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## Polish books production in exile in the years 1939-1950: statistical and geographical perspectives

### Abstract

The subject of this article is an overview of Polish publishing in the exile during the World War II and first post-war years. The literary activity was mostly linked to the cultural tradition of the Second Polish Republic. The author describes this phenomenon quantitatively and presents the number of books published in the respective years. He also tries to explain which external factors, not only political and military, but also financial and organizational, affected publications of Polish books around the world. The subject of the debate is also geography of the Polish publishing. It is connected with a long term migration of different groups of people living in exile. The author not only points out the areas where Polish editorial activity was just temporary, but also the areas where it was long-lasting. The book output was a great assistance to Polish people living in diasporas, as well as to readers living in Poland. The following text is an excerpt of the book which is currently being prepared by the author. The book is devoted to the history of Polish publishing in exile.

**Key words:** World War II – Polish emigrants – Polish books in exile 1939-1950 – Number of titles – Geography of production.

„Z Badań nad Książką i Księgozbiorami Historycznymi” – Udział zagranicznych recenzentów w ocenie publikacji; Stworzenie anglojęzycznej wersji wydawniczej publikacji; Digitalizacja tomów archiwalnych rocznika w celu zapewnienia otwartego dostępu do nich przez Internet oraz wdrożenie i utrzymanie cyfrowej platformy redakcyjnej – zadanie finansowane w ramach umowy nr 653/P-DUN/2019 ze środków Ministra Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego przeznaczonych na działalność upowszechniającą naukę.

## Introduction

The article is a part of an extensive research project concerning history of Polish book abroad during the World War II and first post-war years. Its range regards book production of that time in the whole Polish diaspora, its dimensions and geography, typology of publishers, ways and methods of distribution. Cultural sponsorship in exile, in particular support for selected editorial initiatives of public institutions, social organisations (Polish and international), religious organisations and other entities are also discussed. The inquiry considers readers' needs and choices, often written down in different documents and recollections.

The article presents fragment of the study. It indicates important phenomena related to amount and geography of publishing. A few topics mentioned here will be explained in detail in further publications, therefore this text should be interpreted as a declaration of larger, synthetic elaboration concerning history of Polish culture and book publication in this extremely difficult, dramatic period in particular.

## Quantitative results

What was the amount of Polish books in exile production during the World War II and first post-war years? How much was it related to cultural patronage of Polish and foreign institutions active in different parts of the world? What was a dependence between book production and political or military events, deciding for the hundreds of thousands people outside their homeland?

Quantitative data for publishing are presented in Table 1 – *Polish book production abroad in the years 1939-1050*. As it shows, during this period more than 10 000 titles were published outside the 2<sup>nd</sup> Republic of Poland, by Polish of foreign institutions, addressing their printings to the Poles living in exile. However, this amount should be corrected and decreased by 122 titles of books published after the war in Czechoslovakia, USSR, Romania, and addressed to the Polish minorities living permanently in these countries. After such a slight correction a large amount of 9964 positions remains, addressed in this period to war emigration and older economic emigration.

Table 1 illustrates also dynamic development of the whole production. The number of 106 titles published at the end of 1939 indicates initiatives undertaken after the September collapse. Short informational political texts were most often produced in that time. Within the year 1940 more than 430 books were published already, of different topics and volume. As proved by next statistical data, number of publications increased quickly within next years, e.g. in 1944 1378 books in total were published in the Polish diaspora.

Polish book production in exile reached its apogee in 1945 (1534 titles published) and in 1946 (1513 titles). If the publishing output of the year 1940 is taken as 100, in the year 1945 it amounted to 353,4, and in 1946 to 348,6. These indicators are tripled in regard of the results of the year 1940, i.e. at the beginning of the war.

However, after 1946 equally rapid decrease was observed of this production: from 807 titles in 1947 (indicator 187,9) to 264 titles in 1949 (indicator 60,8). From that time a relative stabilisation of Polish books production in exile is observed, lasting for several decades. However, this issue goes beyond chronological limits of this article.

What important historical phenomena were related to the figures presented above, to a dynamic increase and decrease of book production within discussed period?

