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EDUCATION OF POLISH CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN DIGGLEFOLD AND GATOOMA, SOUTHERN RHODESIA, IN 1943–1948

S u m m a r y: During World War II, between 10,000 and 20,000 Poles, mainly women and children – who had been evacuated from the Soviet Union together with the Polish Army in the USSR under the command of General Władysław Anders – found themselves in East-Central and Southern Africa. They were to live in settlements specially created for them. Schools were organized there for children and young people of school age. Among the best Polish schools in Africa were the junior high and high schools in Digglefold, and later also in Gatooma, Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). Both schools were referred to as the School Center, and were characterized by a high standard of education. The organization and curriculum were based on the pre-war Polish educational law and the teaching plan in force at the time. The teaching staff consisted of Polish teachers. The purpose of the schools was to educate and prepare the young generation of Poles for life, as well as to protect them from denationalization. After the war, most of the refugees did not want to return to Poland, which had become enslaved by the Soviet Union. They remained in exile, abiding by the values they had learned in the schools in Digglefold and Gatooma.

Ke y w o r d s: refugees, students, teachers, school, education

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Introduction

Large-scale group deportations and individual deportations of Polish citizens from the eastern areas of the Second Polish Republic to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1939–1941 changed the lives of several hundred thousand Polish families, including school-age children and young people.² The situation of some Polish exiles, including children and schoolchildren, changed markedly after the signing of a treaty in London on July 30, 1941, between the Prime Minister of the Polish Government, General Władysław Sikorski, and the Soviet Ambassador to Great Britain, Ivan Mayski. As a result of that important event in Polish-Soviet relations, conditions were created for the establishment of the Polish Army in the USSR under the command of General Władysław Anders.³ Polish care and educational institutions, taking the form of orphanages, kindergartens, elementary schools, and even early versions of junior high schools, began to be created at the emerging Polish military units and the delegations of the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev. Their function was to provide meals and basic care, as well as conduct educational work for the starving and shabbily clad children and young people of school age. Along with the Polish Army in the USSR, nearly 40,000 civilians left for Iran, including about 18,000 children and youths.⁴

Most of those people were committed to East-Central and Southern Africa.⁵ In order to take care of the refugees in Africa, the Polish government-in-exile in London established a Delegation of the Ministry of Labor and Welfare (MLW) in Nairobi – the capital of Kenya – in the second half of 1942. The Delegation was headed by engineer Kazimierz Kaźmierski. At the beginning of 1945, that post was taken over by Lieutenant Colonel Mieczysław Staszewski. After the United Kingdom

² Albin Głowacki, “Deportacje dzieci i młodzieży w głąb Związku Sowieckiego w latach 1940–1941.” In: *Polskie dzieci na tułaczach szlakach 1939–1950*, eds. Janusz Wróbel, Joanna Żelazko (Warszawa: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej – Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2008), 25–41; Daniel Boćkowski, *Czas nadziei. Obywatele Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w ZSRR i opieka nad nimi placówek polskich w latach 1940–1943* (Warsaw, 1999), 51–92; Stanisław Kot, *Listy z Rosji do gen. Sikorskiego* (London, 1955), 460; Julian Siedlecki, *Losy Polaków w ZSRR w latach 1939–1986* (London, 1987), 104–17.

³ Albin Głowacki, *Ocalić i repatriować. Opieka nad ludnością polską w głębi terytorium ZSRR (1943–1946)* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 1994), 15, 38.

⁴ Witold Chmielewski, “Polish Junak Schools in the USSR in 1941–1942.” *Paedagogica Historica* 59/3 (2023), passim.

⁵ Henryk Zins, *Afryka i Europa. Od piramid egipskich do Polaków w Afryce Wschodniej* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie Dialog, 2001), 202; idem, *Polacy w Afryce Wschodniej* (Lublin: Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 1978), 37. It should be added that the first refugees from Poland to arrive in Africa during World War II did not come via the USSR, but mainly through Romania, Cyprus, and Palestine. They appeared in the north of the continent as early as in 1940, and in Northern Rhodesia in 1941, cf. Kazimierz Stasiński, “Polskie Gimnazjum i Liceum w Algierze w czasie II wojny światowej.” *Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy* 2 (1961): 183–194; Janusz Wróbel, “Polacy w Afryce Wschodniej i Południowej 1941–1950.” *Zeszyty Historyczne* 115 (1996): 73–121.

withdrew recognition of the Government of the Republic of Poland in exile on July 5, 1945, at the suggestion of the British authorities in Africa he became Chief Polish Advisor to the British authorities in Africa. He resigned from that position in September of the same year, and was succeeded by Kazimierz Chodzikiwicz. However, due to the rapidly diminishing number of refugees, the post was abolished on April 15, 1947, by order of the Commissioner for East African Refugee Administration (EARA).⁶

Among the newcomers were many children and young people of school age. Kindergartens, elementary schools, general education high schools, and further education vocational schools were established. On September 15, 1943, Seweryn Szczepański – the newly appointed delegate of the Polish Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment (MRDPE) in Nairobi – took over the supervision and care of all Polish kindergartens and schools in East-Central and Southern Africa from the MLW delegate.⁷

Further refugee centers were established in 1943 in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), with much smaller centers having been created in the Union of South Africa (now the Republic of South Africa).⁸ On December 1 of that year, the Polish settlement in Marandellas, Southern Rhodesia, was inhabited by 455 people, and the one in Rusape by 476 people.⁹ The population continued to grow, and on January 1, 1948, there were 1,239 refugees living in the settlements of Southern Rhodesia.¹⁰ The number of newcomers in Northern Rhodesia was even higher, and on December 1, 1943, there were 782 of them residing in Lusaka, 956 in Bwana M’Kubwa, 460 in Abercorn, and 56 in Jameson.¹¹ As of January 1, 1948, there were 2,986 Polish citizens residing in the territory.¹²

⁶ *Sprawozdanie za okres od 1 XI do 31 XI 1942 r.*, Archiwum Akt Nowych in Warsaw (hereinafter: AAN), team: Ministry of Labor and Welfare of the Polish government-in-exile in London (hereinafter: MLW in exile), Archives Ref. No. 106, l. 41; Kazimierz Chodzikiwicz, “Po zlikwidowaniu urzędów polskich w Nairobi.” *Głos Polski* 16 (1947): 3–5. *Głos Polski* [Polish Voice], considered a reliable magazine, was subtitled *Tygodnik Uchodźstwa Polskiego* [Polish Refugees’ Weekly] and was published in Nairobi under the editorship of K. Czyżewski with a grant from the Polish Press Fund in 1945–1948; it was issued in place of the liquidated magazine *Polak w Afryce* [The Polish in Africa].

⁷ *Sprawozdanie za okres od 1 VIII do 1 XI 1943 roku przy piśmie M. Staszewskiego – wz. Delegata MLW w Nairobi z 22 stycznia 1944 roku do Ministerstwa Pracy i Opieki Społecznej w Londynie*, AAN, MLW in exile, Archives Ref. No. 106, l. 178; Seweryn Szczepański, “Los szkolnictwa polskiego w Afryce.” *Głos Polski* 16 (1947): 5–6. Theoretically, Polish advisors could not take decisions, but in practice their voice was taken into account in many issues related to the life of Polish refugees, especially concerning life within the settlements, and the organization of schools and curricula.

⁸ Witold Chmielewski, “Szkolnictwo polskie w Afryce Środkowo-Wschodniej i Południowej podczas II wojny światowej,” *Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy* 3–4 (2008): 61–74; Zins, *Polacy*, 55.

⁹ Chmielewski, “Szkolnictwo,” 71.

¹⁰ Zins, *Polacy*, 55.

¹¹ Chmielewski, “Szkolnictwo,” 72.

¹² Zins, *Polacy*, 55.

Elementary school matters were managed by Jan Inglot, who headed the MRDPE Delegation Agency (the equivalent of the pre-war Polish school inspectorate) in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, which was established in late 1943.¹³

Due to the influx of refugees to both Southern and Northern Rhodesia, many of whom were elementary school graduates, Delegate Seweryn Szczepański decided to convert the Polish co-educational junior high and high schools in Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia (which had existed since 1941) into a boys' high school, as well as to establish an identical school for girls in Diggelfold, Southern Rhodesia.¹⁴

Organization of the Diggelfold School Center

The choice of Diggelfold for a girls' school was determined by the good climatic conditions, resulting from the fact that the settlement was situated at an altitude of 1,650 m above sea level, amongst conifers and next to a fruit orchard of about 800 trees (mainly peach, plum and apple trees). The area of land belonging to the farm was useful for agricultural purposes. The climatic properties of Diggelfold were compared by the Poles to those of Zakopane, Poland. The authorities of Southern Rhodesia agreed to renovate the existing buildings or build new ones and install the necessary equipment at their expense. All those actions, aimed at improving the infrastructure, were synchronized with a plan to establish a sanitarium for tuberculosis patients after the end of the war. The rebuilt farm was ready for use in September 1944.¹⁵

¹³ *Wykaz przedszkoli, szkół powszechnych, średnich ogólnokształcących i zawodowych oraz personelu administracyjnego w/g stanu z dnia 1-ego września 1943 r., podległych Delegaturze Ministerstwa WRiOP w Nairobi*, Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum, London (hereinafter: PISM), team: Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment (hereinafter: MRDPE), Archives Ref. No. A. 19.II/6.

