

CLAUDIA SNOCHOWSKA-GONZALEZ

Exercises in expansion. Colonial threads in the National Democracy's turn toward discipline

1895 was the first year of the “Brazilian fever” in Galicia, i.e. a migration wave of peasant masses from Galicia to Brazil. In my article, I analyze the content of the 1895 “transitional” volume of *Przegląd Wszechpolski* (“All-Polish Review”), previously called *Przegląd Emigracyjny* (Migration Review), when the Lviv journal passed into the hands of the National League. I shall discuss the ways in which folk masses were presented in particular articles, and reflect on the meaning of the concept of colonization used there. In the articles of *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, the idea of Polish colonization (i.e. the settlement in Brazil and the United States of the peasant masses expelled by poverty from their home villages in partitioned Poland) began to intertwine with the idea of the colonization of these masses – attempts to ensure that they would remain Polish and Catholic, and with the idea of the expansion of Polish national body, so that it takes its proper place in the global capitalist economy. I argue that dealing with Polish colonisation played significant role in the National Democracy’s “turn toward discipline,” usually associated with another example of spontaneous mobilization of the masses – the 1905 revolution.

Keywords: National Democracy, the peasant masses, Brazilian fever, migration, Polish colonization, *Przegląd Wszechpolski* (“All-Polish Review”)

In the mid-1890s, Galicia, like the Congress Kingdom a few years before, was overwhelmed by “Brazilian fever.”¹ Villagers sold all their belongings and set off for Hamburg, Bremen, Genoa or Trieste, to cross the Atlantic and reach the promised land – Brazil. Their hopes were quite obvious. After the abolition of slavery in 1888, the Brazilian government tried to make up for labour shortages by inviting migrants from Europe to settle or to find employment on coffee plantations. Those interested were offered free tickets for a ship to São Paulo and assistance at the beginning of their life on the new continent. Peasants from Galicia, troubled by poverty and constantly threatened by hunger in their home villages, did not have much to lose. They went away with their whole families, and later wrote letters to their neighbours and relatives, encouraging them to follow suit.²

Of course, the “Brazilian fever,” though spectacular, was but one element of the vast diversity of nineteenth-century peasant migration. By World War I, a total of 110,000 Polish³ peasants had left for South America, compared to nearly 2 million who had relocated to the United States (Mazurek 2006, 30–31). However, in the years 1895–1896, the unprecedented total of 17–25 thousand people migrated from Galicia to Brazil. This meant that migration to Brazil temporarily exceeded that

1 The research for this article was supported financially by the Polish National Science Centre, research grant Opus 16, 2018/31/B/HS3/00915, project “The nation’s body and soul. Volkist motifs in Polish early national-democratic thought (1895–1918)” conducted at the Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences. The draft of this paper was presented at the conference “Wokół historii społecznej: Nacjonalizm i autorytaryzm” in 2019 at the University of Warsaw, Poland. I would like to express my gratitude to Karolina Grzegorzcyk, Katarzyna Nowakowska, Wiktor Marzec and two anonymous reviewers for insightful remarks and helpful comments on various stages of my work on this paper.

2 On the size of peasant labour migration to South America at the end of the 19th century, and on the experiences of migrants from the moment they decided to leave to the moment they settled on another continent, see, among others: Assorodobraj-Kula et al. 1973; Groniowski 1972; 1984; Kula 1983; 2012; Mazurek 2006; Pilch 1984. The collection of letters sent in the years 1890/1891 by peasants who left for Brazil and the United States, mainly from three villages of the Congress Kingdom, is particularly noteworthy. These letters, written in Polish, Russian or Yiddish, were requisitioned by tsarist censorship office and thus survived in the archives (Assorodobraj-Kula et al. 1973). Although they relate to the first wave of “Brazilian fever,” i.e. 1890–1891 and to peasants from the Congress Kingdom, not Galicia, they can be treated as a valuable source also for the phenomenon analyzed in this paper.

3 I use the term “Poland” and “Polish” to refer to the former lands of the Polish Commonwealth and its inhabitants. Until 1918, Poland was under the Partitions and did not exist as an independent state.

to the United States (Pilch 1984, 267). It was the “fever” that became the subject of several literary works (authored by writers such as Maria Konopnicka or Adolf Dygasiński) and contributed to the discussion about the significance of the migration of peasant masses from partitioned Poland and – more broadly – the significance of these masses themselves.

In this article, I want to focus on the importance attributed to the migration to Brazil by the National Democratic movement (Narodowa Demokracja – Endecja), and on the function the discussion about Polish migration to South America played in the development of the Endecja and its ideology. The shaping of the ideology of the National Democracy can be seen as an attempt to give a new explanation for and reaction to Poland’s dependence (because earlier proposals of such answers had failed). The most important feature of the National Democracy as a modern political formation is its “turn toward discipline,” toward a vision of a hierarchical, disciplined community organized in accordance with the principles of integral nationalism (Krzywiec 2009; Marzec 2014; 2016; Porter 1999; 2011). The authors dealing with this topic, however, argue that the combination of factors that led to this turn became most evident in 1905–1907, and that these factors included, above all, the massive, revolutionary mobilisation of workers, which required a response in the form of the Endecja’s new way of thinking. In my article I propose that, when constructing the genealogy of the “turn toward discipline,” we should also refer to the events that had taken place ten years earlier. It was in response to the “Brazilian fever” that the “global” ambitions in the Endecja’s discourse began to show: the attempts to recognize Poland’s position in the global capitalist economy and to test the possibility to compete for influence in overseas lands. Even if these ambitions were not a big “colonial” success, even if they were finally rejected as fantasies by the Endeks themselves, they should, in my opinion, be regarded as an expression of the emerging Endecja’s ideology that, ten years before the 1905 revolution, showed not only a tendency to discipline the spontaneous actions of the peasant masses, but also a puzzling (and paradoxical) closeness with the essential features of the colonial discourse, thus presenting reality as a zero-sum game and as a domain of subordination and forcing submission.

To prove this, I will analyze articles from the initial year of *Przegląd Wszechpolski* (“All-Polish Review”) – the founding periodical of the Endeks. This journal was surprisingly strongly connected with the circles of the organisers of the folk migration to Brazil – Lviv lawyers, economists and activists trying to place it within a rational framework.

Even if these ambitions were not a big “colonial” success, even if they were finally rejected as fantasies by the Endeks themselves, they should, in my opinion, be regarded as an expression of the emerging Endecja’s ideology that, ten years before the 1905 revolution, showed not only a tendency to discipline the spontaneous actions of the peasant masses, but also a puzzling (and paradoxical) closeness with the essential features of the colonial discourse, thus presenting reality as a zero-sum game and as a domain of subordination and forcing submission.

I shall examine how this migration was described, the ways in which the editors understood the term “colonization,” and what handy applications they found for it. I shall demonstrate the place the peasant masses began to occupy in the Endecja’s emerging worldview – of the predicted subject and, as it turned out, also the object of colonization. This will allow me to capture the key concept of the National-Democratic ideology: the concept of the nation as a living body, a natural element that deserves its proper place among other living bodies – other elements participating in the struggle for existence. I shall consider the many dissonances, inconsistencies and sheer clumsiness of the writing about the living body and soul of the nation, which were typical of the language of the initial issues of *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, in order to observe the forging of such political imagination.

The Misery of Galicia

First, however, I would like to take a look at Galicia in the second half of the 19th century. The demographic transformation here took place late, and initially it did not reduce human fertility. The birth rate remained at a level typical for the societies of the old demographic order, while the number of deaths gradually stabilised (Zamorski 1991, 145–146). The poorly developed industry was not able to absorb the growing surplus population, while the productivity of agriculture remained very low. The prevailing expulsive economic model (Pilch 1984, 9) manifested itself in a series of crises and natural disasters, and the subsequent waves of migration. Towards the end of the century, the grain market experienced a particularly acute crisis (Assorodobraj-Kula et al. 1973). Stanisław Szczepanowski⁴ presented a picture of the Galician rural population’s living conditions in his famous work *Nędza Galicji w cyfrach* (“The Misery of Galicia in figures”; Szczepanowski 1888). Based on data from 1883, he described an exhausted social body whose primary cells,

4 Stanisław Szczepanowski (1846–1900) – economist, liberal, supporter of the idea of organic work and an entrepreneur developing the Polish oil industry, his career also included work in the Great British Ministry of India. Among many ideas for changing the situation in Galicia, such as, for example, supporting industrialization, he pointed to the need to dismantle the myths which maintained the country’s “economic anaemia” and destroyed its productivity. Interestingly, among the false economic views supporting the poor state of affairs, he pointed to the scourge of anti-Semitism and the practice of exaggerating the “destructive influences” of socialism.

