SYMPATHY, ANTIPATHY, HOSTILITY.

BRITISH ATTITUDES TO NON-REPATRIABLE POLES AND UKRAINIANS AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND TO THE HUNGARIAN REFUGEES OF 1956

by

JANINE HANSON

Vol II

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at

The University of Sheffield, Department of History

June 1995.

PART THREE : THE RESPONSES TO THE REFUGEES IN YORKSHIRE

10. THE RECEPTION OF POLES IN YORKSHIRE FROM 1945 ONWARDS

Introduction

In the immediate post-war years Yorkshire became a major centre of Polish resettlement in Britain, particularly the West Riding, where the textile mills provided ample employment opportunities. The nature of the work in the textile industry attracted female refugees as employees, and the presence of Polish women in the area served to act as a magnet to Polish men looking for somewhere to settle in Britain.

Population

According to the Census figures for 1951 there were 299 men and 188 women of Polish nationality resident in the East Riding, 807 men and 453 women in the North Riding and 9,838 men and 3,358 women in the West Riding. The West Riding was far more populated generally as it contained the cities and towns of Barnsley, Bradford, Dewsbury, Doncaster, Halifax, Harrogate, Huddersfield, Keighley, Leeds, Rotherham, Sheffield, Wakefield and York. Of the towns and cities of the West Riding the

most popular centres for Polish settlement were Bradford (1,797 men, 960 women), Leeds (1,443 men, 743 women) and Sheffield (1,061 men, 145 women). The lack of Polish women in the Sheffield area was related to the employment opportunities available in the area which were mainly aimed at male workers, compared with the female labour required by the textile firms in Bradford and the surrounding area.[1]

Nationality tables for the 1961 Census give more detailed information than those of 1951. In the East Riding there were 246 male Polish residents and 120 female. Of these, 66 men and 39 women had become naturalized citizens of the United Kingdom and colonies. In the North Riding there were 408 male residents born in Poland, 107 of whom were now British citizens, and 155 women, 33 of whom had been naturalized. During the ten years since the previous Census the North Riding had lost two-thirds of its female Polish residents. In the larger West Riding there were 7,793 men (1,339 naturalized) and 2,989 women (418 naturalized). These figures show 17 per cent of West Riding Polish men and 14 per cent of women to have been naturalized. Figures for the three largest cities of the West Riding were :

Bradford 1,463 men (188 naturalized - 13 per cent), 840 women (68 naturalized - 8 per cent)

Leeds 1,439 men (260 - 18 per cent), 771 women (139 - 18 per cent)
Sheffield 891 men (166 - 19 per cent), 188 women (40 - 21 per cent).

When taken into consideration with the figures for the smaller towns naturalization appears to have been generally more common in areas not centred around the textile industry.[2]

The Census of 1971 was the last taken before the reorganization of the counties. In the East Riding there were 290 Polish residents consisting of 185 men (81 per cent married or widowed) and 105 women (90 per cent married or widowed). The other categories of residents were single and divorced. In the North Riding there were 410 Polish men (85 per cent married/widowed) and 120 women (96 per cent married/widowed). Statistics were not given regarding Polish acquisition of British citizenship.

In the West Riding as a whole there were 6,775 male Polish residents, 5,555 of them married and 205 widowed (85 per cent), and 2,965 women, 2,285 married and 43[illegible] widowed (92 per cent). Again taking the separate figures for Bradford, Leeds and Sheffield :

Bradford	1,160 men	995 married/widowed	86 per cent
	780 women	710 married/widowed	91 per cent
Leeds	1,175 men	960 married/widowed	82 per cent
	710 women	640 married/widowed	90 per cent
Sheffield	800 men	690 married/widowed	86 per cent
	190 women	175 married/widowed	92 per cent.[3]

The two main areas considered in this study of the reception of Poles in Yorkshire are Bradford and Sheffield.

Employment

One of the priorities for Poles settling in Yorkshire was to find work.

In January 1947 the Wool (and Allied) Textile Employers' Council revealed that they were considering the recruitment of workers from the Polish women's services to help 'Close the gap in 1947' of the deficiency of 50,000 workers in the industry.[4] The textile unions responded that they held no objections to the use of Polish labour provided that recruitment took place through the Ministry of Labour, that no British workers were available and there was full consultation with the unions. However, this announcement was made after the Bradford Telegraph and Argus had already announced on 3

February 1947 that twenty members of the PRC were already being employed in the wool textile industry in Halifax. By 31 January 1948 1,417 members of the Polish Resettlement Corps were employed in the wool textile industry in Britain, the majority of whom would have been in Yorkshire.[5]

Although generally accepted quite well into the wool textile industry, Poles in the West Riding did experience a certain amount of hostility. In December 1947 the workers at the Charlestown Combing Company in Baildon refused to work on the night shift with Poles. The local employees also claimed that the Poles were in receipt of additional rations of food and clothing allowances. The Ministry of Labour and the Woolcombing Employers' Federation refuted these claims. The Poles received the same meat ration as the rest of the population, in addition to which they received industrial bread units but this was in common with manual workers of all nationalities throughout Britain. The Poles did not receive any additional clothing allowance other than the settling-in allowance of 24/6 they received on arrival to tide them over until they received their first pay. A similar arrangement existed for British workers transferred to essential industries but British workers were also eligible for a lodging allowance, unlike the foreign workers. The Baildon dispute was the result of

the employment by the firm of just six Poles, to which the night shift operatives protested immediately and were later temporarily joined in sympathy by the dayshift.[6] Negotiations ended the strike after four days, it having received no union sanction in that time. The strike prompted a letter from 'Goodwill' in Bradford who believed the strikers "should be ashamed of themselves" and compared their behaviour to Hitler's persecution of the Poles. 'Goodwill' voiced his suspicions that the reason for objections to Polish labour was the possible loss of overtime by the present workers if more labour was employed.[7] A letter in reply to 'Goodwill' was received from 'Give and Take' who stated that the Poles "would be better employed in their own country to put it on its feet" and that if woolcombers were paid an adequate wage there would be no need for the use of foreign labour as plenty of former workers would return to the industry.[8] 'Woolcomber, exRAF' also believed that wages were the real issue at Baildon and that there was in fact plenty of room in the industry for the employment of Poles.[9] Another correspondent, John Looby, found it difficult to understand the objections to giving Poles and Balts asylum in Britain.[10]

Individual expressions of hostility continued to appear. In July 1948 there was a letter published in the Bradford Telegraph and Argus in which the writer claimed to have

heard that EVWs did not have to pay income tax. The man was unemployed and appeared resentful that foreigners should have work in textiles when he was without work. The reply from the editor was that the Bradford employment exchange had work waiting for the man in textiles if he was interested and that EVWs paid the same rates of income tax as other residents of the United Kingdom.

In general the Poles were perceived as very efficient workers by the textile industry. This was particularly true in jobs involving piece work, for example burling and mending, where Poles were often speedier than the local workers. The Polish workers were also eager to work all the hours they could, in order to save money for houses and other basic necessities. This was in contrast to many of the local workers who were content to work fewer hours, preferring the leisure time to the extra money.[11]

A suspicion of the political Left remained amongst first generation Poles in Britain. A reluctance to join trades unions persisted and those able to vote in British elections often voted for the Conservatives. Another reason put forward by a first generation Pole for the reluctance to join trades unions was the agricultural background of many of the refugees, who had no tradition

of joining such organizations. This reluctance was compounded by wartime experiences as forced labour and the desire to work as many hours as possible.[12]

Through the Polish newspaper Dziennik Polski the Polish Combatants' Association was able to place some of the Poles who had been made redundant as a result of the recession in the textile trade in 1951-2 in other forms of employment in industries where Polish labour was already employed. The Sheffield branch found employment for 68 Poles, the Leeds branch for 90 and in Bradford 73 were found alternative employment.[13]

By 21 April 1947 two camps had been established in the West Riding of Yorkshire to accommodate Poles intended for employment in coalmining, and there was a further camp in the North Riding for Polish ironstone miners working in the Skelton ironstone mines at Saltburn. However, Yorkshire, along with Scotland, the East Midlands and South Wales, proved to be areas where objections to the employment of Poles in the coalmines were most deeply entrenched within the ranks of local branches of the National Union of Mineworkers. Despite the statement of NCB recruitment officers that the failure to employ Poles in the coal industry would delay the upgrading of British miners from haulage to work at the coalface, by 5 June 1947 out of a total of 140 pits

in Yorkshire only 9 had Poles working there, with two others having agreed to accept them. The Communist influence within the NUM continued to allege fascist sympathies amongst the Poles. It was also claimed that their introduction would postpone improvements in wages and conditions in contrast to the NCB view that it would enable the upgrading of local workers. In total 140 Poles were employed in Yorkshire pits at this time. One of the pits which had accepted Polish workers was Newmarket Colliery, near Wakefield, where a pit deputy was quoted as saying of the Poles "They're all good lads and we get on well together."[14] He also stated that when there was any "backchat" from the Poles it did not matter as nobody understood what they were saying.[15]

Another pit which accepted Polish workers was Grange Colliery at Rotherham. In June 1947 there were 32 Poles employed there. The Poles were reported to have been impressed by the unexpected welcome they received from their British colleagues who invited the Poles into their homes at weekends.[16]

The majority of the Yorkshire pits which had accepted Polish labour by June 1947 were in the Barnsley area.[17] Polish trainees were used at Corton Wood Colliery at Wombwell as haulage hands, thus enabling British workers to be upgraded to face work.

Poles also underwent pit training at the Askern Training Centre near Doncaster. The training lasted for four weeks before a supervised period of working underground. The first Polish trainees arrived in March 1947. A number of these Poles were resident at the Moss Road Hostel in Askern. The manager of the Askern Training Centre, Mr A. J. Coles had "warm praise" for the Poles training there.[18]

In the Sheffield area, Birley East Pit at Woodhouse, served as a training centre for mining recruits of all nationalities, including Poles from the PRC. The only difference in the training received by the Poles and the British recruits was that the Poles received language instruction, particularly of technical terms used in mining.[19] The men were found accommodation at the Bevin Hostel in Gateford Road, Worksop and at a hostel in Ollerton during the training period. The first batch of 50 Poles, all of whom were ex-servicemen, arrived in May 1947.

Engineering was a popular choice amongst Poles but was difficult to enter initially. This was mainly due to the skilled nature of the vacancies and the relative attractiveness of the engineering industry to local men. In some areas of the country, including Sheffield, the exclusion of Polish workers was further exacerbated by

the association of leading members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union with the Communist Party of Great Britain.

In the Sheffield area Polish labour was used in the steelworks from January 1947 onwards. Polish workers with specialist experience in the industry were used only in special cases, Poles were generally used as manual labour in the heavy and dirty sections of the industry. The rolling mills made particular use of Polish workers, as they were in great need of additional labour.

The 'By the Way' column of the Sheffield Star in March 1948, included a "useful hint" for employers of prisoners of war and displaced persons which had just been published in an article entitled 'Personnel Management' in Claycraft, the journal of the Institute of Technology. The author Harold Horsfield stated that foreign workers should be treated like the other workers, "without any preference or prejudice" and in this way employees would more quickly treat them as individuals. He also advised "Get to know their names as individuals and refer to them by name, not as 'Jerrys' or 'Poles'".[20]

In the Sheffield foundries objections were raised by the trades unions. Foundry workers in the city were hostile to the use of any foreign labour and when in January 1947

2,800 Italian foundry workers were recruited to work in Britain none of them had found employment in Sheffield.[21] At one local foundry there had been plans by the management to employ Italians but these had to be cancelled when local workers threatened to strike.

In a survey of the material available in the Bradford Heritage Recording Unit, of the known first employment of 24 first generation Poles arriving in the area during the 1940s fifteen found employment in textiles, five in mining, two in watch repairs and one as a foundry worker. None found first employment in engineering but this industry was later moved into by four of the men, three of whom had originally worked in coalmining.[22] Three of the men had eventually bought their own shops. Only six first generation Polish women in the interviews identified their first employment, four of them worked in textiles, whereas the other two had never worked, preferring instead to look after their family. Salts and Listers were the most common places of employment amongst the interviewees employed in textiles. Two of Salts former employees complained about the conditions there; one complaint concerned rates of pay and the other the limited scope of promotion prospects.

Amongst the second generation interviewed by the BHRU there was a marked improvement in types of occupation.

The men included a computer programmer, an architect, and a failed professional footballer with Sheffield Wednesday FC, whilst office work was common amongst the women. The changes in occupational structure reflect both the encouragement to succeed in education given by many first generation Poles to their children, and also the decline of the manufacturing industries at the time of the interviews in the early 1980s.

The opinion expressed by some Poles was one of 'charity begins at home' and therefore it was acceptable that British workers were preferred to Poles.[23] Poles with this viewpoint found it easier to accept both unemployment and the less desirable jobs. One first generation Pole, employed in engineering, actually refused a supervisory position because he did not want his workmates to resent him as a foreigner because of his elevated position and also because of self-consciousness about his lack of linguistic ability. He was encouraged by his colleagues to accept the offer but still refused.

Others, however were angry at the waste of skills amongst the first generation Poles. One Pole stated:

> "people with skills and everything, they were bloody wasted. They used to go work in the bloody kitchens in hotels".[24]

Other Poles did well for themselves, setting themselves up in small businesses, such as, the Polish-owned 'Acapulco' nightclub in Halifax. Polish shops and delicatessens in Bradford provided an informal meeting place for both Poles and other East European groups in the city. The first Polish delicatessen was opened on Taunton Road in 1949. At one point there were Polish shops on Lumb Lane.

One second generation Pole claimed to be aware of eight or nine families in Bradford who had changed their surnames for business purposes. He had considered changing his own name whilst at school but decided against it when he was sixteen.[25] He admitted that if he had changed his name his father would not have been pleased about it.

Accommodation

Apart from obtaining employment the Poles also needed as a first priority to find somewhere to live. Initially many were housed in hostels but the majority of Poles had aspirations to move into private property.

Discipline in the hostels which housed the Poles could be difficult to maintain. In December 1946 there was an incident at a camp at Watton near Driffield in East

Yorkshire which accommodated approximately 1,000 Poles,[26] when eighty girls, many aged between 14 and 18 years old, were discovered by police carrying out a raid. The police had been called in by members of the public after there had been a number of local protests concerning what they believed to be "conduct prejudicial to village life and crowding out of ordinary passengers on late buses" by the Polish residents of the camp.[27] During the first raid carried out at midnight the fifteen police officers had failed to find any of the girls but they returned unexpectedly at seven o'clock the following evening at which time the eighty girls were found in the men's huts. The girls' names were taken before being put on a bus home to Hull. A number of other girls managed to escape police capture. Undeterred, it was reported that Polish soldiers continued to walk the village street in Watton, apparently waiting for girlfriends who failed to appear.[28] The incident attracted national publicity.[29] An investigation into the discipline and administration of the camp was instigated but a recommendation was also made by the Minister responsible for the Poles, the Secretary of State for War, Fred Bellenger, who said that parents should "exercise their responsibility in cases of this nature to avoid such incidents".[30] A concerned Hull education authority also conducted its own inquiry.

In February 1947 it was announced that Aireville Hall, a stately mansion in parkland near Skipton and the army hutments adjoining it which belonged to Skipton Urban Council, was to be used for the accommodation of Poles.[31] Ivy Pearson, from the Skipton branch of the Communist Party, complained that the hall was supposed to be developed to provide recreational facilities, a plan which had been interrupted by the Second World War but should now be put into operation. She argued that if it was to be used to provide accommodation, it should be used for the benefit of Skipton families rather than Poles. However, as the editor of the Bradford Telegraph and Argus pointed out, although the building had been requisitioned at the time of its purchase by Skipton Council, it had not yet entered into the possession of the Council. The council had not been officially informed of the preparations by local firms to use the hall to house Polish workers.[32]

Poles were also amongst the residents of the Greenbank Industrial Hostel on St Margaret's Road, Horsforth. The hostel held 750 residents, amongst whom it was estimated in September 1947 there were 250 Poles, Lithuanians, Latvians and men from the West Indies. Irish and Scottish girls were also resident there. An estimated 90 per cent of the residents were employed in the Bradford area textile mills.[33]

In Sheffield it was, at first, feared that the greatest obstacle to the employment of Poles in local industry would be an accommodation shortage. Approximately 200 Poles were in residence at the temporary Wood Lane Resettlement Camp at Wadsley when it was due for closure in February 1948. An appeal was issued in the local press appealing for lodgings for the Polish workers.[34] Poles in the area were instrumental in providing a partial solution to this problem themselves, setting up their own organization to deal with it. One of the problems they faced was prejudice against them by many landladies. There was concern that the Poles should be encouraged to mix socially with locals and improve their English, which was not often the case when Poles lived together in groups.

There was a workers' hostel at Cannon, Barnsley where 220 men and 27 families were accommodated. The majority of the men were employed in the local steel industry. The hostel was meant to be temporary and as such had few comforts; however in 1948 some residents had already been there for six months.[35]

In some cases there was conflict between the different nationalities in the workers' hostels. Hostility between the Poles and Ukrainians was well known. It was also reported that Irish workers in the hostels were

antagonistic towards the Poles.[36] It was reported from Greenbanks Industrial Hostel in 1948 that there was friction between the Polish and West Indian male residents which, according the the manager, was a result of rivalries over women.[37]

A significant number of Poles also spent time in lodgings. A member of the Leeds branch of the Anglo-Polish Society wrote to the Yorkshire Post to reassure one English lady who was going to have two Polish girls stay with her, that their manners and customs were much the same as those of the British, and that she was not to worry about what they would eat as they would eat "anything they can get". The Anglo-Polish Society member also stated that the best course of action in dealing with Poles was to "speak slowly".[38]

In July 1948 a 42 year old canteen assistant from Huddersfield was jailed for four months for obtaining money under false pretences from a Polish man who had been convinced by her that she was setting up a boarding house to provide accommodation for Poles. She obtained from him £2 for coal, £2 for the wages of a servant, £1 for clothing for the Polish man's wife and £3 after she told him her son had been in an accident and was in a Barnsley hospital. In reality, there was no boarding

house and there had been no accident. The woman pleaded guilty to the charges.[39]

A number of Polish tenants also found their way to the Bradford Rent Tribunal. This included tenants with landlords of both English and Polish nationality. As an example of the overcrowding experienced by many Poles the details of one case, where the landlord was a fellow Pole, showed the house to be let as follows:

Ground floor front combined room - one man sharing with the joint owner, 15 shillings (all prices per week).
Ground floor back combined room - couple with two children, £1 10 shillings.
First floor front small room - couple with one small child, £1 17 shillings
First floor front room - couple with two children one of whom aged 22, £2 10 shillings.
Second floor curtained off attic - couple with two adult sons and a girl aged 12, £3.
There was only one bathroom and one kitchen for the use of all the residents.[40]

Very few Poles found council house accommodation. When it became public knowledge that a Polish couple with a baby had been granted a council house by the Housing Committee of Bradford City Council in March 1950 there

was uproar in the letters column of the local newspaper. Questions were raised about the validity of the points scheme which was responsible for the allocation of houses and also about the granting of housing to Poles when British residents of Bradford born outside the city were disqualified. There were also complaints that the Polish family had only applied for a house in 1948 and many Bradfordians had been waiting for a council house whilst having to live in crowded conditions with relatives or in lodgings. One correspondent signed himself 'BE BRITISH'. A council spokesman denied that anyone with sufficient points had been debarred from council house provision regardless of their place of birth. It was stated that the Polish family did qualify under the points system and that the man had in fact applied for naturalization as a British subject. The council also took the view that

> "Anything - letter or speech - which would be likely to create ill-feeling between English and foreign workers is very much to be deprecated, particularly in a city like Bradford."[41]

Whether or not the Polish family was entitled to the house, the comments made by the local residents give a clear indication of the strength of feeling on the issue of the housing shortage and the priority which many felt should be given to British families. Only one letter was

forthcoming that was particularly supportive of the Poles and other European Volunteer Workers. It stressed that the refugees were working hard in jobs which British labour regarded as unattractive and, having brought these groups to Britain, the British were under a responsibility as to how "such lesser mortals as Poles, Latvians, etc," had to live.[42]

This discussion of the housing of Poles in Yorkshire has so far been concerned with rented accommodation. However, it is important to note that as settlement became more permanent the Poles also became property owners. Areas popular for Polish residence in Bradford were the Heaton, Horton and Manningham areas of the city. Choice tended to be influenced by the close proximity to other Poles and the affordability of the houses in these areas. Throughout the 1950s there was a tendency for Poles to move out of lodgings into their own properties. The desirability of property ownership after the enforced deprivations of the war years meant that few Poles chose to live in either private rented or council accommodation.[43] After initial house purchase there was a further tendency amongst the Poles to move out of the cheaper residential areas so they became more widely distributed throughout the city. The movement of Poles into new areas occurred at different points in time,

closely related as it was to rising levels of individual wealth and income.