Many different reasons could be mentioned here, however it is worth emphasising one factor of particular importance. This is the phenomenon of patronage, funding publishing undertakings. Book production had been developing mostly thanks to organisational and financial support of the Polish government in exile, as well as civil and military institutions. Some forms of patronage over culture and education continued initiatives started in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Republic of Poland. Book production was also favoured by some allied and international institutions, supporting war refugees of different nationalities. Besides obstacles resulting from military operations, the above mentioned book production, supported in number of ways, answered to a large extent needs of thousands of people, who voluntarily or forced, left their countries. As mentioned above, the production discussed reached the highest values in the years 1945 and 1946. Such significant international events like e.g. the Yalta conference in February 1945, withdrawal of diplomatic recognition of Western powers for the Polish Government in London at the beginning of July 1945, or the Potsdam conference in July and beginning of August 1945 did not limited values of book publishing immediately. Decisive role in this range was played by cultural patronage of the Polish Armed Forces, still stationing in a few countries. Thanks to material and organisational support of the army dailies, journals and books were published, including also educational, scientific, religious and literary titles.

Obviously, lack of further allied donations for the Polish Government in London was an adverse factor. However, a few civil institutions used their previous organisational and material potential to continue publishing activity. Therefore, in some cases it was possible to continue publishing projects. For example the Interim Treasury Committee for Polish Questions – Educational Branch (a Polish – British company) continued in Great Britain and Palestine, in the second half of 1945, publishing plans of the Polish Ministry for Religious

Affairs and Public Education, in particular its Delegation in Jerusalem. These activities in Palestine were strongly supported by the military units at the Middle East – regional formations of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Polish Corp.

Thanks to that circumstances, besides tragic for Poland international decision, book production of the emigration in the second half of 1945 and in the year 1946 still had been reaching high amounts, clearly higher than production of previous years.

Only demobilisation of the Polish Armed Forces in the second half of 1946 and in 1947 affected adversely the volume of publishing activity. Editorial initiatives of the Polish Resettlement Corp, established in Great Britain, were very limited in regard of volume and content, therefore they could not replace universal patronage of the Polish Armed Forces. Number of published dailies, journals and books decreased fast. It is proved by figures in Table 1. Book production in 1947 was clearly lower than in a pick period, and in 1948 it stayed on a level close to the results reached at the beginning of the war. Results in the year 1949 were lower, they could be perceived as a forecast of approaching decline of Polish book publication in exile. This adverse process was impeded in 1950 and at the beginning of the 50s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was related to progressive reorganisation of publishing centres abroad and searching for funding sources available in that time. In the second half of the 40s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century also new Polish cultural institutions in exile had been established, dealing with books publication as well.

Cultural patronage, although significant, does not fully explain the phenomena presented above. One should consider other important social circumstances, like e.g. further mass post-war migration, people moving to different countries and world's parts in the second half of the 40s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Many of them returned to Poland. These migrations were accompanied by progressing decline of previous organisational relations, and development of new ones sometimes. It is worth noting that publishing undertakings of older Polish economic emigration were continued in this period, mostly in the United States of America, Canada, Brazil and Argentine. They were mostly independent from refugee migrations. It will also be subject of further analyses.

### Geography of publishing

How did geography of Polish book production in diaspora after the World War II and first post-war years, until 1950 look like? This is presented in Table 2 – *Production of Polish books in exile in the years 1939-1950, by countries, in decreasing order*. These geographical and statistical information allow for several conclusions.

The map of book production in the studied period (since the 4<sup>th</sup> quarter of 1939 until 1950) includes 48 countries from 5 parts of the world. However, Polish book production focused mostly in 10 countries. The largest share in general output belonged to Polish institutions in Great Britain (39,6%), United States (12,4%), Germany (8,9%) and Palestine (8,8%). Next in the ranking are: Italy (6,9%), France (5,3%), Switzerland (4,6%), USSR (2,9%), Hungary (2,3%) and India (1,2%). More than 100 titles of Polish books were published in the analysed period in each of these countries, obviously most of them in Great Britain (3950), United States (1238), Germany (893), Palestine (875) and Italy (691). 9293 in total are attributed to these ten countries, i.e. 93,2% of general output. Printing production in other countries amounts in total to 439 titles, i.e. 6,8% of general output. Country of publication was not settled for 38 books.

