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AN EMIGRE — HISTORIAN

How and where does one commence a scholarly autobiography? Perhaps the best precept is to be found in *Alice in Wonderland: Begin at the beginning, the King said, and go on till you come to the end: then stop*. Thinking of the beginnings my thoughts go back to my family, an intelligentsia Polish family with broad intellectual interests. My mother wrote children's books, her sister (Mioszewska) was a painter, and so was my brother, my sister had a Ph. D. in art history from the Jagiellonian University. To avoid possible confusion I should add that they were my half-brother and half-sister and their family name was Mars. However, being extremely close to one another we never used the term *half*. My brother's influence during my formative years was particularly strong.

My father was by education a chemist and he became a leading figure in the Polish oil industry. But by inclination he remained a humanist with a deep knowledge of music and literature. The tradition of Young Poland weighed heavily on my parents and to some extent was passed on to me. So was an attachment to the past – perhaps a romanticized vision of it.

Ideologically, my parents were adherents of Piłsudski – my father was a legionary of the First Brigade – and I remember them crying at the news of the Marshal's death. My uncle (father's brother) was in POW. In the late 1930s, however, when the *sanacja* split internally and began to move to the right, my parents became critical of the regime and looked up to general Kazimierz Sosnkowski and the nascent Democratic Clubs. People such as Kazimierz Bartel were frequent visitors at our home.

As far as I can remember history was my passion. Coming to it through historical novels – Sienkiewicz, Dumas – I became fascinated with the 17th century. Like so many Poles of my generation I was early seduced by the Napoleonic legend, and doted on Żeromski and Gąsiorowski. Reading recently the reminiscences of the prominent Polish historians Janusz Pajewski, I was struck by his emphasis on historical novels as a gateway to history. I could not agree more.

Except for a passing phase when as a teenager I wanted to become a soldier or a diplomat, there was never a question of what I would study in the future. I had just passed *matura matura* in Lwów (I was born in Kraków on 20 September 1923) when Germany invaded Poland. My life as that of our entire

generation, indeed the whole nation changed dramatically. Crossing into Romania with my family on the eventful day of 17 September 1939 it did not occur to me that we would never return to Poland. In the spring of 1940 we lived through the collapse of France, failed to sail to England, and settled in one of the hotels (in Grenoble) made by the French government into a Polish refugee center.

War naturally interrupted my normal schooling, but in the Spring of 1941 I passed the high school diploma (*matura*) in the Polish Lycée of Cyprian Norwid established in Villard de Lans. Its director was the prominent prewar *lektor* at the Sorbonne Zygmunt Lubicz-Zaleski; the history teacher was Wacław Godlewski.

Between 1941 and 1942 I studied history at the University of Grenoble. The contrast between the regimented high school program and the free university system where virtually no guidance was given and the student had to decide what courses to take and what examination to pass was striking. I remember when I went to a lecture on medieval paleography – I had no idea what it was – and barely escaped being asked to translate this Latin *shorthand* into my still very weak French.

At that time some prominent historians who had escaped from occupied Paris taught at Grenoble, to mention only Louis Halphen, I attended his introductory seminar on Grégoire de Tours, although medieval history was never my main interest. I remember only one other Polish history student at Grenoble Jan Myciński. There was no student milieu in which one could discuss history, as students at Polish universities did through history circles (*kółka historyczne*) – one was largely on one's own. This academic loneliness accompanied me through all my university studies and even later when I began to teach. In early 1941 I passed my first examinations and received the *certificat d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*.

In 1942 we finally managed to reach England and for the next two and a half years I served in the Polish army, in an artillery regiment and then as an officer in the center for artillery training (CWArt). There was a good deal of discussion among leading Polish circles in Britain whether it would not make more sense for young people to continue their university studies rather than spend their time in the ranks. I had the opportunity of applying for leave and going to Oxford – I was virtually assured admission to University College whose master was then the well-known economist Lord Beveridge, who shaped post World War II British economics. But I decided against it. My only excursion into history was a somewhat humorous article *Artillery today and in the past* [*Artyleria dawniej a dziś*] which I contributed to the commemorative booklet [*Jednodniówka*] of our Officer Cadet Training Unit [*podchorążówka*] in Scotland.

I was able to resume my studies when the war ended. The British government extended to Polish servicemen the same privileges as to their own ex-soldiers, and gave us stipends and paid tuition fees. A Committee for the Education of Poles in Great Britain attached to the Treasury Office was set up to administer the system. Having joined the Polish Resettlement Corps I was granted leave from the army and thus in fact passed into civilian life.

I was admitted to Fitzwilliam House at Cambridge University, and to use the official terminology *read history* preparing for the *Tripes* (three examinations at the end of each year). Once again there was only one other student senior to me (Jerzy Emisarski) who studied history, although Fitzwilliam admitted at that time a large number of Poles who had previously served in the army, navy, air force, or the Home Army. We constituted a lively community. There were also a few Polish students in other colleges with whom we had relatively little contact, to mention only the sons respectively of Stanisław Mikołajczyk and of Bohdan Winiarski, the judge at the International Tribunal at the Hague. Unlike us they were not then political emigrés. A history student Lucjan Lewiter who came to Cambridge (Christ Church) before the war later became a well known eighteenth-century specialist.