Social and political attitudes towards the Poles

As the Poles became more visible, both in the workplace and in residential areas, social and political attitudes towards them began to form in the minds of the indigenous population.

On 31 August 1946 the Bradford Telegraph and Argus printed a leading article which praised the formation of the Polish Resettlement Corps by the British Government. The article was also critical of propaganda which was responsible for generating resentment towards the Poles, the aim of which was to direct attention away from the reasons why the Poles feared repatriation. It was in favour of the use of Poles in civilian occupations where no British labour was available, stating "There should be no reason to fear that this labour would cheapen that provided by our own people." Such views would seem justified by the reports in the newspaper in the preceding months of the shortage of workers in the textile industry.[44]

This article prompted a fair amount of correspondence from the residents of Bradford, some of which was

published in the newspaper. E. V. Tempest, a frequent writer to the Telegraph and Argus, did not belong to the Communist Party of Great Britain, but he was known to have strong Communist sympathies. He wrote in support of the Polish Government's assurances that repatriates would not be persecuted. Joseph Conway was also unsympathetic to the large number of Poles resident in Britain at the expense of the British taxpayer. H. L. S. wrote "Naturally, the Poles do not want to return to the wretched conditions which existed in pre-war Poland after years of idleness and comparative luxury many of them enjoyed at our expense in this country." He further argued that "In obedience to the Vatican these men have repudiated their country" and asked "Why should we continue to spend millions of pounds in nursing these aliens, when our own aged poor lack bare necessities?"[45]

Further correspondence was received in reply to the above letters. Phyllis Mortimer accused the above of using the Polish situation to express their own pro-Russian or anti-Catholic views or of being "lamentably ill-informed about Polish matters". She called for public opinion to be "roused to the injustice done to the Poles" and for those who spoke of idleness to visit a displaced persons camp to gain some understanding of the tragedy of its inhabitants. A correspondent calling himself 'FAIRPLAY' brought attention to the numbers of Poles who had died in

the Second World War and that conditions in Poland were "not what they should be". Similar sentiments were expressed by 'STILL SERVING'. F. V. Heaton stated that Poles should not be forced to return to a non-independent Poland against their will.[46] Correspondence on this subject was then brought to a close by the editor.

In June 1948 Canon James Grogan of St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church in Huddersfield spoke out from the pulpit against what he perceived to be Poles in his parish not being given a "square deal". This was refuted by Huddersfield officialdom who claimed there was no discrimination against the 2,000 Poles resident in the town and little cause for complaint. The Town Planning Committee had recently rejected a proposal by the Polish White Cross to convert a house into a social and cultural centre but this was claimed to be on the grounds that the premises were felt to be unsuitable for such purposes and that it was no more difficult for the Poles to secure premises for social and cultural uses than any other members of the community.[47]

There was some hostility towards the Poles' relationships with local women and this often had its effect on the overall attitude of members of the local community towards the Poles. For example, the police raid on the

camp at Watton had been undertaken after complaints from the public about the presence of the girls.[48]

In the Sheffield Star in a backlash against a 'Pro-Polish' letter the comment "Send them home - the working classes do not want them here" was made by a correspondent calling himself 'THINKER'. However, there was also support expressed for the pro-Polish viewpoint in a letter from a 'Proud Mother-in-law of a Pole'.[49]

In some cases Poles who intermarried with English girls maintained few contacts with the Polish community, preferring to concentrate instead on their new lives as British residents. Acceptance by the local community was seen to be a two-way process, and by concentrating too much on being part of the Polish community, acceptance by locals would be more difficult to achieve. Poles with English families felt more entrenched in Britain, and their English language was also generally more advanced due to its use in the home, a situation which also contributed to their greater integration in the local community. The children of mixed marriages were affected, however, by the consequent dilution of Polish culture.

In 1951 of the marriages which took place in Bradford involving East European refugees, 18 per cent of the

brides were British, but there was only one British groom.[50] A summary of marriage within Bradford's East European refugee community 1951-55 is available in Tannahill. In this period there were 1,182 marriages involving aliens, with 1,064 of these involving a member of the East European refugee community. A break down of the marriages involving the East Europeans is given below.[51]

	Men	**Women**
Marriages with own nationality	343	343
Marriages with British	351	14
Marriages with other 'refugee' nationalities	77	77
Marriages with other 'non-refugee' nationalities	273	6
	1,044	440

From a survey of first generation Polish BHRU interviewees where marital status was given, of thirteen men five were married to fellow Poles, five to English women, two to Italian women and one to an Irish woman. The choice of Italian and Irish wives implies a preference for fellow Roman Catholics. The marital status of only two first generation Polish women was

given; both were married to Poles.[52] It is unclear how many of the marriages between two Poles took place in Britain. Naturalization was most popular amongst Poles with non-Polish wives.

The attitude within the Polish community towards the marriage of second generation Poles was that although it was known that they would not all marry other Poles it would be preferable if they did marry other Roman Catholics.[53] Amongst the second generation Poles interviewed by the BHRU there was a tendency to marry other second generation Poles, although many stated having previously had non-Polish boyfriends or girlfriends. However, the high incidence of inter-marriage within the community may have reflected the nature of the project which interviewed those who identified themselves as Polish. More integrated Poles are probably under-represented in the interviews.

In some circumstances negative publicity, which could have an adverse effect on the reception of the Poles, was difficult to avoid. This was particularly true of crimes committed by members of the Polish community. In November 1947 there was publicity throughout Yorkshire concerning the case of two Poles responsible for the shooting of Norman Hamill, the manager of the Ritz Cinema in Barnsley, during a hold-up on 6 November. Also

arrested was a third man connected with two other cases of theft, and a fourth man for one of the thefts. They were also charged with the use of a firearm to resist arrest. All were members of the Polish Resettlement Corps and were stationed at the Cannon Hall Camp, Cawthorne, near Barnsley.[54] The men had borrowed civilian clothes in which to commit the crimes. An interpreter was used in the case. When asked if they required legal aid the men initially replied through the interpreter "It does not matter", but after the situation was fully explained to them by the Court they requested legal representation.[55] The men pleaded guilty. All four received periods of imprisonment ranging from one to ten years. The judge presiding over the case described it as "yet another of the tragedies of Hitler's war", stating that the wartime experiences of the men had happened when they were at an impressionable age and had resulted in their not knowing the difference between acceptable and unacceptable violence.[56]

Reports of less spectacular cases were more common; these incidents often involved drunkenness, fighting and petty theft. One Pole, resident at Greenbank Industrial Hostel, Horsforth, was imprisoned for stealing clothes from a fellow European Volunteer Worker.[57] In Sheffield there was a case of two Poles entering a bus queue in Ecclesfield out of turn on Christmas Eve 1947, and when a

local man remonstrated with them, one of the Poles took a beer bottle from his pocket and smashed it over the man's head. The Pole committing the offence was imprisoned for two months for malicious wounding, stating when charged "I drink too much beer. I no remember. I understand now." The other Pole was also accused of hitting the man but there was insufficient evidence for conviction and, as a consequence, he was fined for being drunk and disorderly.[58] In some cases of disturbances it was not always the Poles who were arrested, for example after what was described as a "free for all" in the Stag Inn, Woodhouse, Sheffield between Polish and Irish miners resident at the local miners hostels' in June 1948, two Irishmen were arrested and charged with damaging property.[59] Only a month later there was another reported incident of clashes between miners of Polish and non-Polish nationality at a miners' hostel in Rotherham, with reports that Poles from the hostel were responsible for 'terrorising' people in local public houses.[60]

In addition to the accusations of widespread common criminality amongst the Poles, some members of the Polish community came under suspicion of being Communist agents. In October 1953 there was a report in the Bradford Telegraph and Argus of a Pole living in Shipley who had felt it necessary to change jobs as a result of such rumours only to find the stories followed him. He had

also received threats through his letterbox to burn down his house. He denied all the charges of being either a Communist or a spy.[61] In fact the anti-Communist feelings within the Polish community were actually strengthened throughout the 1950s as many Poles resident in Bradford received unwanted literature from the Communist bloc urging their repatriation. During this time some members of the Polish community received copies of a weekly newspaper called Homeland which urged them to recognize the Polish Government and offered financial assistance to return to Poland.[62]

Polish community organization in Yorkshire

(a) The Anglo-Polish Society

Bradford became known to the Polish community stationed in Britain during the Second World War through its association with the Anglo-Polish Society and had a good reputation regarding the general reception of Poles. The first regional branch of the Anglo-Polish Society had been formed in Bradford in 1940 and was also one of the most successful. It was organized by Thomas Neale who already had close connections with Poland dating back to his time as a prisoner of the Germans in the First World War when he was sent to work on a Polish owned-estate in the eastern part of the Reich. He was treated as a

member of the family and when the son of the landowner landed in Britain with the Polish troops Mr Neale, now a successful businessman in Bradford, decided to become involved in promoting friendship and welfare for the Polish soldiers. After the Second World War the Anglo-Polish Society went into decline as its Polish members preferred their own organizations but the society had done much to prepare a relatively friendly welcome for Polish arrivals in the city. Through previously established contacts it also made it easier for Poles who had been stationed in the area during the Second World War to find accommodation in Bradford.

(b) <u>Religious organizations in Bradford</u>

The vast majority of the Polish community in Yorkshire, as in Britain as a whole, was Roman Catholic. Small numbers of Lutherans and Jews also existed. However, Polish Jews often tended to disassociate themselves from the Polish community and involved themselves instead in the local Jewish community.

A Polish Roman Catholic mass was regularly performed at St Joseph's church in Pakington Street, Bradford. The Polish priest Canon Martynellis also visited Poles in their lodgings and workplaces until the Poles had rooms where they could meet. The work of the Canon was not

only religious, he also helped Poles when they got into trouble, for example he would attend court as an interpreter for charges of drunkenness and for disorder offences of which there were a number. The Polish community in Bradford moved to their own Roman Catholic church in the city on Edmund Street in the late 1950s, and subsequently purchased this building. This had been the idea of Father Henry Borinski who had arrived in Bradford in October 1952, having been in Britain since 1946. However, Father Borinski was best known amongst the Bradford population as the Polish priest who mysteriously disappeared on 13 July 1953. The case gained daily coverage in the Yorkshire Post and the Bradford Telegraph and Argus 18 July-1 August. The case baffled the local police. MI5 operatives visited Bradford and their findings were passed to the Home Secretary. However, if anything was discovered by the security services it was never made public.[63]

Although fervent anti-Catholicism was not as prevalent in Yorkshire as in some other parts of Britain, a small minority did exist which were hostile to the Poles because of their religious beliefs. In September 1949 a letter was printed in the Bradford Telegraph and Argus from F. J. Corina, the press secretary of the Protestant Electors' Association in Bradford, who accused the Poles of not wanting to return to Poland because the Catholic

Church had been put in its "proper place" by the Polish Government. He expressed the opinion that the Catholic Church "has always been allied to the Fascist political outlook" and that the Poles in Britain did not object to dictatorship in Poland but only the decline of the political influence of the Roman Catholic Church in that country.[64] A flurry of letters were received in reply both in support of and in opposition to the views of Corina.[65]

Other religions present amongst Poles in Bradford included Lutherans and a small number of Orthodox. A Polish Lutheran minister was resident in the Leeds/Bradford area from 1966; he had responsibility for all Polish Lutherans in Britain north of Birmingham. Although in receipt of a stipend, it was inadequate for the minister and his family and he had to take other employment in addition to his ministerial duties. Polish Lutherans in the Bradford/Leeds parish and the Sheffield parish received a visit and Sunday service by the minister approximately once a month, otherwise they attended local English services. An estimated ten people attended normal services in the Bradford/Leeds parish, with double this number at special services such as Christmas and Easter.[66] The Polish Lutheran Church House was situated on Little Horton Lane. The small size of the Polish Lutheran community meant that it had been

obliged to work closely with Polish Catholic and Orthodox organizations. The Polish Orthodox community in Bradford was served by a Leeds-based priest. Polish Jews in the city tended to involve themselves in the local Jewish community rather than in the Polish community organizations.

(c) Other forms of community activity

Two Polish social clubs were established in Bradford (both of which still survive). The Polish Parish Club situated in Edmund Street at the back of the Polish church, was bought in 1965/6, and there was the Polish Ex-Combatants' Association club in Little Horton Lane/Shearbridge, the building in Shearbridge being purchased for £65,000 in September 1973.[67] In 1952 the Polish Ex-servicemen's association had approximately 600 members.[68] In later years this organization developed close links with the British Legion. As its members became elderly, the disabled and sick were regularly visited by other members and there was liaison between the Association and Department of Social Security to help make claims for those Poles whose standard of English had remained poor. The Polish Parish Club in Edmund street was expanded during the 1980s with the help of an Urban Programme Grant to provide a day centre and luncheon club for the elderly and to provide access for the disabled.

In June 1975 an Anglo-Polish Labour Society was formed in Bradford, and Member of Parliament for Bradford West, Edward Lyons, spoke at its inaugural meeting where he urged Poles, particularly naturalized Poles, to involve themselves in British political life.[69] However, little interest was shown in the society by another local MP Max Madden, which is interesting in view of his active support for the Ukrainian community.

It had been noted in a study of the effect of immigrant groups in Bradford on local politics 1945-77 that the East Europeans had little impact, tending to be more concerned with the political situation in their native lands. In the period in question there were just two candidates in elections held in Bradford with East European surnames. During the early 1970s there was a Polish councillor in Bradford, Mr. H. Wysecki, who was also a Conservative Parliamentary candidate.[70] At this time there was also an Anglo-Polish Conservative Association within the city. The second East European was Mrs Barszczak who was a National Front candidate in 1976.[71] In Shipley the Liberal Party had a Polish chairman at one time, who eventually returned with his English wife to live in Poland in December 1975.[72]

(d) Religious organization in Sheffield

In Sheffield the Polish Catholic Parish was formally constituted in the summer of 1949. There was soon a congregation of 600-650 Poles, many of whom brought with them their English wives. In August 1952 the parish was financially self-supporting, paying for a priest and the rental of a disused Baptist Hall.[73] In 1964 the Polish chaplain at that time, Father Michael Szymankiewicz, organised the taking over of a property on Ecclesall Road in Sheffield to become the Polish Catholic Centre in the city.[74]

In 1948 monthly services for Orthodox Poles were performed at St Matthew's Church in Sheffield. These services were also attended by Polish Ukrainians in the area who were members of the Orthodox Church. However, prisoners of war at Lodge Moor camp in January 1948 were prevented from attending a Christmas service in Slavonic at the Church because they had permission to attend a service only on what was their Christmas day.

(e) Other organizations in Sheffield

A branch of the Polish YMCA was formed in Sheffield in 1947 by 30 Polish exiles resident in the city. The Toc H organization in the city allowed the Polish section of

the YMCA to use its premises until it could find premises of its own. However, pressure for space meant that only one social evening a week could be offered to the Poles. The situation of the Polish community in Sheffield was investigated by the Sheffield Star in March 1948 when it was suggested in an article entitled 'Here to aid us, but they feel unwanted' that a centre for daily use by Poles was necessary to provide sufficient English language classes for them and social activities to prevent loneliness within the community. However, the article discouraged cultural isolation and stated that ideally such a centre would be available not only to Poles but also to local people in order to encourage social integration.[75] By the time of its tenth anniversary celebrations held at Attercliffe Methodist Hall in December 1957 the membership of the Sheffield branch of the Polish YMCA had increased to approximately 150 in number.[76]

The Anglo-Polish Society in Sheffield appealed in October 1948 for more involvement from the 2,000 Poles resident in the area, as only 80 were members of the city's organization at that time. A series of monthly dances were among measures designed to attract more members.[77]

In Sheffield, as Polish ex-servicemen were directed into the steelworks and cutlery industry, a Communist-

sponsored British-Polish Cultural Society appeared in the city which by the summer of 1948 had 550 members, the Poles not realising its Communist connections. To combat this, the more aware Poles, with the help of the local Polish priest, set up local branches of the Polish Combatants' Association and the Polish Catholic Society. The priest found the names and addresses of most Poles in the area and visited them either at home or by waiting at the gates of local factories known to employ Poles to speak to them on the subject of the 'sin of association with Communists'. The British-Polish Cultural Society was soon reduced to a membership of ten.[78]

In 1954 the Polish Ex-servicemen's club was opened in Dover Road in Sheffield. In 1989 the club had 300 full members and an additional 300 associate members, not of all of whom were Polish.[79] There had been an SPK branch based in nearby Barnsley since 1948 as a result of the presence of Poles training for pit work in the area. SPK branches also appeared in Halifax, Leeds and York.

Healthcare and social welfare in Bradford

In the case of healthcare, there was particular concern in the initial years of settlement regarding the incidence of tuberculosis amongst the East European refugees. A 1954 report estimated the 10 per cent of all

tuberculosis cases, active and non-active, referred to the Bradford Chest Clinic were refugees.[80] However, Tannahill contends that there was not enough evidence to argue that there was a tuberculosis problem amongst East European refugees and that those refugees with the disease were an immediate problem which would soon go. Also, the incidence of tuberculosis in refugees may have been higher because they were possibly readier than British people to take x-rays on the advice of doctors. In 1954 estimated rates of pulmonary tuberculosis per thousand were given by the Chief Bradford Chest Physician to be native population 0.8; European aliens 3.7; Asian immigrants 8.1.[81] However, in terms of the reception received by the refugees actual rates are unimportant compared to those perceived by the population; the perception of high rates of tuberculosis was a cause of hostility and concern, questions being raised in the House of Commons on the issue in 1950, 1951 and 1952. Public concern about refugees with tuberculosis tended to centre not around the health of the individual but on the cost they represented to Britain.