The picture sketched on the basis of the above calculations is only statistical. It does not include the course of dramatic events accompanying many publishing undertakings. Localisation of a few refugee communities had been changing during the war, from month to month, from week to week, or even in some specific circumstances (with no exaggeration) even from day to day or from hour to hour. Many activities were undertaken in the face of grave dangers threatening its organisers. Therefore numerical settlements should be closely related to adequate social context, history of hundreds of thousands of people wandering through different countries during the war and first post-war years. There were soldiers who left their homeland to continue fight for its independence among them. There were also civil refugees, war prisoners, forced workers, prisoners and deportees. A brief description of main directions of these wanders will complement the map sketched above. It will also facilitate better presentation of circumstances and contexts of publishing activity.

The first route of this mass migration was developed quite early, in the second decade of September 1939. It led from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Polish Republic territory, via Carpathian mountain passes to Transcarpathian Ruthenia, belonging to Hungary that time, and via bridges on Dniester, Prut and Cheremosh to Romania. According to different estimations, from 150 to 200 thousand of people were migrating this route in September and the 4<sup>th</sup> quarter of 1939 – soldiers and civils. For a small part of these refugees both these countries became place of longer stay. Most of them, however, left them at the end of 1939 and at the beginning of 1940, to get to France. It is there where the new Government of the Republic in Poland was established in the 3<sup>rd</sup> decade of September 1939, state institutions in exile were developed, the Polish Armed Forces organised. For the refugees going this route France was the destination country. Its military collapse in May and June 1940, capitulation and occupation – a part of

its territory so far – by German army caused that the aforementioned route elongated and complicated. Part of the wanderers left in France, in particular at the territory administered by the collaborationist government in Vichy, and until 1942 not occupied by the 3<sup>rd</sup> Reich Army. A significant number of the Poles, mostly soldiers, politicians, people related to state institutions in exile, managed to evacuate to Great Britain via Atlantic ports of Middle and Southern France, sometimes also Spain and Portugal. Therefore Great Britain became a long-term, even lifelong shelter for a large part of the refugees<sup>1</sup>.

However, this route had two junctions. At the beginning of 1940, on the order of the High Command of the Polish Armed Forces and in agreement with French authorities, approximately 5000-6000 of volunteers came to the Middle East. These were soldiers interned before in Hungary and Romania, and people coming directly from Poland or other countries. After reaching Lebanon, the volunteers reported to the Polish military unit, being established at the beginning in Homs, Syria. It was named the Polish Independent Carpathian Rifle Brigade. After France capitulation in June 1940 this unit transferred from Syria to Palestine. As the Polish Independent Carpathian Rifle Brigade it participated in the years 1941-1942 in fights at the North African line, in Libya and Western Egypt.

Following the soldiers, small groups of Polish civils were travelling to Middle East. Their way went usually from Romania or Hungary, via Turkish or Greek ports and the Mediterranean Sea, to Palestine. Approximately 500 refugees stoped for several months in Cyprus. Facing German threaten for this island (in particular wthey they captured Crete) also this community landed in 1941 at the Palestinian coast<sup>2</sup>.

Another junction of this route emerged just from day to day, almost from hour to hour, in the second half of June 1940. Facing capitulation of France, Polish 2<sup>nd</sup> Rifle Division (approximately 12 000 soldiers) broke through German troops trying to surround them, and went to Switzerland, where they surrendered their weapon and were interned in different camps within the country. Following them, remains of the Polish 1<sup>st</sup> Grenadier Division reached Switzerland through Vosges, fighting earlier in Lorraine. Also small groups of civils arrived. Most of these people stayed in Switzerland until the war ended. They created a community isolated from other refugee centres,

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<sup>1</sup> See: C. Łuczak, *Przemieszczenia ludności z Polski podczas drugiej wojny światowej*, [in:] *Emigracja z ziem polskich w czasach nowożytnych i najnowszych (XVIII-XX w.)*, ed. by A. Pilch, Warszawa 1984, pp. 451-453, 481-482.

<sup>2</sup> J. Bielatowicz, *Brygada Karpacka*, Rzym 1947; *Samodzielna Brygada Strzelców Karpackich w dziesięciolecie jej powstania. Zbiorowa praca historyczna i literacka żołnierzy S. B. S. K.*, London 1951; W.M. Drzewieniecki, *Samodzielna Brygada Strzelców Karpackich i 3 Dywizja Strzelców Karpackich w literaturze i prasie. Bibliografia*, Buffalo-New York 1983.

but also distinctive with good organisation, educational, scientific and publishing activities<sup>3</sup>.