The academic life and training at Cambridge (as in Oxford) is too well known for me to describe it here in any detail. Let me only mention some features as I remember them. At that time undergraduates were still obliged to wear gowns at lectures, when calling on a professor, and in the streets after dusk. If the proctor who enforced these rules stopped a delinquent student – and if the latter tried to run away he was pursued by university policemen of sorts known as bulldogs – a fine was imposed. The attendance of a term at the university counted by the number of nights spent at his college or *digs* (room in town assigned to the student). To be absent after 10 pm one needed a special permission. Students who had come from the army – many of whom were officers – found these rules most annoying.

As a student of history I had no obligation to take any specific courses or seminars. There were no textbooks properly speaking and no courses on methodology. Instead one was given a long list of books and articles one was supposed to read. The supervisor (the instructor to whom one was assigned) suggested some lectures worth attending, and indicated topics on which one was supposed to read, write a short essay and discuss it with him on a weekly basis. I still remember my first such essay on the three field system in England. This highly individualized method of teaching had its advantages, but forced one to be very much on his own. Besides, a good deal depended on the supervisor, and I had excellent, good and poor ones during my three years.

I chose lectures which interested me, and which were related in one way or another to the written examinations (a very formal affair) which as I mentioned one had to take at the end of each year. Among the lecturers there were such outstanding historians as G. N. Clark who taught European seventeenth century or R. G. D. Laffan – international law and organization which particularly interested me. I attended some lectures of the famous medievalist M. M. Postan, who spoke with a heavy foreign accent, and the expert on international law, who also hailed from Eastern Europe, H. Lauterpacht. Herbert Butterfield's lectures were most stimulating as were his numerous books on a wide range of topics. The best lecturer, however, from the point of organization and delivery was Michael Oakeshott regarded as the great conservative thinker in the tradition of Edmund Burke. He later moved to the London School of Economics.

Another prominent historian at Cambridge was Denis Brogan a specialist

on French and American history. He began his lecture while entering the classroom by speaking at a terrific speed (only Isaiah Berlin could equal him in that respect). At the end of the hour he stopped abruptly and was gone. He often missed his classes, and after the announcement that Prof. Brogan was unable to lecture today, the students murmured: he is on his Transatlantic quiz again.

I had only once the chance to hear George M. Trevelyan, the master stylist whose books on English history were classics but who no longer taught. He briefly spoke introducing a brilliant talk given by the visiting Harold Nicolson – another famous figure. There were frequent public lectures, for instance by the great Bertrand Russell. If one is to add the prominent figures who came to speak at the Students' Union (the miniature parliament and club which I joined), for instance Lord Mountbatten, one came into contact with powerful minds and political celebrities.

I attended several meetings of University societies. At one of them Oskar Lange, newly appointed ambassador, spoke about the *new Poland*, and I did my best to heckle him and denounce communist control of Poland. I was shouted down by the audience as a Polish fascist. The same thing happened when on another occasion at a student meeting I mentioned the forbidden word *Katyń*. After all Cambridge had been the breeding ground of many prominent pro-communists, and indeed Soviet spies as Burgess, MacLean, Blunt and others.

At that point I was clearly leaning toward the history of international relations – this term was replacing that of diplomatic history – and the history of ideas. Hence, I chose all of the courses in that field. I also wanted to explore East Central Europe, but the closest I ever came to it, was in a seminar on the diplomacy of the Greek Revolution of 1821. This was my first experience of studying and analyzing diplomatic documents, I found it fascinating even though I would have preferred a topic related to Poland.

During my frequent visits to London, where my brother and sister lived, I came in contact with the Sikorski Institute and was introduced to general Marian Kukiel. My father was in his unit in World War I and he was most affable. When I graduated from Cambridge and was determined to continue to a Ph. D. I hesitated between areas and topics. Kukiel naturally suggested a topic connected with the Great Emigration, and as much as I valued his advice, I found Polish history depressing, and could not help thinking many times that if the old Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth had survived as a great power I and so many other Poles would not have to be emigrés in England. Needless to say I considered myself a political emigré – the idea of going back to the communist–ruled Poland, a Soviet satellite never seriously entered my mind.

In the late 1940s the discipline called International Relations was becoming more widespread and it was represented as a department at the London School of Economics and Political Science. I decided to apply to it and was admitted in 1948. I regarded this as a departure from history, although in fact my dissertation was historical in its approach. As we explored in interminable discussion the distinctiveness of International Relations as a scholarly discipline, I was growing disillusioned with it. Had it not been that my

professor (Charles Manning) was at daggers drawn with the head of the rival International History department, prof. Charles Webster, I would have gravitated toward the latter. As it was I wrote my dissertation under Manning's somewhat erratic supervision. It was entitled *Liberal Internationalism: The Contribution of British and French Liberal Thought to the Theory of International Relations*. It was by far too large a topic to be handled by a doctoral candidate but I did the best I could with it. Some forty years later, when introducing me as a lecturer at the School of Slavonic Studies Norman Davies called the thesis remarkable for its lucidity and for containing only one brief reference to Poland. As Davies put it *to avoid the 'Polish Elephant' with such single-minded determination must be seen as an act of English understatement without parallel*¹.

During my two years at LSE I met some interesting scholars, to mention only a slightly older Ph. D. candidate Frank Northedge who later had a distinguished academic career. I attended Harold Laski's lecture on Marxism, and remember him saying that he remained the only living person who knew and understood Marxism.