Also in 1954 the Mental Health Service in Bradford stated that mental illness, especially neurotic complaints, was more frequent amongst refugees than amongst the local population. During the 1950s these problems tended to be related to the wartime experiences of the refugees.[82]

The difference is greater when concentrating specifically on schizophrenia and paranoia. This evidence is relevant to all foreign-born nationals living in Bradford, not just the East Europeans.[83]

One investigation into the mental health of foreign-born residents of Bradford, revealed particularly high rates of mental health problems in Polish females. One possible reason which has been suggested for this situation is the isolation resulting from lack of language skills. This problem could be compounded by the loss of spouse with consequent further isolation and the need for further adaptation at a difficult point in life. This was exacerbated in the Polish community, for example in comparison to the Ukrainians, by the relatively loose ties and social support available in the Polish community compared to other East European groups. Amongst mentally ill Poles, paranoia has been revealed as the most common complaint both as a primary diagnosis and as a secondary feature.[84]

In response to the needs of psychiatric patients of East European origin in the Bradford area the Lynfield Mount Transcultural Unit, a Psychiatric Transcultural Unit was established. The unit employed people from within the East European communities who were suitably qualified to deal with the patients.[85]

As the Poles aged, the social services department in Bradford contacted the community to work in partnership in helping the elderly members of the community. One concern was the tendency of elderly first generation Poles to revert to use of the Polish language and the possible effects of this preference when it was necessary for them to enter residential care. It was felt desirable that in such cases an attempt should be made to place several Poles together in one home to minimize the isolation. Elderly Poles were often reluctant to use the social services for a number of reasons including language difficulties and a sense of pride; there was also a feeling that the services were a form of charity. Many also maintained the suspicion of officialdom which had resulted from wartime experiences. Consequently, moves were made by Bradford social services to educate the Polish community on the role of their department and to encourage its usage.

In November 1984 The Guardian reported on the appointment of a second generation Estonian woman, Tiiu Kajando, a trained social worker, by Bradford Council as social worker with special responsibility for East and Middle European minorities. The woman had been brought up in Bradford. The article 'The social worker and the forgotten minority' outlined the language difficulties of elderly Europeans living in Britain and cited one case of

an elderly Polish lady who narrowly escaped psychiatric treatment when it was thought she was hallucinating but investigations showed that she was in fact praying. It also spoke of the need for these people to stay in touch with their communities to ease isolation problems. The social worker had access to a list of interpreters when dealing with people whose language she did not know. It was Sikandar Divan, an Asian member of Bradford social services, who had first recognized the problems faced by the East Europeans, based on his experience of the problems faced by elderly Asians encountered during his work as chief principal fieldwork officer.[86]

In addition to the Kajando appointment Bradford Social Services organized training seminars for social workers to inform them about the East European communities. Contacts were made with the groups to establish what the problems of the communities are and what help is made available. The East Europeans' experience of authoritarian states had left them with a reluctance to approach official bodies, for example the local council, for assistance. This problem was recognized by Divan in a Social Services Report to Bradford Social Services Sub-Committee in which he stated:

> "Any planners or managers involved in new schemes, policy training courses etc.,

> involving ethnic minorities need to be aware and take account of the white East European minorities as being an important part of Bradford's multi-culturalism. For many years this has been a 'forgotten group', and it is important that these people are not now a 'lost minority' in a minority group because they happen not to be coloured."[87]

By April 1984 the Mayfield residential centre for elderly Polish and Ukrainian people, which was supported by Bradford Metropolitan Council social services, was established.[88] There was also a retirement home for these two groups at Holme Wood in Keighley.

In September 1985 the go-ahead was given for a scheme in Bradford aimed at bridging the gap between isolated East Europeans living in the area and their communities. The scheme was funded by the Manpower Services Commission under the supervision of the principal fieldwork officer of Airedale Health Authority, Sikandar Divan. The scheme was also approved by Bradford's unemployment unit.

Language provision for Poles in Yorkshire

Poles who had spent time in Britain during the Second World War were at more of an advantage than those who arrived after the end of war, since they had a head start

in acquiring language. The English which they learned during time spent in the forces was usually acquired in the evenings, and many Poles were self-taught. However, they were helped by the friendly disposition of many locals to their Polish Allies, a number of Poles improving their English with the help of their British girlfriends.

Within the National Assistance Board camps, hostels and housing estates in which Poles lived in the immediate years after the Second World War, the Committee for the Education of Poles in Great Britain maintained adult education staff at three locations in Yorkshire. These were Breighton September 1948 - January 1950, which had approximately 300 adult Polish residents, East Moor near York which held between 250-550 residents at different times and Wombleton September 1948 - January 1949 which had 100 adult Polish residents.[89]

An English language teaching centre for EVWs destined for employment in the coalmining industry was established by the National Coal Board at Hatfield. A number of the EVW students at Hatfield became English teachers to fellow EVWs after the completion of their training. Much of the teaching at Hatfield was in the method of repetition, whether of oral or written material.

In Sheffield throughout 1947 the Soldiers', Sailors' and Airmen's Families' Association ran English language courses for the foreign wives of members of the British forces. The SSAFA also organised informal meetings for the foreign wives to socialise with each other. At these meetings it was also aimed to introduce them to the social life of the city. Polish wives were included amongst this group. Husbands were also allowed to attend the meetings. A similar function was available through the Sheffield Overseas Association formed in April 1947, which also organised English classes through the Sheffield Education Department. SOSA made its services available to displaced persons working in Sheffield. A course was run at the Sheffield College of Commerce and Technology for foreign brides to learn English. The first 12 week course began on 12 March 1947, the evening class attracted 36 women of 11 different nationalities, including three Latvian displaced persons employed at the City General Hospital.[90]

In 1947 the Bradford Education Department began special classes for foreign workers in the city to improve their English. Between 1947-57 an estimated 1,570 foreign residents attended such classes, many of them sitting for the 'English for Foreigners' examination of the Royal Society of Arts. The Bradford Institute of Technology also held English classes for foreigners, who could sit

for the University of Cambridge Certificate of Proficiency in English.[91]

Whilst language was still poor, shopping could be difficult, and one Pole recalled that he carried a pencil and notebook around with him so that anything in the shops he did not know how to ask for he could draw.[92] There was also a case mentioned by one Polish woman who took old labels with her to the shop for her to point to.[93]

The Glenroyal Cinema in Shipley posted notices with its programme listings and booking details in the Polish language as it often received enquiries from Poles who found it difficult to understand the English language posters. The cinema manager, Mr. A. D. Bewsher, stated:

> "It has worked splendidly. European Volunteer Workers appreciate the gesture, which not only gives them the answers they want when visiting the cinema but makes them feel at home."[94]

One problem for some Poles who had learned their English before arriving in Yorkshire was understanding the accent and local dialect. Eventually many of these Poles incorporated the Yorkshire accent and dialect in with

their own, usually strong, Polish accent when speaking English.

Working full-time placed time constraints in the learning of the English language, and the nature of many of the jobs done by Poles, in a noisy atmosphere of the factory, meant that there was little opportunity to practise the language at work. Some Poles improved their English by attending evening classes. For those who did not, and used little English in the workplace, this situation, combined with the tendency to socialise with other Poles and to marry other Poles, acted to further restrict English language usage. The lack of language could increase isolation and, as Poles got older, it created a tendency to retreat into the past.

A number of second generation Poles, when neither parent was British, were unable to speak English when they started school. One second generation Pole, born in 1947, could remember befriending another Polish girl in her class on starting school; neither was able to speak English. The teacher subsequently removed the other girl to another class to prevent the girls sitting in class just speaking Polish to each other.[95]

Second generation Poles tend to speak English to each other as it is the language they speak best. However,

most second generation Poles are capable of speaking and understanding Polish. Information abstracted from the interviews of the Bradford Heritage Recording Unit showed of 17 second generation Poles, 10 could speak Polish, 3 were unable, the remainder not stating either way.[96] Of the three who were unable to speak Polish, one had an English mother and two had mothers who were Irish.

As their children began to speak English, some parents relied on their children as informal interpreters.

Education

One Pole, born in 1948, claimed that many Polish children in Bradford went to school at St Patrick's.[97] He also remembered that at his school there was an 'East European corner' in the sixth form common room where Polish, Ukrainian and Lithuainian pupils stayed together. The easy mixture of second generation East Europeans was in marked contrast to the first generation whose national rivalries, particularly between Poles and Ukrainians, tended to remain intact. From information abstracted from the BHRU interviews, second generation Poles appear to have been born across a wide period from 1947-1961, which would mean they were entering schools in Yorkshire throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s. Due to the predominance of Roman Catholic families amongst the

Polish community, the majority of Polish children attended local Roman Catholic schools and often had other Polish pupils in their groups of friends.

Prejudice and hostility at school was not the norm. However, one second generation Pole remembered a teacher calling her a 'bloody foreigner' when found talking in class. She also remembered that her friends felt sorry for her concerning the comments of this teacher. She further stressed that this was an isolated incident and she was actually deputy head girl at the school.[98]

First generation Poles encouraged their children to do well in education. Of eleven second generation Poles in the BHRU interviews, six had a university/polytechnic education.[99]

Many also encouraged the continuation of Polish traditions and language and the first Saturday School for Polish children in Bradford was opened in Little Horton Lane, before later moving to Drummond Road and then to Manningham. The moves were forced on the school by changes in leases. The parents of the children paid a small fee each year to contribute to running costs, the remainder being made up by the governors of the school. In 1984 a grant was also received from Bradford Metropolitan Council towards the cost of running the

school, the first time outside funding had been received. At various times, as a result of splits in the organization and the community, there was more than one Polish Saturday school. However, these differences had been overcome by the time of the move to Drummond Road. Polish Saturday schools appeared wherever there were Polish children. Bradford was one of the larger schools but in Yorkshire there were also schools in Huddersfield, Leeds, and Doncaster. In the early 1980s the school in Sheffield had approximately 23 pupils, in contrast to the 100 of Bradford.[100] In Sheffield the Polish Saturday school was run from the premises of the Polish Catholic Centre on Ecclesall Road. In 1989 the school was described as being "well-attended".[101]

Concluding comment

The Poles remained the most visible of the East European refugee groups, due mainly to the publicity accompanying their arrival and the fact that their numbers exceeded those of other nationalities. In general little hostility to them now prevails although public awareness of the actual nature of the Polish community is low. The Polish community in Sheffield featured in an article in a series entitled 'Peoples of South Yorkshire' run in the Sheffield Star in April 1989. The article described the Polish organizations in the city, the attitudes of

younger members of the community on the importance of remaining as a distinct group, and the experiences of first generation Poles during the Second World War.[102] However, exercises in increasing the public awareness of the Polish community continue to be few in number.

11. THE RECEPTION OF UKRAINIANS IN YORKSHIRE FROM 1945 ONWARDS

Introduction : Ukrainian prisoners-of-war in Yorkshire

For a number of Ukrainians their first experience of Yorkshire was the Lodge Moor transit camp in Sheffield. In May 1947 1,300 homeless Ukrainians arrived in Liverpool, travelling by ship from Venice, to be transported via special trains to the Redmires camp at Lodge Moor, Sheffield, which had been used during the Second World War as a prisoner of war camp.[1] Redmires was the assembly camp of the Ukrainian prisoners-of-war. It was estimated at the time that approximately 6,000 Ukrainian surrendered enemy personnel would pass through the Lodge Moor camp before being placed in employment across the country.[2]

Memories of the camp by the Ukrainians who stayed there were not pleasant. One former inmate remembered :

> "when we come to Sheffield it was terrible, shocking all the wire so dark and rusty well we just so we didn't want to go we want hanging self."

He then goes on to describe the "smacking" received by them and blood everywhere.[3] He believed the treatment they received at the hands of the British troops was due to confusion amongst the British that the Ukrainians were actually German troops. This was because at the time the Ukrainians were still wearing German uniforms with only their badges to distinguish them as Ukrainians. After their arrival the Ukrainians were not physically abused again. Restrictions on the Ukrainians resident in the camp were gradually removed and, although only employed inside the camp, the Ukrainians were allowed out in the evenings. In 1948 special Christmas leave was allowed which permitted the Ukrainians to travel within a 40 mile radius of the camp. There were no absconders and by 27 December all those allowed on leave had returned to the camp.[4]

However, the Ukrainian prisoners of war being kept there made the headlines in December 1948. There was a great deal of publicity when 150-160 Ukrainians at the camp went on hunger strike in protest at the proposed deportation to Germany of those amongst their number viewed as undesirable settlers by the British Government. During the hunger strike the 306 Ukrainians who were not taking part were confined to their quarters and were not allowed to leave the camp, as they had been, during the evenings. Instead the gates were locked at 5.00 pm. The

protesters were joined on their hunger strike by Ukrainians at Morton Hall Hostel in Edinburgh. The Ukrainians claimed that they had been promised that they would be allowed to live and work in England. The Sheffield Star alleged that the hunger strike was possibly not a spontaneous affair as the Ukrainians involved had been holding meetings for some months previously and had quickly formed a committee from amongst the protesters. The Ukrainians at Lodge Moor also denied their actions were a response to calls for action made by Mr G. B. R. Panchuk, President of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain.[5] It was alleged that a former Ukrainian General who urged the men to be reasonable was beaten up by some of his compatriots who disagreed with him.[6]

The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain co-ordinated the campaign to have the deportation orders rescinded. There was a one-day strike by Ukrainians working in camps throughout Britain and a number of petitions were sent to the Prime Minister. The Association also wrote to the King appealing against the proposed deportations. At one West Riding woollen mill, George Garnett and Sons Ltd. in Apperley Bridge, Bradford, thirty Ukrainian employees staged a half-day strike which resulted in the loss of 150 man-hours. The strikers were keen to emphasize that their action had

been in sympathy with the men at Lodge Moor and had nothing to do with their own living and working conditions. The firm, concerned that its export drive would suffer as a result, made it clear to the Ukrainians when they arrived for work in the afternoon that their action was looked upon with displeasure by their employers and that they were to lose their wages for the hours not worked by them. However, no further action was to be taken.[7] There was also a one-day stoppage by 140 Ukrainians resident at Sandtoft Agricultural Workers' Hostel near Crowle, in the East Riding.[8]

It had been initially proposed to deport between 200-300 men to Germany but the British Government conceded under this pressure to return only those men who had volunteered to go to Germany and those who had unsatisfactory records as prisoners of war. Only 77 deportations eventually took place on 30 December 1947. Of those men threatened with deportation, 40 who had previously refused offers of work had now accepted them and a further 150 who had been classed as unsuitable for use as EVWs were allowed to remain in Britain. It was also decided that the 105 men in hospital who had been facing deportation would also be allowed to stay in Britain.[9]

The Ukrainians received very little notice of the Home Office decision. Even the camp commandant, Colonel Dollar, first heard about the decision on the radio. Immediately after the decision had been made public, the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain called off all action and called upon the hunger strikers to cease their protest.

Outside the camp a vigil was held by members of the press who sought any sign of movement within its compounds. The Yorkshire Post reported that one of the Ukrainians had climbed on to the top of one of the buildings and hoisted a black flag, an action which had resulted in increased activity by the guards. The press also reported in detail the removal of a bus-load of Ukrainians from the camp, one of whom had thrown a message to the press whilst passing by. The message, written in English, was reproduced in part for its readers. It stated :

> "We, 150 Ukrainian P.O.W.s continue hunger strike to-day (by now 36 hours). The senior medical officer arrived. Some of the men have increased temperature. Soldiers were ordered to tear down black flag but did not succeed."

A photograph was also published of the raising of the black flag. The photograph was taken from a roll of film which was also thrown to the press by the passing bus of Ukrainians leaving the camp. The Yorkshire Post claimed that the film simply fell at the feet of its own correspondent as he stood 500 yards from the camp.[10]

There was further detailed reporting the following day of the deportations in progress. Again this was accompanied by a photograph, the Yorkshire Post photographer having followed the handcuffed men to the station at Oughtibridge as they embarked on the first stage of their journey to Germany. Similar photographs were published in the Sheffield Star, which reported that police made checks of vehicles behind the convoy of Ukrainians, examining driving licences and questioning drivers. It was also reported that pressmen had initially been refused admission to Oughtibridge station before a change of mind by the military authorities. There was an hour long wait at Oughtibridge station during which time the prisoners passed bundles of letters to two small girls until they were spotted by the military police and the letters were returned to the Ukrainians. The Yorkshire Post reporter further followed them to Harwich as they awaited shipping. The article was sympathetic to the men's fears of the Soviet Union and reported a conversation with one of the men:

> " "Everyone thinks I am a spiv or murderer, thief or burglar." Glancing at the handcuffs on his wrists he declared "But I am not. I do not want to go back to Germany.""[11]

The report concluded with the boarding of the Ukrainians onto the SS Antwerp under the supervision of military police.

The Sheffield Star was less sympathetic to all involved as "Sheffield has been dragged into the limelight over this business". In an editorial the Star stated that:

> "Neither this conduct [of the Ukrainians], nor the encouragement given to it by the hush-hush methods of the Home Office could have been tolerated [for] long."

The Star was of the opinion that although the Home Secretary had made the right decision in postponing the deportation of "well-behaved" Ukrainians not wishing to return, other foreigners in Britain should not take this as a sign of weakness and that the undesirables had been handcuffed and deported despite their protestations.[12]

The Home Office apparently informed the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain of its annoyance at the publicity the Lodge Moor incident had received.[13]

Numbers involved

It was estimated that the East and West Ridings received 18.9 per cent of initial EVW first placements, of all nationalities.[14] Per head of population the West Riding, Bradford in particular, received more EVWs than anywhere else[15] and consequently, Ukrainians are more densely populated in this area than in the rest of Britain.

Bradford has the largest expatriate Ukrainian community in Western Europe. Estimates of the Ukrainian community in the West Riding range from 2,500,[16] to that of a 5,000 strong combined Ukrainian community in Bradford and Keighley in 1992.[17] In 1987 it was estimated that there were 3,700 people of Ukrainian origin living in Bradford alone.[18] Bradford's Ukrainian community acted as a magnet for other Ukrainians living in Britain and many moved to Bradford in the 1950s, and later, to join the community there. Estimates are unavailable for other Yorkshire towns and cities and previous Census figures have not listed Ukrainians as a separate nationality. Numbers will certainly be fewer than in Bradford.

Employment

Within the North Riding a number of EVWs were initially found employment in agriculture. In August 1947 there was a report giving details of a Ukrainian family working on a farm at Crosby near Northallerton. This family consisted of both parents, a daughter aged 19 and two sons in their early twenties. The family had been farmers in Ukraine and the employer expressed an understanding of the psychological difficulties of the sons who had been used as Nazi forced labour during the Second World War and described the father as "invaluable".[19] At this point there were 210 of these families employed on farms in the North Riding, having been selected at the reception centres for their particular aptitude for agriculture as a result of previous experience in Ukraine. A newspaper reporter stated that all the farmers interviewed by him were satisfied with the labour received and believed it would be an adequate replacement for the German prisoners of war. A farmer at Snape who employed a Ukrainian father and son was reported to have said :

> "They are good workers and very clean, civil and orderly in their habits. They've got farming in their blood and, once you've shown how you want a job done, you can leave them to it."

Another farmer stated :

> "I've got great hopes for them. They are up against all kinds of mysterious problems - rules and regulations, P.A.Y.E., rationing and the like. They can't get used to the idea that living here doesn't depend on the black market. Above all they find English farming methods puzzling. But all they need is a little time to get acclimatized."

These comments were said to be typical.[20] The writer of the article gave his own view that the EVWs of "Eastern European peasant stock" would prove to be "an invaluable asset to British agriculture". The policy which had been put into operation in the North Riding whereby there was careful selection by the County Labour Officer, understanding and patience by employers, and a rapid replacement of German prisoners of war by EVWs was advocated for other areas by the writer.[21]

On 1 May 1947 the Executive Committee of the National Association of Unions in the Textile Trade agreed to the employment of displaced persons in the wool textile industry to overcome labour shortages and to assist in the expansion of production. The expansion of the industry was necessary for the contribution of textiles to the national export drive.

Problems in the allocation of EVWs to the wool textile industry centred around the availability of suitable accommodation and the nature of the work. Employers were particularly keen to recruit female rather than male labour, but the majority of displaced persons, like the Poles, were men. The wool textile employers in the West Riding sought women employees of any nationality. At the same time as female EVWs were being applied for, there were also calls for local women to enter or return to the industry and the recruitment of women from Ireland was also an option. Using male workers for the jobs was a less attractive solution to the employers as male rates of pay were higher.

