1st & 2nd floors, mainly three to a room, which are fitted out with beds, wardrobes and tables.
- They are allowed to cook their own meals on small stoves, supplies coming from parcels sent by families in Poland.
- Second lieutenants and other junior officers are housed in the attic where it is a little cramped.
- Food - Identical to that of the German officers (sufficient, nothing more).
- Clothing – Their uniforms are sometimes patched.
- Canteen – The usual staples and objects plus beer and lemonade
- Hygiene – Installation of disinfection as there is scabies among the officers. Physical exercise is under the supervision of specialised Polish officers, plus there is a football pitch.
- Infirmary – Nothing noteworthy. One German doctor, 8 Polish doctors, 2 dentists plus 3 medical students two of whom are near the end of their training. No serious cases as these are sent to the military hospital.
- Distractions - Intellectual - There is a well stocked library and sufficient games. The prisoners have formed a wonderful orchestra and choir.
- Discipline – The camp commandant gives them complete freedom of the organisational structure in the barracks. There is one chief per block and a company commander for each floor. The men wear their insignias, medals and ranks and salute each other appropriately.
- They receive their salaries and are permitted to send 100 zlotys per month to their families.
- Mail - They are permitted to send 2 letters and 4 cards per month. There is no limitation on incoming mail.
- Parcels – There are 4 rooms full of parcels, 2 from families and 2 from Alexandre Osinski (*no explanation is given as to who or what this person or organisation was*) as prisoners are only allowed 4 parcels per week. The Polish officers decided that the parcels must be shared as about half received nothing as their families live in Russian-held Poland.
- There is a beautiful gym hall which converts to a concert hall, and a reading room for officers wishing to study or read.

¹³ Dr Roland Marti, worked as the International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC) representative in Spain during the Civil War (1936-39), he was a head of the ICRC mission in Germany (1939-44).

- The second part of the camp is overcrowded as 1000 additional officers have recently arrived. The men sleep in sleeping bags or simply on straw. I have been assured that this will be remedied in the next few weeks.
- There are concerns for family both in Soviet-held Poland, where family members have been sent to Siberia, and in German-held Poland, where children have been separated from their mothers and sent to Germany as labourers. The German camp authorities denied knowledge of such things but admitted that a few women had gone to work in Germany of their own volition.
- Once my visit was over I attended a very moving performance of the orchestra and choir.



Wanda Mystkowska c1940



Back of Wanda's photo

One of the things that Zbigniew received in his mail at the camp was this photo of his wife taken in a Warsaw studio. The back of that photo shows that it was addressed to him at Block A room 207 at Oflag II-A, also his POW number. The German censor had stamped it as checked.

The popular belief amongst the prisoners was that once Poland's allies France, England and the U.S.A. entered the war Germany would be quickly defeated and they would regain their freedom. When, nine months later, the British evacuation of Dunkirk was followed by the fall of France to the Nazis the mood in the camp changed to one of resignation to a long incarceration.

The thoughts of the inmates turned to ways of occupying mind and body with some sense of purpose and worth. Many turned to the library, however there were insufficient books and Zbigniew had read them all before the end of the year.

Books were not the only scarce resource, there was a general shortage of just about everything and a black market soon developed. Straight to the top of the black marketeers' list went cigarettes which had originally been supplied by the Germans at a rate of three per day. The price jumped one hundredfold from the initial few pfennigs to five marks each.

This was a disaster for a chain-smoking second lieutenant whose salary of 24 marks bought less than 5 cigarettes for a 10 day period. His attempts to stave off the depression caused by lack of supply were a dismal failure. As an alternative to tobacco he tried dried rose petals mixed with straw which he found to be too bitter and dried apple skins too mild. How to get sufficient fags, or the money to buy them, troubled his mind.

One day whilst hanging out his washing he looked down the line of tattered linen and socks and an idea came to him, mending and darning. To start a business one needs to advertise, the Germans had provided a noticeboard but all notices put up had to be in two languages, German and Polish, and that went against the grain. So a wordless idea developed, he took one of his oldest socks

and tore a saucer-sized hole in it, he then darned the hole in black and white and selectively pulled threads out to create an image of a large needle with an arrow pointing to his address A207.

The enterprise was an instant success, so much so in fact that he had little time left for anything else but mending and darning, this led to a different problem, exhaustion. Enough was enough, there had to be an easier and more profitable way, but what?

Second Lieutenant Waclaw Bulzacki had been an architectural student at the University of Warsaw prior to the outbreak of war. He was born on April 4th 1915 in Warsaw; the eight year age difference meant that he and Zbigniew probably never met at university. Suffice to say they had developed a friendship in the camp and it was to Bulzacki that he turned to try and find that better way.

In his May 9th 1941 report the International Red Cross's Dr. Descoedres¹⁴ noted that Oflag II-A had been a camp for Polish officers until early 1941. These officers were then transported to Oflag II-E in Neubrandenburg (about 75 kilometres NW of Prenzlau), and their place taken by Belgian POWs.

The "Lager Fünfeichen" POW complex at Neubrandenburg was massive (a December 1944 prisoner census stated a total of 25,720) and consisted of two main camps, namely the original Stalag IIA holding enlisted men and Oflag II-E holding officers. In addition there were about 50 POW sub-camps known as Arbeitslager (labour camps) holding enlisted men below the rank of sergeant, who had been stripped of their military status and sent to work in industry and on farms.

Oflag II-E, according to various International Red Cross (IRC) reports of the day, was divided into two sections Lager B which held higher ranking officers in what are described as the usual style of camp barracks and, 300 metres away, Lager K which was described as a series of warehouse/hangar/garage-type buildings opposite a row of barracks occupied by German troops.



Artist's impression of life in Oflag II-E

The IRC reports, of the time, describe the camp and its operation in similar terms to that at Prenzlau with these distinctions.

¹⁴ Dr Pierre Descoedres, Swiss physician, worked as the International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC) representative in Germany (1940-41, 1945), in the Middle East (1942-43), Indonesia (1945-46), Australia (1945), Indo-China (1947).

- Each building holds about 200 men, the three tier bunks are arranged in such a way so as to break the area up into smaller “rooms” with space for tables and chairs. The beds consist of straw mattresses and two blankets.
- Central heating exists but is insufficient. Rooms also contain a stove for personal cooking and both camps (B&K) have kitchens staffed by Polish cooks.
- Theatre groups and orchestras are very active in the small theatre, which is also used for university lectures which many officers attend.
- Mass is held every Sunday and on feast days. A Protestant pastor is also available for services.
- Parcels often arrive minus chocolate and/or cigarettes.
- Generally rated as a good but suffering from overcrowding, a recommendation for additional extensions to the camp is made.



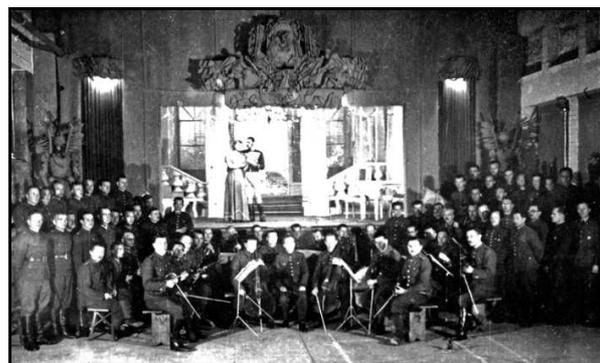
Oflag II-E, Easter 1943

Oflag II-E-K would be “home” from February 1941 for the next three years except for a two month stint Zbigniew had in the Stalag IIA camp hospital from 16.4.41 to 23.6.41.

The majority of the camp inmates were not professional soldiers but drawn from different civilian backgrounds and occupations. This eclectic mix provided lecturers on topics which ranged from economics to literature and history. The Germans supplied books (often stolen from Polish libraries) and the Student Relief Committee in Geneva sent scientific manuals. The availability of these allowed for the introduction of systematic courses of study to be developed, which were well attended.



Altar in Oflag II E-B



Choir, orchestra and set for Fredro's
“Ladies and Hussars”

Some prisoners took up various arts and crafts, some did drawings of fellow detainees, a few others took to making jewellery from ox bones collected from the kitchen waste and some wrote poetry which they copied by hand a few times. These items were sold and sent on to families in Poland.

Mystkowski and Bulzacki decided that they would go into the souvenir business but on a larger scale than previously seen in the camp. So with that in mind they started out to acquire, in great secrecy, the items to start their publishing “empire”. Because of their circumstances this was never going to be simple and in the end it took almost 12 months to the day to complete the acquisition of materials, before work could start.

At some time during this period Zbigniew received some devastating news from Warsaw. His wife of less than eight years had died on April 17th 1942 aged 30, from what is believed to be pneumonia. It is hard to imagine what he must have felt cut off from the world and losing a loved one to what, in normal circumstances, should have been an easily treatable condition. Some clue may be found in the poems that he wrote in May/June 1942 under the heading *Zludy i Nastroje* (Illusions and Moods).

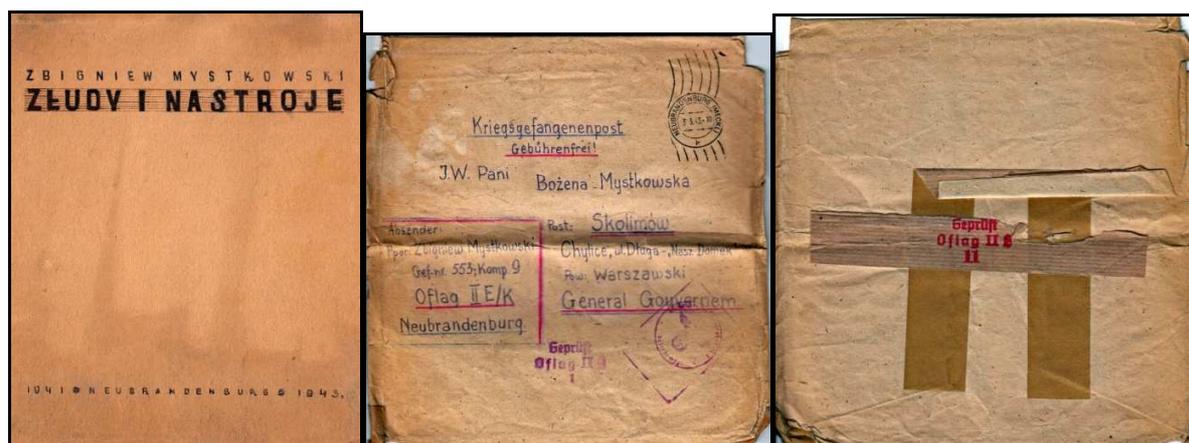
On the Kobylinski headstone Luisa, whose relationship to Wanda is unknown, is also listed as having died on May 8th 1942, aged 19 years, just a few weeks after Wanda. In addition Zbigniew lost his cousin, Bohdan in April 1943, arrested and murdered by the Germans in Pawiak prison for his work with the Intelligence unit of the Armia Krajowa. His aunt Julia also perished in 1944 in the Warsaw Insurrection, in which an estimated 150,000 - 200,000 civilians died. Each event added additional pain and misery to that of being incarcerated in the prime of one’s life.

It was to Bożena, the wife of his cousin Bohdan, that on March 3rd 1943 he sent a collection of poems also entitled *Zludy i Nastroje* (Illusions and Moods). They appear to be handwritten with a credit for graphic design to a fellow POW, Marian Gwizdka.¹⁵



Wanda’s grave at the Lutheran cemetery (Cmentarz Ewangelicko-Augsburski) in Warsaw, 1943 and the family headstone in 2011. Co-incidentally the image of Wanda used is the same one sent to Zbigniew at Prenzlau a year earlier.

¹⁵ Marian Gwizdka was born on Łódź July 4, 1914 and lived all of his life there, outside of the period he spent as a POW in WWII. He carved out a very distinguished career in the Fire Brigade of the city, for he received the Officer’s Cross of the Order of Poland’s Rebirth, the Gold Mark of the Volunteer Fire Brigades of the Republic of Poland and the Badge of Honour of the City of Łódź. In 1956 he graduated from Warsaw Polytechnic and had worked for a time as a senior designer. He died in that city on June 3, 2000.



Złudy i Nastroje (Illusions and Moods) – Front cover, plus front and back of the envelope that delivered it.

Wacław Bulzacki, as a pre-war university student, had contacts in the Swiss Student Relief Committee to whom he wrote asking for small wood chisels to use in wood cutting. For paper they turned to the Swedish Red Cross. Zbigniew's cousin, presumably Tadeusz Mystkowski, sent birch wood for the printing blocks, and Bulzacki's sister sent red and black printing inks.

As these items started arriving the first hurdle arose, the wood had arrived cut with the grain rather than across the grain which was necessary for woodcuts. So it was off to the camp workshop, after "gaining permission" from the guards, to glue, re-cut and sand them to a workable form, a formidable task.

Once that was completed Bulzacki made his maiden attempt at woodcutting, his perseverance and patience overcame his initial lack of knowledge and eventually he found the cutting of the lettering reasonably easy. Whilst his friend was honing his skills Zbigniew undertook, what he called, the easier task. He edited the collection of poems he had written down to twelve quatrains which best reflected the life and thoughts of the men in the POW camp.

The woodcutting took about three months as apart from the twelve poems there were eight illustrations of various aspects of the camp, and the cover page, which to his surprise featured Zbigniew solely, as author, with Bulzacki only giving himself a credit in the colophon. They titled the collection *Godziny Czekania* (Hours of Waiting).

Once that had been completed the printery and bindery was established on a third tier bunk. The ink roller was a piece of hosing stolen from the latrine and their derrieres constituted the printing "press", later replaced by another roller. One person would roll ink onto the wooden blocks then paper was placed on top and finally a blanket covered board, it was then gently sat on, then the board was lifted and the completed print removed for drying. This process had to be repeated for each of the 24 pages of the book.

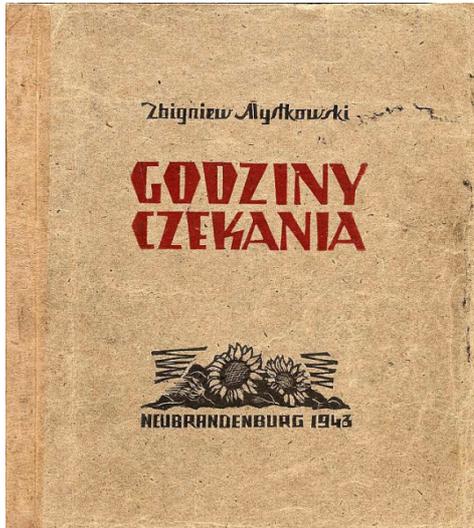
They were now ready to disclose their secret to the market, and the response was overwhelming, exceeding their wildest dreams. Their fellow inmates not only placed orders but paid in advance for copies still in production. Their celebrity status gained them invitations for tea and coffee, a rare honour in a POW camp. The price of the book had been set at a fairly low 30 marks, equivalent to 6 cigarettes or 3 cups of double strength black coffee.

The Swedish paper supply was sufficient for only 50 copies to be produced, and they thought it would be unfair to ask for more from the Red Cross as this was, after all, a profit making enterprise. So they turned to the German canteen manager who had access to a scarce commodity, duplicator paper. A price was negotiated resulting in an exchange of paper for cigarettes, coffee and chocolate plus the guarantee of an ongoing supply of paper. The popularity of the book was such that two additional editions were printed in Oflag II-E-K, with a fourth edition being printed in their next camp, Oflag II-D in Gross Born. A fifth and final edition was printed in 1946, from the original woodcuts, in the printing house of J. Brauern in Bramsche.¹⁶ The total production across the five editions was in excess of 500 copies.

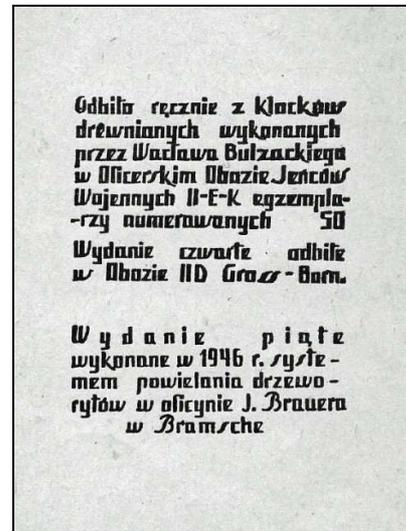
¹⁶ Bramsche, a town about 20 kilometres north of Osnabrück, Lower Saxony (Germany).

Godziny Czekania, in the main, was sent to family and friends throughout Poland and the authors received over 50 letters of feedback from them. One prisoner's wife wrote to him "...this book has told me more than all your letters in the last four years", another wife wrote "Hours of Waiting is wonderful but they are sad hours". To Zbigniew Mystkowski and Waclaw Bulzacki this heartfelt feedback was much more prized and satisfying than the achieved goal of financial reward.

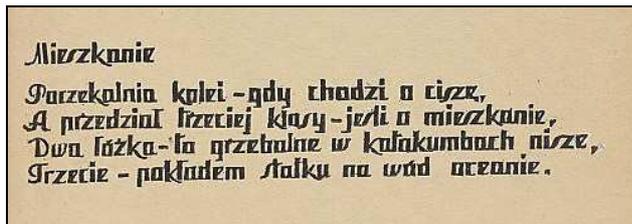
What happened to Bulzacki's woodcuts after 1946 is unknown. Post-war he returned to Warsaw and graduated as an architect in 1949 from Warsaw Polytechnic and went on to have a long and successful career. He died on February 21st 2009, aged 93.



Front cover



Fifth edition colophon



One of the woodcut illustrations of the camp and the accompanying poem



Some other examples of Bulzacki's work - seasonal greeting cards

To make the tragic reality of life behind barbed wire more bearable the prisoners tried many and varied ways of keeping themselves occupied. Apart from the aforementioned lectures the pre-war talents of some of the inmates came to the rescue. Kazimierz Hardulak¹⁷ who had been the conductor of the Warsaw Opera House at the outbreak of war assembled a camp orchestra, started in Oflag II-A Prenzlau. The musicians had to purchase their instruments from their pay and Hardulak led them in performances that ranged from folk music to the classical composers. Full houses were assured in the garage converted to a theatre and to a chapel on Sundays, in fact overcrowding was often an issue.

The theatrical side of the arts was a little more difficult as firstly they had to convince the authorities to supply timber for the stage, seating and the sets, plus other materials such as fabric (rags) for the curtains and costumes, paper, paint and of course electrical fittings for the lighting. As one by one these obstacles were overcome, largely with the help of the YMCA, the job of staging productions began. Men who had barely known how to sew on a button were soon creating elaborate costumes and wigs, which each night were removed from the camp by the guards to be returned the next day for fear of them being used in escape attempts. The repertoire of the theatrical group included dramas, comedies including Moliere's "Le Malade Imaginaire", revues and even one opera, Gounod's "Faust" with the part of Marguerite played by a male falsetto.



Some of the camp's theatrical productions

¹⁷ Kazimierz Jan Hardulak, born on 27 December 1910 in Lwów, died in 1991 in Monmouth, conductor, singer, violinist, student of Walerian Bierdiajew. Before the World War II he had studied music at the Warsaw Conservatoire. He embarked on a career as a conductor of Polish Radio Orchestra. He conducted Wilno Symphony Orchestra (1938-39). He fought against Germans in 1939, was captured and sent to POW camp. After his release by the Russians in 1945 he made his way to Great Britain and settled with his wife and three children in Monmouth. At Monmouth School, he was at the beginning a visiting 'Teacher of Strings', later he taught piano and became Assistant Director of Music. In the sixties he was a conductor of the Abergavenny Orchestral Society (1960-68). See: Leon Tadeusz Błaszczak, *Dyrygenci polscy i obcy w Polsce, działający w XIX i XX wieku*, PWN, Warszawa 1964, p. 98.



Among the other poets in the camp, the best known is probably Juliusz Żuławski (1910-1999). He was one of the driving forces behind the camp's theatre company and *Cień Alcibiadesa* (Shadow of Alcibiades), (Neubrandenburg, 1943) is listed amongst his notable works. According to Zbigniew he handwrote about ten copies of a book of sonnets in the camp.

The handwritten transcription method was the simplest and most convenient way of getting small numbers of a document circulating in the camp. This was the method employed in the production of the camp underground newspaper with which Zbigniew was involved. The content was sourced from German newspapers, letters from home, and from the BBC in London received via a carefully concealed radio which despite relentless efforts the Germans never found.

In January 1944 the Polish POWs were on the move again, this time eastwards to Oflag II-D at Gross Born (now Borne Sulinowo, Poland).¹⁸

By October of that year, the Germans had stopped the payment of salaries in cash, instead depositing them directly into the prisoner's account. However the need for currency did not go away, as it was needed for things like entry to the theatre purchasing souvenirs and Camp Post Office issued stamps. To alleviate the problem the Polish hierarchy created their own bank (Bank Obozu IID) with the camp currency in złoty and groszy. Foregoing the "gold standard" this currency was issued in exchange for cigarettes, 20 American cigarettes for 10 złoty, this truly was hard currency.



German issued POW currency



Polish issued POW currency



Camp issued stamp

When the Soviet army advanced from the east the inmates of Oflag II-D were evacuated from the camp in January 1945, leaving behind only those too ill to travel. In the middle of a bitterly cold winter, carrying all their worldly possessions, they set off on foot heading west. Zbigniew recorded that this journey took them via Szczecin, Lauenberg, Bremen, Sanbostel and finally finishing at Oflag X-C Lübeck. The trek was brutally difficult, covering about 1100 kilometres in the middle of winter, in shoddy footwear, suffering food shortages and taking the best part of three months, arriving at Lübeck in April 1945.

¹⁸ Borne Sulinowo (German *Gross-Born*), a town in Poland's Western Pomeranian Voivodship (region), in the Powiat (county) of Szczecinek. The town is notable for the fact that between 1945 and 1992 it was a secret Soviet military base, erased from all maps and it was not transferred to Polish jurisdiction until October 1992.

The British Second Army, having landed in Normandy on D-Day, and having fought campaigns in Belgium and Holland, crossed the Rhine on March 23rd 1945 as part of Operation Plunder. By May 2nd their advance had reached the Baltic Sea and Lübeck, culminating in the long awaited liberation of the Poles from Oflag X-C.¹⁹

Zbigniew and his comrades had been incarcerated for a total of six years, that is six months for each of the 12 days of combat in which they participated.

In the late nineteenth century Sosnowiec was a village in the southernmost part of the Kingdom of Poland, it had up until the Napoleonic Wars (1812-15) been part of the Prussian Empire, and sat at “The Three Emperor’s Corner”, that is the junction between the Russian, German and Austro-Hungarian Empires. It was finally declared a city in 1902 on the orders of Tsar Nicholas II.

It was there that on August 16th 1894 Augusta (Gustawa) Joanna Langner was born, the middle of three daughters, the older one being Gertruda (Truda) and the younger Dorota (Dora). Their parents were an Austrian father Jan Langner, who was born in 1867 and died on May 23rd 1935, and a Latvian mother Emma (nee Zirrieth) who was born on March 3rd 1869 and died February 6th 1947.



Jan and Emma Langner - dates unknown

LEFT: Gustawa in her teens.

The three sisters grew up in Sosnowiec attending a local Gimnazjum (High School) but like most women of their era did not have the opportunity of higher education. Their father worked in a management position at a local steelworks.

¹⁹ Oflag X-C was a German World War II prisoner-of-war camp for officers (*Offizierlager*) in Lübeck in northern Germany, located on the corner of Friedhofsallee and Vorwerkstrasse, close to the town of Schwartau (now Bad Schwartau). The camp was opened in June 1940 for French officers captured during the Battle of France. In 1941 British and Commonwealth officers arrived as well as Yugoslavian, Polish and Czech officers. In early 1945 the other group of Polish Officers from Oflag II-D Gross-Born and Oflag II-C Woldenberg arrived to Oflag X-C. The camp was liberated on 2 May 1945 by troops of the British 2nd Army. Among famous prisoners of Oflag X-C were French theologian, Yves Congar and the oldest son of Joseph Stalin, Jakow Josifowicz Dżugaszwili (1907-1943). The camp was commanded by Col. Freiherr von Wachmeister.



Above: Left to Right Truda, Gustawa and Dora in 1920.

In that same period the small village of Jeziorna (now called Konstancin-Jeziorna) about 20 kilometres south of Warsaw was best known for its paper mill first established in the 18th century. The forests that surrounded the village were used in the production of paper in this, one of Poland's oldest mills.

Teodor Tobolski, a farmer in the area, was born in Warsaw on August 8th, 1871. He married Kazimiera (nee Roman) in Słomczyn on January 27th, 1894. Kazimierza was born c. 1876. They had a son, Lucjan born on November 21st 1895 in Jeziorna and had him baptised in Słomczyn, a small village just down the road. They also had a second son Stefan Kazimierz born in Jeziorna on November 26th, 1900.



Teodor, c 1890

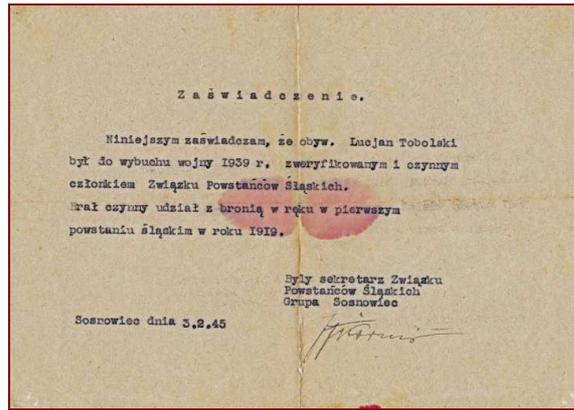


Kazimiera, June 20th 1891

Following on from his early education Lucjan attended a Technical college in Kielce from 1911-14, and then attended the Higher Agricultural School in Warsaw (now Warsaw University of Life Sciences) from 1920-24 where he qualified as an agronomist.

What occurred in the intervening years between educational facilities is not fully documented, WWI obviously played some part but his role in it is unknown. However after that war and in the early years of Poland re-establishing its independence there was an ongoing dispute with Germany over Upper Silesia. This dispute resulted in the first of three Silesian Uprisings in August 1919 which were not resolved until late 1921 with the territory being split between the two nations. Lucjan was a member of the Silesian Insurgents and took part in the uprising.²⁰

²⁰ Most of Silesia had belonged to the Polish Crown in medieval times. In the 14th century it became part of the Kingdom of Bohemia, and later the Austrian Habsburgs Empire. In 1740 the King of Prussia Frederick the Great



This attestation issued in 1945 confirms that Lucjan Tobolski was up until the outbreak of war in 1939 a verified and active member of the Association of Silesian Insurgents. It goes on to say that he took an active part, with weapon in hand, in the First Silesian Uprising in 1919.

seized Silesia from Austria. In 1871 was one of the provinces the German Empire. At the beginning of 20th century the province was overwhelmingly German speaking but a large Polish minority remained in Upper Silesia. In 1900, 65% of the population of the eastern part of Silesia was recorded as Polish speaking, in 1910 it decreased to 57%. The Treaty of Versailles had ordered a plebiscite in Upper Silesia within two years time to determine whether the territory should be a part of Germany or Poland. On 15 August 1919, German border guards (*Grenzschutz*) massacred ten Silesian civilians in a labour dispute at the Mysłowice mine. It caused protest from Silesian Polish workers and general strike, as well as the First Silesian Uprising against the German control of Upper Silesia. The German troops of the Weimar republic quickly defeated the insurgents and later hanged or executed by firing squads 2500 Poles. 9000 Poles escaped to Poland. In February 1920 the Allied Plebiscite Commission sent French, British and Italian troops to maintain order in Upper Silesia, but they failed to do so. In August 1920 the German newspapers falsely announced the fall of Warsaw to the Soviets Red Army. Germans organised marches to celebrate the end of independent Poland and start looting Polish shops. On 19 August 1920 the Second Silesian Uprising erupted. On that day Poles took control of the government offices in Kattowitz (Katowice), Pless (Pszczyna), Beuthen (Bytom), and in next few day in Konigshutte (Chorzów), Tarnowitz (Tarnowskie Góry), Rybnik, Lublinitz (Lubliniec) and Gross Strehlitz (Strzelce Opolskie). The Second Silesian Uprising ended in September 1920 due to Allied military operations and negotiations with both Poles and Germans. The German Police (*Sipo*) has been disbanded and replaced by new police (*Abstimmungspolizei*) where Poles had 50% of officers. The Upper Silesian plebiscite has been conducted on March 20, 1921 (two days after the Treaty of Riga, ending the Polish–Soviet War of 1919–1920 has been signed). The plebiscite took place in all of Upper Silesia, including the predominantly Polish-speaking areas in the east and the predominantly German-speaking areas west of the Oder (Odra) river. The right to vote was granted to all aged 20 and older who either had been born in or lived in the designed area. It caused a mass migration of both Germans (179,910) and Poles (10,000). Without these arrangements the pro-German vote would have a majority of 58,336 instead of the final 228,246. A total of 707,605 (59.4%) votes were cast for Germany, and 479,359 (40.3%) for Poland. The British and French governments could not reach an agreement how to divide Upper Silesia after the plebiscite. The problem was the disposition of the "Industrial Triangle" east of the Oder river [Beuthen (Bytom), Gleiwitz (Gliwice) and Kattowitz (Katowice)], all three cities where mostly inhabited by Germans. The French supported Polish claims on the territory. The British and the Italian supported Germans and prefer to leave the "Industrial Triangle" under their control. On April 30, 1921 Silesian newspapers published two proposals directed by the Allied Plebiscite Commission to the Supreme Council of Allies regarding partition of Upper Silesia. The first, called Le Rond (chief of the French delegation in the Commission) line which included all eastern counties and the industrial region to Poland. The second, Percival–De Marinis (chiefs of the British and Italian delegations in the Commission) line included south-eastern rural counties and southern part of the Katowice county to Poland and rest north-eastern counties and the industrial region to Germany (75% of the plebiscite territory). The rumours spread quickly that the British-Italian position would prevail. In this situation on May 2, 1921 the general strike in Upper Silesia has been declared and during the night May 2/3 Poles began the Third Silesian Uprising with the destruction of rail bridges on the Oder (Odra) river. The fighting continued till July 1st, 1921. The Allied Supreme Council asked the Council of the League of Nations to make a decision regarding partition of the Upper Silesia. In October 1921 the Council awarded to Poland 1,950,000 inhabitants and 3,214 (29.34%) of 10,951 sq. km. of land, including the greater part of the Upper Silesian industrial district (50% of furnaces and 76% of mines).

It is signed by the past-secretary of the Association of Silesian Insurgents – Sosnowiec Group. His participation is also confirmed on the Silesian Museum website.

The photograph below on the right was taken in Sosnowiec, why or how he came to be there is unknown but almost certainly it's where he met Gustawa Langner, and on December 17th 1921 they married in that town.



Lucjan about five years old



Lucjan, as a young man

Their first attempt at starting a family ended in tragedy when a son, Janusz, was stillborn on February 21st 1924. Several years later and against medical advice they successfully tried again, Gustawa giving birth to a daughter, Mirosława Lucyna (Mira), on July 19th 1927. Both of the births occurred in Sosnowiec.



Gustawa, Mira and Lucjan Tobolski

In the inter-war period Lucjan was involved in a number of organisations listing amongst others Liga Morska i Kolonialna (Maritime & Colonial League), Polish Red Cross, the

forementioned Association of Silesian Insurgents and a Professional Association, which one assumes is related to his career in Agronomy.

It was also in that period, on January 20th 1930 that his mother, Kazimiera, died aged 53. His father died of cancer a few years later in Sosnowiec, where he spent his last days living with Lucjan, Gustawa and young Mira.

Having graduating from the Higher Agricultural School Lucjan began working as an agronomist. These post-war translations are of (left) a certificate of service which details some of the work he performed and the places he worked and (right) a certificate of his qualification as an agronomist.