There was a Polish Students' club which for one year I presided over, but again no Polish historians as colleagues, although there were political scientists and economists. Was I becoming a political scientist? I was not sure.

At that time I was drawn into Polish emigré politics joining the Polish Freedom Movement 'Independence and Democracy' (PRW Niepodległość i Demokracja) and becoming interested in European Federalism which NiD advocated. Largely under its auspices the Union of Polish Federalists came into being and I naturally joined it. The first public lectures I gave were under the auspices of NiD and the Sikorski Institute – in the former I drew close to its leader Rowmund Piłsudski, in the latter, as mentioned my *protector* was gen. Kukiel. Other Polish historians I came in contact with were among others prof. Henryk Paszkiewicz, prof. Wiktor Sukiennicki, and prof. Karolina Lanckorońska.

As the acceptance of my dissertation was delayed for a year by the leave of absence of Charles Manning, I was fortunate to have been selected as a student representing (together with Barbara Matuszewicz) the Polish contingent at the newly created Collège d'Europe in Bruges. The nine months spent there amidst some forty colleagues drawn from several nationalities was intellectually stimulating and socially very pleasant. Being in a formative stage there was no rigid program of lectures or examinations, but we discussed such things as the European Spirit, European Heritage etc. and listened to talks of prominent politicians. The rector of the College prof. Hendrik Brugmans was a most interesting figure, versatile, articulate in many languages, erudite and of course a promoter of the European Movement. During my stay in Bruges I contributed an article to the first issue of *Cahiers de Bruges*. My topic was *The Polish–Lithuanian union as an example of a regional federation*.

On my return to England and after having had my dissertation approved I

¹ Introduction to the M. B. Grabowski Memorial Lecture, published in English and Polish as: Piotr Wandycz, *Polish Diplomacy 1914–1945. Aims and Achievements*, London 1988, p. 2.

spent a few months working at some boring project of an LSE professor, and wondering about my future. Had I remained in England it is likely that I would have tried to be a supervisor at Cambridge or teach at a lesser institution, perhaps even at the Polish University College which did not enjoy the best reputation academically. I would have become more closely linked with the Sikorski Institute and involved more deeply in NiD where I became a member of the Council. But again fate intervened, and for strong family reasons – my father was already in the United States and in very poor health – my sister, my brother and I emigrated to America in December 1951. I must confess that I regretted leaving Britain where I had spent some nine years – formative years in the army and at the university. If I shared with my fellow ex-soldiers some bitterness toward the British for the way they let us down, I could not help remembering and admiring their stamina during the war. As I have been told by many friends Britain had left its mark on me in a way the United States where I was to live for many decades thereafter did not.

I found New York where we settled a very different world from the one I had known and been familiar with. I missed the Polish community life in London with its White Eagle and Hearth (Ognisko) clubs, Hemar's theater, Sikorski Institute and the atmosphere of the Polish cafes. In America I did not like the frequent admonitions from my father's friends that one had to start at the bottom of the ladder and climb it in the typically American way. To them a British Ph. D. was acceptable but it would be better if I enrolled once again in a graduate school of an American University and thus became integrated in the system.

In those days academic positions were not advertised, and posts at the universities were given in reality either to great European scholars – eagerly sought after – or to the products of American graduate departments. I was neither, and my first attempts at work, doing translations, were not very satisfactory. The prominent Polish historian prof. Oskar Halecki to whom I had letters of introduction was not in a position to help me with a university job. He was, however, very friendly and I came to admire his vast scholarship. Thanks to him I became a member of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America, and was invited to give a public lecture which was not a success. After a few months during which I visited various universities to introduce myself and inquire about the chances of a position, I had a lucky break. A Polish sociology professor originally from Kraków, Feliks Gross who taught at New York University and was connected with the Mid-European Studies Center engaged me as his assistant.

The Center was a small prewar research institution which with the advent of the Cold War and the creation of the Committee for a Free Europe acquired new funds and engaged in various collective and individual research projects concerning the region. Prof. Gross, a student of Bronisław Malinowski had been politically active in America since 1942 as the secretary of the Central and East European Planning Board which was working for and promoting cooperation or possibly a union of the states of the region in a postwar Europe. My interest ran along similar lines. After coming to the United States I continued my involvement with the Union of Polish Federalists. I also became

secretary of the Czechoslovak–Polish Research Committee which we organized and published *The Central European Federalist*.

After a stint as Gross's assistant I received at his recommendation a grant of the Mid–European Studies Center. I was to work on a study examining the wartime negotiations between gen. Sikorski's and Beneš' governments in London in view of a union between Czechoslovakia and Poland. Thus by 1954 when I completed my research and writing I was beginning to enter through a back door the academic world in America.

Once again fate smiled on me when I learned that my former tutor from Cambridge Norman Pounds had become a professor at Indiana University in Bloomington and was organizing a center of East Central European Studies. A vacancy arose when the professor who taught Balkan history resigned and the History Department was looking for a successor. It must have been due to Pounds's influence that the department agreed to consider my candidacy. After all I had neither formal training nor scholarly publications in the field of East Central European history. Still, after an interview and a formal lecture which I gave on the Polish–Lithuanian Union, I was given the position of an instructor – a rank which later disappeared – and in 1954 began my academic life properly speaking.