the bodies of the working peasants, were inefficient due to malnutrition, and were malnourished because their work was inefficient. “Each Galician works for a quarter of a man, and eats for a half” – wrote Szczepanowski (1888, 22). “Peasants do produce cereal, beans, eggs, butter and other products here, but most of that is sold to pay taxes” (Szczepanowski 1888, 48). Szczepanowski’s findings were confirmed by Napoleon Cybulski in his work on the nutrition of the rural people of Galicia (Cybulski 1894). Cybulski concluded that a significant proportion of the population remained permanently half-starved (Cybulski 1894, 176): “In Złotniki, Podhajce county, they usually survive on borscht and potatoes alternately, rarely using any dairy, and on nettle and goose-foot as well. In winter they have the same dishes, whether on an ordinary day or when fasting” (Cybulski 1894, 52). The obvious effect of this status quo was a mortality rate higher than in other countries (Szczepanowski wrote about the average life expectancy in Galicia of 27 years for men and 28.5 for women, while in England it was 40 years for men and 42 years for women; to Szczepanowski’s shock, as he reported, the figures were higher even than in Bengal⁵). Other effects of malnutrition included susceptibility to epidemics, low suitability for military service, as well as general apathy, lack of the initiative and energy needed to improve one’s fate. Therefore, peasant migration, although in this context it resembled pulling oneself out of the mire by one’s own hair, seemed a natural way out of this vicious circle and towards a better life.⁶

5 Comparing the situation in Galicia with the situation in countries considered to be at the lowest level of civilization is a frequent and significant rhetorical device. Also Napoleon Cybulski (Cybulski 1894, 177) wrote that the inhabitants of Galicia ate worse than the inhabitants of Central Africa. The aim of such comparisons was to cause shock, based on a belief that Polish lands were at a higher civilizational level than Russia, let alone Bengal or Central Africa.

6 In his work, Szczepanowski constructed a long-lasting image of Galicia as a land of backwardness and deviation from the norms of civilization set by the West. According to this image, Galicia was juxtaposed (also by other authors) with Western European countries, but also with all Austria-Hungary and with the Russian and Prussian partitions, as a land of misery. Tomasz Kargol (Kargol 2009) discusses the thesis of the alleged unusual economic and industrial backwardness of Galicia in relation to the Kingdom, and Michał Krajkowski (Krajkowski 2015) describes the diversity of images of Galician backwardness in 19th century literature. Szczepanowski’s rhetorical exaggeration and putting Galicia in a hierarchically arranged sequence of regions and states served his ideological goals; however, it remains an indisputable fact that the migrating peasants escaped the real threat of hunger (contemporary studies on this topic: see e.g. Franaszek 2016; in more popular form – Kopczyński 2018). The most painful fragments of the previously mentioned letters of the peasants – migrants from the Congress King-

What is interesting for us, however, is the manner in which Szczepanowski combines the issues of the nation's existence, the condition of the domestic economy, and the condition of the masses of starving peasants. They are one and the same, which allows Szczepanowski to conclude that the development of the entire national economy will make it possible "to obtain a reliable basis for political and social activity and to create a nation, where at the moment only material for a nation can be found" (Szczepanowski 1888, XIX). This "material for a nation" was, of course, the emaciated peasants. They would not become conscious citizens, participants of social, political and, above all, economic life, the ideal entrepreneurial individuals, without leaving the vicious circle of inefficiency and the misery that perpetuates it. At the same time, in Szczepanowski's visions, society is beginning to resemble not only a body, with its basic cells – working human individuals, but a large enterprise, getting rich by saving and work, benefiting from the strength and energy of individuals, rather than wasting it irrationally. The masses of starving Galician peasants are still but material for a nation. The transformation, identified with a prosperous economy, will only materialize if we stop accepting the neglect of the basic existential needs of the lower classes. Szczepanowski proposes moving away from the tradition of treating these classes as inexhaustible, eternal natural resources. In accordance with this disastrous tradition, we have become accustomed to thinking that, as he sarcastically writes, "Providence has destined frogs for the stork, hay for the ox, thistle for the donkey, and leftovers and scraps for the peasant" (Szczepanowski 1888, 48). He suggests taking care of each individual, so that he or she can fully develop his or her productivity. Until this goal is achieved, migration will be the obvious choice for those who want to improve their fate. Abroad, in favourable circumstances, "the valuable assets and hidden qualities of [the Polish worker and peasant] that we have not recognised" will be properly appreciated. "An American, an Englishman or a German can discover, appreciate and use them. Only we see him as useless" (Szczepanowski 1888, 13).

Szczepanowski's book made a huge impression on his contempora-

dom (Assorodobraj-Kula et al. 1973) included those in which they encouraged their relatives to go to Brazil or the United States with the promise that in the new country they would eat like landed gentry, and the most common expression of concern about the fate of those who stayed at home were the questions about how they had made it through the winter. Therefore, regardless of the publicistic nature of Szczepanowski's theses, it should be assumed that the fear of hunger and freezing was a constant component of the peasant life in Poland, regardless of whether they came from Galicia or the Kingdom.

ries. However, his proposed reactions to the misery of the peasant masses, rooted in the ethos of organic work and in the liberal paradigm equating social life to economic life, were not the only ones. They were also not the only proposals aimed at finding a new utility for these masses. As the “Brazilian fever” began to consume Galician villages, and as the peasants’ movement began to gain importance, giving political subjectivity to the ones who stayed in Galicia, the newly crystallising National-Democratic movement put forward its own proposal. The proposal constituted an innovative transformation of liberal organicism, and at the same time an answer to the question that preoccupied people: is mass peasant migration a danger for Poland? Who loses by it, and who can profit from it?

Rational colonization in the national spirit

The migration of peasant masses to Brazil surprised Polish society. It seemed to be taking place spontaneously, without the participation of any institutions other than migration agents (Michał Starczewski [Starczewski 2012b] proves that the sinister role of the latter was greatly exaggerated). At the same time, few people in partitioned Poland knew anything about the situation in Brazil. A small group of such people gathered in Galicia. In 1889, at the Second Congress of Polish Lawyers and Economists in Lviv, Stanisław Kłobukowski, a traveller, economist and member of the Polish (later National) League, demanded protection for the people migrating across the ocean. His aim was not so much to support their material improvement, but to “transplant our nationality to the other hemisphere” (*Drugi Zjazd...* 1891, 239). The way to achieve this goal would be to establish a colony, i.e. clusters of Polish emigrants. Avoiding dispersion would facilitate the cultivation of Polish nationality. The congress decided to set up a commission (Stanisław Kłobukowski, Józef Kleczyński, Stanisław Szczepanowski, Józef Mączewski and Alfons Parczewski were elected [*Drugi Zjazd...* 1891, 252]) to examine the Polish migration, and to present the conclusions during the following meeting of lawyers and economists. At the third Congress, in Poznań in 1893, the commission could present not only the conclusions from the questionnaires completed in the villages from which and to which the peasantry migrated, but also the news of the establishment in Lviv in 1892 of the journal: *Przegląd Emigracyjny* (Migration Review). The purpose of this journal was to promote economic connections with migrants from Poland, and to disseminate the information needed to make a rational decision to leave.

A Lviv lawyer, Wiktor Ungar, who was also a member of the National League and editor of *Przegląd Emigracyjny*, made a speech about such connections, describing them as a defence against denationalisation. Such a defence would be possible when “we connect our colonies to the metropolis with material ties, and the public opinion notices that mutual communication can bring not only spiritual benefits” (Ungar 1894, 191). In the same speech, Ungar presented the ideal of “Greater Poland, i.e. the cultural union of all Polish societies regardless of nationality” (Ungar 1894, 191), which was to be a prefiguration of the all-Polish idea (*idea wszechpolska*) and an equivalent of the imperial idea of Greater Britain (sic!). Kłobukowski and Ungar also announced the establishment of the Trade and Geographic Association that would take care of maintaining economic connections with the Diaspora. The organization was indeed established in 1894, and *Przegląd Emigracyjny* became its official press outlet (Skrzypek 1966, 105; *Przegląd Emigracyjny* nr 8 of 15 April 1894). In January 1895, the biweekly was renamed *Przegląd Wszechpolski* to emphasize the association between the idea of connection with the Diaspora and the all-Polish idea. On March 15, 1895, Roman Dmowski,⁷ who at that time settled in Lviv, published his first article in *Przegląd Wszechpolski*. On July 15, Dmowski took upon him not only the task of editing the magazine (although Ungar still formally signed himself as editor), but also writing (under different pen names) most of its articles. In July, *Przewodnik Handlowo-Geograficzny* (Commercial and Geographical Guide) began to be published as a supplement to *Przegląd Wszechpolski*. The *Guide* took on the more mundane topic of establishing economic relations, while *Przegląd* focused on the all-Polish idea and unifying all parts of the Polish body and soul, whether under the Partitions or in exile. The chronicle of events in the “Polish colonies” could be found in both magazines, even though they highlighted slightly different aspects of them (see Garlicki 1966; Skrzypek 1966; Jakubowska 1988).⁸

7 Roman Dmowski (1864–1939) – the main ideologist of Polish nationalism, co-founder of the National League (1893), National Democratic Party (1897), Camp of Great Poland (1926), and National Party (1928). Polish delegate to the Paris conference in 1919, supporter of the incorporation concept of the nation state and opponent to the Minority Rights Treaty forced on Poland by the Allies. Although after regaining independence he did not hold any major state functions, he exerted a huge influence on the shape of the political scene and the ideological profile of Polish nationalism, giving it an authoritarian, anti-Semitic, and totalitarian face.