Republic of Poland
State's factory of
Tractors and Agricultural
Engines .
Section in Katowice

TRANSLATION

Katowice, the 23 of Nov 1945
3 of May Street 40, tel. 365-91

Current Account : State's
Agricultural Bank Katowice
Telegraphical abbreviation :
KAT-Papete-Katowice
Stations : Bielskie, Rybnik,
Pszczyna, Tarn.Gory, Lubliniec,
Kluczbork, Bedzin, Zawiercie,
Bytom, Gliwice .

No 802

Concerned :

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify, that personally known to us citizen TOBOLSKI
Lucjan, born on 21-12-1895 in Jezierne - Warszawskie distr. Warszawa,
has performed agricultural supervision in the following farms :

- 1) farm "Klucze" distr. Olkusz
- 2) farm "Renard" " Bedzin
- 3) farm "Ogichow" " "
- 4) farm "Wodrzewie" " Wuchek
- 5) farm "Gorki" " Cieszyn
- 6) farm "Bielawa" " Warszawa

In years 1935-38 he performed duties of an agricultural inspector in
the area of Kielce, Radom and partly Csteczhowa .

Because, the original documents has been lost of destroyed in the time
of war 1939-1945 - this certificate has been issued .

State's factory
of tractors and agricultural
engines.
Section in Katowice
Workshops : Mala Babrowka

For correct translation

POLISH LIAISON OFFICER
626 MIL. GOV./R/DET.
S. J. Michalski
6 Apr. 46

IRO (BZ) FORM II. Special'ist Code: 0-39

INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANIZATION
BRITISH ZONE OF GERMANY No: 033253 14/3

CERTIFICATE

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT

The Bearer TOBOLSKI Lucjan

IRO Identity No. 378513

has been tested in Agronomy

and has been classified as a qualified Agro-
nomist

Signed: *A.W. King* Status: Techn. Exam. Board
Testing Official

This certificate, based upon testing carried out by qualified persons, is correct to the best knowledge
and belief of the undersigned:

Stamp:  Signed: *A. King* IRO Official

Empl. Officer, Date: Febr. 15, 1950.

Copy to be filed with Employment Card, CELLE Stamp

PSS/IGR/5877/60X100X28-49

A long-held dream of Lucjan's was to own and run his own farm. With another couple they planned to migrate to Uruguay as land there was relatively inexpensive. In 1938 he was ready to go but his friend wanted another year to consolidate his finances so the plan was put on hold for 12 months and then the war intervened.

At the outbreak of WWII the family had been living in Cieszyn on the border of what was then Czechoslovakia for about a year, they locked up the home and fled north to Podkowa Leśna, which was about 20km south of Warsaw and only about 2km east of Brwinów, where they would have been on September 12th 1939 when Zbigniew was involved in the Battle of Brwinów. When they returned to the house in Cieszyn it had been ransacked by the invading German troops and anything of value was gone including Mira's prized Tobolski family first communion candle.

The family then moved to Sosnowiec where Mira spent most of her childhood, growing up and going to school in the area. Some of that schooling was undertaken in private houses as government-run schools did not function for some time, she eventually went to the local Gimnazjum when school resumed until 1944.



1. Mira and Aunt Dora, c 1932. 2. First Communion, c 1937. Holding family candle. 3. In high school beret with Gustawa, c 1940.

Estimates of the number of Polish resistance fighters in the war years varies but certainly was in the hundreds of thousands operating throughout the country in activities as varied as intelligence gathering, espionage and guerrilla warfare. Lucjan's role is not documented, but Mira and her friends played their part as well by carrying messages and supplies to the partisans in the forests surrounding Sosnowiec.

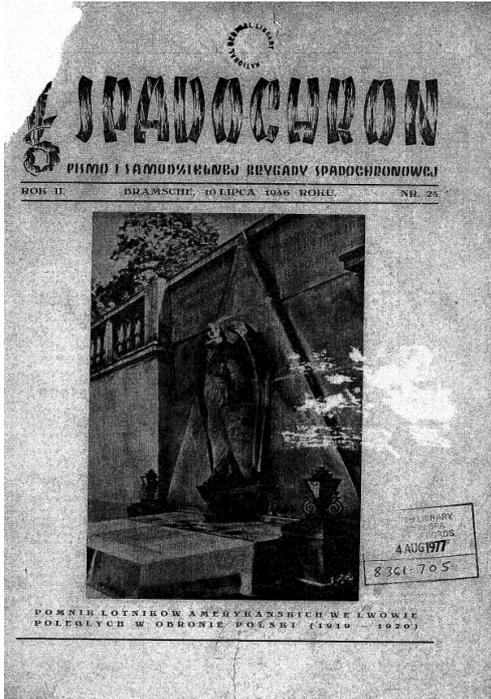
Having finished her schooling Mira took a job in a factory for a short time in 1944/5. With the war coming to an end the advance of the Soviet Red Army caused concern, especially with stories of people being sent to Siberian detention camps with little or no reason. The decision was made to once again flee, but having no official papers this would take some doing. With a mixture of subterfuge, bribery and luck they managed to cross from Poland into Germany. Utilising a variety of transport, including hiding behind cargo in the back of a truck, they found themselves in July 1945 at a Displaced Persons (DP) camp in Lübeck. Shortly after their arrival, Mira got a job working for Captain Stefan Wójcicki, the Camp Liaison Officer, in a secretarial capacity.

Meanwhile Zbigniew Mystkowski had made the decision not to return to Poland because of the political situation there. He had remained in Lübeck finding work as a journalist in the Newspaper Centre where he wrote for "Spadochron" (Parachute) a weekly newspaper printed nearly 300km away in Bramsche. The paper's readers were the recently arrived Polish DPs, the ex-POWs awaiting repatriation to Poland or emigration to overseas destinations and the Polish military personnel attached to British command. The latter included the 1 Samodzielna Brygada Spadochronowa (1st Polish Independent Parachute Brigade)²¹, a unit created in Scotland in September 1941 under the command of Major General Stanisław Sosabowski.²² They were the publishers of the weekly "Spadochron", and the unit to which Zbigniew had now been seconded.

To gather material for the newspaper Zbigniew would visit the camp's Liaison Office on a regular basis and it was there he met Mira and soon a friendship developed which quickly blossomed into romance.

²¹ The 1st (Polish) Independent Parachute Brigade, created in September 1941 and based in Scotland. Originally, the brigade's main mission was to take part in liberation of Poland. Due to pressure of the British government, has been used in the Western theatre of war. During the Operation Market Garden the brigade has been sent into action in support of the British 1st Airborne Division at the Battle of Arnhem in September 1944. The brigade suffered significant casualties during this battle. On October 7th, 1944 the Brigade has been withdrawn to England. In 1945, the brigade was attached to the Polish 1st Armoured Division and undertook occupation duties in Northern Germany until it was disbanded on June 30th, 1947.

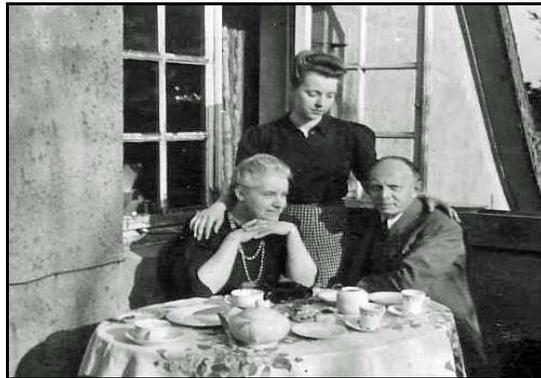
²² Stanisław Franciszek Sosabowski (1892-1967), a Polish general in World War II. He fought in the Battle of Mława and in the defence of Warsaw in 1939 as commander of the 21st "Children of Warsaw" Infantry Regiment, and in the Battle of Arnhem (Netherlands) in 1944 as commander of the Polish 1st Independent Parachute Brigade.



July 10th 1946 edition from The British Library

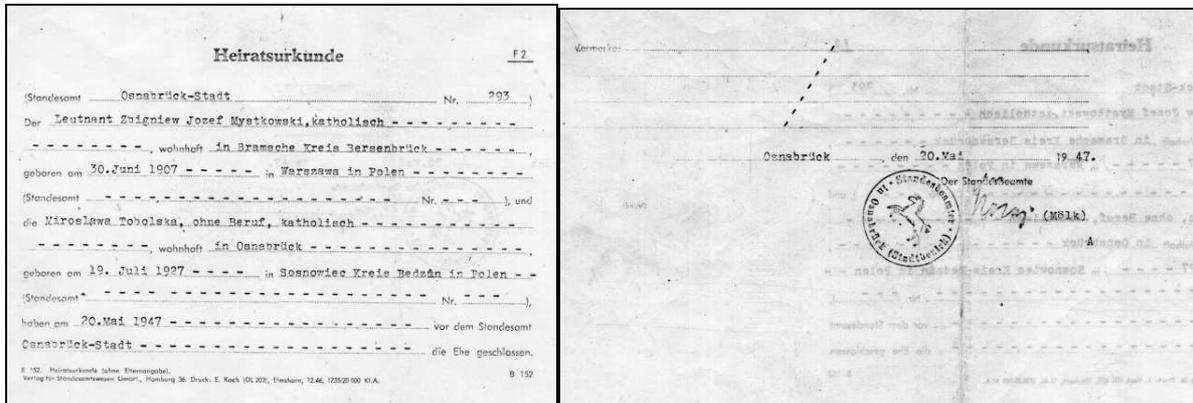


DP accommodation block in Lübeck



C1946 – Zbigniew in paratrooper uniform, Mira with her parents.

In 1946 Zbigniew was offered the position of editor of “Spadochron” in Bramsche, he accepted it and moved there in the August of that year. Mira followed early in 1947 and on May 20th of that year they were married in the civil registry office in Osnabrück a few kilometres away. It was an impromptu occasion and only the witnesses attended, they notified their parents later of the event.



Zbigniew and Mira's 1947 wedding certificate



Caricature of Zbigniew
C1947



Caricature artists
Siwek & Kołodziejczyk

The 1st Polish Independent Parachute Brigade was recalled to England and there, on June 30th 1947, officially disbanded. Zbigniew had to make a decision to follow them to England or stay in Germany. He chose the latter and shortly after resigned his commission in the army and with his new bride moved to Quakenbrück where they were now both officially displaced persons.



Zbigniew's military insignia



There he continued to work as a journalist, photographer for the Polish Newspaper Centre and was re-united with an old POW comrade, Stanisław Wierzbowski²³, pictured at left with his friend Helga in Quakenbrück in 1947.

The Mystkowskis established a friendship with them, but with the movement of DP camps lost touch with them in Germany. It wasn't until Mira bumped into Helga (now Mrs. Wierzbowski) at Bonegilla Migrant Centre in November 1949 that they resumed their friendship.

In early 1948 they were relocated to DP Camp Fernblick in Osnabrück, their first official DP camp,

²³ Stanisław Wierzbowski (born 11/12/1914-?), POW in Oflag IIB (Arnsvalde), on May 15, 1942 transferred to Oflag IID (Gross Born). Married Helga (b. 29/05/1926). They arrived into Melbourne on SS Nelly on 13/11/1949.

where they were joined shortly after by Mira's parents Lucjan and Gustawa who had stayed in Lübeck until that time.

The Preparatory Commission International Refugee Organisation (PCIRO) was the pre-cursor to the 1947 International Refugee Organisation (IRO) and which in turn, in 1952, became the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. It was established to handle the massive post-war refugee problem and in the 5 year operation of the IRO the 18 member countries, including Australia whose Immigration Minister Arthur Calwell²⁴ signed the agreement in Geneva on July 21st 1947, contributed about \$400 million to fund its rehabilitation of about 10 million people.

Four of those people were the Mystkowski and Tobolski families who applied for assistance in January 1948, but that number was about to increase as Zbigniew and Mira were expecting their first child, and so the process of migration had begun. In the meantime Zbigniew got a job in the camp office and by November of that year was Camp Leader with Lucjan also finding employment as an instructor, social worker and block leader.

Mira relates the story of how one day in Osnabrück there was a knock on the door and upon opening it they were faced by two Jewish men saying "The Jews come bearing matzos". They entered and immediately, they and Zbigniew, embraced and greeted each other. The story then unfolded that Zbigniew and another inmate, a lawyer, had organised a tribunal to settle an issue of discrimination by some inmates of the POW camp against these two men. She quotes them as saying that "after that life was much better for us". The tribunal also convened to settle other disputes between inmates. The Jewish men invited them to Hanover where they were the guests of honour at a dinner party hosted by the two men in the company of their friends.

Osnabrück had suffered heavy bombing during the war and one of the casualties was its major hospital. Utilising POW and general prisoner labour a new facility was built about 25km out of town in a wooded area of Bad Rothenfelde. The new facility was named Waldkrankenhaus (Forest Hospital) and opened with 320 beds in October 1944. At the conclusion of the war Bishop Hermann Berning²⁵ of Osnabrück invited the St. Catherine of Alexandria order of nuns to come from East Prussia and run the hospital, they arrived on August 13th 1945. It remained a hospital until 1967 when it was taken over by the Bundeswehr (Army) until 2006 when it was converted for use as a camping ground with a small museum.

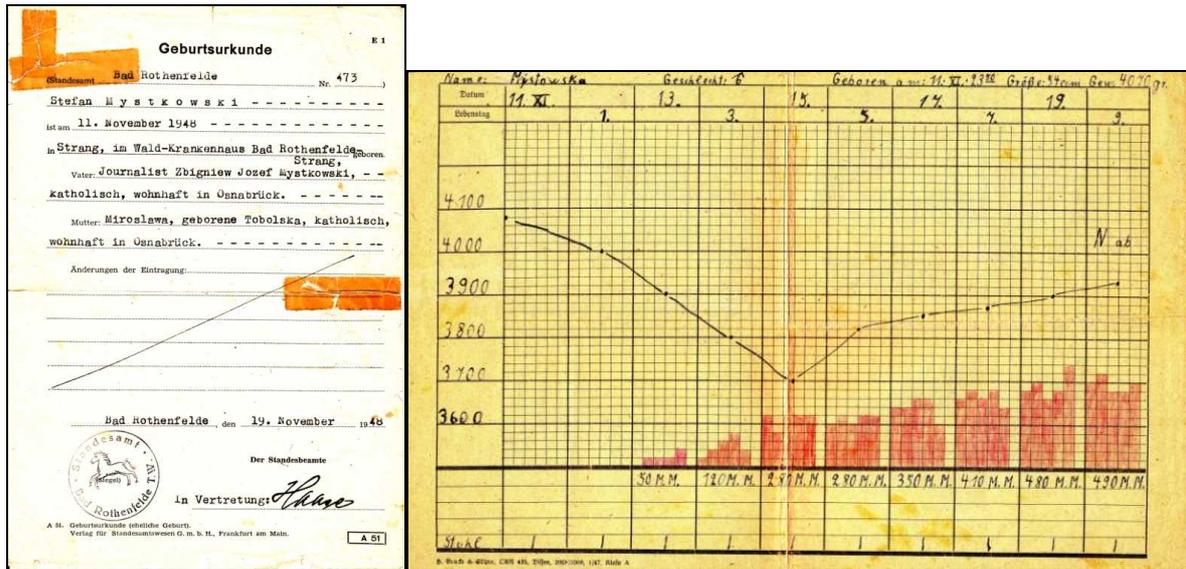


Stefan was born in Building Ia.

²⁴ Arthur Augustus Calwell (1896 – 1973) Australian politician, a member of the Australian House of Representatives (1940 – 1972), Immigration Minister in the government of Ben Chifley (1945-1949) and Leader of the Australian Labor Party (1960-1967).

²⁵ Hermann Wilhelm Berning (1877 - 1955), bishop of Osnabrück (1914-55) and Vicar Apostolic for the Vicariate Apostolic of the North (until 1929). After WWI he founded the Congregation of the Missionary Sisters of the Holy Name of Mary. His role during the III Reich period has been subject of discussion among historians, particular after 1970.

It was there that Mira went, and on November 11th 1948, gave birth to a son, Stefan Wiktor Józef, named after his paternal grandfather.



Stefan's birth certificate and the hospital's chart of his weight



Stefan and Mira



Stefan, January 1949



Stefan, April 1949

Whilst the birth may have bought some joy to both parents and grandparents it also created a problem. It narrowed the options of immigration destinations as some countries had stopped taking families with infants. The main discussions now centred on Uruguay (Lucjan's dream), the U.S.A. and Australia.

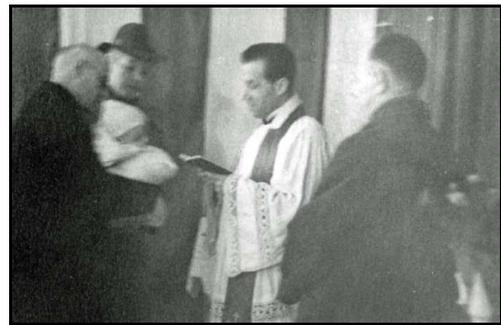
Another hurdle had to be crossed when the camp priest, Father Józef Gluszek²⁶, threatened to undermine their immigration applications unless the Mystkowskis ratified their civil marriage in the church. Late in 1948 with Lucjan, Gustawa and baby Stefan as witnesses they succumbed to the blackmail and performed what Mira to this day refers to as a "sham" ceremony in the camp chapel. Interestingly the only record they retained of their marriage was that of the first civil ceremony.

²⁶ Fr. Józef Gluszek (1910 - 2002) born in village of Juszczyń (Poland). He attended schools in Wadowice, studied theology at Jagiellonian University (Cracow). He was ordained in 1935. He worked at Poronin Parish (1935-37) and later as a vicar at Chochołów Parish. He was arrested by Germans on Sept. 4th, 1939 and transported to the Concentration Camp of Dachau. After liberation on April 24th, 1945 he worked in Western Europe and in 1950 migrated to Great Falls in Montana (USA), where he died in 2002. See. Rev. Mieczysław Niepsuj, *Monsignor Joseph Gluszek Benefactor of the Foundation*, "Fundacja Jana Pawła II Biuletyn", v. 1. no. 2, p. 8.

Shortly after, in early 1949, the two families were relocated to Vancouver Barracks in Delmenhorst as the DP camp in Osnabrück was being closed and the accommodation being returned to the German civilian population. There, Zbigniew continued in his role as camp leader and Lucjan used his skills as an agronomist in the gardening department.



Mira in front of the Gardening Department in Delmenhorst



Lucjan, Gustawa & Stefan's christening – Antoni Malatynski & Gustawa godparents, Father Józef Gluszek and Lucjan.

Polish Centre Catholic Pastorship
 Duszpasterstwo Katolickie
 Polskiego Ośrodka
 Curatio Rom. Cath. pro Polonis

Delmenhorst dnia 12. III. 1949.
 date
 L. d. 327/49.

at
 w Delmenhorst, Niemcy.

Nr. aktu
 Reg. No. 17.

**CERTIFICATE OF BAPTISM
 ŚWIADECTWO CHRZTU
 TESTIMONIUM BAPTISMI**

In the Catholic Parish registry of the Polish Centre
 W księdze urzędów Duszpasterstwa kat. Polskiego Ośrodka
 In libro baptismorum Curatiae Rom. Cath. pro Polonis

at
 w DELMENHORST page 5. Nr. 17.
 Strona
 pagina

the following birth is recorded:
 spisany jest następujący akt chrztu św.:
 აღწერილია შემდეგი აქტი ბაპტიზმის:

Date
 Dzień 11. XI. 1948. (dowolnie) jedenastego listopada tysiąc dziewięćset
 Day czerdnastego osmego roku.

born
 urodził się STEFAN MIKOLAJ GUSZEK w Baden-Nathanfelde, Niemcy/
 narodził się MYSKOWSKI

son, daughter
 syn, córka MYSKOWSKI Zbigniewa

and
 i Miroslaw born of TOBOLSKA
 et z domu

and was christened on
 i udzielony chrztu św. dnia 12. III. 1949. in the chapel of the Polish Centre
 and baptized (act) est, die w kaplicy Ośrodka Polskiego
 in oratorio publico pro Polonis

at
 w Delmenhorst

by reverend
 przez księdza Jozefa GLUSZEK.
 sacerdos baptizans

Godparents
 Rodzice chrzestni
 Patrim: Antoni Malatynski, Gustawa Tobolska, Antoni Malatynski, Gustawa Tobolska

In conformity
 In zgodności
 In Einklang, Einm.
 Rev. GLUSZEK Jozef.
 Nihil obstat
 nihil obstat
 nothing disapproves
 niczego nie sprzeciwia
 Curatio pro Polonis

Remarks: A copy of this document is recorded in the local German parish registry.
 Uwaga! Akt powyższy znajduje się także w księgach metrykalnych o miejscowego probostwa niemieckiego

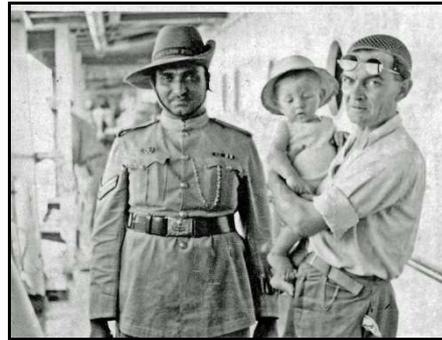
Stefan Mystkowski

Stefan was christened here and after the ceremony his godfather, Antoni Malatynski²⁷, and his grandfather, Lucjan, made sure that baby's head was well and truly "wet" long into the night and suffered long into the next day. It was also here that the two families completed their IRO medical examinations and were accepted for migration to Australia. The process was accelerating for the Mystkowskis but the Tobolskis, because of their age, had encountered a delay.

By July 1949 Zbigniew, Mira and Stefan had moved to the IRO Processing Centre in Fallingbostal where they were interviewed, approved and allocated transport to their chosen destination, Australia. The latter involved a train journey via Innsbruck to a transit camp in Bagnoli, just outside Naples where they were to stay for some weeks.



Mira and Stefan, leaving Naples



Ceylonese policeman, Stefan and Zbigniew

The USAT General W.C. Langfitt, pictured below, had started life as a transport ship for the US Navy in 1944, by early 1949 she had been transferred to the Army and was being used to transport DP immigrants from Europe. It was on August 29th 1949 that the family along with 823 other immigrants sailed from Naples bound for their new homes in Australia. During the voyage Zbigniew volunteered as a "policeman" keeping order amongst the passengers. They travelled via the Suez Canal and Ceylon, as Sri Lanka was then known, arriving in Melbourne on September 22nd 1949.



SHIPPING	
YESTERDAY	
IN:	Engowra, from Strahan, at 6 Yarraville; Edenbank, Yarraville; Mat-tawunga, Vancouver, 10 Victoria Dock; Ormonde, Sydney, Station Pier; Trojan Star, Lourenco Marques, 20 Victoria Dock; Empire Brent, Glasgow, Station Pier; Tarcoona, Devonport, Prince's Pier; Torrens, Oslo, 7 Victoria Dock.
OUT:	Ormiston, for Brisbane, from 14 North Wharf; Shielbank, Nauru, 6 Yarraville; Newbrough, London, Prince's Pier; Orna, Sydney, 3 Victoria Dock.
TODAY	
IN:	Ranchi, from London, at Station Pier; General W. C. Langfitt, Naples, Station Pier; Lutana, Launceston, 8 South Wharf; Leprena, Tasmania, 11 South Wharf; Lidvard, Geelong, 6 Yarraville.

The Argus – 22.9.1949

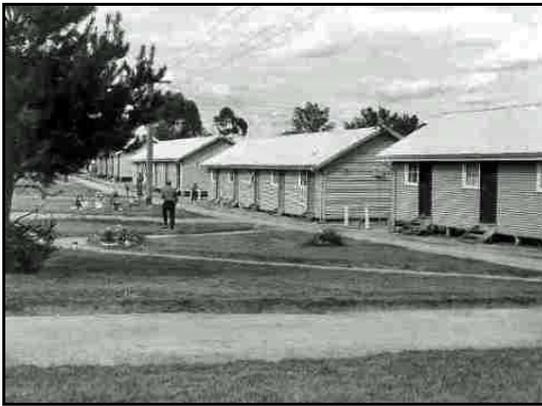
Once disembarked, they were transported to Bonegilla Migrant Reception Centre, a former Army camp built in 1940, about 10km east of Wodonga. Interestingly on Zbigniew's IRO processing card are listed his academic qualifications, his career as a journalist and in the box marked "Suggested

²⁷ Antoni Malatynski (Feb 1902 – 11 Jul 1977). Born in Warsaw, son of Antoni and Jadwiga. Died in Toronto (Canada). Author, social and political activist. He was arrested by Germans in 1943 and sent to Auschwitz Concentration Camp and later transferred to other camps in Germany. After the WWII he was in DP camps in Germany. In 1950 migrated to Winnipeg (Canada). He was president of the Canadian Polish Congress, Toronto Branch (1961-1971), member of the Polish Ex-servicemen Association Branch No. 20 (Toronto) and the Canadian Polish Research Institute. He published: *Kodeks Postępowania Honorowego* (1932), *Niemcy pod znakiem Hitlera; od Wejmaru do Potsdamu* (1933), *Święty Tomasz z Akwinu i obóz narodowy* (1935), *Nowy Ruch Narodowy* (1937), *Pierwsza wojna światowa i odbudowa Rzeczypospolitej* (1969), *Wieka gra – powieść raczej współczesna* (part I - 1971, part 2 -1973, part 3 -1979).

employment Australia” the entry is Labourer. So it came to be that he began work digging ditches for the Deputy Director, Post & Telegraphs, a division of the Post Master General’s department (later split into Australia Post and Telecom/Telstra). He had also been relocated to No.1 Broadmeadows Hostel (the former Maygar Army barracks) on November 7th 1949. His free time was spent trying to find permanent accommodation, no easy task for a family with an infant.



1. Zbigniew on the job in 1949. 2. Mira & Stefan, Bonegilla 1949, the trunk on the right held almost all of their worldly possessions
2.



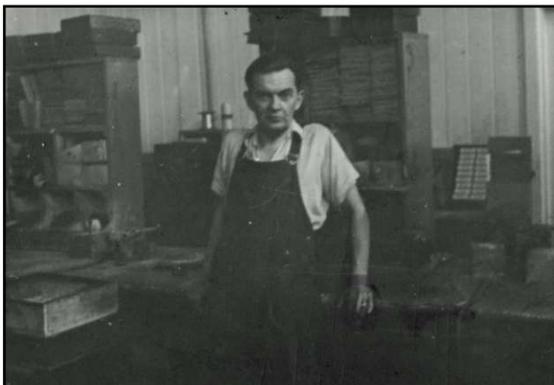
Accommodation huts at Bonegilla



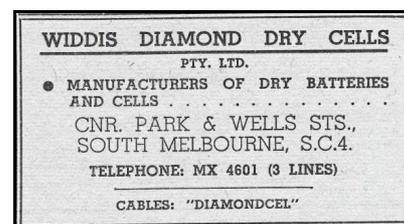
Bonegilla - children's infirmary

Mira had remained in Bonegilla because baby Stefan had contracted pneumonia and was in the infirmary. When he recovered they joined Zbigniew on December 6th in Melbourne at a boarding house, located at 2 Argyle St. St. Kilda. This was run by Miss Jean Murray and would be home for the next eighteen months.

Life started to take on some sort of normality. Mira began to learn English with the help of Miss Murray and the ABC radio serial “Blue Hills”. They would listen together and whatever Mira couldn’t understand Jean Murray would explain. Zbigniew, whose name was unpronounceable to the Australian tongue, had his middle name abbreviated and was known to his workmates as “Joe”. So it was Joe who had in April 1950 found a new, less strenuous, job as a process worker at Widdis Diamond Dry Cells Pty. Ltd. in South Melbourne, which was also much closer to home.

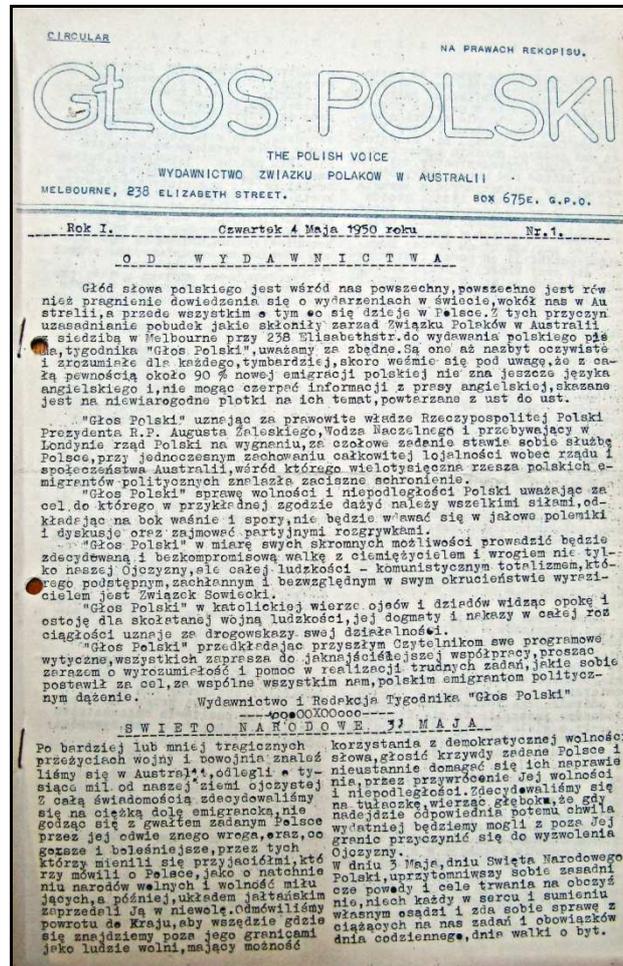


Zbigniew at work at Widdis Diamond



Zbigniew never again worked professionally as a journalist. He was however involved in the birth of a new Polish weekly bulletin named "Głos Polski" (Polish Voice), published in Melbourne starting on May 4th 1950, as its founding editor.

The stated objectives of the paper were to give the Polish immigrant community, 90% of whom did not speak English, a reliable source of news from home and abroad, to support the Polish Government-In-Exile in London, and to lobby for an independent Poland. The paper only lasted 23 issues, the final being October 5th, it was revived in 1952 but without his involvement.



The first edition of Głos Polski on May 4th 1950, and below Zbigniew listed as editor.

Redaktor: Zbigniew Mystkowski Wydaje: Związek Polaków w Australii z siedzibą w Melbourne 238 Elisabethstr. Box 675 E - G.P.O.
Wszelką korespondencję prosimy kierować pod adresem Redakcji: "Głos Polski" Melbourne/Victoria Box 675 E - G.P.O.

Part of the agreement that Australia had signed with the PCIRO back in 1947 stated that "Any selected immigrant who goes to Australia unaccompanied by relatives or dependents shall, after three months residence in Australia, have the right to nominate such relatives and dependents for admission, and the Commonwealth agrees to grant such admission providing the worth of the immigrant has been satisfactorily demonstrated and provided the immigrant is in a position to receive and support the dependents after their arrival in Australia."

On that basis the Mystkowskis nominated the Tobolskis whose paperwork was marked "Both fit as nominated dependents" in Fallingbosten on 9th March 1950. But it was not until September 25th

that they sailed from Bremerhaven onboard the USAT General C H Muir, arriving in Melbourne on October 26th with 1278 other migrants. After spending just over a week at the Bonegilla Migrant Reception Centre they moved to Miss Murray's boarding house in St. Kilda.



USAT General C H Muir



Meeting the ship at Station Pier
Mira, Zbigniew & Stefan

With each couple having just one room at Miss Murray's it soon became obvious that larger premises were needed so the search in the "For Rent" section of the newspapers began. On June 25th 1951 the two families moved to 8 Olive Street, South Caulfield.



2 Argyle Street 1950- Lucjan, Mira and Gustawa with Eva Floyd
and her husband who also resided there



8 Olive Street with the picket fence

Although they had left her boarding house Jean Murray remained a lifelong friend. She moved premises to 15 Albert Road Melbourne where one of her tenants was a Chinese cook named "Tommy". It was through him that the Polish immigrants were introduced to Chinese cuisine in Australia and soon developed a taste for it, taking their saucepans to the local Chinese restaurant in Glenhuntly Road, Caulfield to collect take-away, as one did in those days.

