

Grzegorz Krzywiec

# Chauvinism, Polish Style

The Case of Roman Dmowski  
(Beginnings: 1886-1905)



Grzegorz Krzywiec

## Chauvinism, Polish Style

The book addresses the genesis of Polish integral nationalism and the role of Roman Dmowski as a co-founder of this phenomenon in the development of Polish political thought at the fin-de-siècle. Based on extensive documentary research, it attempts to show a broader picture of modern Polish political and social thinking in context of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> East Central Europe. The author reflects on the significance of racial thinking and Social Darwinism of the new nationalist imagination, arguing that its intellectual foundations came from anti-positivist and anti-Enlightenment tradition. He challenges the widespread assumption that Polish nationalism in its early version cherished somehow mild attitudes toward minorities, especially the Jews, claiming instead that enmity toward “Otherness” constitutes its ideological core. A major feature of the book is the contextualization of Polish nationalism against the backdrop of the fin-de-siècle European political thought.

One of the most important studies written on antisemitism in Poland, this brilliant, well-researched biography of Roman Dmowski, the leading figure in Polish national and antisemitic thought, spares no punches.

*Scott Ury, Tel Aviv University (Israel)*

Engagingly written and convincingly structured, this is extremely valuable, deeply researched and fascinating study of Polish ethnonationalism in making.

*Joanna Beata Michlic, University of Bristol (United Kingdom)*

An energetic new interpretation of a crucial and controversial figure in Polish history and politics.”

*Theodore R. Weeks, Southern Illinois University (USA)*

### The Author

Grzegorz Krzywiec is Assistant Professor at the Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences. He is Coordinator of the Interdisciplinary Seminar on Problems of Anti-Semitism at the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw and was a research fellow at, among others, Vrije Universitet Brussels, the Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna and Tel Aviv University.

## Chauvinism, Polish Style

POLISH STUDIES  
TRANSDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES

Edited by Krzysztof Zajas / Jarosław Fazan

VOLUME 18

Grzegorz Krzywiec

# Chauvinism, Polish Style

The Case of Roman Dmowski (Beginnings: 1886-1905)

Translated by Jarosław Garliński



PETER LANG  
EDITION

## **Bibliographic Information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek**

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

### **Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Names: Krzywiec, Grzegorz, 1974-

Title: Chauvinism, Polish style : the case of Roman Dmowski (beginnings : 1886-1905) / Grzegorz Krzywiec ; translated by Jaroslaw Garlinski.

Other titles: Szowinizm po polsku. English

Description: Frankfurt am Main : Peter Lang Edition, 2016. | Series: Polish studies—transdisciplinary perspectives ; volume 18 | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2015041390 | ISBN 9783631627570 (print) | ISBN 9783653026764 (e-book)

Subjects: LCSH: Dmowski, Roman, 1864-1939. | Nationalists—Poland—Biography. | Narodowa Demokracja (Political party : Poland) | Nationalism—Poland—History. | Chauvinism and jingoism—Poland—History. | Racism—Poland—History. | Antisemitism—Poland—History. | Political culture—Poland—History. | Poland—Intellectual life. | Poland—Race relations—History.

Classification: LCC DK4395.D55 K7913 2016 | DDC 320.5409438092—dc23 LC record available at <http://lccn.loc.gov/2015041390>

The Publication is funded by Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Poland as a part of the National Programme for the Development of the Humanities. This publication reflects the views only of the authors, and the Ministry can not be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.



NARODOWY PROGRAM  
ROZWOJU HUMANISTYKI

Cover image: The courtesy of the author.

ISSN 2191-3293

ISBN 978-3-631-62757-0 (Print)

E-ISBN 978-3-653-02676-4 (E-Book)

DOI 10.3726/978-3-653-02676-4

© Grzegorz Krzywiec, 2016

Peter Lang Edition is an Imprint of Peter Lang GmbH.

Peter Lang · Frankfurt am Main · Bern · Bruxelles · New York ·  
Oxford · Warszawa · Wien

**PETER LANG**



Open Access: This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution Non Commercial No Derivatives 4.0 unported license. To view a copy of this license, visit <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

This publication has been peer reviewed.

[www.peterlang.com](http://www.peterlang.com)

*To my teachers*





# Table of Contents

Introduction.....	9
Notes to the English edition .....	29
Chapter One: The Birth of A Generation .....	31
Rebellion at School.....	31
The Student Leader.....	38
Chapter Two: An Idealistic Revolt .....	43
The Idealist Revolt. The Nationalist Variant .....	57
Chapter Three: Racism, Polish Style.....	93
Chapter Four: In The Face of A Crisis of Civilization .....	141
Chapter Five: The Kiliński Revolt.....	195
The Collapse of Warsaw Student Radicalism in the First Half of the 1890s in the Kingdom of Poland .....	195
Chapter Six: A Journey Towards Ideals .....	221
Roman Dmowski’s Journalism 1895–1905 .....	221
The only Conservative in Poland.....	221
Attitudes towards the Jews and the Jewish Question.....	266
A Vision of Public Order.....	310

Chapter Seven: The Modern Pole Confronting Turn-of-The-Century Challenges.....	375
National Democracy at the Turn of the Century .....	375
<i>Thoughts of a Modern Pole</i> seen by contemporaries .....	427
Conclusion .....	471
Chauvinism, Polish Style.....	479
Glossary of Abbreviations .....	483
Bibliography and Index of Names .....	485
Index.....	571

# Introduction

The period under review – the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries – is a particularly interesting time for the historian of ideas. Its most salient feature remains the complex political environment. This is hardly surprising. The accelerated democratization of public life, urbanization, industrialization, as well as other phenomena usually labelled “modernisation processes”, together contributed to a basic reconstruction of the political scene. It is to this aspect that scholars have drawn particular attention.

This work has been written from a slightly different perspective. It is not a history of a political grouping, or of an intellectual current, nor of some ideological movement examined in detail. Instead, the focus is on a broader view of the world that appeared around the year 1900. Although the object here is to attempt to examine intelligentsia radicalism at that time throughout the Polish lands, most of the issues studied will apply mainly to the Kingdom of Poland, where such radicalism was most strongly felt.

A certain type of ideological radicalism will be treated here in great detail: right-wing radicalism. In previous research into the history of Polish ideas and social thought this problem has not been thoroughly analysed. The issue has been reduced to research into twentieth-century social and political history, above all up to the cauldron of the thirties. To a certain extent, this work aims to redress this neglect as a whole.<sup>1</sup> This writer’s initial premise is the recognition that both right-wing radicalism, as well as its left-wing equivalent from the turn of the centuries, had (in the most general cultural sense) a similar ideological basis and came from a convergent social base. The birth of both of these radical trends, in Poland as well as in the whole of Europe, was linked to the crisis caused by the accelerated modernization of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

In the Polish lands the radical attitudes that interest us spread for the most part among a new social class, which from the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was called the intelligentsia. The situation of the Polish intelligentsia at the turn of the centuries exhibits many similar features to that of the educated classes in other European societies, thus the problem which interests us reveals its unique and individual character above all from a comparative perspective. This comparative perspective

---

1 See also G. Krzywiec, ‘Wokół genezy polskiego nacjonalizmu integralnego. Przypadek Romana Dmowskiego (1886–1904)’, *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych*, 67, 2007, pp. 45–71.

refers to three geographical/political areas: the German and the Austro-Hungarian empires, and the territory of the Russian Empire. However, it will be essential from time to time to go beyond the area of Central Europe and evoke a broader European context.

As mentioned, the concept of political radicalism has not found a fitting place in research into the attitudes of the Polish intelligentsia in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Thus, at the outset of this book it needs to be explained that we understand radicalism here to be a current, a direction, an outlook aiming to introduce fundamental changes into social and political life. We must also distinguish radical attitudes from radical ideologies. A radical attitude can be defined as a certain determined and uncompromising approach when expressing views and in actions; in the case of radical ideology we are dealing too with a way of looking at politics, one whose aim is to introduce a fundamental rebuilding and redefinition of political and social life.

Polish views on turn-of-the-century radicalisms to a great extent boil down to a study of extremist views and attitudes aiming to implement specific policies. In line with this belief, radicals are those activists or intellectuals who resort to extremist measures to put their convictions into practice, or who also present a more or less convincing rationalization for such a *modus operandi*. This unintentional, probably not fully understood shift of emphasis from ideology, i.e. comprehensive perspectives with consistent pretensions, to attitudes, that is to say, certain external representations of one's views, means that research into radicalism in fact entails an analysis of style in politics. In other words, common sense suggests that the radicals are those activists or thinkers who see themselves, or are seen, as such. This is not, let me make it clear, an inherently false premise, but for analytical purposes, of which more anon, it is far from satisfactory.

A second substantive reservation deals with more general, ideological matters. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a conviction takes root – finding its fullest expression in the ideas of Karl Marx – which holds that radicalism has a progressive social dimension. Thus it will mean an extensive attempt at changing the social order. As Marx and his continuators argued, the ownership of the means of production stands at the source of historical mechanisms – those revolutionary wheels of History with a capital ‘H’ – and that only their transformation can lead to a radical change in humanity's condition on Earth. Progressive opinion has in principle adopted this way of seeing radicalism. Typical was the fact that the opposing side, i.e. the right in the broadest sense, also adopted this view. Rarely, however – if at all – does one come across in the 19<sup>th</sup> century someone describing him- or herself as a right-wing radical. In the vocabulary of the time ‘right-wing radical’ was an inherently contradictory concept.

Hence a sizeable fragment of socio-political reality escaped the writers of the time. For instance, writers from progressive and left-wing circles reduced the whole of nationalist thought, whatever its level, to instigating national hatred and antagonism, or to turning away from the path of progress – a path that had been blazed by the traditions of the Enlightenment. The more optimistic writers maintained that these were the dying strains of the past. From these same circles came the accusation of social opportunism towards nationalistic communities; a not infrequently true accusation after all, bearing in mind that most of the nationalists of the time had normal progressive, indeed socially radical credentials and were abandoning their ideas in favour of a hardly distinctive (at least in the eyes of the progressives) demand for social solidarity.

Groups of the traditional right, in turn, were also unable to deal with the issue of the developing extreme-nationalist movements. Thus, for instance, Polish conservative circles accused the antisemitic weekly *Rola*, edited by Jan Jeleński, of hating Jews more than they deserved.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the most eloquent criticism of the developing Polish nationalist camp that came out of the conservative-liberal right – a work written by Erazm Piltz *Nasze Stronnictwa skrajne* (1902) – also dealt with tactical issues. The most fully-developed theme of the whole accusatory piece tackled an issue which was, from the point of view of contemporary nationalist élites, secondary; the criticism referred to the motif of *liberum conspiro*, known to conservative journalism, and attempts to foment another uprising. Another thing was that this new turn-of-the-century nationalism often grew out of populist social revolt and often assumed very heterogeneous forms, ones which are hard to classify unambiguously.

In any event, the Polish understanding of radicalism was similar to the Western one. Here we may recall the Dreyfus Affair in France, or the attitude towards Karl Lueger's administrations in Vienna, and earlier to Georg von Schönerer's activities in the same place, or the activities of Adolf Stöcker and the antisemitic leagues in German-speaking countries. The social right's attitudes towards new movements were, as we know, quite ambiguous and different in just about every case.

This mental confusion between the social left and the social right on the status of right-wing radicals has had a very significant influence on research into twentieth-century and later radicalism.

---

2 [A. Zalewski], *Towarzystwo warszawskie. Listy do przyjaciółki pisane przez baronową XYZ*, Warsaw 1881, p. 232.

## The state of research

Early Polish research into the radicalism of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and later focused on a broad spectrum of socially extreme views. Even if one's understanding of radicalism was not defined unambiguously, then it was clear from the context that this concept referred to developing socialist and communist views, to a certain extent anarchist ones, too, and less often to a certain radically-defined social democracy.<sup>3</sup> This approach also enjoyed success after the Second World War (including an anthology by *Przegląd Społeczny* with an introduction by Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz, biographies of Jakub Bojko, Bolesław Wysłouch, Father Stanisław Stojałowski, and short pieces on Waclaw Machajski and Augustyn Wróblewski). The contribution of Marxist historiography to this subject was based here on a consolidation of the position that Communism (Marxism) was a strengthening or an intensification of progressive currents throughout history, since it represented their scientific objectivization. In this latter formulation social radicalism represented an uninformed, though objectively correct approach to social reality. Karl Marx himself acknowledged radical democrats to be sectarians, yet ones making a positive contribution to history. Let the meticulous anthology of texts on radical democrats of the 1860s edited by Felicja Romaniuk serve as an illustration of this way of thinking. She maintains that although it is hard to call the ideologues of the January Uprising revolutionaries, i.e. profound and more aware democrats, such as the members of the Gatherings of the Polish People (*Gromady Ludu Polskiego*), then surely Jarosław Dąbrowski, Józef Hauke-Bossak, as well as Walery Wróblewski deserve at least the positive name of radical. Romaniuk, one of Marx's interpreters, wrote: "They were indeed dreamers and romantics, hoping to skip a stage of history. Yet sometimes, thanks to such truly noble dreamers thinking into the future, the pace of history accelerates. As they were leaving the historical stage, already the next generation was in practice entering onto the path of scientific socialism."<sup>4</sup>

Marxist ideas did, however, influence the diversification of radical and revolutionary attitudes. According to this view, a revolutionary stance differed from a radical one in its appeal to the need for sudden social change. In the most general

---

3 For a detailed discussion see B. Leśnodorski, *Polscy Jakobini. Karta z dziejów insurekcji 1794 roku*, Warsaw 1960, especially chapter 5: 'W kręgu idei wolności i równości' pp. 207–295; A. Molska, 'Wstęp', in *Pierwsze pokolenie marksistów polskich*, A. Molska (ed.), Warsaw 1962, pp. V–LXXI.

4 F. Romaniuk, Introduction in *Radykalni demokraci polscy. Wybór pism i dokumentów 1863–1875*, selected and annotated by F. Romaniuk, Warsaw 1960, p. LVIII.

sense, it was the degree, not the actual essence, of involvement in social change which differentiated revolutionary from radical stances.

However, problems with radicalism emerged even as the sources of modern ideological movements were being redefined. Of course, the greatest research effort initially focused on the disagreements between specific strains of socialism and the workers' movement. Accepting one official interpretation of socialism very often meant rejecting its other variants. The process of de-Stalinization in the field of history (leaving aside here how deeply this Stalinization had taken root) above all then meant a re-evaluation of other non-Marxist (or, more precisely, non-Communist) types of socialism. Marxism in historiography, despite its 'actualizing' ambitions, had not had a stimulating effect on the 'modernization' of Polish historical research. Paradoxically, on the one hand, the adventure with Marxist methodology, often going hand-in-hand with an opening to other trends in social research, e.g. structuralism, for some scholars and their later disciples then led to a greater emphasis on methodology in general, which usually represented a very refreshing contribution to the development of research.