The EVWs were originally admitted into the textile industry on the condition that should redundancies be necessary it would be the foreign workers that should lose their jobs first. However, when there was a recession in the industry in 1952 most of the European workers were retained and instead, like the British employees, were used on a short-time basis.[22] This is disputed by Zubryzycki who claims that most of the former EVWs were in fact dismissed at this time. However, Bulbring argues more effectively that although former EVWs were dismissed at this time, dismissals took place in the same proportion as those of British workers and many returned to the textile industry when the situation

improved.[23] There was a reluctance amongst many Ukrainians to move out of the area, since they had purchased houses and were unwilling to return to the wandering days of their wartime experiences.

Ukrainian women were amongst the 16 EVWs who began work on 3 June 1947 in a number of spinning mills in the Todmorden area of the West Riding. Of these 16 EVWs only one spoke English, the rest spoke German or Russian. Training of the women was undertaken by the individual mills. Many of the Ukrainians who settled in Bradford were not sent there by the Ministry of Labour but made their own way to join the growing Ukrainian community after the restrictions on employment ended.

Textile mills which employed large numbers of Ukrainians in the Bradford area were Salt's, Priestman's, Isaac Holden's, Black Dyke Mill, Lister's and George Garnett's. One Ukrainian estimated that at one point 320 Ukrainians worked for Garnett's. This would in part have been a result of Garnett's recruiting direct from the EVW camp at Full Sutton and providing its workers with hostel accommodation nearby. This sort of treatment ensured that some of the EVW employees remained with the mill when they were free to move elsewhere. In the interviews both Salt's and Priestman's were stated to have paid good wages, and a number found employment there having

previously been employed by other textile mills with lower wages.

As more male EVWs came into the Bradford area these also found their way into the textile industry. The most common employment found in textiles was in the burling and mending sections. In some cases employment was found for men by wives and girlfriends in their place of employment to enable the couple to be reunited when the man's work had been in another part of the country. As part of the work in textiles the refugees had to become used to working in inches rather than in centimetres, which some found confusing for a time.

Although relieved at not being made to return to the Soviet Union there was some disappointment amongst the Ukrainians at the employment which was made available to them. One refugee based in Bradford stated : "The conditions were poor and the pay not so good. It was always like that in textiles."[24]

The wages of the EVWs were a contentious issue with accusations of 'cheap labour' coming from the local workforce. The EVWs were paid the same rates as British workers but the argument was based on the assertion that the wage rates were insufficient to attract British

workers into the industry; the use of foreign workers at these rates thus amounted to the use of cheap labour.

Other issues also came into play. The willingness of the Ukrainians to perform overtime and night shift work gained them a favourable reputation amongst employers, but the overtime worked by the Ukrainians and their faster rates of working in jobs which were paid by piece rates worked against their acceptance by fellow British workers.

Left-wing sympathies by the trades unions resulted in some reluctance by the Ukrainians to assume membership. Poor trades union membership rates amongst the Ukrainians were enhanced by the weak standing of unions within the textile industry in which many Ukrainians were employed. The reluctance to join trades unions does not seem to have been passed on to second generation Ukrainians. There was some appreciation expressed by the Ukrainians for the work done by the trades unions on behalf of workers' conditions and wages but negative attitudes towards the political activities of the unions far outweighed this view.

Textiles was not the only sector of Yorkshire industry in which the Ukrainians found employment. Initial arrivals in the South Yorkshire region were often sent to

employment in the steelworks of Sheffield and Rotherham, to Doncaster for work in engineering or coalmining, and to Dinnington, also as coalminers. However, various other jobs were also taken by Ukrainians including labouring in the building industry. In short, the Ukrainians were employed in heavy industry.

In December 1947 there was a feature article in the Sheffield Star which centred around the 114 EVWs who had started training at the Birley East Pit in Sheffield. The EVWs consisted of seven nationalities, amongst them Ukrainians and Hungarians. The training pit had been used previously to train both British workers and Polish volunteers for minework. The article spoke of the language difficulties involved and the practical nature of the training, that recruits had to be shown as well as told how to do things. An appeal was included to ex-deputies and overmen as more training staff were required. The expectation had been that the EVWs would take twice the time to train as men with no language difficulties but in practice they managed to keep to a similar schedule. The eagerness of the EVWs to learn and the high intelligence of many former professional men was mentioned. The training pit had a liaison officer, Mr. A. Rida, an Estonian, who spoke a number of languages relevant to the nationalities involved. The volunteers lived in a hostel at Worksop. Before the Second World

War Rida had studied mining engineering for four years. Some of the training took place underground, some in classes at surface level and there was also physical training in a gymnasium.[25]

During their period of service as EVWs Ukrainians wishing to move to other areas needed permission from local officers of the Ministry of Labour. However, a number of Ukrainians remember moving to Bradford without official permission. In cases where reunion with family was being sought, sympathetic Ministry of Labour staff were known to have advised Ukrainian workers to just move without permission as papers would still be forwarded.

In November and December 1949 there was friction in Bradford when between 70-100 male EVWs arrived in the city as a result of seasonal unemployment in the agricultural industry. The reputation of Bradford for the employment of foreign workers and the existence in the city of organised communities of East European nationals attracted these men. At the time there were no vacancies for unskilled male labour in the city and the men were viewed as increasing the unemployment figures for the area. In the Bradford Telegraph and Argus there was some criticism of the officials in the agricultural areas who had allowed the men to go to Bradford when there was work available for them in areas other than

Bradford but not in the city itself. The editorial called for prompt action by the Ministry of Labour on the matter.[26]

Also on the theme of the perception of foreign workers as competitors for local jobs, a letter printed in the Bradford Telegraph and Argus on 27 September 1948 signed "EX-H.M. FORCES" stated:

> "The English people as a whole fought hard and suffered all manner of restrictions to end the war. Why should they now be displaced from their work in favour of aliens ? It may happen to you. It did to me."

A reply was printed which reiterated that EVW labour was to be used only where British labour was unavailable and that if the writer had been penalised by being replaced by an EVW in his employment the matter should be reported to the employment exchange.

Based on information given in interviews undertaken by the Bradford Heritage Recording Unit, from a sample of 31 first generation Ukrainian males resident in Bradford in the early 1980s eight had originally found employment in agriculture, some as prisoners of war; thirteen found various jobs in the textile industry; two in coalmining;

one as a prisoner of war hospital worker; one in public transport (buses); three in engineering; one as a foundry worker; one steelworker and one in building. All of those Ukrainians interviewed who had been employed in agriculture eventually found their way into the textile industry. There was also a shift from employment in the textile industry into the building trades and the engineering industry. The reasons for this last change included better rates of pay in engineering and also the absence of shift work and long hours which were mentioned by a number of former textile workers. A number from various previous occupations found later employment in public transport (buses). Quarrying was also mentioned as an early source of employment for Ukrainians. Taking into account the bias towards the textile industry in Bradford these figures correlate with national trends for early movement out of agricultural employment into industry. It has been suggested that the high rates of abandonment of agricultural employment followed on from a disregard by the British authorities for the former employment experiences of the Ukrainians. Industrial workers placed in agricultural employment were unwilling to stay and moved to the towns as soon as possible, whilst agricultural workers who would have been happy to remain in farmwork once they had experienced the higher rates of pay, comfortable living accommodation in urban

occupations and centres were unwilling to return to the land when free to choose their own jobs.[27]

First generation Ukrainian women appear to have changed employment less frequently than their male counterparts. From information extracted from the BHRU interviews of the known first employment of 17 women in the Bradford area eight found employment in the burling and mending section of the textile industry, with six others stating more generally that they were employed in textile mills. The other three women were employed initially in agriculture, domestic cleaning and a carpet factory. There was very little recorded movement out of these jobs but what there was tended to represent a shift into domestic and cleaning work. Only one woman requalified to improve her employment situation, by training to become a nurse in a local hospital.

The move out of textiles, particularly by women who subsequently took cleaning work, was in part a result of the redundancies of the late 1970s, by which time first generation Ukrainians were too old to requalify for better employment.

Promotion prospects of the Ukrainians appear to have been limited. In one case a Ukrainian offered promotion to the position of overseer on a building site hesitated to

take the position until encouraged to accept by his English colleagues. However, after a further job move an English colleague made life difficult for him after finding out there was a Ukrainian on higher wages than himself. The Ukrainian left for a post with lower wages but where there was a more pleasant atmosphere.[28] Another Ukrainian also related difficulties on being made an overlooker in the textile industry. In his case a fellow British worker complained that the overlooker's job should have been his, and, when the manager was called in to settle the dispute, the British man was told firmly that he was not capable of doing the job.[29]

A survey of Ukrainian interviewees of the Bradford Heritage Recording Unit shows the majority of Ukrainians to have been paid employees, engaged mainly in manual work. However, there was occasional evidence of business activity, and a number of continental food stores opened in Bradford to serve the East European community in the town.

Types of employment were more varied among the second generation. However, the textile trade seems to have been unpopular with both men and women. Only one second generation Ukrainian man, and no women, went into the industry. Engineering appears to have been popular with second generation men, and teaching with women. However,

the sample here is small and the information extracted from it could not be said to be conclusive. Nevertheless, a move into less manual employment by second generation Ukrainians is clear.

Accommodation

The first experience of Yorkshire for many EVWs was of the holding camp at Full Sutton, near York, the site of an aerodrome during the Second World War. The camp had accommodation for approximately 1,000 EVWs.[30] The size of the camp meant that discipline was not always maintained, and on 10 May 1949 questions were raised in Parliament concerning damage to the neighbouring farms caused by camp residents.[31]

At the end of 1949 the only holding hostel still open was the one at Full Sutton, which at the time had about 600 residents, who were unemployed and "largely malcontents by temperament".[32] Shortly after a disturbance at the camp which led to a Parliamentary question the camp was closed. The 16 female EVWs who had been found employment in West Riding spinning mills in June 1947 were provided with private accommodation, it being reported that "the landladies with whom this first batch of volunteers are billeted speak very well of them."[33]

In some cases industrial hostels were provided by employers, particularly West Riding textile firms. G. Garnett and Sons, woollen and worsted manufacturers based in Apperley Bridge, converted two mansions, known as Waratah and Greenroyd, which had been occupied by the military in the Second World War into hostel accommodation for EVWs employed by them. Another Bradford firm partitioned part of its mill into cubicles for the EVWs and arranged for them to take their meals in the works canteen until private accommodation was found for them. A number of buildings in the West Riding were requisitioned by the Ministry of Works for conversion into hostels for the EVWs. In some cases criticism was forthcoming from local residents that the accommodation could have been made available for local people but in most cases the requisitions were out of the hands of the local councils.

Other mills preferred to continue to seek landladies willing to provide the EVWs with private accommodation. Unmarried couples who had been living together were known as 'link couples' and were housed together as married couples. However, few couples, married or not, were accepted because there were few jobs in the textile industry for men.[34] Official policy was that place of residence should be determined by the man's employment, with the wife being allowed to join him rather than the

other way around. However the textile industry, fearing that it would lose its new labour force combined with the Ministry of Labour to find work for husbands in the areas where their wives were employed in textiles.[35]

An initiative was undertaken by the Board of Trade and the recruitment director of the wool textile industry for landladies prepared to offer accommodation for the EVWs in the West Riding to be provided with bed-linen for use by the refugees. The linen would be purchased by the employers and belong to the mill and presented to landladies on a loan basis.

In South Yorkshire, after the transfer of the Lodge Moor camp from the War Office to the National Assistance Board in 1949, and the reduction of the number of men there to 109 by 1 January 1949, it was felt necessary to find employment for these men as soon as possible and accommodation in more comfortable surroundings. By March 1949 20 of the men had been found placings and the remaining 89 were transferred to the civilian hostel at Hatfield, Doncaster. By mid-June 1949 the majority of these men had been found employment across the country.[36]

As settlement took on a more permanent character many Ukrainians moved from the hostels into private lodgings. In Bradford some firms organized private lodgings for the

EVWs employed by them which were close to their place of employment. In some cases there were no cooking facilities in lodgings and meals were provided, but the Ukrainians tended to move out of such accommodation when they could so that they could cook for themselves.

Lack of language skills could provide an obstacle to EVWs obtaining private accommodation for themselves, and also made them open to exploitation.

In February 1949 an Englishman from Sowerby Bridge pleaded guilty in Halifax West Riding Court to stealing £25 from a Ukrainian tenant. The magistrate said of the case "If that is the way a landlord is going to treat his foreign lodgers it is not a very good advertisement for this country."[37] The man was fined and ordered to refund the stolen money. A more common difficulty of Ukrainian tenants was that of high rent and Ukrainian tenants made a number of appearances at Bradford Rent Tribunal.

As the Ukrainians saved to buy property of their own they tended to gravitate out of necessity to areas where housing was affordable and preferably close to the place of employment. In Bradford many Ukrainians lived initially in the Great Horton and Manningham areas. Houses were often joint-purchases by more than one family who then lived in multiple occupation until they could

afford to buy separate houses. In some cases money would be lent by one member of the community to another to enable house purchase or improvement.

Loans between refugees were often at lower rates than the building societies. Refugees were sometimes discriminated against by building societies which, although granting mortgage facilities could scale down the size of the loan and shorten the timescale of repayments in comparison to the terms offered to British nationals.

There was sometimes resentment by the local population when foreigners were seen to be buying a house and it was often not realized that the refugees had engaged in considerable sacrifice in order to enable them to purchase their own property. In Bradford, allegations were made that the EVWs were being loaned money by the government for the purchase of property, but these claims were unfounded.[38]

An article in the Yorkshire Observer, 27 July 1951, was entitled "How the EVWs buy their property". It explained that house purchase was achieved through great personal sacrifice and self-denial and that many were overcrowded with lodgers. The article may have helped to deflect some of the hostility aimed at EVWs who seemingly could

afford to buy houses when local workers in similar jobs could not.

When Ukrainians first bought houses in neighbourhoods they experienced some initial hostility. However, this antipathy tended to subside after the neighbours became accustomed to the idea of 'foreigners' living in the area and, subsequently, relations improved.

Few Ukrainians and other East European groups found council accommodation. Tannahill estimates that by 1956 there were 145 tenants of Council houses with foreign names in Bradford. This represented roughly 2 per cent of the applicants granted tenancies from 1952 to 1955 which, when a comparison was made between the number of aliens per head of total population in the city, Tannahill states to be an equitable percentage.[39]

The general trend in the accommodation arrangements of Ukrainians was a shift from hostels into private lodgings and from there the majority went on to purchase their own properties, gradually moving out into the suburbs from the poorer quality housing initially purchased in inner city areas. Areas of initial settlement in Bradford were the Manningham and Horton areas of the city, which were already established as traditional centres of immigrant and refugee settlement. Some Ukrainians purchased large

houses in these areas and rented out several of the rooms to other refugees. Many Ukrainians remain in this area although there has been a significant movement to outlying areas. In contrast, in Sheffield there were no areas typically associated with the settlement of the Ukrainians who tended to be widely spread throughout the city and its surrounding districts. House purchase by the Ukrainians gained momentum during the 1950s as married couples sought permanent settlement and family accommodation after having children.

English language provision

The intended permanent settlement of Ukrainians in Britain required their learning sufficient of the English language to be able to function in everyday situations.

The acquisition of English language ability was a particular problem for Ukrainians employed in agricultural employment and living in isolated communities. Classes were often impractical, taking place when the Ukrainians had finished work for the day and were too tired to concentrate properly, and there was little contact with the indigenous population.

Even when there was contact with the English population the English language which was acquired was not always satisfactory :

> "I was put on agricultural work when I was brought here, and picked up English from Land Army girls. Men would only teach us swearwords and pretend they were good English. Before I could speak good English, I would go to Woolworth's and self-service shops where I could take what I wanted without asking."[40]

Other testimonies also refer to the use of self-service shops to cover for the poor standard of English known to the Ukrainians when they were first thrust into English society.

There was some English language tuition given in the industrial hostels for the EVWs. Unfortunately the teachers were not always the right people for the job. At one hostel in Keighley the English teacher told the women living there that they must give him between a few shillings up to one pound to pay for books. This done, the man vanished never to be seen again. The women then had to teach themselves the language.[41]

In Bradford some basic teaching in English was provided by the Association of Ukrainians. The teaching was undertaken by the Ukrainians themselves, by members of the community who had already learned good English. The classes were of a practical nature and aimed at activities such as shopping. Where the standard of English was particularly poor it was sometimes arranged for Ukrainians with better English to accompany them when shopping for specific items.[42] Shopping was a particular problem for Ukrainians with little understanding of English. There was also some confusion over English money and local shopkeepers were trusted to take the correct money from what was offered to them. In these circumstances some Ukrainians carried translations booklets around with them until they had learned sufficient English for them to get by.

Foreign workers in the Bradford area with little English could turn to the General Translation Agency which helped with official business such as house purchase and form-filling. Locals would sometimes approach the agency with properties they wished to sell which might be suitable for refugees. However, for many refugees the distrust of interpreters may have prevented them from making extensive use of the service.

Many of the Ukrainians were obliged to teach themselves English and, as a result, broken English is spoken even today by many first generation Ukrainians in Great Britain. Those Ukrainians with poor English often spoke to their children in Ukrainian rather than pass on their poor English and relied on the children to be taught English when they started school. One second generation Ukrainian remembers the only English she was taught before going to school was how to ask to go to the toilet so that there would be no accidents.[43] Another second generation Ukrainian starting school with no English language remembered being hit around the head by the teacher because he was unaware of what the teacher had requested of the class.[44] Second generation Ukrainians often spoke English to their siblings but Ukrainian to their parents.

In some cases the lack of English known by the Ukrainians minimalized hostility as perceived by them. They would not necessarily have understood unpleasant comments aimed at them.

In later years there was a different language problem for the Ukrainian community, that of teaching the Ukrainian language to the generations born and raised in Britain. This was done both in the home and at Ukrainian Saturday School, along with the teaching of Ukrainian culture and

history. Such activity left successive generations with the feeling of being both Ukrainian and British. The Ukrainian Saturday school in Bradford was established in 1953 and operated from the Ukrainian social club until 27 August 1983 when it was transferred to a converted barn in the grounds of the Association of Ukrainians' headquarters on Legrams Lane. The conversion of the barn into six classrooms, a library and a reception hall cost £55,000, which was funded partly by the Ukrainian community and also by a grant of £25,000 from the Community Programme.[45] Ukrainian children were able to attend Saturday school from the age of 3 years in a nursery group. In 1986, although numbers were growing due to the arrival of third generation Ukrainians there were just 70 children attending the school in Bradford, compared to 270 at its peak in the 1960s.[46] The language being learnt by these pupils was the same as that taught to the first pupils, the Ukrainian language as it stood when the first generation exiles had left Ukraine during the course of the Second World War. During the peak years of the 1950s and 1960s the Federation of Ukrainians also operated two Ukrainian Saturday schools of its own.

From information extracted from interviews undertaken by the BHRU of twenty second generation Ukrainians all those with two Ukrainian parents were able to understand Ukrainian, whilst all but one with one Ukrainian parent

understood Ukrainian. However, the figures for those with only one Ukrainian parent are likely to be biased towards those who were raised as part of the Ukrainian community. Those with one Ukrainian parent who were not taught the Ukrainian language and traditions are unlikely to have been interviewed as second generation Ukrainian for the purposes of the project.

Education

According to dates of birth given in BHRU interviews the peak years for second generation Ukrainian births were 1948-51 and 1960-62. There were also a number of births in between these two periods but few after 1964 until the start of the third generation. This would mean that there was a flow of Ukrainian children into Bradford schools from 1953 onwards which died out after the mid-1960s.