The move to larger accommodation was further justified on March 27th 1952 when Mira gave birth to a daughter, Janette (Jan) Maria Anna. Co-incidentally she was born and christened in the Roman Catholic parish of Holy Cross, the same parish name as that in which Zbigniew had been born. The sponsors for her baptism were her grandmother, Gustawa, and “uncle” Stanislaw Wierzbowski.

52/5894
7490

SECOND SCHEDULE

BIRTHS in the District of MELBOURNE, in Victoria,

Registered by **LEON GORDON SMITH**

1 No.	7490
Child—	
2 When and where born	27th March, 1952 "Devon" Private Hospital Boocoon Road, Glenburnly City of Caulfield, County of Bourke U.N. 8 Olive Street, South Caulfield, City of Caulfield
3 Name, and whether present or not	Janette Maria Anna, not present
4 Sex	Female
Parents—	
Father—	
5 (1) Name and surname, and occupation of the father	Zbigniew Wiktor Jozef MYSTKOWSKI Process Worker
(2) Age	45 years
(3) Birthplace	Warsaw, Poland
6 (1) When and where married	20th May, 1947.
(2) Previous issue— Living and Deceased	Stefan Wiktor Jozef, 3 years
Mother—	
7 (1) Name and maiden surname of the mother	Mirosława Lucyna Mystkowska formerly Tobolski
(2) Age	25 years
(3) Birthplace	Gonowice, Poland
Informant—	
8 Signature, description, and residence of informant	Z. Mystkowski Father 8 Olive Street, South Caulfield
Witnesses—	
9 (1) Approver	Dr. Grant
(2) Name by whom certified	Sister Mackenzie
(3) Name of occupier or other witness	
Registrar—	
10 When Registered, and where	29th March, 1952, Melbourne
11 Signature of Registrar	L. O. Smith
12 Name, if added after registration of birth	

I, **LEON GORDON SMITH**, Assistant Government Statist of the State of Victoria, in the Commonwealth of Australia, do hereby certify that the above is a true copy of an Entry in a Register of Births kept in this Office.

Office of the Government Statist,
Melbourne.
5th August, 1952, L.C.

STAT 118-442
J. J. O'Keefe, Government Printer, Melbourne.

Copy of Baptism Certificate.

Name Janette Maria Anna Date of Birth 27-3-1952

Parents Zbigniew Wiktor Jozef Mystkowski
Mirosława Lucyna Tobolski

Address 8 Olive St. South Caulfield

Baptised by Rev. J. V. Carroll on 13.4.1952

Sponsors Stanislaw Wierzbowski
Gustawa Tobolski

The above certificate is a correct copy of the entry made in the Baptismal Register at—
Holy Cross Church, Parish, South Caulfield.

Date 12/6/52 Signed J. V. Carroll



Family portrait 1952

In the early 1950s Lucjan had found work as a process worker at K.O. Turner Pty Ltd, a shoe manufacturer in Toorak Road South Yarra whilst Gustawa was working at Julius Kayser (Aust.) Pty Ltd in Stewart Street Richmond, a manufacturer of women’s stockings and lingerie. Within a few years they had sufficient funds to purchase a block of land on which they began building a house, with a lot of work being done by Lucjan and Zbigniew on the weekends. They eventually moved into 63 Station Street St. Albans in July 1954.

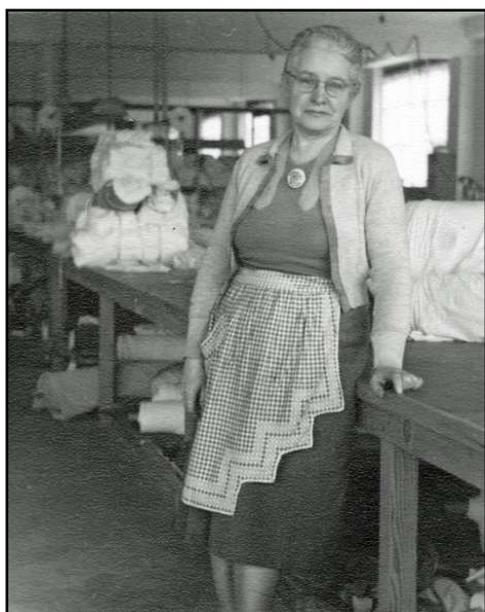
Stefan reluctantly started school at Holy Cross Primary School, so reluctantly in fact that on the first day after Mira had walked him to the front gate of the school he ran through the school grounds, out the back gate and beat her home. The rest of his time there was less eventful and he must have settled into studies reasonably well as he was promoted a grade as his development had warranted the move.

To try and earn a little extra cash Zbigniew turned his hand to the many and varied skills he'd learned in the POW camp, he made in-laid wood items, beaten copper ashtrays, necklaces, 3-ply timber shopping trolleys etc, which he sold through a variety of local shopkeepers with varying degrees of success. He continued his hobby of photography using the bathroom at Olive Street, which had no external windows, as his dark room to develop and print his photographs.



Some of Zbigniew's handiwork, an in-laid wooden box and matching mother & daughter shopping trolleys

The second half of the 1950's saw a number of job changes for the members of the two families, Gustawa left Kayser and in July 1955 went to work for Gloria Knitting and Underwear Mills at 279 Spring Street Melbourne as a machinist.



MACHINISTS for ladies' underwear. Piecework and overtime available. Apply Personnel Officer, Gloria Knitting Mills, 279 Spring st., Melbourne. FB2608.

Left: Gustawa at the Gloria factory. Top right: The factory in Spring St.
Bottom right: The Argus Sat. 23-7-1955

Mira, in addition to the jobs of raising two children and running the household, also took on some piecework at home from Gloria to further boost the family income.

Zbigniew left Widdis Diamond and began work for Bill Yelland, Master Plumber, with whom he stayed for a number of years. The family particularly enjoyed it when this job took him for a short time to the factory of Red Tulip Chocolates and a weekly bonus of a bag of misshapen “seconds”.



Working as a plumber, late 1950s, Melbourne CBD

Having made their homes in Australia they then decided to fully commit to their new homeland and take out citizenship, and both families submitted their forms in May 1956. They each swore their allegiance to Australia in separate ceremonies, the Mystkowskis at Caulfield on March 29th 1957, and the Tobolskis at Sunshine on August 16th 1957, which was co-incidentally Gustawa’s 63rd birthday.



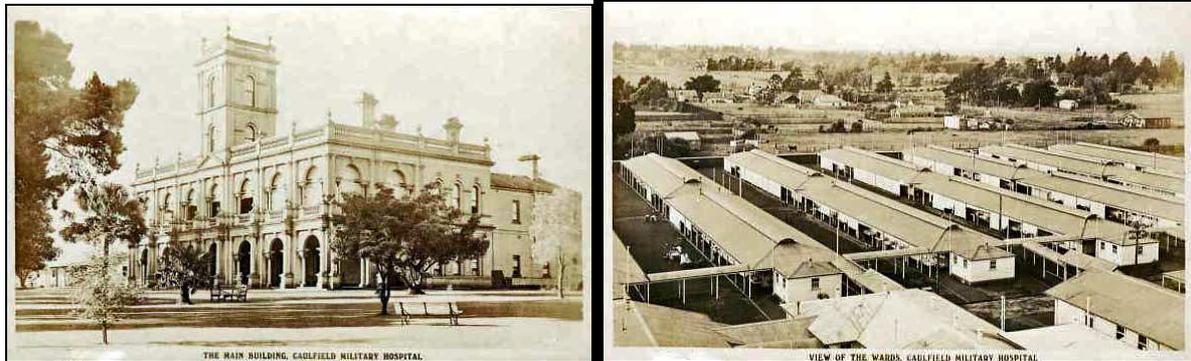
Zbigniew’s naturalisation certificate with Stefan included on the back as he was less than 16 years old

Lucjan left Turner’s Shoes and starting work in Parkville for the Commonwealth Serum Laboratories as a laboratory assistant and was involved in the mass production of penicillin. They needed additional staff as Australia had led the world by making penicillin available to its civilian population whereas it had initially been limited to military personnel only.

Jan joined Stefan at Holy Cross Primary School at the start of 1958. Stefan then moved to the junior school of De La Salle College Malvern, named “Kinnoull” after the old mansion in which it

was housed, starting 6th grade in 1959. Mira joined the college's Mothers' Auxiliary and served on their committee.

With the children growing up, Mira had the opportunity to pursue a career of her own, with advice and encouragement from her neighbour Kath Baillie who worked there as a Sister, she applied to the Caulfield Convalescent Hospital to train as a Nurse's Aide. She was accepted and started on April 15th 1957 and having completed her training continued to work there until March 3rd 1964, her final fortnightly salary was recorded there as £27-16-6.



The hospital had started life in about 1915 as a military one and was then managed by the Repatriation Department from 1921. In 1925 a Convalescent Hospital was established in the northern portion administered by the board of management of the Royal Melbourne Hospital. WWII saw the Repatriation Hospital in the southern portion undergo extensive re-modelling and extension to accommodate the influx of war wounded. The board of management of the Alfred Hospital took over in 1948 and ran a Convalescent Hospital on the north side and an Infirmary on the south side of the property. In May 1959 the name was changed to Caulfield Hospital with two divisions, the Convalescent and a Geriatric replacing the Infirmary, and so it stayed for the balance of Mira's time there.

On February 2nd 1962, Zbigniew started work, as a storeman, with McPherson's Ltd, in their Metals Division at Gladstone Street South Melbourne. To secure the position he had done a little "creative mathematics" with his age losing 10 of his 56 years in the process and remained working there for the rest of his days. He enjoyed the job, despite losing the first joint of the ring finger of his left hand in a work-related accident, receiving an enhanced Worker's Compensation payout when without a word of lie he told the judge that he had studied the violin (albeit as a youth) and he would never play again.

With both Zbigniew and Mira in steady employment they decided to embrace the "Great Australian Dream" and in March 1962 bought a house at 7 Ash Grove, Caulfield for £4,850. The vendors finance terms included an £800 deposit and weekly repayments of £8-0-0 and the possibility of additional quarterly repayments of multiples of £10-0-0.

STATEMENT PURSUANT TO SECTION 34 OF THE ESTATE AGENTS ACT 1958

1. The situation and description of the property sufficient for its identification are as follows—
 WEATHERSHAW ROAD
 7, ASH GROVE CAULFIELD

2. The name(s) and address(es) of the selling agent(s)
 JAMES RICHARD ELLIS
 7 ASH GROVE CAULFIELD

3. The name(s) and address(es) of the purchaser(s)
 ZBIGNIEW MYSKOWSKI
 7 ASH GROVE CAULFIELD

4. (a) The "purchaser" agent has not by himself or by any employee or sub-agent made or offered to the "purchaser" any representation or given in respect of the availability of finance for depositing wholly or in part the purchase price other than the following—
 NONE HAS BEEN OFFERED
 BALANCE BY REGULAR WEEKLY REPAYMENTS OF £8-0-0
 WITHIN 1 YEAR FROM DATE OF POSSESSION
 THE PURCHASER SHALL HAVE THE RIGHT TO PAY
 BY SUCH FINANCE TO BE PROVIDED BY THE AGENT MULTIPLE OF £10-0-0
 (b) Such finance is to be provided by way of terms by the seller
 NEWELL FINANCE

The Statement is given to the "purchaser" on the 9th day of MARCH 1962
 Signed by the auctioneer or agent: JAMES RICHARD ELLIS

Receipt of this statement prior to the acceptance of a deposit or the signing of any contract agreement or handing document is acknowledged.
 (Signed) [Signature] (Date) 9 3 1962

EXCESS OUR WORDS NOT APPLICABLE

Purchase contract



7 Ash Grove Caulfield

Meanwhile the Tobolskis, having reached the retirement age of 65 years, decided to sell up their suburban block and “go bush”. They searched as far afield as Warburton finally buying a house on a bush block at 23 Highcliff Road Upwey.

They soon settled in and entertained friends and neighbours, from Caulfield and St. Albans, as well as family which by then included Gustawa’s sister Dora, and her son, Maciej (Maciek) Pawełczyński who had arrived from Poland in June 1960.²⁸



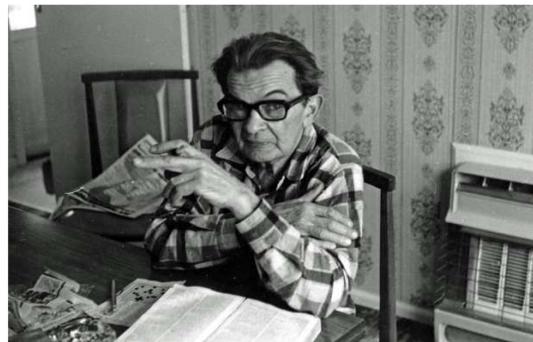
Above: Gustawa, Lucjan and Dora, Upwey early 1960s



Left: Dora and Maciek Pawełczyński in Poland 1959

Mira left Caulfield Hospital and found work at various private aged care facilities, primarily at one named “Bambra House”, but with casual shifts worked at others. She had moved to night shift work as the rates of pay were more attractive.

Holidays for Zbigniew and Mira were limited to taking their children to Marysville in the September school holidays staying at “Mt. Kitchener House”. They did however enjoy an active social life which included parties, balls, beach picnics, and playing bridge. Zbigniew worked to improve his English by reading, doing crosswords and playing the word game Scrabble.



L-R. 1. Pam Bartosy, Mira, unknown, Emil Bartosy, unknown, Lucjan, Zbigniew, Stan & Helga Wierzbowski and Gustawa. 2. Armed with a dictionary tackling the crossword.

In 1966 the noted Polish pianist, Stanisław Niedzielski²⁹, toured Australia and when he played at the Melbourne Town Hall, the family had prime seats for the recital. There was a family connection

²⁸ He arrived on Oceania on 17 June 1960. National Archives of Australia, series B78, item 30612119.

²⁹ Stanisław (Stanislas/Staniuslaus) Niedzielski (1905 – 1975), a Polish pianist born in Warsaw, noted for his playing of Chopin. He studied with Józef Śliwiński and Henryk Opieński in Poland, and with Ignacy Jan Paderewski in Switzerland. His first piano concert took place in London in 1925. On 18 January 1930, in Madrid, he gave the first ever performance of Joaquín Turina's *Contes d'Espagne*, Set II, Op. 47. He toured to many countries, including South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. He settled in Paris, where he died in 1975 of a tropical disease contracted during an African tour.

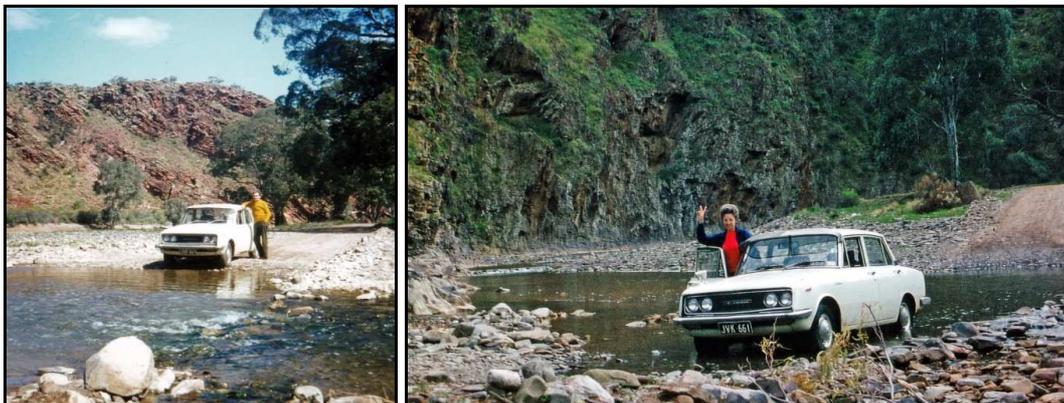
between him and Zbigniew, Stanisław Niedzielski was the son of Edmund Walenty Niedzielski and Helena Gabriela Kaetzler who were married in St. Antoni Church in Warsaw. A signatory to the wedding certificate is Józef Mystkowski (father of Bohdan and uncle of Zbigniew). Józef was married to Maryla Kaetzler, sister of Helena. So Stanisław was Bohdan's cousin, who in turn was Zbigniew's cousin.



1, Elwood beach late '50s – Kath & Sue Baillie, Jan, Stefan, Mira, Helga and her son Michael. 2. New Year's Eve – Baillies, Mystkowskis, Tobolskis and Wierzbowskis

Whilst giving their children the best education they could manage Zbigniew and Mira saved a little extra cash and in 1966 bought their first car. Stefan had actually obtained his driving license before his mother whilst Zbigniew never bothered to get one and hence never drove in Australia.

The little Toyota Corona they bought opened up huge tracts of Australia to them and they enjoyed camping far and wide across the country. Someone had forgotten to tell the Corona it wasn't a four wheel drive and it managed to get them into the Australian bush and home again many a time.



In April 1966 Zbigniew received the sad news from Poland that his mother Anna Maria Mystkowska had passed away on April 10th, aged 88 years. She had moved from Szczebrzeszyn to Dom Opieki Społecznej (hostel) in Jordanów on 5.5.1959, where she lived until her death on 10.4.1966. She was buried in Jordanowo, which is about 120 km west of Poznań.



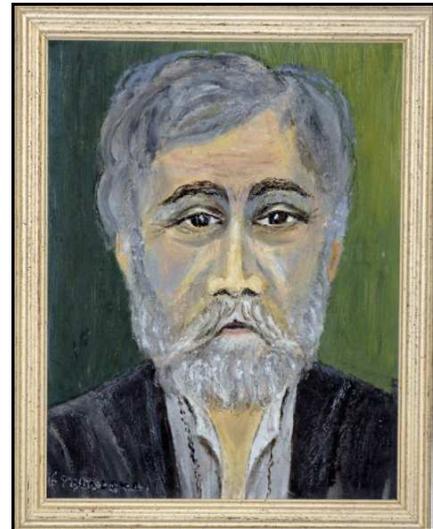
Anna Mystkowska, born 27.7.1877 died 10.4.1966.

Stefan continued on at De La Salle College until his underachieving matriculation year in 1965. Janette who had stayed at Holy Cross until Form 1, continued her secondary schooling at Holy Redeemer in Ripponlea for a year then moved to Star of the Sea College in Gardenvale where she matriculated in 1969.

On April 23rd 1968 Lucjan Tobolski died at Box Hill. He was buried in the Brighton Cemetery in South Caulfield not far from the Ash Grove home of the Mystkowskis. Shortly after, Gustawa sold the house at Upwey and a “granny” flat was built as an extension at the rear of the Ash Grove premises. She moved in with her piano and painting easel, both disciplines being self taught.



Gustawa at the piano



One of Gustawa's paintings

Having left school at the end of 1965 Stefan had several false starts and distractions to his working life, but eventually he found his way into office equipment sales where he had a long and successful career.

Meanwhile, Jan undertook two years of teacher training at Christ College Chadstone graduating in 1971, and going on to teach at various primary schools in Melbourne. She was also

involved in community work when she and a group of friends started the Caulfield chapter of Rotaract.

 <p style="text-align: center;">CHRIST COLLEGE</p> <p style="text-align: center;">This is to Certify that</p> <p style="text-align: center;">JANETTE MYSTKOWSKI</p> <p style="text-align: center;">has qualified for</p> <p style="text-align: center;">PRIMARY TEACHER'S REGISTRATION</p> <p style="text-align: center;">under the</p> <p style="text-align: center;">COUNCIL OF PUBLIC EDUCATION OF THE STATE OF VICTORIA</p> <p style="text-align: center;">after completing an approved course of study at Christ College</p> <p style="text-align: right;">PRINCIPAL: <i>Norm Mitchell 1974</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;">DATE: 8TH, DECEMBER, 1971. VICE-PRINCIPAL: <i>Agnes B. Dow</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Caulfield Rotaract Charter Program</i></p> <p>list of members</p> <p>KIERAN McDONALD (President) JAN MYSTKOWSKI (Vice-President) JANET EDWARDS (Secretary) JOHN MALONE (Treasurer) STEVEN REID (Club Service) MERCIA McDONALD (Insurance Salesman) JENNY SICKLEMORE (Teacher) THELMA EDWARDS (Dental Student I Service) RENE DORNBIERER (Pharmacist) LAURA D'SOUZA (Sergeant-at-Arms) MICHAEL CONRON (Teacher) IAN WHELAN (Public Servant) BRANDON HACK (Bank Teller) MICHAEL GLASSELL (Matriculation) GREG SUMMERS (Trainee Manager) RON TOWNSEND (Arts III) FRANK HADDY (Trainee Accountant) KAY PEPPERELL (Eco./Politics II Honours) STEPHEN HADDY (Dental Nurse) GORDON HOWLETT (Arts III Honours) TONY BLOY (Building Accountant) REGINA KLUCZYNSKI (Trainee Book-keeper) PAT ODGERS (Secretary) CHRIS LEY (Teacher) JUDY FOWLEY (Nurse)</p> <p>IT IS DUE TO THE FRIENDSHIP AND GUIDANCE OF THE CAULFIELD ROTARIANS THAT WE HAVE AN IDENTITY AS A ROTARACT CLUB.</p> <p>THANKS ROTARIANS.</p>	<p>CALL TO ORDER: LINDSAY LORD (Chairman) - Rotary Club of Caulfield</p> <p>WELCOME TO GUESTS: ALBIE COOPER (President) - Rotary Club of Caulfield</p> <p>GRACE: JANET EDWARDS - - - - Rotaract Club of Caulfield</p> <p style="text-align: center;">dinner</p> <p>LOYAL TOAST: LINDSAY LORD (Chairman) - Rotary Club of Caulfield</p> <p>INTRODUCTION OF CHARTER MEMBERS: GREG SUMMERS AND CHRIS LEY - - - - - Rotaract Club of Caulfield</p> <p>PRESENTATION OF CHARTER AND ADDRESS: JOCK ANDREWS (District Governor) - - - - Rotary Club of Melbourne South</p> <p>ACCEPTANCE OF CHARTER: KIERAN McDONALD (President) - - - - - Rotaract Club of Caulfield</p> <p>CONCLUSION: ALBIE COOPER (President) - Rotary Club of Caulfield</p> <p style="text-align: center;">fellowship and dancing</p>
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Zbigniew continued to work at McPherson's where he uniquely ran his own stock control system which was a school exercise book in which he recorded every delivery that came into his section and every order that was fulfilled from it. When stocktaking time came around "Joe's Book" proved consistently more reliable than the company's own system. His efforts were appreciated by both management and the customers he serviced, as the letters below attest.

MP

24th July, 1970.

MEMO: MR. J. MYSTKOWSKI

In the absence of Mr. A. MacKenzie and Mr. A. Berry it is my pleasure and duty to advise you that we have received a compliment from a customer who speaks very highly of you.

Mr. Simpson, Managing Director of Melbourne Hoists phoned me in the absence of the above two gentlemen and could not speak highly enough of the personal service and satisfaction that you offered to him on Friday 17th July.

He states that he has never in 30 years of service been so well treated in any warehouse or store he has been to.

This service is greatly appreciated by the Company and I feel it is my duty to advise you of this.

Yours in appreciation.

[Signature]
G.C. WILSON

MP

348 COLLINS STREET
MELBOURNE 3000
AUSTRALIA
TELEPHONE 22-0001
TELEFAX 22-0002
CABLES: MPEM
MERCANTILE MELBOURNE

McPHERSON'S LIMITED
ENGINEERS' SUPPLIERS & MANUFACTURERS

our ref. your ref.

14th February, 1972.

Mr. J. Mystkowski,
7 Ash Grove,
CAULFIELD, VIC. 3162.

Dear Joe,

It is my pleasure to inform you that you have just completed 10 years service on the 9th February, 1972 and I wish to thank you for the very dedicated and conscientious service that you have given this department in particular.

You have served, to my knowledge under four managers, Mr. W. Dawson, Mr. A. McKenzie, Mr. A. Berry and now myself and although I have known the latter two managers quite well, I have no hesitation that the four you have serviced under, all treat you with the same respect that is justly deserved.

I personally know that Mr. McKenzie had the utmost confidence in you, your work, family and home life and although I have known you much less in period of time, I would like to say again that the company appreciates the dedication, service that you performed in your duty tasks.

We trust that this may continue to the benefit of both parties.

Yours sincerely,
[Signature]
G.C. WILSON
MANAGER
METALS DIVISION

When he reached the retirement age of 65 years Zbigniew continued to work on, as according to the company records he was ten years younger. Another thing to continue was his love of and addiction to smoking.

In late November 1974 he suffered a heart attack and was taken to Cabrini Hospital in Malvern where he died on December 4th. Coincidentally that date was the same as that of the death of

his father, a further coincidence was that at age 26 years his son Stefan was the same age as Zbigniew was when his father died. He was buried at the Springvale Cemetery two days later. He had never returned to Europe as his dream of seeing the re-establishment of a free and independent Polish nation would not be realised until nearly 20 years after his passing.

EPILOGUE

Mira continued to work until 1976 when she decided to go travelling, this adventure took her to Europe, Africa and South America. It also resulted in a meeting in Switzerland with Erwin Hofmeister whom she married on May 26th 1979. Erwin died on January 25th 2005, and Mira continues to reside in Zurich.

Stefan married Julie Irene Sainsbury on October 29th 1977. While living at Ash Grove with Gustawa Tobolska during the year that Mira was travelling and they had saved for their first house. They continue to live in Melbourne, now both retired from the workforce. He has compiled this opus over a period of about five years.

Jan married Owen Buckley on March 10th, 1979. Having left teaching she completed an accountancy course in December 1989. After divorcing in April 1986, she married Brian Hastings on April 11th 1987, they continue to live in rural New South Wales. In March 2012, to celebrate her 60th birthday, she entered the Guinness Book of World Records setting the mark at 80 hours for Marathon Ironing.

Gustawa decided that as Mira was to be living in Switzerland she too would move back to Europe. She bought an apartment in Katowice, Poland where she lived until her death on July 27th 1990. She is buried alongside her mother in the family plot in Sosnowiec.

Godziny Czekania is held in the collections of the Polish National Library, the British Library and the library of Stamford University. Stefan has donated family-owned copies of the book to the National Library of Australia (August 2009) and the Library of Congress (September 2012). The latter, at the time of writing (19 months later), has acknowledge receipt of the donation but having lost it are trying to source an electronic copy from another institution to add to their own electronic collection.

In 2009 Stefan was contacted by writer Bogumiła Żongołłowicz who was researching Zbigniew for an article she was writing. The article appeared in the University of Rzeszów's 2011 publication *Liryka żołnierska. Estetyka i wartości* (Lyrics of soldiers – Aesthetics and values).

In late 2012, Stefan approached the noted translator of Polish poetry, Marcel Weyland³⁰, who accepted the commission to translate Zbigniew's book into English; this was completed in early 2013.

SOURCES, REFERENCES and ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

- Much of the material used came from family collections and recollections.
- The immigration and naturalisation documents were sourced from the National Archives of Australia.
- The POW camp reports came from the records of the International Red Cross in Geneva. Zbigniew's POW records came from the Polish Red Cross.
- Zbigniew's pre-war military records were supplied by the Central Military Archive in Warsaw.
- Copies of the pre-war Polish telephone and business directories are held in various library collections and were sourced through the website Genealogy Indexer.
- "Goniec Warszawski" copies were sourced from the digital collection of the Polish National Library.

³⁰ Marcel Weyland (1927-), a translator. Born in Łódź. He fled Poland to Lithuania in 1939 and next to China. Arrived into Australia in 1946. He translated into English Adam Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz* (1960), *Echoes: Poems of the Holocaust*, anthology of poems by Polish poets, Jewish and non-Jewish, written during the Holocaust and after, by survivors and witnesses and others (2007), *The Word: 200 Years of Polish Poetry* bilingual anthology of Polish poetry (2010), *What I Read to the Dead* anthology of prose and poetry by Władysław Szlengel. He was awarded in 2005 the Order of Merit (Poland), in 2008 the Medal of the Order of Australia, in 2012 the Officer's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Republic of Poland.

- “Torn Socks Were the Outset” was written in the 1950s and submitted to Reader’s Digest magazine, but was never published. The handwritten story was a second attempt which never got past the draft stage.
- Copies of all the issues of “Głos Polski” with which Zbigniew was involved are held in Melbourne by the Polish Museum and Archives. There Stefan met Zdzislaw Derwinski who has researched and written the footnotes to this article.
- The various articles referring to “Głos Polski” and Zbigniew have had their source names left on the included pages.
- A hard copy of “Spadochron” is held by The British Library.
- Many and varied internet resources were used during this project in gathering background material including Google Translate and Wikipedia. As well the Digital Library collections of nations, regions, municipalities and educational institutes were used to source data and pictures.
- The information regarding the post-war career of Wacław Bulzacki came from the In Memoriam – Memories of Polish Architects website of the Polish Institute of Architects.
- The Archive department of the University of Warsaw provided the records of Zbigniew’s time there.
- The original source for the Mystkowski family crest information was the website Dynastic Genealogy.
- Bonegilla photographs and information came from the Albury City Library.
- The recent photographs of the grave sites of Stefan Mystkowski and Wanda Mystkowski came from the people at the web database Nekrologi Warszawskie.
- Caulfield hospital records were supplied by the Archives of the Alfred and Caulfield Hospitals.
- The details about the hospital in Bad Rothenfelde comes from a history written by Richard Sautmann and Rolf Westheider called “ Die Schwersten Tage sind Vorbei” (The Sisters’ Days have Passed), and oral family history.
- Translators include Mira (Polish and German), Magdalena Wheatland (Polish), Nathalie Marchand (French) and Anna Moss (Russian).
- I owe a great debt of gratitude to my wife Julie for her patience, understanding, support and proofreading during the writing of this opus.

Appendix:

Zbigniew Mystkowski
Translated by Marcel Wayland

Godziny czekania

Hours of waiting

My

Bez nazwisk i bez imion, numerami znaczeni.
Jak sosny na porębie, bezwolni jako one,
Odcięci od wszystkiego, zawiśli w przestrzeni.
Nie wiemy co i w którą uniesie nas stronę.

We

No first name, no last name, just marked with a number,
Like pines swaying in clearings, no will of their own,
Suspended in deep space and from everything sundered,
Unknowing why and whither we may yet be thrown.

Nastroje

Wszystko jedno – przekwitły, czy kwitną, czeresnie,
Zboża złocą się jeszcze, czy już żółkną liście,
Śnieg otulił świat cały i zmierzcha się wcześniej –
Gdy nam ciągle jesienne, pochmurno i dżdżyście.

Moods

All the same whether blossoms, or withers, the cherry,
Whether corn still shines golden, leave yellow and fall,
If snow swathes the world and if dusk descends early,
While for us – always autumn, rain-drizzle, clouds' pall.

Otoczenie

Gdy czasem uciekamy, byle gdzie, przed siebie,
By umęczoną duszę przenieść tam gdzie lepiej,
Wzrok utyka na murze i na lasów krepie,
Zawiedzeni – spojrzeniem błędzimy po niebie.

The Place

When sometimes we would flee this, would run where one could,
Somewhere better, permitting soul wearied to fly,
The eye's checked by the wall and grim dark of wood,
Disheartened – our gaze turns to traversing the sky.

Chodnik

Długa ścieżka niedoli, brukowana łzami,
Ślepy zaułek życia, echem westchnień drżący,
Kierat tłumu niewolnych, dalekich myślami,
Przezywających wczoraj i jutra łaknących.

The track

A long path of ill-luck, paved with tear after tear,
A blind dead-end of living, with echoing sorrow,
Crowded treadmill of captives, their thoughts far from here,
Still reliving their past and a thirst for tomorrow.