Indiana University was much smaller in those days than it is today – its history department had fewer than twenty instructors, assistant and associate professors, and full professors. As the youngest member of the department I was given the general lecture course in Western European Civilization – known then among students as *From caveman to Truman* and later as *From Plato to NATO*. It was a large survey which all history students were obliged to take. Since the department chairman was somewhat doubtful if my course on the history of East Central Europe would attract enough students and be viable, I was also asked to teach courses on West European history.

The East Central European field was always secondary to Russian at American universities. Some Polish historians chose to teach the latter. It not only meant having a larger number of students – which counted toward promotion – but also provided the opportunity of interpreting Russian history from a Polish perspective. My interests, however, lay in the Polish (and East Central European) ties with the West not East. This was partly the result of my French and English training but also because I found here a field which I felt needed to be explored. Obviously there were difficulties. Lacking formal training in Polish or East European history I had to teach myself in order to teach my students, and I worked extremely hard at it. Writing on less known topics in modern East European history, I had to pay the price for engaging in pioneering studies – scarcity or inaccessibility of sources.

Research and writing were my true vocation, although my lectures had the reputation of being well–prepared and organized if not flashy. In that sense I was not a born educator who enjoys shaping the minds of the young. But since many of the undergraduates at Indiana were completely ignorant of basics of history this forced me to be much broader in my approach. Since I was interested in comparative history I examined that of Poland in a larger context of East Central Europe and indeed Europe. If occasionally frustrated with the

ignorance of my undergraduate students I felt much more at ease conducting seminars and working with candidates for M. A. or Ph. D. who were already advanced in their discipline. Even so, I had only three students at Indiana and seven at Yale whose doctoral dissertations I directed.

The atmosphere in the department at Indiana University was still a bit tense after a major conflict which had split the faculty, but as a newcomer I was not involved in internal divisions. In general I found my colleagues pleasant and helpful. With a number of them I became great friends. One of them was Vaclav Beneš, the nephew of president Beneš, who after 1948 chose exile. He taught East European politics. In my department there was a number of very reputable historians although perhaps not really famous ones. A historian who came later and had wide international connections was Robert Byrnes – one of the initiators of the organization called the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies. It published a periodical *The Slavic Review*. A leading historian of American diplomacy was Robert Ferrell.

The Bloomington campus was attractive and among its well known features was a first-rate music school. Various international companies performed at the university theater. The location, however, left something to be desired. The nearest town Indianapolis was a cultural desert and one felt far removed from great centers. The inhabitants of the Mid West in general while friendly were rather parochial. Since Indiana University was financed by the state, each year the History Department had to justify its *exotic* courses to the legislature, and persuade the lawmakers that teaching East European history was a marginal activity not costing the taxpayers a great deal. Gradually these things changed somewhat as the center of Russian and East European studies developed and its studies were perceived as relevant to the Cold War. As federal and private money poured in some students confessed that their choice of this field was dictated more by the availability of stipends and grants than by genuine interest in this area.

Promotions at American universities are closely connected to publications – the famous dictum *publish or perish*. I had the manuscript of the study completed at the Mid-European Studies Center, and I prepared it for publication under the title *Czechoslovak–Polish Confederation and the Great Powers 1940–43* (Bloomington, 1956). This task was made largely possible by my closest friend at Indiana, the above-mentioned Robert Ferrell. With unwavering patience he went with me through the entire manuscript, made suggestions, corrections, in short made it publishable. Ferrell continued to help me with all my writings in English notably with the next book *France and her Eastern Allies 1919–1926: French–Czechoslovak–Polish Relations from the Paris Peace Conference to Locarno* (Minneapolis, 1962). The book was awarded the prestigious George Louis Beer prize of the American Historical Association, and I was promoted to associate professor. It was followed in 1988 by *The Twilight of French Eastern Alliances 1926–1936*, (Princeton) which also received the same prize as well as the prize from the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies. My work became known to French historians thanks largely to the leading historian of diplomacy: Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, I established ties with such of his stu-

dents as Georges Soutou and Maurice Vaïse; another of Duroselle's students Bernard Michel became later the promoter of my doctorate honoris causa at the Sorbonne.

Without my family and Polish friends in New York I felt isolated and lonely in Bloomington. There were months during which I had no chance to speak Polish. I tried to remedy this by writing articles in Polish for the London-based periodicals: *Trybuna*, *Bellona*, *Teki Historyczne*, the New York-published *Niepodległość*, and from 1958 on for the Paris *Kultura* and its *Zeszyty Historyczne*. My collaboration with Jerzy Giedroyc grew. The only book which I wrote at that time in Polish was together with Ludwik Frenkl *Zjednoczona Europa: teoria i praktyka* [*United Europe: Theory and Praxis*, Polonia Book Fund] (London, 1965). Naturally I continued all along to publish articles and book reviews in American and Canadian scholarly journals: *American Historical Review*, *Journal of Central European Affairs*, *Slavic Review*, *World Affairs Quarterly*, *International History Review*, *Polish Review*, to which I added later *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, *Il Nuovo Areopago*, *Acta Universitatis Carolinae*, and others.