In Bradford some children of Ukrainian Catholic parents were obliged to attend Church of England schools because the Roman Catholic institutions were full. However, a high proportion of Ukrainian Catholic children did attend local Roman Catholic schools. In interviews conducted by the BHRU, when asked if they experienced prejudice at school nine second generation Ukrainians said that they did not, whilst only two did feel they had been the

victims of prejudicial attitudes. In both cases where prejudice was experienced it was on the part of the staff never the other children and it stopped after primary school. Some of the hostility revealed by teaching staff was probably related to the children having little proficiency in the English language.

The Ukrainian community was keen to make information on itself available for anyone who was interested. In Sheffield the Ukrainian community for many years supplied the University and City libraries with copies of the Ukrainian Review. There is a feeling amongst the Ukrainian community that the City Library had little interest in serving them, and despite its financial difficulties, the library showed little interest in the free copies of the Ukrainian Review and it was thought to be poorly provided with Ukrainian material.[47] An inspection of the library supports this viewpoint.

In stark contrast to this state of affairs Bradford Central Library celebrated Ukrainian Week between 19-24 April 1993. There were displays of Ukrainian books, embroidery, jewellery and other artifacts on display throughout the library, including in the children's section. There was also a book drive for people in Ukraine wishing to learn English but in need of books. The books were distributed by the British Council.

Religious provision

Religion played a vital role in maintaining a sense of community amongst the Ukrainians in Britain. During the late 1940s and early 1950s the Ukrainian Catholics used St Patrick's Roman Catholic Church in Bradford which had been built by and for the city's large Irish community. The Ukrainians met with each other outside the church after the service, which resulted in a room being offered to them by the church for this purpose. The first Ukrainian Catholic priest in Bradford was Father Michael Ratushinsky who had been a prisoner of war. Initially Fr. Ratushinsky was the priest in charge of the Ukrainian communities in Bradford, Leeds, Huddersfield, Dewsbury, Wakefield, Hull, York, and Sheffield. In 1956/7 the Ukrainians bought the first church of their own in Bradford. In 1967 the Holy Trinity Church on Wilmer Road, Heaton superseded the Catholic Church on Farfield Street.

A surprising amount of intolerance towards the Ukrainians was shown in 1988 on the millenium of Christianity in Ukraine. The Ukrainian community wanted to pay for every letter passing through Bradford to be franked with a special mark celebrating the anniversary which stated simply 'Millenium of Christianity in Ukraine 988 to 1988'. The scheme was arranged locally and special

franks had been made until senior Post Office management in London stepped in and halted the scheme on the grounds that it was too controversial and could be the cause of offence if letters were sent to the Soviet Union. Wolodymr Demtschuk told the press :

> "It is a massive snub to the Ukrainian people. We feel tremendously hurt. This is the biggest milestone in Ukrainian history. The people in Ukraine cannot issue their own stamps so we in a free country could do something to mark it. The Post Office argument is just ridiculous, you could say the same about any anniversary, Battle of Britain stamps may upset someone if they were sent to Germany."[48]

Local MP Max Madden tried unsuccessfully to sort the matter with Post Office chief in London and was said to be appalled by the decision to ban the franks. He stated :

> "It seems astonishing and absurd, this really makes the Post Office look a laughing stock. The statement seems highly uncontroversial and unprovocative to me. It will be a great disappointment to the Ukrainian people in Bradford, but it seems the Post Office has adopted a policy of banning all

religious statements following complaints about a slogan saying 'Jesus is Alive'."[49]

In addition to the Ukrainian Catholic community in Bradford a smaller Orthodox community developed after the Second World War. Initially the Orthodox Church gave its services at St Patrick's on an alternate basis with the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The Orthodox community then arranged in 1948 to hold its services in a different church, St. Mary Magdalene's, after the English service had finished. However, this arrangement proved unsatisfactory. The Ukrainians were told by the Bishop of Bradford, Bishop Blunt, that he was in favour of them having their own church if one could be purchased which would not need expensive repairs. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church purchased the old Wesleyan Chapel in Eccleshill in 1963.[50] There were two potential buyers, the Ukrainians and the Corporation; the latter planned to demolish the building. Despite the fact that the Corporation put in a higher bid, the owners decided to sell to the Ukrainians as they preferred the building to continue to be used for religious purposes. The funds for the cash purchase were raised by the Ukrainian Orthodox community themselves, and since there was no money remaining for repairs these were undertaken by volunteers from within the community. The church was renamed Holy Trinity, Ukrainian Autocephalic Church. The Ukrainian Orthodox community

could not afford to pay for the services of a full time priest so the priest was obliged to work in a factory as well as carrying out priestly duties. As a result, midweek ceremonies, particularly affecting funerals, had to be arranged around the factory shifts worked by the priest. In 1984 there was an estimated Ukrainian Orthodox community of 350 in Bradford, the largest in Yorkshire,[51] and the only one in the county to have its own church. Services were given by the Orthodox priest every fortnight on an alternating basis with the Ukrainian Orthodox community in Halifax.

In other parts of Yorkshire the Ukrainian religious community has developed on a less spectacular scale, mainly due to the smaller numbers involved. In Huddersfield between 1949 and 1952 the Ukrainians held Ukrainian masses in one of the English churches once a month. The Ukrainian Catholic community in Keighley held their services in St Anne's Roman Catholic Church, with mass being performed by a Ukrainian priest. The Orthodox community used Keighley Parish Church, Church Green. In Halifax the Ukrainians bought their own church in 1977. The former Methodist chapel cost the community £13,000.[52]

The majority of the Ukrainians in South Yorkshire are Catholics.[53] This is reflected in the more obvious development of an organized Ukrainian Catholic Church in

the county, with its more numerous church ownership and frequent services when compared to the much smaller Orthodox community.

Ukrainian community organizations

On account of its size the Ukrainian community in the West Riding often had its activities reported in the local press. Bradford was the centre of these activities which tended to be nationalistic in tone.

The Bradford branch of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain bought its first premises for £2,950 in September 1950 at 13 Claremont, Morley Street.[54] It was the third property to be owned by the Association in Britain; the first two were the Ukrainian House in London and the Sydenhurst invalid and convalescent home in Surrey. Bradford was the first local branch to have its own premises. The purchase was paid for from donations made by the community themselves without aid from any British organizations. The Association of Ukrainians moved their Bradford premises in 1983 from Claremont to Legrams Lane. The new premises cost £250,000 to purchase, renovate and extend.[55]

In Bradford the Association of Ukrainians provided advice for its members on matters such as house purchase and

employment. The Ukrainian clubs and associations based in Bradford tended also to be attended by Ukrainians resident in Leeds where the Ukrainian community was much smaller and therefore could not provide the same resources or level of social activity.

Apart from the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, there is also in Bradford the Federation of Ukrainians. The two organizations differ in their recognition of the validity of the Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence in Lviv on 30 June 1941.[56] However the two organizations are quite friendly towards each other. In Bradford the Ukrainian Federation in Great Britain was based initially at the church hall of St Mary Magdalene's before the purchase of its own premises 'Federation House' at Clifton Villas in 1958. The purchase was made from local donations in addition to help from the Federation's Central Committee in London. The building is owned by the organization in London, not the local community. During the early 1960s the Federation was involved in an Anglo-Ukrainian Society which, on a national level, gained important intellectual support. However, soon after this the activities of the Federation in Bradford went into a decline after the emigration and deaths of a number of its leading members. The Federation continued to exist but its activities were carried out on a lower level.

In 1950 the Ukrainian women's organization began its activities in Bradford. It worked closely with other Ukrainian organizations. The large Ukrainian community in Bradford attracted Ukrainians from all over Yorkshire to its social events, particularly single Ukrainian men looking for eligible Ukrainian women.

In September 1974 celebrations were held in Bradford to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the founding of the local branch of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Great Britain. At the time of the celebrations the Bradford branch was the largest branch in the country, numbering 500 members.[57] However, although encouraged by Ukrainian parents to become involved, many children on reaching adolescence lost interest in the Ukrainian community.

The Ukrainian community in Sheffield was strengthened by its close ties to the larger Ukrainian communities of Dinnington and Doncaster. There is in fact no Ukrainian club in Sheffield. Those Ukrainians in the city use the Ukrainian Homei at Dinnington. As well as being a social club, the building also houses a small Ukrainian library. A larger club and library exists in Doncaster. The libraries contain books and pamphlets about Ukraine and its culture, many of which are still written in the Ukrainian language. The club houses in Doncaster and Dinnington were both purchased during the boom years for

the Association's acquisition of property in the late 1950s/early 1960s. Ukrainians living in other parts of South Yorkshire, such as Sheffield, use either of these two clubs. The Dinnington social club on Barleycroft Lane was purchased in 1965. In 1990 the Dinnington branch of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain had 80 members.[58]

These nationality-based social clubs removed the refugees from the local pubs, which could present opportunities for hostility, but also isolated them.

Soviet intimidation of the Ukrainian community in Britain

The Ukrainian community in Yorkshire claimed to be subjected to pressure to return to the Soviet Union placed upon them by Soviet agents at work in Britain. However, it would be difficult to find hard evidence to support this claim.

In July 1952 in an editorial the Yorkshire Post called for action against the intimidation of refugees by the Soviet Embassy in Britain.[59] This followed on from a report in the paper on 27 June 1952 which stated that refugees in the Yorkshire region were receiving propaganda which tried to persuade them of the merits of repatriation. It was also alleged that Communist spies

were living and working amongst the refugees, watching them on behalf of the Soviet Union.

The story took a new turn in October 1952, receiving national as well as local attention, when a number of East European refugees in Bradford received visits from two Soviet Embassy officials. It was reported that many of the visits took place during working hours to catch women and children at home alone. The visits were made primarily to members of national groups which had been incorporated into the Soviet Union. There were no visits to the homes of Czech, Hungarian or Polish refugees. The groups refuted the claims of the Soviet officials, who claimed to have made the visits at the request of relatives till in the USSR, and petitioned their local MP, Maurice Webb, the Labour Member for Bradford Central, who promised to investigate the matter and provide protection against further pestering by Soviet officials.[60] Webb alerted the Foreign Office to these allegations, stating that the visit of these two men to Bradford had caused "considerable alarm" amongst the East European community in Bradford.[61] However, after investigating the allegations the Foreign Office could not find sufficient evidence to ask for the men to be recalled to the Soviet Union.

Political activity

The Ukrainian community in Bradford has organized a number of political demonstrations over the years protesting about Soviet treatment of Ukraine. At Christmas 1986 there was a vigil held in Bradford for those who had been jailed or disappeared in Ukraine for their religious beliefs.

Demonstrations were organized whenever a Russian dance troupe or choir appeared in Bradford. When there was a meeting organized by the Left to celebrate the centenary of Lenin's birth in 1970, members of the Association of Ukrainians managed to gain invitations and two younger members ripped Lenin's pictures from the stage. The organizers called the police but as one Ukrainian present stated, "police came and nobody was fighting, and we sang National Anthem and went out".[62]

Ukrainians in South Yorkshire have also involved themselves in demonstrations to protest against persecution in the Soviet Union. The community in South Yorkshire has retained a keen interest in events in Ukraine and British attitudes towards it. The attitude of the local council was of particular concern to Ukrainians in Sheffield as the city was twinned with the Ukrainian city of Stalino in the Donbas coalfield,

renamed Donetsk in 1961. A visit by Donetsk officials to Sheffield in 1979 prompted the Sheffield Ukrainian community to write to the Lord Mayor to ask if he would question the Donetsk delegation about death sentences recently passed in Ukraine and general conditions in the Soviet Union. The Lord Mayor's secretary, Colin Straw, replied that such approaches had to be made diplomatically if there was to be any hope of achieving anything. The City Council promised only to make enquiries into the fate of four Ukrainian Jews recently placed under sentence of death. The liaison officer of the Ukrainian community in Sheffield, Mr I. R. Fedak, replied with a strong letter to the Council stating that it was the belief of the local Ukrainian community that the policy of cordiality towards the Soviet Ukrainian officials was not in the interests of the Ukrainian nation and, that while Sheffield city council gave support to liberation movements in Africa and South America, liberation movements in the Soviet Union were ignored.[63] In September 1981 the official naming of Donetsk Way in Sheffield took place. A Donetsk delegation and members of the Sheffield City Council were at the ceremony, but no member of the local Ukrainian community was present.

The political role of the community changed after the declaration of Ukrainian independence to one of support

for Ukraine rather than as a lobbying group against the Soviet Union. However, independence came too late for the Ukrainians in Bradford. Their lives and families were now based in Britain and although many have returned to visit Ukraine there was no flood of repatriations.

> "Very few people have gone back to stay. Let's face it, as much as they'd like to go back their families are here now, they don't want to leave children and grandchildren."
>
> "Second generation Ukrainians are reluctant to go back. It's a shame, but we're looking at it materially. Because of the economic situation they won't consider moving back."[64]

Since Ukrainian independence on 24 August 1991 and the referendum supporting it in the following December, 29 MPs joined the British-Ukrainian Parliamentary section founded by Allan Moule, the Labour Member for Mansfield. In October 1992 representatives from the Ukrainian community in South Yorkshire wrote to the MP for Sheffield Brightside, David Blunkett, asking him to join the above mentioned Parliamentary section. Blunkett agreed to join the section but explained that he had little time to devote to its activities. However, he claimed to have used his position on the Labour Party

national executive to ensure that whatever resources were available through the Westminster Foundation should be used to assist in delivering democracy to Ukraine as well as in the Baltic states.[65]

The Ukrainians in Sheffield are forthcoming on matters relating to Ukraine and its independence but are more reluctant to talk about their own experiences. There is also a reluctance, typical amongst the East European refugees, to voice any criticism of their reception into British society.

Social attitudes

(a) Ukrainians and the Soviet Union

It was a common misconception in Britain that the Ukrainians were in fact Russians and sympathetic to Communism. This was related to the very hazy view many British people had of Eastern Europe and its inhabitants. In one case in Bradford a Ukrainian man was accused by a workmate of being a Communist which resulted in a fight between the two men during the lunch hour. After the fight the Ukrainian had coins thrown at him by the other men. After this incident the Ukrainian decided to change his place of employment.[66] The confusion between Ukrainians and Russians tended to live on in the public

and press and when the war crimes issue came to the forefront in the 1980s one Ukrainian wrote to the Bradford Telegraph and Argus to support the punishment of war criminals but also to complain that when Ukrainians did well and were successful they were called Russian but when talking of war criminals they were Ukrainian. He stated that every nation had people it should be ashamed of but that also when Ukrainians achieved any success they should be referred to as Ukrainians rather than Russians.[67] On some occasions the Ukrainians were also mistaken for Poles, who were greater in number and more in the public consciousness than the Ukrainians.

The Ukrainian community remained suspicious of strangers whilst the Soviet Union remained in existence due to fear of the KGB either tracking them down or inflicting punishment on relatives remaining in Ukraine. It has been suggested that this suspicion was further enhanced by the screening of the East Europeans by the British security services both before and after their arrival in Britain.[68]

One incident which enhanced this fear occurred in January 1948 when the crew of a Soviet ship which was docked in Hull for stores requested that they should be allowed to visit a steelworks in Britain, preferably in Sheffield. It was arranged for them by the British Council to visit

a steelworks in Stocksbridge, Sheffield. The story was reported in the local newspaper, and included an interview with the captain of the ship, Captain Kochetov, who stated "They were anxious to see Sheffield steelworks because they had heard so much about them". The crew had been handpicked in the Soviet Union for what was designated to be a specialist job. Nothing was seen as sinister in the visit by the newspaper who proclaimed 'Welcome to Sheffield' in Russian on its front page. However, considering the number of Ukrainians who were held at the Lodge Moor camp in the area at that time and who feared a return to the Soviet Union, the visit takes on a different light with the possibility that KGB agents were amongst the 'sightseers'. Even without the Soviet personnel actually visiting the camp, the Ukrainian inmates would have felt threatened by a visit of Soviet citizens, including probable KGB agents, so close to where they were stationed.[69]

The demonstrations of anti-Soviet feeling amongst the Ukrainians did not always work in their favour. There was a tendency to look for support from fellow anti-Communists wherever they could be found, which sometimes led to prominent supporters being attracted from the political far right. This development led to one image of the Ukrainians as fascist sympathisers which, when combined with the war records of Ukrainians, strengthened

suspicions of the existence of war criminals amongst the Ukrainian community.

(b) Visibility

The Ukrainian community in Bradford remained visible to the local population on account of its attempts to maintain its cultural identity. Of the East European groups in the city the Ukrainians are the most visible. In Bradford Central Library displays of Ukrainian literature are common.[70] Stories relating to the Ukrainian community in Bradford and the surrounding area appear frequently in both the Bradford Telegraph and Argus and the Keighley News. In 1957 the Ukrainian community of Bradford sent a Christmas card to the Telegraph and Argus expressing gratitude for the coverage they had received since their arrival in the city. However, questions have been raised whether this was in fact an expression of genuine gratitude or a cynical attempt to secure improved future coverage.[71]

In Sheffield the Ukrainian community is much less visible, due in part to the much smaller numbers involved. However, the Ukrainian community were featured in one of a series of articles entitled 'The Peoples of South Yorkshire' printed in the Sheffield Star in July 1989.[72] However, by far the most common reason for

appearing in the Sheffield Star was the celebration of the Ukrainian Christmas in January, although in contrast to the situation in Bradford press coverage tended not to include photographs.[73]

In their appearance the Ukrainians are not visibly different from the English. The Ukrainian women bought clothes in the style of the local women so that they would not stand out as foreign. In interviews undertaken by the Bradford Heritage Recording Unit a number of Ukrainians expressed the view that their being white played a significant part in the lack of prejudice they encountered and emphasized that non-white immigrants provided a more obvious target. On speaking with first generation Ukrainians their non-English origin becomes more apparent as the majority have retained a strong European accent. There has also been little Anglicization of names by first generation Ukrainians and many of them Christened their children with traditional Ukrainian names.

(c) Marriage patterns

In the South Yorkshire area since the Ukrainian exiles were predominantly male, many have inter-married with British women;[74] the incidence of intermarriage with local women has been much higher than in Bradford. There

was also some evidence of marriage between the European nationalities in Britain. Italian girls were a popular choice, possibly because their religion was similar to that of the Ukrainian Uniate Church.[75] In mixed marriages some Ukrainian customs were allowed to lapse. For instance many English wives did not know how to cook some of the traditional Ukrainian dishes, and in the areas where there were few Ukrainian women they were unable to learn.

In Bradford the Uniate priest arranged for female Ukrainians there to correspond with Ukrainian men in other parts of the country. In some cases this correspondence resulted in marriage. Many first generation Ukrainian parents expressed a preference for their offspring to marry within the Ukrainian community but there were usually no serious objections to marriage outside the community. The objections which existed tended to centre around fears that children of the marriage would be unable to speak Ukrainian and would lose their Ukrainian identity. Divorces within the Ukrainian community were more acceptable for first generation Ukrainians in mixed marriages where there were language problems. One second generation Ukrainian stated that divorcees from amongst the second generation were treated as outcasts within the Ukrainian community.[76]

From information extracted from interviews conducted by the BHRU it appears that of Ukrainian exiles marrying each other there was a relatively even distribution between those married in the displaced persons' camps in Germany and those married in Britain. This pattern fits in with the account of a former Ukrainian prisoner of war who stated that by the time he moved to Bradford most of the Ukrainian women were already married.