Gryf

Pośród twarzy co kryją udrękę rozstania,
Jak wśród mogił, przy których ktoś jeszcze boleje,
Skamieniał wspomnieniem smutkom dostęp wzbrania,
Gryf wsparty o kotwicę – jak my o nadzieję.

The Gryphon

Among faces concealing the torment of leavings,
As mid graves stands a mourner and silently mopes,
Turned to stone by his memories, - he keeps out all grieving –
Gryphon leans on the anchor – as we on our hopes.

Niedziela

Nuda w oczu zwierciadle mizdrzy się od rana,
W błyskotki dawnych niedziel tęsknota się stroi –
Jedynie rzeczywistość niedbale odziana.
Czas spił się i przekornie drogę godzin dwoi.

Sunday

Tedium, in the eyes' mirror, preens, simpers since morn,
Yearning decks itself richly in the past Sundays' baubles,
And only real life stands here in rage old and torn.
Time got drunk and perversely hours draws out and doubles.

Msza

W świetlicy stół ofiarny, świece, obrus biały –
W szepcie modlitw znikają, z nabożnym skupieniem,
Echa zdań i melodyj niedawno przebrzmiałych,
I duchy narodzonych fantazją na scenie.

The Mass

Our hall – with the altar, the candles, white cloth –
All vanish in prayers' murmur, devout concentration,
Echoes of words and tunes heard not too long ago,
And spirits newly born here in imagination.

Listy

Spowici w opar tęsknot – jak w poranek mglisty,
Gdy nam światło radości kryje obłok siny,
Czekamy błysku słońca – codziennie na listy –
Na serca, które śpieszą do serc w odwiedzin.

Letters

Wrapped in a mist of longing – as in a grey veil,
Any brightness of joy by a dun cloud oppressed,
We wait for glimpse of sunlight, each day wait for mail,
For hearts which speed to other dear hearts as a guest.

Siatkówka

Gubiące czas wahadło siatkówki – zegara
Monotonnie kołysze godziny czekania;
Nuda przymyka oczy i zasnąć się stara,
Śmiech natrętną tęsknotę z bopiska wygania.

Volleyball

The pendulum arch of this volley-bal clock
Ticking tediously, hours of our waiting runs down,
Tedium closes the eye-lids, to sleep slowly rocks,
Laughs chase the pesky yearning away from the ground.

Obiad

Niczem korowód żaków którzy z miską w dłoni.
Od drzwi do drzwi chodzili – idziemy po jadło –
My nie mamy wyboru, takiego jak oni,
I ciągle do tych samych wlec się wypadło.

Dinner

Like processions of schoolboys with bowl in each hand
Who trudged from door to door – so we ask for grub,
While we don't have such chance as that young schoolboy band,
And always at the same door we have to queue up.

Mieszkanie

Poczekalnia kolei – gdy chodzi o ciszę,
A przedział trzeciej klasy – jeśli o mieszkanie,
Dwa łóżka – to grzebalne w katakumbach nisze,
Trzecie – pokładem statku na wód oceanie.

Our Dwelling Place

For its quiet – compare it with train waiting-rooms,
Like a third-class compartment the size of our home,
Two beds – each like a niche carved in old catacombs,
The third bed – a ship's deck on rough ocean foam.

Reflektory

Wyszły nocą żerować krwiożercze potwory
I złym błyskiem swych ślepi szukają ofiary –
Pierzchły spłoszonej myśli na pół senne mory –
Chciwe łupu mrok szarpią strażnic reflektory.

Searchlights

At night, blood-thirsty monsters emerge for their prey,
Search for victims with baleful eyes glinting berserk
- Startled reverie flees into a nightmarish daze –
The watchtowers' greedy searchlights roam tearing the murk.

Matthew Poprzeczny
(Perth)

Comparison of the *filibuster* of the United States Senate and the *liberum veto* of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's Sejm

Introduction

The United States of America ('USA') and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth ('the Commonwealth' or 'the Rzeczpospolita') both encountered a similar problem in their federal systems. Facing the need for centralised government, both wished to retain regional minority representation in their national assemblies. However, both also required a strong state to defend against their enemies abroad. Both federations had to (and in the US's case, still must) maintain a rough and sometimes uneasy balance between competing regional and national government interests. Against its surrounding enemies, and with intense regional fractionalisation, the Commonwealth was abraded away and finally Partitioned; but the USA ultimately survived and prospered despite occasional defeats and the Civil War.

A nation's fate isn't generally owed to one simple explanation. However, I will argue that a contributing factor was in how the two nations handled two very similar institutions within their national governments. Poland-Lithuania's federal system was an almost anarchic form of confederation with a weak central government, and this system was entrenched against all serious reform efforts by the presence of the *liberum veto*. The United States' Articles of Federation began with a slightly more unitary starting point, and its gradual development brought it closer to a single unified state capable of protecting itself against external threat and internal dissent. However, the upper house of its Congress – the Senate – has maintained a similar institution to the *liberum veto* known as the *filibuster*. The *filibuster* has put the Senate at the same risk of political gridlock as the Commonwealth suffered, but the Senate has arguably responded better to this threat.

The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was a semi-federal, semi-confederal nation of two halves – Poland and Lithuania. Hence it was also known as "the Republic of the Two Nations". The 1385 Union of Krewo had united the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania into a dual monarchy under Jogaila, the Grand Duke of Lithuania. However, the dual kingdom did not become the Rzeczpospolita (lit. 'common thing', traditionally interpreted as 'Commonwealth' but sometimes also 'Republic') until the 1569 Union of Lublin. This was an attempt by the last Jagiellonian monarch, Sigismund II Augustus, to preserve the state with an elective monarchy. Although remaining loosely united, Poland and Lithuania retained their own treasuries and armies due to Lithuanian fears that the more populous Poles would overawe them. In addition to this two-part federation, the nation was divided into smaller administrative units known as *województwa*, each governed by a *wojewoda* (governor) and further subdivided into *starostwa* (administered by a *starosta*). Cities were governed by castellans. The Rzeczpospolita survived until 1795 after the First, Second and Third Partitions absorbed its lands into the Russian Empire, the Kingdom of Prussia, and Habsburg Austria.

The Commonwealth's exact system of government is hard to define, as many of its institutions have no analogue. Some of them would seem bizarrely modern to today's political

scientists, while many others were clearly remainders from the feudal serfdom it had originally been. The Commonwealth was an elective monarchy, where the *szlachta* ('nobility') were the only eligible voters. The *szlachta* made up roughly 10% of the population. Although quite restrictive and unrepresentative by today's standards, this proportion of franchised voters was far greater than the contemporary English Parliament, with roughly 5% of the population. Nonetheless, the *szlachta's* great political power and unique political values defined the Commonwealth's government, for better and worse.

The *szlachta* believed strongly in the principle of unanimity because they believed in an inherent political equality between each member of their ranks. Combined with their fear of an overpowerful national monarch and their high esteem for noble liberty (the 'Golden Freedom') the unanimity principle created many unique institutions and a high degree of regional autonomy from and control of the central government.¹ The monarch's election is a good example of these features. When the king died all members of the *szlachta* could ride to the field of Wola to vote for the next king. Generally between 10,000 and 15,000 *szlachta* did. Any noble, citizen or foreigner, was eligible to apply for the position of king. The provincial dietines, or *sejmiks*, would discuss the election, and generally had an idea of their region's preferred candidate before leaving on their journey. To crown a new king, however, all in attendance had to agree unanimously. This took a varying degree of political coercion, cajolery, threats and outright violence on the field, such that the 1764 election was called 'unusually quiet' because only 13 nobles had died.

The *Sejm*, the Commonwealth's central parliament, was one of the chief ways that the *szlachta* maintained a great degree of regional autonomy and control over the central government. The *Sejm* first emerged in 1493, and in a nationalising move upon the Commonwealth's creation in 1573 it adopted the powers of taxation and levee-en-masse previously held at the provincial *sejmik* ('little assembly') level. The *Sejm* was a bicameral parliament that met for up to 6 weeks, and at least once every two years. The lower house, the '*Senat*' (Senate) was both a legislative chamber and the chief executive authority. Its 140 members were a combination of high-ranking members of the Church and the king's personally appointed regional administrators. The second house, the *Izba Poselska* ('Chamber of Envoys') housed the envoys sent by the regional *sejmiks* to represent their interests – two from each *sejmik*. The *Sejm* exercised a great deal of power over the king. As mentioned above, the *Sejm* had adopted the power to allow or deny the King's request for new taxes or conscription; before coronation the king-elect was required to swear by the *Sejm's* terms, which included both a fixed list of noble rights called the Henrican Articles and a list, known as the Pacta Conventa, which varied based on the electoral pledges the king had made. The Henrican Articles included the above rights on taxation and conscription, regular meetings of the *Sejm*, the *Sejm's* nomination of 16 'resident' Senators who would be his executive council while the *Sejm* adjourned, and the nobility's right of rebellion (occasionally carried out in what was called a 'confederation') if the king broke his oaths. The greatest of the *Sejm's* controls though was the *liberum veto*.

Liberum Veto

The *liberum veto*, or free veto, was a feature of the *Sejm* that allowed any member of the *Sejm* to veto any piece of legislation during debate by either calling out 'veto' (I deny) or '*nie pozwalam*' (I do not allow). The *liberum veto* was held to be a key feature of the Golden Freedom (political and legal equality between the nobility): as all of the *szlachta* and regions were equal, none could be coerced by another or the central government. This requirement for unanimity enjoyed great support amongst the Polish nobility, and was especially enjoyed by Lithuania and its fewer representatives in the second house (48 to Poland's 143-95). The *szlachta* gave three main reasons for the institution. The first reason was practical: as the provincial dietines debated independently whether and how to execute the central *Sejm's* laws within their provinces it was important to accommodate the *sejmiks'* envoys, who could only vote as they were instructed to. Without the *sejmik's* acquiescence it would be difficult or impossible to execute the *Sejm's* laws.

¹ Lukowski, J., *Political Ideas among the Polish Nobility in the Eighteenth Century (To 1788)*, "The Slavonic and East European Review" 2004, v. 82(1), p. 1-26.

What is surprising about the veto is how long it generally worked for the Commonwealth. There were admittedly some early difficulties, especially in 1580 when all taxation was blocked for the year. However, the veto was generally negotiated around. Once the veto was declared, the Marshall of the *Sejm* would call an adjournment and discuss the issue with the vetoing member. Often this break would last only minutes over a clarification or misunderstanding. However, it could last hours or days over more substantive disagreements.

Nonetheless, the free veto's true obstructive possibilities weren't realised until 1652. In that year the *Sejm* had endured an unusually long 6 week session of tiring debate, and was already unhappy over raising taxes to fund an ongoing war. Near the end of the session, when votes were being taken a single veto was called. The vetoing member, Jan Siciński, envoy of Upita Lithuania, took to his horse and left before being identified. In the confusion many electors left for home, assuming the *Sejm* was complete. The Marshall of the *Sejm*, Andrzej Maksymillian Fredro, did not discover the cause until too many voters had left and a quorum was impossible. After consultation with legal experts Fredro declared the whole session null and void, and all its legislation unpassed. It was later discovered that Siciński had acted on behalf of the Lithuanian magnate Jan Radziwiłł. This incident would set a precedent which later accelerated into total legislative deadlock. In 1666 the whole *Sejm's* proceedings were similarly vetoed in the middle of the session, and again in 1668 on the session's opening day. During the reign of Augustus II (1697-1733) 11 of 20 *Sejms* were broken by veto, and in Augustus III's reign (1733-1763) only one *Sejm* passed legislation.

The free veto's failings served to further decentralise power in an already near-confederal system. Moreover, the power fell largely into the hands of the rich local nobility called 'magnates', of whom the Radziwiłłs were a famous example. These were the richest of the *szlachta* who owned wide swathes of serf-worked farmland. In the face of this deadlock (along with other forces that weakened the central government) the local *sejmiks* adopted the *Sejm's* administrative and financial responsibilities, though not as effectively or vigorously. These *sejmiks* were far easier for the local regional magnate to control, especially as the magnates grew in influence and wealth over the 18th century. A magnate needed only to bribe the class of impoverished nobles more interested in a wage than political debate. These became known as the magnate's "clients".

The veto did not only obstruct *Sejm* business on behalf of the magnates: it was co-opted to by foreign enemies to neutralise and control the Commonwealth.² notes that "Each of the Powers [Austria, Prussia, and Russia] retained magnates who could break the *Sejm* at the drop of a ducat". Many magnates were happy to block the business of government in exchange for bribes. The Russian Empire especially, treated the Commonwealth as a de facto protectorate after 1717. It guaranteed security to its west with a few magnatial pensions. It would station troops in Warsaw at important celebrations to 'protect the *Sejm* from outside interference', threaten to arrest political opponents, and block any attempts to reform the constitutional system.³

Despite the manifest failings of the veto, it remained until the May 3 Constitution in 1791, 4 years before the Commonwealth fell. The first and most important reason for its survival was the inherent difficulty in eliminating it: only the *Sejm* could abolish the veto, and the *Sejm* was packed with members who would veto any such reform to maintain their political advantage. The King's 1768 attempt to reform the veto was abandoned for fear of a single dissenting voice. Moreover, many, though not all, of the *szlachta* still prized the veto as an expression of the Golden Freedom. Marshall Fredro, who presided over the ominous 1652 *Sejm* was a great defender of the veto: he argued that it protected the wise few from the stupid majority, and that an empty treasury prevents an insolent monarch.⁴ This dual fear of majoritarian rule and tyrannical central government was fairly representative of the time.

Fredro's arguments had some merit in its day though. The Commonwealth lived in an era of extreme religious persecution, and during the rise of monarchical absolutism. Even today, many scholars argue quite reasonably that the veto was an important guard against religious persecution and

² Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland*, Columbia University Press, New York 1982, p. 347.

³ N. Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

⁴ N. Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

despotism.⁵ The Commonwealth was a very ethnically and religiously diverse polity. Roman Catholics were the largest single religious group, but they were a bare majority. There were also Orthodox Christians (especially Ruthenians from the Ukraine) Protestants mainly living in the larger cities, Uniates (Greek Catholics of the Slavonic Rite), Aryans, (Polish Brethren), Jews, and small minorities of Muslims and Armenian Christians.⁶ The veto was a crucial institution by which the *Sejm* maintained a working truce between several religious groups. In response to the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre, the *Sejm* passed the Act of Tolerance in 1573, the first law mandating religious tolerance in all of Europe. The Jewish population maintained a lobbyist at the *Sejm* (and the local *sejmiks*) to convince or bribe voting *szlachta* to represent Jewish interests. The Commonwealth also managed to avoid involvement in the Thirty Years War, a disastrous war with religious roots that spanned Europe. As a result, the Commonwealth was rightly lauded as one of the most religiously tolerant nations in Europe of the day. Although Rohac argues that the veto should have been restricted to certain legislative subject matters, the veto was nonetheless crucial to this uncommon tolerance.⁷

The United States of America

When the Federalists began drafting the United States Constitution they considered several points. First, feared a loose confederation that might break apart into several separate states. The current Articles of Confederation were not up to that task. The Articles had a collective action problem.⁸ The national Congress lacked the power to coerce states into funding the war effort in the Revolutionary War. Therefore, outlying states with little involvement in the war paid less to the effort. As a result, the war was almost lost from a lack of funds.

The Federalists were not interested in a wholly unitary state however. They preferred a largely federal arrangement in which the thirteen states would administer most of their internal business themselves. They also wanted state interests and minority opinions to be heard at the national level in Congress. The Federalists feared the tyranny of a national majority as much as a loose and volatile confederation. One of their solutions was the Senate. Often called the State's House, the Senate was composed of representatives chosen by state governments, so that their interests would be heard. Unelected, and possessing a 6-year term, it was hoped that in the Senate cooler heads would prevail than in the populist House of Representatives. Alexander Hamilton, for instance, described the Senate's role as follows:

[S]uch an institution may be sometimes necessary as a defense to the people against their own temporary errors and delusions...how salutary will be the interference of some temperate and respectable body of citizens, in order to check the misguided career and to suspend the blow mediated by the people against themselves, until the reason, justice and truth can regain their authority over the public mind?⁹

The Filibuster

The *filibuster* is a procedural tactic in the US Senate in which one or more senators may delay a Senate vote on a proposed bill by continuing debate indefinitely. The *filibuster* is generally considered to be a core Senate institution to help the house fulfil its core purpose: a second, more deliberative house to counterbalance the more populist House of Representatives. The Senate commonly considers the hearing of minority opinions and the lack of debate limits – in terms of time

⁵ Dalibor Rohac, *The unanimity rule and religious fractionalisation in the Polish-Lithuanian Republic. "Constitutional Political Economy"* 2008, v. 19, pp. 11-128.

⁶ Adam Zamoyski, *The Polish way, a thousand-year history of the Poles and their culture*, Hippocrene Books, New York 1987, p. 80.

⁷ Dalibor Rohac, *The unanimity rule and religious fractionalisation in the Polish-Lithuanian Republic. "Constitutional Political Economy"* 2008, v. 19, pp. 11-128.

⁸ Keith L. Dougherty, *Collective Action under the Articles of Confederation*, Cambridge University Press New York 2006, pp. 34-5.

⁹ Clinton Rossiter, (Ed.), *The federalist papers*, Penguin New York 1961, p. 384.

and germaneness – as part of its institutional fabric. According to this belief, the filibuster is a key expression of the right to block an oppressive or careless majority and extract concessions for minority interests.

This view of the Senate largely agrees with the views of the Federalists who wrote and advocated for the Constitution. However, the *filibuster* was not codified by the Constitution. From 1789 the Senate retained the power to end debate and proceed to a vote. In 1806 it gave that power away on the grounds that the previous rule was redundant because the Senate customarily ignored it. It is therefore uncertain whether the Founding Fathers – whose names are invoked on both sides of the *filibuster* debate – intended for the *filibuster* to exist as more than a general custom.¹⁰ Speaking of supermajorities in the light of the Articles of Confederation, James Madison was very clear:

In all cases where justice or the general good might require new laws to be passed, or active measures to be pursued, the fundamental principle of free government would be reversed. It would be no longer the majority that would rule: the power would be transferred to the minority. Were the defensive privilege limited to particular cases, an interested minority might take advantage of it to screen themselves from equitable sacrifices to the general weal, or, in particular emergencies, to extort unreasonable indulgences. Lastly, it would facilitate and foster the baneful practice of secessions; a practice which has shown itself even in States where a majority only is required; a practice subversive of all the principles of order and regular government; a practice which leads more directly to public convulsions, and the ruin of popular governments, than any other which has yet been displayed among us.¹¹

At first there was no way to end a *filibuster* without the filibustering senator's consent. However, after the notable rise in filibusters in the late 19th century, the Senate bowed to public and presidential pressure in 1917 to create the 'cloture' rule, also called Rule 22. The cloture rule allowed a 'supermajority' to end debate and call for a vote. The exact number for the supermajority has varied from a two-thirds voting majority to the current three-fifths absolute majority (or 60 senators).

In combination with the Senate's state-based selection criteria – two Senators from each state, regardless of state population – the *filibuster* has often been used to represent state interests. Senators from less populous states with little representation in the House of Representatives, have equal representation with their senatorial colleagues. Moreover, they have as much a right to *filibuster* as any other senator. The senators from Wyoming have as much political power as the senators from California. Accounting for the cloture rule, if the senators from the 21 least populous US states (as 41 votes are needed to maintain a filibuster against cloture) the representatives of 10.3% of the country's population would block the passage of a bill.¹² Although this exact combination is largely theoretical, the *filibuster* rule is notorious for allowing minorities to prevent the passage of bills that have gained support by a large majority of the American public.

But the filibuster is more troublesome than the demands of finding a Senate supermajority. Cloture's effectiveness has fluctuated with changes to its procedure. In recent times (1975-94) 41% of cloture votes have been successful.¹³ Indeed, both the number and success rate of cloture votes has steadily increased. The filibuster's defenders could argue then that the filibuster is not excessively obstructive. However, the greater number and success of cloture votes belies the fact that filibusters too are becoming vastly more common and successful. There were 23 recorded filibusters in the 19th century, but 191 between 1970 and 1994 – 35 simply in the 102nd Congress of 1991-1992.¹⁴

Moreover, thanks to the Senate's procedures even the mere threat of a filibuster from a single senator can kill or modify a bill before it reaches a cloture vote. The Senate's workload has dramatically increased since World War 2, and invoking cloture can take a great deal of time: post-

¹⁰ Troy A. Murphy, *American Political Mythology and the Senate Filibuster*, "Argumentation and Advocacy" 1995, v. 32, pp. 90-107.

¹¹ Clinton Rossiter, (Ed.), *The federalist papers*, Penguin, New York 1961, p. 384.

¹² Philip Bump, *How Broken is the Senate? The Gun Bill Blockers Only Represent 38% of America*, "The Atlantic Wire", 18/04/2011. Retrieved from <http://www.theatlanticwire.com>

¹³ Sarah A. Binder, Steven S. Smith, *Politics or Principle? : filibustering in the United States Senate*, Brookings Institution Press, Washington D.C. 1997, p. 9.

¹⁴ Sarah A. Binder, Steven S. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

cloture debate is limited to 30 hours.¹⁵ The average workday in session was less than 6 hours in the 80th Congress (1947-48) but rose to 9 hours in the 102nd (1993-94). To cope with the greater workload, Senate leaders rely on unanimous consent to floor proceedings – what bills will be debated when, and for how long. Even a single senator can hold up these proceedings with a filibuster – despite lacking the numbers to block cloture – and thereby extract concessions. In 1982, the Democratic Senator for Ohio Howard Metzenbaum filibustered a water rights bill despite a unanimous consent agreement to limit the length of debate.¹⁶ In doing so he extracted amendments to the bill that had already been rejected, as his colleagues were keen to recess. With the Senate's greater workload and increased legislative agenda, majority leaders are more likely to bend to the mere threat of a filibuster from a single senator.

Other features of the political landscape have all contributed to the burgeoning of the filibuster. The increased partisan divide between the two parties since 1967 has made it simpler to find cloture-proof numbers for a filibuster. There has therefore been a rise in minority party filibusters to obstruct the majority party's legislative agenda. With the rise of mass media, the filibuster has also offered senators a relatively cheap way to reach a wide audience, to champion a cause or to self-promote.

Conclusion

As can be seen, these two similar institutions have taken different paths. Both began as avenues for potentially unlimited obstruction of the national political agenda by regional and factional interests. However, the US was able, by dint of popular electoral pressure, to avoid the greater pitfalls that the Commonwealth suffered under the liberum veto. With the cloture rule, the filibuster's obstructive danger was avoided. However, the increased workload in the Senate has brought it to another and greater peak in the use of the filibuster. Although it cannot be said that the United States is at the same risk that the Commonwealth was in its later years, that same spectre of political gridlock that hung over the Sejm now looms over the Senate.

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¹⁵ Sarah A. Binder, Steven S. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹⁶ Sarah A. Binder, Steven S. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

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Łapali przeważnie rano¹

Urodziłam się w Smorgoniach² na Wileńszczyźnie we wrześniu 1915 roku, skończyłam już 87 lat.³ Przeżyłam dwie wojny i bardzo boję się trzeciej. Jak ja się urodziłam w I wojnę, to mamę z łóżkiem, z pierzynami, ze wszystkim na wóz i do Rosji wygonili. Bo tam przechodził front, kozacy walczyli z Niemcami. Ja się urodziłam w tym małym miasteczku, niedaleko Wilna, jakieś 80 kilometrów. Było w nim bardzo dużo piekarni obwarzanków, które na Kaziuka⁴ wozili wszyscy furmankami do Wilna. Było nas w rodzinie czworo, dwóch braci, siostra i ja, druga z kolei. Mieszkaliśmy w miasteczku, ale mieliśmy działki ziemi. Z powrotem do domu przyjechaliśmy w 1922 roku, ja miałam wtedy 7 lat i od razu poszłam do szkoły.

Wróciliśmy do Polski, ale tam wszystko było zniszczone, więc wróciliśmy prawie do niczego. Odbudowaliśmy dom dopiero w 36-tym roku, ale jak zaczęło nam się trochę lepiej żyć przyszła druga wojna. Wcześniej, jak przyjechaliśmy była wielka bieda ale udało mi się skończyć siódmą klasę. Niedaleko naszego domu był posterunek policji, gdzie pracował

¹ Wspomnienia zostały spisane przez Monikę Wiench z nagrania zrobionego w 2002 r. Angielską (rozszerzoną) wersję wspomnień zob.: <http://www.polishcommunity.org.au/index.php/polish-migrants-stories?id=43>

² Smorgonie, miasto położone obecnie na Białorusi w obwodzie grodzieńskim, oddalone o 88 km od Wilna i 107 km od Mińska. Powstało jako osada w XV w. należąca do Despot-Zenowiczów. W drugie połowie XVII zostało włączone do ordynacji nieświeskiej Radziwiłłów, a w początkach XIX w. należało do Ogińskich a następnie do Przezdzieckich, którym rząd rosyjski skonfiskował majątek za udział w powstaniu listopadowym (1830/31). Pod koniec XIX w. 76 % mieszkańców stanowili Żydzi. W 1915 r. miasto znalazło się w strefie frontowej. Większość ludności ewakuowano w głąb Rosji. W latach 1915-18 miasto było okupowane przez Niemców. W grudniu 1918 r. zostało zajęte przez wojska bolszewickie bez walki. W latach 1920-22 weszło w skład tzw. Litwy Środkowej, a następnie Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, aż do agresji sowieckiej na Polskę w dniu 17 września 1939 r. Przed II wojną światową miasto słynęło ze słodkich obwarzanków, które były atrakcją Kaziuków wileńskich, obok palm i pierników wileńskich.

³ Janina Kamińska urodziła się 19 września 1915 r. Zmarła 25 maja 2008 r. w Melbourne, pochowana została na cmentarzu w Altonie. Do Australii przybyła na pokładzie statku Castel Bianco 29 grudnia 1949 r. wraz z mężem Władysławem (Walter) Kamińskim (ur. 21 sierpnia 1921 r. – zm. 5 października 1984 r., pochowany również na cmentarzu w Altonie), synem Januszem (ur. 16 czerwca 1945 r.), córką Danutą (ur. 22 lutego 1948 r.). Na początku zostali zakwaterowani w obozie dla imigrantów w Boenegilli. Władysław musiał odpracować dwuletni kontrakt i został zatrudniony na budowie w Canberze. W 1950 r. urodził się im drugi syn Stanisław. W 1951 r. przenieśli się do Melbourne i osiedli się początkowo w dzielnicy Maidstone. Po śmierci męża Janina włączyła się aktywnie w działalność społeczną, m.in. pracowała w zarządzie Polskiego Klubu Seniora w Footscray i jako ochotniczka w Migrant Resources Centre w Footscray. Za swoją pracę została uhonorowana m.in. Civil Award of Maribyrnong City Council.

⁴ Kaziuk (Kaziuki) – jarmark odpustowy, organizowany w dzień św. Kazimierza (4 marca) organizowane od początków XVII w. w Wilnie, początkowo na Placu Katedralnym, a od 1901 r. na Placu Łukiskim. Współcześnie trzydniowy festyn organizowany jest w różnych częściach Wilna, jak także poza nim m.in. w Grodnie, Poznaniu, Szczecinie.

znajomy mojego taty. Chcieli abym ja się zajęła ich małym dzieckiem, więc gdy później wyjeżdżali do Żyrardowa, zabrali mnie ze sobą. Po pewnym czasie skończyłam u nich pracę, bo nie było mi tam najlepiej i pojechałam do Warszawy.

Tam też objęłam pracę jako niańka, tym razem u bardzo przyjemnych ludzi. Gospodyni, pani Walentyna, była dla mnie dobra, jej mąż pracował w fabryce amunicji.⁵ On dość szybko uciekł z domu, bo bał się Niemców. Zostałyśmy same, ponieważ pani Lamparska⁶ wysłała swoją córeczkę, którą się opiekowałam, na wieś.

Pamiętam ten dzień jak wybuchła wojna. Przedtem nic się o wojnie nie mówiło. Był wrzesień, wspaniałe słońce. I raptem jakby chmura nadeszła. We wrześniu 1939 roku mieszkałam w Warszawie na Nowym Świecie pod 7.-mym. W dniu wybuchu wojny poszłam na bazar, gdy nagle nadleciały samoloty, nie wiem ile ich było, ale bardzo dużo. Każdy uciekał gdzie mógł, krył się na klatkach schodowych, wszędzie.

Na początku jeszcze było możliwie, ale potem jak już zostałyśmy same, zaczęły się „łapanki”. Nagle nadjeżdżali Niemcy w ciężarówkach, blokowali w poprzek ulice, a my nieraz uciekaliśmy, aby przeczekać w różnych miejscach, póki to wszystko przejdzie. Przeważnie łapali rano, około dziesiątej. Widziałam jak łapali młodych ludzi, studentów.

Właściwie to w tym czasie nic innego nie robiłam tylko starałam się zdobyć jedzenie. Jeździłam poza Warszawę na wieś, pociągiem, aby kupić kawałek masła, czy trochę jajek. To było zakazane przez Niemców, dlatego jak pewnego razu wiozłam w takiej czerwonej torbie jedzenie, postawiłam ją na półkę, ale gdy przyszli do wagonu Niemcy, nie przyznałam się, że to moja torba. Nie raz przez to ludzie dużo tracili, ale każdy drżał, aby Niemcy go nie złapali na „czarnym handlu”, bo za to groziła bardzo ciężka kara. Jeździłam też na Pragę do rzeźni i tam u znajomej dostawałam z początku jakieś kawałki – ochłapy, a później tylko końskie mięso, bo już nie było nic innego. Niemcy wszystko zabierali. Nieraz z końskiego mięsa robiliśmy mielone kotlety. Ucieralam do nich kartofle, aby w mięsie było troszeczkę krochmalu, bo końskie mięso niedobrze się trzyma w mielonym.

Na mieście było raczej pusto, szczególnie wieczorem, bo o 8-mej zaczynała się godzina policyjna. Radia nie wolno było słuchać, ale myśmy miały małe radio i wieczorem słuchaliśmy audycji z Londynu. Pewnego dnia ktoś nam powiedział, że lata specjalny helikopter, w którym Niemcy nadśledzają, czy ktoś nie ma radia i łapią fale radiowe. Zawsze ludzie ostrzegali jeden drugiego. Pani Lamparska przestraszyła się, że Niemcy mogą się dowiedzieć i o nas. Poszłam do piwnicy i zakopałam to nasze radio pod węgiel. Nie można było wyrzucić go na śmietnik, bo jak by je Niemcy znaleźli, to dozorca mógł być posadzony albo ktoś inny. Nie chciałam, aby ktoś za nas był ukarany.

Mój starszy brat uciekł do Belgii, a siostra i młodszy brat, który miał kilkanaście lat zostali zabrani na Sybir. Moja mama zmarła jeszcze przed wojną, w 1935 roku na gruźlicę. O tatusiu nic nie wiem, chorował i poszedł do szpitala, ale potem słuch o nim zaginął.

W końcu 40-go roku w Warszawie powstało Biuro Pracy – Arbeitzang⁷, (chyba w Alejach Jerozolimskich), gdzie trzeba było się zarejestrować pod karą śmierci. Pewnego dnia poszłam tam, aby się zameldować, ale już więcej mnie Niemcy nie puścili. Zabrali mnie na

⁵ Zapewne chodzi tu o Fabrykę Amunicji „Pocisk” w Warszawie, w której Henryk Lamparski pracował jako technik.

⁶ Walentyna Lamparska.

⁷ Prawdopodobnie chodzi tu o Arbeitsamt. 19 września 1940 r. Regierungsdirektor Hoffman wydał odezwę wzywającą osoby urodzone pomiędzy 1915-1924 r. do rejestracji w Urzędzie Pracy pod groźbą skierowania do pracy poza Warszawa w razie braku odpowiedniego zaświadczenia wydanego przez ten urząd.