Another refuge route was established in the result of mass Soviet repressions against inhabitants of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Polish Republic during occupation of its eastern territories by the USSR, since the end of September 1939 to the 3<sup>rd</sup> decade of June 1941. This route was marked by columns of Polish war prisoners herded to the east after September 17<sup>th</sup>, 1939, and transports of prisoners moved into the Bolshevik empire. Thousands of families deported from eastern territories of the Republic of Poland to Siberia, Kazakhstan or to other parts of this broad country were travelling these ways. This route was signed with numerous places of execution of thousands of Polish inhabitants – soldiers and civils. It led to gulags and places of relegation, where many people died of hunger, cold, illnesses or general exhaustion.

Number of Polish citizens victimized that time has been a topic of discussions and controversies until nowadays. Previous calculations give different results: from approximately 475 thousand of people according to the newest settlements, to 1,5 million as in earlier estimations of both emigration and country authors<sup>4</sup>.

Number of the Poles and Polish citizens of other nationalities who left territory of the USSR in spring and summer 1942, in the course of the Polish Army evacuation to Iran, under the command of gen. Władysław Anders can be determined more precisely. More than 114 thousand of Polish citizens reached Middle East that time, including approximately 76 thousand of soldiers and 40 thousand of civil refugees. They should be completed with small groups of civils, who in the following months of 1942 and in 1943 (until November) entered from the USSR to Iran (approx. 4800 people). Concluding, evacuation from the USSR to the Middle East included approximately 119 000 citizens of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Republic of Poland<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> A. Vetulani, *Poza płomieniami wojny. Internowani w Szwajcarii 1940-1945*, Warszawa 1976, pp. 20-21. As the author states, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Rifle Division, after effective repel of German attacks, together with the remains of the 45<sup>th</sup> Corp of the French Army, crossed the French-Swiss border and was disbanded mostly in the night 19-20 of June, 1940.

<sup>4</sup> See e.g. S. Ciesielski, W. Materski, A. Paczkowski, *Represje sowieckie wobec Polaków i obywateli polskich*, Warszawa 2002, p. 33 (a summary). The authors, referring to the NKVD transport documentation and other sources state that in the years 1939-1941 Soviet authorities repressed 475 387 of the Polish citizens – soldiers and civils. They included into calculations Polish prisoners shot in Katyn, Kharkiv and Tver. According to other authors' estimations, these figures were much higher. General W. Anders and a few officers from the Polish Army in the USSR Headquarters (later the Polish Army in the East) estimated that victimised were 1,5 to 1,6 million of the Polish citizens (see: W. Anders, *Bez ostatniego rozdziału. Wspomnienia z lat 1939-1946*, Bydgoszcz 1989, p. 76). Other emigration and country authors stated later that number of repressed Polish citizens, together with those called in that time to the Red Army, amounted to approximately 1,2 million. See e.g. C. Łuczak, op. cit., pp. 451-483.

<sup>5</sup> J. Draus, *Oświata i nauka polska na Bliskim i Środkowym Wschodzie 1939-1950*, Lublin

However, Iran was only a transit country for the most of them. Previous eastern rout of emigration divided in several directions. The army, amounting to more than 70 000 of soldiers, only in September 1942 moved to Iraq, where they were active as the Polish Army in the East. It included the above mentioned the Independent Carpathian Rifle Brigade. In summer 1943 the Polish Army in the East, on the order of the Western Allies, moved from Iraq to Palestine and Egypt. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Polish Corp divided from it departed at the turnover of 1943 and 1944 to the Italian front.

Following the soldiers, in 1942 only several thousands of boys and girls from schools supervised directly by the army reached Iran and Palestine. They were followed by small groups of civils (6500 persons in total). The rest of refugees left Iran progressively, starting in the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of 1942. Thanks to the support of British authorities and those of other friendly countries, as well as in the result of organisational activities of the Polish Government in Exile, civil refugees were going to India (4701 persons), East African countries (23 676), Mexico (1569), New Zealand (838), Lebanon (345). At the beginning of 1945 approximately 4100 Poles were still in Iran. Most of them went to Lebanon during that year. In the result of another wander the number of Polish refugees in Lebanon increased to 5000, including approximately 1200 children of school age. A few refugees staying before in Palestine moved also later to Lebanon<sup>6</sup>.