On the other hand, however, in the final analysis, this 'shot' of Marxism supported by the authorities produced an inverse effect in the rest of the historical community, i.e. the repudiation of, or an extreme reticence towards any kind of methodology. Subsequent efforts in this direction undertaken by individual scholars went no further than certain academic enclaves (e.g. in Poznań or Lublin, or the Kraków 'Historyka' circle), with no aspirations – let alone possibilities – to influence historiography in general. In periodicals documenting the development of the socialist movement on Polish territory these internal discussions on the concept of the utopianism of radical ideologies, indeed a key element in radical thought, also appeared comparatively late and as if by accident.<sup>5</sup> The rejection of Marxist methodology did not then mean, in the case that interests us, some new opening for research into radical thought at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. On the other hand, public debates on particular individuals who were evolving from the left towards views with right-wing connotations (as in the case of Stanisław Brzozowski's later work) rarely took up these changes of view.<sup>6</sup>

A good illustration of these developing difficulties and the pitfalls associated with defining radical thought at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century is that of the case of

---

5 See Z. Najdowski, 'Wokół pojęć socjalizm, komunizm, utopia', *Z pola walki*, 1986, no. 3, pp. 47–77.

6 See, for instance, K. Pomian, 'Dwuznaczność radykalizmu', *Więź*, April 1972, no. 4 (168), pp. 37–48.

the roots of the grouping which this work will analyse in depth: National Democracy (the ND). From the beginning, the circle of the Warsaw weekly *Głos* (1886–1894) raised a number of problems linked to the beginnings of integral Polish nationalism. From the point of view of Marxist historiography, but also of a great many scholars to whom progressive traditions were dear, the radicalism of the supporters of *Głos* (the ‘głosowicze’) was somewhat undermined by their later participation in the creation of National Democracy. In the overwhelming majority of works this movement has been treated as an expression of *petty bourgeois* aspirations, which only partially reflects the whole grouping’s social base, as well as its ideological ambitions. Attempting to explain the issue of the antisemitic campaign in the pages of the journal at the start of the 1890s, scholars often had recourse to ethical arguments when explaining the attitudes of specific participants in those events. Here the concept of betrayal, or indeed treachery in terms of earlier views appeared. Some historians even raised the argument of a sort of determinism when dealing with certain individuals’ social background: the landowning roots of some members of the editorial staff determined, in their view, the subsequent outlook of members of the National Democratic Party.<sup>7</sup> In attempting to analyse the attitude of the *Głos* circle towards Marxism, or the workers’ or the peasants’ questions, tropes from a Russian context were employed with greater or less success: i.e. the dispute between the *narodniks* and local Marxist orthodoxy.<sup>8</sup> In the 1990s, a great many studies were carried out on National Democracy, ones which maintained that integral nationalism is a modernized, up-to-date version of patriotism.<sup>9</sup> The breakthrough of 1989–90 and the subsequent transformation of the social system in Poland also brought about a partial public rehabilitation of the above worldview, and this also had an influence on the growing interest in research into this field.

---

7 H. Jabłoński, ‘Ze studiów nad początkami Narodowej Demokracji. Od „pracy organicznej” do „upolitycznienia”’, *Przegląd Historyczny*, 44, 1953, vol. 3, pp. 481–536; B. Krzywobłocka, ‘Wokół Głosu. Na marginesie treści Głosu 1886–1894’, *Kwartalnik Prasoznawczy*, 1957, vol. 1, pp. 9–30; M. Stokowa, ‘Uwagi wstępne’, in *Głos 1886–1899. Bibliografia zawartości*, a team effort led by M. Stokowa, Z. Biłek, M. Kukulska, R. Loth (eds.), Wrocław 1955, pp. V–XL.

8 J. Żurawicka, ‘Związki publicystyki polskiej z myślą narodnicką XIX wieku’, *Z polskich studiów slawistycznych*, series 3, Historia, Warsaw 1968, pp. 179–197; eadem, ‘„Głos” wobec kwestii robotniczej (1886–1900)’, in *Studia z dziejów myśli społecznej i kwestii robotniczej w XIX wieku*, ed. vol. 1, M. Żychowski, Warsaw 1964, pp. 169–188; eadem, ‘Lud w ideologii „Głosu”, 1886–1894’, *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 63, 1956, nos. 4–5, pp. 316–340.

9 This point of view is presented most clearly by E. Maj, ‘Nowoczesny patriotyzm Jana Ludwika Popławskiego’, *Studia Historyczne*, 34, 1991, vol. 3, pp. 403–414.



Andrzej Mencwel's essays were an initial attempt to present intelligentsia radicalism around the year 1900, while retaining a traditional conceptual framework.<sup>10</sup> These works, written with journalistic flair, met with a very lively reception, although not so much in historical circles. Mencwel, a distinguished cultural historian and anthropologist, some years earlier the biographer of Stanisław Brzozowski, shifted one of the key categories for the author of *Legendy Młodej Polski* (*The Legends of Young Poland*) – culturalism – to an earlier period. Yet, in this study of the turn-of-the-century intelligentsia's attitudes, brilliant remarks, as well as original insights and observations, mingle with altogether arbitrary theories, ones finding no confirmation in the sources or the literature on the subject.

The concept of culturalism, so central to the whole argument, remains debatable. For example, Mencwel argued that it is inextricably linked to the idea of the emancipation of less developed societies and thus represents the telltale ethos of social radicalism. Culturalism was meant to represent a creationist and militant attitude towards both nature as well as society. The radicals, whom the writer has so suggestively presented, were also supposedly linked by a shared militant ethos towards social reality, remaining, it should be noted, in Mencwel's work as a universal determinant of leftism. But what were the sources of this ethos, if we remove for a moment the human factor? Mencwel writes of his inspiration as follows: 'I was distressed by the vision of mankind's place in the cosmos as articulated by Nałkowski, but I was also fascinated by his proud, solitary combativeness; I wanted to understand the painstaking, meticulous, and detailed historicism together with his attitude towards 'Polishness', the politics of conspiracies and of young people.' However, elsewhere he adds: 'If, however, all the examples I present appeal to no-one, then neither my definition nor conclusions will convince a soul.'<sup>11</sup> This last remark can, on the one hand, testify to the writer's belief in the force of his own suggestion, while on the other it was perhaps an indication of a certain helplessness in the face of the problem.

The name in Mencwel's first work for the radical grouping – the so-called Varsovians (*Warszawiacy*), taken from Stefan Żeromski – must raise serious doubts. Of the players key to Mencwel's study, for instance Waław Nałkowski, Ludwik Krzywicki, Edward Abramowski, Stefan Żeromski, Stanisław Posner, Stanisław Stempowski, Józef Karol Potocki, Jan Waław Machajski, Jan Władysław Dawid, and Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz, none was a *de facto* Varsovian, so it is difficult to

---

10 A. Mencwel, *Etos lewicy. Esej o narodzinach kulturalizmu polskiego*, Warsaw 1990; id., *Przedwiośnie czy potop. Studium postaw polskich XX wieku*, Warsaw 1997.

11 A. Mencwel, *Etos lewicy...*, p. 356.

accept that the peculiarly understood city culture – another basic concept in the writer’s vocabulary – was created by these very figures. Some of these heroes did indeed live for a time in Warsaw: Abramowski even signed some of his militant leaflets with the pseudonym ‘Warszawiak’ (Varsovian). However, we should not imagine that it was uniquely this Warsaw period that had a direct influence on their attitudes. For some of these figures it was the contrast – the rotten city v. pastoral provinces: this was one of the key antinomies of their work. Indeed, Żeromski would write in one of his early letters: ‘That God invented the countryside and the devil the city is the honest truth.’<sup>12</sup> Focusing, for instance, on only the circle of the ‘first’ *Głos*, there were perhaps two Varsovians on the inner editorial team. For a time this journal was recognized among the Warsaw élite as a hotbed of alumni from radicalized Russian universities, for all the world some Eastern, ‘narodnik’ transplant. As if confirming this hypothesis, the celebrated articles of Jan Ludwik Popławski – the leading *Głos* ideologue of the mid-eighties – pointed specifically to the far-reaching degeneration of the Polish Kingdom’s, and especially Warsaw’s élite. Popławski, fascinated by the advances in anthropological sciences, proved that this developing degeneracy of the capital’s élite could be arrested by an influx of fresh ‘tribal material’ from the eastern lands of the former Commonwealth (the *Kresy*, in Polish). A certain amusing twist to this hypothesis, well-known in its time, was added by the fact that many of the ‘głosowicze’ in fact came from those parts, of which malicious critics immediately reminded the editors Roman Dmowski, however, was a native Varsovian, and moreover one whom Mencwel, by his own criteria, would not have recognized as ‘cultured’. Also the idea of culture, not applied by Mencwel’s contemporaries in the way he himself used it, remains therefore an idiosyncratic creation hanging, as it were, in mid-air.

The notion of emancipation, fundamental too for the deliberations of the author of *Etos lewicy* [*The Ethos of the Left*] and understood in its own way, was close to the Polish nationalist movement (excluded on principle from the discussion), and above all to the Warsaw positivists. But then this revolt against positivism has remained one of the basic determinants of the identity of the whole movement under discussion here. When examining these doubts it is hard not to wonder whether the categories introduced by Mencwel retain their analytical usefulness, allowing us to access new areas – or whether, on the contrary, they obscure what we already know.

---

12 From M. Czubaj, ‘Żeromski a sprawy miejskie’, *Twórczość*, April 2000, no. 4, pp. 46–70.

Despite all these reservations, this writer's work still remains an important and inspiring voice not just for the historian of ideas. It also represents an essential reference point for studying problems on the fault line between politics and a broad interpretation of culture. Its not insignificant contribution has been to shift the emphasis from a 'history of events' to an archaeology of developing world-views.

## Attempts to find a way out

For use in these introductory deliberations we can introduce a distinction between three basic approaches to the issue of right-wing radicalism. This is rather more my own construction created for analytical reasons than a complete presentation which would permit a complex differentiation between different scholars to be carried out.

The first attempt in Polish conditions to disturb this definitional structure on turn-of-the-century intelligentsia radicalism, i.e. ascribing to radicalism only left-wing connotations, were works linked to a generational vision. The introduction of a generational category made possible a description of the whole complexity of the 'democratic-radical' movement, with which the scholar of the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries will inevitably come into contact. The generational approach allowed for an overall presentation both of the left-wing as well as right-wing currents which had arisen from the crisis of the 1980s – that 'ideological muddle', as Ludwik Krzywicki put it in his memoirs. Just as before, ideas in this domain came from the world of politics. The Catholic publicist Bohdan Cywiński in *Rodowody niepokornych (Origins of the Defiant)* presented a very provocative attempt at the beginning of the 1970s. Cywiński's extensive essay is worth mentioning here for a number of reasons. First of all, Cywiński consolidated the concept of intelligentsia radicals. Rebellious intellectuals have found a permanent place in the language and in social history. Secondly, that writer, otherwise a respected thinker engaged in public life, drew attention not only to the political determinants of attitudes then crystallizing. Thirdly, Cywiński inspired with his formulation a series of other studies in this field. His book proved to be a significant cultural event, becoming for many readers a sort of validation of their own intellectual identification. It is worth noting that the distinguished essayist was writing more about the intelligentsia radicals than about intelligentsia radicalism as such. Thus in *Rodowody* we can find a whole chapter on Dmowski's *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka (Thoughts of a Modern Pole)* – the ideological manifesto of the Polish nationalist right – which is indeed depicted there as nationalism's definitive farewell to its own radical, meaning also intellectual, roots. For Cywiński it was Żeromski

and his tradition of thinking about Polishness which remained the essence of intelligentsia radicalism. Elsewhere the author of *Rodowody* has written: ‘The intellectual – the radical and the intellectual – the nationalist of nineteenth-century Poland, spent their childhood together, their youth together [...]. As the years passed, their paths diverged ever more, their political differences grew, their policies differed ever more [...]. The generation had not even grown old, when within its ranks there existed two quite different and almost opposing, not just ideological, but in fact ethical, directions.’<sup>13</sup>

One may well accuse generational formulations of abusing the factor of age in the development of ideological attitudes. The concept of the cultural generation introduced by Wilhelm Dilthey (fruitfully used in Polish research in studies of literary history by *inter alia* Kazimierz Wyka and Alina Witkowska) continues to retain, so it appears, its analytical usefulness. However, a recognition of generational affiliation as a key element in the development of a worldview, or in the creation of any ideology, leaves much to be desired. As everybody knows, the feeling of shared, generational experience is very important, and this gives birth to the temptation to reach for this tool too often. Thus, for instance, Ludwik Hass acknowledged that as many as five generations developed between 1845 and 1905, which would point to a new ideological generation every ten years!<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, it is worth recalling that ideological movements usually develop at the intersection of such generational differences.

The second, much more serious attempt to go beyond this paradigm of radicalism involved research into the intellectual roots of the extreme right and fascism. A significant phase in this work was that of the analyses of socio-political conditions in the Second German Reich, and above all in the Habsburg Monarchy at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Definitional doubts had already emerged in earlier research into these new forms of political activity. Initial definitions of right-wing radicalism have appeared in the works of Andrew Whitehead on Austrian Pan-Germanism, Roger Chickering’s on the Pan-German League, and John W. Boyer’s on Karl Lueger’s Austrian Christian Social Movement, along

---

13 B. Cywiński, ‘Żeromski i „Żeromszczyzna”’, *Znak*, April 1964, no. 4, p. 462.

14 L. Hass, ‘Pokolenia inteligencji Królestwa Polskiego’, in id., *Inteligencji polskiej dole i niedole w XIX i XX wieku*, Łowicz 1999, pp. 104–145. See too R. Wapiński, *Pokolenia Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, Wrocław 1991; K. Kawalec, *Spadkobiercy niepokornych. Dzieje polskiej myśli politycznej 1918–1939*, Wrocław 2000. The last two works use this generational distinction in greater moderation.

with those of a great many other writers.<sup>15</sup> These writers more or less agree that right-wing radicalism – they use this concept more or less interchangeably with the concept of political extremism – was characterized by a strong affirmation of state or nation accompanied by a criticism of the current political élites. In practice, the right-radical political option was linked by an unwillingness to compromise and a tendency towards ruthless solutions. Right-wing radicals often had recourse to violence, not infrequently acknowledging it as a decisive factor in settling disputes. Right-wing radicalism, with aims similar to those which the right had earlier set itself, reached for methods and means similar to those of the anti-system left of the day. Hence some scholars have come to the conclusion that right-wing radicalism was the result of adapting the right to the expectations of a modern mass society. Nationalism – extremely expressed, and very often merging into chauvinism and politically opportunistic antisemitism was becoming the distinguishing feature of radicalism seen this way. The essence of such a post-rationalist way of doing politics would be expressed in the formula *politics in a new key*,<sup>16</sup> proposed by the American historian Carl A. Schorske.

However, when researching the radical right, analysis of these groups' ideology prompted greater uncertainty. From the ideological standpoint, right-radical movements turned out to be a mixture of very different, often contradictory tendencies. These movements contained elements taken both from the left, as well as from the right, for which no good explanation was found. How can such an approach be applied to Polish conditions?

The problem of right-wing radicalism appeared in Polish research at the turn of the century as if by accident and relatively late. Andrzej Jaszczuk, in a work on the ideological disputes of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the former Kingdom of Poland, has proposed, following English-speaking historians, such a

---

15 A.G. Whiteside, *Austrian National Socialism before 1918*, The Hague 1962; id., *The Socialism of Fools. Georg Ritter von Schönerer and Austrian Pan-Germanism*, Berkeley 1975; R. Chickering, *We Men Who Feel Most German. A Cultural Study of the Pan-German League, 1886–1914*, Boston 1984; J.W. Boyer, *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna. Origins of the Christian Social Movement 1848–1897*, Chicago–London 1981. See too id., 'The End of an Old Regime: Visions of Political Reform in Late Imperial Austria', *The Journal of Modern History*, 58, March 1986, no. 1, pp. 159–195; P.G.J. Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria*, New York 1964; E. Bitter, 'Radicalism and the Organization of Radical Movements', *American Sociological Review*, 28, December 1963, no. 6, pp. 928–940; id., 'Radicalism', in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 13, D.L. Sills (ed.), New York 1976, pp. 294–300. The bibliography contains suggestions for further reading.

16 C.E. Schorske, *Fin de Siècle Vienna. Politics and Culture*, New York 1980.

new definition for the circle gathered around the Warsaw journal *Rola*, edited by Jan Jeleński.<sup>17</sup> Use of this concept emerged, it appears, from a hitherto inadequate vocabulary in this field. In line with common sense, the *Rola* group (the ‘rolarzy’) were simply seen as antisemites, or else they were defined using a far more opaque concept of right-wing populism.<sup>18</sup> With all the limitations resulting from the then context of Polish territory under Russian rule, the ‘rolarzy’ group was in fact exhausting the earlier-mentioned signs of right-wing radicalism. Using similar categories we can also examine access into the National Democrats’ policies both on the Galician scene at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (initially illustrated by the work of Adam Wątor and Maciej Janowski<sup>19</sup>, among others), and later in the elections to the First, Second, Third, and above all the Fourth Duma in Warsaw in 1912, when antisemitism in a somewhat pure form became the nationalist movement’s principal propaganda weapon in the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>20</sup>

English-language writers, but also Andrzej Jaszczuk, legitimately recall that such a radical style of doing politics resulted from the creation of a telltale vacuum after the collapse of the earlier political game, played according to liberal rational rules. In Carl A. Schorske’s formulation, the birth of the radical right supposedly arose from the middle classes’ state of frustration with the current state of affairs. For the British historian Geoff Eley, associated with the neo-Marxist tendency, radical nationalism represented an attempt by the petty bourgeoisie to appear on the public stage after the crisis of Bismarck’s *Honoratiorenpolitik*.<sup>21</sup> John Boyer

---

17 A. Jaszczuk, *Spór pozytywistów z konserwatystami o przyszłość Polski, 1870–1903*, Warsaw 1986.

18 A. Cała, *Asymilacja Żydów w Królestwie Polskim (1864–1897). Postawy. Konflikty. Stereotypy*, Warsaw 1989; M. Śliwa, *Obcy czy swoi. Z dziejów poglądów na kwestię żydowską w Polsce w XIX i XX w.*, Kraków 1997; F. Golczewski, ‘Antisemitic Literature in Poland before the First World War’, *Polin*, 4, 1989, pp. 87–101; id., *Polnisch-jüdische Beziehungen 1881–1922. Eine Studie zur Geschichte des Antisemitismus in Osteuropa*, Wiesbaden 1987.