Pragę tak jak stałam.⁸ Wtedy potrzebowali robotników do Niemiec. Myślę, że miałam szczęście, bo nie zabrali mnie do koncentracyjnego obozu, tylko do pracy w Niemczech. Tam gdzie byłam zatrzymana, była jedna Polka, pielęgniarka i ona zawiadomiła panią Lamparską, aby przywiozła mi trochę ubrania i rzeczy osobistych. Trzymali nas w takich budynkach podobnych do koszar. Osobno trzymano kobiety i osobno mężczyzn. Spaliśmy na kojach i czekaliśmy. Tak było przez kilka tygodni. Dopiero w 1941 roku Niemcy wywieźli nas do pracy pociągami. Przed wyjazdem przeprowadzali bardzo nieprzyjemne badania. Człowiek stał przed Niemcami całkiem goły, było to bardzo upokarzające. Nie wierzyliśmy, że oni wiozą nas do pracy, każdy myślał, że jedziemy do kacetu. Bo przed samym wyjazdem zaprowadzili nas pod prysznic, a ubranie kazali związać w tobołki. Jak zamknęli ten prysznic, to każdy się macał i sprawdzał czy żyje. Jak powiedzieli nam, że możemy brać swoje ubranie, wtedy ucieszyliśmy się, że jeszcze nie umieramy.

Pierwsza miejscowość, do której nas do tej dezynfekcji wywieźli nazywała się Bronszweiger.⁹ W Niemczech już trochę przestaliśmy się bać, bo widać było, że jesteśmy potrzebni Niemcom do pracy. Ja byłam przydzielona do fabryki owoców i jarzyn w Oldenburg¹⁰, prawie przy holenderskiej granicy. Do pracy kierowali nas grupami. Było nas razem 30 osób. Z Warszawy było nas siedem, pozostali byli z innych miast. Zakwaterowali nas w pomieszczeniach nad fabryką. O 4-tej rano trzeba było wstawać, pracę zaczynaliśmy już o 5-tej rano. Kładliśmy w puszki owoce i jarzyny, które potem szły dla niemieckich żołnierzy na front.

Na początku stałam przy maszynie co łuskała groch. Pomagała mi jedna Ukrainka, Nastusia. Trzynaście lat tylko miała. Myśmy ją nazwali „Zielona”, bo miała stale całą stronę buzi i ciała pochłapaną sokiem od grochu, który rozpryskiwała nasza maszyna. Czasami stała nad tą maszyną i spała, bo jej praca była bardzo ciężka, a ona była przecież jeszcze dzieckiem. Podczas pracy mieliśmy na sobie gumowe fartuchy i takie buty holenderskie – chodaki. To ubranie było stale mokre, nie można go było wysuszyć, bo nie było gdzie, więc kładliśmy się z zimnymi nogami i budziliśmy się tak samo. Nigdy nie można było się rozgrzać.

Mieszkaliśmy w trudnych warunkach, szczególnie gdy nastawa zima. Materace mieliśmy ze słomy i tylko jeden koc. Jak przyszedł mróz, to na ścianach był lód grubości palca. Było nas w moim pomieszczeniu cztery Polki. Jedzenie było tylko na kartki. Przydział nasz to był kawałek czarnego chleba i kawałek margaryny na tydzień. Ja byłam wtedy młoda i mogłam zjeść ten kawałek od razu, ale trzeba było oszczędzać.



Janina Kamińska (1998)

⁸ Janina Kamińska prawdopodobnie znalazła się w obozie zorganizowanym przy ulicy Skaryszewskiej na Pradze.

⁹ Bronszweiger, prawdopodobnie chodzi tu o Braunschweig. Miasto w Dolnej Saksonii (Niemcy), położone na północ od gór Harz. W czasie II wojny światowej znajdowało się tam bardzo duży ośrodek przemysłu samochodowego i zbrojeniowego. W 1944 r. miasto było celem intensywnych bombardowań dokonanych przez lotnictwo brytyjskie i amerykańskie. W mieście procowały tysiące robotników przymusowych pochodzących z Europy Wschodniej. W latach 1943-45 władze niemieckie odebrały robotnikom przymusowym setki dzieci, z których co najmniej 360 zmarło.

¹⁰ Oldenburg, miasto w Dolnej Saksonii (Niemcy) nad rzeką Hunte i Kanałem Nadbrzeżnym. W czasie II wojny światowej zaledwie 1.4% miasta uległo zniszczeniu (130 domów). Po wojnie Oldenburg znalazł się w brytyjskiej strefie okupacyjnej. W mieście zlokalizowano kilka obozów dla uchodźców/wysiedleńców (Displaced Persons), w których zakwaterowano 42 tys. osób.

Czasami po pracy mogliśmy wyjść na miasto, koniecznie z literą „P” na ubraniu. Wtedy szliśmy do piekarni, aby zdobyć trochę chleba. Jak się trafiło na dobrą Niemkę, to gdy kolejka przeszła i Niemcy wyszli ze sklepu, czasami dostawaliśmy coś. Nie wolno jednak było o to prosić przy Niemcach.

Najczęściej pracowaliśmy od piątej rano do szóstej, czy siódmej, ale gdy przychodziły wagony z groszkiem trzeba było pracować aż do ósmej wieczorem. Jak się skończył sezon na warzywa, przydzielili nas do fabryki samolotów, gdzie Rosjanki lutowały części samolotów. My tylko czyściłyśmy papierem te części. Innym razem, jak sezon się skończył pracowałyśmy w fabryce tabaki, takiej do żucia. Składałyśmy liście od tabaki, a że przy tym zapach był bardzo mocny, to kichaliśmy przez cały dzień.

Do mycia były tylko zlewy, dlatego braliśmy z fabryki różne blaszane części, aby mieć swoją miskę. Bardzo ciężko było znosić wszy, których było mnóstwo. Przywieźli je do nas robotnicy, volksdeutsche, którzy podobno trzy miesiące jechali furmankami do naszej fabryki. Oni uciekli do Niemiec, bo bali się Polaków. Jak jeden z nich zdjął koszulę to ona dosłownie sama chodziła. Każdy swoim sposobem walczył z tymi wszami. Jedna Polka z Wrocławia nie chciała oczyścić włosów, ale kiedyś wzięłyśmy ją siłą do wanienki i spryskały jej włosy naftą. Po tej nafcie, to wszystko wychodziło z tych jej włosów jak mrówki, wyglądała tak, jakby miała jakiś płaszcz mrówek na ramionach. Piszcząca biedna, płakała, ale potem przeproszała nas i dziękowała.

Polacy odnosili się do siebie dobrze, pomagali sobie wzajemnie. Przy pracy bardzo często robiliśmy wspólnie sabotaże, aby nie pracować aż tyle godzin. Gdy ktoś specjalnie zepsuł maszynę Niemcy musieli ją reperować, a wtedy my mieliśmy troszeczkę odpoczynku. Jak pracowaliśmy przy kwaszeniu buraków i brukwi w takich dużych cementowych basenach, to resztki szły do kuchni dla nas, dla Polaków. Czasami było to już sfermentowane, ale Niemcy dodawali wtedy do tego kawałek nogi końskiej, albo wołowej - jeszcze ze szczeciną, bo często było widać w tej zupie włosy.

Gdy pracowaliśmy w fabryce „Tabako” przywozili nam brukiew w wojskowych kotłach z tego miejsca, gdzie ja mieszkałam. Kiedyś jedliśmy ten obiad w sali i jak to młodzi, żartowaliśmy przy tym, śmialiśmy się. Było przy stole kilkanaście osób. Ja zajadam i rozmawiałam z innymi. Opowiadałam coś, ale zauważyłam, że wszyscy się na mnie patrzą. Spojrzałam na swój talerz, a tam po bokach robaki, białe z czarnymi główkami. Jak to zobaczyłam zaczęłam wymiotować. Trwało to przez kilka godzin. Niemka, która nas pilnowała znalazła mnie w toalecie i krzyczała na mnie, mówiła, ja udaję, bo nie chcę iść do pracy. A ja naprawdę byłam bardzo chora, miałam straszne torsje. Po tym wszystkim dostałam żółtaczkę, tak że w końcu wzięli mnie do szpitala, chociaż przedtem wcale nie wierzyli mi, że choruję. Opieki lekarskiej nie było, dopiero jak się ktoś mocno rozchorował zabierali go do szpitala.

My Polacy mieliśmy taką naszą ścieżkę. Nazywaliśmy ją „polską družką”. Tam zapoznałam swojego męża. On pracował w tartaku nad kanałem, po którym szły barki z Holandii. W tym tartaku, gdzie on mieszkał była mała kuchnia i tam zbierali się Polacy. Każdy coś przyniósł w kieszeni, my na przykład trochę grochu, ktoś inny cukru, czy jak pracował we młynie, to płatków owsianych. Robiliśmy sobie wspólnie obiad, a potem szliśmy na spacer nad kanałem. Byliśmy młodzi.

W tamtych okolicach mieszkało bardzo wielu katolików, ale gdy kiedyś Niemcy zestrzelili polskiego pilota, który zginął na miejscu, to oni wszyscy bardzo się cieszyli. Naloty były bardzo rzadko, ale bywało że alianci puszczały taki gaz, napalm, który palił się ogniem jak ściana. Wtedy musieliśmy chować się do schronów. Było to już w 1943-44 roku.

Do kościoła nie można było chodzić, choć podobno niektórzy chodzili. Z tą literą „P” każdy się bał iść, gdzie byli sami Niemcy. Kiedyś wzięliśmy dosłownie po garstce cukru do kieszeni i złapał nas na tym „wachman”.¹¹ Zaczęło się bardzo dokładne przesłuchanie. Myśleliśmy, że będzie z nami koniec, że wyślą nas do obozu koncentracyjnego. Ale ja miałam dobrego majstra, który powiedział temu Niemcowi, że mnie zna, że jestem dobrym robotnikiem i w końcu nikomu nic nie zrobili, tylko przez dwa tygodnie nie wolno nam było wychodzić na ulicę.

W ostatnim roku wojny zaszłam w ciążę. Bałam się, aby Niemcy nie zabrali mi dziecka, bo oni zawsze zabierali nowonarodzone dzieci, aby nie stracić robotnicy do pracy. Bałam się aborcji, bo Niemcy, gdy się dowiedzieli o takich zabiegach, to zabijali matkę. To były tragiczne sytuacje.

W tym czasie nasiliły się naloty, Niemcy zaczęli gdzieś uciekać, zlikwidowali fabrykę i przenieśli nas do innego obozu. Kobiety mieszkały wtedy razem z mężczyznami, był wielki bałagan. Ludzie budowali sobie bunkry z drzwi, okien, tak aby tylko można było się choć trochę schować.

Pracowałam wtedy prywatnie, u jednej Niemki, której wykonywałam różne prace domowe, cerowanie, sprzątanie. Czasami dostawałam za to trochę jedzenia. Bałam się, że zgubimy się z mężem, dlatego kiedyś pomimo nalotu i tego, że byłam w ciąży pobiegłam do miejsca, gdzie przebywał mąż. Po drodze, przy kościele pocisk z samolotu uderzył obok mnie. Nie pamiętam nic poza tym, że upadłam, a potem wstałam i otrząsałam się z kawałków cegieł i cementu. Ucieszyłam się, gdy poczułam, że moje dziecko się porusza. Pobiegłam więc dalej do lagru, gdzie powinien być mój mąż. Zamiast budynków znalazłam tylko szereg bunkrów. Zrobili je sobie mężczyźni, aby nie być celem dla bombardowań. Oni mogli tam tylko siedzieć, bo te bunkry kopali bardzo szybko, na poczekaniu. Wołałam po imieniu mojego przysłego męża i znalazłam go. Był zdziwiony, że przyszłam ale powiedziałam mu: „przyszłam, bo chciałam być z tobą”.

Później ludzie zaczęli chować się już na własną rękę. Chowaliśmy się w lesie, ale często byli tam Niemcy. Właściwie to włóczyliśmy się. Było to na samym początku 1945-go roku w Linden¹². Dość szybko pojawili się Amerykanie, a właściwie Kanadyjczycy. Byli bardzo młodzi, mieli po 18, 20 lat. Najpierw wyrzucili Niemców z ich domów i nas Polaków, Ukraińców, Rosjan tam wsadzili, a później zabrali nas do namiotów. Opiekowali się nami bardzo dobrze, dawali proszkowane mleko, biały chleb. Z tych namiotów przenieśli nas później do koszar, do niemieckiej fabryki amunicji położonej w lesie. Zamieszkaliśmy tam w dość dobrych warunkach. Były tylko nieprzyjemne wypadki. Bo niektóre kobiety Rosjanki robiły aborcje i czasami te swoje nienarodzone dzieci wrzucały do ubikacji. Można było trafić na taką sytuację. Rosjanki robiły jednak wszystko, aby tylko „zacześcić” się z Polakiem i nie wracać więcej do Rosji.

Kiedyś w biurze obozu zapowiedzieli, że można wziąć ślub. Stało wtedy jednocześnie do ślubu sto pięćdziesiąt par. Niektórzy mieli żony w Polsce i mimo to zdecydowali się wziąć ślub. Mówili, że im jest wszystko jedno, ale jak przyszło całować relikwie, to wycofywali się w ostatniej chwili. Wszyscy zebraliśmy się wtedy na dużej sali w naszych koszarach. Niektóre Rosjanki do ślubu z Polakami były ubrane w nocne koszule z koronkami. Niektóre z nich miały już dzieci po dwa, trzy latka, niektóre jak ja, były w ciąży. Ślubu udzielał nam wojskowy kapelan. Nie pamiętam daty tego ślubu, ale było to w czerwcu 1945 roku.

¹¹ Wachman – strażnik.

¹² Linden – miasteczko w Nadrenii-Palatynacie (Niemcy), położone na północny-wschód od Koblencki.

Dosłownie na drugi dzień po ślubie zaczęłam rodzić mojego syna. Zawieziono mnie w nocy ciężarówką do Nimburg¹³, najbliższego miasteczka. Po drodze zatrzymali nas Niemcy, którzy pomimo, że już wszędzie byli Amerykanie, jeszcze się nie poddawali. Na szczęście puścili nas, mnie i jakąś kobietę, która jechała ze mną do szpitala, bo miała krwotok. Szpital był zbombardowany, ale coś zastępczego jak szpital zrobili w muzeum. Tak, że mogę powiedzieć, że mój syn urodził się w muzeum.



Promocja książki Moniki Wiench pt. „Życiorysy polskich emigrantów” w parlamencie stanu Wiktorja (2006). Od lewej: Monika Wiench, Eugenia Choinska, Krystyna Popczyk, Janina Kamińska, dr Sylwia Greda-Bogusz, minister d/s wielokulturowości James Merlino, dyrektor Australijsko-Polskiego Biura Usług Społecznych Elzbieta Drozd, Regina Michnicka, Helen Schloetzer i Wieslaw Fiedler. Fot. NN.

¹³ Nimburg – miasteczko położone około 4 km od Tenningen i około 18 km na północ od Freiburga, pomiędzy rzekami Dreisam i Glotter. (południowo-zachodnia część Badenii-Wirtembergi, Niemcy). Prawdopodobnie jednak chodzi to o miasto Nienburg, położone ok 47 km na północny-zachód od Hanoweru. Janusz Kamiński, syn Janiny i Władysława urodził się 16 czerwca 1945 r. w Nienburgu. Zob. NAA (National Archives of Australia), A6770, Kaminski J.

Władysław Noskowski

STRZELECKI¹
Radio feature by Wł. Ad. Noskowski^a

NARRATOR: The famous Polish explorer Count Paul de Strzelecki arrived in Sydney on April 25, 1839,² and a few days later called on the Governor, Sir George Gipps,³ with a letter of introduction from the British Resident in New Zealand.⁴

MUSIC =====

SIR GEORGE : And tell me, Count, is it long since you left England?

STRZELECKI : Nearly six years, Your Excellency.⁵

SIR GEORGE : Is that so? And where have you been all these years?

STRZELECKI : First of all I travelled on the continent, - France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, - then I went to the United States, visiting Boston, New York, Washington and Niagara Falls, then I retraced my steps to the shores of Lake Ontario and down St. Lawrence River to Montreal and Quebec. .

SIR GEORGE : Exploring all the time?

¹ Footnotes by Witold Łukasiak. The radio feature has been given to Wacław Słabczyński by Władysław Noskowski for unlimited use and inherited by Słabczyński's son Tadeusz.

² "The Sydney Gazette" reported on Saturday, April 27, 1839: *From the Bay of Islands, on Thursday last, whence she sailed the 10th instant, the French barque Justine, 265 tons, Captain Bernard, with 18 tons potatoes from New Zealand, and 300 bushels of Chilean barley. Passengers, Messers Abercrombie and Uhr, Monsieur le Comte Traliski (late of the Polish Army) and Mr Rowe...* Name of Strzelecki has been quite often misspelt.

³ Sir George Gipps (1791–1847), Private Secretary to the First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Auckland (1834-35, Commissioner in Canada (1835-37, Governor of New South Wales (1838-1846), first Governor of New Zealand (1839-41).

According to Lech Paszkowski: *We do not know exactly when Strzelecki met Sir George Gipps. Słabczynski suggested that Strzelecki had a letter of introduction from James Busby, the British Resident in New Zealand, to the Governor of New South Wales. Lady Franklin wrote that when she met Strzelecki at Government House in June 1839, he was "much esteemed by Sir George Gipps" and in another letter that "he was in high favour with Sir George". Without doubt "Strzelecki passed the test and Gipps introduced him to his deputy [Charles La Trobe] as "a man of science, and certainly a gentleman". Phillip Mennel, FRGS, maintained that Sir George Gipps "persuaded him [Strzelecki] to undertake the exploration of the interior of Australia". Paszkowski Lech, *Sir Paul Edmund Strzelecki. Reflections on his life*, Australian Scholarly Publishing, Melbourne 1997, p. 62.*

⁴ British Resident in New Zealand governed mostly the North Island, but had huge influence in the South Island. At that time James Busby (1801-1871) served as British Resident in the Bay of Islands, the main port of New Zealand (in the first half of XX c.), located at the headland of the North Island. In this port a barque *Justine* arrived with Strzelecki. Strzelecki became friendly with Busby. After he carried out research in New Zealand, Strzelecki ... *left Waitangi in April 1839 being provided with letter to Busby's brothers in Sydney...* See: Ramsden, *Busby of Waitangi*, Wellington 1942, p. 219. Busby described Strzelecki as *most gentlemanly and knowledgeable person*. See: W. L. Havard *Sir Paul Edmund de Strzelecki*, "Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society", 1940, part I, p. 20–97. Most probably, Strzelecki had a letter of introduction to Governor Gipps.

⁵ Strzelecki began his ten year long trip around the globe on 8 June 1834, embarking from England on the 'Virginian', a 620 tonne ship commanded by Captain J. Harris. He had originally purchased a ticket to sail on the 'Warsaw' - departing the same day, but when he realised that the 'Warsaw' was slower than the 'Virginian', he changed his mind. After six and a half weeks, the 'Virginian' arrived in New York on 22 July, 1834. Strzelecki's 37th birthday had been celebrated whilst on the Atlantic Ocean close to the American mainland. On the passenger list he is shown as *De Strzelecki, age 35, Occupation: Gent.* Wacław Słabczyński, *Paweł Edmund Strzelecki, Podróże – Odkrycia – Prace*, PWN, Warszawa 1957, p. 65.

STRZELECKI : Yes, Your Excellency. And it was very interesting. Returning to New York I went to Havana, Vera Cruz, Mexico, New Orleans and up the Mississippi and the Ohio rivers to Cincinnati.

SIR GEORGE : So you have seen quite a lot of the United States.

STRZELECKI : Yes, I really have, and eventually I went by ship to Brazil, exploring the provinces of San Paulo and Villa Rica. Then after visiting Montevideo and Bueons Ayres, I crossed the Argentina Republic, where I examined various minerals, and I ascended the Cordilleras and walked to Valparaiso. From there by ship I explored the Pacific coast, Lima, Panama and Californian peninsula.

SIR GEORGE : That sounds most fascinating to me, and such interesting territory, too. You must have done quite a lot of mountaineering, Count, haven't you?

STRZELECKI : Yes, quite a lot.

SIR GEORGE : And tell me, how did you manage to explore the Pacific coast so extensively?

STRZELECKI : I was fortunate in being invited by Captain George Grey of the H.M.S. "Cleopatra" on which I spent 10 months. Shortly after returning to Valparaiso, Captain Grey introduced me to Captain Russell Elliot, commander of the H.M.S. "Fly", who asked me to travel with him, and we sailed for the Sandwich Islands, where I ascended and measured the huge Kilauea volcano. After visiting various islands of the Pacific, I arrived early this year in New Zealand, and at last here I am.⁶

SIR GEORGE : You have certainly had a most varied experience, visiting so many interesting places. And tell me, count, what are your impressions of Sydney?

STRZELECKI : We'll, Your Excellency, since I arrived in Sydney I am continually asking myself if I am really in what has been represented as most demoralised colony in the history of nations. All I have read has been completely misleading. The evening I arrived, I left my watch and purse behind and I armed myself with a stick, being resolved to encounter inevitable danger with the least possible risk! However, that night in the streets of Sydney I found decency and a quiet, which I have never witnessed in any other port of the United Kingdom. No drunkenness, -no sailors' quarrels.

SIR GEORGE : I am delighted to hear that, especially coming from such distinguished traveller as you.

STRZELECKI : I am not exaggerating, Your Excellency, - I was most favourably impressed.

SIR GEORGE : And what do you think of the town itself?

STRZELECKI : I was frankly amazed. Your George Street, the Regent Street of Sydney, seems to display houses and shops modelled after London. But nowhere did its lamps and also the numerous lamps in the shop windows betray any signs of a corrupt state of society, common to the streets of other capitals. Since than I witnessed many nights like the first in which the silence, the feeling of perfect security and the delicious freshness of the air mingled with nothing that could break the charm of a solitary walk...

SIR GEORGE : Your comments are most flattering, Count, and I am sure the Colonial Office would be very interested to hear your opinions. I must tell my officers, who, no doubt, will also greatly appreciate your favourable comments, for we are all trying to do our best for the welfare of this colony.⁷ And now, please tell me Count, what do you intend doing here? And in what way can I assist you?

⁶ The numerous places and countries - from New York to Sydney that, he visited and researched - is chronologically presented in an incomplete letter (undated and missing the beginning) to Adyna Turno. The date of the letter can however, be determined from the text: *'.....I sailed to New Zealand, and then to N.S.W., where I have been for four days, having arrived in Sydney on 25th April, 1839.'* It can thus be deduced that the letter was written to Adyna on 29th April, 1839. He writes further *'.....during my travels, which I am describing only by listing the names of places visited, I crossed the equator six times. I saw a lot, and endured even more'* Noskowski knew the letter, as proven in source number 68 in the Bibliography of the book *'Paul Edmund Strzelecki - Travels, Discoveries, Work'* by Waclaw Slabczynski: *Noskowski W. A. 'An Explorer's Letters', Sydney Morning Herald on 25th July 1936; 1st August 1936, and 24th June 1939. The first two of these articles relate to the then newly discovered letters by Strzelecki to Adyna Turno.* Waclaw Słabczyński, Paweł Edmund Strzelecki, *Podróże – Odkrycia – Prace*, PWN, Warszawa 1957, p. 30.

⁷ In his book *Physical Description of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land*, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, London 1845, p. 2, footnote, Strzelecki wrote: *Since my arrival in Sydney, I cannot cease asking myself, am I really in the capital of that "Botany Bay" which has been represented as "The Community of*

STRZELECKI : My main object is to examine the mineralogy and possibly the geology of this continent. Of course, it is such a huge continent that it would take a life-time to explore it all. I think therefore, that I shall confine myself to a belt about 150 miles from the coast and right down into Van Diemen's Land. I very greatly appreciate Your Excellency's kind offer to help me

SIR GEORGE : You may rest assured, Count, that it will be my pleasure to help you in your work in New South Wales, which I shall follow with great interest, and I shall give you letters of introduction to various prominent settlers, as well as our own officials, to assist you and to extend their hospitality to you. And please do not hesitate to call on me whenever you desire.⁸

Felons," as "the most demoralised colony known in the history of nations," as "a possession which adds a tarnish rather than a lustre to the British Crown."

Let the authors of these and other epithets contained in the numerous works which they wrote on New South Wales congratulate and applaud themselves: My mystification was complete. The evening I effected my disembarkation in Sydney, I did it with all imaginable precaution, leaving my watch and purse behind me, and arming myself with a stick; being resolved to encounter inevitable and imminent dangers with the least possible risk!!

I found, however, on that night, in the streets of Sydney, a decency and a quiet which I have never witnessed in any other of the ports of the United Kingdom. No drunkenness, no sailors' quarrels, no appearances of prostitution, were to be seen. George Street, the Regent Street of Sydney, displayed houses and shops modelled after the fashion of those in London; but nowhere did its lamps and the numerous lights in its windows, which reflected upon the crowd, betray any of those signs of a corrupt state of society common to the streets of other capitals. Since then how many nights like the first did I not witness, which the silence, the feeling of perfect security, and the delicious freshness of the air, mingled with nothing that could break the charm of a solitary walk! At ten o'clock all the streets are deserted: to the bustling industry of the day succeeds a happy repose; and to that again a day of fresh struggles, successes, or failures! Extraordinary race! the only people who - to speak the language of one's own craft - seem subjected to atomic laws, immutable and independent of the varieties of climate; aggregating by a kind of molecular attraction, constantly in the same order; and expanding, however dispersed, into a similar social structure, thus everywhere preserving those properties and tendencies which nature assigns to their primitive form.

Other races, like true children of the soil, identify themselves with it, draw from it their sustenance, their power, and their nationality; call it country; love and cherish it as such, and cling to its bosom, though at the cost of freedom, of comfort, of property, and even of life. Banished from it, they become but lost wanderers, and soon degenerate; like the alpine rose, which when transplanted even to more genial regions loses its blossoms, and sends forth only thorns.

The hardy nature of the Anglo-Saxon race is proof against the effects of transplantation: for it does not depend on the soil either for its character or its nationality: the Anglo-Saxon reproduces his country wherever he hoists his country's flag.

*The United Kingdom is far from furnishing a just idea of this race. The traveller there is like one buried in the entrails of a colossus. It is in the United States, in the West Indies, in the factories of South America and China, in the East Indies, and in this town of Sydney, that the prodigious expansion of the Anglo-Saxon life, the gigantic dimensions of its stature and the energy of its functions, are fully perceived and appreciated –MS. Journal of the Author. P. E. de Strzelecki, *Physical Description of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land*, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, London 1845, p. B 1-2.*

⁸ *In Physical Description ...p.52 Strzelecki wrote: The excursions undertaken with a view to that object, led me through a very wild and broken country, often difficult of access, rarely permitting a rapid progress, or affording compensation for no slight degree of labour, fatigue, and privation. Indeed, the scarcity of simple minerals was such as might have discouraged the most ardent and persevering mineralogist who ever devoted himself to science. But, although the scope for extensive mineralogical researches was thus narrowed, the country was soon found to present a vast field for a most exciting and interesting geological investigation. Viewed through the medium of Geology, it at once assumed the aspect of an historical ground, where, in the absence of monuments and records of human generations, nature unfolds annals of wonders; not indeed, that they can be so called, as furnishing new lights thrown upon the origin of things, but yielding additional evidence that the structure to which they relate is analogous to that of the rest of the globe.*

I entered therefore eagerly on a geological examination of New South Wales, as on terra incognita, without guide or guide-book, as I had not the good fortune to be acquainted with any of the previous observations upon the geognosy of the country. Hence, although the whole of that country appeared equally interesting to explore, still, unassisted as I was in a labour of such magnitude, I could not but prescribe boundaries to my survey. The

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NARRATOR During the next few months Strzelecki explored the country around Sydney and in September he walked up the valley of Grose, ascending Mount King George, Mount Hay and Mount Tomah. The weather was very bad and he was delighted to unexpectedly find a lone farmer, who received him very hospitably.⁹

geological description and map, which at the outset I had in contemplation, has in consequence been ultimately confined to the country running parallel with, and stretching 150 miles inland from the sea coast, and comprehended between the 30th and 39th degrees of south latitude.

However, Strzelecki expended the scope of his exploration (p. 52 – 53):

When, however, the course of my perambulations brought me to the edge of that promontory, and thence to the islands of Bass's Straits, and from these again to Cape Portland, Van Diemen's Land; when, further, the survey of Van Diemen's Land led me winding east and west down to Research Bay, I found such striking correspondence of parts to the explored track of New South Wales, that as I went on I could not resist the temptation to extend my inquiry until it finally brought me to South Cape, Van Diemen's Land, and thus joined that island and New South Wales in one geological survey. P. E. de Strzelecki, *Physical Description of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land*, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, London 1845, p. 52-53.

According to Slabczynski, the Governor Gipps supposedly promised government refund half (if not in full) of the Strzelecki's expenses providing that the results of the exploration are beneficial for the Colony.

As we know the results were very beneficial eg. the discovery of minerals including coal, copper, gold, discovery new regions of fertile land etc., the promise, however, was not fulfilled. Waclaw Słabczyński, *Paweł Edmund Strzelecki, Podróże – Odkrycia – Prace*, PWN, Warszawa 1957.

When Strzelecki was leaving Melbourne, an article was published in "Port Philip Herald" of July 10, 1840 with the ending: *...It says but little for the Port Phillipians that Count Streleski leaves the province without some token given him of public respect - without even a silver snuff box, or a public dinner, the common reward of common-place merit. The benefits which the Count has conferred, entirely at his own charges, on the community at large, and on this province in particular, surely merited a better return. Such, however, is not the reward his noble efforts in the cause of science must ultimately receive.* Lech Paszkowski, *Sir Paul Edmund de Strzelecki. Reflection on his life*, Australian Scholarly Publishing, Melbourne 1997, 141.

⁹ Strzelecki describes in details his stay at farmer house, *Physical Description...* p. 58 – 60, footnote:

*Captain Town's Farm, Mount Tomah,
8th September, 1839.*

The current of the river Grose and its precipitous banks frustrated all my efforts to regain Mount King George, on the side of Mount Hay, and obliged me to go round by the source of the river, crossing on the way all its tributary torrents and plunging anew into those savage solitary defiles which remain in the same state as when the black men first surrendered them to the white.

Some days spent in toilsome climbing and scrambling brought me at length to Mount King George. Mount Tomah appeared quite close to it; but immense ravines lay between, and torrents of rain in a great measure concealed the view. To proceed onwards was, however, my only alternative. I therefore redoubled my pace; ascended and descended; climbing, sliding, and clinging, until at length I found myself in the midst of a forest of high and thick fern, bending beneath the weight of the still falling rain, and my progress through which resembled the act of swimming rather than of walking. The temperature, however, had hitherto rendered that progress bearable; but on approaching the summit of the mountain it changed; showers of hail began to fall, and were soon succeeded by a frost. My clothes stiffened on my limbs; the latter began to feel numb, and I soon felt it would be necessary to abandon the prosecution of the observations I had wished to make. I therefore began to descend the mountain, anxiously seeking, right and left, for some friendly cavern where I might be able to kindle a fire and dry my clothes. Three hours were vainly spent in search of one - night approached - the heavens lowered - the rain and hail continued to pour. The nearest habitation, as I had been informed, lay eighteen miles off, in the direction of the river Hawkesbury: fortunately for me, one, of which I had heard nothing, presented itself suddenly before my eyes. To perceive it - to utter a cry of joy - to encourage my exhausted and helpless servant and to fly towards it, was the act of the same moment. To recognise our state of distress and to relieve it, was a part the owner of the dwelling performed with equal promptitude.

He took off my wet clothes, wrapped me in others from his own wardrobe, placed me before a blazing fire, brought me food, and surrounded me with every comfort, without once asking who I was, whence I came, or what might be my business!! My memory furnishes me with the recollection of few transitions so sudden and so agreeable; few states of discomfort transformed within the space of a few minutes into one of comfort so complete, and still fewer traits of hospitality so truly primitive.

The Evening of the 10th of September.