However, this was not the end of plurennial migration. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Corp, after its victorious Italian campaign since February 1944 to April 1945 and after the war ending still remained in Italy. Its standing, despite losses on battlefields, increased to more than 100 thousand soldiers. In the second half of 1946, on the British government orders, this great army was disarmed. Most of the soldiers went in groups to Great Britain, to join the Polish Resettlement Corp, established there by British authorities. Members of this formation started different form of language and professional education, to start civil life in Western countries. Therefore, final demobilisation of particular units of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Corp took place.

After dissolution of the Polish Resettlement Corp at the end of the 40s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, most of its soldiers settled, often with families, in Great Britain. Other veterans, after adequate efforts, found their permanent residence in different states, like e.g. France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy or Canada, the United States, Brazil, Argentine, Australia and New Zealand. Similarly, civil refugees from Eastern routes in majority left Lebanon, Palestine, India, Eastern

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1993, pp. 21-23 (and Table 1); Z. Żaroń, *Wojenne losy ludności polskiej na obczyźnie w latach 1939-1947*, Warszawa-Londyn 1994, pp. 57-58, 60. Approximately 20 000 of children, including many orphans, were among evacuated civils.

<sup>6</sup> J. Draus, op. cit., p. 22; K Kantak, *Dzieje uchodźstwa polskiego w Libanie 1943-1950*, Bejrut 1955, p. 1-17.



African countries or Mexico to the end of the 40s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, to find residence in Great Britain or other countries. A small part of the wanderers from this rout (both civils and soldiers) returned to Poland in the years 1946-1949.

The third rout of martial emigration went from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Republic of Poland into the 3<sup>rd</sup> Reich or to the countries under German occupation. Polish soldiers imprisoned during the September 1939 campaign and closed in prison camps – so called stalags (for privates and non-commissioned officers) and oflags (for officers) were moving this way. Tens of thousands of Polish citizens were moved in the same direction, imprisoned in German concentration camps. There were also the Poles deported into Germany, to factories, farms or other centres of forced labour. Repression victims were also thousands of Polish children moved to Germany for enculturation goals. In autumn 1944 participants of the Warsaw Rising were also located in prisoner-of-war camps, and some civil inhabitants of the Polish capital were located in concentration camps or other places of forced labour. The Poles (mostly from Pomerania and Upper Silesia regions) forced into the German army should also be considered here. In total, according to different authors, from 2,8 to 3,5 million of Polish citizens were on this route<sup>7</sup>.

After the World War II most of these people returned to Poland in its post-war borders. Many of them however stayed in Western countries, mostly in so-called displaced camps (DPC). As the time passed, the refugees from this route moved to different Western countries, a few of them stayed in Western occupation zones, later in the German Federal Republic.

The fourth emigration route was also related to the Polish citizens moved at the beginning of the war into the USSR. Many of them did not manage to reach the centres supported by the Polish Embassy in Kuibyshev in the years 1941-1942. Similarly, many refugees did not reach the camps of the Polish Army being established in the USSR. Organisational, material, bureaucratic barriers, lack of current information or money, often huge distances to pass, all these factors caused that thousands of people stayed in the places of their temporary, forced residence. After break down by the USSR authorities of diplomatic relations with the Polish Government in London in April 1943,

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<sup>7</sup> See: Czesław Łuczak op. cit., pp. 451-483, in particular 481-482. According to this author Polish war prisoners deported to the camps within the territory of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Reich of that time amounted to approximately 420 thousand, Polish citizens in concentration camps in Germany and Austria – 200 thousands, people transported from Poland to forced labour in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Reich or other occupied countries – more than 2,8 million, Polish children captured by the occupants for germanisation – 200 thousand. The author includes also the Poles forced to join the German army – approximately 300 thousand. It makes in total 3946,5 thousand of people (almost 4 million!). According to other estimations these were smaller figures – see: W. Grabowski, *Raport. Straty ludzkie poniesione przez Polskę w latach 1939-1945*, [in:] *Polska 1939-1945. Straty osobowe i ofiary represji pod dwiema okupacjami*, ed. by W. Materski, T. Szarota, Warszawa 2009, pp. 13-38.