My adjustment to America took years, and even after I formally became a citizen in 1960 I was viewed by my friends and colleagues as an *unreconstructed* European. I spent virtually every summer in Europe and maintained as much as possible all my contacts in England and France. Communist Poland was of course out of bounds. This hurt me professionally for I could not research its archives except those abroad. I experienced occasional doubts about the sense and value of my work. After all, the history which I taught and wrote about was destined not only for Americans, but I also wanted to reach the Polish reader. As a professor at Indiana I sought to dispel the ignorance of American students and correct false images they had of Poland and East Central Europe. As a Polish emigré scholar I wanted to counteract the distortions spread by Communist-imposed historiography, particularly in the modern or contemporary field, which were particularly exposed to ideological interpretations. But not knowing if any of my writings had any impact on Polish historiography I had the feeling of working in a void. My books, as I discovered when I went to Poland in 1961 were marked *res* (reserved) in the catalogs which made them inaccessible to a wider audience. It was only in 1977 that I could for the first time address students in a lecture given at the Catholic University in Lublin and at Poznań.

It would be inexact to say that after the initial phase in Bloomington I had no contacts with my countrymen or women there. The East European program required some knowledge of Polish and two Poles (together with their families) came to teach it. They were Feliks Jabłonowski who was the brother of my future wife's grandfather, and Waclaw Soroka, who had been very active in the underground and the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) and had to escape his homeland after the failure of the Mikołajczyk postwar experiment. We remained close friends particularly with Soroka, who later obtained a teaching position at the University of Wisconsin in Stevens Point where he died.

At Indiana I also had my first doctoral student who was a Pole — Anna M. Cienciala. After receiving her Ph. D. — her dissertation appeared later as a

book – she went on to teach at the University of Toronto and then the University of Kansas. She became a leading historian, and I was proud to have been her doctoral adviser.

In early 1960s two historians from the University of Washington in Seattle, Donald Treadgold and Peter Sugar came up with the idea of publishing a monumental, several volume history of East Central Europe. The term East Central rather than Eastern, the latter was generally used in the West, was inspired by the publications of Halecki: *Borderlands of Western Civilization* in 1952 and ten years later *The Limits and Divisions of European History*. The great Polish scholar argued for a threefold division of Europe grounded in history: West, Center and East, the central part being subdivided into the predominantly Germanic west central, and predominantly Slav east central.

In the spring of 1963 a conference of prospective authors was held in Seattle to make final decisions about the publication. The basic idea was to avoid having a series of national histories, thus for certain periods the whole area would be encompassed in a volume, in others there would be separate volumes dealing with sub-regions or multinational entities such as the Balkans or the Habsburg Monarchy. The Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth was rightly considered such an entity. Two volume were to be devoted to it: one covering the period up to the partitions, and another dealing with the evolution of the vast partitioned area in the nineteenth century. I was entrusted with preparing the latter and I called it *The Lands of Partitioned Poland 1795–1918*. So conceived it was meant to be both more and less than a history of the Polish nation, and I sought to include the other nationalities which had been comprised within the 1772 borders. Generally the reviewers in the West among whom was the great British scholar Hugh Seton–Watson, recognized the novelty of this approach. So did some Poles when after the fall of communism the book was translated into Polish, and published by PIW in 1994.

The year 1963 was to become a turning point in my life. I married and having obtained a fellowship at the Russian Research Center at Harvard University – and a leave of absence from Indiana – my wife and I settled there for the next two years. Among the many interesting scholars I came in contact with were professors Wiktor Weintraub (later a good friend), Richard Pipes, and Adam Ulam. The project which I pursued at Harvard was a study of Soviet–Polish relations in the crucial period from the Russian revolutions to the signing of the treaty of Riga. Although I was obviously unable to use the archives in Poland, not to mention the USSR, it proved to be possible to write this book based on the vast archives of the Pilsudski Institute in New York, the as yet unpublished Trotsky papers at Harvard, archival materials at the Hoover Institution, Denikin and Miliukov papers at Columbia University, and American and British diplomatic dispatches. Kind friends in Poland managed to send me microfilms or xerox copies of some documents from Archiwum Akt Nowych in Warsaw. Since I did not know any Russian I had to take intensive courses with the result that I had no difficulty with political texts, but would have been unable to order a lunch or carry basic conversation in Russian. The book *Soviet–Polish Relations 1917–1921* was published by Har-

vard University Press in 1969. At that time I was already in my third year as professor at Yale University.

We returned from Cambridge to Indiana just for one year (1965–66) during which I participated in a huge international conference on the Habsburg Monarchy. I met at it Czech and Hungarian historians with whom I later established closer ties: J. Hávránek, G. Ránki, P. Hanák. Having received a formal offer of an associate professorship at Yale – two years later it became a full professorship and toward the end of my career a prestigious Bradford Durfee Professorship – we left Bloomington and moved to New Haven.

The Department of History at Yale was considered by many to be the best in the United States. It comprised a number of professors of the highest caliber. Let me just mention a few luminaries: Hajo Holborn in German history, John Blum, C. Van Woodward, Edmund Morgan, Howard Lamar in American history, Roberto Lopez in medieval and Jack Hexter in intellectual history, Mary and Arthur Wright in Chinese and John Hall in Japanese history. They were joined a little later by Peter Gay, Robert R. Palmer the 18th century French specialist, who should be remembered by the Poles, having being the first to include Poland in his monumental study of pre-revolutionary and revolutionary Europe. Among people who came to the Department later was Paul Kennedy who became famous after the publication of his *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military conflict from 1500 to 2000*. A great organizer he launched a new highly successful program in international relations, Security Studies and Grand Strategy. Many of the above scholars became my great friends. I should also like to mention prominent visiting professors: Zbigniew Brzeziński (Political Sciences), Leszek Kořakowski (Slavic Studies) and Krzysztof Penderecki (School of Music).