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STRZELECKI : (heavy rain is heard) How wonderful! A dwelling at last ... And there must be someone in, for I see smoke coming out of the chimney (knock at the door).

A VOICE : Who is there?

STRZELECKI : Only a traveller seeking shelter from the rain.

FARMER : (opens the door) Be welcome who ever you are. Come in!

STRZELECKI : Thanks. Oh, how wonderful to see a fire. I was nearly frozen...

Shall I presently show you a letter from the Governor. You will see you have nothing to fear.

FARMER : I don't want to see any letters. You are welcome guest and that is all that matters. And before you have a rest let me remove your wet clothes. You are drenched ... Just like that ... Put this over your shoulders and sit in front of the fire. You will soon feel better... I will get some food for you.

STRZELECKI : You have made me wonderfully comfortable. I really do not know what I would have done, had I not found your home. I have spent several days climbing hills and mountains, eventually reaching Mount King George. Mt. Tomah appeared quite close, but immense ravines lay between. I descended and ascended, climbing, sliding and clinging to the wet foliage. On approaching the summit the rain changed to hail. It was so cold that my clothes stiffened and I was forced to look for some cavern to kindle a fire and dry my clothes. And now I have been fortunate enough to find this haven.

FARMER : Where you will be able to rest a few days. To-morrow I shall kill a pig, for you must rest here until the weather clears.

STRZELECKI : But really, this is most kind of you, especially as I am a complete stranger for you.

FARMER : Don't worry. My wife and I will look after you and give you provisions if you intend going further afield,

STRZELECKI : This hospitality is remarkable... Tell me, how long have you lived here?

FARMER : I came to this colony 10 years ago, as a labourer for the old country. I worked hard, saved up some money, got married and settled here. I have two small farms and assigned servants to do the work. I treat them well, I work in the paddocks with them and we eat at the same table. Poor devils! They are not bad, if you treat them well.

STRZELECKI : I couldn't imagine you treating them badly...

In a Cavern of Mount King George.

The host who so generously received me the day before yesterday, and with whom the state of the weather obliged me to remain until to-day, is a true son of the globe. He was born in the fields, took root there, and has there flourished.

He arrived in the colony ten years ago as a simple labourer, and is now the successful cultivator of two farms, surrounded with all the rude abundance of rural life, and having servants under him; though he by no means aims at playing the part of a master; but, on the contrary, eats at the same table with his dependents, accompanies them to the field, and sows and reaps with them as in former times, whether from an innate love of the occupation or as a grateful recognition of the prosperity with which he has been blessed.

The attentions he showed me, though somewhat 'empresés' were as benevolent and as simple as is the nature amongst whose works he dwells. His language was characterised by the unerring signs of that simplicity. I can fancy that I see him now, as he appeared yesterday entering my room, his head covered with an old hat, carelessly worn on one side, and broken in at the crown; the sleeves of his shirt tucked up, and holding in one hand a knife, in the other a fine piece of pork, fresh killed, while he good-humouredly addressed me:-

"There's going to be more rain - it already falls in the mountains - so I just killed a pig; for I thought to myself, our stranger can't leave to-day. Come, you'll stay - Yes! yes! you must stay! - Shall we boil or roast this piece?" Whereupon, without waiting for any reply, he called out to his wife, "I say, mother! he'll stay - get dinner ready!"

*To-day I left his house - my knapsack completely stuffed with fresh provision, and both myself and servant entirely recovered from our fatigue and sufferings. The debt of hospitality alone remains to be settled; for every effort to induce my host to accept a pecuniary recompence failed. He belongs to a class often calumniated; most frequently poor, and everywhere considered at the foot of the social ladder; but amongst whom - be they Pagan or Christian, idolaters or true believers - hospitality and charity are viewed as one and the same thing, and are practised as the most sacred of duties. P. E. de Strzelecki, *Physical Description of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land*, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, London 1845, p. 58-60.*

FARMER : Why should I? After all, I am grateful for the prosperity I enjoy. So different from the old country! And where are you off to?

STRZELECKI : I am on the way to see Mr. James Walker of Wallerawang, but on the way I am exporting and measuring mountains.

FARMER : I will show you the way to descend into the valley to the west.

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STRZELECKI : (dogs barking) Is your master home?

SERVANT : Yes, Mr. Walker is inside. Whom shall I announce?

STRZELECKI : Tell him I am arraigned from Sydney town with a letter of introduction. Oh, how nice to be here. This is the first civilised place I have seen for a long time.

WALKER : Welcome, Count!

STRZELECKI : I am very happy to meet you, Mr. Walker, but how did you know who I am?

J. WALKER : (laughs) This not very difficult to guess. I had a letter from the governor's ADC advising me to expect you shortly. In fact I thought you would have been here long ago. Where have you been? Lost?

STRZELECKI : It was very thoughtful of His Excellency to think of me and I was very grateful for the interest he has taken in my humble person. Where have I been? I arrived here from Mt. King George over the wickedest, most crooked and sharp edged range of mountains, with toes peeping out from worn out boots, drenching every day and almost frost bitten on Mt. Tomah (laughs). I am glad I explored these ridges, but nothing in the world would make me do it again, - except for love, perhaps.

J. WALKER : (laughs) You can't tell me anything new about our wild mountains and ravines! For I have just returned from the bush with my domestic retinues after having spent several days tramping up and down gullies and mountains to round up three bushrangers, who were spreading terror and confusion in the neighbourhood.

STRZELECKI : And were you successful in apprehending them?

J. WALKER : Yes, we were, with the help of the soldiers. One of the bushrangers is supposed to be Lambert the Famous, a notorious criminal. Tell me count, do you propose to stay with us for a few days at least?

STRZELECKI : No, unfortunately, Mr. Walker. To-morrow, or they after, I want to push on to Bathurst and to explore the district.

J. WALKER : You are most welcome to stay here as long as you desire. Three years ago I was very happy to extend my hospitality to another distinguished visitor, Mr. Charles Darwin, who stayed with us several days. Anyhow, if you feel you must push on, I shall be very pleased to give you introductions to various station owners in the Bathurst and Wellington districts.

STRZELECKI : This is very kind of you, sir, and I shall be very grateful.¹⁰

¹⁰ According to Lech Paszkowski: *On passing the present town site of Lithgow, Strzelecki probably went along the route of the modern Great Western Highway to Walerawang and the farm of James Walker. In the Mitchell Library there is preserved a letter by Strzelecki written to his close friend Stuart Donaldson of Sydney. This letter, dated September 17, 1839, is certainly worthy of quotation in extenso:*

My dear Donaldson

Since my scrambling & rambling in the Mountains - Walerawang of Mr James Walker is the first civilised place I came across - which offers decent means of scribbling a letter - Pen - paper sealing wax are luxuries mental I mean I longed for, with much more anxiety than for those material one's of which during four weeks I was most d. deprived - It is odd that with my health which now a days is not the best & clearly on the decline - I could have undergone privations & fatigues which put my two most robust, servants hors de combat. I arrived this moment here from Mt George over the wickedest - most crooked & sharp edged range of Mountains - with toes peeping out from worn out shoes - drenched every day & almost frost bitten on Mt Tomah; at any rate I was stiff that is my cloths were, because ducked at the foot when at the top of the Mountains, the sudden change of temperature transformed them into a sheet of ice - which through the almost impenetrable reeds & ferns rattled on me like the scales of rattle-snake. I am glad I had explored this part of the ridge as I have done but nothing in the world would let me rebegin it - & return my steps - love except - As a woman could alone repush me into the gullies - starvation - pushing over & over again; but in this blessed country of yours I don't risk any such push: their minds - their hearts are too much cribbed & cabinet by biblious contemplations, retrospections & prospections - which I respect as I respect the Shakers posture and every thing connected with religious

MUSIC xxxx xxxx xxxx

NARRATOR : After exploring the country beyond Bathurst and measuring the altitudes of various mountains, Count Strzelecki discovered gold in the Wellington district. He returned to Sydney several weeks later¹¹ to report his observations to Sir George Gipps.

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STRZELECKI : Look Your Excellency. These are two specimens of gold I found near Wellington. I feel quite certain that a very extensive gold fields exist near Bathurst and if Your Excellency should desire, I shall be pleased to...

SIR GEORGE : (interrupting) I might as we'll be quite candid with you, Count. The discovery of gold is most interesting and, no doubt, it might ultimately be of great importance to the colony, but do you realise what would happen if we allowed this report of your discovery to be made public? The rush for gold would create a most serious problem, for we simply have no sufficient soldiers to control the convicts if they became unmanageable. Nothing fires the imagination of people more than the thought of finding gold... A most serious position would result and for that very reason, I must ask you, Count, to give me your word of a gentleman to keep your discovery secret.

STRZELECKI : Just as Your Excellency desire. As a scientist and explorer I have reported having observed outcrops of coal near Mount York, and also having discovered gold near Wellington. If Your Excellency does not wish the presence of gold being made public, I shall definitely keep the secret.

SIR GEORGE : Thank you, Count. This secret will only be known to you and to me until such time as the gold rush will no longer imperil the safety of this colony... ¹²

affections.... Since I left Sydney I saw good deal here & there of them - all alike; The men or the gentlemen as you please just as in Sydney shut up hermetically within a dry circle of utility and most infernally "inoculated with the disease of domestic felicity." - That's all right - perfectly correct & as laudable as admirable for them - but for a poor peregrinating solitary dog like myself such a system of life - does not even leave even a bone of all the happiness they enjoy - And you how are you going on with your enjoyments & McKenzie? - You Siamese twins did you remember from time to time your absent and wandering Friend? - "I say unto you" if you did not you are a pack of shabby fellows which deserve a fulminating excommunication - because I did - and oftener than you believe & ought to expect. - How are our Friends? - I have not received any intelligence whatsoever from any quarter; t'is painfull but natural consequence of my mutability - to-morrow I shall be underway again for Bathurst and Goulbourn river & the Hunter & Port Stephens & from thence helm up for Sydney - then what all this about the Tories Ministry as soon got out as in? & it seems even sooner; strange events now a days - the time is pregnant with diabolical offsprings; One ought to expect every thing and not be astonished at any what may happen - I hope you are prosperity going in the path of love & busin[ess] most diverging path's - but which you nevertheless keep most marvealously & so much so that if a fate will call me to the Throne of Marocco I will call you to the station of a Minister of Exchequer & Master of ceremonies - Adios Amigo... Do write me a line to Leslies station on the Goulbourn - or to Joneses for which I am about to steer: tell me how you are with McKenzie - & how the Barney's & Family - the Jone's the Plunkets give to them all my love that is to the ladies of course - and reserve the greetings - sincere regards - kind remembrances to the gentlemen. Tell to Cpt King I will write him from Bathurst & send him my Geognostic & orgetognostic despatch: my time is short here I scribble in haste & hurry - Do pray give a good hearty shake to McKenzie by the hand-arm or shoulders from my part. Adieu

(-) E. P. de Strzelecki.

Just as I am closing this letter Mr James Walker returns from the bush with three of the Bushrangers which spread terror and confusion in this neighbourhood & which he with his domestic retenue and assistance of two policemen happily caught this morning at day light - One of them they say is Lambert the Famous - If you like to know why famous - inquire at the records of Bushranging Heroism. (The original of this letter is kept in the Mitchell Library, Sydney. Original spelling retained.). See: Lech Lech Paszkowski, Sir Paul Edmund de Strzelecki. Reflection on his life, Australian Scholarly Publishing, Melbourne 1997, 141, p. 67.

¹¹ It is very well documented, that Strzelecki already was in Sydney on November 29, 1839 and lived in the Australian Club, on the corner Bent and O'Connell Street. He was made an honorary member. John Hood, who visited Club in 1842, wrote: *It is the only place for meeting with the gentlemen of the town and country...* In Sydney Strzelecki met James Macarthur of Parramatta, son Hannibal Macarthur. They agreed to travel together to Port Philip (now Melbourne) across then not yet discover Gippsland, and subsequently they set a meeting at Hannibal station, Ellerslie. Lech Paszkowski, *Sir Paul Edmund de Strzelecki. Reflection on his life*, Australian Scholarly Publishing, Melbourne 1997, p. 67.

MUSIC xxxx xxxx xxxx

NARRATOR : Having decided to explore the Great Dividing Range and to proceed onward to Port Philip, Strzelecki left Sydney and spent Christmas at Camden Park with James MacArthur.¹³

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STRZELECKI : I am greatly enjoying my stay with you, Mr. MacArthur, for I have found in your home all the comforts we love to find in the cities: society, books, fine house, a lovely garden and plenty of fruit.

MACARTHUR¹⁴: And what did you think of my vineyard?

STRZELECKI : I was frankly surprised to see the six neat little cottages surrounded with gardens, which you had especially built to accommodate the German vine dressers, who emigrated with their families.

MACARTHUR : Yes, they are very comfortable there, and were they not excited when you spoke German to them ...

STRZELECKI : They told me that if they could express their gratitude in English they would tell you how they appreciate your generosity and Mrs MacArthur's kindness.¹⁵

¹² Strzelecki discovered gold in 1839. The discoveries were revealed to Governor Gipps by presenting him with gold found in Wellington County and the Clywd Valley. The Governor feared an outbreak of 'Gold Fever' and mutiny should the convict prisoners hear about the discoveries, and urged Strzelecki to keep them secret. In 1851 E.H. Hargraves discovered gold in Bathurst, in the same region where Strzelecki had made his own discoveries back in 1839. In 1853 the Legislative Council of New South Wales awarded 10 000 Pounds to Hargraves for being the first to make a discovery. This award was made after debating the issue, and a vote was taken which gave Strzelecki 7 votes, and Hargraves 24 votes. Waclaw Słabczyński, *Paweł Edmund Strzelecki, Podróże – Odkrycia – Prace*, PWN, Warszawa 1957, p. 121.

¹³ 'Count Strelski, the Naturalist left the Australian Club on Sunday morning for Golbourn (sic), taking with him a covered cart, two horses, and a servant. It is his intention to explore the country south of Yass to Port Phillip. He will then proceed to Launceston, exploring the interior of Van Diemen's Land as he goes along. He expects to return from Hobart Town to Sydney in about four months, when we hope to be able to lay before our readers some valuable information respecting the southern parts of the Colony. The Count will be accompanied part of the way by Mr. James Macarthur.' Lech Paszkowski, *Sir Paul Edmund de Strzelecki. Reflection on his life*, Australian Scholarly Publishing, Melbourne 1997, p. 97.

According to Lech Paszkowski: *This note was reprinted in the Melbourne Port Phillip Gazette of Wednesday, January 8, 1840, in the column 'Sydney News'. The note is important, because it gives the exact time and date of Strzelecki's departure from Sydney. None of his biographers gave this date correctly, ranging the day from December 21 to Christmas Eve. It is interesting that Strzelecki had two horses. The letter to Donaldson quoted previously in Chapter 8, mentioning 'one foot in a stirrup' suggests that one of them was a riding horse. James Macarthur in the letter to The Argus, March 14, 1856, stated that Strzelecki arrived at Ellerslie 'with one pack horse'. If this is correct then the second horse was lost or left behind somewhere between Sydney and Yass, together with the cart. Why this happened no one will probably be able to say. Anyway, taking a cart into the mountainous areas was certainly not practical.* Lech Paszkowski, *Sir Paul Edmund de Strzelecki. Reflection on his life*, Australian Scholarly Publishing, Melbourne 1997, p. 97.

¹⁴ Do not mistaken, James Macarthur of Camden with James Macarthur of Parramatta, his younger cousin, who accompanied Strzelecki.

¹⁵ Strzelecki on the meeting with German settlements, *Physical Description...*, p. 380 – 381: *I had gone with my host to look at the farm, the fields, and the vineyard, - contiguous to which last stood in a row six neat cottages, surrounded with kitchen gardens, and inhabited by six families of German vine-dressers, who emigrated two years ago to New South Wales, either driven there by necessity, or seduced by the hope of finding, beyond the sea, fortune, peace, and happiness, - perhaps justice and liberty. The German salutation which I gave to the group that stood nearest, was like some signal-bell, which instantly set the whole colony in motion. Fathers, mothers, and children came running from all sides to see, to salute, and to talk to the gentleman who came from Germany. They took me for their fellow-countryman, and were happy, questioning me about Germany, the Rhine, and their native town. I was far from undeceiving them. The sincere, the heartfelt pressure of hands which I received, under the idea that I was a German, was too delightful to permit me to destroy the illusion. I felt truly their friend, and was willing that they should call me their countryman, treat me as such, offer me their Christmas cake, present to me their children, and say to them, 'This gentleman comes from After talking of various matters, they at length all simultaneously cried, 'But are you not come here to stay with us? Oh, do stay! we shall not then be so alone!*

MACARTHUR : I am very pleased to hear that indeed. And now tell me, count, where do you propose to go from here?

STRZELECKI : Amongst the many places I desire to explore are: the country around the Wollondilly and the Shoalhaven rivers, Lake George, the Yass plains, the course of the Murrumbidgee River and to follow up the Murray Valley into the Snowy Mountains.

MACARTHUR : And then?

STRZELECKI : After ascertaining the altitudes of the highest peaks of the Snowy Mountains, I will proceed across unexplored country to Port Philip.

MUSIC xxxx xxxx xxxxx

NARRATOR : According to pre-arranged plans, Strzelecki with his servant met James MacArthur, a cousin of MacArthur of Camden Park, a 19 year-old Englishman James Riley, an aboriginal Charlie Tara and a servant, on February 5, 1840, at Eilerslie Station near Adelong.¹⁶ The party with pack horses, expect Strzelecki, who preferred to walk with his valuable instruments on his back, proceeded along the Murray river for about 50 miles. Leaving the others in a camp, Strzelecki and MacArthur began the arduous ascent of the high range. And you will hear Strzelecki relate what he wrote in his journal.¹⁷

MUSIC : xxxx xxxx xxxx

STRZELECKI : The steepness of the numberless ridges, intersected by gullies and torrents, rendered the ascent a matter of no small difficulty, which was increased by the weight of the instruments, which for safety, I carried on my back. On February 15th about noon I found myself on an elevation of 6510 feet above sea level,¹⁸ seated on perpetual snow, a lucid sky above me and below an uninterrupted view over 7000 square miles. This pinnacle, rocky and naked, predominant over several others, affords a most advantageous position for overlooking the intricacies of the mountains around.

Never shall I forget the expression of their faces on hearing my negative: they looked at each other as if to say, 'We ought to understand this, - he has reasons for returning to Germany; we, alas! know none but those which forced us to quit it!

And yet, in a material point of view, their condition is more happy. Abundance, health, security, liberty, and justice procure for them advantages with which they were very imperfectly acquainted in their native land. P. E. de Strzelecki, Physical Description of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, London 1845, p. 380-381.

The knowledge of German language by Strzelecki was on such a high level that it was assume by German settlements that he was their countryman.

¹⁶According to Lech Paszkowski :... *on December 14, 1857, Strzelecki delivered a speech before the Royal Geographical Society of London in which he said 'it was my lot on one occasion to travel through a country untrodden by white men. The party consisted of seven men and six pack-horses, carrying our supplies...' Who was the seventh man? The two convict-servants were temporarily left at Welaregang but a native guide, Jacky, was added to the party before the trip to the High Country. Clews wrote: 'It is probable that Macarthur's aborigine, being from Goulburn country, was not acquainted with the topography of the mountains, where as the local man [Jacky] had accompanied other aborigines on their trips up the mountains to feast on the Bogong moths.' It is certainly true that Charlie Tarra had no knowledge of either the Snowy Mountains or Gippsland. After a few days Jacky was returned to the Welaregang station, so he was not the seventh man. Strzelecki had one servant, a tiny Irishman, named James Folan or Keena. According to the research of Dr Keith Bowden the name of Macarthur's servant was John Kent. It is not clear whether Strzelecki's memory failed him in 1857 or whether Macarthur had with him another servant? L. Paszkowski, Sir Paul Edmund de Strzelecki p. 102*

There is a plaque, from 1927, on the obelisk of Strzelecki in Corinella, listening all names of the participants of the expedition.

¹⁷ Report to Governor Gipps, June 2, 1840, manuscript known as *Count Strelesky's Journal* Mitchel Library, Sydney.

¹⁸ According to Lech Paszkowski: *Macarthur's 'Diary', ends with the words 'He fixed the height he had reached [at the summit] as 7,800 feet'. The same height was given in the Port Phillip Herald of June 2, 1840, but in the report to Governor Sir George Gipps Strzelecki gave the height as 6,510 feet. Clews commented that 'It is possible that he discovered an error in the instrument [due to falling while descending from Kosciusko] when checking back at the camp where Riley was waiting. Not realising that the error had arisen after the Kosciusko reading, he probably endeavoured to correct his Kosciusko height and made it 800 feet too low.'* L. Paszkowski, *Sir Paul Edmund de Strzelecki*, p. 108.

This eminence struck me so forcibly by the similarity it bears to a tumulus elevated in Cracow over the tomb of the patriot Kosciuszko,¹⁹ that, although in a foreign country, on foreign ground, but amongst a free people, who appreciate freedom and its votaries, I could not refrain from giving it the name of Mount Kosciuszko. Thus I have reserved and consecrated as a reminder for future generations upon this continent a name dear and hallowed to every Pole, to every human, to every friend of freedom and honour, - Kosciuszko.²⁰

MUSIC xxxx xxxx xxxx

NARRATOR : Descending the Snowy Mountains the Strzelecki party arrived on March 2nd at McAlister's station on the Tambo river.²¹

MUSIC xxxx xxxx xxxx

MCALISTER²²: So it is already over three weeks since you discovered Mount (hesitates) Kosciusko. And where do you propose to go now and when?

STRZELECKI : Much as it is delightful to enjoy your hospitality, Mr McAlister we must push on tomorrow. As I wish to continue my exploration of the Dividing Range, my friends and I intend leaving in the morning on our way to Corner Inlet and thence to Western Port and Melbourne.

RILEY²³: One thing, Mr McAlister, the count never believes I wasting time on resting anywhere for long.

MCALISTER : You are quite right. He seems to be animated by an indomitable spirit urging him to move on and on.

STRZELECKI : (laughs) Well, you can't exactly blame me for that. Being an explorer I might as well be on the move.

MCALISTER : You have a long and dangerous trip before you, gentlemen. You know that MacMillan has explored some of that country, most of which is absolutely unknown, however. Tomorrow I shall accompany you just for one day to show you MacMillan's tracks and places where you can ford the rivers. You know that this is the very last station before you reach Western Port. From here onward it is all unknown territory, where only blacks have roamed for countless centuries...

MUSIC xxxx xxxx xxxx

RILEY: What a lovely morning. It seems weeks since we left McAlister's station and we are still tramping on and on.

STRZELECKI : To-day is the 15th April, so that it is nearly six weeks since we left him. I do not know what you think gentlemen, but to me it has been most interesting. This country is one of the richest and most picturesque we have seen so far. We have followed the Tambo river for miles, we explored around Lake King, and do you realise we crossed and named five rivers? It has been very uneventful so far. We haven't seen any monstrous animals, nor aggressive blacks and it has been only very moderate arduous.

MACARTHUR : Not too bad, but there seems to be dense scrub ahead.

RILEY : Yes, I noticed that too.

STRZELECKI : Oh, that is nothing. It may only be for a few miles and then we will have probably more open country like this.

MUSIC xxxx xxxx xxxx

RILEY : Oh, I feel tired, very tired ...

MACARTHUR : You shouldn't complain. You are the youngest of us all.

TARRA : Massa him be no more tired than other massa... Him be young..

STRZELECKI : Tired, or not, we have to resume our journey. We cannot retrace our steps...

MacARTHUR : Do you think it is wise to continue our journey to Corner Inlet?

RILEY : We have few provisions left.

¹⁹ The tomb of Kosciuszko is at Wawel, Cracow (Poland).

²⁰ From the *Count Strelsky's Journal*, partially from the Strzelecki's letter to Adyna Turno, Launceston, August 1, 1840. Pawel Edmund Strzelecki, *Pisma wybrane*. Zebral i przypisami opatrzył Waclaw Slabczyński, PWN, Warszawa 1960.

²¹ The cattle station Numbla Munjee which belonged to a squatter, Captain Lachlan Macalister (1797-1855).

²² The nephew of Capt. L. Macalister, Matthew Macalister, who was temporarily in charge of the station.

²³ James Riley (1821-1892), pastoralist.

MacARTHUR : Even the horses are exhausted.

RILEY : I am young and I decidedly do not want to leave my bones in this forsaken country ... I want to see civilisation again.

STRZELECKI : Well, gentlemen, if you think so, I am ready to abandon our plan to proceed to Corner Inlet and we shall proceed direct to Western Port.

RILEY : Hurrah! Hurrah!

STRZELECKI : Although I do not think we are far from Western Port ... Perhaps only a few days ... Still we must be prepared for eventualities and, therefore, it is imperative to be most economical regarding our food. I propose to have only half rations from now on, that is 2 lbs of bread daily between us and two thin slices of bacon, are you agreeable?

MacARTHUR : Quite.

RILEY : And so am I.

STRZELECKI : Besides we can always shoot these tree monkeys and eat them.

RILEY : You mean the little animals some people call native bears?

STRZELECKI : Yes. We had one yesterday. It wasn't bad ...

MUSIC xxxx xxxx xxxx

MacARTHUR : It is already a week since we changed our course and still this confounded dense growth and scrub and there seems to be no end to it ...

RILEY : Do you realise how little we have progressed in the last few days?

STRZELECKI : We have approximately averaged two to three miles a day, for we had to cut our way through so much undergrowth.

RILEY : I tell you, what I find particularly trying: the crossing of these accursed creeks. Do you realised how many times in the last few days we had to unload the horses, carry everything on our backs and than we had to get the bogged horses out ...

STRZELECKI : If you like to know I have been seriously thinking of abandoning our horses,

RILEY : (horrified) What?

MacARTHUR : And what? Walk like you have been doing?

STRZELECKI : (laughs) I don't think you have done very much horse riding lately. Yes, may be a few hundred yards ... And then more scrub ... and so on ... But what else can we do? The horses are completely exhausted, worn out and weary.

RILEY : Surely we will not abandon them here?

STRZELECKI : (firmly) Not here, but we must. My plan is as follow: let us descend into the plain below and leave the horses where there is grass. We will hide our saddles, instruments and belongings in the trees and only take what is absolutely indispensable. Worn out as we are at the end of each day, at least we shall not have to clear a space for horses every night.

RILEY : I feel so sorry to have to leave our horses behind us ...

STRZELECKI : There is no alternative. As soon as we arrive at Western Port, we will send a party to bring back the horses and belongings.

MacARTHUR : Very well then.

STRZELECKI : We will only take with us a clean shirt, our guns, ammunition and blankets.

RILEY : To-day is the 27th April. Two months exactly since we left McAlister. And the last 12 days have been nightmare ... Moreover the scrub seems to be getting thicker and thicker, and more difficult.

STRZELECKI : According to major Mitchell's maps we must be about 25 miles north east of Western Port, but owing to the cloudy weather I have only twice been able to take latitude observation. At three miles a day we should reach Western Port in 8 days.

MacARTHUR : And we only have enough food for eight days ...

STRZELECKI : (laughs) Well, to be truthful, we only have enough bacon for three days ... And I suggest making three dampers with the remainder of flour ... And with the help of three monkeys we shall survive ...

MacARTHUR : (gloomily) That sound very grim to me.

TARA : Me nebber leave you massa ...

MacARTHUR : I know Tara ... But I am beginning to wonder if we will ever get there, for if we run out of food ...

STRZELECKI : (firmly) Mr. MacArthur, don't give way to despair. We are still strong and well. A few days might see the end of our struggles.

RILEY : I hope so ... This thick undergrowth is terrible ...

MUSIC xxxx xxxx xxxx

RILEY : This is the tenth day since we left our poor horses and we have walked and walked through this endless undergrowth and still no relief ... I beginning to lose hope we will ever see a human being again ...

MacARTHUR : And I also ... I feel completely worn out ...

STRZELECKI : (brightly) Courage! Courage! Gentlemen, trust in Providence. We shall not parish. Western Port cannot be very far now...

RILEY : You said that a week ago ... And now I don't care how far we are, if we have no more food. We finished our bacon ... The damper is mouldy...

STRZELECKI : (laughs) What about our favourite delicacy, the tree monkey ... Charlie caught Two yesterday and now he is up a tree, looking for one ...

RILEY : (irritably) I can hardly bear to think of them ... hungry as I am ... To think we had to eat them raw, after Charlie had skinned them ...

STRZELECKI : (laughing) That is not because you are developing into a cannibal, but simply because we had been unable to make a fire owing to such excessive dampness.

MacARTHUR : No wonder you have tramped all over South America with your inexhaustible energy and spirit. Did you ever eat anything there, I wonder?

STRZELECKI : (jokingly) Sometimes ... But what is the use of getting despondent?

MacARTHUR : Count, I marvel at your spirit ... You never seem to be depressed but always bright, and cheerful.

STRZELECKI : (brightly) I am tired, but why should I feel despondent? The going is rough admittedly, but when I feel somewhat depressed I look round and get my inspiration by looking at the trees around us. What glorious blue gum and other trees ... How valuable they will prove to this colony ... And how privileged we are to see them!

MUSIC xxxx xxxx xxxx

RILEY : (very depressed) Another day and yet another day ... And still this confounded scrub ... It is even impossible to describe the roughness of the ground ... We seem to be completely lost ...

MacARTHUR : Possible ... But for him we would already have been lost ... He alone never loses heart ... He is always cheerful and tells us stories ... I don't know Howe he does it ...

RILEY : I am no longer interested in him, anybody, or anything ... This is utterly hopeless ... Nine weeks since we left McAlister and since I slept in a bad, or sat at a table, ... Or had decent food ... We are lost ... lost ... ugh, those raw native bears...

MacARTHUR : Is it as long as that? Let me see ... To-day must be about the 12th of May and we have walked, half starved for 20 days since we abandoned our horses ... I wonder if they are still alive ... I wonder will we be still alive in a week's time? ...

RILEY: Oh, Mr. MacARTHUR, things are not quite as desperate yet ... I still have faith in the count...

MacARTHUR : But you must realise that we have no more provisions ... and what will happen if in another day, or two, we won't be able to even find a native bear? Will we feed on leaves, or tree bark?

...

STRZELECKI : (brightly) I am just back with good news. I have shot some birth that looks like a big crow.

RILEY : I wonder what will it taste like raw?

STRZELECKI : My dear James, the main thing is that we have a little food. The taste is of secondary importance.

RILEY : Oh, what would I gave for a real roast dinner with vegetables! And a knife ... and a fork ... and a chair ... I doubt at times if we will ever see a human dwelling again and people, who look like human beings, and not like gaunt bearded scarecrows...

MacARTHUR : (very gloomily) 44 days since we saw McAlister ... 44 days of privations ... Three weeks' tramp through this vile, tough country this tangled undergrowth ... cutting our way through it ... Wouldn't it make anyone disheartened? We thought we were only 25 miles from Western Port a week ago and how many have we done since?

STRZELECKI : (cheerfully) I think we must have travelled about 70 miles through this scrub ... Just look at my boots ... My toes are right out (laughs) yet what can I do? The shops are a bit too far away!²⁴

MUSIC xxxx xxxx xxxx

RILEY : To-day is the 12th of May. Although I am the youngest of the party I almost feel I can walk no further ... Not another day ... I feel completely worn out, and exhausted ... And the monotony of this vile scrub ... these rough hills ... It's terrible ... terrible...

STRZELECKI : (warmly) Cheer up, James ... It has been very trying, I know, but we must not lose heart ... Victory might be within our groups and then we will tell everyone .. What is this? ... Why is Charlie running towards us so excitedly? What is wrong, Charlie?

TARA : (out of breath) Massa, massa, me been hear dogs bark ...

RILEY : What?

MacARTHUR : (excitedly) Really?

STRZELECKI : (calmly) Tell us about it, Charlie.