¹⁴ *Sprawozdanie szkoły powszechnej oraz gimnazjum i liceum za okres 23 VIII–4 XII 1941 r.*, PISM, MRDPE, Archives Ref. No. A. 19.I/14; Letter from S. Zaleski of January 7, 1944, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with a message for the MLW, the MRDPE, the MRDPE Delegate in Nairobi, and to the MLW Delegate in Nairobi, AAN, MLW in exile, Archives Ref. No. 113. Szczęsny Zaleski writes, among other things: Seweryn Szczepański was of the opinion that the high school to be established in Diggelfold should not be co-educational but for girls only, while boys were to continue their education in Livingstone. He justified his position on climatic [sic] grounds, claiming that "girls are more sensitive in their development to the tropical climate than boys."

¹⁵ *Sprawozdanie Dyrekcji Państwowego Żeńskiego Liceum Humanistycznego i Gimnazjum Ogólnokształcącego w Diggelfold (Płd. Rodezja) za rok szkolny 1945*, Institute of National Remembrance (hereinafter: IPN), Po 772/2, l. 70; *Sprawozdanie z podróży służbowej zastępcy delegata Tadeusza Kopia do Południowej i Północnej Rodezji oraz Nyssalandu w czasie od 24. I do 31. III 1943*, AAN, MLW in exile, Archives Ref. No. 106, l. 72–74; Letter from K. Kazimierzczak of December 12, 1943, to J. Stańczyk, AAN, MLW in exile, Archives Ref. No. 101, l. 231; Letter from S. Zaleski of January 7, 1944, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with a message for the MLW, the MRDPE, the MRDPE Delegate in Nairobi, and to the MLW Delegate in Nairobi, AAN, MLW in exile, Archives Ref. No. 113.

On the basis of the decision of the MRDPE Delegation in Nairobi of November 4, 1943, the State General Education Junior High School for Girls in Digglesfold began to be organized on the 16th of the same month. The school, together with the dormitory and the entire infrastructure, was referred to as the School Center.¹⁶ The legal basis for its activity was the Act of March 11, 1932, on the Education System.¹⁷ The school was to educate Polish girls from Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia. The newly established facility had the status of a special-purpose refugee settlement subordinate to the British and Polish authorities in Africa. As far as the organization of life within the refugee settlement was concerned, the settlement was subordinated to the Salisbury Branch of the MLW Delegation in Nairobi, while as far as basic matters were concerned, i.e. being a high-school level educational institution, it was subordinated directly to the MRDPE Delegation in Nairobi, and was financed by the Polish government in London.¹⁸

On the part of the Rhodesian authorities, the School Center was looked after by Colonel C. Hamilton – Director of the Department of Internees and Refugee Settlements in Southern Rhodesia – who was favorably disposed toward the idea of educating Poles, and by the Minister of Justice, Captain Bertin. After C. Hamilton's withdrawal from his post, the care of the refugees was assumed by Mr. Smith. The commandant of the Polish refugee settlements on behalf of the British was initially Major F.J. Bagshawe, and then – from 1945 – Lieutenant J. Kelly.¹⁹ The settlement was visited by Dr. Henryk Strasburger – Polish Minister of State in the Middle East – in April 1944.²⁰

Following the withdrawal of recognition of the Government of the Republic of Poland in exile in London by the United Kingdom, Digglesfold and the other settlements in Southern Rhodesia, as well as all their Polish employees, came under the administration of the Rhodesian authorities on August 1, 1945. School matters continued to be the responsibility of the former MRDPE delegate in Nairobi, Seweryn Szczepański, who was given the status of Chief Educational Advisor in Nairobi

¹⁶ *Sprawozdanie Dyrekcji Państwowego Gimnazjum Żeńskiego Ogólnokształcącego w Digglesfold (Płd. Rodezja) za rok szkolny 1944*, IPN Po 772/1, l. 19.

¹⁷ Act of March 11, 1932, on the Education System, Journal of Laws of the Republic of Poland 1932, No. 38, item 389.

¹⁸ IPN Po 772/1, l. 19, 20, 48.

¹⁹ Report on the state of education for the period from January 1 to April 30, 1945, PISM, Typescripts and Manuscripts, Archives Ref. No. B.1853; Kazimierz Kazimierczak, *Sprawozdanie z wizytacji osiedli Rodezji Północnej i Południowej w czasie od dn. 8.IX do 9.X.1943*, AAN, MLW in exile, Archives Ref. No. 106, l. 151–156. Kamil Barański, *W trzy strony świata. Szkolnictwo polskie poza granicami kraju podczas drugiej wojny światowej* (Hove: Caldra House, 1991), 51.

²⁰ IPN Po 772/1; Tomasz Reginek, *Ogólne sprawozdanie o osiedlach uchodźców polskich w Afryce*, PISM, Typescripts and Manuscripts, Archives Ref. No. B.1729; Marek Ney-Krwawicz, “Polak w Afryce” o młodszych i najmłodszych uchodźcach polskich w ZSRR w Afryce w latach 1943–1945.” *Dzieje Najnowsze* 4 (2020): 25–54.

to the British authorities in East-Central Africa with regard to school matters.²¹ On August 1, 1946, there was a change in the way the settlement was funded. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) took over the cost of maintaining the entire facility from the local authorities.²²

As early as September 17, 1943, the Polish and British flags were solemnly raised in the schoolyard of the settlement being built, and the national anthems of both countries were sung. An adequate number of classrooms, dormitory rooms and apartments for teachers were prepared. The existing building could house only 20 schoolgirls and no more than four teachers, while it was expected that the junior high and high schools and the dormitory would have to accommodate around 180 schoolgirls at a time, as well as 50 teachers and auxiliary staff. Therefore, all the buildings located on the farm were gradually modernized and renovated. The most important building in the settlement was the school, which had six classrooms, a chapel, an office, a principal's room, four rooms intended for teachers' apartments, and two sanitary facilities. In January 1944, a dormitory with bunk beds was made available to 70 schoolgirls. From the end of May and until September of the same year, five more bedrooms were put into use, which eliminated the need for bunk beds. Next to the bedrooms there were rooms for the housemistresses. Separate buildings housed the following: a dining room, which also served as the after-school club and was equipped with a radio receiver; an infirmary and sick bay for 10 people, complete with an apartment for a doctor; a laundry; and two separate utility and sanitary warehouses. Apart from the school and farm buildings, toward the end of 1944 there were also 10 residential buildings for young people, teachers and the administrative and maintenance staff.²³

During the start-up period of the junior high school and the dormitory, much attention was paid to the formulation of a concept for the school's operation and the principles of its cooperation with the Rhodesian authorities, as well as with the Polish settlements from which the schoolgirls were to be recruited. On November 16, 1943, General Ferdynand Zarzycki, Ph.D., was appointed the Director of the State Girls' Junior High School, and at the same time he became the head of the entire Digglefold School Center.²⁴ He drew up a draft of the educational institution's

²¹ IPN Po 772/2, l. 28.

²² *Sprawozdanie Dyrekcji Państwowego Żeńskiego Liceum Humanistycznego i Gimnazjum Ogólnokształcącego w Digglefold (Płd. Rodezja) za rok szkolny 1946. Annual Report of Polish Secondary School at Digglefold Southern Rhodesia*, IPN Po 772/3, l. 7, 21.

²³ IPN Po 772/1, l. 19–48.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, l. 3, 8. Ferdynand Zarzycki was born in Tarnów, Poland, on December 22, 1888. After graduating from junior high school there, he studied philosophy and classics at the Jagiellonian University. In 1912, he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Science. He was a junior high school teacher in Nowy Targ, Poland, where he founded a Scout Team. Then, he worked at a junior high school in Tarnów. From August 1914 to April 1917, he served in the Polish Legions. In the following years, he joined the Polish Army. In 1924, he was appointed Brigadier General. In 1927–1930, he served as Deputy Minister

statute that was soon approved by the MRDPE delegate in Nairobi. The statute regulated basic issues regarding the efficient operation of the high school.²⁵ To some extent it took into account the pedagogical and organizational experience gained by the Polish schools established in Livingstone in 1941.²⁶ Aleksander Zawisza, Consul General of the Republic of Poland in Salisbury, was involved in defining the standards and rules for the operation of the School Center by putting forward a number of detailed proposals and preparing a draft of the school's statute.²⁷ He also proposed a change in the statute of the Digglefold school settlement so that life there would be more liberal than in other Polish settlements in Southern Rhodesia. He believed that in the future the Consul General of the Republic of Poland in Salisbury should be ex officio the Educational Officer of the School Center.²⁸ Zawisza's aim was to ensure that the Polish center in Digglefold was to a large extent independent and autonomous from the authorities of Southern Rhodesia. All the Polish decision-makers working on the establishment of the school believed that the schoolgirls who started their education in Digglefold would complete it in a free Poland. However, those desiderata were only marginally taken into consideration.²⁹

The teaching, educational and cultural work

In November 1943, the first teachers to start working in the school were Helena Łabosowa (French language and gymnastics), Jadwiga Otwinowska (Polish language), Zofia Rzewuska (geography and school choir), and Maria Sanecka-Osietrowa (mathematics, physics and chemistry). All of them also helped to launch the operations

of Military Affairs, and in 1931–1934 – as Minister of Industry and Trade. From 1935, he was a Senator of the Republic of Poland. In 1939, he made his way to Romania, and then stayed in Cyprus, Palestine, and Africa. In 1948, he arrived in the United Kingdom to work as principal of Nicolaus Copernicus High School and Junior High School in Diddington until 1952. He died in Chicago, USA, on October 10, 1958. His wife Anna Dubeltowicz and daughter Zofia lived in Poland; *Sprawozdanie szkoły powszechnej oraz gimnazjum i liceum za okres od 23 VIII 5 XII br.*, Livingstone, December 17, 1941, PISM, Archives Ref. No. A. 19.I/14; Piotr Stawecki, *Słownik biograficzny generalów Wojska Polskiego 1918–1939* (Warszawa: Bellona, 1994): 363; *Kto był kim w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. Jacek M. Majchrowski (Warszawa: BGW, 1994), 212.