For some twenty odd years our department was probably the only one in the United States which had two senior scholars occupying chairs in East Central European history: Ivo Banac and myself. Banac's main interest was nationalism and communism and he concentrated on Yugoslavia. My major emphasis was on Poland (partly Czechoslovakia) and international relations. Thus we complemented each other and occasionally offered joint seminars. I was able to offer courses and seminars of my own choosing. Thus, I regularly taught an undergraduate course on East Central Europe (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary) from the 16th to 20th c.; a course on Great Powers and Eastern Europe in the 19th and 20th c. and more specialized seminars which were often attended by students who were not in my field. During three semesters (1967, 1969, 1974) I also taught in the East Central European Institute at Columbia as a visiting professor, commuting each week to New York. There I established a close contact and friendship with the prominent Hungarian emigré historian István Deák; Andrzej Kamiński and Stanislaus Blejwas.

I have never been a good or committed administrator, but I could not avoid such duties altogether, and I served my term as director of graduate studies in the History Department, and as chairman and also director of graduate studies in the Russian and East European Studies, an interdisciplinary center.

Yale meant for me – from a scholarly viewpoint – not only a sophisticated

intellectual atmosphere and stimulating academic surroundings, but closer contact with American and international centers of learning. I traveled frequently to New York, not only in connection with trips to Columbia but also to the Piłsudski Institute where I became a protégé of sorts of Waław Jędrzejewicz, and the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences (PIASA). Many years later I became a historical adviser of the former and a president (in 1999) of the latter. I served also on New York – based selection committees of the International Research and Exchange Board (IREX) and American Council of Learned Societies. The work there consisted on evaluating proposals for academic exchanges with the Communist bloc – made possible in the bridge–building phase of Western–Soviet relations. In 1972 I myself became a recipient of an IREX grant and traveled with my family (which included my wife, our two daughters and a son) to Poland. I spend the academic year as an exchange scholar first at the Jagiellonian University, and later at Charles University in Prague. The atmosphere in Prague (less so in Bratislava) was still tense after the Soviet intervention and many historians were deprived of their jobs. I had to move cautiously and was greatly assisted by Jaroslav Valenta (a leading specialist on Czechoslovak–Polish relations) and the recently departed Zdeňek Sládek, who passed to me documents which were denied to me in the archives. When visiting Slovakia I had to be officially endorsed by the Academy before I could contact fellow historians such as V. Bystrický, L. Deák, or the former politician Pavlo Čarnogurský. During my stay there, I was invited to give a lecture at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, where I met the dean of Hungarian historians (then barely tolerated) Domokos Kosáry.

As I was becoming more established in the historical profession in the United States and becoming better known in international scholarly circles my travels to conferences, research centers, and foreign universities became more frequent. I have already mentioned the stay in Poland and Czechoslovakia, and the visit to Budapest in 1972–73. I went on another scholarly exchange to Poland in 1977–78, which also included a few months of research in Paris.

A list of the most important public presentations and papers given at conferences during my years at Yale should include lectures at such American universities as Harvard, Princeton, Berkeley, Stanford, Chicago, Columbia, Universities of Wisconsin, of Michigan, Indiana University, as well as at such institutions as the Library of Congress, the Foreign Service Institute (for American diplomats) or the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars; at Canadian universities (McGill, Carleton, Toronto, Edmonton); at the University of London, at the Sorbonne, Academy of Sciences at Budapest, Charles University in Prague, to which one should add conferences at Pécs, Ráckeve, Garmisch Partenkirchen, Bruges, Marburg, Amsterdam, Dubrovnik, etc. Longer scholarly visits which involved lecturing included the Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna (1993), University of Göteborg (1995), Central European University in Budapest (1995), Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum für Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas in Leipzig (1997). I was fortunate to have been chosen for a stay of several weeks at the Rockefeller Foundation Center at Villa Serbelloni in Bellagio (1975) which was designed to provide oppor-

tunity for reflection and exchange of ideas within a small international group of intellectuals. I regretted only that with one or two exceptions no Polish scholars from Poland ever became guests of these unusual institutions.

My journeys to Rome belonged to a different category: in 1981 I attended the preparatory meeting of the Polish Institute of Christian Culture sponsored by the pope John Paul II; in 1990 I went for the first of a series of Polish–Ukrainian–Lithuanian–Belorussian meetings sponsored by the Institute of East Central Europe in Lublin. The spiritus movens of these sessions held in Lublin (Rome II), Kamieniec Podolski (Rome III), Grodno (Rome IV), Troki (Rome V) and Rome (VI) again, was the eminent historian prof. Jerzy Kłoczowski. This path-breaking initiative found its outcome in the publication among others of a two volume *Historia Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej* [*History of East Central Europe*], Lublin, 2000 to which I contributed several chapters.

Throughout my academic career I cooperated with Polish emigré institutions and tried hard to maintain contact with Polish learning at home. In the case of the latter I was determined to remain true to professional ethics and make no ideological compromises. I was a member of the Polish Historical Association in Great Britain, the Association of Professors and Docents of Polish Higher Schools in Britain, Polish Institute and Gen. Sikorski Museum in London, Société historique et littéraire in Paris, the already-mentioned Piłsudski Institute and PIASA in New York. I was also a member of foreign associations being elected to Académie Libre des Sciences et des Lettres in Paris, the Council of Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences (SVU) abroad, etc. I was honored by the Jurzykowski Foundation Award, by prizes of the Piłsudski Institute and PIASA and the Lenkiewicz Prize of the Polish Scholarly Association abroad.