Ukrainian men with non-Ukrainian brides appear to have been divided equally in their choice of Austrians, Italians and local English girls. The dates of marriage are particularly significant. The high points when Ukrainian men married Ukrainian women whilst living in Britain occurred in 1947, 1949 and in 1950 (where dates are given); marriage to English girls took place in 1951, 1953 and 1954; marriages to Italians in 1955 and 1960.[77] This pattern reflects the preference for Ukrainians, the shift towards English girls when there were few single Ukrainian women remaining and a further shift towards Italian girls who entered Britain as voluntary labour at a later date.

In the interviews there were no Ukrainian couples who had been married in Ukraine. This situation reflects the age structure of the interviewees, the majority of whom were born between 1921 and 1925. This age group would have

been mainly unmarried in 1940 and remained so due to the circumstances of the Second World War. Older first generation Ukrainians will have been under-represented in the BHRU interviews which were not undertaken until the early 1980s by which time many would have been dead.

As regards the marriage patterns of second generation Ukrainians in Bradford, of either one or two Ukrainian parents, four had married outside the Ukrainian community whilst seven had married fellow second generation Ukrainians. However, again we must be aware that second generation Ukrainians marrying outside the community may have severed many of their links with the community and therefore been under-represented in the interviews.

(d) Repatriation and naturalization

Although the Ukrainian exiles would have preferred to return to a free Ukraine there are few complaints about the treatment they have received in Britain and there is a widespread recognition that their own lives have been materially better than if they had returned. The freedom of speech afforded to the Ukrainians in Britain has also been appreciated by the community.

In an interview published in the Bradford Telegraph and Argus in 1976 with a leading member of the local

Ukrainian community, Michael Charuk, he was quoted as saying :

> "Bradford is our adopted home but we belong in the Ukraine. The people here have accepted us, and have been very friendly. But we have given a lot to Bradford too. The Ukrainian people work in every industry and profession in Bradford and work hard to make Bradford a richer community."[78]

Despite the appreciation expressed for their adopted country, the main reason for the taking of British citizenship by Ukrainians was to make possible a return visit to their homeland under the protection of the British embassy and with a guaranteed right of re-entry into Britain. In effect, they continued to consider themselves Ukrainians.

Ukrainians were entitled to vote in British elections once they had become naturalized British citizens. There seems to have been a tendency for the majority to support the Conservative Party. This was due in part to perceptions of the Labour Party as supporters of the Soviet system, the presence of supporters of Ukrainian independence amongst the Conservatives, and a dislike of

the disarmament policy of the Labour party during the late 1970s/early 1980s.

Many Ukrainians held romantic notions of an eventual return to Ukraine but at the same time there was a general realization that this would probably be impractical. The first generation Ukrainians in Britain have spent the majority of their lives in Britain, their homes and families are British-based and they recognize that Ukraine has changed since they left; they have not shared the persecution of their fellow Ukrainians. Many also acknowledge that they have benefited materially from their exile in Britain compared to life in Ukraine. This would not have prevented many from returning if independence for Ukraine had been obtained in the decade immediately after the Second World War. However, for the majority of first generation Ukrainians in Britain Ukrainian independence has come too late.

(e) <u>Anti-semitism in the Ukrainian community</u>

There was some suspicion of anti-semitism amongst the Ukrainians on account of their war records and and also because of their use by the Nazis as concentration camp guards and also the treatment of some Jews in Ukraine both before and during the Second World War. An involvement in anti-semitism has always been denied by

the Ukrainian community in Britain. However, this defence did not prevent the experience of one Ukrainian who claimed a Jewish employer to have been hostile towards him because of his presumed adherence to anti-semitism.[79]

Initial perceptions of Ukrainians as Communists, anti-Communists and anti-semites, although the cause of distrust and hostility, resulted in hardly any physical attacks. Hostility tended to be more along the lines of name-calling and, as one Ukrainian remembered, "when we come to England they show us you know like that, all sorts of fingers (makes 'V' sign)".[80]

(f) <u>The war crimes issue</u>

The war crimes issue received coverage in the West Riding newspapers. In particular it was related to the East European communities residing there. The articles tended to be quite supportive of the local communities of Ukrainians and Balts. Whilst admitting that some war criminals may have entered Britain despite security procedures, members of the Ukrainian community re-iterated that they were a law-abiding community, and that the majority of them had been used by the Germans as forced labourers during the Second World War. They also voiced their support for the prosecution of war

criminals, these men having been guilty of committing atrocities against Ukrainian civilians and the underground army as well as against Jews.[81] The Ukrainian community stressed that the charges were being made against individuals and not Ukrainians as a whole. Wolodymyr Demtschuk of the Ukrainian Information Service stated : "It is an issue which should not be used as a platform of anti-Ukrainian propaganda."[82]

Claims that two Ukrainian war criminals had resided in Bradford were rejected by the community as Soviet propaganda aimed at Bradford because of the anti-Soviet activities of the community there. One of the men named was already dead and the community believed it to be unfair to accuse a man now unable to defend himself or be brought to trial. The man had a daughter remaining in Ukraine from his first marriage with whom he had corresponded and the community believed that this was how the Soviets were aware of him. When asked about his wartime activities his widow, another Ukrainian exile, stated "I do not know anything."[83] Enquiries were made by the Bradford Telegraph and Argus regarding the other named Ukrainian war criminal who, according to the Soviet Embassy in London was resident in the Manningham area of Bradford. However, the paper found nothing. A man with a similar, but not identical, name was found in nearby Shipley but he was a Pole and in no way a war criminal.[84]

(g) Community relations between the Ukrainians and the English

Although Ukrainian exiles often describe the local population as having been 'friendly' towards them, this was often on quite a superficial level. The English were friendly when they came into contact with the Ukrainians, for example in the working environment or as neighbours, but there were few cases of either group inviting the other into their houses or arranging social activities together. Those Ukrainians who did get invited into English homes tended to be the women who were befriended by English women at work. After the treatment received by many Ukrainians as forced labour in Germany, even indifference by the local population would be seen as an improvement by them. Second generation Ukrainians, in contrast, tend to have mixed groups of friends. Since they have been born and raised in Britain they are more inclined to socialize with the local community than first generation Ukrainians. However, many also have friends in the Ukrainian community.

(h) Ukrainian community relations with other immigrant groups

In Keighley there was a problem in 1989-91 with gangs of Asian youths attacking elderly members of the Ukrainian

community. The attacks were described in a local newspaper report as being a "three year reign of terror". It was claimed that the youths had threatened to destroy the Ukrainian club, had caused damage to allotments at the club on Mayfield Road and had verbally abused and stoned the Ukrainians. The youths also blocked the approach road to the club with blocks of stone. A 68 year old man who had been injured by stones thrown by the youths after coming to the aid of a man in a car under attack whilst approaching the club stated:

> "I tried to talk to them but they did not want to listen. They called us nasty things. It was frightening and the man in the car was shaking. It upset me."[85]

By June 1991 the situation had become so serious that Ukrainian community leaders discussed the problem with local police and Asian community leaders. The Ukrainians were keen to stress that in drawing attention to the problem they were not trying to damage race relations but that they had been forced into action.

> "We are equally as foreign in culture. Our people want to be left alone."[86]

12. THE RECEPTION OF HUNGARIANS IN YORKSHIRE FROM 1956 ONWARDS

The arrival of the Hungarians in Yorkshire

The wave of sympathy for the Hungarian people which swept across Britain in November 1956 also had its effects on public opinion in Yorkshire.

In that month the Civic Information Service in Sheffield received 154 enquiries about Hungarian relief, making it the fifth most popular subject of the 2,064 queries made in November 1956.[1] The most common requests for information from locals concerned addresses of relief funds and clothing collection depots, whilst the refugees themselves were provided with plans of the city centre, details of transport facilities, English classes and the names and addresses of interpreters by the Service. There were also letters of sympathy published in The Star[2] and the Sheffield Liberal Party sent a letter of protest to the Soviets. Twenty Sheffield people also volunteered in Spring 1957 to help at an Austrian refugee camp which had been "adopted" by Sheffield and Wimbledon.

In Bradford an appeal to the generosity of its citizens was made by the Hungarian Brotherly Workers' Community, which was an organization representing the Hungarians who

had arrived in the years immediately after the Second World War as part of the volunteer labour schemes. Its secretary, Dr Lajos Molnar stated

> "We hope that Bradfordians, who have already shown generosity towards Eastern European refugees, will respond to this appeal with that same generosity."[3]

One Sheffield company which became heavily involved in helping the refugees was Sheffield United Tours. On 13 November 1956 a Sheffield United Tours coach left the city to bring refugees to England from camps in Austria. The coach had been paid for by a group of London businessmen led by a Mr. Petty; the Esso petrol company provided free fuel and the Goodyear Tyre Company also offered some sponsorship. As well as bringing refugees to England the coach also transported emergency supplies, collected by the Women's Voluntary Service and the Civil Defence Headquarters, to Austria. The general manager of Sheffield United Tours, Ben Goodfellow, described the scheme as "a gesture of help from Sheffield people in the transport organization."[4] This coach did have the chance to go to Budapest to try and get people out of Hungary but it was decided to adhere to the original plan as they did not want the Soviet forces to confiscate the supplies which were on board. On 20 November, one day before the

first coach arrived back in England, two more coaches left England for Austria. The drivers of these coaches, which had now been dubbed 'mercy coaches' by the media, were Sheffield's most experienced continental drivers and helped to keep costs down by offering to accept minimum wages. It was also agreed on 24 November that £500 of the Lord Mayor of Sheffield's Hungarian Relief Fund would be used to cover the expenses of these coaches. After an appeal from Vienna more 'mercy coaches' were sent in December 1956 but four were obliged to wait in Salzburg in mid-December for permission from the British Government to bring the refugees into the country.

The journeys made by the Sheffield United Tours coaches brought the company coverage in a number of national newspapers and was also reported in the first issue of S.U.T. News which was distributed by the company to all its existing and prospective clients.[5] The city itself also benefited from the good publicity generated by the trips. A report in Yorkshire Life Illustrated in January 1957 stated "Great-hearted Sheffield has set Yorkshire and the whole country a wonderful example" and also spoke of the driver of the first coach, Norman Robertson, who despite a cold and fatigue drove another coach to Austria only days after arriving home from his first journey there. Sheffield also became a "name of importance"[6] in Austria and a telegram was sent to Sheffield from

Johannes Pankner, the Refugee Administrator for the Land Government of Salzburg, expressing gratitude for Sheffield's contribution to the relief efforts.

Although the possibility of refugees being brought to Sheffield direct from Austria on the Sheffield United Tours coaches was discussed, it was decided that any Hungarians coming to the area should be taken to London first. The first twelve Hungarian refugees, all men, came to Sheffield on 28 November 1956. They were welcomed at the station by representatives from the United Nations Association (UNA). The arrival of more refugees was delayed until these men had settled and more accommodation could be found for further new arrivals. The first major influx of refugees did not arrive until 15 December 1956 when 102 Hungarians came to the city after all the hostels and camps in the south of England had been filled. They travelled to Sheffield in coaches provided by Sheffield United Tours and on arrival were greeted by United Nations Association staff and the Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress. They were then given a meal at the civic restaurant before spending the night in the North and Mezzanine Halls of the City Hall on army bedding provided by the police from the Hallamshire Battalion and Norton Royal Air Force. Local reporting at the time was full of the civic willingness to help but a member of the UNA involved in the reception later stated

that the council had "grudgingly" agreed to provide the refugees with a meal and that although "well received when arriving in dribs and drabs, when the whole lot came the city fathers were fed up with them". However, the same UNA member stressed that this was not the case with the general public who remained sympathetic.[7]

This party of refugees included family groups but no unaccompanied children, a situation that had been expected since 12 November when it had become known that all Hungarian orphans had been sent to Switzerland. Some of the 70 men, 25 women and seven children were intended for the Crimcar Lane Hostel and accommodation found by the UNA for them in Sheffield, whilst others would be sent to temporary accommodation in Castleton, Matlock and Buxton in Derbyshire.[8] In Derbyshire the Women's Voluntary Service (WVS) took over care of the refugees. Unofficially, there was some concern amongst Sheffield UNA members at the lack of organization of the Derbyshire WVS in dealing with the refugees. For example, the provision of sanitary protection for the women refugees was overlooked.[9] Eighteen of the refugees were reunited with relatives in other parts of the country.[10] The disused Crimcar Lane Hospital was opened as a hostel for the Hungarians on 20 December 1956 with sixty men, thirteen women and three children as the initial residents.[11]

In Bradford a special committee was formed to deal with the arrival and settlement of the refugees in the city. Its first meeting was called on 3 December 1956. The committee consisted of the Lord Mayor, his secretary and representatives of the Women's Voluntary Service, the British Red Cross Society and the St John Ambulance Brigade.

The first large group of Hungarian refugees arrived in Bradford on 4 December 1956. It consisted of twenty men who were initially accommodated at the Salvation Army Hostel in Peel Street. The refugees had arrived in the city without warning which prompted the council to contact the Home Office to ensure that such a situation did not occur again. By 18 December 1956 Bradford had been informed that large numbers of Hungarian refugees were unlikely to arrive in the city as the nearest official hostel was to be in Sheffield. By 11 April 1957 there were seventy Hungarian refugees living in Bradford who had arrived in Britain since the 1956 uprising.[12]

Relief efforts

On 12 November 1956 the Lord Mayor of Sheffield, Robert Neill, opened a Sheffield Hungarian Relief Fund to which there was a generous response. He appealed that all Sheffield people donating to Hungarian relief do so

through his fund to enable the "full value" of the Sheffield contribution to be known.[13] By 24 November it totalled £10,225 and by 8 December it had risen to £15,100. The final total when the fund was wound up on 21 May 1957 was just over £18,291. The size of the contributions ranged from an anonymous £1,000 to the half a crown given by a young boy out of the money he received for his birthday. Some of these donations were also accompanied by interesting notes. A gift of £1 from a sick old aged pensioner was sent with the message

> "not in banking,
> not in business,
> not in work,
> not in robust health,
> but in sympathy."[14]

Another donation of £2 came with the message

> "If any Hungarian refugees come to Sheffield send them to Bramall Lane to see the brilliant 'Blades'. It will cheer them up. Up the Blades."[15]

However, nobody could work out if the senders of this note were sarcastic supporters or genuinely believed what they had written. In addition to individuals, contributions also came from schools, churches, social

organizations, and workers at local firms who collected money through a number of fund-raising activities, for example, dances, whist drives, raffles, and organized collections. The money raised by the Lord Mayor's Fund was given to the British Council for Aid to Refugees to help refugees settle in this country, to the United Nations Association fund to contribute towards care for refugees in Sheffield, to assist in the payment of expenses incurred by the Sheffield United Tours 'mercy coaches', and to the Red Cross to aid in the transportation of emergency supplies to Hungary and the refugee camps in Austria.

Not all donations were made in cash. Geo. Bassett and Company Limited donated one ton of sugar and a large collection of clothing was made by the Save the Children Fund at its Victoria Hall depot. Much of this was sent to the refugee camps in Austria, and the president of the Austrian Red Cross wrote to Sheffield to express his appreciation for its help. The response to the clothing collection overwhelmed the Save the Children volunteers who were obliged temporarily to suspend the clothing aspect of the collection in favour of the more urgently needed blankets and money for medicine.[16] The Women's Voluntary Service also collected wool and knitted squares to make blankets for the refugees. However, not all the clothes and blankets were sent to Austria, some were kept

for use by refugees who came to Britain. These particularly included men's clothing, pyjamas and handkerchiefs, of which there was still a shortage when the collection of clothing ended on 2 January 1957. The children of Sheffield had been very much involved in these collections. For example, all the blankets for the refugees coming to Sheffield were provided by schoolgirl knitters. Other donations included the offer made by one Sheffield firm to clothe, feed and house four Hungarian families for one year, and, if possible, find them employment. There were also donations of furniture and in November 1957 there was an appeal for a pram for the first child born to a Hungarian refugee couple in the area.

The WVS in Bradford was also pleased by the response to its appeal for clothing for the refugees. By 15 November 1956 it had already found it necessary to move the collection to premises other than its headquarters because of its size.[17] Clothing was donated by dry cleaning firms which customers had failed to collect. Like Sheffield, its initial needs were primarily for blankets and other bedding. The WVS were helped by a taxi driver who used his taxi to collect clothing and bedding intended for the depot but which people were having trouble to transport. This was a particularly useful service as the WVS had believed its collections to

be affected by the petrol rationing which was in force at the time. Beds and mattresses were also required for when the refugees arrived in the city. By 21 November 1956 the Bradford WVS could announce that it had collected enough clothing and that people would be better now to donate cash to the relief fund.[18] In June 1957 the WVS made an appeal for furniture which was desperately needed by refugees arriving in the city who had no money to furnish their accommodation.[19] Other towns also made clothing collections, often based at their respective town halls.

The Lord Mayor of Bradford, Alderman H. R. Walker, also started a local appeal fund for the refugees as did the Lord Mayor of Leeds. Smaller funds were also opened in the smaller surrounding towns, for example Halifax, Keighley, Shipley and Wakefield. In Bradford, Ludlow's in Kirkgate placed a large collecting box outside its shop for donations to the Lord Mayor's fund. Much was made of this in the local press as the box was said to be "well patronized".[20] By 28 November 1956 the Lord Mayor of Bradford's fund had reached a total of £10,053.[21] This had increased to £13,001 by 17 December 1956.[22]

In Huddersfield a concert was held at the Theatre Royal on 25 November 1956 at which it was planned that Harry Corbett and Sooty would be top of the bill. However, on

23 November the Bradford Telegraph and Argus printed a story under the headline "SOOTY CANNOT HELP HUNGARIAN RELIEF" when it was announced that a ban had been imposed on Harry Corbett appearing with his glove puppet Sooty at the charity show. The problem was that the act was said "not to conform with performances allowed under the Sunday Entertainments Act". The Chief Constable of Huddersfield, James Chadwick, stated that performances given on Sundays had to be musical and the Sooty act was not a musical one. The Chief Constable did say that Harry Corbett could appear and make an appeal for the Hungarians or take part in a singing routine but could not perform his usual act as if he did so the police would be forced to take action. Harry Corbett commented

> "I think the position is incredible. I've never heard of such a thing before. I entertain millions of people on TV on a Sunday afternoon and yet I am not to be allowed to help the Hungarians by giving a performance at Huddersfield Theatre Royal on a Sunday night."

He had decided that if he could not perform his act he would not be appearing at the concert and that he thought the situation was "just stupid."[23] The concert went ahead without Sooty and raised approximately £3,000.[24]

The generous response to Hungarian relief was not wholly unanimous. In December 1956 Christmas cards were sold in aid of the Lord Mayor of London's Fund, these cards having had the 30 per cent purchase charge on them waived by the Government. This was unprecedented in the sixteen year history of the tax and was severely criticised by the president of the Greeting Card and Calendar Association, Mr N. Sharpe, who was based in Bradford. He claimed his objections to be a "matter of principle".[25] He suggested that instead of purchasing the charity cards the public should give a shilling to the relief fund and buy their Christmas cards 'in the ordinary way from stationers'. Although protecting the interests of his association's members, it can be said that Sharpe did over-react as the two million charity cards would have affected only one per cent of the Christmas card trade. Between 300-400 local authorities agreed to sell the cards but this did not include Bradford where the Lord Mayor decided against stocking them. No reasons were given for his decision so it is unknown whether the views of Mr Sharpe played a part. Bradfordians wishing to purchase the cards were obliged to do so via mail order to an address in London.[26] Alternatively, they could travel to Leeds where the cards were on sale at Leeds City Art Gallery.