²⁵ Letter from F. Zarzycki of March 2, 1944, to the MRDPE Delegation in Nairobi, AAN, MLW in exile, Archives Ref. No. 104.

²⁶ Copy of the letter from S. Szczepański of March 25, 1944, to the MRDPE, AAN, MLW in exile, Archives Ref. No. 104; Letter from F. Zarzycki of March 2, 1944, to the MRDPE Delegation, AAN, MLW in exile, Archives Ref. No. 104.

²⁷ Letter from the Consulate-General of the Republic of Poland of June 10, 1944, to the MFA, AAN, MLW in exile, Archives Ref. No. 104.

²⁸ *Sprawozdanie statystyczne Konsulatu Generalnego RP w Salisbury na dzień 2 stycznia 1944. Stan kompetencji Południowa Rodezja*, PISM, team: Ministry of Foreign Affairs (hereinafter: MFA), Archives Ref. No. A. 11.E/705.

²⁹ Letter from A. Zawisza of June 10, 1944, to the MFA, AAN, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace (Stanford), Ministry of Foreign Affairs (hereinafter: HI-MFA), microfilm 188, frame 227.

of the new facility. In the following months of 1944, the following people began to work there as well: Rev. Zbigniew Burgielski (religion and English language), Rev. Franciszek Dzikusko (religion and Latin language), Maria Mazurówna (history and gymnastics), Rev. Stefan Myszkowski (religion and Latin language), Mary Elizabeth Putherford (English language), and Helena Toczyłowska (Polish language and Latin language).³⁰ Some of those teachers worked in Polish schools in Romania, Cyprus, and Livingstone. Throughout the period of existence of the School Center, new names continued to appear in the composition of the teaching staff. An important role was played by the school administrator, referred to as the quartermaster. That post was held by Stefan Rytwiński.³¹

The first classes attended by young people began a few months before the opening of the high school. On September 1, 1943, Rev. Canon Zbigniew Burgielski organized a course in religion for teachers and future schoolgirls. Further education courses in the second grade of junior high school were also established for youth from the Marandellas and Rusape settlements. They were taught by: Michał de Malherbe (mathematics), Stanisława de Malherbe (Polish language and history), and Zbigniew Kasprzyk (biology). On the opening day of the school year (which was to last from February 1 to November 30, 1944), 22 schoolgirls from the Marandellas settlement began studying in the first grade as a result of placement tests. There were also six students in the second grade, two of whom were boys. They came from Lusaka, Marandellas and Rusape. The third grade had 19 students, including two boys. They came from the same settlements. During the school year, more schoolgirls from the neighboring settlements were admitted. For example, 21 girls from Rusape joined the first grade on April 29, 1944, followed by 26 girls from Bwana M'Kubwa on May 5. That May, 15 girls arrived from Marandellas, out of whom 10 joined the second grade, and five – the third grade. They came from the last refugee transport to reach Southern Rhodesia. The few boys studying at the junior high school were the children of people working in Digglefold. The numbers were constantly changing, sometimes due to the parents relocating.³² In 1945, the first grade of the high school was established. The number of students in Digglefold is shown in Table 1.

The opening of a high school grade in 1945 meant that the organizational level of secondary education was raised, and the State Girls' General Education High School was established in Digglefold, which in turn increased the role and importance of the entire School Center. The prospect of Polish refugees leaving Africa, which was becoming increasingly apparent, resulted in the merging of schools

³⁰ IPN Po 772/1, l. 8; *Wykaz nauczycieli przedszkoli, szkół powszechnych, średnich ogólnokształcących i zawodowych oraz personelu administracyjnego według stanu z dnia 1 września 1944 r.*, PISM, MRDPE, Archives Ref. No. A. 19.II/6.

³¹ Barański, *W trzy*, 9, 49, 51.

³² IPN Po 772/1, l. 13–19, 25; Report on the state of education for the first quarter of 1944, HI-MFA, microfilm 188, frame 266.

operating in the settlements faced with gradual depopulation, as well as the young people studying there. That was one of the reasons why the number of students in Diggelfold increased in 1946.³³

Table 1. The number of students of the junior high and high schools in Diggelfold in 1944–1946

| School | Grade | Number as of | | | |
|--------------------|-------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| | | May 15, 1944 | Sep. 30, 1944 | Apr. 30, 1945 | Nov. 3, 1946 |
| Junior high school | Ia | 30 | 29 | 31 | 37 |
| | Ib | 45 | 45 | 30 | – |
| | Ic | – | 34 | – | – |
| | II | 20 | 18 | 30 | 47 |
| | IIIa | 34 | 18 | 14 | 30 |
| | IIIb | – | – | – | 16 |
| | IV | – | 19 | 20 | 23 |
| High school | I | – | – | 17 | 19 |
| | II | – | – | – | 18 |
| Total | | 129 | 163 | 142 | 198 |

Source: Report on the state of education for the first quarter of 1944, HI-MFA, microfilm 188, frame 273; Report on the state of education for the period from July 1 to September 30, 1944, HI-MFA, microfilm 188, frame 372; Report on the state of education for the period from January 1 to April 30, 1945, PISM, Typescripts and Manuscripts, Archives Ref No. B.1853, IPN Po 772/3, l. 14–20.

The educational results achieved by the students in the first year of the school's existence were mixed. It was often due to a significant gap in their learning and the educational standards in place at their previous school, as well as other situations related to their roving life in the period of 1939–1944. Particular deficiencies were noted for subjects such as Polish language, Latin language, history, and mathematics. However, all students exhibited great enthusiasm for learning. The specific nature of the school settlement – which was characterized by its unique location, peace and quiet, and an atmosphere of intensive youth work – had a positive impact on the process of acquiring knowledge.³⁴

³³ Report on the state of education for the period from January 1 to April 30, 1945, PISM, Typescripts and Manuscripts, Archives Ref No. B.1853.

³⁴ Report on the state of education for the first quarter of 1944, HI-MFA, microfilm 188, frame 263; Quarterly report for the period from April 1 to June 30, 1944, HI-MFA, microfilm 188, frame 305.

In the years that followed, the State Humanities High School and General Education Junior High School in Diggelfold achieved better and better results and was judged by the Polish educational authorities to be the best refugee secondary education institution in Africa. At the end of the first quarter of 1945, out of a total of 142 schoolgirls 26% had very good grades, 40% – good grades, 20% – satisfactory grades, and 4% – failing grades. Those results were confirmation of the hard work of the teachers and diligence of the students. The lack of textbooks continued to make itself felt. It was particularly noticeable in the teaching of Latin. In the case of some subjects, there was only one textbook at hand. In such a situation, the available copy was duplicated and delivered to the students who needed it. There was also a shortage of teaching aids, especially in physics and chemistry. Only some of the necessary aids could be imported from Cape Town in the then Union of South Africa. The supply of necessary literature for the compulsory study of English was relatively good. French was also eagerly studied as an optional subject.³⁵ In their educational work, the teachers paid special attention to strengthening the Polish spirit in the schoolgirls, and they tried to refer to the great patriotic events that were still fresh in the collective memory.³⁶ Among the Polish teachers in Rhodesian schools, there was an ongoing discussion about the goals and methods of educational youth work.³⁷

An important event in the life of the School Center, which finalized several years of the schoolgirls' efforts, was the school-leaving examination. The written part took place on November 25–27, 1946, and the oral exams were held on December 5 and 6 that year. The exams consisted of a written and an oral part. All of the high-school leavers passed the exams.³⁸ The examination committee was chaired by Ferdynand Zarzycki. The high school-leavers exhibited great knowledge and an ability to express their thoughts in writing and speaking.³⁹

At Diggelfold, the idea of education through work was carried out to some extent. Great emphasis was placed on conducting extra-curricular classes in tailoring, embroidery, and bookbinding. It was in line with the suggestions of the

³⁵ Report on the state of education for the period from January 1 to April 30, 1945, PISM, Typescripts and Manuscripts, Archives Ref No. B.1853.

³⁶ Leon Arnold, "Zadania nauczycielstwa polskiego w Afryce," *Polak w Afryce* 18 (1943): 3; Seweryn Szczepański, "Przemówienie Delegata Ministerstwa Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego p. Seweryna Szczepańskiego," *Polak w Afryce* 21–22 (1943): 1; idem, "Polskie tradycje wychowawcze," *Polak w Afryce* 21–22 (1943): 3. Idem, "Rocznica powstania 1863 roku," *Polak w Afryce* 4 (1944): 3; Józef Brzeziński, "Oaza młodości (zakończenie)," *Polak w Afryce* 17 (1945): 5; Chruściel, "Szkolnictwo polskie we Wschodniej i Południowej Afryce," *Polak w Afryce* 1–2 (1944): 2.