19 A. Wątor, *Chrześcijańsko-narodowi. Z dziejów nurtu politycznego do 1928 roku*, Szczecin 1999; id., *Narodowa Demokracja w Galicji do 1914*, Szczecin 2002; M. Janowski, *Inteligencja wobec wyzwań nowoczesności. Dylematy ideowe polskiej demokracji liberalnej w Galicji w latach 1889–1914*, Warsaw 1996.

20 J. Jedlicki, ‘The End of the Dialogue. Warsaw 1907–1912’, in *The Jews in Poland*, vol. 2, ed. by S. Kapralski, Kraków 1999, pp. 111–123; R. Blobaum, ‘The Politics of Antisemitism in Fin de Siècle Warsaw’, *The Journal of Modern History*, 73, June 2001, no. 2, pp. 275–306.

21 G. Eley, *Reshaping the German Right. Radical Nationalism and Political Change after Bismarck*, Ann Arbor 1994. See too id., ‘Anti-Semitism, Agrarian Mobilization, and

saw the sources of the success of Karl Lueger's demagogic rhetoric in the peculiar rebellion by civil servants of the Habsburg Empire.

But this approach, emphasizing the appearance of a peculiar way of doing politics, does not exhaust the phenomenon of the appearance of the radical right at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and in particular the phenomenon of integral nationalism, which took the form of National Democracy in its native cultural context. This grouping, let us recall, was an intelligentsia movement for the first decade of its existence. This second formulation, laying emphasis on the inadequacies of a liberal society, somewhat naturally trivializes the intellectual sources of these new movements.

The third research approach worth quoting here refers to the cultural crisis at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>22</sup> This formulation, which also was born of the by now classic studies on the intellectual genesis of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, being to a certain extent a development of the second approach (remaining perhaps merely a variant of it), emphasizes the peculiar intellectual climate at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Insofar as the approach mentioned earlier underscores the social context of the movements that were forming (studying, like Eley, the electoral structure of the Maritime League; or, like Schorske, pointing out the tension between different cultural generations), writers focused on intellectual history attach greater importance to the ideological foundation of the new currents. These scholars (i.a., Walter Adamson, Roger Griffin, Emilio Gentile, Zeev Sternhell) suggest a close connection between the rise of modern ideologies and cultural pessimism and a sense of the decline of the prevailing forms of political activity.<sup>23</sup>

---

the Conservative Party: Radicalism and Containment in the Founding of the Agrarian League, 1890–1893' in: *Between Reform, Reaction, and Resistance. Studies in the History of German Conservatism from 1789 to 1945*, L.E. Jones and J. Retallack (eds.), Providence, Oxford 1993, pp. 187–227.

22 See F. Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology*, Berkeley 1961; See too J.W. Burrow, *The Crisis of Reason. European thought, 1848–1914*, New Haven and London 2000.

23 See Z. Sternhell, 'Fascist Ideology', in *Fascism: A Reader's Guide - Analyses, Interpretations, Bibliography*, ed. W. Laqueur, London 1979, pp. 325–406; id., 'The crisis of fin de siècle thought', in *International Fascism: Theories, Causes and the New Consensus*, R. Griffin (ed.), London 1998, pp. 169–174; id., *Neither Right nor Left. Fascist Ideology in France*, trans. by D. Maisel, New Jersey 1996; id., 'Fascism: reflections on the fate of ideas in twentieth century history', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 5, June 2000, no. 5, pp. 139–162; W. L. Adamson, 'Fascism and Culture; Avant-Garde and Secular Religion in the Italian Case', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 24, December 1989, no. 4, pp. 411–435; E. Gentile, *The Struggle for Modernity: Nationalism, Futurism, and*

On the one hand, this would indicate a crisis of the Enlightenment tradition and a portent of its thorough revision, while on the other a reference to the Enlightenment idea with its simultaneous extreme radicalization. The departure point for the highlighted attitude would then be a description of the crisis of liberal society (in the area of concepts, imagination, modes of thinking, but also a peculiarly formulated sensitivity), which revealed itself in the form of a spreading notion of the decline of industrial society, but also the exhaustion of particular forms of the social and political life in industrial societies during that time.

This third formulation lays emphasis on the issue of the individual's place in modern society and his or her social and above all moral regeneration. Radical ideologies do not set themselves the goal of exclusively activating in turn the hitherto politically and socially passive layers of society, as the leading proponents of this approach say (differing here somewhat from historians of political attitudes and the new style of politics), but want a revitalization, a renewal of whole societies, and so a new, reborn person in a new, regenerated society. The new man remains the best symbol of this thinking. This anthropology, different from former ones (both those with Christian roots, as well as one of classic Enlightenment provenance), represents one of the ideological bonds of a radical worldview so conceived. It is apparently from here, as the proponents of this point of view stress, that the impetus emerges with which these new ideologies attack prevailing social forms, including their style of doing politics, which is different from the prevailing norm. This formulation recognizes that these new forms of political activity find their intellectual and social culmination in twentieth-century totalitarianisms, seeking often quasi-religious forms of political activity for their universalist aspirations, often also aiming for an unusual sanctification of public life with all its consequences.<sup>24</sup> This approach from the second half of the 1990s is documented in the academic journal *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*.

It appears that this last formulation creates the most promising perspective for an analysis of ideological radicalism at the turn of the centuries. Firstly, it defines the general framework within which one can fit both the left-wing (i.e. the traditional one might say, radical worldview) as well as right-wing radicalism, not reducing the latter merely to a defined style of politics and not trivializing its

---

*Fascism*, foreword by S.G. Payne, Westport (Connecticut) 2003. Further pointers in the bibliography.

24 E. Gentile, 'The Sacralisation of Politics: Definitions, Interpretations and Reflections on the Question of Secular Religion and Totalitarianism', *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 1, summer 2000, no. 1, pp. 18–55.



meaning. Secondly, this approach allows for the use of all the research techniques used so far (e.g. the category of the cultural generation, still useful for the study of ideological crises, or the generational revolt). Thirdly and finally, this attitude permits for a much more adequate grasp of the enormous dynamism which turn-of-the-century radical ideologies possessed. There is much to indicate that this third formulation allows us to look at the Polish intelligentsia's dilemmas in the fullest light of European social thought.

Obviously, research into right-wing radicalism in Polish conditions must, from the very outset, encounter serious difficulties. The first of these difficulties is the temptation to treat Polish integral nationalism as a phenomenon, whose uniqueness releases the scholar from the need to create a comparative perspective. This is no doubt one of the greatest burdens which handicaps Polish analysis in this area. This problem, to which scholars have otherwise long drawn attention, has yet to be appropriately reflected in research.<sup>25</sup> For me, the phenomenon of Polish integral nationalism remains a local and thus peculiar case of a broader cultural/political phenomenon, which one can define in simple terms as a revolt against the Enlightenment tradition.

The second difficulty is of a social/cultural nature. Inclusion in this work of the concept of right-wing radicalism leads inevitably to juxtaposing this manifestation with the phenomenon of the extreme right of the 1930s. In my opinion, this is a highly justified assumption, while the central protagonist of this work (Roman Dmowski) remains perhaps the best ideological liaison for this ideological phenomenon that was born at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and which found its ideological and political fulfillment in the totalitarian movements of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It must loyally be maintained that this assumption arouses deep-seated opposition among the majority of my fellow Polish scholars. Even the most staunch critics of the activities of the leader of the National Democrats (both in historical journalism, as well as strictly academic works) maintain the thesis of an essential dissimilarity between the attitudes of this work's central protagonist and the grouping which he founded at various times.

This initial assumption can be summarized in the metaphor of the two more or less Janus-like faces of Roman Dmowski.<sup>26</sup> The 'first' Dmowski remains an active

---

25 Cf. B. Leśnodorski, 'Niektóre zagadnienia nacjonalizmu, patriotyzmu i inteligenckiego radykalizmu', in 'Dyskusja nad próbnym wydaniem pierwszej części III tomu Historii Polski,' *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 68, 1961, no. 3, pp. 636–639; A.F. Grabski, 'O Romanie Dmowskim – stare i nowe,' *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 5, 1973, no. 2, pp. 123–132.

26 Cf. K. Chmielewski, M. Wiśniewska [A. Micewski], 'Dwa oblicza Romana Dmowskiego,' *Polskie Porozumienie Niepodległościowe*, tekst 23, October 1973.

pro-independence politician, the founder of a home-grown nationalist movement, but also the creator of modern thinking about politics (which includes Krzysztof Kawalec, Tomasz Kizwalter, Adam Michnik, and Andrzej Walicki), a key author (who knows if not the most significant such) of the modern formula of political nationality. The 'first' Dmowski crowns his life's work signing the Treaty of Versailles. He is the co-creator (although remembered with some embarrassment in light of later events) of Polish independence. The 'second' Dmowski is the politician of extreme nationalism, the propagator of radical antisemitism, a skillful demagogue, beset in later years by murderous phobias: 'a sophisticated analyst of reality who was a prisoner of his obsessions,' as one of his most fervent critics, Adam Michnik, once wrote.

In my own opinion it is not possible to combine both of these faces into a coherent portrait of unquestionably one of the most influential figures in Polish twentieth-century history. To some extent this work has therefore arisen from a sense of the inadequacy of previous presentations.

The *point de départ* for tackling the key elements in this study are works and studies on National Democracy and the person of Roman Dmowski. For the student of turn-of-the-century Polish nationalism the works of Olaf Bergmann, Andrzej Borkowski, Władysław Bułhak, Alvin Fountain, Bogumił Grott, Urszula Jakubowska, Michał Jaskólski, Stanisław Kalabiński, Krzysztof Kawalec, Teresa Kulak, Jan Józef Lipski, Ewa Maj, Jacek Majchrowski, Jerzy Marczewski, Teodor Mistewicz, Jan Molenda, Jerzy Myśliński, Marian Orzechowski, Władysław Pobóg-Malinowski, Szymon Rudnicki, Mieczysław Sobczak, Jerzy Janusz Terej, Barbara Toruńczyk, Adam Wątor, Witold Wojdyła, and Tadeusz Wolsza (to mention only the authors of the most important monographs on our subject) are essential for further study. Anyone tackling this issue owes a debt to these writers. A special place is held in Polish historiography by the professional oeuvre of the recently deceased Roman Wapiński, who – in the numerous, versatile works he produced over many years – in fact overturned (if not, indeed, set on an academic footing) the issue of National Democracy.

Ignoring the great many lesser, but also relevant studies, this is a base without which it is hard to imagine any solid research in this field. Deserving of a special place for the historian of ideas in this field are the numerous works by Andrzej Walicki on Polish nationalist thought at different times, which, despite not yet assuming a complete, synthetic form, remain a very important, not infrequently also critical reference point.

In the 1970s and 80s, the works of the British anthropologist, Ernest Gellner introduced a unique energy and reinvigorated research into nationalism. His attitude had a strong and creative influence on Tomasz Kizwalter's synthetic

study.<sup>27</sup> In that work the phenomenon of Polish nationalism at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century is treated as the culmination of nineteenth-century modernizing efforts. A study by the young scholar Nikodem Bończa-Tomaszewski, who analyses from this angle the journalism of the first *Głos* (1886–1894),<sup>28</sup> presents a similar formulation.

In work on the ND at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries the study by the American historian Brian A. Porter-Szücs published a few years ago, which is the first attempt at a comprehensive approach to the Polish nationalist movement's intellectual origins, definitely cannot be ignored.<sup>29</sup> This work's value is based both on its full grasp of the problem, as well as on its original methodological approach. Porter's work is perhaps the most outstanding study in the so-called constructivist current in research into Polish nationalism and, like Walicki's work, will be an important reference point here.

The problems of research into intelligentsia radicalism already mentioned impose a certain heterogeneity of *modus operandi* and source selection. The first chapter of this book, touching on the origins of social revolt, lays greater emphasis on the reconstruction of the social underpinnings, which influenced this and not any other shape of intelligentsia radicalism. Hence in the initial chapters emphasis has been laid on research into social context, cultural conditions, and the socio-political situation, in which Polish young people above all found themselves in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The basic source for the first chapter is that of personal sources, i.e. memoirs, reminiscences, and to a far lesser degree, diaries and private correspondence. It is difficult at this juncture to mention even a small part of this extensive documentary collection, which, obviously, grew over the years. However, it is worth mentioning that the largest part of these sources was accumulated immediately after Poland regained its independence. Periodicals such as *Niepodległość* or *Kronika Ruchu Rewolucyjnego w Polsce*, specially created for this purpose, remain an inexhaustible source for students of the period. Many of the valuable memoirs and testimonies from the turn of the centuries can be discovered in the press of the Second Republic. Official papers, materials created by the partitioning powers' administrative machinery, including the machinery of repression, have been used here as secondary sources, above all on account of their very selective state

---

27 T. Kizwalter, *O nowoczesności narodu. Przypadek polski*, Warsaw 1999.

28 N. Bończa-Tomaszewski, *Demokratyczna geneza nacjonalizmu. Intelktualne korzenie ruchu narodowo-demokratycznego*, Warsaw 2001.

29 B.A. Porter, *When Nationalism Began to Hate. Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth-Century Poland*, Oxford 2000.

of preservation. In other words, insofar as the task of this work's first chapter is to depict the social basis of a certain phenomenon of intelligentsia radicalism, beginning with the second chapter, this work's subject becomes an analysis of a certain ideological project which arises from the generational experience of the grouping here examined.

For the rest of the work basic source material has been the journalistic output of our principal protagonist himself, Dmowski, but seen as far as possible in the context of attitudes of the time among the radical intelligentsia. Thus, on numerous occasions other people from this radical grouping will become second- and third-tier players in this work: Edward Abramowski, Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska, Maurycy Golberg, Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz, Ludwik Krzywicki, Wacław Nałkowski, Józef Karol Potocki, Leon Winiarski, Antoni Złotnicki, or figures ideologically and politically close to our central protagonist, such as Władysław Jabłonowski, Zygmunt Balicki, Jan Ludwik Popławski and others. The main sources in this part of the work are the output of these opinion journals in which we can find work of these writers mentioned: *Głos* (1886–1894; 1895–1899; 1900–1905), *Przegląd Tygodniowy* (1886–1905) and *Przegląd Wszechpolski* (1895–1905), *Prawda* (1886–1905), *Krytyka* (1896–1905), *Ogniwo* (1902–1905), *Przedświt* (1886–1905), *Pobudka* (1888–1893), *Przegląd Poznański* (1894–1896), *Robotnik* (1894–1905), *Sprawa Robotnicza* (1893–1896), *Tygodnik Powszechny* (1891), *Kraj* (1886–1905) and others. To a lesser extent I have drawn on *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, *Ateneum*, and *Biblioteka Warszawska*, where the above writers advertised their work. To an even lesser degree and as secondary material, this work uses articles from dailies such as *Kurier Warszawski*, *Nowa Reforma*, *Naprzód* (from 1900), *Słowo Polskie* (especially up to 1902) as well as *belles lettres* of the period.