The above activity and the recognition it earned did not mean that I neglected American scholarly activities. In addition to the above-mentioned IREX and ACLS I served on the editorial boards of the leading American, and Canadian journals, received various American honors of which the most prestigious was the Guggenheim Fellowship.

Those of my books which I write in Polish could only appear in Paris or London – under the aegis of Kultura or Polonia Fund. In the late 1970s, however, it became possible to publish abroad certain books by Polish scholars living in Poland, in a series called *Past and Present*. I was invited to join the editorial board together with Czesław Miłosz, Henryk Wereszycki, Jacek Woźniakowski, and Czesław Zgorzelski. It was in a sense a first step toward becoming directly involved with scholarship at home. The next step was the publication – outside censorship – during the martial law of a shortened version of my *United States and Poland* (Harvard University Press, 1980) by Głos under the title *Stracone szanse: stosunki polsko-amerykańskie 1939–1987*, and of a reprint in Wrocław, 1989 of my *Z dziejów dyplomacji* [*On diplomatic history*] (London 1998).

The fall of Communism meant for me an ever increasing collaboration with Polish scholarship in the homeland, which marked a new chapter in my scholarly activities. When in Poland in the years 1972–73 and 1977–78 I had been able to give only some presentations in Warsaw (PAN), Poznań, and

Kraków in a restricted circle of scholars (the public lecture at KUL had been mentioned earlier) and I was careful not to embarrass the organizers. An invitation by a newspaper to give an interview I ignored. After 1989 I could teach at the East European Summer School attached to University of Warsaw (1992), participate in conferences organized by the International Cultural Centre in Kraków, serve on the International Advisory Council of the Institute of Political Studies of Polish Academy of Sciences (ISP PAN, 1991–), on the Council for the Assistance to the Poles in the East (1991–94), on the Council of the Foundation *Artes Liberales* (1999–), on the Award Committee of World Research Council on Poles Abroad (2000–), and on the advisory council of *Przegląd Wschodni*. I become a member of the Association of East Central Europe at Lublin.

Two of my books appeared in Polish translation: the earlier mentioned *Lands of Partitioned Poland* as *Pod zaborami. Ziemie Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1705–1918* (PIW, Warsaw 1994), and *The Price of Freedom: A History of East Central Europe from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Routledge, London 1992) – which has by now been published in several languages – as *Cena Wolności. Historia Europy Środkowo-wschodniej od średniowiecza do współczesności* (Znak, Krakow 1995 and 2003)². My books written originally in Polish included: *Z Piłsudskim i Sikorskim: August Zaleski, Minister spraw zagranicznych R. P. 1926–32, 1939–41* [*With Piłsudski and Sikorski: August Zaleski, Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1926–32, 1939–41*] (Wydawn. Sejmowe, Warszawa 1999), *Pax Europaea. Dzieje systemów międzynarodowych w Europie 1815–1914* [*Pax Europaea. A History of international systems in Europe 1815–1914*] (Arcana, Kraków 2003) and *O Federalizmie i emigracji: Reminiscencje o rzeczach istotnych i błahych, rozmowy przeprowadził Sławomir Łukasiewicz* [*On Federalism and Emigration, talks edited by S. Łukasiewicz*] (Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, Lublin 2003). Starting with *Tygodnik Powszechny* in 1982 (for which I wrote over thirty articles), I kept contributing articles on historical subjects to such periodicals as *Więź*, *Arka* and *Arcana, Przegląd Polityczny*, etc.

It has been a source of great pride and satisfaction to have been invited to speak at the plenary sessions of the XVth and XVIth General Meetings of Polish Historians in Gdańsk (1994), and Wrocław (1999). I may have been the only emigré historian to have had this honor. There were other signs of recognition: In 1991 I was elected member of the Polish Academy of Arts and Letters (PAU) and a year later named honorary member of the Polish Historical Association (PTH). In 1993 I was elected to the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN). In 1995 an issue of *Studia z dziejów ZSRR i Europy Środkowej* was dedicated to me on the occasion of my 70th birthday. It comprised a bibliography of my writings in Polish, English, French, German, Italian, Czech, etc. The bibliographical data was brought up to 2002 in another *Festschrift* offered by my students: *Ideology, Politics and Diplomacy in East Central Europe*, ed. by M. B. Biskupski, Rochester 2003. In 1993 I was honored

² P. Wandycz, *Die Freiheit und ihr Preis*, Wien 1993 dedicated to Juliusz Mieroszewski despite an almost identical title is not a translation but a separate item.

by a doctorate honoris causa of Wrocław University, in 2000 of the Jagiellonian University. Foreign awards included a doctorate honoris causa of the Sorbonne (1997) and of the Catholic University on Lublin (2004), and the Hlavka Medal of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences³.