³⁷ Bertold Merwin, "Jak mamy nauczać," *Głos Polski* 3 (1946): 14; idem, "Jak mamy nauczać? (dokończenie)," *Głos Polski* 4 (1946): 5–6.

³⁸ IPN Po 772/3, l. 55.

³⁹ S.S., "Egzamin dojrzałości w Afryce Wschodniej i obu Rodezjach," *Głos Polski* 4 (1947): 11. The article states that in 1946, 74 young people obtained their high school diploma in that part of Africa.

British and Polish educational authorities to provide the students with practical skills that would prove useful in their future careers. All courses and classes were financed by the Polish YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association – Christian Polish Young People Association).⁴⁰ The first course in cutting and sewing began on February 21, 1944. It lasted nine months and was headed by Zofia Rzewuska. The course was regularly attended by over 60 girls, and there were months when there were as many as 160 participants. Regardless of the educational achievements, the economic effect was impressive. During the first course in tailoring, the participants made 80 gymnastic sets, eight woolen school uniforms and several skirts, as well as blouses, bathrobes, nightgowns, folk dance costumes, flags, and church banners. During the second course, about 200 pieces of personal undergarments and nearly 150 shorts were made. The girls sewed school aprons, as well as blouses, dresses, and other garments for themselves and their families.⁴¹

Another successful activity was the Polish folk embroidery course conducted by Jadwiga Otwinowska. The basis of its work were original patterns brought from Poland. As a result of the course conducted in 1944, not only did the participants acquire knowledge and skills, but they also made 20 sets of teatime napkins embroidered with patterns originating from the Polesia, Kashubia, Kurpie, Hutsul, Podhale and Cracow regions, 18 sofa cushions embroidered with Polesia patterns, numerous other napkins of various sizes, and dozens of crocheted handkerchiefs, as well as bookmarks, small crocheted baskets, and other individual pieces of knitting. The embroideries were presented at exhibitions in Salisbury (now Harare) and Digglefold. The total proceeds from their sale were over £109.⁴²

Highly useful bookbinding classes were developed at the School Center under the leadership of Girl Scouts Sabina Dmuchowska and Janina Frużyńska. Several hundred books, school scripts and notebooks were bound, and photo and drawing albums were made.⁴³

The typing course conducted by Władysława Pałkówna – a first grade student – was very popular. About 50 girls attended in several groups, and the course was run at a high level. Every effort was made to ensure that the participants mastered the non-visual typing method. They had four typewriters with the English alphabet and one with the French alphabet at their disposal. Each of the girls was obliged to practice typing individually.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Report on the state of education for the first quarter of 1944, HI-MFA, microfilm 188, frame 264.

⁴¹ IPN Po 772/1, l. 40, 41; IPN Po 772/2, l. 58.

⁴² IPN, Archives Ref. No. IPN Po 772/1, l. 42, 43.

⁴³ IPN, Archives Ref. No. IPN Po 772/2, l. 59.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, l. 60; Quarterly report for the period from April 1 to June 30, 1944, HI-MFA, microfilm 188, frame 305.

Cultural and educational activities began to be carried out in the settlement in the second half of 1943. There was an after-school club in the School Center. Its walls were decorated with the national emblem of Poland, Polish and English national colors, pictures of Polish cities, and patterns of folk costumes. The Polish YMCA equipped the club with armchairs, tables, a radio, a gramophone, an upright piano, party games, shooting targets, chess, checkers, and a ping-pong table. There were several Polish magazines available in the club, namely: *Parada* [The Parade], *Nasz Przyjaciel* [Our Friend], *Junak* [The Brave Youth], *Orzeł Biały* [The White Eagle], *Polska Walcząca* [The Fighting Poland], *Głos Polski* [Polish Voice], *Wiadomości* [The News], *Dziennik Polski* [The Polish Daily], and *Dziennik Żołnierza* [The Soldier's Daily]. Thanks to the radio and the press, including the English-language press, the youth were kept up to date with international news and the situation in Poland. The well-lit after-school club (equipped with two gas lamps) was the favorite place for young people to meet and hold both private and official tea parties, Scout meetings, and dance parties, and even to practice letter writing. The atmosphere inside the building was conducive to all of the above.⁴⁵ The Polish press in Africa also played an important educational role. The titles included the biweekly *Polak w Afryce* [The Polish in Africa] and its supplement for children *Płomyzek Afrykański* [Little African Flame],⁴⁶ as well as *Głos Polski* [Polish Voice] – with the latter being greatly appreciated by the refugees.⁴⁷

The School Center had a well-stocked library. In 1945, there were over 4,700 books available there. They were donated by the Polish YMCA, the World Association of Poles Abroad, the Polish Armed Forces in the East, the Publishing Section of the 2nd Corps in Italy, Polish community organizations in the United States, and the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment in London and its Delegation in Nairobi, as well as by the MLW Delegation in Nairobi and Jerusalem. Polish officers and soldiers also donated some of the books. School textbooks and works of fiction which were necessary for study prevailed in the book collection. There were also books on mechanical engineering, the principles of radio-frequency engineering, and motorcyclist training. Among the schoolgirls of the younger grades, authors such as Henryk Sienkiewicz, Maria Rodziewiczówna, Eliza Orzeszkowa, and Kornel Makuszyński were popular. On the other hand, Bolesław Prus, Władysław Reymont, Stefan Żeromski, Zofia Kossak-Szczucka, and Melchior Wańkowicz were popular in the older grades.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ IPN, Archives Ref. No. IPN Po 772/2, l. 64; Report on the state of education for the period from January 1 to April 30, 1945, PISM, Typescripts and Manuscripts, Archives Ref No. B.1853.

⁴⁶ Ney-Krwawicz, "Polak w Afryce," 25–53; "W Digglefold," *Płomyzek Afrykański* 35 (1944): 1.

⁴⁷ Kazimierz Chodzikiwicz, "Co dalej?," *Głos Polski* 11–12 (1945), 3–4; idem, "Niespłacony dług..." „*Głos Polski*" 12 (1946): 1–2; Seweryn Szczepański, "Do P.P. Nauczycielstwa, Pracowników Administracji Szkolnej oraz Młodzieży Szkół Polskich w Afryce," *Głos Polski* 11–12 (1945): 3.

⁴⁸ IPN Po 772/2, l. 52; IPN Po 772/3, l. 64; Report on the state of education for the period from July 1 to September 30, 1944, HI-MFA, microfilm 188, frame 374.

A choir of 50 members, under the direction of Zofia Rzewuska, was very active as part of the extracurricular activities. The choir meetings were held regularly – twice a week in the evenings. The repertoire of pieces written for two or three voices included national, religious, military and occupation era songs. The choir used the *Polski śpiewnik narodowy* [Polish National Songbook] as well as sheet music provided by Rev. Władysław Wargowski. On average, about 40 songs were performed annually. The choir's performances added splendor to both national and religious celebrations, and were also held in Salisbury and other towns in Southern Rhodesia. They always met with applause from the audience.⁴⁹

Scouting was an important element of the educational work carried out at the School Center. In Africa, there had already been a several-years-long tradition of Scouting in Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia.⁵⁰ A Scout Team named after Emilia Plater, consisting of 15 girls, was founded by Zofia Wierzbicka in Diggfold on September 1, 1943.⁵¹ With the development of the School Center, the Scout ranks grew rapidly, especially after Scoutmaster Józef Brzeziński and Scoutmaster Słowikowski arrived at the school. They organized two courses for Scout Leaders and Troop Leaders, thanks to which the standard of the organization's operation improved. Meanwhile, the number of Girl Scouts increased to 133. Two teams of Ranger Guides were created: one named after Emilia Plater (led by the meritorious Scout Leader Zofia Wierzbicka), and the other one named after Queen Jadwiga (Scout Leader Wanda Baldin); there was also one Girl Scout team created, which was named after Maria Konopnicka (Scout Leader Bożena Słupek). On September 15, 1944, a Polish Scouting and Guiding Association (ZHP) troop was founded. The following were appointed to its Command: Troop Leader Irena Sobocka, Deputy Troop Leader Zofia Wierzbicka, and Members of the Command Władysława Pałka and Sabina Dmuchowska. Each time, the ex officio members of the Command were also the ZHP Supervisors acting on behalf of the teaching staff, and the Reverend Prefect.⁵²

In 1945, the number of Girl Scouts in Diggfold did not change significantly. They constituted 84% of the overall student population. A total of 39 troop meetings and 342 patrol meetings were held, and four social gatherings and five campfires were also organized. On several occasions, races for Scout ranks and skills were

⁴⁹ IPN Po 772/1, l. 45; Report on the state of education for the period from July 1 to September 30, 1944, HI-MFA, microfilm 188, frame 374.

⁵⁰ Copy of the confidential letter from S. Zaleski of July 21, 1943, to the Supreme Polish Scouting and Guiding Association in London, AAN, MLW in exile, Archives Ref. No. 113.

⁵¹ Report on the state of education for the first quarter of 1944, HI-MFA, microfilm 188, frame 283; *Harcerstwo w Afryce 1941–1949*, ed. Bronisław M. Pancewicz (Londyn: Harcerska Komisja Historyczna, 1985), 9.