Organizing the Hungarian community

The administration of relief and the welfare of the refugees in the Sheffield area was the responsibility of the United Nations Association under the guidance of the local organizing secretary Edith Freeman. The Association received many offers of help after the Hungarian crisis but nevertheless its staff were having to work between 14 and 16 hours a day to cope with their heavy workload.[27] On 13 December 1956 the United Nations Association expanded its offices so that it could set up a personal service bureau for Hungarians with problems. This welfare service was highly successful and widely publicized amongst the Hungarian community throughout England so that by 27 September 1957 approximately 250 refugees had used the service and one refugee had even come from as far away as Liverpool to seek its advice. The achievements of the service did not go unnoticed and so impressed the London headquarters of the British Council for Aid to Refugees that it was obliged to consider setting up similar provincial centres where it thought they were necessary. However, by 24 October it had been announced that the country's statutory social services were to take on the responsibility of the welfare of the Hungarians.

The Hungarians in Sheffield were provided with their own 'office' in the same building as the United Nations Association, within one week of their arrival in the city. One of the refugees, John Vidonyi, was placed in charge of the office due to his 'passable' knowledge of the English language.[28]

In Bradford, although small, there was an existing Hungarian community, which had arrived in the city as European Volunteer Workers after the Second World War, to help with the arrival of the refugees of 1956. The community estimated itself to number 200 before the arrivals of 1956.[29] The Hungarian community in Bradford had already expressed its sympathy with the revolution in Hungary when in November 1956 a demonstration was held in Bradford in support of a free Hungary. In Bradford there was a Hungarian club and also a Hungarian coffee bar in John Street market. In 1957 a Hungarian Association was formed in the city. The main forces behind its formation were the Hungarians already settled in the city who wished to welcome the new refugees and pass on their experiences to them. There were approximately 30-40 people at its first meetings.[30] It met initially at a Protestant church on Westgate before moving its monthly meetings to the YWCA on Manningham Lane. The aims of the association were primarily those of promoting integration with the local community but also maintaining some of the

Hungarian traditions and culture. In 1958 the Association bought its own building in Manningham. During the 1960s there were attempts to set up a Hungarian school to teach the children of the refugees from the 1956 uprising the Hungarian language and about its culture and history. Approximately 30-40 children attended the school which was held on Saturday and Sunday mornings.[31] Parents from Keighley and Huddersfield also made use of the school in Bradford. However, by the end of the decade the school and the cultural life of the Hungarian Association had been broken up by differences between the EVW and uprising refugees. The school was resurrected in 1970/1 and folk dancing was started, the differences having been minimalized by this time. By March 1976 twenty per cent of the membership of the Hungarian club was of non-Hungarian origin.[32] By the 1980s the Association was participating in the Bradford Festival, where the arts, crafts and food of Hungary were on show. There were also cases of British locals joining the Hungarian Centre to learn the Hungarian language, as increasing numbers visited the country on holidays.

The numbers involved

Census figures for 1951 showed a total of 15 Hungarians in the East Riding and 32 in the North Riding. The gender ratio was roughly half and half.[33] In the West

Riding there were 514 Hungarians in total, 359 of whom were men. A similar gender ratio persisted in Bradford, Leeds and Sheffield where there were 101, 105 and 34 Hungarians respectively.[34]

The Census figures for 1961 did not state the number of Hungarians resident in the East Riding. In the North Riding there were 237 Hungarians, 194 of whom were male, a significant increase in the number and ratio of Hungarian men in the county. Of these 237, 12 men and 11 women had become naturalized British citizens, presumably the majority of these would have been amongst the original post-Second World War settlers.[35]

West Riding figures for 1961 show 1,478 Hungarians resident in the county, 1,151 of them male. Again there was a significant increase in the proportion and absolute number of men in this total. With regards to naturalization, 92 men and 51 women had taken British citizenship. In Bradford there were 293 male and 135 female Hungarians, in Doncaster 47 men and 5 women, in Huddersfield 85 men and 12 women, in Leeds 137 men and 58 women and in Sheffield 93 men and 22 women.[36] The relatively high proportion of Hungarian women in Bradford compared to other cities reflects the employment requirements of the city, where many of the jobs in

textiles were at the time perceived as being particularly suitable to female labour.

Figures for the 1971 Census listed 45 Hungarian residents in the East Riding, just over half of them male.[37] In the North Riding there were 220 Hungarian residents, 185 of them male. 81 per cent of males and 71 per cent of females were married at the time of the Census.[38]

In the West Riding there were 1,155 Hungarians, 900 of them men. Rates of marriage were similar to those in the North Riding. In the cities there were 50 Hungarian men in Barnsley but no women, 195 men and 95 women in Bradford, 45 men and 5 women in Doncaster, 20 men and no women in Halifax, 55 men and 10 women in Huddersfield, 110 men and 30 women in Leeds, 30 men and 5 women in Rotherham, 70 men and 20 women in Sheffield, 20 men and 5 women in Wakefield and 20 men and 10 women in York. The absence of sufficient Hungarian women in these cities did not deter the males from marrying as inter-marriage was common.[39]

After the arrivals of 1956-7 there were between 600-700 Hungarians in the Bradford area, but by 1987 this number had declined to approximately 300.[40] A higher estimate for 1987 is one based on the combined information of the BHRU and Bradford Social Service estimates which

indicates 500 people of Hungarian origin living in Bradford at that time.[41] According to the 1991 Census of England and Wales there were in that year 248 residents of Bradford who had been born in Hungary, consisting of 168 men and 80 women.

Employment

The National Coal Board intended initially to employ a substantial number of Hungarians due to a shortage of labour in the pits on a national level. However, in certain areas, for example Yorkshire, no shortage existed. Consequently, the Yorkshire pits were mainly hostile to the introduction of foreign labour, including the Hungarians, although many pits did pass resolutions which condemned the Soviet intervention in Hungary, for example, the Hatfield Main colliery contacted the Soviet Embassy in London to complain of the intervention.[42] The Yorkshire miners maintained that insufficient employment was available for the Hungarians in the Yorkshire pits, whilst stressing that there was no hostility towards the Hungarians for other reasons.

In January 1957, after a discussion of the issue was called for by the Executive Council of the National Union of Mineworkers, three pits in Doncaster, Armthorpe, Bentley and Rossington, all firmly rejected the use of

foreign labour. Two of the pits, Armthorpe and Rossington, both stated that they had recently found employment for men from Thorpe pit which had been closed for repairs. The Bentley branch of the NUM based its objections on the introduction of machinery which had reduced the number of men needed and thus threatened the employment of local men.[43] In February 1957 it was reported that a further five South Yorkshire pits had voted against the use of Hungarian refugees. One of the pits, Brodsworth, near Doncaster, voted unanimously against their employment on the grounds that a quota system was already in operation there whereby a maximum of 50 foreign workers were to be employed at any one time and that the quota was fully employed at that time.[44] The other pits mentioned in the article all quoted a lack of employment opportunities for local men due to full employment in the pits as the reason for refusing Hungarian workers. The Member of Parliament for Barnsley, Roy Mason, himself a former miner, supported the use of Hungarian labour in the mines where vacancies existed but also stated that the National Coal Board had housed the Hungarians in an emergency situation, which had resulted in their arrival in the areas where accommodation rather than employment was available. He made particular reference to the three large hostels in Barnsley, Wakefield and Mexborough which were being used to house Hungarians whilst few employment opportunities

in the pits existed in those areas.[45] By 14 May 1957 approximately 100 Hungarians had found employment in the 112 Yorkshire pits.[46] Alwyn Machen, the Yorkshire miners' president, described the situation as ridiculous and as having developed into a "vendetta". He stated that although the Yorkshire miners feared unemployment, a fear which was based on past experiences, there was actually a normal wastage of 1,000 men men leaving employment in the Yorkshire coalfields every month.[47]

In 1957 some work was found for Hungarians in three drift mines which were opened near Barnsley. The Hungarians worked under the supervision of experienced British miners.[48] They were accommodated in a miners' hostel in Mexborough until October 1957 when they were moved to a hostel in Barnsley. However, problems with the acceptance of the Hungarians by Yorkshire miners remained and in the months prior to October 1957, 76 had been found employment in other industries.[49]

The Yorkshire committee of the National Union of Agricultural Workers agreed to the employment of Hungarian refugees provided that "adequate safeguards" were made against unemployment and that full consultation was undertaken with the union as to the availability of British labour before work was given to the refugees.[50]

Finding employment for the refugees in Sheffield was a relatively easy task for the United Nations Association and Employment Exchange officers. A large number of refugees found work in the steel and engineering industries, whilst the remainder were occupied mainly in shops or small factories. Despite South Yorkshire being one of the areas where miners' lodges were most strongly opposed to the introduction of Hungarians to the pits, this situation had only a minimal effect on Sheffield as the city was not an area where those refugees who had volunteered for mining were sent. However, the local newspaper did cover the issue and showed opinion on the subject to be divided. A letter from N. R. Robertson of Dinnington defended the miners' position claiming that the "frequent arrogance" of some refugees was largely responsible for the local miners' attitude.[51] Also published was a letter from a miner, F. Walker of Wybourn, Sheffield which was highly critical of both "continentals" and National Coal Board officials.[52] There were also a number of letters in defence of the refugees and Reverend A. D. Morris of Manor Park believed nothing had "brought more discredit on the miners" than their refusal to accept the Hungarians.[53] By 26 June 1957 approximately 130 Hungarians who had come to the region hoping to find work in coalmining had been found alternative employment in Sheffield by the city's Employment Exchange. In light of the attitude taken by

local miners towards the employment of Hungarians in the pits it is interesting to note that on 1 July 1957 the National Coal Board began to run in the local newspaper a series of advertisements aimed at encouraging recruitment into the industry.

One firm from Sheffield offered to house, clothe, feed and find employment for four Hungarian refugee families. The firm, which remained anonymous in the Press, made the offer in a letter to the Lord Mayor of Sheffield. The scheme was to house the families on one of the firm's tree-planting schemes in North Yorkshire, where work would be provided for the men and possibly some of the women. Each family was to be given a cow for milking and be provided with enough land to grow their own vegetables. The families would also be able to fell trees and sell the timber to supplement their incomes. The offer was to last for one year and was aimed primarily at families with agricultural experience.[54]

In Barnsley permanent employment was offered to Hungarians capable of work in the glass industry, rubber processing and umbrella manufacture. However, few offers of employment were forthcoming for Hungarians intending to leave the area.[55]

In the West Riding a number of the Hungarians were accepted for work in the wool textile mills, and hostel accommodation was also made available as part of the employment offer. However, many left when alternative employment became available. Many of the male Hungarian refugees in Bradford were found employment in engineering; offers of work in the textile industry tended to be aimed at women.

In Bradford a Hungarian exile, Jozsef Fecser, who had lived in the city for eight years, sought employment for the newly arrived refugees after visiting a holding camp in Staffordshire and observing the idleness of life there. He used his contacts in the engineering industry to find employment in engineering for the refugees, some of whom were already skilled engineers. Fecser also sought accommodation for the refugees in the city. The local newspaper was particularly interested in the fact that a number of the men were former first division footballers in Hungary.[56]

For Hungarian youths the employment situation was initially less welcoming financially than it might have been. In the Doncaster area the Youth Employment Officer, Leonard Smith, reported that it was proving difficult to find suitable employment for Hungarian youths aged 15-17 as the positions on offer would not

have provided sufficient cash for the Hungarians to be self-supporting. Whilst unemployed they were being provided with enough money to cover hostel costs and give them some pocket money. The employment on offer did not do this, whilst at the same time it was not possible to offer them higher wages than would be paid to locals for the same work.[57] This problem was brought to the attention of the Home Secretary and the Ministry of Labour and it was decided that Hungarians finding themselves in this situation should receive a State wage subsidy to enable them to undertake employment.[58]

Accommodation

For most refugees finding somewhere to live was one of the first difficulties they faced. Although having initially received more than 300 offers of homes for the refugees in Sheffield[59] many of these offers were either not serious or unsuitable so that by 30 November 1956 the United Nations Association was forced to make an urgent appeal for accommodation for between 40-50 refugees. This problem became less acute when the disused Crimcar Lane Hospital, having been equipped by the Ministry of Works and Sheffield Corporation, re-opened on 20 December 1956 as a hostel for the refugees. On opening, the hostel housed sixty men, thirteen women and three children. However, it soon became apparent that Crimcar

Lane was too far away from where many of the refugees had found work and by 10 January 1957 urgent appeals for private accommodation were again being made. There was a good response to these appeals and by 21 May 1957 all the refugees in Sheffield had been housed and it was possible to close the Crimcar Lane hostel.

Appeals for accommodation were first made in Bradford in the local press in November 1956 as soon as it was proposed to bring Hungarians to Britain. It was reported that many of the offers of help received by the Bradford Telegraph and Argus after its appeal were being made by East Europeans who had arrived in the city after the Second World War.[60] The offers of accommodation made by local people prompted a letter from J. H. Redman of Little Horton who expressed sympathy for the refugees whilst stating that the generosity being shown to them had not been shown to the 9,000 locals on the housing waiting lists or the 30,000 old people in need of different accommodation to that which they were currently inhabiting.[61]

In Halifax a local businessman offered two houses for use by a Hungarian refugee family. The houses were completely furnished and would be rent free for one year. Two other houses were also offered anonymously. In Heckmondwike the Urban Council offered the tenancy of a

house on one of the council's estates rent free for three months to a family of Hungarian refugees.

Furniture for the unfurnished accommodation made available to the refugees was also in short supply. In Sheffield the United Nations Association organised a collection of furniture, although contributors were asked to contact the Association before delivering it in order to ensure that only furniture which was actually needed was donated.

Hungarian men who had found employment in the coalmines were initially accommodated in miners' hostels. Sixty Hungarians were moved in October 1957 from a miners' hostel in Mexborough to one in Barnsley in order to be closer to their place of employment. The local residents of the Mexborough hostel had not welcomed the arrival there of the Hungarians and after only one month, in January 1957, English residents were making accusations that the Hungarians were selling clothes given to them by the local branch of the WVS. The refugees were also accused of "wrecking" the hostel. They were also charged with the smashing of furniture, and "taking charge of everything".[62]

Miners' hostels in Barnsley and Wakefield offered to house temporarily those Hungarians who were not intended

for employment in the mines. The National Coal Board was concerned at this time to dispel rumours rife amongst the refugees that they were to be sent for forced labour in the Yorkshire coalfields. These rumours had originated in Hungary to discourage those seeking exile and to discredit Western offers of aid to refugees.[63] It was not uncommon for refugees who had been held in London to disappear before coaches arrived to take them to employment destinations in Yorkshire. At the Wakefield hostel there were protests when 30 British men were ordered to quit the hostel to make room for the Hungarians. The men who were asked to leave were all in employment other than the mines, the majority were engineering or building labourers, some of whom had previously been employed in the coalmines. Mr. H. Saul, Wakefield area general manager of the National Coal Board, stated that accommodation was reserved for use by miners when needed and that in addition it was easier for English workers to find lodgings than it was for foreign workers.[64] In Barnsley 22 non-mining residents, employed primarily in glass works and foundries, were told to vacate the hostel to make room for the Hungarians. However, they were informed that should there be vacancies after the Hungarians had been accommodated they were welcome to remain. The men were supported in their claims to remain in the hostel by their local Member of

Parliament, Roy Mason, who consulted the National Coal Board over the issue.[65]

Acquisition of the English language by the Hungarians

In Sheffield twelve interpreters were listed by the United Nations Association to deal with the Hungarian refugees after their arrival in the city. One Sheffield steel works released a female employee who had arrived in Sheffield in 1948 from Hungary to act as interpreter during her normal working hours rather than perform her usual duties for them. The Sheffield company James Neill Tools had a Hungarian member of staff seconded to aid in the resettlement of Hungarian refugees in the area. One of the directors of the company, Dr. Edwards, was a member of the United Nations Association. In Bradford use was also made of Hungarians living in the city as interpreters for the new arrivals. In November 1956 it was reported that 70 Hungarians were immediately available for when the refugees arrived.[66]

Nevertheless, it was clearly necessary for the Hungarians to learn English as quickly as possible. Only by overcoming the initial language barrier would the refugees be able to become full members of the local community. To resolve this problem the Young Men's Christian Association in Sheffield held English classes

on four nights per week in its building on Fargate in the city centre. The classes were given by a married Hungarian couple already resident in the city. The couple were both schoolteachers.[67] Twelve volunteers, mostly qualified or trainee teachers, also ran a twelve week course for the 205 refugees resident at a miners' hostel in Mexborough. The instructors did not need to know Hungarian as the method of teaching was to repeat and demonstrate phrases in English. In addition to basic English the men were also taught 500 mining words, including dialect words such as 'muck', as it was hoped that they would find work in collieries.

In Leeds English classes were provided for the Hungarians by Leeds College of Commerce one evening per week. Classes were conducted in English with explanations and instructions given in Hungarian.[68]

In some instances, the language barrier aggravated initial problems of settlement. For example, in February 1957 when three Hungarians suffering from tuberculosis were transferred from a Mexborough hostel to Rotherham's Oakwood Hospital the refugees went on hunger strike because they wanted to have their food prepared in the Hungarian style. The hospital superintendent admitted that the situation had been made worse by the language difficulties which existed between the staff and the

refugees. The hunger strike ended when the Hungarians agreed to accept the hospital diet. The hospital superintendent, Dr. A. C. Morrison, was keen to stress that no concessions had been made to the Hungarians as "You can't run a hospital that way."[69]

Education

The response of the students at the University of Sheffield to the Hungarian situation was somewhat ambivalent. After the Soviet intervention in Hungary a Students' Aid for Hungary Committee was set up by students from London, Nottingham and Sheffield which intended to send a volunteer force to fight with the Hungarian rebels. The chairman of this committee was Bryan Milner, a French and history student at Sheffield University. Although nobody queried the ideals or sincerity of those involved in the scheme the credibility of the scheme itself did come into question and was not supported by the University. This meant that volunteers would have no guarantee of regaining their place on return from Hungary. The idea was also doubted in Darts, a newspaper produced by Sheffield University students, which warned that the volunteer force could become a "Crusade of the Innocents" involving "fighting fools".[70] As a result only about twenty people actually volunteered from a meeting attended by 700 students called at only 30

minutes notice on 9 November 1956 and the scheme was dropped just three days later.[71]

However, the attitude to the four Hungarians who had taken places at the University by 24 January 1957 was generally very supportive. Sheffield had been allocated a quota of four Hungarian students based on the distribution of university students on a national level. The University authorities waived the usual fees whilst the students themselves helped to pay the Hungarians' other expenses; one way in which they did this was to donate the money made by a babysitting service set up for this specific purpose. The only negative response came from the Communist Society which continued to assert that the Hungarian revolution had been led by fascists. Darts' reaction to this was to publish a large article about the revolution written by one of the refugee students.[72]

Five Hungarian students were allocated to Leeds University, although the university stated that it was prepared to accept twenty further Hungarians as an emergency measure if places could not be found for them elsewhere. Three chemistry graduates were also enrolled at Leeds University to begin work on textile chemistry research. A fund was set up at the university to help support the Hungarian students, one of the fund raising

activities being the holding of a weekend course at Sadler Hall entitled 'The Land of Hungary : Its People and Its Culture'.