they could not use Polish state in exile support. A lot of men (and women sometimes) from these emigration communities were called to the 1<sup>st</sup> Tadeusz Kościuszko Infantry Division, and then to other formations, included into the 1<sup>st</sup> Corp, and later the 1<sup>st</sup> Polish Army controlled by the USSR. It participated in many military actions at the East front. In autumn 1944, on the Soviet and Polish communists initiative, the so-called 2<sup>nd</sup> Polish Army was established, organized within the territory of Poland administered by the Polish Committee of National Liberation. It took part in the final stage of the war. Soldiers of these two armies after the war stayed in Poland, within its new borders. This Poland was the aim of the whole families, often previously transferred to the USSR. Victims of previous repressions, despite different difficulties, were going to the country, according to the agreement on July 6<sup>th</sup>, 1945 between the so-called Provisional Government of National Unity in Warsaw and the Soviet authorities. Within this repatriation since July 1945 to December 1949 approximately 263 thousand of people moved to the East at the beginning of the war returned that time from the USSR to the post-war Poland<sup>8</sup>.

Except these main emigration routes, many other ways can be determined, less popular, somehow secondary. For example some groups of the Polish citizens found a temporary asylum at the end of the September campaign 1939 within the still free Lithuania and Latvia. A few refugees managed to reach Scandinavian countries within next couple of months, the other were absorbed in the second half of 1940 by the Soviet occupation, after annexation of independent Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia by the USSR. Large communities, amounting to hundreds of thousands of people, were the Poles forced to join the Red Army. It is impossible to list all emigration routes and paths, fates of different smaller groups and individuals.

Each route mentioned above was under different political, social, organisational and material circumstances, essential for cultural activity of any kind, publishing included. A few situations were unique, connected closely to one area, one emigration route. As it was mentioned above, geography of Polish book production in exile, as presented in Table 2, is of preliminary character. It presents editorial output in aggregated, statistical way. However, these phenomena were often dynamic. Course of events caused that different accelerations took place in this matter, breakthroughs or even catastrophes. Moreover, sometimes the same group of people, the same institutions moved from country to country on its emigration way, and realised identical or similar editing programme. Characteristic example can be the Publishing Section of the Polish Army in the East, further Publishing Section of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Corp. It had

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<sup>8</sup> Z. Żaroń, *op. cit.*, p. 182. The above statistical information does not refer to the inhabitants of eastern territories of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Republic of Poland, evacuated to Poland in the years 1945-1946 or later.

been active for several years in the Middle East and in Italy under 7 different names. Regardless so often changes of names, it consequently realised the same tasks, in particular in selection of education and literary works. Therefore description of its output should be realised in line with the whole emigration path, not limiting to fragmentary results achieved under different names in particular countries.

Table 2 proves clearly that just from 1940 number of Polish books published in Great Britain exceeded significantly the results of other emigration centres. However, if estimating this phenomenon from the perspective of individual emigration ways, this domination is not that significant. Total number of books published in the years 1941-1946 in different countries on the way of the Polish Army in the East, then the 2<sup>nd</sup> Corp, as well as those published earlier, in the years 1940-1942 by the Polish Independent Carpathian Rifle Brigade, amounts to more than 1500 titles. This figure is comparable with the output in Great Britain. Moreover – it is just in the Middle East, and Jerusalem in particular, and then in Italy, where Polish civil and military institutions reached valuable specialisation, high numbers in publication of education books. Within few years they published several hundred of titles in this range, in total edition of approximately 1 million copies! These books reached emigration communities in several dozen of countries, in five parts of the world. This is the extraordinary phenomenon in centuries of history of the Polish book in exile<sup>9</sup>.

Specific achievements in publishing books of different scope can be indicated at each route. Either length of some undertakings, or dynamic course of the other (clear acceleration and intensification, as well as dramatic breakdowns of book production) deserve to be emphasized. These topics are presented in Table 3 *Production of Polish books in selected emigration centres in the years 1939-1950*, enabling determination of characteristic examples.

It proves for example that editing production in the capital of Romania was temporary. It had been developed only in the years 1939-1941. Its more regular character can be observed in Budapest, thanks to which significant results in numbers were reached there until 1943. However, the whole Polish cultural activity, publishing included, broke down dramatically in March 1944, when Hungary was taken over by German army.

Production of Polish books in Paris was irregular. In the first months of the war the capital of France was on a top place in hierarchy of emigration publishing centres. Fast degradation took place in June 1940, in the result of military collapse and capitulation of France, and occupation of its part, and

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<sup>9</sup> See: O.S. Czarnik, *W drodze do utraconej Itaki. Prasa, książki i czytelnictwo na szlaku Samodzielnej Brygady Strzelców Karpackich (1940-1942) oraz Armii Polskiej na Wschodzie i 2. Korpusu (1941-1946)*, Warszawa 2012, pp. 171-185.

later its whole territory by the German army. Reviving of the Polish editing took place in 1945, i.e. after complete liberation of the country by the Allies.