⁵² Pancewicz, *Harcerstwo*, 36–37; Władysława Seweryn-Splawska, *Harcerki w Związku Harcerstwa Polskiego. Początki i osiągnięcia w Kraju oraz lata 1939–1949 poza Krajem* (Londyn: Główna Kwatera Harcerki ZHP poza Krajem, 1993), 187.

organized. Throughout the period of the Troop's activity, special attention was paid to the celebration of anniversaries and national holidays, especially May 3, August 15 (Feast of the Polish Armed Forces), and November 11 (National Independence Day). Delegations of Polish Girl Scouts also took part in the English Scouting events "Swimming Gala" and "Victory Parade." Common campfires, trips and outdoor activities were organized. The aim was to raise the standards on a regular basis. This demonstrates the resilience of the organization. During the meetings, apart from basic exercises, current social issues and Scouting matters were also discussed. In 1946, the number of Girl Scouts organized in four Scout Troops increased to 155. The composition of the Scout Troop Command changed. It was now headed by Wanda Baldin, and M. Jakusiewicz became her deputy. The intensity of Scouting activity did not decrease. The Troop had a library of about 400 volumes, containing books about Scouting as well as valuable works of Polish literature. There were also magazines for youth, including the Scout magazine *Skaut* that was being sent from the Middle East.⁵³ The Girl Scouts published a one-off bulletin containing camp memories.⁵⁴ Since 1944, the settlement's own quarterly magazine *Wszystko dla Polski* [Everything for Poland] was published using a duplicating machine, with a circulation of 200 copies. From the second issue onward, it was renamed *Echo z Digglefold* [Digglefold's Echo]. The magazine was sent out to Scouting centers in India, New Zealand, England, and Iran, as well as to the Army commanded by Gen. Władysław Anders. The standard of the magazine was assessed as high.⁵⁵

A branch of the Sodality of Our Lady was active in Digglefold. Its patron was St. Andrew Bobola. It was founded on July 23, 1944, on the initiative of Rev. Stefan Myszkowski. Afterward, its moderator was Rev. Franciszek Kubiński. Teresa Domagalska became the director of the association, and her deputy was Zofia Haciska. Weronika Blokówna was the secretary, Irena Kasprzyk became a member of the board, and Helena Dindorf served as the librarian. In 1946, the Sodality had 133 members (70% of the schoolgirls). Toward the end of the activity of the high school in Digglefold, the Sodality had 189 members (100% of the total number of inhabitants). An event of great importance was the consecration of the Sodality standard on October 5, 1947. The Sodalists sewed a number of liturgical vestments and sent them to Poland to Archbishop Eugeniusz Baziak of Lviv. The organization's

⁵³ IPN Po 772/2, l. 55, 56; IPN Po 772/3, l. 74; "Kronika harcierska" *Głos Polski* 7 (1945): 11; "Kronika harcierska" *Głos Polski* 6 (1947): 12, cf. Seweryn-Splawska, *Harcierki*, 191–192.

⁵⁴ "Kronika harcierska" *Głos Polski* 15 (1946): 14.

⁵⁵ Józef Brzeziński, "Oaza młodości." *Polak w Afryce* 17 (1945): 5; idem, "Piśmiennictwo młodzieżowe w Afryce." *Głos Polski* 7 (1945): 12; Jan Kowalik, "Czasopiśmiennictwo." In: *Literatura polska na obczyźnie 1940–1960*, vol. II, ed. Tymon Terlecki (Londyn: B. Świderski, 1965), 541. It is worth mentioning that Scouts in other settlements also published their own magazines, such as: *Bwana M'Kubwa* (1946), *Czuj Duch* (Masindi, 1946), *Głos Harcerza* (Tengeru-Arusha, 1943–1944), *Zza Równika* (Kondoa, Tanganika), cf. N. K., "Harcerstwo polskie we Wschodniej Afryce." *Polak w Afryce* 6 (1943): 8.

library included 102 items. The Sodality kept in touch with its counterparts in the School for Younger Women Volunteers in Palestine, in the settlements in Tengeru and Lusaka in Africa, and in India. Regular meetings of the Sodality were held, during which lectures on religious topics were delivered.⁵⁶ Other events of great importance in the life of the Digglefold community were religious celebrations with strong patriotic overtones, which were organized by the Sodality of Our Lady. They were a moving experience for the refugees each time.⁵⁷

The dormitory, hygienic conditions, and healthcare

As the junior high and high schools were attended by young people from several refugee settlements, the dormitory played an important role in the activities of the School Center. The head of the dormitory was Zarzycki, while Zofia Rzewuska was the direct supervisor of the housemistresses, Irena Baczyńska, Eufemia Baczyńska, Maria Pawulska, and Helena Śliwińska. The rhythm of the day at the dormitory was adjusted to the school's needs: 6.15 a.m. – morning call, hygienic and housekeeping activities, and making beds; 7.20 a.m. – morning gymnastics in the open air, marching with singing, and breakfast; 8.05 a.m. – classes and second breakfast; 1.00 p.m. – going out for lunch in close formation, and after-lunch silence; 3.00 p.m. – personal activities (doing the laundry, darning, knitting, etc.), and shopping at the tuck shop; 4.00 p.m. – afternoon tea; 4.15 p.m. – homework, housework for the school, and cleaning the building (with a broom, shovel, digger, and even a pickax); 6.15 p.m. – dinner, listening to the radio, choir rehearsal once a week, reading newspapers in the after-school club, washing, and bathing twice a week; 8.30 p.m. – common evening prayer and religious songs, and private time; 2.30 a.m. – quiet hours. The schoolgirls were fed in accordance with the same rates as those intended for the inhabitants of other settlements, while the rates in Digglefold were slightly higher due to the fact that they were students. Care was taken to ensure that the menu included vegetables, fruit, milk, and other nutritious ingredients. Meals were served five times a day: first and second breakfast, lunch, afternoon tea, and dinner.⁵⁸

There was no retail outlet in Digglefold, so the Polish YMCA started a tuck shop there.⁵⁹ It was not for profit – it was intended to allow the schoolgirls and teachers to purchase basic necessities such as notebooks, pencils, ink, canned meat and fish, etc. Larger purchases could be made in Marandellas. The schoolgirls

⁵⁶ IPN Po 772/2, l. 52; IPN Po 772/3, l. 76; IPN Po 772/4, l. 69, 70.

⁵⁷ "Uroczystość sodalicyjna w Digglefold." *Nasz Przyjaciel* 16 (59) (1945): 11–12; "Uroczystość sodalicyjna w Digglefold." *Nasz Przyjaciel* 21 (88) (1946): 11.

⁵⁸ IPN, Archives Ref. No. IPN Po 772/1, l. 35, 51.

⁵⁹ "Z osiedli." *Głos Polski* 7 (1945): 10.

rode to Marandellas on bicycles in a group of nine under the supervision of at least one man.⁶⁰

Every Saturday, the girls of the dormitory would beat the mattresses and blankets, repair their clothing, change bed linen, clean the kerosene lamps (as there was no electricity), clean the floors and windows, and clean all the other areas of the dormitory. Those activities had an important educational purpose and served to develop the girls' housewifely virtues. Every Sunday was a time of full rest. On those days of the week, the girls went on short trips to the neighborhood, played volleyball, rode bicycles, danced to gramophone records, and sang songs together. The dormitory was neat and tidy, and everyone was conscientious and understanding of the existing refugees' situation. Attention was paid to hygienic conditions. The settlement had a local sewage system and the water reaching the faucets was filtered. Since basic healthcare was provided on site, only laboratory tests and X-rays were done in Salisbury as the need arose, and the hospital located in the city was used if needed. The school had its own microscope, which was used for medical and teaching purposes. The school physicians were Dr. Helena Rymkiewicz and later Dr. Michalina Kiesler. Both of them also taught biology and chemistry at the school. Dental care was provided periodically by a dentist from the Marandellas settlement. The health of the young people was assessed as good, with occasional cases of malaria.⁶¹

As part of the daily work, the esthetic appearance of the school buildings and their surroundings was taken care of, and four sports squares were created for the purposes of gymnastic exercises. Flowerbeds and a vegetable and flower garden were also planted, with each grade having a designated patch or bed to tend to. Great importance was attached to the orderly and esthetic appearance of the area around the buildings. Thanks to this, the settlement was recognized as the cleanest Polish settlement in Africa.⁶² The youth felt good in Diggfold. One of the junior high school students wrote:

In its appearance, the farm resembles a manor house in Poland from the past. Among the trees on both sides of the lane, you can see white rocks on which bent figures of schoolgirls reading some interesting book or studying their lessons can be seen in the afternoon. In the evening, these rocks look like castle ruins by moonlight. In the morning, when the sun shines on the treetops, you can hear birds chirping everywhere. [...] Through an open window you can smell the resin of conifers, thanks to which this is the healthiest place in Africa, and perhaps even the most beautiful too. The farm is arranged in a perfect way. [...] Far away from our homeland,

⁶⁰ IPN, Archives Ref. No. IPN Po 772/1, l. 24, 46–47.

⁶¹ IPN Po 772/1, l. 33–38; *Sprawozdanie statystyczne Konsulatu Generalnego RP w Salisbury*, January 2, 1944, PISM, MFA, Archives Ref. No. A. 11.E/705.