8 This peculiar connection seems to be an accidental, and at the same time a non-accidental event. Dmowski, whose leadership in the structures of the Ende-

The content of the transitional (1895) volume of *Przegląd Wszechpolski* can be interesting for many reasons. Its analysis allows the crystallisation of the early Endecja's ideological profile to be reconstructed. Also, it enables the researcher to follow the history of concepts important for the movement, such as colonization, *żywiół* (living element), the body of the nation, and extermination. Of course, all these concepts are a work in progress: they are clearly influenced by various paradigms, including ones losing their significance, such as romanticist messianism. Dmowski's arrival at the editorial office was certainly a significant turning point. He reorganized the periodical, gave it a uniform ideological character and professionalized it. However, it was not him (or at least not directly) who stood behind the renaming of the journal as *All-Polish Review* and making the all-Polish idea the crucial notion defining the mission of the biweekly. Moving to Lviv, Dmowski joined a community that had already proposed a new approach to the issue of making the folk masses useful. Having joined it, he began to shape it. Although the paths of the mainstream Endecja diverged from the notions of this milieu, the National Democracy drew important conclusions regarding the masses and colonization from the Lviv encounter.

The dictionary of colonization

According to the authors of *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, colonization was synonymous with the resettling of surplus population, for whom there was no sufficient room or resources in the country of origin, into remote, unpopulated areas. In its basic application, this concept had little to do with expansion, and nothing at all with military missions and imperial dreams. *Przegląd* described the expeditions of families moving in tranches from Lviv under the Aegis of the Society of St. Rafael and the Trade and Geographic Association, and published correspondence sent by the

cja was not so obvious in 1895, came to Lviv with the intention of founding a journal – the press outlet of the National League. However, he had no money for it, and it would be difficult for him to obtain a license for a new title. The proposal to hand over *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, put forward by Kłobukowski and Ungar (Garlicki 1966), turned out to be an unusual twist of fate. Still, the current editors themselves were members of the National League, and the ideological profile of their magazine was so close to Dmowski that – at least at the beginning of the magazine's existence – their connection could give an impression of an obvious and unavoidable turn of things. This favourable conjuncture of factors could be retrospectively seen as a “historical necessity”, but other scenarios were also possible.

migrants themselves. Readers could imagine crowds of desolate people, with their children and their bundles, setting out in search of bread and freedom. The travellers then transformed themselves in the new country, becoming farmers or artisans, earning a modest living, finally rid of the spectre of hunger. The settlers strived to organize their social, religious and cultural life abroad (see Assorodobraj-Kula et al. 1973; Groniowski 1972; Pilch 1984). However, as the descriptions of Polish colonies were accompanied by attempts to interpret the phenomenon, Polish colonization acquired more far-reaching meanings, and helping migrants became a specific mission – a plan of “rational colonization in the national spirit” (see Starczewski 2010).⁹ Dmowski wrote about it in one of his first articles:

having understood that a certain amount of annual migration is a necessity caused by economic conditions, one began planning to save for the nation this population leaving their home, so that emigration was not a loss of national forces, but their multiplication by acquiring new territories for Polish culture and thought. The society is faced with the task of concentrating the migration in certain territories, in dense colonies, since the element (*żywioł*) scattered among strangers is doomed to destruction (Skr. [Dmowski]¹⁰, 1895/8, 114).

The practical challenges involved in creating compact clusters of population were the subject of numerous disputes. Is it better for the migrants to settle in Santa Catarina or near Curitiba in Paraná? Is it better for them to work the land, find employment in cities, or set up “vendas” (God forbid they should work on plantations!)? One thing was obvious to everyone: the migrants should form clusters, i.e. Polish colonies.

This was rooted in the conviction of the inevitability and natural character of both capitalism and colonization, which was defined as “the principle of civilizational development of nations” (n.d. [Dębicki], 1895/22-23, 344). In the struggle for existence, which takes place not only in nature and economic life, but in the relations between nations as well, it is obvious that nations try to expand, be it in accordance with the “population law” (i.e. the law of Malthus, pertaining to “the reproductive power of our tribe exceeding the country’s capacity to support

9 According to the terminology proposed by Jürgen Osterhammel and Jan Jansen (Osterhammel and Jansen 1995, 20–21), we would be dealing with a transition from a description of colonization without colonialism to a description of colonization combined with colonialism.

10 Dmowski signs his articles with several aliases: Skr., Skrzycki, Żagiewski.

it” [Oksza, 1895/9, 130]), or with the desire to conquer new lands to increase the nations’ power. If a nation is alive, expansion is its natural behaviour, a sort of self-preservation instinct. Nations that lack such an instinct will perish, as they will succumb to the expansionary tendencies of those who do have it, in the struggle for territories, influence, resources and strength in numbers. Therefore, if the Polish nation wants to exist (and, in the future, also regain its state), it must join this struggle, whether by trying to “win back the borderland [i.e. Silesia] for the idea of Polish nationality” (Skr. [Dmowski], 1895/8, 114), by resisting Germanisation and Russification, by strengthening the Polishness of the former Polish territories, or by dealing with the issue of migration and colonization – e.g. in Brazil.

The articles of *Przegląd Wszechpolski* clearly focus on the vitality of tribes, peoples and nations. It is the vitality, understood as the ability to expand in its own name and for own benefit, that is the most important feature of every individual – an organism, a human or a nation. Vitality is more important than the level of civilization, culture, military or economic strength. It is even more important than having a state. This is clearly visible in the article in which Dmowski argues with Max Weber (sic!). The German sociologist stated during a lecture in Freiburg that Poles reproduce more quickly than Germans because they are at a lower mental and cultural level. Though agreeing with him on the facts, Dmowski interprets this phenomenon quite differently, claiming that this is exactly where the strength of the Polish people stems from.

Our people are culturally inferior to the Germans and, in some respect, in the context of our harsh living conditions, this inferiority is their social strength. They can work hard, live and reproduce on any food. To this we owe the population density in Galicia, which is unheard of in other countries, especially in the West, in spite of the domestic production being limited to only one thing: agriculture. Hence the faster reproduction of Poles compared to the Germans in the Prussian partition, as well as the unprecedented abundance of children in Polish families in the United States of North America. How else to explain that somewhere in the eternal Brazilian forests, in the midst of wild nature towards which the Germans, Italians or Portuguese are powerless, our Mazur settles, slowly cuts and conquers the forest, gaining more and more land for sowing, to ultimately develop a flourishing colony. The incredible modesty of needs, and the ability to work, the perseverance, and finally the overall vitality of his organism, this is the force with which the Polish peasant makes his conquests. He is like common grass, which thrives on the poorest of soils, rises back when trampled on, and cannot be uprooted... Our inferiority to the Ger-

mans is only relative. It is the inferiority of culture, and many facts indicate that it is not associated with racial inferiority. With the growth of culture, our people will not only match the Germans, but in many respects surpass them (Żagiewski [Dmowski], 1895/16, 251–252).

Vitality is not only the stubborn growth, it's also the fight. This belief allowed *Przegląd* to comment on the discussion between the German journal *Gegenwart* and Polish *Dziennik Poznański*. The German magazine argued that it is natural to look for a new place for your population surplus, whether by taking land, or by sending people away and peacefully colonizing less populated areas – this is the law of nature, and an indicator of internal health. *Dziennik Poznański* was outraged, claiming that to make such a case is to advocate for the survival of the stronger, while nature cares for balance. Just to be on the safe side, the journal added that we ourselves need not fear, because the Polish nation is vital and fertile. The comment of *Przegląd Wszechpolski* was symptomatic: peace and faith in natural balance, vitality and fertility are not enough for us. “Depending on what our behaviour towards our enemies will be, in the future we will be a nation or ... ‘a little nation-like group’. It is not enough for us to survive – we have to fight, so that we do not lose anyone of our number to our enemies” (“Przegląd prasy polskiej”, 1895/14, 227).