The book's framework is limited to the years 1886–1905. The year 1886, which is to a certain extent a symbolic date connected with events key for the radical intelligentsia grouping of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, is the point of departure for this study. The year 1905 has been selected for the ending date – a time when both for Polish society as such, as well as the professional classes in particular, a new beginning in political life arrived, along with a quickening in public life. From the perspective of the history of ideas, 1905 seems comparable to the breakthrough which 1918 represented for all the Polish lands.

At this juncture it is my pleasant duty to thank those who by reading fragments of this work, through discussion, or by making critical comments have contributed to its creation. Parts of this monograph have been discussed at meetings of the Pracownia Dziejów Inteligencji at PAN's Historical Institute and also at a doctoral seminar at the Zakład Historii XIX w. in the History Department of the University of Warsaw and the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw.

A great many valuable and critical comments have been made by Professors Roman Wapiński and Tomasz Kizwalter, supervisors of my doctoral thesis *Roman Dmowski i środowiska radykalnej inteligencji wobec wyzwań przełomu wieków*, (*Roman Dmowski and Radical Intelligentsia Circles faced with the Turn-of-the Century Challenges*), which led to work on this book.

Władysław Bułhak, Nikodem Bończa-Tomaszewski, Rafał Chwedoruk, Piotr Kendziorek, and Adam Kozuchowski have been willing to read the whole, or significant fragments in different versions, and their critical remarks and comments have been all the more valuable to me, given that at times they were made from research and ideological perspectives, which differ from my own.

I owe much to the School of Social Sciences founded by the late Professor Stefan Amsterdamski, an exceptional centre for doctoral studies, thanks to which I had the opportunity to spend time with a group of distinguished Polish academics.

The completion of this work would certainly not have been possible without the friendly, support over many years of the then director of the Pracownia Dziejów Inteligencji, Professor Jerzy Jedlicki, who created for me the conditions and the possibility to work on his exceptional team.

I owe especial gratitude to the current director of the Pracownia Dziejów Inteligencji, Professor Maciej Janowski, who not only critically read the entire work, but always gave of his time, provided valuable advice, stimulating conversation, and helpful pointers. His assistance has been invaluable.

However, it is no exaggeration to say that my wife Alina has provided the greatest continual support, since hers was indeed daily.

The comments and assistance of all those mentioned, as well as those of many other people not mentioned here, have allowed me to avoid many errors. Nevertheless for all oversights, mistakes and inadequacies, as for this work's final form, I alone bear responsibility.



## Notes to the English edition

The book now in the English reader's hands is coming out six years after its original publication in Polish. At the time it triggered a certain amount of discussion, in non-academic circles too, although its scope was limited to a few issues, not always of the greatest importance to the writer, nor above all to the logic of the argument. Certain problems, such as the issue of racism present in Polish culture and public life at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup>/20<sup>th</sup> centuries turned out to be too painful for some Polish readers; they also still give rise to too many negative emotions for the discussion of them to be measured and calm.

Six years is usually a long enough time for a great deal of new work on a subject to appear, thus creating something of a dilemma and a challenge for every writer. On re-reading the book and also the polemics which accompanied its reception, I have come to the conclusion that most of this work's cognitive quality, its ideas as well as the supporting material, have retained their original value and thus do not require extensive updating. The work arose to a certain extent as a counter to the main current of Polish historiography and it appears that its polemical quality is still relevant. For obvious reasons, however, a foreign reader deserves some general, even very brief information on the state and direction of research into the subject of Polish nationalism at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup>/20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Two areas of research need to be highlighted in particular. First we have the broadly-understood cultural consequences of the 1905 revolution for the whole of the Polish lands;<sup>1</sup> secondly there is the place and role of the Catholic Church in Polish nationalism, and also the position and significance of religion in Polish public and intellectual life at the turn of the centuries.<sup>2</sup> Neither of these issues

- 
- 1 For instance *Rewolucja 1905. Przewodnik Krytyki Politycznej* eds. K. Piskała and W. Marzec, Łódź 2013; W. Potkański, *Terroryzm na usługach ugrupowań lewicowych i anarchistycznych w Królestwie Polskim do 1914 roku*, Warsaw 2014. Of the materials published in English the work of the Israeli historian Scott Ury *Barricades and Banners. The Revolution of 1905 and the Transformation of Warsaw Jewry*, Stanford 2012 needs to be singled out. This is without a doubt the most important monograph about the fault line of Polish-Jewish relations at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, on the development of a modern Jewish society using Warsaw as an example, and also one analyzing the beginnings of antisemitism as a mass political movement.
  - 2 Cf. I. Zalewska, *Kościół a Narodowa Demokracja w Królestwie Polskim do wybuchu I wojny światowej*, Warsaw 2014. Above all, however, Brian Porter-Szűcs, *Faith and Fatherland. Catholicism, Modernity and Poland*, Oxford University Press, 2011.

were the objects of my specific interest, and in the first instance the events of 1905 remain a kind of caesura closing the work; however, it is difficult not to note that both these subjects for some time now have been gaining stature in research into and in analysis of Polish nationalism and accompanying attitudes.

I also note with pleasure and a certain personal satisfaction that research into cultural and political antisemitism in Poland has now in principle become a separate area of research with its own, often very advanced methodological approaches and even schools of thought, which just a decade ago was not the case.<sup>3</sup> This field of research is really flourishing and there is much to indicate that it will develop and that each new work aiming to analyse the case of the Polish nationalist movement will need to take all this research activity into account. The appearance also of studies of a comparativist nature and thrust should be noted too.<sup>4</sup> Texts and other publications of this book's main protagonists continue to be published and commented on energetically.<sup>5</sup>

This translation has been made possible thanks to a grant from the National Programme for the Development of the Humanities (*Narodowy Program Rozwoju Humanistyki*) (2012), thanks to the considerable assistance of my alma mater the PAN Historical Institute, but above all thanks to the splendid translation by Jarosław Garliński, with whom it has been a great pleasure to work, as well as a great many other people who have devoted energy, attention and time to ensure that this work would appear.

---

3 Cf. A. Cała, *Żyd-wróg odwieczny? Antysemityzm w Polsce i jego źródła*, Warsaw 2012; J. Żyndul, *Kłamstwo krwi: legenda mordu rytualnego na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX wieku*, Warsaw 2011. P. Śpiewak, *Żydokomuna- interpretacje historyczne*, Warsaw 2012; M. Soboń, *Polacy wobec Żydów w Galicji doby autonomicznej w latach 1868–1914*, Warsaw 2011 and above all T. Buchen, *Antisemitismus in Galizien: Agitation, Gewalt und Politik gegen Juden in der Habsburgermonarchieum 1900*, Berlin 2012. Cf. also J. Tokarska-Bakir, *Okrzyki pogromowe: szkice z antropologii historycznej Polski lat 1939–1946*, Warsaw 2012; *Żydzi - problem prawdziwego Polaka. Antysemityzm, ksenofobia i stereotypy narodowe po raz trzeci*, ed. I. Krzemiński, Warsaw 2015.

4 Cf. R. Wysocki, *W kręgu integralnego nacjonalizmu. Czynniki nacjonalizmu Dmytra Doncowa na tle myśli nowoczesnych Romana Dmowskiego. Studium porównawcze*, Lublin 2014.

5 E.g. Z. Balicki, *Parlamentaryzm. Wybór pism*, introduction and footnotes by P. Koryś, Kraków 2013; Z. Balicki, *Państwo, naród i... polityka polska*, introduction and academic editing by J. Kurczewska, Warsaw 2015; T. Grużewski, *Polska i Rosja. Wybór pism*, selected and with an introduction by P. Dąbrowski, Kraków 2013; J. L. Popławski, *Naród i polityka*, selected and with an introduction by P. Koryś, Kraków 2012; K. Wrzeńska, *Kultura i cywilizacja w myśli Narodowej Demokracji (1893–1918): między ideą wychowania a polityką*, Poznań 2012; P. Augustyniak, *Homo polacicus. Eseje o duszy polskiej*, Kraków 2015.



# Chapter One

## The Birth of A Generation

### Rebellion at School

Self-study groups – one of the more important, even key experiences of the generation of people Bohdan Cywiński dubbed ‘the rebels’ – were born at the turn of the 1870s and 1880s. For the whole generation of political campaigners at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in the Russian Partition, the experience of going to a Russian school was significant. In fact, it was the atmosphere in a Russian school of the time that allowed many radical personalities, ‘people/deviants’, as Florian Znaniecki later called them, to emerge. The young people’s generational rebellion – colliding with imposed Russification – rapidly assumed the form of a patriotic revolt.

This happened in one of Warsaw’s best secondary schools: State Grammar School No. 3. This school’s case was an interesting one for a great many reasons. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a cohort of people, later to become famous and active in public life, passed their school years here. This establishment, where a number of energetic Russifying campaigners were to be found, might have served the authorities as a convenient laboratory of the new order. The school eventually found a distinguished chronicler in Stanisław Czekanowski, later a well-known campaigner for the gentry. His account is one of the most wide-reaching reports on the political crisis among young people at that time.<sup>1</sup>

In Grammar School No. 3 the Headmaster up to 1884 was Vladimir Solontsov – a conservative schoolmaster with moderate views. However, young (Russian) teachers began to undermine his influence. It was precisely among them that a group of declared ‘Russifiers’ was to be found. The two best-known were the subsequently legendary administrators (‘chinovniki’): Mikhail Sokolov and Mikhail Troitsky. The change in policy towards the Poles towards the end of the 70s gave this group the green light and was soon in evidence in other educational establishments.

For many pupils the critical moment in their secondary-school career were the entrance examinations from the Fourth Form to the Fifth Form, and from the Sixth Form to the Seventh Form. A process of expelling pupils who failed these

---

1 S. Czekanowski, *Roczniki długiego żywota mego*, BN, mf. 64677-83. See also G. Borkowska, ‘Stanisław Czekanowski i „Roczniki długiego żywota mego”. Uwagi o autorze i tekście’, *Prace Polonistyczne*, series LIV, 1999, pp. 133–148, for information on the writer and his account.

examinations began. In some departments fewer than half remained. This, to a certain extent natural system of selection, began to be used impersonally in nineteenth-century secondary schools. Significantly, the pupils themselves saw it as soulless repression. This real ‘weeding-out’ strengthened non-conformist attitudes. It was then – after yet again failing the end-of-the-year examinations in the Fourth Form – that two older pupils, Roman Dmowski and Władysław Korotyński, set up ‘Strażnica’ (‘The Watchtower’) – one of the first self-study groups in Warsaw. They did this after their holidays from Grammar School No. 3, on the anniversary of the January Uprising. Groups like this new one, in some sense youth associations, had existed in schools forever. Initially, for fear of being ‘blown’, the group had only a few pupils, not more than a dozen or so. Potential group members were therefore carefully selected, while the lengthy initiation rites were meant to weed out unsuitable candidates. In time ‘Strażnica’ began to gain in popularity among young people.<sup>2</sup>

It is worth taking a look at the founders of ‘Strażnica’, since this will bring into focus the actual idea of leading a group, or groups as such. School groups of this new type were a sort of microcosm of the young people’s rebellion – their first form of social activism, as it were. Among the preferred, distinguishing leadership attributes of character was a capacity for self-sacrifice, as well as a quality which a historian of youth organizations from the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century describes as ‘proselytizing.’<sup>3</sup> The type of person who personally recruits members of a group and then looks out for the organization’s progress, often relinquishing personal control of the group, was the most common type of group leader.

Władysław Korotyński, the descendant of a respected Warsaw family, the son of the editor of the *Gazeta Warszawska*, Wincenty Korotyński, could pass for an experienced rebel. He had been expelled in 1879 from his previous school, Grammar School No. 1, for ‘political offences.’ There is much to suggest that he got into Grammar School No. 3 thanks to his father’s influence. From an early age Korotyński had a reputation amongst his peers of being knowledgeable about his own country’s history and literature. He was unsuited to be the actual leader of the group, as he was shy and showed signs of a depressive disposition.

Roman Dmowski, the other founder, the son of a paving contractor, made a name for himself. Amongst his contemporaries he was known for his lightning riposte and a certain arrogance towards his Russian teachers. These characteristics,

---

2 See R. Wapiński, *Roman Dmowski*, Lublin 1988, p. 20 and note.

3 See A. Kamiński, *Analiza teoretyczna polskich związków młodzieży do połowy XIX wieku*, Warsaw 1971, p. 200.

together with a bravado which he had displayed since childhood, were not a bad down payment in a rebellious youth organization.

During his later education Dmowski was involved in the activities of branches of the Warsaw Benevolent Society, during which he did not let his schoolwork slide. Józef Piłsudski displayed a similarly versatile public energy in 'Spójnia' ('The Bond') in Wilno, founded in the early 1880s, as had several years earlier Feliks Dzierżyński, another charismatic figure among Wilno schoolboys and later an outstanding member of the national school organizations which began to develop in the 1890s. A similarly outstanding figure in the Radom group of 'Malczewskites', which developed in the grammar school there, was Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz. Other legendary self-study group leaders who came from Warsaw grammar schools were Feliks Perl and the Grabski brothers, Stanisław and Władysław.

Born in 1864 to Walenty Dmowski and Józefa née Lenarska, Roman was brought up in a patriotic home, where mothers played a dominant role. A childhood in the Warsaw suburb of Praga, in a reasonable well-off middle class family with roots in the gentry, sowed the seeds of many of the character traits and attitudes of the future co-founder of the National Democrats. Yet it was his years of education at Grammar School No. 3 in Warsaw that was the real reference point for his later activity.

His first years in one of the best schools in Warsaw did not leave a strong impression in Dmowski's memory, as confirmed by his later succinct comment on that time: 'I was up to mischief.'<sup>4</sup> It is worth drawing attention to this minor reference. For the writers of many memoirs, the behaviour of the young Dmowski strongly resembled that of a certain sort of Warsaw hooligan.

As a hypothesis, we may wonder whether these comments recalled Dmowski's youthful experiences of participation in a hooligan sub-culture. As experts in the field have emphasized, along with a highly-developed sense of group solidarity and absolute loyalty, a characteristic feature of this sub-culture was that of acceptance by its members of violence as a principal *modus operandi*, as well as a basic value highlighting the prestige of the individual in the group. This did not always have to be physical violence; indeed quite the opposite. It is worth recalling that one of Dmowski's first publications – a sentimental novella about a Warsaw street urchin – appeared in 1890 in the *Kurier Lwowski*.<sup>5</sup> In the conditions of the time Dmowski

---

4 Quotation taken from W. Wasiutyński, 'Przedmowa', in: M. Kułakowski [J. Zieliński], *Roman Dmowski w świetle listów i wspomnień*, vol. 1, London 1968, p. 15.

5 Unfortunately, I have been unable to lay my hands on any copies of this work. The novella's subject has come down to us through memoirs and has also been mentioned by Dmowski's biographers.

could be described as a child of the Praga streets. A Warsaw 'lad' ('Antek'), as many of his contemporaries remembered him. On the other hand, such early experiences often revealed a young man's leadership qualities. However, his later school years were key.

For many pupils, passage from the Fourth to the Fifth Form represented a symbolic transition from childhood and a time for political initiation. It cannot be concealed that the schools' administrations took this opportunity to get rid of politically awkward or unruly youngsters. There were then many cases when pupils who had been humiliated by their teachers turned their anger against the authorities. One of the ways to defuse this tension were the self-study groups. One of Dmowski's school friends, Stanisław Czekanowski, wrote in his memoirs: 'The examination from the Fourth to the Fifth Form was a slaughterhouse.'<sup>6</sup> Out of Czekanowski's class of over twenty pupils, barely a handful were promoted. For those who stayed on at school this event left an indelible mark. Czekanowski was a diligent pupil, had tutoring lessons, and passed the examination; a great many others, including Dmowski and Korotyński, failed. After the holidays the two of them set up 'Strażnica'. Czekanowski and many of his friends joined 'Strażnica' not long afterwards. They were mainly fifth-, sixth- and seventh-formers.