⁶² IPN Po 772/1, l. 44; *Sprawozdanie statystyczne Konsulatu Generalnego RP w Salisbury*, January 2, 1944, PISM, MFA, Archives Ref. No. A. 11.E/705.

on the Dark Continent, we have a real Polish school here. We study peacefully and feel very happy there.⁶³

The junior high and high schools in Gatooma

The stabilizing political situation in Europe was the cause of a natural drive to eliminate war refugee centers. This also applied to the thousands of Polish citizens temporarily residing in Africa. The settlements were gradually consolidated and then liquidated, and Poles were evacuated from the continent. Toward the end of 1946, a decision was made to leave Diggelfold and establish a transitional settlement for a large number of Poles in Southern Rhodesia, which was to be located on the premises of a former Italian internment camp five English miles from the city of Gatooma (now Kadoma), and about 100 miles southwest of Salisbury. The new place of residence was located much lower than Diggelfold, and because of that the climate was hotter, more malarial, and with frequent winds. This had a negative effect on the health of the inhabitants, especially the schoolchildren. The relocation of the Polish schools from Diggelfold to the vicinity of Gatooma took place on February 21, 1947. It was a very important event for the school community, which was strongly attached to its previous place of living and studying. After more than a month of adaptation work (covering the roofs with grass to protect them from the sun, whitewashing the walls, and cleaning the classrooms), which was largely done with the help of the students, the school facilities were ready for use. No dormitory was established. The students lived in the settlement together with their parents. They came mainly from Marandellas. There was electric lighting present in the school facilities.⁶⁴

The settlement in Gatooma had about 1,400 residents, who came there from the Rusape and Marandellas settlements that were liquidated on February 20–22.⁶⁵ According to informants from the communist Public Security Office in Dziedzice, Silesia, Poland – who were controlling the people returning from Africa to Poland – the settlement had about 2,000 residents.⁶⁶

⁶³ Sabina Dmuchowska, "Nasza szkoła." *Płomyczek Afrykański* 35 (1944): 1.

⁶⁴ *Sprawozdanie dyrekcji Państwowego Gimnazjum Ogólnokształcącego i Liceum Humanistycznego Gatooma (Południowa Rodezja)*, IPN Po 772/4, Rok szkolny 1947, l. 4, 17, 21; "Z osiedli." *Głos Polski* 8 (1947): 10.

⁶⁵ "Z osiedli." *Głos Polski* 8 (1947): 10. According to informants from the communist Public Security Office in Dziedzice, Silesia, Poland – who were controlling the people returning from Africa to Poland – the settlement had about 2,000 residents.

⁶⁶ *Obozy w Afryce Wschodniej*, MBB, November 19, 1947; *Schemat kontaktów. Obozy w Afryce Wschodniej, centrala w Nairobi*, IPN BU 00 231/150/10/183/IV/10, Operational Group in Dziedzice. Case File No. 34, l. 127; *Osoby podejrzane oraz członkowie II-go Oddziału na terenie Wschodniej Afryki. Ewidencja osób podejrzanych*, IPN BU 00 231/150/10/183/IV/10, Operational Group in Dziedzice. Case File No. 34a, l. 102. The following was written about Chodzikiwicz, among other things: "In close contact with London

The infrastructure of the Gatooma settlement was owned by Southern Rhodesia. It is worth remembering that the Polish settlements in Africa at the time were still supervised by Kazimierz Chodzikiewicz, the Chief Polish Advisor in Nairobi. Schools were under the authority of Seweryn Szczepański, the Polish Educational Advisor in Nairobi for the East African Refugee Administration. Gatooma maintained contact with Ignacy Ziętkiewicz, the former Consul General of the Republic of Poland in Salisbury.⁶⁷ The refugees were visited by a representative of the Polish Repatriation Mission of the Warsaw government – Tadeusz Jacobson – accompanied by representatives of the authorities of Southern Rhodesia.⁶⁸ The very announcement of the arrival of a government representative from Poland met with opposition from Polish decision-making centers in Africa, especially the Polish Citizens' Committee, which had been established by refugee decision-making circles in Africa on April 30, 1946, to defend the political and social rights of refugees not returning to their homeland because of the situation there, resulting from the Soviet occupation and illegally imposed government.⁶⁹

The British commandant of the settlement was Captain Kelly. On June 4, 1947, W. Kodawa became the Polish manager of the settlement.⁷⁰ An important issue for the lives of the Poles was that the funding of their stay in Africa was taken over from the UNRRA by the International Refugee Organization (IRO) as of July 1, 1947. From then on, there was no longer any pressure to go back to Poland, which resulted in an increased possibility for refugees to settle in any country they wished. This significantly increased the number of people leaving Africa in 1948. It had a major impact on putting an end to the operation of Polish schools in Gatooma.⁷¹ At the time (in 1948), the head of the Polish settlement in Gatooma was Tadeusz Siuda.

The Polish General Education Junior High School and Humanities High School in Gatooma began operations on March 6, 1947. The position of principal

and Anders. Every Thursday, he holds half-hourly talks on the radio, with a propaganda and anti-return content," cf. Kazimierz Chodzikiewicz, "Do Uchodźców Polskich w Afryce." *Głos Polski* 11–12 (1945): 3; idem, "Co dalej?," 3–4.

⁶⁷ Szczepański, "Do P.P.," 3.

⁶⁸ IPN Po 772/4, l. 5; cf. *Raport personalny z Afryki Wschodniej (uchodźcy – repatrianci)* from the second half of 1946, IPN BU 00 231/150/10/183/IV/10, l. 85, 86. In some Polish settlements in Africa, T. Jacobson was received by refugees with hostility, and at the Nyalı Transit Camp, Mombasa, the car in which he was traveling was pelted with stones.

⁶⁹ Kazimierz Chodzikiewicz, „Nasze stanowisko.” *Głos Polski* 20 (1946): 1–2; “Memorandum,” *Głos Polski* 20 (1946): 2–3. “Memorandum” was handed to Sir Charles Lockhart, Secretary-General of the Conference of Governors in Nairobi.

⁷⁰ *Nadający informacje: Roman Kunda, Krzeszów pow. Kamieniec Góra, Dolny Śląsk. Osiedle Gatooma Południowa Rodezja*, IPN BU 00 231/50.t.9, l. 85; Roman Królikowski, “Polacy w Afryce Wschodniej.” *Kultura* 9 (1949): 138–144.

⁷¹ Królikowski, “Polacy,” 138–144; “Komunikat Polskiego Komitetu Obywatelskiego w Nairobi,” *Głos Polski* 30 (1947): 9.

of both the junior high and high schools continued to be held by Gen. Ferdynand Zarzycki. He also exercised general supervision over the elementary school, kindergarten, and typing course, all of which were established in the settlement.⁷² In connection with the gradual dismantling of Polish school administration structures in Africa, including Southern Rhodesia, his role significantly increased. The position of principal became more independent and at the same time burdened with great responsibility for the education of schoolchildren in the spirit of Polish identity, as well as their proper preparation for life both at home and abroad.⁷³

As of March 6, the teaching staff of the junior high and high schools consisted of: Roman Bakun (English language); Leopold Berwald, Ph.D. (biology); Honorata Burbowa (Polish language, geography, choir in the high school and the elementary school, and Scouting supervision), Rev. Franciszek Kubieński (religion and Latin language); Helena Lobosowa (French language); Maria Mazurówna (history); Jadwiga Otwinowska (Polish language); Helena Rydzewska (biology, mathematics, and physics); Waław Stefański (mathematics, physics, and chemistry); and Ferdynand Zarzycki (Latin language). The weekly teaching load was 22–24 hours. Due to departures from Africa, the number of teachers changed after only a few months. New people were hired, some of whom lacked teaching qualifications: Helena Cybulska (mathematics), Adela Jankowska (French language) Kazimierz Konarzewski (mathematics), and Josephine Peal (English language). The typing course was run by Jadwiga Czeżowska. The work began on November 14, 1947.⁷⁴

The following school year, the high school employed Kazimiera Hacisko (biology and chemistry) as an elementary school teacher, Kazimierz Kazanowski (mathematics, physics, and Polish language), Anna Wiechecka (Polish language) as the elementary school principal, and Bolesław Żerko (biology and mathematics) as an elementary school teacher. The school year was divided into three periods. The first semester ended on May 10. The inter-semester break lasted 10 days. The second semester lasted from May 20 to the end of August, and the last semester until the end of December 1947. Schooling in Gatooma was co-educational and included children of those living temporarily in the settlement, prior to leaving Africa. Since April 1947, about 40 boys arrived to join the junior high school. The first grade of the junior high school included students who had passed placement tests in Lusaka, Rusape, and Marandellas.⁷⁵ In July 1948, the high school ceased operations. The student population during the period of less

⁷² IPN Po 772/4, l. 5.

⁷³ Szczepański, "Los," 5.

⁷⁴ IPN Po 772/4, l. 6, 7, 22.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, l. 4–5, 19–25.

than one and a half years of the junior high and high schools' existence is shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Students of the Gatooma junior high and high schools in 1947–1948

| School | Grade | 1947 | | July 1948 |
|--------------------|-------|--------|---------|-----------|
| | | Mar. 6 | Dec. 31 | |
| Junior high school | I | 17 | 27 | 6 |
| | IIA | 31 | 29 | 7 |
| | IIB | – | 15 | – |
| | III | 29 | 47 | 6 |
| | IVa | 25 | 25 | 2 |
| | IVb | 14 | 17 | – |
| High school | I | 19 | 18 | 2 |
| | II | 17 | 15 | – |
| Total | | 152 | 93 | 23 |

Source: *School year 1947. Report of the Management of Gatooma State General Education Junior High School and Humanities High School (Southern Rhodesia)*, IPN Po 772/4, k. 9–15, 23. *School year 1948. Report of the Management of Gatooma State General Education Junior High School and Humanities High School (Southern Rhodesia)*, IPN Po 772/5, l. 12–16.