Vitality was becoming the most important sign, the cause and the effect of patriotism. According to Dmowski,

the keepers of patriotic feelings and of the idea of ruthless resistance against external enemies are always the social strata with the greatest vitality, who play the most important role in society and feel strong inside. The classes that lose meaning in society, that are forced to watch their influence dwindle daily, that feel weaker and weaker inside, these classes seek support outside, ready to ally themselves even with the enemy of the nation to maintain their falling significance (Żagiewski [Dmowski], 1895/15, 234).

Patriotism is therefore only the attribute of the most vital, and only those animated by the national spirit are vital. Patriotism is synonymous with vitality, with caring for the life and body of the nation and with the fight for its rightful place.

It is typical of *Przegląd Wszechpolski* to use the term “element” (*żywioł*) with exceptional frequency. The word is used to describe the masses: the “Polish element,” “Ruthenian element,” “foreign element” etc.. It serves to describe the masses, but the association with the forces of nature (*żywiolowy* meaning “vehement”) emphasises the most impor-

tant aspect of the described thing, i.e. the fact that it is alive (*żywy*). It is a living body among other living bodies; relations between them are relations from the world of nature perceived as the domain of struggle and clashes between organisms.

The element (*żywiół*), however, is human mass not necessarily aware of its own spirit. Such awareness can only be acquired by a nation, which connects its national body with the national soul. Such an understanding of the (Polish) nation was visible right from the first issues of *Przegląd Wszehpolski*. In issue 5 (i.e. before Dmowski joined the editorial board) the magazine quoted selected entries from the commemorative book in the Polish-American pavilion during the great Lviv exhibition of Polish economic achievements. Perhaps by mistake, the journal quoted twice the same entry with wishes for the Polish Diaspora: “Save money – and do not lose your soul. You shall create a powerful body for the future of the nation” (“Z książki pamiątkowej” 1895/5, 74-75). Clearly, the function of providing nutrients to the nation’s body belongs to the economy and economic life. After Dmowski took over, such direct and explicit comparisons became increasingly rare. He spoke of the nation as an organism which had its specific aspirations and which developed as a living being, but which depended largely on the condition of its soul:

Our nation lost what was most valuable for it – its freedom. Having lost it, it was pushed off the path of the natural development of its powers, and of the autonomous progress of civilisation. But in the face of the collapse of the Polish Commonwealth, the healthy, unspoiled nation, which was full of vital strength, produced the idea that became its soul and the goal of its noblest citizens – the idea of independence (n.d. 1895/19, 293).

Thus, the condition of the soul of this national body, which in itself is healthy and full of vitality, turns out to be more important than the more mundane, bodily needs, the fulfilment of which has been delegated to the Trade and Geographic Guide. It is the soul that determines the state of the whole – for which the Partitions of Poland can be the best example:

We have been dismembered ...

We must beat our chest and admit and accept a great part of the guilt ... Our nation did not lack creative ability in many directions, it did not lack bravery and willingness to sacrifice, it did not lack vehement forces, which must be the basis of every plan of action. But we have always suffered from a lack of political thought, and the more difficult the moment, the more complicated the conditions of our lives, the more this lack has become apparent... And we have

probably never been so submerged in chaos as we are today. It partly excuses our chaotic actions (Żagiewski [Dmowski], 1895/19, 299–300).

The articles of *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, especially after Dmowski started to edit it, go beyond organicist visions, in which presenting society as an organism was simply a metaphor. What stands out is the belief in the actual, bodily existence of the nation as a whole. Feeding the Galician peasant, and his resulting performance, is no longer an issue. Individual bodies are not commented upon. The main theme becomes the living body¹¹ transcending the bodies of individual members of the society, a body whose most important attribute is constant movement, vitality, expansion, or, in contrast, a body which is attacked by parasites, a dead mass that is no longer animated by the national spirit. This Polish body fights for its place among other bodies, because such are the laws of nature, economics and politics. The Partitions are an abomination, because they dismember the geographical location of this body; intensifying internal antagonisms among Poles, e.g. class antagonisms, is also abominable – it violates the integrity of the Polish body.

The Polish living body should be strong and immune, like a healthy organism that is able to resist parasites. The best indicator of such immunity is the condition (in a given place, e.g. under a particular partition) of the Jewish community, which is also treated as a collective body – one parasitizing the Polish body. In an article on demographic relations in Lithuania and the unique growth of the Jewish population there, Dmowski argues that:

Jews, living off the local population, must exploit it more and more to exist in increasing numbers. The Jewish population is undeniably a parasite on the social body of the country it inhabits. But it is in this character that one should look for an explanation of the phenomenon in question. A healthy, strong body, all of whose activities are carried out normally according to the order indicated by the laws of nature, is the least suitable soil for the development of parasites. For example, in the Grand Duchy of Poznań the cultural development of the lower classes and their subsequent economic independence went further than in any other part of Poland. The percentage of the Jewish population there has been decreasing steadily from year to year. Where the local population is free to move, where they develop independent economic and social activity, where they associate for economic purposes, where the industry and trade are rationally orga-

11 Of course, I mean a living body in the phenomenological sense, as the body that someone can be, not the body that someone has (see Neumann 2009).

The main theme becomes the living body transcending the bodies of individual members of the society, a body whose most important attribute is constant movement, vitality, expansion, or, in contrast, a body which is attacked by parasites, a dead mass that is no longer animated by the national spirit.

nized, the parasitic Jewish mass has little to gain, and must slowly give way (Skrzycki [Dmowski], 1895/10, 147).

In Congress Poland, the number of Jews does not change, because a state of equilibrium has been achieved – “society develops life activities sufficient to halt the faster development of the parasite, but not strong enough to force him to retreat” (Skrzycki [Dmowski], 1895/10, 147). Meanwhile, in Lithuania, as a result of Russian actions against the Poles,

the only socially active element in the country, the Polish element, which had brought education and progress to the local population, became restrained and inert... The society, flourishing until recently, turned into a motionless mass, arrested in its development, because those who had enough destructive power to incapacitate the Polish element, did not have enough encouraging power to replace it in social work. The mould grew over a once healthy, strong body, the parasite grew in force – the beautiful Lithuania turned into a Jewish kingdom!... For the element thriving on exploitation, which finds the most abundant sustenance where misery and ignorance reign, for the element which does not need any freedom, because it can carry on destroying and robbing without it, there is hardly a greater paradise than this unhappy Lithuania (Skrzycki [Dmowski], 1895/10, 147).

The concept of the national body does not refer to the bodies of individual people. It is best demonstrated by the specific way the journal uses the word “extermination.” It does not mean, for example, the deaths of millions of people in planned and organized death machinery. In an extermination, according to *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, no one may ever die. It is the body of the nation that will be attacked. That’s what Russification and Germanization are all about. This is what *Przegląd* writes about the plans to classify “ethnographic Poles” (i.e. Polish speakers), Orthodox ex-Uniates from the Chełm Governorate, as Russians, and then to separate this governorate from the Congress Kingdom: “Separation of these lands [...] will also be [...] a great step on the road to the extermination of the Polish element” („Z zaboru rosyjskiego”, 1895/13, 205). Zdzisław Dębicki explains what exactly such extermination comprises: “the entire Russian policy towards us, conducted with the constant reinforcement of means, aims at impoverishing us as much as possible, in terms of numbers, in a material and spiritual sense, and at the same time at enriching them at our expense” (n.d. [Dębicki], 1895/22-23, 343). “Russia seeks to kill us in the national sense” (n.d. [Dębicki], 1895/22-23, 344). Similarly, in the case of Germanization: “the Prussian government [...] treats the lands of the Prussian partition

in the same way it treats the German provinces [i.e. less important, less central]. The only difference being that it pursues a policy of extermination towards the Polish element” (“Łączność wychodztwa z ojczyzną”, 1895/21, 328).

Importantly, it was not only about numbers, but also about the quality of the masses – those migrating and those remaining in place, confessing one religion or another, occupying a particular class position – masses in various ways significant for the survival of the nation. In the articles of *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, all these factors became elements of a complex strategy that would increase or decrease Polish chances for a place among rival nations. Therefore, for example, the editors of *Przegląd* had different views about Polish migration, depending on its destination. Migrants to the East, i.e. deep into Russia, were mainly representatives of the intelligentsia who could not find a satisfactory job in the Kingdom. Their departure was considered a loss to their homeland, a depletion of valuable resources, while in exile such migrants “waste and degenerate under the influence of the environment and are lost, once and for all, to the national cause” (Zd. Wł. [Dębicki], 1895/20, 310). However, the editors never expressed the opinion that the departure from Galicia (or other Polish territories) of the masses that migrated westward was any loss: whether economic (because of the possible labour shortages – a popular view among manufacturers and landlords), or demographic (due to a change in the ethnic structure of a given territory, which would be unfavourable for the Poles). It is as if these masses were an inexhaustible, infinitely vital, ever-renewing resource, or as if getting rid of their surplus from Galicia constituted a double benefit: firstly, it removed crowds of “unnecessary”, and thus potentially dangerous, people, and secondly, it opened a perspective for Polish overseas colonization.