At the end of 1880 and the start of 1881, the educational authorities began to move all the Russians from the remaining secondary schools to Grammar Schools No. 1 and 6 – to prevent them 'going native' (becoming Poles), as popular opinion in Russian circles put it. This administrative separation resulted in the remaining secondary schools being filled almost exclusively with Poles. Attitudes among them became Polish 'nationalist'. The pupils themselves began to perceive their national, as well as peer identity. Hostility towards an ethnically foreign teaching body became one of the key points of self-affirmation. Nor for the teacher-Poles who remained in the schools was this a comfortable situation. As one chronicler wrote: 'They had to teach us in Russian. So we considered them traitors.'<sup>7</sup>

Owing to a lack of sources, the history of 'Strażnica', as well as that of other pupil groups, will probably never be rescued. However, to the extent that it can be reconstructed, we can define certain common features of this type of initiative. The leadership group was usually composed of older pupils; at times even by those who had left school long before. Shared experiences were more important than similar profiles. 'Strażnica's' spontaneous leaders were pupils with a rich

---

6 S. Czekanowski, *Roczniki...*, p. 44. All relevant quotations are taken from this account.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

school experience. Dmowski was four years older than 'regular' fifth-formers; Korotyński more than two.

'Strażnica' was founded in the autumn of 1881. Its aim was to organize Polish young people to oppose the 'spirit of Apukhtin'. As Dmowski's biographer has written, 'Strażnica's' task was 'to protect the Polish spirit from Russification.'<sup>8</sup> The organization quickly acquired a number of adult sponsors. These were the so-called 'good and wise', as an expert on the self-study groups has written.<sup>9</sup> The 'good and wise' represented that part of adult society, which for various reasons supported the young people's non-conformist attitudes. Without such a positive aura, the schoolboy conspiracy would not have been viable in the long term. In the case of 'Strażnica' we do not know those adults' names.

The activities that the organization carried out could be described in terms of self-improvement work. The young conspirators met monthly. Rallies, which they usually held on Sundays and which were carefully arranged, also had their own formula. In addition to a talk, which was usually given by the leaders, the meetings were social in nature; the time was spent on joint readings, singing, and conversation. After their patriotic home upbringing this was another area of socialization. A condition of membership in 'Strażnica' was passing the initiation ritual. Devised by Dmowski and Korotyński, the procedure drew on romantic models.

It was precisely there, in the schoolboy 'Strażnica', that Dmowski revealed his charismatic qualities. Endowed with an extremely forceful personality, he quickly began to impose standards of group behaviour on his friends. In contrast to the 'quiet and serious' Korotyński, as one chronicler has written, Dmowski's dynamism must have been overwhelming. Energetic, consistent in his decisions, and endowed with a fine memory, he quickly rose above the other 'Watchers' ('Watchtower' members). He was the one to draw up the group's constitution, and he was the co-author of the *syllabus* which the group followed in its educational work. Even as a schoolboy he showed signs of becoming quite a good speaker, but he could also be an empathetic listener. He mingled both with his contemporaries as well as with adults, gaining recognition for various reasons in both groups: among his peers for his outstanding social qualities, and among adults for his maturity and responsibility.<sup>10</sup>

---

8 I. Chrzanowski, 'Wstęp. Roman Dmowski', in M. Kułakowski, *Roman Dmowski...*, vol. 1, p. 24.

9 A. Kamiński, *Analiza...*, p. 46.

10 S. Czekanowski, *Roczniki...*, p. 50. See too A. Micewski, *Roman Dmowski*, Warsaw 1971, p. 21.

On the whole neither Jews nor anyone of Jewish descent was accepted into 'Strażnica'. This had been Dmowski's decision. There is much to suggest that prejudice on the part of one of 'Strażnica's' leaders towards people of Jewish descent was from the start deep-seated and emotional. In Grammar School No. 3 there were several dozen pupils of Jewish descent, who were for the most part boys from long-assimilated families. Many had converted to Catholicism. This dislike was directed at them. The emotional side to Dmowski's dislike of Jews was puzzling even for Czekanowski. He would recall: 'When I came out in favour of assimilation he maintained that that would be a dreadful disaster, Poland would be destroyed and Judeopolonia would arise, in spirit alien for to Poland. G, grinning, he added, "from ear to ear"<sup>11</sup> Elsewhere he Czekanowski added: 'Rational, dear Dmowski always took an uncompromising stance towards the Jews – he considered them to be alien.'<sup>12</sup> Czekanowski's account throws a great deal of light on the source of Dmowski's later, highly ideological, antisemitism.<sup>13</sup>

'Strażnica' quickly spread its wings in the school on Berga Street. Together with the organization's fame through informal school contacts, Dmowski's own position grew. When at the start of the 80s, the school began to punish the speaking of Polish, the leader made Watchers use Russian for school purposes. 'We shall speak Old Church Slavonic,' he supposedly decided. The chronicler noted that 'all Watchers passed into the next form.'<sup>14</sup> On Dmowski's suggestion, Watchers began a boycott of a Russian history teacher named Sokolov. The effectively-run operation won Dmowski new followers. 'Dmowski became the master of our souls, perhaps most of all of mine,' wrote Czekanowski.<sup>15</sup> As the organization developed, Watchers began to vary their self-study interests. The initial aim of learning Polish history no longer sufficed.

It is worth recalling the reading list that made its appearance in the group, for it gives a good idea of the minds of those more ambitious teenagers. For

---

11 S. Czekanowski, *Roczniki...*, p. 54.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 58.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 57. See too I. Chrznowski's, As follows: 'Młodość Romana Dmowskiego. Odczyt wygłoszony dnia 20 lutego 1938 r. w auli Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego na Akademii Młodzieży Wszepolskiej dla uczczenia jej piętnastu lat działalności', *Mysł Narodowa*", 29 V 1938, no. 23, p. 354. Roman Wapiński, who has critically assessed Dmowski's early dislike of the Jews, admits that the young militant's antisemitic views were noted by 'just about everyone who wrote about him.' R. Wapiński, *Roman Dmowski...*, p. 38.

14 S. Czekanowski, *Roczniki...*, p. 79.

15 *Ibid.*..., p. 80.

instance, Thomas Buckle's *Historia cywilizacji w Anglii* (*The History of Civilization in England*) was popular. The works of the popular natural historians, John Draper and Ernst Haeckel, which had come out in Polish, were added to the list. Later entries in the published works of the founder of the National Democrats indicate that the latter author had a very great effect on Dmowski's early worldview. Unlike many progressive natural scientists, Haeckel held that evolution had an 'aristocratic' and not 'democratic' nature. He also maintained that psychological traits were deeply rooted in race, while social history is the battleground for victories and defeats based on race. This was an application of Darwin to the operation of human societies.

Dmowski, once he had passed his school-leaving examinations, formally took his leave of 'Strażnica.' However, he did not relinquish control over the schoolboy conspiracy. Furthermore, at university he informally led the Warsaw 'patriotic' groups that were coming into being, the largest of which were in fact in Grammar Schools Nos. 2, 3, and 4, forming the framework of later 'nationalist' influences at university. Stanisław Grabski, a group member from Grammar School No. 5 (his brother Władysław, along with Stanisław Zakrzewski, Gustaw Daniłowski, Tadeusz Miciński, and others were also active in this group), recalled: 'The rock for socialist groups was the group in Grammar School No. 5; patriotic ideology radiated from No. 4. Dmowski personally conducted its propaganda efforts in the schools. However, the following year [in 1889 Grabski was already a university student in Warsaw] I had to use up a great deal of energy to counteract his influence on the school groups. On this score I had more than one sharp run in with him, and came to realize that he was not just any opponent.'<sup>16</sup>

Successive waves of national restrictions on school pupils brought new supporters into the groups. Even if pupils did not take part in the groups' formal structure, they discreetly began to support them in school. The other side of the process of young people's patriotic grounding was the rise of an odd conformism. In the schools, but also in digs and boarding houses, moral pressure appeared – pressure exerted by means of gossip, ostracism, or simply slander. There were not that many 'rebels' who set up self-study groups in the schools, but it was a significant minority. They were the ones who took over 'control of our souls' in class.

---

16 S. Grabski, *Pamiętniki*, vol. 1, W. Stankiewicz (ed.), Warsaw 1989, pp. 46–47. At the time the writer was an influential student leader and also the founder of the Marxist Union of Polish Workers (*Związek Robotników Polskich*).

## The Student Leader

Once at university the young Dmowski in a flash turned up among 'patriotically' committed young people. The milieu of so-called patriots arose in opposition to socialism, developing mainly at the then Imperial University of Warsaw. The term 'patriots' included quite diverse ideological, as well as social groups preaching the rebirth of the Polish state.<sup>17</sup> Many of the 'patriotic' young people were unable to form their own organization, and it was the formation of the Polish League, as well as the Union of Polish Youth (Związek Młodzieży Polskiej – or the ZET) which came under its influence, that represented a breakthrough.

The intellectual genesis of part of this milieu could be seen in the dispute between the columnist Adam Zakrzewski and Polish home-grown Marxists on the pages of *Przegląd Tygodniowy* in the early 1880s. Some of the 'patriotic' group was developing under the influence of the activities of Konrad Prószyński, so-called 'Promyk'. This future publisher came to Warsaw with the intention of integrating pro-independence young people.<sup>18</sup>

The mental breakthrough in the formation of the 'patriotic' camp was, however, the appearance in 1887 of Zygmunt Miłkowski's *Rzeczy o obronie czynnej i Skarbie Narodowym* (*Some Thoughts on Active Defence and the National Fund*). The writer, better known as Teodor Tomasz Jeż, became something of a cult figure for Warsaw's progressive youth.

Jeż's pamphlet touched a number of sensitive spots for young people. It also came at a significant moment. Destroyed by the Proletariat I trial, Warsaw socialism quickly began to revive. Stung by the Tsarist authorities' repressive measures, young people were looking for an outlet for their energy in patriotic demonstrations. In Bismarck's Prussia an aggressive anti-Polish campaign had been going on for years.

---

17 In this work the term patriotic, similarly to national, refers to all trends declaring a pro-independence programme. By comparison, those phrases in inverted commas describe groups, which in addition to pro-independence views defined their ideological identity in opposition to socialism, including pro-independence socialism. Retaining this distinction allows us to follow the process of the nationalist movement's distinguishing itself from the broader pro-independence trend.

18 On 'Promyk's' circle and his significance for the development of Warsaw young people see H. Jabłoński, 'Ze studiów nad początkami Narodowej Demokracji. Od „pracy organicznej” do „upolitycznienia”', *Przegląd Historyczny*, 44, 1953, vol. 3, p. 485 and note. An alumnus of 'Promyk's' circle was also the well-known militant in the Warsaw National League, Stanisław Libicki.



Anti-Prussian and anti-Russian attitudes became part of the younger generation's consciousness. It was then that the student Roman Dmowski published what appears to be his first article in the press.<sup>19</sup> In addition to disdain for the Russians and a violent dislike of the Jews, Dmowski also brought with him from home a negative attitude towards the Germans. In a short journalistic piece that appeared in *Prawda* in 1888, the young columnist summarised the views of several writers on ethnic relations in German countries. Although the article had academic pretensions, one can immediately recognize some dominant trends. As early as the first paragraph, the writer remarked that the policy of the iron fist employed by the Germans, 'makes considerable scars on the Slav tree trunk.'

It was at that moment that Miłkowski's pamphlet appeared.<sup>20</sup> The writer urged people back to abandoned direct action. He saw a remedy for social passivity by calling for 'responsible political representation.' In order to create it the ground had to be prepared. This was to be done by the national piggy-bank, in other words the National Fund (Skarb Narodowy). Miłkowski meticulously outlined the objectives for which these 'national monies' were to go. He did not reject an uprising. However, he was writing more about stretching out the road to independence over many years. His demands sounded grand to young people, but were light on practical suggestions. It is not impossible that initially the strength of his demands actually lay in their vagueness. T.T. Jeż's short piece resonated enormously among 'patriotic' youth.

The Union of Polish Youth (Związek Młodzieży Polskiej – ZET), founded during the winter of 1886/87, was an élite form of 'patriots'. The roots and circumstances of this organization's birth have already been carefully described and need no further mention.<sup>21</sup> The ZET, which in principle was a leadership organization, quickly began to take root among 'patriotic' young people. Using

---

19 R.D. [R. Dmowski], 'Ludy słowiańskie na ziemiach niemieckich', *Prawda*, 21 V (2 VI) 1888, no. 22, pp. 258–259.

20 T.T. Jeż [Z. Miłkowski], 'Skarb Narodowy Polski. Nieco o Lidze Narodowej'. Chapter One from the memoirs *Od kolebki przez życie*, Lwów 1905, p. 42. First edition of 1887.

21 See A. Małkiewicz, 'Program i organizacja Związku Młodzieży Polskiej „ZET” 1887–1904', part 1, 1887–1894, *Pokolenia*, 1974, vol. 4 (48), p. 7 and note; A. Próchnik, 'Zet', *Światło*, January 1937, no. 1, p. 9 and note; S. Surzycki, 'Powstanie tajnego Związku Młodzieży Polskiej. W 40-letnią rocznicę wspomnienie', *Trybuna Narodu*, 1 I 1927, no. 3, pp. 5–8; S. Bukowiecki, 'Początki Zetu', *Naród i Państwo*, 6 XII 1936, no. 43. See too W. Potkański, *Ruch narodowo-niepodległościowy w Galicji przed 1914 rokiem*, Warsaw 2002, p. 23 and note; id, 'Zawiązanie, działalność oraz wystąpienie Związku Młodzieży Polskiej z Narodowej Demokracji w 1909 r. i utworzenie niezależnego ZET-u', *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 30, 1998, no. 4, p. 3 and note. A great many interesting accounts on

the terminology proposed by Jerzy Szacki, it is fair to say that the ZET wanted to practise the utopia of a patriotic monastic order.<sup>22</sup> Szacki points out that what distinguished these groups of young idealists from other groups holding utopian ideals was the feeling of radical opposition among members believing in this ideal and the rest of passive society. This ideal was an independent state.

From the very start, Warsaw called the shots in the organization. Student Warsaw always dominated other groupings of radical youth. It was exactly on the basis of this Warsaw radicalism that the weekly *Głos* (1886) arose – a publication that would become the intellectual patron of a great many intellectual currents arising at the time.

After starting his studies, Roman Dmowski was instantly noticed by ZET campaigners, and soon started to stand out in the Warsaw group. His outstanding qualities – above all his relaxed attitude and inexhaustible practical energy – simply drew attention. The memories of his contemporaries at the time clearly show that the young militant was skillfully consolidating his position. He was known and valued in many student circles, even by his declared opponents. He was extremely active in student discussion groups, becoming heavily involved in non-academic life, including the Benevolent Society. Significantly, he continued to maintain close links with Warsaw schoolboy self-study groups. Soon thereafter, he also found himself in the *Głos* circle. This was an important moment for youth groups. In 1888, a large group of ZET campaigners left university upon graduation; campaigners willing to compromise were leaving, which benefitted the ones who were confrontationally inclined and who had become seasoned in underground groups.

At the start of 1890, there was a serious crisis at the university. Dmowski was beginning to take the reins of the Warsaw group, which led part of the pro-independence socialists to leave the Union in protest. Years later the new leader recalled: ‘In this struggle the main strike force was Dmowski.’<sup>23</sup> This rift in ‘ZET Warsaw’ was sealed by a letter published in the émigré *Wolne Polskie Słowo* signed by ‘a young democrat.’<sup>24</sup> There is much to suggest that this pronouncement emanated from the circle of the new leader of the Warsaw ZET.

---

the fortunes of ZET were included in a collection *Zet w walce o niepodległość i budowę państwa. Szkice i wspomnienia*, T.W. Nowacki (ed.) [et al.], Warsaw 1996.

22 J. Szacki, *Spotkania z utopią*, Warsaw 1980, p. 118.

23 See ‘Relacja własna Dmowskiego o pracy w Zecie’, in M. Kułakowski, *Roman Dmowski...*, vol. 1, p. 121.

24 ‘Stara i młoda demokracja. Młodzież polska przed sądem „Wolnego Polskiego Słowa”. Z kraju, marzec 1890’, *Wolne Polskie Słowo*, 15 IV 1890, no. 63, pp. 2–4. Quotations are taken from this article.