The schoolchildren were characterized by their eagerness to learn, their diligence, and their dreams of a better future in a free Poland. The high school was well-stocked with teaching aids and school supplies. The number of students was gradually reduced starting from the middle of 1947, as a result of some students leaving the African continent together with their families. That issue also affected the teachers and had a negative impact on the stability of operation of the schools. Due to the departure of teacher Waław Stefański to England, oral school-leaving examinations in mathematics, physics and chemistry had to be held on August 30, 1947. The written school-leaving examinations in history, French, Latin and Polish was conducted on September 10–12, and oral exams were organized on the 19th and 20th of the same month.⁷⁶

The school library played an important role in the educational work. It was run under the supervision of Roman Bakun by a junior high school student, I. Lorawska. The students Julian Kurys, Jan Pawłowski, and Józef Szychowski helped arrange it as well. It consisted of about 1,500 items in over 5,000 copies. School textbooks

⁷⁶ Ibid., l. 31–32.

constituted 50% of the collection. Given the conditions present in the southern part of the African continent, that book collection constituted the most important resource of knowledge about the mother tongue of Poland, and served to strengthen Polish identity among the youth as well as promoting it in non-Polish circles. It was used by many students and teachers. The most sought-after items were duplicated. Due to the gradual curtailment of refugee life in exile, the sources of supply with new books basically disappeared. In anticipation of the imminent liquidation of the library, the most valuable books were used as prizes for the students. Following the recommendation of the Chief Educational Advisor Seweryn Szczepański in Nairobi, some of the books were sent out to Polish cultural institutions, both in Poland and abroad.⁷⁷

The after-school club, which was funded by the Polish YMCA, played an important role in the lives of the youth. A multitude of attractive activities were conducted there, the most popular of which was learning to play the piano. Pieces by Fryderyk Chopin and Stanisław Moniuszko were played, as well as *Góralu, czy ci nie żal*, *Jeszcze jeden mazur dzisiaj* and other Polish melodies. There were also concerts given by professional pianists. Ferdynand Zarzycki personally conducted a so-called “spoken newspaper” in the evenings, which was intended for the school youth and the residents of the settlement. Many Polish magazines were made available to the readers, including the following: *Głos Polski* [Polish Voice], *Nasz Przyjaciel* [Our Friend] – an African weekly, *Orzeł Biały* [The White Eagle], *Światopol*, *Serwis dla Dzieci i Młodzieży* [The News for Children and Youth], *Na Straży* [On Guard], *Nurt* [The Strand], *Za Wolność i Niepodległość* [For Freedom and Independence], *Junak* [The Brave Youth], and *Rycerz Niepokalanej* [The Night of the Immaculate] – all of them from Poland. There were also newspapers in English, e.g. *The Rhodesian Herald*, *The New Rhodesia*, and *The Bulawayo Chronicle*. In the after-school club, there was a tuck shop, tea dances were organized, the radio was regularly listened to, and chess and other party games were played.⁷⁸ A theater group led by Jadwiga Otwinowska staged a comedy entitled *Zemsta* [Revenge] by Aleksander Fredro on July 6, 1947. The play was well received by the community of the settlement, as well as by guests from England.⁷⁹ The Catholic bimonthly magazine of the Polish exiles in Africa, *Nasz Przyjaciel* [Our Friend], published extensive coverage of that artistic event, highly praising the acting skills of the students. The performance put the audience in a melancholy mood and evoked nostalgia for times gone by: “The evening will remain unforgettable. For the first time, after eight years of roving life in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and other hungry States, we found ourselves back in a pre-war atmosphere.”⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Ibid., l. 53; IPN Po 772/5, l. 61–63.

⁷⁸ IPN Po 772/4, l. 54–57.

⁷⁹ “Z osiedli.” *Głos Polski* 29 (1947): 10.

⁸⁰ M.B., “Gatooma, Przedstawienie „Zemsta” A. Fredry.” *Nasz Przyjaciel* 17(108) (1947): 11.

The school choir was an inseparable element of the extracurricular educational work. It was initially led by Zofia Rzewuska, and following her departure from Africa, by Honorata Burbowa. The repertoire of the choir, which was composed of about 50 students, included patriotic, church and folk songs. Particularly successful was their vocal illustration of Jankiel's concert from the epic poem *Pan Tadeusz* by Adam Mickiewicz.⁸¹

In order to provide the girls with practical preparation for life – following the English model – specific courses and training were organized.⁸² On May 14, 1947, a typing course lasting several months was organized at the high school. It was attended by 18 girls and brought positive results. In light of that, another typing course was organized, starting November 14 of the same year, for schoolgirls of the fourth grade of the junior high school. The second course was successful as well.⁸³

Due to the lack of a teacher, there were no physical education classes. However, the girls were taught rhythmic dance routines. Twice a week, the students played volleyball – with the boys and girls playing separately. Apart from that, sightseeing tours, both walking and on bicycles, were organized in the neighborhood.⁸⁴

There was a women's Scout Troop there, which was headed by high school students Irena Suchoniówna and her deputy, Leokadia Nowak. In 1947, it consisted of 105 Girl Scouts organized into four troops, with 26 members each on average: the 1st Ranger Guide troop (Troop Leader Wanda Jarzabek), the 2nd Girl Scout troop (Ewa Rosicka), the 3rd Girl Scout troop (Leokadia Nowak), and the 4th Girl Scout troop (Matylda Brodalka). An attempt was also made to organize men's troops (Bolesław Żerko). However, that initiative did not bring the expected results due to the departures of young people from Africa. Maria Mazurówna became the director of the Rover Scout Circle. In 1947, 32 troop meetings and 64 patrol meetings, as well as a camping trip, a field trip, field games, and five Scout campfires were organized. During the activities, love for a free and democratic Poland and a sense of national pride were fostered. The Scouts organized a bookbinding course and participated in a handicraft exhibition in Salisbury. The Scouts' library, brought from Diggelfold, grew by 30 books. Toward the end of the Gatooma junior high school's existence, a troop of 25 Girl Scouts was recruited from among a severely reduced overall number of students. At the last meeting held on Easter Sunday in 1948, the Scouts thanked Gen. Zarzycki for his attentive care, assuring him that wherever fate would throw at them, they would always follow the principles instilled in them at school, as well as his words: "For you, Poland, and for

⁸¹ IPN Po 772/4, l. 64–65.

⁸² Łukasz Kurdybacha, "Szkolnictwo w Wielkiej Brytanii." *W drodze* 16 (1943): 9; Franciszek Bartkowiak, "Ustawa z roku 1944 na tle angielskiej tradycji szkolnej." *Wiadomości Nauczycielskie* 10–12 (1946): 7–9.

⁸³ IPN Po 772/4, l. 66–67.

⁸⁴ IPN Po 772/5, l. 66.

your glory.” The Scouts’ property and funds were turned over to the Command of the Southern Rhodesia Regiment.⁸⁵

The Catholic youth association – Sodality of Our Lady – with 62 schoolgirls as members, made its presence felt. Forty boys from the junior high school participated in meetings and religious practices. The president of the association was Teresa Domagalska, and her deputy was Zofia Haciska. Some of the most active members were: Irena Kasprzyk, Irena Krzyśków, Lidia Kasperek, and Kazimiera Nowosielska. All the schoolgirls from the Center in Diggelfold were members of the Sodality. In 1947, they held eight meetings, during which they listened to lectures on current topics of a patriotic and religious nature. On October 5 of that year, the solemn consecration of the association’s banner took place.⁸⁶

An important educational function was fulfilled by the school garden. Created by the youths under the supervision of the principal, it was an important element in introducing the students to physical work. It was also an important source of vegetables such as radishes, lettuce, dill, tomatoes, beets, cabbage, cucumbers, onions, garlic, potatoes, and watermelons. Apart from that, there were also flowers, especially red Petunia and blue rock bindweed rambling the fence. A second school garden was also created on the initiative of Roman Bakun.⁸⁷

The management of the junior high and high schools had always been of the opinion that the institution should have its own funds on hand in order to be able to cover any urgent and unforeseen expenses. For that reason, a Handy School Fund was set up with certain amounts of money available thanks to donations by members of the public. Income from the school farm (chicken and pig farming, orchards, and vegetable gardens) was also important. Noticeable financial support came from the Polish YMCA, which was soon to cease activity. On November 1, 1947, the total balance of the School Fund was over £167. That amount was used to pay the teachers and instructors for extra classes, such as the typing course, to purchase magazines and school and office supplies, and to provide non-refundable allowances for those leaving for Poland.⁸⁸

The elementary school

The elementary school was established in March 1947 as a collective institution for students from other schools of that type in the Polish settlements in Southern Rhodesia – Marandellas and Rusape – which were being closed down. The school

⁸⁵ IPN Po 772/4, l. 68; IPN Po 772/5, l. 72; *Harcerstwo*, 120. Seweryn-Splawska, *Harcerki*, 185; “Kronika harcerek.” *Głos Polski* 20 (1947): 11.