Not once in 1895 did the journal call for modelling the ethnic composition of the groups participating in the “Brazilian fever.” Jews, too, left Galicia – both Galician and Russian ones, whose way westward led via the border crossing in Brody and further on, towards the Southwest.¹² Their migration, however, was not noted by the *Przegląd Wszech-*

12 Jewish migration from Galicia before World War I was more intense in relative numbers than the Polish and Ruthenian ones. In the years 1881–1910, more than 230,000 Jews left Galicia (Wróbel 1994, 101; about Jewish migrants from Tsarist Russia passing through Galicia: Buchen 2012, 112–116). They went to the cities of the Habsburg Empire or overseas: primarily to the United States (in the years 1880–1914 two million Jews from Russia and Austria-Hungary arrived there; it is estimated that 27% of Eastern European Jews moved there in

polski as important, as far as competition for a leading role in Poland was concerned. The competition was supposed to be won by increasing the “quality” of the Poles: their vitality, national awareness and – last but not least – economic entrepreneurship (hence e.g. the appeals to support Polish merchants and landowners, or to establish “Christian” shops at agricultural cooperatives – it is here that *Przegląd* saw the most urgent need to compete with the Jews, but also with the Germans). In the opinion of the editors of *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, it was not the numbers of the Polish masses that mattered for economic competition, but the vitality and condition of the Polish collective body.

What nourishes the nation’s body? In the first issues of *Przegląd*, edited by members of the Polish Trade and Geographic Association, it was obvious: the nation’s body is sustained by efficient industry, a strong economy, trade ties between “our own” – the Poles in the old country and those scattered across America – buying products from “their own”. Obviously, as it was no longer about individuals, the body of the nation could not be fed with products manufactured by institutions, but with the institutions themselves. It was them that caused the body of the nation to “grow” and occupy a more important place in the global economic circulation. So there was no talk of eggs, beans, and cereals that could be eaten by migrants from Galicia, but about wheat, yerba mate, and maize which they began to grow and sell in their “vendas” in Brazil; and about linen, soap and devotional articles (sic!) which entrepreneurs from Galicia could export there. The texts on this topic, however, were full of clumsiness and inconsistencies. In one sentence, attempts were made to combine the sacred – striving for the survival of the national spirit, and the profane – efforts to make economic profits. After sublime tirades about the fight for the Polishness of Cieszyn and about the efforts to establish a Polish gymnasium in this town to create local intelligentsia, Stanisław Kłobukowski added:

Przegląd Wszechpolski will try to acquaint its readers with the internal affairs of this land. At the moment, it draws attention to the usefulness of Polish correspondence with local companies exporting a lot of articles to Galicia. They should be forced to use Polish, if only by the threat that the goods will be imported from elsewhere. By doing so, we create jobs for the Poles in German

those years; Morawska 1999, 26), Argentina and Brazil. However, Jewish migration remained a phenomenon separate from Polish and Ruthenian migration, because it was based on its own social networks and organising institutions (Praszałowicz 2003) – the offices of the Trade and Geographical Association were besieged by Polish and Ruthenian peasants, not by Jews.

factories, and we strengthen the intelligent Polish element, which is greatly lacking in there! (Kłobukowski, 1895/1, 11).

After discussions about Poles in Eastern Siberia, about the threat of their possible denationalization and the difficulties related to expansion beyond the geographical limits of the Polish element, the author of the article makes this point: “However, even those ephemeral colonies could fulfil a very important and useful role in expanding our industry and trade” (C., 1895/5, 71).

After Dmowski had taken over the editorial board, all such clumsy inconsistencies disappeared. This was not only due to the greater rhetorical efficiency of the leader of the National Democracy (though it did matter, of course). Arguing for the need to maintain ties with the Polish community in the Americas, *Przegląd* wrote about the obligations of American colonies towards their homeland. However, the specific, mundane aspects of fulfilling these duties were left to others. When reporting on the cooperation of the Polish Emigration Union (*Związek Wychodźstwa Polskiego*) in Rapperswill with the Polish National Union (*Związek Narodowy Polski*) in the United States, the journal mentioned “practical Americans” (i.e. Polish emigrants in North America) who voluntarily paid contributions to The National Treasury (*Skarb Narodowy*). *Przegląd Wszehpolski* only reported on this, it did not need to agitate on this matter. Further on, the journal also casually mentioned that the Trade and Geographical Association and Stanisław Kłobukowski, who had just set out on a trip to Brazil, would deal with establishing trade contacts with South America (“Łączność wychodźstwa z ojczyzną”, 1895 (21), 329). We can see that the matter of feeding the body of the nation has already entered a different, more sophisticated and refined level. Dmowski himself dealt with other type of sustenance: the spiritual one. As the most important product feeding the national body and circulating in its economic and spiritual system, he mentioned the press and literature (see Skrzycki [Dmowski], 1895/11, 161–163; I.Ż. [Dmowski], 1895/11, 262–264; I.Ż. [Dmowski], 1895/20, 311–312). He defined the purchase and consumption of Polish books and magazines as a civic duty, the fulfilment of which was directly related to the existence of the Polish element: “When a Pole is removed from a [professional] position, the Polish newspaper, the Polish book is removed with him; as a Russian takes his place, the Russian printed word is introduced” (Skrzycki [Dmowski], 1895/11, 162). This feedback relationship works at the level of the whole society and its individual elements. On the one hand, the nature of the press published in a given place shows which

social group is most vital, and in which group education is improving the most. On the other hand, it is the press which enlightens and breathes life into all classes, filling them with the national spirit. The all-Polish press, written from the perspective of the entire country, rather than individual partitions and colonies or individual groups / classes, unites the spirit of the nation and gives it a universal, non-provincial character.

From poor masses to a nation ready to colonize

As we can see, *Przegląd Wszechpolski* came a long way during the first year of its existence. It started by describing attempts to organize the poor Galician masses gathering in German and Italian ports without any deliberate plan, and awaiting a ship to the promised land: hungry, lost and unenlightened poor people compared, with horror, to the inhabitants of the most backward and colonized corners of the world. The paper moved on to praising the masses whose very existence proved Polish vitality, masses constituting one of the parts of the economically and nationally expanding body of the nation which is ready to colonize others. How did this happen? How was this rhetorical u-turn possible?

It was possible, because it was based on a belief that the masses can be nationalized and, paradoxically, that “nationalizing” happens to them overseas. Peasants from Galicia, who had hitherto not reflected on their nationality, and aware only of their religious identity, learned that they were Polish after having arrived in Brazil or the United States.¹³ Certa-

The paper moved on to praising the masses whose very existence proved Polish vitality, masses constituting one of the parts of the economically and nationally expanding body of the nation which is ready to colonize others.

13 However, the question arises about how the ethnic / national identity of Galician migrants was understood by the *All-Polish Review* itself. The inadequacy of the categories used during censuses, kept both in Poland (where e.g. Masurian Protestants were counted as Germans) and in migration countries (where for a long time peasants from Galicia were classified as subjects of the Habsburg Empire, and therefore Austrians, peasants from the Russian partition – as Russians, etc.), was a constant topic raised by the magazine. At the same time, its attitude towards the internal diversity of Galician peasants was quite interesting. It is known that not only Poles migrated from Galicia, but also Jews, mentioned earlier, and Ruthenians / Ukrainians (according to Andrzej Pilch, the latter constituted 3/4 migrants from Galicia during the Brazilian fever; see Pilch 1984, 267). (I use these categories in a religious and linguistic sense). However, Jews have never appeared in the magazine as potential members of the group of refugees that *Przegląd* wanted to look after – they started appearing in other contexts, as parasites, especially in economic terms, only after Dmowski joined the editorial office. In contrast, the national identity of the Ruthenians was noticed, but it was treated either favourably, as a variant of Polishness, or with disapproval, as a product of the forces hostile to Polishness. An independent Ukrainian identity, enta-

inly, this was due to the circumstances of migration: while trying to name and understand the world overseas, they could not ignore the issue of ethnic and national differences, because they defined their own otherness and strangeness in the new country (Starczewski 2012a). But the peasants experienced something more. From the very beginning, while still in Galicia, as they gathered to form a consistent group under the protection of the Society of Saint Rafael and the activists of the Trade and Geographic Association, as they prepared to set out, they had to listen to a whole series of speeches and sermons in Polish and Ruthenian, calling on them to keep their fathers' faith, nationality and liaison with the country. They were assured that they would be supported in faith and nationality by their caregivers: priests and activists (see „Polacy w Ameryce. Z Ossolineum”, 1895/9, 135–136). It was during this journey and during their settling abroad that they became Poles. In the “Polish colonies” they learned to celebrate Polish holidays, e.g. the anniversary of the May Constitution, they learned the history of Poland and got to know the various determinants of being Polish. Together with other migrants, they collected money to build Polish churches, schools and reading rooms (on migrants from the Congress Kingdom in the early 1890s see Assorodobraj-Kula et al. 1973 – the information in this work pertains also to Galician peasants from the mid-1890s; on the life of Polish migrants in Brazil at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries see Groniowski 1972). This “nationalization” took place partly at the initiative of the migrants themselves, and partly thanks to the efforts of activists and priests. And it was probably successful. *Przegląd Wszechpolski* wrote about the Poles in America:

That this multitude of people, until recently colourful, are organized and disciplined, full of trust in their strength and sense of dignity; [...] that their numerous children, accompanied by a priest and a nun, faced with the threat of denationalization cultivate their native language with love and reverence, at home and school; this is the work of the people sent there by providence. [...] So, honour and glory to them! Glory to the righteous sons of Poland who, on the other hemisphere, walk straight and calm, always and everywhere faithfully serving their Fatherland. Glory to the tireless sowers in the barren and wild field, to whom the Galician peasant, upon his return from America, sometimes owes that he felt and learned to be Polish (Pawłowicz, 1895/9, 133).

iling claims for the existence of an independent state, was not taken seriously at all. Of course, the same was the attitude of the magazine towards the Lithuanians, Silesians and Masurians, whose recognition and acceptance was conditioned by their potential assimilation to Polishness. Jews were seen as unassimilable.

The success in becoming a Pole probably depended on the efficiency of Polish organizations in a particular country. The aforementioned Polish National Union was active in the United States. Zygmunt Balicki, one of the leaders of the National Democracy, established cooperation with it when he came to North America as a delegate of the Polish Emigration Union. (The most important topic raised by Balicki was the Polish Diaspora's support of the National Treasury). *Przegląd Wszechpolski* described the effectiveness of the Polish National Union: "Sometimes, while working in Poland, you meet a man who has returned from America and who, under the influence of the Union, became a thinking, active citizen. You can see the beneficial influence this man exerts on his environment" („Ruch narodowy w koloniach amerykańskich”, 1895/15, 230). In the same year, 1895, Stanisław Kłobukowski went to Brazil, where the activity of Polish associations was just being initiated (see Groniowski 1972), so Kłobukowski did not act as a delegate of the Polish Emigration Union.

It falls outside the scope of this article to determine whether the “nationalization” of the peasant masses in Brasil turned out to be a fact, or merely the wishful thinking of the activists associated with *Przegląd Wszechpolski*. However, it is undeniable that a very clear picture of a plastic, colonizable people appeared in the political imagination of the early Endecja. There is no doubt that the real subject of colonization carried out in the Western hemisphere was the peasants – not yet Polish, but giving hope to become Polish “in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect” (Macaulay 1835). Therefore, whether the “nationalisation” was a fact or wishful thinking, an inseparable attribute of such a dreamed people was their discipline and readiness to join ranks. One example of an image of such susceptible people is provided by the description of peasants who took part in a rally organized on the occasion of the founding of the folk society in Lalkowice in West Prussia:

All souls were excited, minds were feverish, the whole assembly was inflamed; each of us felt that it was enough to drop a spark onto this gunpowder, and there would be a violent and unpredictable explosion against the Germans. With every speech, a thunder of applause erupted like a noise of nearby artillery. In the voice of the people you could hear a murmur preceding the storm, and the mass was silent “like a weapon before a shot”. You could often read the joy of victory on their faces, and when we mentioned the harm done to us by the Germans, many a hand clenched, teeth gnawed, and faces grew cynical. – When we remembered our victory, a smile of unrestrained joy and hate appeared on

There is no doubt that the real subject of colonization carried out in the Western hemisphere was the peasants – not yet Polish, but giving hope to become Polish “in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect” (Macaulay 1835).

our faces. We thought of what our nation of 20 million could do, had it felt, in its entirety, the thrill of this gathering (B., 1895/8, 121).

Endecja's development as a reaction to the Brazilian fever

What conclusions can we draw from the history of early Endecja's Brazilian adventure? First of all, it proves that the colonial mental maps (Białas Z. 2005) provided coordinates also to national democrats, and that their thinking was organized in accordance with these maps regardless of the real possibilities of conducting imperial conquest. Colonial mental maps present the world as a place of competition for influence in near and distant lands and for the political, cultural and economic subordination of others. They justify the division into the colonizers and the colonized with a hierarchy of races, cultures and civilizations. They treat colonising as an indicator of occupying the highest levels in these hierarchies. They provide a discourse that justifies military actions (Said 1994), but can also be reproduced regardless of realising them, also by countries that are not colonial empires (see Naum and Nordin 2013; Grzechnik 2017). The inhabitants of the Polish lands themselves felt the Partitions as a situation of colonial subordination – and certainly this was how the editors of *Przegląd Wszechpolski* perceived it. Still, colonial aspirations were in no way rejected by them, but were rather seen as the way to overcome the subordination and to confirm that the Poles were a nation, and not “a little nation-like group”. Instead of being a country subordinated to the “obsolete”, feudal colonialism of tsarist Russia or the Habsburg empire (both empires were seen by *Przegląd* as anachronistic formations), Poland, with colonial aspirations, was to step onto the path of modern and capitalist colonialism (where the British Empire was soon to become the model to imitate).

Colonization, understood as the expansion of Polish economic influence in South America, did not work particularly well. The organizations of Polish emigrants were, as usual, quarrelsome and dispersed (see Groniowski 1972). It was also rather difficult to establish economic cooperation. Most importantly, migration organizers from the Trade and Geographic Association fell out of favour with mainstream National Democracy activists.¹⁴ The peasant migrants themselves fell out of favour

14 In the most spectacular way this happened to Józef Siemiradzki (1858–1933), a geologist, traveller and devoted correspondent of *Przegląd Emigracyjny*, several times an emissary (in the footsteps of Polish emigrants) of the Trade and Geographic Association to Italy and Brazil. As early as 1900, *Przegląd Wszechpol-*

along with them – or rather, *Przegląd Wszechpolski* ceased to have any hopes for them. The plan to create New Poland, i.e. an autonomous Polish province in Brazil, promoted by Kłobukowski and Józef Siemiradzki (Kania 2004b), was considered a fantasy by Dmowski, who confirmed this view during his trip to Brazil in 1899. It turned out that the Polish population living in Brazil was so poorly organized, so little modernized, advanced or nationally mobilized, and had such an unfavourable social structure, that it was not able to put together a mere substitute for a state (Starczewski 2010; 2015; on the economic performance of migrants to Brazil see: Mazurek 2006).¹⁵

And yet, the “Brazilian fever” turned out to be an important experience, not only for the Galician migrants. In 1902, in his most famous book, *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka*, Roman Dmowski saw its significance as follows:

Even if the creation of the New Poland society somewhere on the shores of the South Atlantic, in the Brazilian forests, were to turn out to be an impossible fantasy, dealing with such a topic in itself would give us a new and wide field for exercising some of our listless forces, thus greatly contributing to the revival of our rotting spirit (Skrzycki [Dmowski], 1902 (11), 832; Dmowski 1933, 139).

Colonial thinking became an element of Endecja’s thinking, a disposition that manifested itself in different ways, depending on the specific conjuncture. Polish colonialism did not have the chance to be realized in the “classic” form as a result of an empire’s actions (its military, economic and cultural mission conducted in a distant country at the expense of its inhabitants) and therefore it manifested itself in a paradoxical way

ski wrote about him as “a person not known to anyone” (“Z wychodztwa i kolonii” 1900 (5), 317; see also Kania 2004a; 2004b), not only discrediting his actions, but also repeating rumours about him.

15 This does not mean, however, that he completely stopped thinking about Brazil. In 1902, he joined the initiative of the all-Polish activist Kazimierz Warchałowski, who founded Dom Handlowy – a bank-like institution established to make Poles in Brazil independent of German wholesalers; other shareholders were, among others, Władysław Reymont, count Dzieduszycki, Lubomirski, and Zamoy-ski (Groniowski 1972, 246). After regaining independence, colonizing ideas appeared in various forms in the thoughts of activists and politicians not only from Endecja, but also from Sanacja circles (the history of the Maritime and Colonial League deserves special attention here [see Grzechnik 2019; Białas T. 1983]), and migration policy, understood as a tool to get rid of “unnecessary people,” fell within the competence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Mazurek 2006). It was not very successful, however.