Although the writer approached things differently, in reality he supported many of T.T. Jeż's earlier ideas. At the very start of the document the 'young democrat' placed himself in the native national tradition, but wanted to revise it completely. He wrote: 'Young people want to continue the work begun by the Dem.[ocratic] Soc.[iety], systemize anew and adopt in spirit modern slogans [...]. Mankind moves ahead, the old slogans of the French Revolution which used to inspire fine minds no longer suffice; new ideas, new slogans, new people are appearing.' Beneath this enigmatic phrase lurked the assumption that tribal antagonism is the principal law governing public life. Elsewhere he threw in: 'Life and our difficult living conditions have mercilessly shattered these dreams and faith in universal brotherhood.' The writer unambiguously underscored his opposition to the socialists – the 'anti-national' party, as he put it. The 'young democrat's' letter was warmly received by the editors of *Wolne Polskie Słowo*.

When in April that year a student strike broke out at the Moscow Agricultural College, its shockwaves also reached the Polish Kingdom. The aggressively-inclined Russian students expected help from Warsaw students. But the 'patriots' under new leadership torpedoed these hopes.<sup>25</sup> At the start of 1890, an antisemitic press campaign began in *Głos* – a campaign that divided the milieu of Warsaw 'patriots' even more. In September that year, perhaps the strongest note was sounded in this press battle: Witold Ziemiński's long piece entitled *Czem jest Izrael?* (*What is Israel?*). For the Warsaw ZET group and, as later events would demonstrate, for the whole of this student turmoil at the end of the 1880s and start of the 1890s, a new era was beginning.

---

25 J. Offenber, 'Stan umysłów wśród młodzieży akademickiej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, w latach 1885–1890. Ze wspomnień kresowca', Warsaw 1929, p. 34.



## Chapter Two

# An Idealistic Revolt

Well – is life so dreadful, society so rotten, trampled down, so morally muddled? The eternal signs in the sky foretell a change; if only man, puny man could realize that his strength lies not in matter, but in the power of the Spirit.

S. Posner, *Stefan Żeromski w świetle wspomnień*, Warsaw 1926

Neo-idealism's task will be to come out positively, to fight for new ideals, taking into account the human family's healthy physical and spiritual development [...]. The moment that new ideals appear, pessimism loses its footing. We have someone to live and work for. Neo-idealism will joyfully point to great new slogans and goals.

Sew. Ster. [S. Sterling] 'Neoidealizm', *Głos*, 13(25) IV 1891, no. 17 p. 198

In the mid-1880s, the positivist movement founds itself in a state of crisis on Polish soil. However, this was just the start of a deeper ideological crisis, which led to one of the most fruitful of mental breakthroughs. What then was this 'spirit of the age' which had been hovering over Europe since the first half of the century?<sup>1</sup> Years later Wilhelm Feldman wrote in reference to belles lettres: 'Sorrow overlays the field of literature, the sorrow of death, for a great person is dying: the unheroic hero of the whole current period.'<sup>2</sup>

For the generation born in the 1860s, it was the positivist period which focused all these dreadful ideological currents that young people wanted to deny and intended to oppose. If by positivism we understand liberalism in the economy and in public life, scientism in the sciences and naturalism in art and literature, as well as materialism in the perception of social reality and an indifference towards religion and supra-empirical phenomena, with proclivities toward compromise in politics and toward accepting pluralism in public debate, then this was in effect an anti-positivist breakthrough, and the period could be labelled decadent.<sup>3</sup> But these

---

1 J.W. Burrow, *The Crisis of Reason. European Thought, 1848–1914*, New Haven and London 2000.

2 W. Feldman, *Współczesna literatura polska 1864–1923*, 7<sup>th</sup> edition, H. Altenberg, Lwów [no publication date], p. 151. Cf. R. Zimand, „Dekadentyzm” warszawski, Warsaw 1964, p. 28.

3 See T. Weiss, 'Przełom antypozytywistyczny w Polsce w latach 1880–1890. Przemiany postaw światopoglądowych i teorii artystycznych', *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczno-Literackie*, vol. 10, Kraków 1966; T. Walas, *Ku otchłani (dekadentyzm w literaturze polskiej 1890–1905)*, Kraków 1986.

*fin de siècle* attitudes were accompanied by a more general conviction that the decadent atmosphere was a temporary state, and some kind of vaguely perceived new idea, a rebirth could soon infuse life into the *fin de siècle* period.

The prospectus of *Głos*, which was founded in October 1886, stated: 'After so many hard trials our society is currently going through a period of weakening and apathy, in which an awakening of new intellectual strengths has become essential. We see all around a confusion of ideas and convictions [...] the growth of short-sighted opportunism, which appears to have been any old patching together of current issues and interests. We see a lowering of ideals and common aspirations, and even a gradual decline of the life force in entire social groups [...] We shall look there where life forces lurk, where lie the seeds of our plans.'<sup>4</sup>

The concept of decadence was also accompanied by a sense of ambivalence. Decadence preceded the fall and destruction of a certain culture, but was also a portent of rebirth.

On the other hand, as a young intellectual associated with the left Wacław Nałkowski proved, the complete questioning of a world which is collapsing and rotting, can be a guarantee of progress for humankind.<sup>5</sup> It is characteristic that the ambitious geographer had already proposed such a hypothesis in his début article in *Głos*.<sup>6</sup> Like the majority of early 'Głos-ites', he laid emphasis on economic issues. In a review of one of the pieces which were then appearing on the pathology of the times he stated i.a., that: 'Let us speak bluntly – the heart of nervous illnesses as well as sensitivity lies in economic relationships.'<sup>7</sup> But, he added, in order to mature one must eventually abandon illusions on the nature of the system, 'to be free of various social prejudices and little philistine formulations.'<sup>8</sup>

In the early 1890s, as one of the lead articles in the Warsaw radicals' weekly announced, the Marxists wanted to settle scores, albeit using the same hymn

---

4 'Prospekt', *Głos*, 1886, p. 1.

5 W. Nałkowski, 'Forpoczty ewolucji psychicznej i tryglodyci', in W. Nałkowski, M. Komornicka, C. Jellenta, *Forpoczty. Książka zbiorowa*, published by the authors, Lwów 1895. See too M. Walicka, 'Światopogląd Wacława Nałkowskiego', *Archiwum Historii Filozofii i Myśli Społecznej*, 28, 1982, p. 236.

6 Die Gegenwart [W. Nałkowski], 'Nerwowość – choroba czasu', *Głos*, 20 IX (2 X) 1886, no. 1, p. 9.

7 Nerwowy [W. Nałkowski], 'Nowe książki (Władysław Chodecki, Z dziedziny higieny. Jak zapobiegać chorobom nerwowym, Odbitka z Ateneum, Warszawa 1886)', *Głos*, 11 (23) X 1886, no. 4, p. 62.

8 [W. Nałkowski], 'Odpowiedź dr. Chodeckiemu', *Głos*, 3 (15) I 1887, no. 3, p. 45. See too Dr. W. Chodecki, 'Spóźniona polemika. Odpowiedź P. Nerwowemu na krytykę broszury pt. Jak zapobiegać chorobom nerwowym', *Ibid.*, p. 44.

sheet, with the populists on the fetish of progress, as did the ‘internationalists’ with the ‘patriots’, the declared proponents of assimilating ‘foreign elements’ with the singers of racial purity, and finally the rabid revolutionaries with the national socialists.<sup>9</sup>

Out of collapse new life could also arise, the young radicals stoutly maintained. But birth and renewal had to be preceded by a detailed analysis of the causes of this state of affairs. Perhaps for that reason there was such detailed criticism of an era, which, according to ‘young people’, was ending its days, in a word – positivism. As Roman Zimand writes, within public opinion of the day a conviction was growing of the need to bury the positivist era. ‘Psychopathy, neuropathy, neurosis, civilization as a disease, a sick culture [...] Even without any statistical analysis it is possible to state that these and similar descriptions play a significant role in the journalism of the period under discussion. One might say that all these words were typical key words.’<sup>10</sup>

The outgoing positivism was burdened with the responsibility for just about every social pathology which educated public opinion could discover and describe.<sup>11</sup>

Could a positivist be an idealist? asked Józef Karol Potocki (Marian Bohusz), one of the generation’s leaders, in his columns in *Głos*. An eloquent sense of loss filled the vacant mental space and cultural critics immediately called it a hunger for ideals and higher goals; ideals and goals that had supposedly been completely rejected in the previous era.<sup>12</sup>

The vanguard of this crisis, left-wing journalists, who had entered the public stage in the early 1880s on the pages of *Przegląd Tygodniowy*, continued to evoke a community of progressive ideals, which the positivists had supposedly buried with their disreputable actions. A young expert on Russian literature, one of the first Marxist literary critics on Polish soil, Bronisław Białobłocki, remarked: ‘Gentlemen of the older generation – our ideals are very similar; perhaps in their most

---

9 ‘Fetysze postępowości, *Głos*, 17 (29) I 1887, no. 5, pp. 65–66.

10 R. Zimand, *Dekadentyzm...*, p. 32.

11 See T. Budrewicz, ‘Dyskurs około pozytywistyczny. Operowanie pojęciem „pozytywizm” przez jego oponentów’, in *Pozytywizm. Język epoki*, G. Borkowska, J. Maciejewski (eds.), Warsaw 2001, pp. 39–56. See too B. Wierszyłowska, ‘„Życie” (1887–1891) jako pismo przełomu wieków’, in *Wokół twórczości drugiego pokolenia pozytywistów polskich*, A. Mazur (tech. ed.), Opole 2004, p. 162 and note.

12 R. Zimand, *„Dekadentyzm”...*, p. 9. See too E. Lesisz, ‘Marian Bohusz – mentor pokolenia przełomu XIX i XX w.’, in *Etyka i literatura. Pisarze polscy lat 1863–1918 w poszukiwaniu wzorców życia i sztuki*, ed. E. Ichnatowicz, E. Paczowska, Warsaw 2006, p. 428 and note.

significant ramifications identical. Hence, let us not profane them, while you, in your struggle against us do not set up honest selfishness as something better than our positive, but not after all base, life [underlining in the original]. The practical means which we grasp, both you and we, in the name of our ideals are quite different [...]. You sneer at signs of romanticism in life and “unrealistic dreaming”, but do not touch the idea itself [the idea of happiness], and the younger generation will be grateful, since it will reap nothing but benefit from this. The eagle eye of criticism will not allow it to sit on its hands, while the fire of sarcasm will cleanse it of many inherited and acquired faults.<sup>13</sup>

However, comments like Białobłocki's were a minority. The bulk of radical opinion, including most of Krusiński's followers, wanted to assess and pillory the previous era. The attributes of the next generations were, in the critics' opinion, contradictory and by now irreconcilable. There was nothing surprising about this generational gesture of moral rejection of the past. Among the younger generation the experience of a moral crisis was linked too with a weakened sense of its own economic security as stemming, speaking bluntly, from the excess of labour over demand. This led to more severe judgements, while the sense of crisis deepened and became more burdensome.

One of the left-leaning activists of the 1890s, a lawyer associated with the ‘internationalists’ later a journalist sympathetic to the Polish Socialist Party, recalled: ‘A dirty wave from a dirty pond! In Warsaw and in Wiślicki's *Przegląd Tygodniowy* and in Świętochowski's *Prawda* there was so-called “organic work”, in other words, winning Eastern markets for cretonne from Łódź! [...] In their souls a jumble, or some sort of rutting season of impure acquisitive instincts!’<sup>14</sup>

So what was this idealistic current overflowing from the pages of the radical and progressive papers, which appeared in the mid-1880s and was supposed to regenerate Polish society? In order to address this question we must first present the soil onto which these idealistic beliefs were falling. We can close in a few phrases this debate, which lasted from the mid-eighties and was intensified by the appearance of several Warsaw journals (above all *Głos* and *Życie*).

A basic certainty was that the source of every ailment in contemporary society was developing free-market capitalism. However, behind this premise of the nature of economics lay a deeper thought: critics of capitalism were coming to the conclusion that the bourgeois-liberal world, as well as all the social models

---

13 B. Białobłocki, ‘Zniżenie ideału’, in id., *Szkice społeczne i literackie*, selected and with an introduction by S. Sandler, Warsaw 1954, p. 154.

14 S. Posner, *Stefan Żeromski w świetle wspomnień*, Warsaw 1926, p. 18.



which had preceded it, were in a state of decline. These critics of the bourgeois era were joined at first by local conservative cultural critics for whom decadent attitudes were a kind of natural result of the grafting on of foreign models. The bourgeois era is decaying, they pronounced, for the bourgeoisie itself is a foreign graft. Teodor Jeske-Choiński touched on the crux of this conservative critique in the rather blunt statement that positivism leads to godlessness.<sup>15</sup>

In a sense this argument was obvious. The cult of learning and a scientific approach were conducive to a cooling of religious feelings. In another sense, however, the argument was wrong, for positivism did not claim any right to solve disputes on the nature of humanity's relationship with God.

A further effect of undermining the world of bourgeois values was the attack on the parliamentary system. The political expression of bourgeois authority was liberal democracy which, in the opinion of radical circles, remained a system of social injustice, exploitation, and moral falsehood. The above young Marxists were the first to expose this state of inherent chaos, peculiar, as it were, to liberal systems. They too were the ones to point out that this spiritual state was socially dangerous and, in the long run, fatal to humankind as such. Bourgeois civilization, together with contemporary industrial culture, could lead to the complete degeneration of the human species. Initially it would be instrumental in the spread of wars and militarism.

A whole galaxy of young journalists led by Stanisław Krusiński and Ludwik Krzywicki, was profoundly convinced that the Polish lands were merely a part, a small cog, in the system of human relations that capitalism had created.

Here we can add that the world seen through the eyes of the radical intellectuals whose first wave appeared at the turn of the 80s and 90s, primarily in the Kingdom of Poland, was restricted to Europe. The rest of the world was, in this scheme of things, in effect a reflection of European conditions. This approach assumed a linear view of progress and was in essence inherited from the previous era. However, it was at once added that development should follow the laws of life and not doctrines.

There were few attempts to go beyond this recognition of the current sources of this dreadful state of affairs. The most far-reaching attempt at an exegesis of the crisis of the local population, maintained in the spirit of Russian populism, came from the pen of Jan Ludwik Popławski in one of his textbook articles called

---

15 Quotation taken from M. Pąckiński, *Konserwatyzm na rozdrożu. „Młodzi konserwatyści” warszawscy wobec dylematów ideowych schyłku wieku*, Warsaw 1994, p. 33.

*Dwie cywilizacje (Two Civilizations)*.<sup>16</sup> We shall return to this article's ideas. Nonetheless, statements along these lines were rare.

In this view of social reality also rested an assumption that enlightened Europe already possessed truths, which sooner or later would become widespread elsewhere. There too the existence of revivifying currents had been discerned, ones in which a return to ideals had been postulated. One of the more perceptive literary critics, Edward Przewoński, described French cultural life as follows: 'We shall not seek evidence of this change in what slithers over the surface or hits us in the face. These are orgies of degenerate opportunism and chauvinism which have developed since the last war – the scum of fermentation which lies deeper [...] since France has not ceased to be a great laboratory in which universal ideas and great initiatives are produced, this change can also have repercussions beyond the Republic. They have already been called the rebirth of idealism.'<sup>17</sup>

It was for this reason, as well, that the situation in highly developed European countries was so intensively analysed, while much less attention was devoted to societies with similar standards of development. National resentment, clothed ever more frequently in the garments of fashionable social Darwinism, often came to the fore. For instance, Popławski wrote: 'The Czechs are a small nation [...] as a result of which they are unable to develop their minds in a versatile manner. The outcome of this has been a sterility and colourlessness of thought, trivialization and vulgarity.'<sup>18</sup> This asymmetry of perception of the more highly developed countries and the rest of the whole world had been noticed many times earlier, but at the turn of the 80s and 90s, draped in 'science', it began to assume greater force.

It has been mentioned that political systems were widely seen as only the external expression of economic relationships. A complex diagnosis of the situation lay behind this economic critique. A definite rejection of free-market economics was linked to a rejection of the whole cultural/social model. A former 'proletarian' (also writing for *Głos* in the 80s) Leon Winiarski, who had recently escaped from the post-feudal Russian state's repressions, wrote as follows about England's

---

16 See T. Kizwalter, *O nowoczesności narodu. Przypadek Polski*, Warsaw 1999, p. 214. This historian proposes a genesis of Popławski's worldview, which is not Russian-inspired.