⁸⁶ IPN Po 772/4, l. 69, 71.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, l. 62–63.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, l. 71.

operated on the basis of the abovementioned Act of March 11, 1932, on the Education System. The teaching staff consisted of teachers arriving from the liquidated settlements. The initial composition was as follows: principal – Tadeusz Siuda; teachers – Waleria Butkus, Rev. Emil Drobny, Ph.D., Kazimiera Haciska, Olga Jagielnicka, Stefania Janeczek, Zofia Kozubska, Stefania Przednówek, Rev. Zygmunt Siemaszko, Anna Wiechecka, Michalina Zygod, and Bolesław Żerko. After a few months – after Siuda was promoted to head of the settlement – Anna Wiechecka became the principal, and after she left Africa, that position was held by Bolesław Żerko until the end of the school's existence in September 1948. Almost every month the number of teachers decreased. Until the end of the school's existence, the teachers working there included: Olga Jagielnicka, Jadwiga Morawiec, Rev. Zygmunt Siemaszko, and Stefania Przednówek.⁸⁹

At the time of organizing the elementary school, there were 207 students enrolled, but by the end of March 1947, the numbers were as follows: Grade I – 6, II – 3, III – 10, IV – 39, V – 46, and VI – 49. There were 153 students altogether. From March 1948, the number of students began to decrease rapidly as a result of the refugees leaving Africa. In terms of the teaching and educational work, emphasis was placed on patriotic upbringing and on maintaining national identity. The school was well-stocked with textbooks, teaching aids, and school supplies, as it used the equipment brought in from the schools that operated in the liquidated settlements. The facility had its own after-school club and library. Despite the atmosphere of temporariness, two Girl Scout troops and one Boy Scout troop operated in the school under the supervision of Olga Jagielnicka. They continued the work of the Scout Troops from Rusape and Marandellas by organizing meetings, campfires, trips, and occasional celebrations. As a result of the gradual evacuation of refugees, the Scouting work ceased at the beginning of 1948. A similar fate befell the Sodality of Our Lady that had been active in the school under the care of Rev. Emil Drobny and then Rev. Zygmunt Siemaszko.⁹⁰ It should be noted that the schools in Gatooma cared about the exemplary education of children and youths until the very last days of their activity. That concern was reflected in the word of farewell by the Educational Advisor S. Szczepański before the end of his mission in Africa:

This is a generation whose present upbringing will determine the future of Polish society, as well as the future of Poland and its fate. This young generation must be educated in a Polish school with a traditional Western Christian culture, the Polish prayer, and the Polish language. Every Polish child living abroad must avail themselves of the treasure trove of true knowledge – that which is hidden there [in their homeland – W.Ch.], for this is the very foundation of Poland of the future.⁹¹

⁸⁹ IPN Po 772/5, l. 34–35.

⁹⁰ Ibid., l. 33, 36–41; “Kronika harcercska.” *Głos Polski* 20 (1947): 11.

⁹¹ Szczepański, “Los,” 5.

The kindergarten

The kindergarten began its activity on March 10, 1947. At the time, there were 37 children from Rusape and 10 from Marandellas in the kindergarten. The facility was managed by Anna Sobocka with the help of Zofia Sobańska. Classes were held every day in the morning until noon. The program included educational content, which was promoted by allowing the children to familiarize themselves with storybooks and fairy tales, perform songs, recite rhymes together, play music and movement games, dance, and form parades. Practical classes included manual and artistic activities (modeling with plasticine, coloring pictures, drawing, etc.), as well as playing games that developed the children's senses (perception, orientation, taste, and touch). The facility was well equipped with toys, party games, and materials necessary for the classes. The children took active part in local celebrations in the settlement. On September 28, 1948, there were 26 children in the kindergarten. However, the facility was to cease operations very soon after.⁹²

The conclusion

The School Center, which included a junior high school and a high school, was considered the best Polish institution of its kind in Africa. This was due to the favorable infrastructure on the premises, the dedicated work of the teachers, and – above all – the students' desire to acquire knowledge. There was a creative atmosphere in the Center, which was conducive to patriotic upbringing and guarding the students (especially the younger children) against denationalization. The ambition of those graduating from the high school was to continue their studies at university. Unfortunately, this was not easy, given the circumstances at the time. Despite mounting objective difficulties, the educational process in the analyzed schools aimed to educate young people to be ready to devote their powers and skills to their free homeland. It paid attention to the formation of appropriate character traits and preparation for further life paths. This is confirmed by the opinions of two high school graduates, who – in response to one of the questions of a questionnaire sent out by the management, which was entitled “Digglefold Evaluation” – wrote anonymously, *inter alia*, the following: “The atmosphere of working and learning that prevailed in Digglefold prompted me to take to learning with pleasure, in spite of myself. And the multitude of principles instilled into me by my superiors will remain a guideline for the rest of my life. Digglefold is the best school I have encountered in foreign lands.”⁹³

⁹² IPN Po 772/5, l. 41–46.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, l. 49.

When I look at Digglefold from a distance, when I carefully analyze its organization, when I consider the sacrifice and work that have been put in to make a group of Polish intelligentsia out of a clumsy group of girls, and when I consider that the work has been absolutely successful – I think it is not up to me to judge Digglefold. Without vamping up, exaggeration, or pathos, I will say just this: Digglefold as a whole was impressive.⁹⁴

In 1948, educational activities in Gatooma came to an end. The refugees were leaving Africa. Educational activities were coming to an end across the continent. However, every endeavor was made not to lose sight of providing education in the spirit of Polish identity to the children and young people who were to remain in exile – as it was believed – only for a short time. Deep concern was expressed for the preservation of national identity of the young generation and a close connection with their native culture. The relationship with the homeland was to be nurtured through religion, continuous learning of the Polish language, history and geography, and the preservation of national customs and traditions.⁹⁵

The issue of traveling back to Poland aroused many discussions and conflicting opinions. Most of the children and youth from Digglefold and Gatooma did not want to return to Poland, which was in the Soviet sphere of influence, despite incentives from the government in Warsaw.⁹⁶ They stayed with their families abroad, especially in the United Kingdom, Canada, USA, Australia, Brazil, Argentina, and other countries. Those were not easy decisions.⁹⁷ Some high school graduates returned to Digglefold as they considered it an important stage in their youth life. One of them was Maria Lipczyk:

She attended school here and her mother was a secretary. She knows every nook and cranny here – she lives in Harare and visits the site from time to time. The preserved buildings of the former junior high school still house a school. Recently it has celebrated its 50th anniversary. Maryla told the manager about the Polish junior high school; he was amazed, for he was unaware of that fact. She handed over all the salvaged polonica and the coat of arms of Poland – the White Eagle, intricately embroidered by the schoolgirls; she also made a bulletin with photographs showing the teachers and the junior high school students. The only thing missing is a portrait of the principal, General Ferdynand Zarzycki. The manager has promised to place a portrait of Zarzycki in the row of the school's principals. In front of the main school building, there is a preserved Orzeł Biały (the coat of arms of Poland) dating back to the 1940s.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Szczepański, "Los," 6.

⁹⁶ "Lista 200 dzieci polskich przebywających w obozach w Afryce." *Repatriant* 15 (115) (1948): 12; "Jak żyją repatrianci z Afryki." *Repatriant* 4 (104) (1948): 4–5.

⁹⁷ Chodzikiemowicz, "Po zlikwidowaniu," 4.

⁹⁸ Maria Gabiniewicz, "Reportaż z Afryki – 1988 rok." In: *Polskie Sybiraczki harcerki w Afryce 1942–1950*, ed. Henryk Dąbkowski (Warszawa: Henryk Dąbkowski z Sybiraczkami-Afrykankami, 2002), 229.

Edukacja polskich dzieci i młodzieży w Digglefold i Gatooma w Rodezji Południowej w latach 1943–1948

Streszczenie: Podczas II wojny światowej od 10 tysięcy do 20 tysięcy Polaków, głównie kobiet i dzieci, ewakuowanych ze Związku Radzieckiego wraz z Armią Polską w ZSRR pod dowództwem generała Władysława Andersa, znalazło się w Afryce Środkowo-Wschodniej i Południowej. Mieli zamieszkać w specjalnie dla nich stworzonych osadach. Organizowano tam szkoły dla dzieci i młodzieży w wieku szkolnym. Do najlepszych polskich szkół w Afryce należały gimnazjum i liceum w Digglefold, a później także w Gatooma w Południowej Rodezji (obecnie Zimbabwe). Obie szkoły określane były jako Ośrodek Szkolny i charakteryzowały się wysokim poziomem nauczania. Organizacja i program nauczania oparte były na przedwojennym polskim prawie oświatowym i obowiązującym wówczas planie nauczania. Kadra nauczycielska składała się z polskich nauczycieli. Celem szkół było wykształcenie i przygotowanie do życia młodego pokolenia Polaków, a także ochrona przed denacjonalizacją. Po wojnie większość uchodźców nie chciała wracać do Polski zniewolonej przez Związek Radziecki. Pozostali na emigracji, przestrzegając wartości, których nauczyli się w szkołach w Digglefold i Gatoomie.

Słowa kluczowe: uchodźcy, uczniowie, nauczyciele, szkoła, edukacja

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