Polish publishing undertakings in Switzerland are worth noting, e.g. in Geneva and Fribourg. It was ended in 1947, when most of the soldiers of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Rifle Division interned here in 1940 left the country.

London takes a specific place in this comparative perspective. Significant concentration of political and cultural institutions in exile enabled reaching the highest numbers in the whole Polish diaspora. Even decrease of publishing repertoire in the years 1947-1949 did not erase the significant role of this place. It can be noted that London kept this high rank in the Polish publishing movement in exile until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Editing activities in the Middle East were quite different. Book publishing in Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv gave high figures in the years 1941-1946, however it faded rapidly within 1947, in the result of the following movements of the refugees, as well as important geopolitical changes in this area, when the British administration was withdrawn. The capital of Lebanon was an exception, where in the mid-40s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century a temporary shelter was found by a few groups and institutions from the east emigration routes.

Roma, as the following city at the second emigration route, distinguished with a rich output in publication of Polish bund in the second half of 1944 until the end of 1946. Specific was also Bari, in the south part of the Italian Peninsula. When most of the soldiers of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Corp were moved to Great Britain, this production decreased significantly, and it was only minimal in the years 1948-1950.

Data from Bombay, Nairobi, or the city of Mexico prove editorial initiatives in different, far away junctions of the second emigration route, i.e. in Asia, Africa or Latin America. During several years only incidental initiatives were undertaken, most of them expired at the end of the 40s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Important example of fast establishment, activity and expiration of these phenomena are data concerning Hannover and München. Just after the war ended, a specific "explosion" of the Polish book production in Germany was observed, in western occupation zones. This trend was short and expired quickly, starting in 1948. Within next years (1949-1950) the Polish publishing movement noted quite small achievements there.

## Conclusions

The article presents general process of Polish book production in exile in the years 1939-1950. Dynamic development of this phenomenon in the years 1940-1946 was showed, and the reasons of its later rapid regression (1947-1950). Main war emigration routes were described, and relations between book

production and the most popular ways of common migration. Different, often quick changes in this sector were mentioned.

The settlements from these deliberations are significant for further research works. They encourage to accept a specific order of presentation of the whole material. Description of main emigration routes determines adequate composition of further discussion concerning publishing activities. It facilities showing how the same migrating institutions realised it's most important editorial initiatives in the following countries, on the same route of common movement. This is the characteristic phenomenon for the whole discussed period.

Methodological assumptions and compositional solutions are not always reliable, however. A few phenomena, like publishing activities of old economic emigration, require separate analysis. Adequate differentiation in the ways of presentation of gathered material is required. However, overcome of these difficulties is required to develop a synthesis of the history of Polish book abroad in the analysed period.

Table 1. Production of Polish books abroad in the years 1939-1950

Year	Number of titles	% rate (year 1940 as 100)
1939	106	
1940	434	100
1941	662	152,5
1942	1004	231,3
1943	1344	309,7
1944	1378	317,5
1945	1534	353,5
1946	1513	348,6
1947	807	185,9
1948	442	101,8
1949	264	60,8
1950	300	69,1
No publication date	247	–
No publication date and place	51	–
Total	10086	–

Table 2. Production of Polish books in exile in the years 1939-1950, by country, descending order