²⁴ Lech Paszkowski, in his *Sir Paul Edmund de Strzelecki...*, p. 120, placed the Riley's letter: *Beside those official press communications there are preserved the contemporary words of James Riley, a participant of the expedition, who wrote to his mother in a letter dated 'Melbourne, May 30th, 1840.' This description, therefore, was not yet affected by the previously quoted newspaper articles:*

'After travelling for three days [apparently from March 16 to 19], we came to a change of country - instead of fine open plains we came to thick forests and through that to dense brush, which entirely stopped our travelling on the plains and forced us to take to the ranges, which were little better, but we could cut and force our way through after great labour and exertion.

Through this scrub we forced our way for 14 days, during which time we made about 70 miles, so you may imagine we had difficulties to contend with, sometimes not making 3 miles in one direction, sometimes having to go 6 or 7 miles to head a creek, and after all to unload and carry everything over on our backs and then have to pull the horses out which get bogged - and at night to break a place down in the scrub before we could stretch our weary limbs, and to tie our poor horses to trees, without a mouthful for them to eat the whole night for fear of them straying away.

In this state of things we came to the conclusion of leaving the poor animals on the first spot we could find where they could get some subsistence, and for this purpose we descended again into the plain, and were fortunate enough to find a little grass and water not far distant.

We determined to leave them here, as they only delayed us, and that they were in such a state from starvation that it was madness to take them on, and leaving them here we had a chance some day of recovering them.

We were feeling the strain and were quite as exhausted as the horses. We had been on half rations for five weeks, two pounds of bread to three people per day, which when divided was but little to sustain life and strength, and for meat we had only two thin slices of bacon. The Count fortunately succeeded in taking latitude observation, and from that we were (by Major Mitchell's maps that were laid before the House of Commons) at about 25 miles to the N.E. point of the Harbour at Western Port to which we were steering, and which was about the spot where we supposed to find the old settlement - but by referring to the Navigation Book we found that some of principal points did not quite agree. This made us a little doubtful of the Major's map, but we hoped for the best. Instead of finding it 25 it proved 70 miles, and the scrub increasing upon us instead of growing better. It took 21 days instead of 7, from the day we left our horses till we arrived at Western Port on the 12th of this month.

At this time we had eight days' provisions at the above mentioned rate. We took a day to arrange and stow away our saddles, &c., in trees, and only taking what we absolutely required, such as a clean shirt, our blankets and guns. We left everything else that was not of the most importance (of course the instruments for observation we were forced to carry). We made the remainder of the flour into three dampers, and each man had his half damper to carry. Of bacon we had enough for three days. We were never more than a day without food. In the country through which we passed there was but one animal, it is the size of a small dog, and lives in trees, it is called the monkey or native bear. These we procured sometimes by shooting, sometimes by the native climbing the trees after them. We ate them raw when we could not make a fire which was difficult because dry fuel was scarce.

Some convicts who had escaped from Van Diemen's Land were occupying the buildings of the Corinella settlement of 1826 and which were abandoned a year or two later. They shared what food they had with us, and showed us the way to Messrs. Massie and Anderson's station [the present Tooradin].' Lech Paszkowski, *Sir Paul Edmund de Strzelecki. Reflection on his life*, Australian Scholarly Publishing, Melbourne 1997, p. 120.

TARA : Come, come that way ... Me hear dogs and smell smoke ... (dogs barking)

MacARTHUR : We are saved!

RILEY : Thank goodness!²⁵

STRZELECKI : A man is coming through the scrub towards us ... And look to the left ... water ... It must be Western Port at last!

BERRY: Welcome to you all. Who are you?

MacARTHUR : We are a party of explorers from Sydney town ...

BERRY : Goodness gracious me! And you got through this unknown land? That is wonderful!

MacARTHUR : Yes, we got through, but only owing to him. This is count Strzelecki the famous explorer. We owe our lives to him ... To his indomitable spirit and courage. We would have given up long ago, but for his inspired leadership.

STRZELECKI : (brightly) Don't praise me too much. We all owe our lives to each other ... It was splendid teamwork ... And what is your name, sir?

BERRY : My name is Berry. I settled here at Western Port a few years ago with other settlers. But come with me ... you must be half starved ... and look worn out...

MUSIC : xxxx xxxx xxxx

NARRATOR : After a rest of several days at Western Port, Strzelecki and his party were rowed across the bay and they continued their journey through Dandenong to Melbourne,²⁶ where they were lionised, for their hardship caused a sensation. One evening in Melbourne Strzelecki writes a despatch to Sir George Gipps.

MUSIC : xxxx xxxx xxxx

STRZELECKI : (writing) I take the liberty of naming the country, which has been my lot to discover, - Gippsland in honour of Your Excellency. I scarcely know of any spot in New South Wales that can boast more advantages than Gippsland. It has 250 miles of coast, two already known harbours, Corner Inlet and Western Port, eight rivers, a navigable lake, lagoons, 3600 square miles of forest plains and valleys, which in richness of soil and pasturage cannot be surpassed. It has wonderful timber, blue gum and black but without parallel in this colony...²⁷

²⁵ „The Port Philip Herald” of June 2, 1840, published an article *The Progress of Discovery*. In the full story about Strzelecki's discovery one reads: *On the twenty-second day after they had abandoned their horses the travellers came in sight of Western Port, and the sensations which were created by the first view of water on which a small vessel was riding at anchor, and the blue smoke curling among the trees, may be more easily imagined than described. - It was upon Mr Berry's tent the party had stumbled, and to his hospitality and kind attention to their wants they owe their recovery to health and vigour.* Lech Paszkowski, *Sir Paul Edmund de Strzelecki. Reflection on his life*, Australian Scholarly Publishing, Melbourne 1997, p. 116.

²⁶ According to Lech Paszkowski: *Strzelecki himself dismissed the whole journey through Gippsland in a few sentences:*

From the River La Trobe the course to Corner Inlet was resumed; the utter exhaustion, however, of the horses began to impede our progress; in a few days, after crossing the river, it was necessary to abandon them. The men, too who for five weeks had been already on half allowances (one biscuit and a slice of bacon a day), manifested symptoms of wear and tear, which, coupled with the loss of the six horses and packs, and the remainder of our provisions being only sufficient for four days, forced me with regret to relinquish our intended course, and to take the nearest to Western Port, where new supplies might have enabled me to prosecute my researches into the geognostic nature of the coast range, and also that of inlets, outlets and harbours. The direct course which necessity obliged us to pursue led us, during 22 days of almost complete starvation, through a scrubby and, for exhausted men, a trying country, which, however, for its valuable timber of blue gum and black butt has no parallel in the colony. The ascent of the dividing range was gradual, the descent towards Western Port easy; all the great protuberances which characterize that range elsewhere, either in elevation, or windings, or bold features among the spurs and ramifications, began to cease. Some minor spurs on the western side of that range formed an extensive valley to the N.W. of my route, almost opposite to that watered by the River La Trobe on the eastern side of the range. Some others, which, on ulterior examination, proved to be divisions of creeks running in the direction of Cape Liptrap and Western Port, were the sole elevations composing the rest of the fine undulating country through which I passed. Lech Paszkowski, *Sir Paul Edmund de Strzelecki. Reflection on his life*, Australian Scholarly Publishing, Melbourne 1997, p. 121-122.

²⁷ Actually, in his Report dated June 26, 1840, Melbourne, Strzelecki wrote: *At 17 miles from Omeo to the S.S.E., and at the crossing of the dividing range begins the third division, which the meridian 148° limits from*

MUSIC xxxx xxxx xxxx

NARRATOR : Having completely recuperating in Melbourne,²⁸ we find Strzelecki in August 1940 at Government House, Hobart, talking to Sir John²⁹, the governor of Van Diemen's Land. It was the beginning of a long and deep friendship between the two eminent men.

SIR JOHN : It is a wonder you escaped with your life after all these weeks of privations in Gippsland. I hope you will not encounter such difficulties in Van Diemen's Land. I can assure you, that I shall do everything in my power to assist you in your scientific exploration and research. It is seldom that we have the benefit of such a distinguished explorer in our midst.

STRZELECKI : You are the last person to say that, Sir John, for you are yourself a most distinguished scientist and explorer and I shall consider it an honour to have your most sympathetic assistance.

SIR JOHN : My dear count, Lady Franklin and I are most deeply interested in your work and I can assure you, that you are a most welcome guest at Government House.

STRZELECKI : I am very grateful to you and to Lady Franklin for your kindness and hospitality.

SIR JOHN : Moreover, I am happy to tell you that I have procured a mountain barometer, which will be at your service. It is not a new one, but I hope it will prove useful to you.

STRZELECKI : I am quite certain it will be most useful and many tanks, Sir John.

MUSIC : xxxx xxxx xxxx

NARRATOR : In the next 12 months Strzelecki had explored practically all of Tasmania with the exception of the West Coast. He travelled with two servants and three pack horses. As was his custom, he walked everywhere himself. He had dispensed with a tent in N.S.W. But found a tent indispensable in Van Diemen's Land. Once again he is at Government House, Hobart,

MUSIC : xxxx xxxx xxxx

STRZELECKI : The lakes are beautiful, especially Lake Marion. I am sure Lady Franklin would love to see it.

N.E.; the sea-coast and the dividing range from E. and W.; Corner Inlet and Western Port from the S. and S.W. - a division which, on account of the extensive riches as a pastoral country, its open forests, its inland navigation, rivers, timber, climate, proximity to the sea-coast, probable outlets, and more than probable boat and small craft harbours, its easy land communication, the neighbourhood of Corner Inlet and Western Port, the gradual elevation, more hilly than mountainous, and finally, on account of the cheering prospects to future settlers which this country holds out, and which it was my lot to discover, I took the liberty of naming, in honour of His Excellency the Governor, Gipps' Land. Lech Paszkowski, Sir Paul Edmund de Strzelecki. *Reflection on his life*, Australian Scholarly Publishing, Melbourne 1997, p. 115.

²⁸ Strzelecki departure Melbourne on the brig *Emma* on July 10 and arrived in Launceston on July 24, 1840. The farewell article was published in the "Port Phillip Herald" of July 10, 1840: *Count Streleski, the gallant discoverer of Gipps Land, leaves Port Phillip for Van Diemen's Land, by the first ship, in the confident expectation of receiving from His Excellency Sir John Franklin, that assistance in the prosecution of his scientific researches which he has failed in obtaining at the hands of Sir George Gipps. The Count purposes (provided he finds that Sir John Franklin will, as is expected, place one of the Government vessels at his disposal) continuing by water the prosecution of the discovery he has already so successfully followed up by land. He will proceed in the first instance to Sealers' Cove and Corner Inlet, the probable outlets of the numerous rivers and creeks which intersect the noble country through which, the Count travelled, and there ascertain from actual observation the existence or non-existence of means of communication from the sea with the interior of Gipps' Land. Thence he purposes returning to Western Port to examine the capabilities of the country, particularly with reference to the current reports regarding the existence of coal and iron-ore, which there is every reason to believe is procurable in great abundance in the immediate vicinity of the harbour. These generous efforts to advance the interest of the province the Count undertakes at his own expense, and without the most distant prospect of ultimate remuneration.*

Sir John Franklin, himself a traveller of no mean note, will not, we feel confident, refuse to a brother labourer in the field of scientific research, such assistance as is in his power to offer, particularly as the objects the Count has in view are of a nature calculated to prove eminently conducive to the advancement of both, this colony and Van Diemen's Land. Lech Paszkowski, *Sir Paul Edmund de Strzelecki. Reflection on his life*, Australian Scholarly Publishing, Melbourne 1997, p. 141.

²⁹ Sir John Franklin (1786-1847), British Royal Navy officer, Lt. Governor of Van Diemen's Land (1837-1843), explorer of the Arctic, perished during the Northwest Passage expedition (1845).

SIR JOHN : I am sure she would.

LADY FRANKLIN³⁰: Of course, I would. I have listened fascinated to your vivid description. What a pity there is no road to the Lakes. I would far sooner travel to see the beauties of this island, than stay at Government House. Oh, how I envied you when you accompanied my husband to Port Arthur.

STRZELECKI : I wish you could have accompanied us, Lady Franklin, but I can assure you that it was strenuous, as when I spent a whole week on top of windy Ben Lomond to complete observations.

SIR JOHN : I greatly doubt whether Lady Franklin would have enjoyed this experience!

STRZELECKI : Lady Franklin, -when climbing and descending mountains I often tried to visualise Van Diemen's Land in a hundred years' time. What a wonderful island it will be! But, Sir John, irrigation is necessary to develop the country. Take for instance Lake Arthur 2600 feet above the sea level. What wealth that would mean to settlers, who realise the necessity of calling to aid that powerful agent of agriculture, - irrigation.

SIR JOHN : You are certainly a dreamer and a visionary, count! What a fascinating picture of the future you have woven!

LADY FRANKLIN : You have, but there is one drawback: not one of us will be here to see it ... But, by the way, count, to-morrow night there is a dance here and I expect to see you, instead of staying in your room, checking the altitudes of Van Diemen's Land.

STRZELECKI : I shall only be too happy to accept your gracious command. (laughs) Surely you don't think I have become such an outcast and recluse in my tramps from coast to coast, that I am no longer fit for civilised company!

LADY FRANKLIN : I am delightful to hear it, count, for I was beginning to have doubts myself ...

DANCE MUSIC : (voices and laughter heard)

LADY GUEST : What a lovely evening!

ANOTHER : It is most enjoyable.

LADY : Lady Franklin, no doubt, is a wonderful hostess and always so kind and considerate to all. Here she comes with count Strzelecki ...

LADY FRANKLIN : I enjoyed the waltz very much ...

STRZELECKI : No, Lady Franklin, the pleasure was mine, for you dance remarkably well. It reminds me of long , long ago, when I was very young in Poland.

LADY FRANKLIN : Tell me something about your youth. The ladies of Hobart have a very high opinion of you, count, but often wonder if you shun the fair sex? Tell me, are you so intensely wrapped up in your scientific work, that a beautiful face means nothing to you?

STRZELECKI : (with forced laugh) No, not at all ... I am not as bad as that, I assure you ... Yes, I was deeply in love once ... In fact I still am ...

LADY FRANKLIN : That sounds very romantic to me. Are you disposed to tell me something about it?

STRZELECKI : Yes, I will ... (very earnestly) Lady Franklin, you and your husband have been wonderful friends to me ... and I feel I can fully confide in you ... How often under the starry sky in NSW and in Van Diemen's Land, laying on a blanket, I thought of her ...

LADY FRANKLIN : (very warmly) My instinct tells me that you will feel ever so so much better when you confide in me ... and you know me well enough to trust me implicitly ...

STRZELECKI : (sadly) I know, Lady Franklin, I know ... My story is very simple ... I was a young man living with my parents in Poland. We had a small estate ... Life was easy and comfortable ... A wealthy and influential family Turno lived near us ... They had a daughter Adyna ... She was beautiful and sweet ... I was romantically disposed ... Is it a wonder that we fell in love? ...

LADY FRANKLIN : (very kindly) I suppose you proposed to her?

STRZELECKI : (music heard from ball room) Yes, but only secretly... You see, they were very wealthy. I was a young man without an independent fortune and without prospects ... The parents were looking for a wealthy husband for Adyna ...

LADY FRANKLIN : (with sympathy) And I suppose she married someone else?

³⁰ Lady Jane Franklin nee Jane Griffin (1791-1875) married Sir John Franklin in 1828. When he fail to return from his 1845 Northwest Passage expedition she sponsored seven expeditions in search of him.

STRZELECKI : No, not at all ... Realising that we could not obtain her parents' consent, we decided to elope ...

LADY FRANKLIN : (aghast) Surely you did not ...

STRZELECKI : (sadly) No, it did not succeed ... We made arrangement and I met Adyna in a carriage not far from her residence, but her father had discovered her disappearance and set of in pursuit. The servants told him they had seen her leaving in a carriage with a few belongings. The father galloped after us in a terrible rage and overtook us ... After a dreadful scene he took her home. Shortly after that I left home, and went abroad.³¹

LADY FRANKLIN : (with great sympathy) And have you seen her since?

STRZELECKI : No, I left Poland for good ... But we correspond. I cannot write direct to her, because her parents are very bitter ... But we write to a mutual friend who forwards the letters.

LADY FRANKLIN : You made me feel quite sad ... But what would her parents say now, when you have become such a famous explorer?

STRZELECKI : I am afraid it would make very little difference to them. They are very obstinate and very bitter. Besides, I am in no position to marry Adyna and to give her all the comforts to which she has been used since childhood.

LADY FRANKLIN : What a great pity! I feel very sorry for you...

STRZELECKI : Thank you, Lady Franklin. I know how genuine you are ... You realise how I feel ... I always think of her ... I named a peak near Mt. York in the Blue Mountains of NSW after her.³² When I named the highest mountain in Australia after a great Polish patriot, I sent her a wild alpine flower with the words "Here is a flower from Mt. Kosciusko, the highest peak of the continent ... You will be the first Polish woman to have a flower from that mountain. Let it remind you of freedom and love" ...³³

MUSIC xxxx xxxx xxxx

NARRATOR : Strzelecki continued his zig-zag exploration of Tasmania and by the middle of 1841 he had walked over 2000 miles. Sir John Franklin was keenly interested in his work and in his reports on coal.

MUSIC : xxxx xxxx xxxx

SIR JOHN : I am always looking forward to your letters and scientific reports, Count, and I am very pleased you have joined our Tasmanian Society, which fosters science.

STRZELECKI : I am very honoured indeed to be a member of the society, Sir John.

SIR JOHN : I would very much like to visit the coal near Jerusalem with you and I also want you to come with me to the coal mine at Recherché Bay. Your commitments will be of great value to me. Here are some specimens of Recherché Bay coal and I will much appreciate if you will analyse it for me.

STRZELECKI : I shall only be glad to do it for you. And now, Sir John, what about my projected exploration of the Bass Strait islands?

SIR JOHN : I am sorry I had forgotten to mention it to you. Everything is ready. You will travel on the survey ship "The Beagle" and captain Stokes will look after you and give you every assistance. But I wish you would return to Hobart for the Regatta, for it is well worth seeing and you will be a very welcome guest.

STRZELECKI : Many thanks, Sir John, but I doubt whether I will be able to come. I am thrilled to have the opportunity to explore the Bass islands and I shall send a report to you on my return and then...

SIR JOHN : (interrupting) Here is my wife. Good morning, my dear.

LADY FRANKLIN : Good morning John, and good morning Count.

STRZELECKI : Good morning Lady Franklin.

LADY FRANKLIN : Are you two gentlemen conferring or confiding?

³¹ Adyna Turno (1800-1882), according to the journal of Adam Turno, Adyna's father, the elopement with Strzelecki did not take place. Adam Turno. *Pamiętniki* (rękopis, Księga VII, 13814/III/7), Inwentarz Rękopisów Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu, 59/65/7.

³² Adine is the Aboriginal name.

³³ Excerpt from Strzelecki's letter to Adyna Turno, Launceston (Van Diemen's Land) August 1, 1840.

SIR JOHN : We are merely discussing our friend's proposed visit to the Bass Strait islands.

LADY FRANKLIN : Before you leave, count, I want to refresh your memory regarding our Franklin Museum in Hobart. You have honoured us by your kind interest and will, I am sure, continue to do so by your patronage and support. It would have given me exceeding great pleasure to have had your signature in the parchment, which is buried in the foundation stone, but there will be still a niche for you in their interior. So please, do not forget...

STRZELECKI : I definitely will not forget, Lady Franklin.

SIR JOHN : That reminds me of something ... Mr. Murchison, the President of the Geological Society has requested my assistance in collecting for him specimens of fossil remains in the colony. Well, you can guess what I am going to say, count. I know of no one who has the power and inclination more effectually to help me than yourself. Will you be so kind to say whether you can?

STRZELECKI : Of course, I can, Sir John. I shall be only too happy to assist you.

MUSIC xxxx xxxx xxxx

NARRATOR : Strzelecki's three years' exploration of Tasmania was coming to the end. He had completed his exploration of the Bass Strait islands, where captain Stokes³⁴ named in his honour the highest mountain on Flinders Island, - Strzelecki' Peak.³⁵ For over half a century Strzelecki's keen observations subsequently published in London were considered the standard scientific information on Tasmania. His description of various coal basins were most accurate, and his collection of fossils revealed a remarkable knowledge and forms the basis of Australian palaeontology. Strzelecki's geological observations, clear and concise, are as good to-day, as they were a hundred years ago. As he had decided to sail from Launceston, Sir John Franklin wrote to him a farewell letter on September 29, 1842.

SIR JOHN : (writing) "On reading your letter I felt a renewal of that regret with which I received the first communication of your intention to leave the Island. I cannot let you go without assuring you that in your departure I shall miss the comfort of having a sincere and highly judicious friend, to whom I could impart many of my inward thoughts, and find sympathy and sound advice on subjects of deep interest to me and to the Colony, which is indebted to you for the valuable contributions you have made during the progress of your researches. Lady Franklin desires me to offer you her affectionate regards, - she looks forward as I do and with equal desire towards the renewal of your society on our return. We can then talk over causes and effects as exhibited here, with the unrestrained range, which, except to a few like yourself, prudence would forbid our doing here. Again let me say everything most kind from Lady F and every member of my family, - Ever yours most sincerely ... John Franklin"

MUSIC xxxx xxxx xxxx

NARRATOR : Back in NSW³⁶ Strzelecki completed his exploration of the Hunter River valley³⁷ and in April 1843, a few days before his departure from Australia, he called on his friend Philip King, commissioner of the Australian Agricultural Society, to say goodbye.

KING³⁸: All good things come to an end and it seems that we are going to lose you.

STRZELECKI : Yes, Philip, I am leaving, having completed my work here.

KING : And tell me, have you really enjoyed your long stay in the colony?

STRZELECKI : Yes, it has been wonderful and most interesting. People have been most hospitable and helpful to me. I have only one complaint...

KING : (surprised) And that is.

STRZELECKI : The high cost of living. Everything is very expensive here. Homes, living, travel, - even by steamboat, so ridiculously low in the USA and Europe, - is much higher her.

³⁴ Captain John Lort Stokes, (1812-1885), explorer, officer in the Royal Navy, he took part in a marine survey of South America (1826-32), in journey around the world (1833-36), exploration of the coasts of Australia (1837-1842). He published *Discoveries of Australia* (London 1846).

³⁵ Strzelecki Peaks (782/779 m), named by Captain J. Lort Stokes in 1842.

³⁶ Strzelecki left Tasmania (Launceston) on board of the steamer *Sea Horse* on September 29, 1842 with his servant/convict, James Nolan, and arrived in Sydney on October 2. Before departing the colony Strzelecki obtained an absolute pardon for Nolan.

³⁷ It was Strzelecki's last Australian journey.

³⁸ Philip Parker King (1791-1856), British naval officer, hydrologist, explorer, member of the New South Wales Legislative Council (1839).

KING : You are probably right. And what have you done in the last 5 months since your return from Van Diemen's Land?

STRZELECKI : I have been busy as per usual ... I made a geological survey of the Hunter river valleys, Port Stevens, Raymond Terrace, I have investigated the Newcastle coal basin, have found traces of coal at Lake Macquarie, have analysed soil here, there and anywhere...

KING : You certainly haven't wasted your time.

STRZELECKI : No. I have visited the most northerly farms in the colony situated at Stroud and Booral. The soil is well adapted for wheat and barley, as well as fruit. In short a situation most favourable to the application of irrigation, which will render the district one of the richest and most important in the colony, whilst I think Newcastle harbour is excellent.

KING : And when are you leaving us, Paul?

STRZELECKI : The day after to-morrow, on the 22nd April by the barque Anna Robertson of 317 tons.³⁹

KING : And any regrets?

STRZELECKI : Very many. To leave so many wonderful friends ... Especially dear Sir John Franklin ... He has been marvellous to me ...

KING : You must feel tired after these strenuous last few years?

STRZELECKI : Tired? No! (laughs) I feel remarkably well, although I have travelled at least 7000 miles on foot during the last four years!⁴⁰

MUSIC xxxx xxxx xxxx

NARRATOR : 18 months later, at the end of 1844, Strzelecki is sitting at his desk in London writing his "Physical Description of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land". His servant comes in bringing a large sealed envelope.

STRZELECKI : What is it, John?

JOHN : Sorry to interrupt you, Sir, but here is a letter, or something ... just received from the post office.

STRZELECKI : Thank you, John. ! what is it? ... From Hobart ... That will be interesting ... I must open it ... (opens and reads) "We the undersigned cannot suffer you to depart without presenting to you assurance of our sincere regret. The benefits which you have conferred upon our Country have added other motives to those of private friendship, which call for a public and united expression of our esteem. We are conscious that much is owing to your scientific knowledge and to your indefatigable exertions; much that will henceforth advance the progress of science and the development of the natural resources of Tasmania. Permit us as your friends, bound to you more especially by the interest, which you have attached to our adopted home to offer our contribution towards the completion of yours labours" ... many signatures ... Sir John Franklin ... £400 ... And what is this inscription ... (reads) "We the undersigned Ladies of Tasmania fully concurring in the sentiments of esteem and regard, expressed by the Gentlemen of the Colony for Count Strzelecki, desire to participate in the honour of contributing towards the testimonial" ... ⁴¹(very moved) Friends ... Wonderful friends ... indeed ... (dreamily) I seem to see it all again ... The Grose Valley ... Gippsland ... the long walk ... Western Port ... beautiful Hobart ... the Murray River Valley ... and rising above all, Mount Kosciusko ...

³⁹ On Saturday, April 22, 1843, *Count Streliski*, as reported by the "Sydney Morning Herald", left Port Jackson on board of the barque *Anna Robertson* aiming for China. Lech Paszkowski, *Sir Paul Edmund de Strzelecki. Reflection on his life*, Australian Scholarly Publishing, Melbourne 1997, p. 197.

⁴⁰ From *Preface to Physical Description...*, p. vii: ...*This "Description" comprehending the fruits of five years of continual labour, during a tour of 7000 miles, on foot, is divided into eight sections, or parts...*

⁴¹ The entire letter was featured in Strzelecki's *Preface* to his book (p. vi):

...*On my return to England, I had the honour to receive, through hands of Francis Corbould, Esq., the Following address from the Tasmanian Public, dated Van Diemen's Land, June, 1843:-*

The signatures to this address were headed by that of His Excellency the Governor, Sir John Franklin, R.N.; His Honour the Chief Justice, Sir John Pedder; the Colonial Secretary, G. Boyes, Esq.; and comprehended those of most of the settlers in Van Diemen's Land.

To the very flattering expressions and hearty good wishes which this address breathes throughout, was added a subscription amounting to 400£. sterling, 100£. of which was contributed by Sir John Franklin himself.

THE END

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Wacław Ślabczyński, *Paweł Edmund Strzelecki, Podróże – Odkrycia – Prace*, PWN, Warszawa 1957.

^a Władysław (Ladislas) Adam de Noskowski (1892-1969), journalist, editor, music critic, teacher, educator. He attended Chrzanowski's private high school in Warsaw, continued his education in Switzerland and later studied at the University of Warsaw and Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques in Paris. He arrived in Sydney on 24 April 1911 and was naturalized on 4 May 1914. The same year he travelled to California where in Hollywood he played in few movies, among them *Macbeth* (1916). In that year Ignacy Paderewski employed him as a secretary to work for the Polish National Committee. Noskowski was also secretary of the newspaper *Free Poland*, sponsored by the Polish National Alliance. In February 1918 he returned to Sydney and married on 4 March Beatrice Barnett (d.1960). Until 1919 he was a translator and interpreter for the Australian Military Forces censor. He taught French, history and geography in various high schools in Sydney (1920-26). From 1919 he had been music critic for the *Sydney Mail* and wrote for the *Sydney Morning Herald*, *Evening News*, *Art in Australia*, *Home*, *Shakespearean Quarterly* and *Musical Australia*. He also worked as a critic and an editor of *Australasian Phonograph Monthly* (1925-29). During 1927-33 he contributed columns on music to *Sydney Morning Herald*. It was during 1929-31 that he published his own monthly *Australian Phonograph News*. He also contributed to Chicago based *Musical Leader*. Between 1933 and 1945 he was honorary consul-general of the Republic of Poland in Australia, New Zealand and Western Samoa. Noskowski co-operated with A. E. Dalwood to establish the Polish-Australian Chamber of Commerce. Together they visited Poland in 1935 and attended Marshall Josef Pilsudski's funeral. During the World War II he organized the Polish Relief Fund, which raised £30,000. He also encouraged the Australian government to grant £10,000 to the Polish Red Cross. In 1942-45 he edited the monthly *Polish and Central European Review*. After the war he initiated musical programmes for the Australian Broadcasting Commission's radio and later became an examiner in French. In 1959 he prepared two text-books for senior high school French classes. In 1966 he began to write a 'History of opera in Australia' but unfortunately, the nearly completed draft disappeared in unknown circumstances. Noskowski died on 29 July 1969 after being struck by a car. L.K. Paszkowski, *Noskowski, Ladislaw Adam de (1892-1969)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol. 11, (MUP), 1988; Władysław Noskowski, *Dziennik z pierwszych tygodni w Australii. Rok 1911*, Edited by Bogumiła Żongołłowicz, Polsko-Australijskie Towarzystwo Kulturalne w Australii Zachodniej, Perth 2011.

Helen Evert
(*Melbourne*)

Polish Museum and Archives in Australia Inc. President's Reports 2010-2015

President's Report September 2010

The Committee of Management has been working consistently on a number of projects during the last year. These include:

- ❖ Organising and cataloguing the existing collection;
- ❖ Seeking funding for new projects; and
- ❖ Preparation and publication of the Polish Museum and Archives Year Book Vol IV.
- ❖ Working in collaboration with the Kresy Siberia Australia

Organising and cataloguing the collection:

The Committee of Management continues to organise a number of working bees at Millennium House sorting through the collection. This involves sorting through items, removing staples and placing them into acid free folders and then into boxes. A brief description is made of what is in each box. Recently the Museum acquired 100 boxes from SPK in Adelaide. Of the boxes transported to Melbourne, 12 boxes contain books and 88 boxes contain written materials pertaining to the organisation's activities. This donation was made by Mrs Krystyna Misiak.

Seeking funding

The Museum was successful in attaining a small grant from the Victorian Multicultural Commission of \$700 and \$1000 from the Stanislaw Blum Foundation; \$500 for organisational support and \$500 for the production of the Year Book.

Polish Museum and Archives Year Book

Preparation and publication of the Polish Museum and Archives Year Book Vol III has been completed and has been published. Plans are now underway to produce the next volume – Vol IV. Zdzislaw Derwinski is currently collecting and editing contributions to this volume.

Creating publicity and improve our profile

The Museum now has a website – web address: www.polishmuseumarchives.org.au
Many thanks to Lucyna Artymiuk and David Walsh for making this possible.

The Polish Museum and Archives was listed by the 'Ministerstwo Kultury I Dziedzictwa' - Ministry of Culture and National Heritage in their publication:

'Minister Kultury I Dziedzictwa wspolczesne ksiegozbiory polskie za granica'.

Working in collaboration with the Kresy Siberia Australia

The Museum is working together with Kresy Siberia Australia to conduct an oral history project to collect stories from survivors who were transported to Siberia and other parts of the former Soviet Union during the Second World War. We are working in partnership with Lucyna Artymiuk who is co-ordinating this project.

The Museum will also assist in the launch the Kresy-Siberia Virtual Museum in Melbourne sometime in November 2010. The Kresy-Siberia Virtual Museum can be found at <http://www.kresy-siberia.org>. The Virtual Museum aims to document, to commemorate, to educate and inform people about the experiences of Polish citizens forcibly removed from the homes and communities and exiled to various parts of the former Soviet Union during the Second World War.

Plans for 2011

- Increase the Museum's profile and membership
- Continue to collaborate with like minded organisations
- Hold a planning day to map out future directions
- Plan and deliver some short courses/lectures on specific topics following on the success of the workshop held in late 2007.
- Continue with preservation work, cataloguing and conducting an inventory
- Seek additional funding

Finally I would like to thanks the committee of management for all their good work and on behalf of the Committee of Management I would like to thank our membership for their interest and support.