17 E. Przewoński, 'Korespondencye Głosu (Odradzanie się idealizmu) Paryż 1 Marca, *Głos*, 29 II (12 III) 1892, no. 11, p. 130.

18 J.L. Popławski, 'Pesymizm Czechów', *Głos*, 18 (30) IV 1887, no. 17, p. 258.

bourgeois democracy: 'It is a leprosy which covers the whole world with a pimple of mediocrity and commonness.'<sup>19</sup>

Jan Ludwik Popławski claimed in turn that liberalism was creating only false and disastrous illusions of reality. In one of the articles registering the growth of nationalist tendencies in Europe he wrote: 'Out from all of the cracks in the crumbling social edifice have crawled base, filthy instincts of human nature [...], in which all the more noble impulses are wilting from lack of air and light. [...]. Moral decline, which goes hand-in-hand with intellectual torpor, is spreading to ever-widening social classes.'<sup>20</sup> He saw the awakening and excesses of anti-semitism and national, as well as religious, chauvinism as just such 'a backwards turn, the most disgusting signs of cannibalism.'

Interestingly, Popławski, who among the 'Głos-ites' had made the greatest contribution to the spread of antisemitic stereotypes, at the end of the 1880s acknowledged these outbreaks of social hatred to be an indication of contemporary society's extreme violence – 'one of the most disgusting scenes of cannibalism', and yet more proof of the degeneration of the times. Although, as he initially explained, antisemitism did have 'justified reasons for its existence' and one could perceive in 'backwards reaction' a number of positives, however, the brutalization of public life to which civilization was headed filled him with even greater fear than in later years.

These critical voices were also accompanied by wide-ranging analyses of the moral depravity to which bourgeois societies led. The anthropological interests of some of the 'Głos-ites' provided a great deal of eagerly presented documentary material for these initial assumptions. Jan Lorentowicz, in the 1890s the editor of the émigré *Pobudka*, a founding member of the Overseas Union of Polish Socialists (*Związek Zagraniczny Socjalistów Polskich – ZZSP*), quite frequently a guest on the pages of progressive Warsaw publications, published in *Głos* a multi-part screed in which he simultaneously tried to make the case that developed industrial society was conducive to a suicidal instinct and was even its cause. The conclusion was clear: bourgeois Europe faced extinction.

Of course the intellectuals who came out with these ideas were not blind to their surroundings and they well knew that the liberal system did not for the time being threaten Poland, but this knowledge did not yet lead to a conviction that the current state of affairs was to be accepted. Hence criticism of bourgeois

---

19 L.W. [L. Winiarski], 'Literatura angielska', *Prawda*, 1893, no. 17, quoted in R. Zimand, „Dekadentyzm”..., p. 38.

20 J.L. Popławski, 'Posiew miłości', *Głos*, 2 (14) IV 1888, no. 15, p. 165.

and positivist culture (according to Roman Zimand, the so-called Manchester cultural model) was also accompanied by a violent rejection of relics of traditional, including noble culture. Popławski, one of the most ardent defenders of national character, often warned of 'nationalist double Dutch' propaganda. Marian Bohusz echoed him: 'A policy of ruthlessly supporting familiarity is a policy of incompetence [...] today, when we are picking up its rotten fruit, we need to part with it.'<sup>21</sup> Perhaps it was for this reason that social relations in Galicia – a place which for just about the whole of radical thought had become by the mid-eighties a synonym for a hybrid of anachronism and native degeneracy – were sneered at so ferociously. For the question of the age was not how much of the prevailing development should be retained, but how to build a better, a more just, and above all more genuine society. It was probably for these reasons that literary utopias, such as the works of Edward Bellamy, enjoyed such great popularity among 'young people'.

Finally, another certainty for the young radicals was the conviction that the main human resource for this social regeneration was the people. This cultural theme was by no means new and had kept returning (with varying intensity) ever since the Romantic period. It was understood that a number of underprivileged social groups, with the peasantry and urban proletariat in the first place, came under this broad grouping. But with time, ever more elaborate conclusions grew out of these initial premises. Marxist criticism, represented in the first phase in *Głos* by Ludwik Krzywicki, Bronisław Chlebowski, and Leon Winiarski, forcefully recalled that the people per se could not remain untouched by the ubiquitous capitalist culture. In turn, native advocates of 'the people', under the leadership of Jan Ludwik Popławski and Mieczysław Brzeziński, were arriving at quite opposite conclusions. The source of regeneration, of rebirth, of a new morality, and finally the biological basis of the reborn nation was to be the Polish peasant. The seeds of a serious conflict, which was to divide the community of radical intellectuals in the Kingdom of Poland, lay in this controversy, which was already apparent in *Głos's* first issues.<sup>22</sup>

The American cultural historian Stewart Hugh Hughes admits that the most serious challenge for leading social philosophers arising from the anti-rationalist revolt against the Enlightenment tradition in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was doctrinal Marxism.<sup>23</sup> In his view, it was this cultural current which preserved

---

21 M. Bohusz [J.K. Potocki], 'Bez obłudy', *Głos*, 16 (28) V 1887, no. 21, pp. 331–332.

22 T. Weiss, *Przełom ...*, p. 34.

23 S.H. Hughes, *Consciousness and Society. The Reorientation of European Social Thought 1890–1930*, New York 1958, p. 40.

an untouched scientific message. Despite all its differences, about which more anon, one might see the Polish situation in a similar light. But after all, the idealist breakthrough also affected the new generation of socialists who were entering public life in the mid-eighties. In Polish conditions the early Marxists were precisely the ones to be the first to attack the basis of positivist beliefs.

The real founder of *Głos* and its most prolific contributor, Jan Ludwik Popławski, published the two most important pieces signalling the start of a period of searching for new ideals. Both articles saw the light of day over the space of a few weeks in 1887, and represented as much a clarification of Popławski's own personal *credo* as of that of the youthful grouping developing in opposition to all current opinion.

In point of fact, *Obniżenie ideałów* (*A Lowering of Ideals*) was a polemic with the previous decade's ideological message.<sup>24</sup> Popławski was pillorying both the positivist conciliatory camp as well as just about all the social élites of the day. All those whom he did not mention in this article could be found in other numbers of *Głos* appearing at the time. The very first paragraphs of his article stated emphatically: 'Everywhere apathy constricts flights of thought by inertia [...] We do not accept the sanctification of this inertia as a key principle of collective life.'

A great many young people read this as demanding an irredentist tradition, a Romanticism which had been set to one side, and perhaps that had been the writer's initial intent: to throw out a few contemptuous accusations against the 'civilisation of selfishness.' But the article's appearance surely had a deeper dimension.

The 'Głos-ite' journalist called this spiritual complaint by its name. The textbook turn towards privacy, small ideals, and mundane goals and activities advocated by the positivists would lead, in his opinion, to a complete distortion of cultural legacy and the degeneration of the rules of collective life, and even to an actual loss of national identity. Thus, he opined, practicality turned into villainy: 'Today, in the spoken and the written word, openly, this ministry of egoism and apathy is conducted [...] While around these platforms from which the new gospel of deviance and suicide is preached, clustering and applauding is the low, hungry and greedy mob, voracious and insatiable, which does not understand, does not even think, but knows only that it wants to live and take advantage to its heart's content: all the filthy dregs and scum which rise to the surface of society now congregate.'

---

24 J.L. Popławski, 'Obniżenie ideałów', *Głos*, 20 XII 1886 (1 I 1887), no. 1, pp. 1–2. The quotations are taken from this text.

Although this generational call was intended to rouse from a blissful slumber, to recall a great past, it did not contain advance identification of certain clear, or at least unambiguous, goals.

The writer deftly contrasted 'shopkeeper politics' (i.e. daily usefulness, petty egoism, common sense and market economics) with 'the politics of feeling', supposedly dealing with feelings cultivated by the general public, but unable to reveal themselves in the wider public arena. The first type of politics was synonymous with particularism and selfishness, while the second was meant to embrace the whole community's interests. However, Popławski added: 'we do not wish to encourage anyone to get excited about previous activities.'

This was surely not just a nod towards the over-eager censor. The new generation wanted to adopt for itself the lessons of the past, to show greater wisdom towards history and thus not to repeat the lessons of the past, nor just follow its predecessors' models. Popławski wrote: 'Thus this is not a reaction in the usual meaning of the word. To be sure, this approach is linked to the liberation of thought from the swaddling bands of dogmatism and blind tradition [...] In the dreadful collapse of the spirit, in this voluntary humiliation [...] in this gloomy murk of apathy, when all the stars of idealism have gone out or have grown dim.'

Within a few months this statement was eloquently supplemented. *Wielkie i małe idee* (*Great and Small Ideas*), an article by Popławski which suddenly appeared a few weeks later, was a response to the criticism which the positivist press, as well as some conservative journals, had directed against *Głos*.<sup>25</sup> Bolesław Prus, again rousing himself to wage a campaign, was ascribed the status of virtually the leading 'philosopher' of the home-grown Polish bourgeoisie in a letter published in *Głos* by some hot-tempered student. The student, possibly put up to it by the weekly's editors, called for a 'big idea'; as always, Prus in turn warned against young people becoming over-excited. Popławski came to the aid of this youthful grumbling.

His arguments on 'the politics of feelings and ideals' resonated widely among young people, but it was essential also to present some slogan, some point of contact, a flag beneath which one could rally the supporters of these new paths. It is possible to read Popławski's article in several ways. The new element was simply the call to action which appeared in contributions to the progressive press and which was also rising with greater intensity from student circles. It was soon

---

25 J.L. Popławski, 'Wielkie i małe idee', *Głos*, 11 (23) IV 1887, no. 16, pp. 241–242. The quotations are taken from this article.

perceived that this reborn activism needed stronger ideological underpinnings.<sup>26</sup> The ambiguously-sounding ‘big ideas’ became this slogan.

*Głos*’s leading contributor recalled that the unification of Germany had been preceded by the adoption of a similar message: society, especially in the persons of its enlightened representatives, needs a guiding idea that makes its daily efforts a reasonable and far-reaching undertaking. Popławski wrote: ‘If our society is in a sickly state, if it needs treatment, then preventing a general collapse will not help and should not stop at some social antiseptic. Only a big idea will be able to electrify the apathetic mass which lives thoughtlessly’

In this statement lay a critique of the positivist vision of society organized along Spencerian lines ‘as a professional undertaking requiring so many doctors, so many engineers, so many lawyers and so on.’ Popławski let it be understood that development planned in such a fashion could provide but a substitute, who knows if not a caricature of modern society – a ‘frightful dwarf’.

This appeal was directed above all at young people and its most powerful element was the irredentist message: ‘Souls are born among us who thirst for wider horizons and this thirst is felt most acutely at a young age. Their intellect will not be satisfied by collecting vein-winged insects, nor their hearts – by saving up pennies, nor their energy – by joining a rowing club. We sometimes are surprised that our young people fall under foreign influences, but it is the big ideas there which attract them, perhaps unrecognizably distorted, sometimes deformed, but daring with the audacity of burgeoning youth, but wide – as the boundless steppes [...]. He who has a wall blocking the road to the ideal of truth, let him light in his heart the belief that there is no wall that cannot be broken down with one’s head, especially if it has already been chipped by the bones of cracked skulls, soaked by splattered brains.’

The commentary to this text appeared only some years later. Popławski’s ideological consciousness and that of the remaining ‘*Głos*-ites’ was already greater than at the time of these first reflections, which at the time had had an emotional meaning and a polemical significance. Popławski’s textbook article *Zwrot do idealizmu* (*A Return to Idealism*), which appeared in the first issue of the reborn *Głos* to appear after the fall of the Kiliński Revolt, was a short compilation of the

---

26 The well-known literary critic of the inter-war period, Stefan Kołaczowski, recognized that ‘the basic element, if not the determinant of the “Young Poland” grouping had been ‘activism’. See S. Kołaczowski, ‘Rekonesans’, in *Prace historycznoliterackie. Księga zbiorowa ku czci Ignacego Chrzanowskiego*, Kraków 1936, p. 64 and note. See too R. Zimand, „*Dekadentyzm*”..., p. 24.

major threads of the crisis of the idealistic breakthrough of the 1880s and 90s.<sup>27</sup> Popławski remarked: 'We are aware if not of the bankruptcy, then of the tottering and collapse of this line of thought, which has been christened materialism and positivism in science, naturalism in art and so on, and whose distinctive feature is, despite all appearances to the contrary, a mechanical approach to life in the widest sense of the word [...]. The crowd [here we mean the intelligentsia, the so-called intellectual crowd] above all desires answers to those questions which interest it and, unable to obtain them from positivist learning, either seeks them elsewhere, or plunges into opportunism.'

A turn towards ideals 'in science, art and life is an emotional response' which, as he put it, was meant to reconcile synthetically the efforts of earlier periods with the state of current consciousness: 'At least there is no need to go on about reactionary scientific and social ideas, nor dwell on the bankruptcy of the mind. On the contrary, it aims rather to free the mind from the narrow confines of observation and experience, to rend the swaddling bands – the so-called positivist methods – constricting its flights of fancy.' This somewhat enigmatic manifesto ended with an equally vague, but characteristic call to arms; 'Today a wave of emotion and belief in ideals is welling.'

The editors of the reborn *Głos* gamely tried to maintain this idealistic tone. In this spirit Antoni Potocki, a contributor to the first *Głos*, reviewed Stefan Żeromski's first collection of stories.<sup>28</sup> The heroes of the writer's stories, including *Siłaczka* (*The Strong Woman*), *Ananke*, *Pod Sedanem*, (*At Sedan*), *Oko za oko* (*An Eye for an Eye*), are in his opinion the sort of intelligentsia types who have mislaid somewhere their ideals ('coming into contact with life they decay and collapse spiritually, like a poorly-fired brick'). But the works, as the critic pointed out, describe the pulse of intellectual life: 'They are so faithful and just catch life in the raw, for they depict the torment of contemporary [...] intelligent people. Souls in torment, who have not the will to change them [i.e. ideas] often become somewhat blasé and last but a moment.' Potocki, in later years the author of one of the complex features of Polish letters at the turn of the century – the 'idealistic'

---

27 [J.L. Popławski], 'Zwrot do idealizmu', *Głos*, 23 IX (5 X) 1895, no. 1, pp. 1–2. See too W. Hendzel, 'Świadomość pokoleniowa założycieli „Głosu”', in *Wokół twórczości drugiego pokolenia...*, p. 161 and note.

28 A.P.O. [A. Potocki], 'Sprawozdania naukowe i literackie (Stefan Żeromski, *Opowiadania*, Warszawa 1895)', *Głos*, 23 IX (5 X) 1895, no. 1, pp. 12–13. See too M. Białota, 'Między impresją i empatią a ideologią. Antoni Potocki o twórczości Żeromskiego (od *Siłaczki* do *Ludzi bezdomnych*)', in *Klucze do Żeromskiego*, K. Stępiak (ed.), Lublin 2003, pp. 93–104.



concept, as literary historians call it – will return frequently to Żeromski's work, correctly recognizing its creator to be the most evocative representative of the period.

Although the content of the 'second' *Głos* can be read as an expansion of and an addition to the idealistic strands present in the culture and public life of the day, it is hard to acknowledge this journal's output as especially distinguished in terms of introducing any new 'big ideas' into public debate. Perhaps it was on the pages of Zygmunt Waliszewski's weekly that the polarization of intelligentsia radicalism of the turn of the century played out. A stream of significant writers associated with the broadly-understood left was leaving the paper. In 1896, Julian Marchlewski, who was associated with the SDKP, ceased writing for the paper. In 1897, Józef Karol Potocki and Leon Wasilewski left. Antoni Lange, Cezary Jellenta, and Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska, associated with the left, continued to publish their creative work and literary criticism in *Głos* to the end, but even they slowed down their journalistic output in the paper's last years. In 1897, after publishing *Promień* (*The Sunbeam*), which was rather grudgingly received in nationalist circles, Żeromski to all intents and purposes parted company with the weekly. Although he continued to stay in touch with some of the 'Głos-ites', those ties were not as warm as they had been a few years earlier. In 1899, and so before Wasilewski sold off the weekly to Jan Władysław Dawid, Stanisław Koszutski (associated with the Social Democrats of the Polish Kingdom), and one of the 'second' *Głos*'s most prolific economics correspondents, parted company with the paper. For particular radical groupings the sources of this return to ideals, the 'emotional response', already thrived elsewhere.