No	Country	No of titles 1939-1946	No of titles 1947- 1950	No pub- lication date	No pub- lication date and place	Total no. of titles 1939- 1950	% total
1	Great Britan	3193	697	60	0	3950	39,35%
2	US	897	251	90	0	1238	12,33%
3	Germany	601	276	9	7	893	8,90%
4	Palestine	842	26	7	0	875	8,72%
5	Italy	595	84	12	0	691	6,88%
6	France	380	128	21	0	529	5,27%
7	Switzerland	409	19	4	32	464	4,62%
8	USSR	247	44	1	0	292	2,91%
9	Hungary	220	7	10	0	237	2,36%
10	India	81	30	13	0	124	1,24%
11	Canada	56	30	7	0	93	0,93%
12	Lebanon	29	60	3	0	92	0,92%
13	Argentina	49	33	1	0	83	0,83%
14	Romania	54	11	0	0	65	0,65%
15	Belgium	30	29	2	2	63	0,63%
16	Iran	54	0	1	0	55	0,55%
17	Brasil	31	7	4	0	42	0,42%
18	Sweden	24	9	1	1	35	0,35%
19	Mexico	27	3	0	0	30	0,30%
20	Vatican	17	1	0	0	18	0,18%
21	Austria	9	5	0	0	14	0,14%
22	Yugoslavia	0	11	0	0	11	0,11%
23	Northern Rodesia – Zambia	9	1	0	0	10	0,10%
24	Kenya	10	0	0	0	10	0,10%
25	Egypt	8	1	0	0	9	0,09%
26	Netherlands	6	2	0	0	8	0,08%
27	Iraq	7	0	0	0	7	0,07%
28	New Zealand	7	0	0	0	7	0,07%

Polish books production in exile in the years 1939-1950

29	Uruguay	7	0	0	0	7	0,07%
30	Cuba	2	3	0	0	5	0,05%
31	Southern Rodesia -Zimbabwe	4	1	0	0	5	0,05%
32	Denmark	3	1	0	0	4	0,04%
33	Ireland	4	0	0	0	4	0,04%
34	Union of South Africa - RSA	3	1	0	0	4	0,04%
35	Tanganyika	4	0	0	0	4	0,04%
36	Australia	1	2	0	0	3	0,03%
37	Turkey	3	0	0	0	3	0,03%
38	Afganistan	2	0	0	0	2	0,02%
39	Chile	2	0	0	0	2	0,02%
40	Finland	2	0	0	0	2	0,02%
41	Japan	2	0	0	0	2	0,02%
42	Portugal	2	0	0	0	2	0,02%
43	Bulgaria	0	1	0	0	1	0,01%
44	Ceylon	1	0	0	0	1	0,01%
45	China	1	0	0	0	1	0,01%
46	Spain	1	0	0	0	1	0,01%
47	Luxembo- urg	1	0	0	0	1	0,01%
48	Peru	1	0	0	0	1	0,01%
49	No pub- lication place or country	26	3	0	0	29	0,29%
50	No pub- lication date, country, place	0	0	0	9	9	0,09%
Total		7964	1777	246	51	10038	100,00%

30 titles of books published in the USSR for the Polish people at the eastern territories of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Polish Republic were not included.

Tabel 3. Production of Polish books in selected emigration centres in the years 1939-1950

No	Place	No of titles													Total
		1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	No publication date	
1	Bucharest	12	21	3	4	2	2	1	1	8	2	1	0	0	57
2	Budapest	3	39	61	47	38	9	1	3	0	4	2	1	6	214
3	Paris	12	56	6	15	2	7	63	82	42	32	16	22	15	370
4	Geneva	2	3	1	14	12	23	21	7	0	0	0	1	1	85
5	Fribourg	0	2	13	12	15	9	8	4	0	0	0	0	0	63
6	London	10	90	198	305	367	369	363	312	214	135	68	111	22	2564
7	Teheran	0	0	0	9	14	17	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	44
8	Jerusalem	0	2	10	49	174	164	56	77	17	1	1	0	2	553
9	Tel-Aviv	0	0	6	41	64	52	6	2	2	1	2	1	2	179
10	Beirut	0	0	0	0	1	1	4	19	15	15	23	2	0	80
11	Bari	0	0	0	0	0	8	56	103	0	0	0	0	3	170
12	Rome	3	5	2	3	1	23	102	139	58	1	3	7	2	349
13	Bombay	0	2	1	0	1	21	24	0	2	3	0	1	8	63
14	Mexico	1	0	3	1	3	9	6	0	0	1	1	1	0	26
15	Nairobi	0	0	0	0	1	4	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	10
16	Munich	0	0	1	0	1	0	6	36	21	7	1	3	0	76
17	Lippstadt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	25	4	0	0	0	37
18	Hannover	0	1	1	0	0	0	49	81	22	9	0	1	0	164

Based on *Polonica Zagraniczne. Bibliografia za okres od 1.09.1939 do 1955 roku*, ed. by J. Wilgat (vol. 1), D. Bilikiewicz-Blank (vol. 2-5), Warszawa 1975 (vol. 1), 1987 (vol. 2), 1991 (vol. 3), 2003 (vol. 4-5).

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