Helena Evert
President

President's Report December 2011

The Committee of Management has been working consistently on a number of projects during the last year. These include:

- ❖ Organising and cataloguing the existing collection;
- ❖ Seeking funding for new projects; and
- ❖ Preparation and publication of the Polish Museum and Archives Year Book Vol IV.
- ❖ Working in collaboration with the Kresy Siberia Australia

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Polish Museum and Archives Year Book

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‘The Custodians of Community Memory’ workshop was held on the 18th of September in Richmond. Approximately 16 people attended. The Polish Consul General Mr Gromann opened the meeting. Lucyna Artymiuk as chief organizer welcomed everyone and set the agenda. The following people gave presentations:

Helen Evert - (President of Polish Museum and Archives) Polish community Archives and challenges with working with Polish community organisations

Wanda Horkey (President of Polish Historical) Polish oral history and challenges with working with Australian institutions

Stefan Wisniowski (President Kresy Siberia) Utilising the capacity of the internet and challenges of working with Polish govt. institutions. The meeting was moderated by Bernard Korbman – former director of Holocaust Centre who gave some useful reflections and insights.

The workshop highlighted the need for greater collaboration between organizations so we don't duplicate our efforts. The importance of reaching out to younger generations and instilling in them an interest and personal connection to Polish culture and history was highlighted. Ideas put forward in the workshop included making links with young academics who are studying librarianship / who are interested in creating and organising archival collections. Having access and helping to organise the collection could form part of an academic project. People who may be interested in a particular element of Polish community life could have access to the archives for their research. Linking up school children with older people who had gone through the war years to tell them about their experiences was also suggested as a way to keep memory alive and personally relevant.

Plans for 2012

- Celebrate 20 years – MAPA was formed in 1991 and registered as an organisation in 1992.
- Increase the Museum's profile and membership
- Continue to collaborate with like minded organisations
- Plan and deliver some short courses/lectures on specific topics following on the success of the workshop held in late 2007.
- Continue with preservation work, cataloguing and conducting an inventory

- Seek additional funding

Finally I would like to thank the committee of management for all their good work and on behalf of the Committee of Management I would like to thank our membership for their interest and support.

Helena Evert
President

President's Report September 2012

This year marks the 20th Anniversary of the Polish Museum and Archives as an incorporated body. The year has been filled with various activities and significant events. Following the signing of an agreement of cooperation between the Polish Museum and Archives and Kresy-Siberia, a number of significant projects have been realized – thanks to Lucyna Artymiuk.

The main event was the launch of the Kresy-Siberia Exhibition 'Fragments of Sibirak Memory' held on the 9th of September 2012 at Millenium House, Footscray. The launch was well attended with approximately 70-80 people present. Mr Chin Tan, the Chairperson of the Multicultural Commission was in attendance, Mr Andrew Elsbury MLC member for the western metropolitan region was there on behalf of the Hon. Nicholas Kotsiras MP Minister for Multicultural Affairs and Citizenship, as well as various dignitaries representing Polish organisations and other community groups.

The exhibition was housed in one of the two rooms occupied by MAPA and after considerable work by committee members, the room, the display cabinets and photographic display looked quite impressive. People present at the launch seemed to appreciate the display and photographs, many memories were shared and stories recounted over delicious 'paczki' and sandwiches.

The exhibition is open to the public every Sunday from 1-3pm so we'd like to warmly invite you to see the exhibition.

The exhibition program and promotional materials were designed by Izydor Marmur – special thanks to Izy for his time and effort in producing these materials and the great artwork for our banner and pamphlets.

The launch also gave us an opportunity to announce a new project entitled 'Our Heritage' which involves a series of lectures/ workshops targeting the second / third generations about issues to do with war-time experiences of the now elderly Polish migrants.

Other important events included the visit in August of dr. Ludwika Dziwoki (from Jan Dlugosz University of Czestochowa) and dr. Hanna Krajewska (Polish Archive Society) who inspected our archives as part of their tour of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands to investigate the state of Polish archives and preservation challenges. Dr. Zdzislaw Derwinski also met with Professor Wladyslaw Steniak and dr. Adam Baniecki from the State Archives of Poland in Sydney.

There is potential to collaborate with Polish institutions and receive an archivist from Poland who would greatly assist with the cataloguing process.

In August, we also had a visit from Helen Light and Renata Singer regarding support for the activities of MAPA from Museums Victoria – support included a free seminar about cataloguing systems.

Congratulations are extended to dr. Zdzislaw Derwinski, who launched his book entitled ‘ W okowach Wielkiej Trojki’ based on his PhD work. The launch was held in Rowville in July and was also well attended and will be promoted in Sydney in October.

Other ongoing activities included:

- Organising and cataloguing the existing collection;
- Seeking funding for new projects; and
- Preparation and publication of the Polish Museum and Archives Year Book Vol V.

Plans for 2013

- Increase the Museum's profile and membership
- Produce a newsletter & more information on the website
- Ongoing collaboration with other like-minded organisations
- Plan and deliver some short courses/lectures on specific topic held in late 2012 and into 2013.
- Ongoing commitment to host different exhibitions
- Continue with preservation work, cataloguing and conducting an inventory
- Seek additional funding

Finally I would like to thank the committee of management for all their good work and on behalf of the Committee of Management I would like to thank our membership for their interest and support.

Helena Evert
President

President's Report November 2013

Welcome firstly to our new members – it is always heartening for a small organization such as ours to receive new memberships and this last year we have received at least 12 new members.

Workshops

The workshops held this last year have to a large part contributed to the rise in membership as we have reached out to second generation and have tried to tap into their growing interest in discovering their Polish roots. We received \$500 for the workshops from the Blum Foundation. Thanks to Lucyna Artymiuk for initiating the workshops and organizing the speakers and for committee members Ania Zamecznik and Maria Peszek for their assistance in the smooth running of the workshops on the day.

The three workshops held this year at Millennium House were:

1. *The Forgotten Exiles* held on the 2nd of February 2013. Guest speakers included our own Marzenna Piskozub, Zdzisława Wasylkowska, Roman Zylinski and Anuradha Bhattacharjee, who had recently published a book about Polish refugees in India, from India via skype. There were seventeen participants.
2. *The basics in researching Polish family history* held on the 25th of May 2013 with Cecil Wendt Jenson, Director of the Polonica Americana Research Institute as the guest speaker via skype. There were approximately eight participants.
3. *Family History - the art of story* held on the 26th of October 2013 run by the renowned Arnold Zable with seven participants.

We have also received more inquiries via email and telephone from people wanting information on how to find out more about their parents and grandparents.

Visit from Poland

On the 5th of October 2013, Pawel Pietrzyk archivist from the State Archives in Lodz (Archiwum Państwowego w Lodzi) visited and assessed the museum's collection over a period of 10 days. During this time he gave a very favorable appraisal of the work done thus far and recommended further work with the promise of another archivist coming from Poland for a longer period of time to continue the work of sorting and cataloguing the collection.

At a local level, Ania Zamecznik attended the Victorian Collections Cataloguing Workshop run by Museums Victoria held on the 24th June 2013.

Community engagement

On the 10th of August 2013, a small group of about 10 students from the Albion Polish Saturday School aged 15-17 together with some of their parents came to see the Siberian exhibition and hear a first hand account from Sofia Skarbek (president of the Sybiracy association) tell of her family's harrowing ordeal in being exiled to Siberia and their struggle for survival. The students were very much engaged and asked lots of questions regarding the exhibition and the story they had heard.

More recently, MAPA in-conjunction with Kresy-Siberia had a stall at the Polish festival at Federation Square on Sunday 17 November 2013. Lucyna was very busy answering a variety of questions from many people and Zdzisław was explaining the intricacies of the events depicted the January Uprising of 1863 in the exhibition prepared by the Archiwum Główny Akt Dawnych (AGAD) i Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych (NDAP) Poland.

I want to acknowledge that our industrious committee member Lucyna Artymiuk was awarded the Henryk Sławik Award for her outstanding contribution to Polish-Jewish relations awarded by the Australian Society of Polish Jews & their Descendants at the Annual General Meeting & Ceremony last November 2013

Plans for 2014

- Continue to increase the Museum's profile and membership
- Produce a newsletter & more information on the website

- Ongoing collaboration with other like-minded organisations
- Continue with preservation work, cataloguing and conducting an inventory
- Seek additional funding. This last year we received \$1200 from Blum Foundation.
- Mark significant historical anniversaries such as the 70th anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising

Finally I would like to thank the committee of management for all their good work and on behalf of the Committee of Management I would like to thank our membership for their interest and support.

Helena Evert
President

President's Report November 2014

This year has been characterised by an increase in the Polish Museum & Archive's presence and profile both in the community and online.

Pilecki Project

The year began with our involvement in the Commemoration of the life of Captain Witold Pilecki – the only volunteer to enter into Auschwitz as part of resistance activities of the Home Army. His mission was to assess the situation faced by prisoners and to organise small cells of resistance with the bold view of over taking the camp. The commemoration of this truly amazing and brave individual took place at the Holocaust Museum on the 16th of February 2014. Mr Pawel Milewski, the Ambassador of Poland and Mr Shmuel Ben-Shmuel, the Ambassador of Israel officiated and I was given the opportunity to give the keynote address about Witold Pilecki's extraordinary life and heroic endeavours followed by Mr Zbigniew Leman's vivid account of fighting in the Warsaw Uprising, as Witold Pilecki was also a resistance fighter during the Uprising.

The main focus of this event was the presentation of documents relating to 'Report W' writing by Pilecki about his observations of the conditions in Auschwitz and documenting the resistance activities within the camp during the years 1942-43. The event was organised by the Pilecki Project Committee in conjunction with the Jewish Holocaust Centre. The event was very well attended and received coverage in both Jewish and Polish press.

Exhibition marking the 70th Anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising.

As a bookend, the end of this year has been marked with the very successful exhibition of the 70th Anniversary of The Warsaw Uprising staged at Federation Square on the 16th of November as part of the Polish Festival. Many hundreds of people filed through the exhibition space, drawn by the dramatic aerial photographs of the near total destruction of Warsaw during 1944 at the hands of the Nazi in retaliation for populace daring to oppose and rising against their brutal oppressors. The team organising the exhibition was led by Krystyna Duszniak who co-ordinated the production of each panel, who worked tirelessly into the night in collaboration with the graphic designer Sandeep Donde from ArtCulturZ, India. Zdzislaw skilfully constructed the frames to hold the exhibition together. Particularly poignant were the personal accounts of individuals alive and deceased, who had taken part in the Uprising either as an officer, insurgent, scout, civilian, or liaison woman. The personal accounts detailed vividly the danger inherent in their personal involvement in the uprising. The exhibition was

supported through a grant obtained from the Multicultural Commission and from the Eugeniusz and Nela Kaluzynski Memorial Fund.

Facebook

Our online presence has increased dramatically due to the great work of Lucyna Artymiuk who has set up a face book page for MAPA – so please become our friend and you will see interesting facts about Polish migration history, terrific photos and useful links to archives and repositories.

Writers Group

The Polish writers group co-ordinated by Lucyna is still going strong, meeting monthly and producing literary works, including Lucyna's biography of her father's life which may be ready for publication next year.

Grants

This year, we were successful in obtaining \$1000 from the Victorian Multicultural Commission. We have also applied to Blum foundation for organisational support and special project – to produce the next volume of the Year Book. Zdzislaw has set up a memorial fund in the name of Eugeniusz and Nela Kaluzynski which is bringing in a modest but steady income. There is also a memorial fund in the name of Nela Boratyn.

Plans for 2015

- Produce an annual newsletter & update information on the website
- Ongoing collaboration with other like-minded organisations
- Ongoing commitment to host different exhibitions
- Continue with preservation work, cataloguing and conducting an inventory
- Concerted effort to increase fundraising activities
- Increase membership and membership involvement

Finally I would like to thank the committee of management for their continuous work and commitment. On behalf of the Committee of Management, I would like to thank our membership for their interest and support, in particular to warmly welcome new members.

Helena Evert
President

President's report October 2015

This year was marked by consolidation. The staging of the exhibition marking the 70th Anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising at Federation Square mid November 2014 was a great success. Hundreds of people saw the exhibition among them the survivors of the Warsaw Uprising who took part in those heroic actions. Their stories formed a central part of the exhibition and many viewers were moved by their accounts.

Current Plans 2015:

Exhibition

This year we hope to stage the next exhibition, this time about Stanislaw de Tarczynski entitled "Mazurka under the Southern Cross" at Federation Square and PolArt.

Stanislaw Victor de Tarczynski (1882-1952), violinist, was born on 7 April 1882 in Warsaw. Misfortune struck him when one finger of his left hand became paralysed just as he was embarking on an international career. As part of his recovery he travelled to Egypt and then Australia in 1912. The First World War interrupted his return to Europe and he remained in Australia. Although Tarczynski's fingers never regained their previous flexibility, his achievements in Australia were remarkable. His composition Mazourka Melancolique was published in 1915 and he edited Kayser Studies for Violin, opus 20. In 1922-36 he taught at the Melbourne University Conservatorium of Music and at the Albert Street Conservatorium. Tarczynski became the leader of the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra and virtually permanent leader of all touring opera companies in Australia and New Zealand.

With approaching PolArt 2015, we thought it a fitting time to pay tribute to this very talented but less well known Polish musician, teacher and composer who traversed Australian and Polish artistic circles.

Workshops:

Workshop 'Discovering your Polish heritage' – unearth your Polish family history and discover how you can become a citizen of Europe. This workshop will be delivered as part of the activities during PolArt 2015.

The aims of the workshop are to provide:

- Practical research / genealogical skills & techniques in tracing Polish family history
- How to preserve family artefacts – old family photos, audio/visual materials from the pre digital age.
- Understanding the historical, political and psychological context of two distinct waves (Post WWII and Solidarity) of Polish migration to Australia and how these impact the individual.
- Information about how to apply for Polish citizenship and passport.

Writers Group:

This group of dedicated writers continues to meet monthly. Significant output has been achieved with Lucyna having produced an advanced draft of her book about her father's life – hope to see this published soon.

Grants:

Applications were made to the Victorian Multicultural Commission for the de Tarczynski Exhibition (unsuccessful) and the Polish Embassy for project titled 'Zolnierza emigranta' (pending).

We were successful in receiving \$750 from Blum Foundation for operational expenses and special project \$1000 the sixth volume of the MAPA Year Book.

Eugeniusz & Nela Kaluzynski memorial fund has also brought in a modest but steady income (approx. \$660).

Finally I would like to thank the committee of management for all their good work and on behalf of the Committee of Management I would like to thank our membership for their interest and support.

Plans for 2015/16

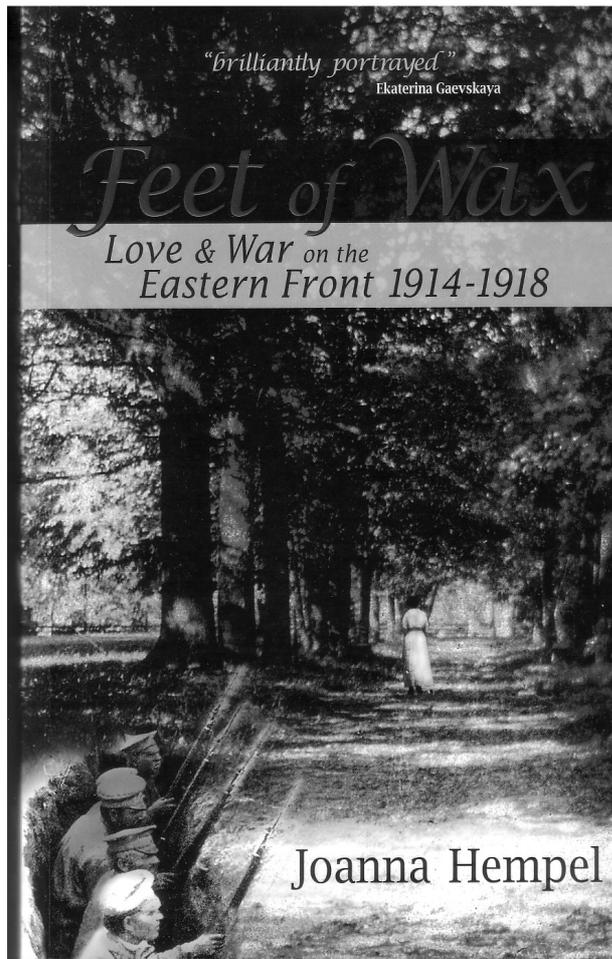
- Continue to increase the Museum's profile and membership
- Produce a newsletter & update information on our website
- Manage our facebook page
- Ongoing collaboration with other like-minded organisations

- Continue with preservation work, cataloguing and conducting an inventory
- Developing a collections strategy and policy
- Seek additional funding.
- Prepare and publish the sixth edition of the Polish Museum and Archives Year Book

Helen Evert
President

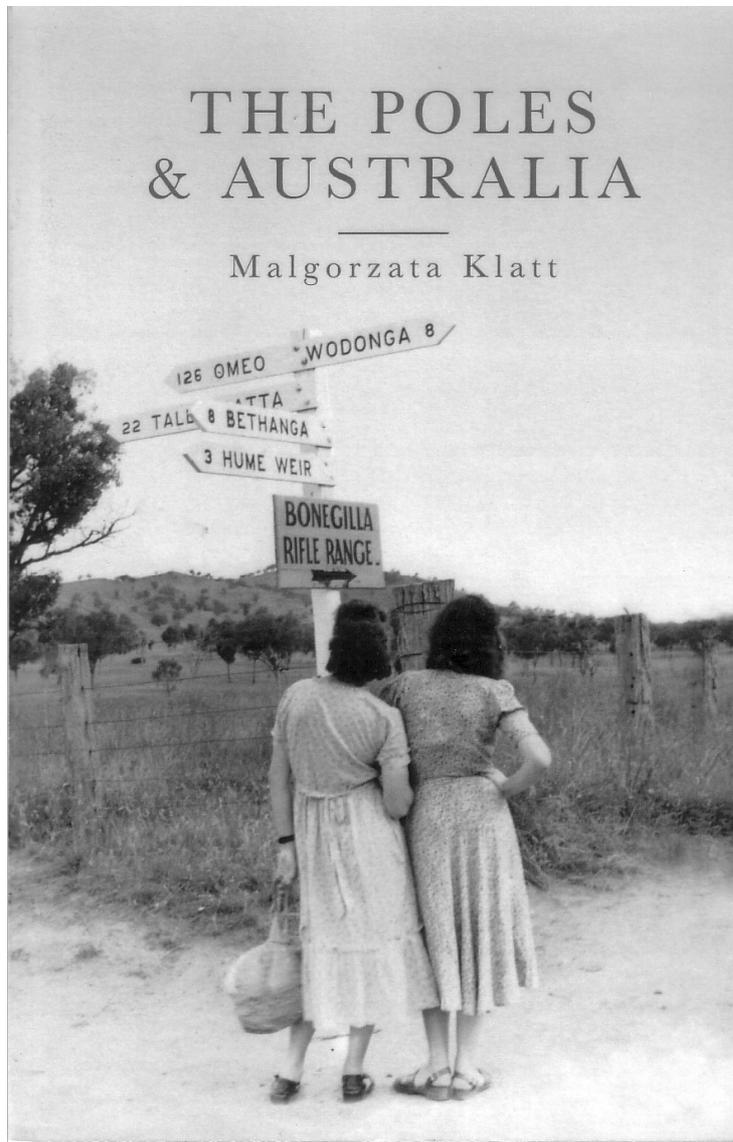
Prezentacje książek

Joanna Hempel, *Feet of Wax. Love & War on the Eastern Front 1914-1918*,
Orvid Publishing, Sydney-Warsaw 2014, pp.472. ISBN 978-0-9925921-0-3



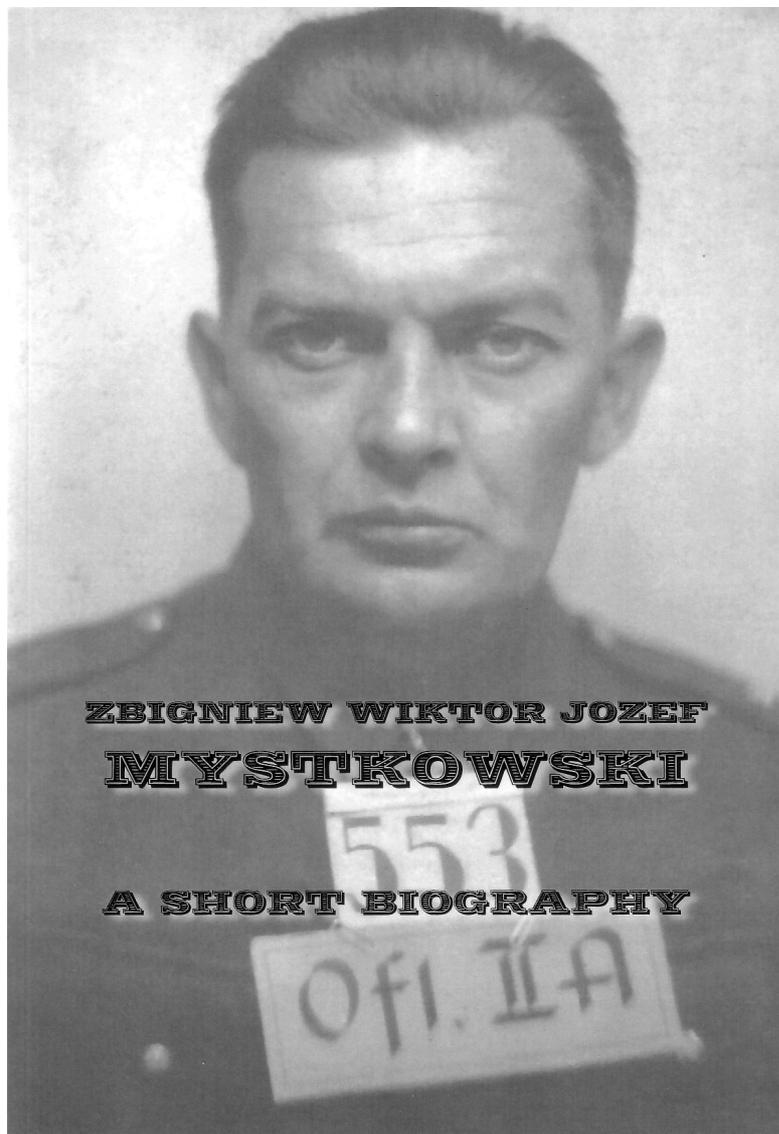
Inspired by true events, its action moving from the idyllic countryside of Lithuania to St Petersburg, Warsaw, Berlin and New York, *Feet of Wax* depicts the separation and trials of two young people and their families during World War 1. Entrusted with the care of her frail father and taking refuge with a wealthy uncle in St Petersburg, Wanda falls in love with George, a radical student from Warsaw. Conscripted into the tsarist infantry, George is caught up in revolutionary currents at the front, while Wanda witnesses a city turning from fashionable glitter to peaceful protest, then revolution, as the effects of war and hunger set in. When the German front advances through Polish and Lithuanian lands, Russia's Empire is in meltdown. Lenin, the leader of the Bolsheviks, and Pilsudski, the leader of the Poles, are poised to make their mark on history. Wanda and George are forced to decide: become Bolsheviks, or flee through a landscape ravaged by war. Joanna Hempel - formerly one of Australia's leading playwrights for young people - brings her skills as a dramatist to *Feet of Wax*, a novel informed by family journals. Based on her grandparents' lives during the disintegration of the Russian Empire and the re-birth of Poland, it reveals Eastern Europe as it changes forever.

Malgorzata Klatt, *The Poles & Australia, A Partnership of Values*, Australian Scholarly Publishing, North Melbourne 2015, pp. 130; ISBN: 9781925003826



Polish contact with Australia may be traced back to 1696 ... but it was in the 20th century that Australia and Poland became truly connected as waves of Polish migrants settled and political exchanges steadily developed. Important turns in Polish politics have helped shape a relationship that is based on mutual admiration, respect for democracy and human rights, and the promotion of peaceful cooperation on the international stage. The first chapter brings to light unknown or forgotten details relating to an important period in Polish and Australian diplomacy when in 1943 the Australian Legation in the Soviet Union took over the representation of Polish interests. In the second chapter author dedicated to the 'Solidarity Decade' and its effects on Australia. The third chapter relied predominantly on a review of current policies and international cooperation between Poland and Australia. The author is a lecturer in the Melbourne Graduate School of Education at the University of Melbourne.

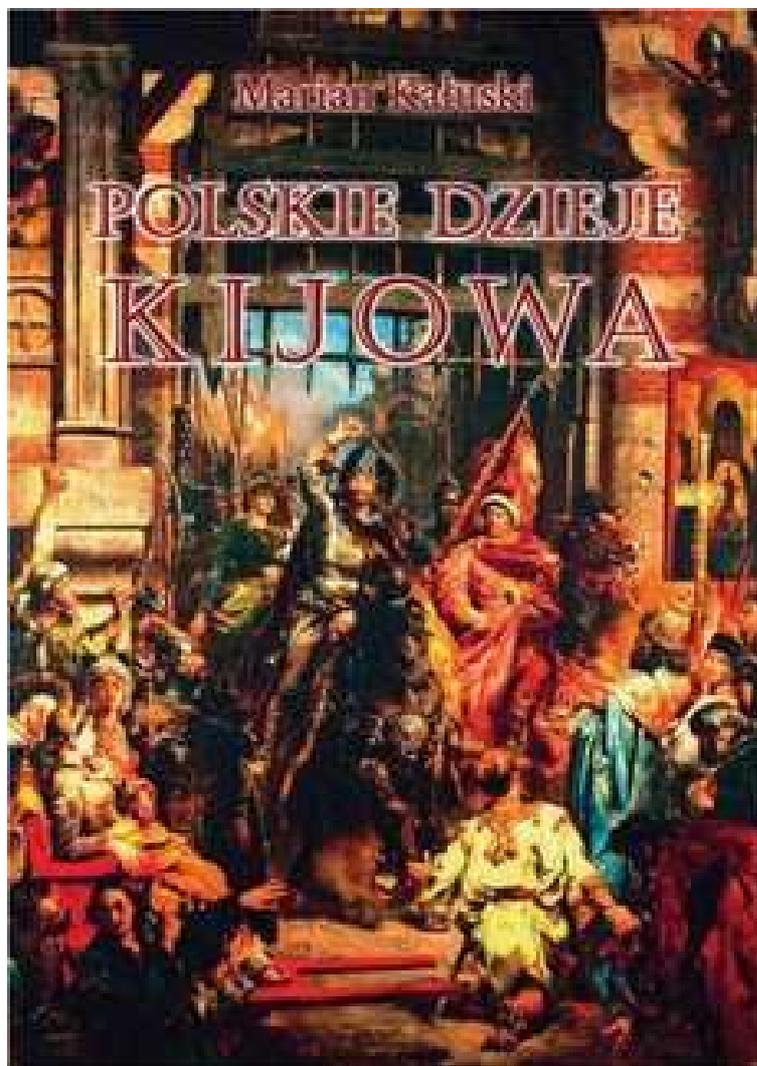
Stefan Mystkowski, *Zbigniew Wiktor Józef Mystkowski. A Short Biography*, Stefan Mystkowski, Melbourne 2014, pp. 164.



Stefan Mystkowski zebrał niezwykle interesujący materiał (nie tylko ze biorów rodzinnych, ale również z innych źródeł na terenie Polski, Niemiec, Wielkiej Brytanii, Szwajcarii), w oparciu o który napisał biografię swojego ojca Zbigniewa W. Mystkowskiego (1907-1974), dziennikarza i m.in. redaktora „Gońca Warszawskiego”, „Spadochronu” (Bramsche, Niemcy), „Głosu Polskiego” w Melbourne. Książka zawiera ponadto historię rodziny Mystkowskich i rodzin z nimi spokrewnionych bądź spowinowanconych (m.in. Schellenbergów). Publikacja jest też bardzo bogato ilustrowana. Posiada liczne załączniki (15), a wśród nich reprodukcje oryginalnych wydań zbiorów poetyckich Zbigniewa W. Mystkowskiego, które zostały wydrukowane w obozach jenieckich w Niemczech w czasie II wojny światowej: *Zhudy i nastroje* oraz *Godziny czekania* (uzupełnione o tłumaczenie Marcela Weylanda na język angielski) z rycinami Wacława Bulzackiego.

Stefan Mystkowski, urodzony w 1948 r. w Niemczech, przybył do Australii wraz z rodzicami w 1949 r. na pokładzie USAT General W.C. Langfitt, związany był przez lata z przemysłem poligraficznym w Melbourne.

Marian Kałuski, *Polskie dzieje Kijowa*, Oficyna Wydawnicza Kucharski, Toruń 2015, s. 234;
ISBN: 978-83-64232-07-7



W historiografii rosyjskiej i ukraińskiej w ogóle nie istnieje polska historia Kijowa. Tymczasem stolica Ukrainy ma bogatą polską historię, co powinno być uznane przez Ukraińców za fakt historyczny nie podlegający dyskusji, a tym bardziej przekreślanii. Bez polskiej historii Kijowa nie ma pełnej i prawdziwej historii tego miasta. Podkreślanie wielokulturowości Kijowa powinno leżeć w ukraińskim interesie narodowym. Zaakcentowanie wieloetnicznego charakteru miasta, szczególnie w przeszłości, do którego posiadania Polska nie rości pretensji, to przeciwstawianie się agresywnej i szowinistycznej propagandzie rosyjskiej, że Kijów w swych dziejach to miasto z „krwi i kości” rosyjskie, że to „matka miast rosyjskich”, a Rosjanie mają prawo do jego posiadania. Historia Polaków w Kijowie i wspólna ukraińsko-polska historia tego miasta, była zazwyczaj harmonijna i ten fakt nie powinien dzielić obu narodów, a raczej zachęcać je do budowania czy pogłębiania przyjaźni.

Autor jest dziennikarzem, pisarzem i historykiem, w 1974-77 był redaktorem „Tygodnika Polskiego” w Melbourne. Opublikował m.in. *Jan Paweł II. Pierwszy Polak papieżem* (Australia 1979, USA 1980), *The Poles in Australia* (1985), *Litwa. 600-lecie chrześcijaństwa 1387-1987* (1987), *Polacy w Chinach* (2001), *Polska-Chiny 1246-1996* (2004), *Polskie dzieje Gdańska* (2004), *Polacy w Nowej Zelandii* (2006), *Śladami Polaków po świecie* (2007), *Polonia katolicka w Australii* (2010).

Zdzisław Andrzej Derwiński, *W okowach Wielkiej Trójki. Polityka zagraniczna Rządu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej na obczyźnie pod kierownictwem Stanisława Mikołajczyka (14 lipca 1943 – 28 listopada 1944)*, Wydawnictwo NapoleonV, Oświęcim 2015, s.762



Autor podjął próbę przedstawienia polityki zagranicznej rządu Stanisława Mikołajczyka (jej założeń i realizacji). Okres, w którym działał ten rząd, był dla dziejów Polski przełomowy. Wówczas miały miejsce bardzo ważne wydarzenia polityczne i militarne (m.in. konferencja teherańska, kolejne wkroczenie wojsk sowieckich na terytorium Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, powstanie warszawskie), które w znacznej mierze zadecydowały o powojennym losie Polski. Pierwsze wydanie pracy Zdzisława Derwińskiego ukazało się w Melbourne w 2012 r. Obecne wydanie zostało poprawione i uzupełnione. Ponadto zawiera liczne ilustracje i dwie mapy dotyczące granicy wschodniej Polski i planów jej powojennej granicy na zachodzie.

Autor jest absolwentem Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, w latach 1998-2002 był redaktorem „Tygodnika Polskiego” w Melbourne, obecnie pełni funkcję wiceprezesa Muzeum i Archiwum Polonii Australijskiej.

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