Just as the Endecja did during the 1905–1907 revolution in relation to workers entering the political scene, so they did it at the end of the nineteenth century, in relation to the migrating peasant masses, who tried by themselves to find their place on the economic scene of the global capitalist system.

as an aspiration (Grzechnik 2019), a fantasy (Ureña Valerio 2019), or an exercise in which the white man's burden was to be taken up by the Endeks and brought to the masses of people, "half-devils and half-children" (Kipling 1903, 79) fleeing hunger across the ocean. The most important result of this colonial situation was the manufacturing of the Endecja's subject as the subject of the colonizer (Memmi 1965, 56), a dynamic, masculine subject proudly entering the world of modernity, expansion and capitalism.

Therefore, trying to retrospectively determine the benefits that the Endecja could have derived from the attempts to make rational use of migration, and trying to establish its role in the development of the National Democracy, one may treat it as the first stage of the change later reinforced in the aftermath of the 1905 revolution. Then, the political mobilization of urban masses and their dramatic entry into the political scene took place in a way that was unforeseen and undesired by the Endecja. New ideas appeared in the political discourse of the nationalist movement: the idea to tame the new actors on the political stage by disciplining them (Porter 1999) and replacing them with an image of the body of the nation understood in a biological and social-Darwinian way. "To make a modern political project (a state or a politically empowered nation) possible, the masses must enter the historical scene. However, for this project to become sustainable, they must also be persuaded to leave it" (Marzec 2014, 123). Just as the Endecja did during the 1905–1907 revolution in relation to workers entering the political scene, so they did it at the end of the nineteenth century, in relation to the migrating peasant masses, who tried by themselves to find their place on the economic scene of the global capitalist system. Having discovered the plasticity, susceptibility and colonizability of peasant migrants, the Endeks no longer needed New Poland in Brazil. All they sought was space for expansion on the Old Continent.

References

- Articles in *Przegląd Wszechpolski* (chronologically):
Kłobukowski Stanisław. 1895. „Kresy nasze zachodnie”. *Przegląd Wszechpolski* vol. 1: 11.
C. 1895. „Korespondencye ze Wschodniej Syberyi”. *Przegląd Wszechpolski* vol. 5: 70--71.
n.d. 1895. „Z księgi pamiątkowej”. *Przegląd Wszechpolski* vol. 5: 72-75.

- Skr. [Dmowski]. 1895. „Jedność narodowa”. *Przegląd Wszeczpolski* vol. 8: 113-115.
- B. 1895. „Korespondencye. Z Prus Zachodnich, w marcu 1895”. *Przegląd Wszeczpolski* vol. 8: 121.
- Oksza Stanisław. 1895. „Znaczenie polityczne wychodztwa”. *Przegląd Wszeczpolski* vol. 9: 129-130.
- Pawłowicz Edward. 1895. „Polacy w Ameryce. Z Ossolineum”. *Przegląd Wszeczpolski* vol. 9: 130-133.
- n.d. 1895. „Opieka nad wychodztwem”. *Przegląd Wszeczpolski* vol. 9: 135-136.
- Skrzycki R. [Dmowski Roman]. 1895. „Wymowne cyfry”. *Przegląd Wszeczpolski* vol. 10: 145-147.
- R. Skrzycki [Dmowski Roman]. 1895. „Kupujcie książki!”. *Przegląd Wszeczpolski* vol. 11: 161-163.
- n.d. 1895. „Z zaboru rosyjskiego”. *Przegląd Wszeczpolski* vol. 13: 204-207.
- n.d. 1895. „Przegląd prasy polskiej”. *Przegląd Wszeczpolski* vol. 14: 226-227.
- n.d. 1895. „Ruch narodowy w koloniach amerykańskich”. *Przegląd Wszeczpolski* vol. 15: 229-230.
- Żagiewski I. [Dmowski Roman]. 1895. „Z całej Polski”. *Przegląd Wszeczpolski* vol. 15: 234-236.
- Żagiewski I. [Dmowski Roman]. „Z całej Polski”. *Przegląd Wszeczpolski* vol. 16: 250-252.
- I.Ż. [Dmowski Roman]. 1895. „Dziennikarstwo polskie. II. Zabór pruski”. *Przegląd Wszeczpolski* vol. 17: 262-264.
- n.d. 1895. n.d.. *Przegląd Wszeczpolski* vol. 19: 293.
- Żagiewski J. [Dmowski Roman]. 1895. „Z całej Polski”. *Przegląd Wszeczpolski* vol. 19: 299-301.
- Zd. Wł. [Dębicki Zdzisław]. 1895. „Wychodztwo do Rosyi”. *Przegląd Wszeczpolski* vol. 20: 309-311.
- I.Ż. [Dmowski Roman]. 1895. „Dziennikarstwo polskie”. *Przegląd Wszeczpolski* vol. 20: 311-312.
- n.d. 1895. „Stosunki polityczne na Górnym Śląsku”. *Przegląd Wszeczpolski* vol. 21: 325-328.
- n.d. 1895. „Łączność wychodztwa z ojczyzną”. *Przegląd Wszeczpolski* vol. 21: 328-330.
- n.d. [Dębicki Zdzisław]. 1895. „Ruszczenie i dyplomacya”. *Przegląd Wszeczpolski* vol. 22/23: 341-346.
- n.d. 1900. „Z wychodztwa i kolonii”. *Przegląd Wszeczpolski* vol. 5: 314-317.
- R. Skrzycki [Dmowski Roman]. 1902. „Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka VIII”. *Przegląd Wszeczpolski* vol. 11: 825-833.

Other references

- Assorodobraj-Kula Nina, Witold Kula, and Marcin Kula, (eds.). 1973. *Listy emigrantów z Brazylii i Stanów Zjednoczonych, 1890–1891*. Warszawa: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Robotnicza.
- Białas, Tadeusz. 1983. *Liga Morska i Kolonialna 1930–1939*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Morskie.
- Białas, Zbigniew. 2005. “Mniej niż ćwierć? O pilnej potrzebie rewizjonizmu w studiach postkolonialnych”. *ER(R)GO. Teoria–Literatura–Kultura* 1 (10).
- Buchen, Tim. 2019. *Antisemitismus in Galizien. Agitation, Gewalt und Politik gegen Juden in der Habsburgermonarchie um 1900*. Berlin: Metropol Verlag.
- Cybulski, Napoleon. 1894. *Próba badań nad żywieniem się ludu wiejskiego w Galicji*. Kraków.
- Dmowski, Roman. 1933. *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka*. Warszawa: Skład Główny “Gazeta Warszawska”.
- Drugi Zjazd Prawników i Ekonomistów polskich*. 1891. Lwów, nakładem uczestników zjazdu.
- Franaszek, Piotr. 2016. “Dieta chłopów galicyjskich na przełomie XIX i XX wieku”. *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych*, Vol. LXXVI. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.12775/RDSG.2016.10>.
- Garlicki, Andrzej. 1966. “Relacja Romana Dmowskiego o Lidze Narodowej”. *Przegląd Historyczny* 57 (3).
- Groniowski, Krzysztof. 1972. *Polska emigracja zarobkowa w Brazylii (1871–1914)*. Wrocław Warszawa Kraków Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich.
- Grzechnik Marta. 2017. “Background Characters? The Nordic Region and European Colonialism”. *Studia Scandinavica* 2017/1(21). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.26881/ss.2017.21.08>.
- . 2019. “Aspirations of an imperial space. The colonial project of the Maritime and Colonial League in interwar Poland.” *CES Open Forum Series*. Harvard: Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies.
- Jakubowska, Urszula. 1988. *Prasa Narodowej Demokracji w dobie zaborów*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- Kania, Marta. 2004a. “Józef Siemiradzki (1858–1933) – Działacz polonijny i emigracyjny”. *Przegląd Polonijny* Rok XXX – 2004 – z. 1, (111).
- . 2004b. “Nowa Polska. Plany kolonizacji polskiej w Brazylii”. *Przegląd Polonijny* Rok XXX – 2004 – z. 4, (114).