My retirement from Yale University in 1997 put an end to my formal teaching (although I served since on some doctoral examination boards) but not to my research, writing and participation in international and Polish conferences. During my long academic career I have been privileged to establish contact or indeed contract ties of friendship with many fellow historians. I have mentioned several of them on the preceding pages. At this point let me add a few names. I became acquainted with the then dean of French diplomatic historians Pierre Renouvin; I exchanged ideas with such German scholars as the controversial Gotthold Rhode, the diplomatic historian Peter Krüger, the specialist on East Central Europe Jörg Hoensch, the friend of the Poles Hans Roos. The French diplomat–historian Henri Rollet became a friend. The last three died prematurely. I have always retained ties to Czechoslovak historians abroad: let me just mention Milan Hauner and Igor Lukes. Among younger German historians I have collaborated with Frank Hadler.

I referred to Polish emigré historians in *Historycy i Historia na Emigracji* [*Historians and History in emigration*] (in: *Nauka Polska wobec Totalitaryzmów. W 55 rocznicę wybuchu II wojny światowej. Materiały sympozjum 15–17 IX 1994, Warszawa*), in *Historyk emigracyjny – refleksje* [*The reflections of an emigré historian*] (in: *Rocznik Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności 1999/2000*), and in *Geschichtsschreibung im Exil* (Siegrist, Hannes, hrsg. *Komsum und Region im 20. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 2001). I paid tribute to Marian Kukiel and Oskar Halecki in: *O dwóch historykach* [*About Two Historians*] in: *Zeszyty Historyczne* 32, 1975.

In my brief survey of Polish historiography which appeared in the *American Historical Review* 97, 4/1992 – and was reprinted in a Polish translation in Jerzy Kłoczowski, Paweł Kras, eds., *Historiografia Krajów Europy Środkowo–Wschodniej*, Lublin 1997 – I could refer only to a few contemporary scholars. In fact there were many historians whom I have known, admired and could call friends. Let me mention here only those luminaries who are no longer with us: Henryk Batowski, Aleksander Gieysztor, Stefan Kieniewicz, Janusz Pajewski, Tadeusz Łepkowski, Antoni Mączak, Emanuel Mateusz Rostworowski and Henryk Wereszycki. Some of their works had appeared in English translation.

At various stages of my academic career I have tried to put down my reflections about teaching Polish and East Central European history in America. In *The Treatment of East Central Europe in History Textbooks* in: *American Slavic and East European Review* 16, 1957 I sought to draw attention to the omissions and distortions in existing presentations, *A Study of Polish History* in Stanislaus A. Blejwas, ed., *East Central European Studies*:

³ Personal data can be found in: *Who's Who in America, Directory of American Scholars, Who's Who in Polish America, Polonia Słownik Biograficzny, Leksykon Polonii i Polaków za granicą, Villardczycy, Słownik Biograficzny, Honorowa Księga Nauki Polskiej, Pamiętnik Literacki* 15, 1960, pp. 156–157, *Arka* 15, 1986.

A Handbook for Graduate Students (New York 1974) was meant as a brief introduction. *Teaching Polish History*, AAASS, *News-Net* 37, 5/1997 was written in response to a request to present the problems involved as seen by a practitioner. Under the same title there appeared my comments in *New Horizon: Polish American Cultural Review*, February 1999. I expressed my views about history in general in several interviews or opinion polls at such periodicals as *Arcana*, *Arka*, *Nowy Dziennik*, *Przegląd Polski*, *Przegląd Polityczny*, *Teki Historyczne*, *Tygodnik Powszechny*, as well as in *Festschriften* honoring Béla Király, Domokos Kosáry, and Jacek Woźniakowski

If I were to follow the dictum in my quotation from *Alice in Wonderland* I should stop when coming to the end. But the year 2004 is hopefully not the end of my activities as a Polish scholar abroad. It promises to be a very active year. I plan to finish writing on Aleksander Skrzyński, speaking at international conferences in Louvain, Leipzig and Paris. So, let me end my autobiography with some general reflections.

One is sadly aware of the fact that Polish (or East Central European) history is only of marginal interest to American general public, students and publishers. It is not exotic enough as for instance Chinese history, or seen as relevant politically (Russian) or familiar because of common roots: British and to a lesser extent Western European. The linguistic and geographic difficulties discourage many potential adepts. At the same time there exists a small body of students and scholars who have been specializing in this field and who have been making valuable and important contributions. Hence, the teacher like myself has faced the challenge of sustaining and developing this interest while being aware of its limitations. To counter a certain ignorance, superficiality and prejudices which accompany the views about the Polish past, the historian faces the danger of becoming an advocate, a witness for the defense, or an accuser, rather than an impartial scholar. In the last two hundred years Poland oscillated in the words of the Polish historian Wereszycki between freedom and subjection, and the Poles have become very sensitive to criticism. They see slights even when none are intended. One's countrymen expect a Polish historian teaching abroad to be an *ambassador* representing the *Polish Cause*. My experiences with the American academia and the public made me aware, at times painfully aware of these facts.

There are, however, also redeeming features. Looking at Poland and its past from a distance one tends to see a larger picture. Polish history may be the center of one's teaching and research, but he/she comes to realize the pitfalls of a parochial approach. Hence, the tendency, which I for one, fully shared, toward comparative history, toward placing the Polish developments within a regional – East Central European – and a general context. Both Polish achievements and failures appear then in sharper, more defined contours.

As I have already stressed the emancipation of Poland from communism meant for me the end of the status of a political emigré. I found myself welcomed and admitted to the scholarly circles of my homeland. Still, I realize that I shall always remain somewhat outside the main current of Polish historical profession. That is the price which a historian who has spent most of his life abroad has to pay.