The attitudes of local people to the Hungarians

Letters and reports in The Star give a useful insight into the attitudes of local people in Sheffield to the refugees. Publicity was generally good, with most of the stories either telling of the generous response of local people and appealing for more help or about how most of the refugees were "very well behaved decent chaps".[73]

In Yorkshire, as in the rest of the country, there were resignations from members of the Communist Party in sympathy with the Hungarian people. Edward (E. P.) Thompson, a lecturer at Leeds University, and John Saville, a member of the staff of Hull University, were suspended from the party after being responsible for a magazine article critical of the policy of the Soviet Union towards the situation in Hungary, and calling for the Communist Party of Great Britain to disassociate itself from the intervention and demand a Soviet withdrawal. The article appeared in a Communist discussion magazine, The Reasoner, produced by the two men. The magazine had already been banned by the executive committee of the Communist Party of Great

Britain which had passed a resolution demanding they cease publication in September 1956.[74]

Mr A. A. Wallis, the East and West Riding Secretary of the Electrical Trades Union, resigned from the Communist Party on the issue of Hungary, stating "I can no longer accept the Communist road to socialism." In Sheffield, Ruth Bradley, who had contested the Nethershire Ward in Sheffield municipal elections for the previous three years on behalf of the Communist Party, resigned both because of the situation in Hungary and of the Khrushchev report on Stalin. Like many other former members of the Communist Party she sought membership of the Labour Party. Another prominent Sheffield Communist, Arthur Fullard, who was a former secretary of the Sheffield Manor Branch and had stood as the Party's candidate in ten municipal elections since 1945 also resigned from the Party in protest of the Soviet action in Hungary. Mr. Fullard said that he considered "the military intervention a murderous interference stemming obviously from a power-drunk Soviet leadership."[75] Up to 15 November 1956 approximately three per cent of the membership of the Communist Party in Sheffield had resigned according to its secretary, Howard Hill. Former members estimated that the Party in Sheffield had approximately 650-700 members.[76]

However, examples can also be found which show a less favourable response by some people. The old adage "charity begins at home" appeared in two letters which were appealing for more financial aid for the sick and aged, although both also said they had some sympathy for the Hungarians "up to a point".[77] Looking farther afield there was the case of a woman in Chesterfield, Derbyshire who stole money from her three Hungarian lodgers and was told by the magistrates

> "We take a serious view of these offences. You took advantage of three strangers to this country and they must be protected."[78]

Nevertheless, such exploitation of refugees does not appear to have been common.

The Bradford Telegraph and Argus carried a letter on 15 November 1956 from four Bradford men who expressed their shock at the "drastic suppression" of the Hungarians by the Soviet forces but at the same time they were also

> "dismayed, however, to read of the mass immigration to England of a large number of Hungarian refugees. England is at this time struggling with internal commercial affairs, the main brunt of the matter being that we are nearing the brink of slump and mass unemployment."

They went on to suggest that Australia and Canada, which at the time were advertising for immigrants from Britain, should take more of these refugees and that British help was more suitable in the form of donations to the Red Cross Society.

This letter provoked a response from Edward Reeder, Honorary Secretary of the Bradford branch of the Common Cause, an organization which supported armed intervention in Eastern Europe in the fight against Communism. Reeder strongly disagreed with them and was glad of the "truly wonderful response to the appeal for homes both temporary and permanent for Hungarian refugees in this district".[79] Also in disagreement was Mrs P. Lees of Keighley who stated of the Hungarians "These people are desperate. They have nothing." She added that views expressed by the four Bradford men made her feel "ashamed".[80]

Of the cases of open hostility to the Hungarians the most blatant example appears to have been that directed at those resident in miners' hostels. The English residents at the hostel in Mexborough claimed "all contentment and comfort" had disappeared since the Hungarians came as they had "done nothing but wreck the place".[81] In the Barnsley area there were a number of fights between local men and the refugees resident at Broadway Miners' Hostel. The main reason given for these fights was that "the

Barnsley lads felt the refugees were stealing their girls".[82] The largest of these fights occurred on 15 December 1957 when 15 Englishmen marched to the hostel and started a "running battle" with 40 Hungarian residents in which "picks, pieces of concrete and bottles were used."[83] This 'battle' made front page news in The Star but did not reflect badly on the Hungarians as it was reported that only local men were being prosecuted for their part in the incident. At that time there were approximately 500 residents at the hostel, 400 of whom were Hungarians. Of the Hungarians only 30 were not employed by the Coal Board.[84] After the trouble which occurred there a scheme was proposed in January 1958 for a club to be established at the hostel for use by the Hungarians.

Conclusion

Although it was difficult at first for some of the refugees to settle in their new country, by 24 October 1957 Edith Freeman of the United Nations Association felt able to say that the 150 refugees who had settled in Sheffield were being "rapidly assimilated into local life".[85] The refugees who came to the city were generally satisfied with the treatment they received from the people of Sheffield. One 20 year old refugee wrote to Heti Hirek to say that the lodgings he had found in

Sheffield made him feel as though he were still at his "own mother's home" and that although he had originally applied to go to Canada he was now happily settled in the city.[86] Sheffield people were encouraged to help the refugees settle in the city not just through material contributions but by including them in the social life of the city. For example, in December 1956 it was arranged for Sheffield people to accompany some of the Hungarians to a football match between Sheffield Wednesday and Aston Villa. Letters from groups of refugees were also sent to the Queen and the Lord Mayor of Sheffield which expressed their gratitude to the Sheffield people. The writer of these letters, John Vidonyi, stated "It is my people's wish to send them as a mark of their apopreciation."[87] Finally, Sheffield United Nations Association received a large number of Christmas cards in December 1957 from refugees in Sheffield, other parts of the country and even Canada which said that they would never forget "the help the city gave them in their hour of need".[88]

In later years the Hungarians, due to their wide geographical distribution have tended to become invisible wherever they have settled. In 1983 the involvement of the Hungarian community in Bradford in the multicultural Bradford Festival prompted the comment "Hungarians, are there Hungarians in Bradford ?".[89]

PART FOUR : CONCLUSION

13. CONCLUSION

The traditional perception of the attitudes which have been expressed towards refugees who have settled in Britain is that responses have been characterized by liberal tolerance, a view which is to some extent true. However, this toleration does have serious limitations. Often the responses of institutions and individuals are initially quite tolerant but this situation can change as people become affected by the presence of the refugees. Those whose lives are not impinged upon can afford to be liberal; hostility arises when the refugees come to be seen as competition, for example, in employment or finding accommodation. Once this individual hostility has arisen it can become a group antipathy which is passed on to some institutions. It is at this point that refugees often come to be perceived of as immigrants rather than refugees; responses to the former have never been as liberal.

Prior to the groups who arrived in Britain in the aftermath of the Second World War, the entry of foreign nationals into Britain was governed by the Aliens Order of 1920 which stated that an alien could land only if he could provide proof of his ability to support himself and

his dependants. Employment could be undertaken only after a work permit had been issued by the Ministry of Labour, which did so only when it had been shown that no British labour was available. Restrictions were eased to some extent after 1938 because of the improved employment opportunities and the growing number of refugees from Nazi Germany. After the Second World War, the labour shortage opened the way for some of the East European refugees to enter Britain on Government-sponsored schemes. The European Volunteer Workers were a necessary addition to the British labour market. The post-war economy required an increase in exports and a decrease in imports in order to reduce overseas expenditure. Also of concern during the 1940s was the declining population and the effects this would have on the future availability of labour. The selective immigration of foreign workers from amongst Europe's displaced persons was seen as a possible way to counteract this trend.

The British Government, which had allowed the refugees to enter Britain after the Second World War, formed the Central Co-ordinating Committee of Refugee Welfare Organizations in 1948 and the British Council for Aid to Refugees in 1950. These were the first government-sponsored organizations established to aid the resettlement of foreign nationals in Britain.

The arrival in Britain of the Poles and Ukrainians and also of the later Hungarians was a controlled arrival and as such it was ensured that, employment opportunities allowing, a wide geographical distribution occurred. This dispersal to areas of available employment helped to offset some of the hostility encountered by other immigrant groups who have been free to settle where they chose after arrival in Britain, regardless of employment and housing considerations.

At the time of the arrival of Poles and Ukrainians into Britain in the years immediately after the end of the Second World War a Control of Engagement Order was placed on all residents of the United Kingdom, whether British or otherwise, which was used to ensure that work in essential industries was carried out effectively. British subjects taking employment for the first time were guided into the essential industries. In light of this, employment restrictions placed on European Volunteer Workers and members of the Polish Resettlement Corps seem less draconian.

However, measures of discrimination in Britain remained legal for a number of years after the arrival of the groups considered in this study. In 1960 it was still the policy of the Ministry of Labour that its officers should try to persuade employers refusing to employ

foreign or colonial labour to consider such applicants on their individual merits. However, if an employer continued to refuse foreign labour it was the duty of the employment officers to "assist him to obtain workers who satisfy his requirements",[1] which implied that those employers who insisted on the use of British labour were legally entitled to do so.

The Polish and Ukrainian refugees entering Britain in the 1940s did so as part of official labour schemes which tended to find them employment in those occupations which were viewed as less desirable by the indigenous population. The Hungarians were not affected by these restrictions but still tended to find themselves in manual occupations similar to those of the earlier settlers on account of their lack of understanding of the English language. Fewer of the Hungarians entered agriculture than the earlier groups on account of the absence of employment controls and their inexperience in agricultural employment. However, in the long term this distinction diminished as few Poles and Ukrainians who were initially directed into agriculture decided to remain there when employment restrictions were lifted. Employment in occupations viewed as undesirable by the indigenous population is common to migrant groups, whether refugees or migrants motivated by economic considerations.

All three groups entered Britain at times of full employment and, as they undertook the less attractive occupations, resistance as a whole to them remained minimal. In the case of all three nationalities the attitude of the trades unions tended to be one of initial hostility followed by gradual toleration and acceptance. The National Union of Mineworkers was particularly hostile to foreign workers at a local level. In Bradford the acceptance of refugees into local employment was made easier by the weak position of the textile unions. The hostility which did emerge came from those sections of the local population which felt threatened by their presence. For example, the attitude of the Yorkshire miners towards the Hungarians was governed by local fears of unemployment despite the industry requiring more men on a national level.

A more widespread source of hostility towards the refugees was accommodation. As the refugee groups moved out of the hostels which initially housed them there was a tendency towards house purchase, at great financial sacrifice, in areas where prices were lowest. This resulted in areas such as Manningham in Bradford gaining a reputation as refugee and immigrant areas. During the 1940s there was some resentment by the local population towards refugee house purchase at a time when accommodation of all kinds was difficult to obtain. As

the refugees became more settled there was a movement out to the suburbs and thus a wider geographical distribution of the refugees in the cities. This movement coincided with a subsidence of the hostility of the local population towards refugee house purchase as accommodation became easier to obtain.

By the time of the arrival of the Hungarians in 1956-7 the accommodation shortage for local people was less acute. However, for the Hungarians there remained problems in finding initial hostel accommodation as many of the hostels in use during the 1940s had been closed and their premises used for other purposes. In general, the British people were supportive of the use of hostel accommodation by the Hungarians but some hostility occurred in mining areas where there was some displacement of local men from mining hostels in favour of the Hungarians. Complaints of rowdy behaviour by the refugees were often made in these situations. In Nottinghamshire, Mansfield Woodhouse Urban Council protested at the erection of hutments for Hungarian refugees at Forest Town miners' hostel, stating that planning consent for the extensions had been granted over the heads of the authority. One councillor complained that the site was near some bungalows in which the authority took pride and that the huts made the area look a "real dump".[2]

A less economically motivated source of hostility towards the refugees was that of their relations with the local female population. The East European refugees of the 1940s and the 1950s all suffered from the 'steal our women' complex of local men. This was a direct result of the gender distribution of the groups which were all predominantly young single men. This attitude, combined with fears of unemployment, was behind much of the fighting which took place. The Poles had a popular image of 'Casanovas' which had grown during the Second World War, whilst in the case of the Hungarians the fighting at the Broadway hostel provides an example that this attitude towards foreigners remained intact.[3] The attack at the Broadway hostel was not an isolated incident. In Middlesborough police were forced to protect the Haverton Hill Hungarian hostel after threats were made by approximately 500 local residents of a mass attack on the refugees inside. The Hungarians refused to leave the hostel after the threats. Some local residents alleged that the source of the trouble was that some refugees were "too free in their approaches to local women and seem unable to cope with British beer."[4]

At the end of the Second World War Britain was faced with a declining population which had an increasing proportion of elderly. One solution to this problem was the controlled influx of white immigrants with a westernized

culture, as later emphasized by the 1949 Royal Commission on Population. Groups were needed which were not prevented by religion or race from intermarrying, and therefore assimilating, with the British people. The readily available displaced persons from Eastern Europe therefore appeared to be the most obvious choice. At the time that the East Europeans arrived in Britain assimilation was expected to be the goal of refugees and immigrants. The idea of integration as a permanent rather than a transitory stage had not gained credence at that time.

All three groups in the study were aided in their adjustment into British society by the Cold War which had developed between East and West after the Second World War. The Poles who had proved brave allies against the Fascists became allies against the Communists and were perceived as the victims of Soviet expansionism. The Ukrainians, although initially viewed as ex-supporters of the Germans, were reclassified as refugees from Communism. It was not until the war crimes debates of the 1980s that their former German sympathies were put under the spotlight. The popular image of the Hungarians was one of the freedom-fighters who had taken on the might of the Warsaw Pact and been forced to flee after inevitable defeat at the hands of the Soviet forces.

The cultural identity of the Hungarians entering Britain was not as strong as that of the Poles or the Ukrainians. They were less homogenous as a group. The East Europeans entering Britain in the years immediately following the end of the Second World War tended to be either ex-servicemen or ex-forced labourers. Amongst the Hungarians were many different groups who used the opportunities presented to them in 1956 to escape to the West. The Hungarians were also much smaller in number than either the Poles or Ukrainians which, added to their geographical dispersion, made them less visible in the communities which received them.

The Poles and Ukrainians originally envisaged a speedy return to a free homeland and their residence in Britain as temporary. This is in contrast to the Hungarian arrivals of 1956-7 who, even initially, saw their migration as permanent. As a result, the Hungarians were more willing to integrate or assimilate themselves into the local community at a much earlier stage than the East European arrivals of the 1940s.

Assimilation is not always a choice for immigrants and refugees; colour is a great determiner of the responses made by the receiving British population. Racism in society makes it far harder for black minorities to gain acceptance than it is for white immigrants. In this

respect, the responses to Poles, Ukrainians and Hungarians have been more positive than they may have been if these groups had not been white. However, it should not be assumed that because these groups were white it has necessarily been easy for them to gain acceptance. All three groups spoke unfamiliar foreign languages and had their own distinct cultural backgrounds, a fact which may have fuelled some racism and even in the cases of people genuinely trying to aid the settlement of the refugees these characteristics often made communication and understanding difficult.[5]

The arrival of the black and Asian immigrants in Britain from 1948 onwards turned attention away from the East European immigrants, and thus prejudice and discrimination were to some extent also deflected away from them. The second generation East Europeans were the objects of little discrimination. They fared particularly well when compared to the subsequent generations of black and Asian immigrants. Colour was the key factor. The second generation East Europeans did not appear foreign, they had neither an accent nor a different coloured skin.

As refugees the East Europeans felt they had little in common with the immigrants from the Caribbean and the Indian sub-Continent and there was some friction between

these two groups as well as with local communities. For example, violence flared between Polish and Jamaican residents in a Birmingham National Service Hostel in 1949. The Jamaicans had also been subjected to hostility by other residents and locals who disliked their presence.[6]

However, that the favourable reception of East European refugees in the 1940s and 1950s was a result of the prevailing economic and political conditions at the time is demonstrated by the attempts of Bosnian refugees to enter Britain in the 1990s. In November 1992 the British Government refused to allow 181 Bosnian refugees into Britain on the grounds that their visas had the backing of the Slovenia Red Cross rather than the International Committee of the Red Cross based in Geneva. A television discussion programme, "The Time The Place", held a telephone poll which asked 'Is the Government right ?'. In the 35 minutes in which the programme was on air 32,871 people voted yes, only 11,228 disagreed.[7] The discussion element of the programme included contributions from refugees who had been allowed into Britain and from various refugee organizations. However, of more interest were the reasons given by those who felt refugees should not be allowed into Britain. The old arguments of refugees increasing unemployment and representing a drain on social services were popular as

was the attitude of Britain 'helping our own' first. In spite of the fact that during the last one hundred years Britain has been a net exporter of population, views were also expressed that Britain, as an island, risked overpopulation if other nationalities were admitted into the country. Opponents of the refugees consistently referred to them as immigrants.

In summary, the Poles entering Britain after the Second World War were found employment either through the Polish Resettlement Corps or the European Volunteer Worker Scheme depending on whether they originated from the forces or the refugee camps. The Ukrainians, whether recruited directly from the refugee camps or entering Britain as surrendered ex-enemy personnel, secured employment via the European Volunteer Worker Scheme. The Hungarians entering Britain after the 1956 uprising obtained work through the local employment exchanges. Some were recruited directly by the National Coal Board, although many of these men were later obliged to find work through the labour exchanges after the refusal of the National Union of Mineworkers to accept large numbers of foreign workers. All three groups often found themselves in more menial employment than that to which they were accustomed because of the language barrier. The Poles, Ukrainians and Hungarians who arrived in the 1940s and 1950s were provided with accommodation, and

essentials such as necessary clothing. In the case of the Hungarians who arrived in 1956-7 there were donations of furniture to assist them in finding private accommodation. The Ukrainians had little access to further education but provision was made for both the Poles in the Polish Resettlement Corps and the Hungarian students who came to Britain. Members of the Polish Resettlement Corps were provided with the opportunity of job retraining schemes. Provision of English language classes for the refugees was less well-organised. The Poles received some instruction whilst in the holding camps, and there was also language tuition for those East Europeans intended for employment in the coal mines. Other than this it was usually the responsibility of the refugees themselves to learn the language in their own time, often after long working hours.

The public responses to the groups were influenced by prevailing economic trends, and indicative of a reactive rather than an independent nature. Fortunately the arrival of the groups did not coincide with recession. Those most hostile to the refugees tended to be those most threatened by them in economic terms due to their own economic insecurity or those people with political views sympathetic to the Communist bloc. In some respects the East European refugees benefited from the ethnocentric[8] aspect of racism in Britain. The East

Europeans were viewed as fellow Europeans who soon adapted dress and behavioural codes similar to those of the British community. With the arrival of the Asian and West Indian communities who remained both visibly and culturally distinct much attention was removed from the East Europeans. They also benefited from the prevailing political situation between East and West, which ensured that they were viewed as the victims of the repression of the common enemy of Communism and the Soviet bloc.

Present attitudes towards these three groups are characterized largely by a sense of indifference. They are not always visible communities, and as such receive little public attention. There are occasionally features in the press about the last remaining Polish camp, and there was some indignation amongst the Ukrainian community towards their treatment in the press when the prosecution of war criminals reappeared as an issue towards the end of the 1980s, but it seems that little long term damage was done to the community. Although the Hungarian uprising of 1956 still remains firmly entrenched in the public consciousness coverage of the Hungarian community in Britain in the popular media seems to be non-existent.

Although extensive, this study is still far from complete; there are many areas of the subject which are

still to be considered. This is particularly true of the Hungarians, a refugee group which seems to have been largely ignored by historians. Of the three groups considered in this study, it is the Poles who have received most academic interest. Many of the studies of Ukrainians have been undertaken by members of the Ukrainian community itself, consequently much of the information on the Ukrainians is from an insider's point of view rather than that of the more detached academic.

One problem in trying to extend our knowledge of this subject is the lack of relevant information available to us. It was not always thought at the time that their arrival was worthy of extensive documentation. This is particularly true when considering public attitudes to the refugees. Here again, there is more information on the Poles than on either the Ukrainians or Hungarians and as such it is probably the Poles who will continue to receive the most extensive coverage in future academic studies to the neglect of the other East European nationalities who have settled in Britain.

NOTES

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PART TWO : THE RESPONSES TO THE REFUGEES ON A NATIONAL LEVEL

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PART FOUR : CONCLUSION

13. CONCLUSION

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