- Kargol, Tomasz. 2009. "Zieleniewscy, Baczewscy, Grossowie... Galicyjscy przedsiębiorcy w drugiej połowie XIX w. (do 1914 r.) – kierunki badań i postulaty badawcze". *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, Vol. CXVI, no. 2.
- Kipling, Rudyard. 1903. "The White Man's Burden". In: *The Five Nations*. London: Methuen and Co.
- Kopczyński, Michał. 2018. *Historia gospodarcza ciała. Studia z dziejów biologicznego standardu życia na ziemiach polskich*. Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza "Mówią Wieki".
- Krajkowski, Michał. 2015. "Chasing Europe. The diagnosis of backwardness in Polish writings on Galicia during the second half of the 19th century". *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch*, Vol. 3.
- Krzywiec, Grzegorz. 2009. *Szowinizm po polsku: przypadek Romana Dmowskiego (1886–1905)*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton.
- Kula, Marcin. 2012. *Polono-Brazylijczycy i parę kwestii im bliskich*. Warszawa: Muzeum Historii Polskiego Ruchu Ludowego, Instytut Studiów Iberyjskich i Iberoamerykańskich UW.
- Kula, Marcin. (ed.). 1983. *Dzieje Polonii w Ameryce Łacińskiej*. Wrocław: Biblioteka Polonijna.
- Macaulay, Thomas B. 1835. *Minute Upon Indian Education by the Hon'ble T. B. Macaulay*, dated the 2nd February 1835. http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00generallinks/macaulay/txt_minute_education_1835.html.
- Marzec, Wiktor. 2014. "Modernizacja mas. Moment polityczny i dyskurs endecji w okresie rewolucji 1905–1907". *Praktyka Teoretyczna* 3(13)/2014. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14746/pt.2014.3.5>
- . 2016. *Rebelia i reakcja. Rewolucja 1905 roku i plebejskie doświadczenie polityczne*. Kraków: Universitas.
- Mazurek, Jerzy. 2006. *Kraj a emigracja. Ruch ludowy wobec wychodźstwa chłopskiego do krajów Ameryki Łacińskiej (do 1939 roku)*. Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Iberyjskich i Iberoamerykańskich Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Muzeum Historii Polskiego Ruchu Ludowego w Warszawie.
- Memmi, Albert. 1965. *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. Transl. Howard Greenfeld. New York: Onion Press.
- Morawska, Ewa. 1999. *Insecure Prosperity – Small-Town Jews in Industrial America, 1890–1940*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Naum, Magdalena, and Nordin, Jonas (eds.). 2013. *Scandinavian Colonialism and the Rise of Modernity. Contributions To Global Historical Archaeology*, vol 37. Springer, New York, NY.

- Neumann, Boaz. 2009. "The Phenomenology of the German People's Body (Volkskörper) and the Extermination of the Jewish Body". *New German Critique*, No. 106 (Winter, 2009). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1215/0094033X-2008-025>.
- Osterhammel, Jürgen, and Jansen, Jan. 1995. *Kolonialismus. Geschichte, Formen, Folgen*. München: C.H.Beck.
- Pamiętnik trzeciego zjazdu prawników i ekonomistów polskich w Poznaniu w dniach 11–13 września 1893 roku*. 1894. Poznań, wydany staraniem Komitetu III Zjazdu.
- Pilch, Andrzej (ed.). 1984. *Emigracja z ziem polskich w czasach nowożytnych i najnowszych (XVIII–XX w.)*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- Porter, Brian. 1999. "Democracy and discipline in late Nineteenth-Century Poland". *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 71, No. 2. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1086/235250>.
- Porter-Szűcs, Brian. 2011. *Gdy nacjonalizm zaczął nienawidzić. Wyobrażenia nowoczesnej polityki w dziewiętnastowiecznej Polsce*. Sejny: Pogranicze.
- Praszałowicz, Dorota. 2003. "Overseas Migration from Partitioned Poland: Poznania and Eastern Galicia as Case Studies". *Polish American Studies*, Vol. 60, No. 2 (Autumn, 2003).
- Said, Edward W. 1994. *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Vintage.
- Skrzypek, Józef. 1966. "Przegląd Emigracyjny 1892–1894". *Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego* 5/1.
- Starczewski, Michał. 2010. "Idea 'Nowej Polski' w środowisku lwowskich narodowych demokratów. Racjonalna kolonizacja w duchu narodowym". In: V. Dzianisava, P. Juskiewicz, J. Staškowiak (ed.), *Polskie Kresy Wschodnie i ludzie stamtąd*. Materiały konferencyjne. Warszawa.
- . 2012a. "Elementy tożsamości polskich chłopów emigrujących do Brazylii przed I wojną światową w świetle listów i pamiętników". In: J. Gmitruk, A. Indraszczyk (eds.), *Więć i ruch ludowy w Polsce i Europie. T. 1, W kręgu historii i tradycji*. Warszawa: Muzeum Historii Polskiego Ruchu Ludowego.
- . 2012b. "Z dziejów emigracji zarobkowej: agenci emigracyjni na ziemiach polskich przed 1914 r.". *Przegląd Historyczny*, CIII, 1/2012.
- . 2015. "Mrzonki racjonalnej kolonizacji w duchu narodowym. Roman Dmowski i polska emigracja do Brazylii". *Przegląd Humanistyczny* nr 2.
- Szczepanowski, Stanisław. 1888. *Nędza Galicji w cyfrach i program energicznego rozwoju gospodarstwa krajowego*. Lwów: Skład Nut Gubry-

- nowicza i Schmidta.
- Ungar, Wiktor. 1894. “Łączność ekonomiczna z wychodźstwem”. In: *Pamiętnik trzeciego zjazdu prawników i ekonomistów polskich w Poznaniu w dniach 11–13 września 1893 roku*, wydany staraniem Komitetu III Zjazdu. Poznań.
- Ureña Valerio, Lenny. 2019. *Colonial Fantasies, Imperial Realities: Race Science and the Making of Polishness on the Fringes of the German Empire, 1840–1920*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Wróbel, Piotr. 1994. “The Jews of Galicia under Austrian-Polish Rule, 1869–1918”. *Austrian History Yearbook*, 25. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0067237800006330>.

CLAUDIA SNOCHOWSKA-GONZALEZ – sociologist and culture scientist at the Institute of Slavic Studies (Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw). She studied at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań and obtained her PhD at the Institute of Applied Social Sciences of the University of Warsaw. She published a book *Wolność i pisanie. Dorota Masłowska i Andrzej Stasiuk w postkolonialnej Polsce* on the functioning of Polish postcolonialism in contemporary Polish literature. She also edited the book *A jak hipokryzja. Antologia tekstów o aborcji, władzy, pieniądzach i sprawiedliwości* and was a co-director of a documentary film on abortion underground in Poland (*Underground Women's State*). Recently she co-edited the book *Bunt Kobiet. Czarne protesty i strajki kobiet (Female Revolt. Black Protests and Women Strikes)*, Europejskie Centrum Solidarności, Gdańsk. In her current research she focuses on volkist inspirations in Polish public life.

Address:

Instytut Sławistyki PAN
Juliana Bartoszewicza 1B,
00-337 Warszawa

email: claudia.snochowska-gonzalez@ispan.waw.pl

Citation: Snochowska-Gonzalez, Claudia 2020. "Exercises in expansion. Colonial threads in the National Democracy's turn toward discipline". *Praktyka Teoretyczna* 2(36): 105–135.

DOI: 10.14746/prt2020.2.5

Autor: Claudia Snochowska-Gonzalez

Tytuł: Ćwiczenia z ekspansji. Kolonialne wątki endeckiego zwrotu ku dyscyplinie

Abstrakt: Rok 1895 był w Galicji pierwszym rokiem „brazylijskiej gorączki”, czyli fali migracji mas chłopskich z Galicji do Brazylii. W moim artykule chcę się skupić na analizie treści „prześciowego” rocznika lwowskiego pisma *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, wydawanego wcześniej jako *Przegląd Emigracyjny*, które w 1895 roku przeszło w ręce Ligi Narodowej. Zamierzam omówić sposoby, w jakie w poszczególnych tekstach były przedstawiane ludowe masy, oraz zastanowić się nad znaczeniem stosowanego tam pojęcia kolonizacji. Idea polskiej kolonizacji, to znaczy osadnictwa prowadzonego w Brazylii i Stanach Zjednoczonych przez masy chłopskie wygnane przez biedę z ziem polskich, na łamach pisma zaczęła się przenikać z ideą kolonizacji tych mas – dbałością, by się nie wynarodowiły i nie porzuciły religii katolickiej, a także z ideą ekspansji polskiego ciała narodu, które miało zająć odpowiednie miejsce w globalnej

gospodarce kapitalistycznej. W artykule dowodzę, że zajmowanie się polską kolonizacją odegrało ważną rolę w endeckim „zwrocie ku dyscyplinie”, który zwykł być kojarzony z innym przykładem spontanicznej mobilizacji mas – rewolucją 1905 roku.

Słowa kluczowe: Narodowa Demokracja, masy chłopskie, gorączka brazylijska, migracja, polska kolonizacja, *Przegląd Wszechpolski*