One could use Żeromski's output at the time as a literary illustration of this 'return to ideals'. The most famous literary character – in whom the writer of *Opowiadania*, stories well-known in radical circles, embodied the principles of the new idealism – was Raduski, the main protagonist of *Promień*.

The story was another attempt to deal with the dilemmas of the young intelligentsia, which Żeromski had already depicted in earlier literary attempts. The story takes place, as is often the case with this writer, in a small, god-forsaken, provincial town (significantly called Łżawiec).<sup>\*</sup> The main protagonist, a former student of natural science, returns to his hometown from a long journey and throws down a challenge to local public opinion, and in a broader sense to the old world. Raduski founds the journal *Echo*, which is to spread a new approach to life. The story's narrative threads aim to show the public sphere as a barren

---

\* A play on the Polish 'łgać' (to lie). The town of Mendacity. Translators note.

space, without God; as a world which could become an act of human creation. A world which is an expanse of material and spiritual oppression.

As the writer of a monograph on Żeromski's early works points out, Raduski takes on the ambitious task of re-arranging his surroundings: 'All Raduski's activities depicted in the story stem from rebellion, protest, and a struggle with reality [...]. His achievements serve to give reality the character of something that can be understood – a human scale [...]. This just has to be teased out and defined and then complemented with hard work. The event lines must converge, close the circle, and create a whole – an atom of sense torn from the chaos of the world'.<sup>29</sup>

The young editor's vision, laid out on the pages of the *Łźawiec Echo*, referred to a special mission of doing good, for the new ethics which he wanted to promote arose from modern man's feeling of alienation in the world and aimed to take over the world anew. Thus, this was a set of moral principles, based on the idea of a new brotherhood discovered individually in every person.

The advent of *Promień* was understandably linked to Żeromski's arrival in Edward Abramowski's social circle. Even if the story had not been directly inspired by Abramowski's work, the similarity of its principal message with the *Program wykładów nowej etyki* (*A Course of Lectures in New Ethics*), which appeared at the time, was striking.

Raduski's *credo* was the transformation of surrounding reality through activism, through action bringing to life a new secular ethical programme. Action which would overcome alienation and falsehood between people would eventually lead to renewing the bonds of human brotherhood, to the emergence of a reborn world, free from ethnic and religious hatred. The big ideas, as Żeromski depicted them in *Promień*, were already a conscious selection of a certain ideological option. An option, which assumed a human community, based on love, reason, and justice.<sup>30</sup>

The turn to emotions, which was also linked here to a broad social programme of fighting poverty, had a great deal in common with the demands of the radical movements, but it was also a new reading of a great many socialist moods transformed by the anti-rationalist breakthrough. During the second half of the 1890s, Abramowski, the advocate of a movement for ethical renewal, became the author of one of the most complex propositions that appeared on his generation's mental horizons.

---

29 A. Zdanowicz, *Metafizyka i życie społeczne. Stefan Żeromski wobec problemów współczesności*, Warsaw 2005, p. 78.

30 See S. Żeromski, *Listy, 1897–1904*, edited by Z.J. Adamczyk, Warsaw 2003, p. 26.

Żeromski's story was warmly received in progressive circles and with eloquent indifference in nationalist ones. The ethical movement, one of the offshoots of the intellectual ferment which was born in the 1880s, found new adherents especially in student intelligentsia groups, but it also found a great many fierce opponents. A negative review of *Promień* led to a cooling of relations with the leading critic of the 'second' *Głos* and an eminent member of the National League, Władysław Jabłonowski; after a similarly restrained review of *Słowo o Bandosie* (*A Word About Bandos*), ties were severed. For the nationalist community every alternative ethical choice beyond its own (i.e. integral nationalism) signified moral betrayal. Jabłonowski (like Dmowski and Wasilewski) placed Abramowski's 'ethical' and their programme of moral renewal among the mirages of the age – naïve and delusional humanitarianism.

### **The Idealist Revolt. The Nationalist Variant**

How did the young Roman Dmowski, the founder of *Strażnica*, one of the first underground self-study groups that had appeared in Warsaw grammar schools in the first half of the 1880s, fare in this ideological-social galaxy? 'Ignac from Praga', as he was then known, began his university studies at the age of 22. After passing his school-leaving examinations, he entered the Imperial University in Warsaw. Partly following his father's recommendation and partly owing to a lack of clear plans, he chose the natural science section in the Department of Mathematics and Physics. Soon spotted by the teaching staff thanks to his considerable ability, he was an outstanding student. Insofar as this time of entering university could be seen, in the subjective sense, as a breakthrough (a friend of Dmowski's and later also one of his first biographers would actually write of a 'new life'), his public activities were a continuation of his conspiratorial schoolboy work. Youthful decisions had specific consequences. Dmowski remained in touch with the schoolboy *Strażnica*, retaining a significant influence there. He continued his work with the Warsaw Benevolent Society, which he had begun in school and which was very popular at the time among the progressive young. Indeed, he was one of the most dynamic representatives of the younger generation.

The start of his studies in September 1886 coincided with a very unique moment in history. For over a year university political life had been dominated by tension not seen since the days of the anti-Apukhtin movement. Doubtless the 'Proletariat' trial and the first death sentences handed down since the January Uprising had an electrifying effect on young people's attitudes. They were widely seen as yet another sign of the new Tsar Alexander III's dislike of the Poles. Contrary to the Russian authorities' expectations, the gallows from which the members of

'Proletariat' were hanged served more to inflame emotions rather than to dampen them. A chronicler of the socialist movement wrote: 'Every day in the Russian Partition political and national pressure increased overall. Alexander III's reactionary/nationalist policies were directed against Poland with well-calculated hatred. This hatred found in Gurko and Apukhtin crude, but efficient, indeed hangman's tools.'<sup>31</sup>

On the other hand, the rather drastic anti-Polish moves carried out in the Poznań area (including expelling around 30,000 Poles from Prussia in 1885 and then in 1886 setting up a colonization committee) also affected the growth of radical attitudes, and prompted a review of conciliatory attitudes. The foundations of the national/political policy of 'organic work' and so-called Warsaw progress began to groan under the pressure. It is worth recalling that the young Dmowski's first excursion into journalism was actually a short mention in Warsaw *Prawda*, describing the baleful consequences of Prussian actions towards the Poles and other Slav peoples.

For over a year, the growth of all sorts of small political groups and coteries, often with very exotic political sympathies, was one one sign of animation among the students. The rebellious students were joined by new waves of freshly-baked and increasingly politically-engaged school-leavers.

Dmowski wound up in a Warsaw student group that attracted leavers from the Warsaw state grammar schools, as well as from a few well-known private schools. In line with a practice that had been in place since the mid-1870s, groups like these attracted students from a particular school or region. However, in the Warsaw group there was a whole spectrum of views, attitudes, or perhaps – given everyone's age – the mindsets and political antipathies of Warsaw young people. The ones that thrived the most, as many accounts testify, appear to have been those with various shades of socialism. What, however, was new in student life in the 1880s was the rebirth of 'patriotic' currents. These views were also beginning to make themselves heard more strongly among the 'Varsovians'.

The publication by Zygmunt Miłkowski of a pamphlet entitled *Rzecz o obronie czynnej i Skarbie Narodowym* ('*On the Subject of Civil Defence and the National Fund*') contributed to this strengthening of patriotic views at the university. The Polish League (Liga Polska – LP) and the Union of Polish Youth (Związek Młodzieży Polskiej – ZET), which was directed at patriotic young people, both arose on the wave of the extraordinary popularity of this innocuous little piece.

---

31 F. Perl (Res), *Dzieje ruchu socjalistycznego w zaborze rosyjskim do powstania PPS*, Warsaw 1958, p. 273.

Dmowski entered the ZET in 1888, i.e. just over a year after its founding. He joined the so-called Warsaw group.

The Warsaw circle was one of the most thriving ZET organisations. Created in early January 1887, the Union very quickly gained recognition among 'patriotic' young people. Although the Union had been conceived as an underground organization, and hence by definition was small and élitist, recruitment was proceeding at a dizzying pace in all academic centres. Despite the fact that ZET circles were forming in all milieux which contained Poles, the Warsaw, Kraków, Lwów, and even at times Moscow circles played a dominant role throughout the Union.

The Warsaw ZET organization reflected the views and also the social make-up of 'patriotic' youth studying in Warsaw. Nonetheless, the ZET members – a group which had earlier been carefully selected – formed an élite core among the 'patriots'.

What was Dmowski's attitude at this time? Having joined the ZET a year after its founding congress, the former group leader began a lightning ascent of the organization's ladder. In 1889, he was already a ZET brother. His school experience, as well as his already-recognized organizational talents, greatly helped the young activist to develop his influence in the organization. Dmowski probably also brought into the ZET some of his school friends who had earlier gone through the secret *Strażnica*, thereby also strengthening his position. Quickly, if not almost immediately, he entered the lists for the leadership of the so-called nationalist group. At the start of 1890, on joining the board, he began to develop into an informal leader of the younger generation of Warsaw 'patriots'.

However, the key moment for the development of Dmowski's ideological and political path at this time was coming into contact with the *Głos* circle. Insofar as a Russian school had made him a 'political animal', work with this Warsaw paper added a clearly ideological tinge to his earlier activism.

Dmowski arrived in the *Głos* circle together with another student group, mostly medical and biology students, thanks to contact with one of the key personalities in the illegal educational world, Mieczysław Brzeziński. Among the upcoming young 'populist' members there were certainly other interesting personalities; Dmowski himself recalled Stanisław Chelchowski, later the president of the Central Association of Landowners (Centralne Koło Ziemiańskie), but not all these people could demonstrate such versatile personal attributes as the student from Praga, then a suburb of Warsaw.<sup>32</sup>

---

32 Senior [R. Dmowski], 'Początki nowoczesnego Obozu Narodowego w Polsce,' *Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy*, 13 XI 1936, no. 312, p. 3.

Perhaps it was his particular sense of humour which accounted for the young natural science student's rapid adaptation to his surroundings. Ludwik Krzywicki, one of the leading lights among the Warsaw radicals wrote: 'The artful and caustic quip was highly valued in *Głos* – both Potocki and Popławski, as had earlier Więckowski, were ready to sacrifice more than one subscriber in order to give someone a real roasting, or to entertain readers at someone's expense.'<sup>33</sup> In turn, Władysław Jabłonowski, who also met Dmowski in 1890, recalled: 'At the time there was no lack of outstanding young characters in the Warsaw ZET group, but among them Dmowski caught the eye of everyone who came into contact with him for the first time. He also attracted attention by his expansive nature, sharpness of thought, good humour, as well as a certain firmness, his outspoken views, and a gift for settling disputes.'<sup>34</sup> Another youthful activist, Napoleon Czarnocki, who came into contact with Dmowski at a ZET youth congress at the turn of 1889 and 1890, recalled him in very similar terms: 'Dmowski himself, thanks to his organizational experience, to the originality of his arguments, presence of mind, and humour in discussion, appeared to us as something of an idealized Vistula lad.'<sup>35</sup>

Dmowski's adventure with *Głos* began at a rather significant time for the weekly. The most significant battle in the paper's history was just breaking out on its pages. On the Warsaw market of ideas it had from the start seemed to be some sort of curious cocktail. Among the weekly's founders we find Ludwik Krzywicki – acknowledged, not without justification, as the 'pope of Polish Marxism', Waław Nałkowski – a budding geographer with decidedly radical views, and Zygmunt Heryng – an economist with a clearly left-wing orientation. On the other side there were Adam Zakrzewski, Józef Hłasko, and Aleksander Więckowski – previously sympathizers with, and from time to time actually campaigners for the Russian 'narodniks'. Finally, there were the editors themselves – Potocki and Popławski. More or less the whole of Warsaw's progressive leadership passed through the young paper, while a whole array of distinguished writers (including Reymont, Żeromski, Sieroszewski, Tetmajer, Kasprówicz, and many others) published their first literary efforts here. The general 'democratic' atmosphere, which accompanied the paper from the start, also attracted radical youth to its editors.

This emancipatory tone, which came through in its articles, at first suited the paper's characteristic eclecticism. Putting the issue of the emancipation of the

---

33 L. Krzywicki, *Wspomnienia*, vol. 3, Warsaw 1959, p. 60.

34 W. Jabłonowski, *Krótki życiorys*, J. Fijałek (ed.), *Rocznik Biblioteki PAN w Krakowie*, 78, 1961–1962/1963, p. 111.

35 N. Czarnocki, 'Przyczyny do historii PPS', in *W trzydziestą rocznicę. Księga Pamiątkowa PPS, „Robotnik”*, Warsaw 1923, p. 55.

people – a subject close to the heart of all ‘democratic’ Warsaw – at the top of its agenda initially led to an extraordinary plethora of opinions. But sooner or later this multifarious outpouring was bound to lead to an ideological confrontation and a division between the two principal groups that represented the paper’s ideological base: the home-grown Marxists and the members of the so-called ‘populists’. It appears that this confrontation was inevitable. The real problem was the key issue for all progressive radicals – the People. But it was not actually the people, even if written with a capital letter, which lay at the heart of the dispute.

*Głos*’s ideological message arose from the disaster of earlier emancipatory undertakings. The paper was anti-system *par excellence*.<sup>36</sup> Perhaps the best illustration of this was an article entitled *Nieporozumienie* (*A Misunderstanding*) in answer to a peculiar smear campaign that accompanied the paper’s birth. Probably written by Popławski or Potocki, it reflected the crux of the *Głos* revolt against the current élites. *Nieporozumienie* was the result of a false association of the *Głos* message with some broader, yet established conviction. The article, which could have passed for one of the group’s manifestos, was a combative philippic against everything. Its anonymous writer spared no-one, whether of the right, or the left. Home-grown progressives, as well as clericalists, orthodox socialists and liberals, supporters of organic work and home-grown conservatives, got it in the neck. The editors acknowledged the charitable dimension of religious feelings, while openly mocking the institution of the Church. The gentry as a social class were also among this crowd of *Głos*’s enemies and opponents, as were the clergy and the freethinkers, as well as the whole conciliatory camp, although perhaps somewhat less obviously owing to censorship. In a pompous conclusion, ‘opposition to this gloomy paralysis, to this slow suicide’ was recommended in the name of truth and social evolution.<sup>37</sup>

From this scrum of new ideas, this muddle which from the very beginning had so electrified the intelligentsia, deeper divisions slowly began to emerge. Two key personalities on the paper, Józef Karol Potocki and Jan Ludwik Popławski, were the most active, and it was around them that the most important social-intellectual groups began to form.

However, more significant divisions followed these social shifts – ideological ones. For the progressive camp the litmus test of ideological identity at the time was one’s attitude towards antisemitism. And it was indeed this antisemitism

---

36 See N. Bończa-Tomaszewski, *Demokratyczna geneza nacjonalizmu. Intelktualne korzenie ruchu narodowo-demokratycznego*, Warsaw 2001, p. 28 and note.

37 ‘Nieporozumienie’, *Głos*, 3 (15) I 1887, no. 3, pp. 33–34. See too ‘Prospekt’, *Głos*, 1886, p. 2. See too N. Bończa-Tomaszewski, *Demokratyczna geneza...*, p. 31.

which appeared on the pages of *Głos* that led to the first significant division among the paper's supporters.

From the outset *Głos's* stance did not differ from a certain progressive *iunctim* which intellectual opinion shared. In this view, as far as native Jews were concerned, the only justified approach could be an acceptance of assimilation. A certain visible proof of this conviction was the presence of journalists of Jewish descent who found an open forum in the paper to express their views.<sup>38</sup>

However, this general stance began to evolve tellingly in the second half of the 1880s. The changed position of the editors of *Głos* on the Jewish question was preceded by a wave of articles by writers in provincial centres not favourably disposed towards Jews. The thrust of these statements written from provincial backwaters was unambiguous: the Jews were a separate and parasitic element preying on rural folk. Shortly thereafter Popławski threw his own authority behind these somewhat incoherent statements. Furthermore, in one of his articles he admitted, and this must have been seen as something new in progressive circles, that assimilated Jews embodied all the features of liberal societies: their materialism, godlessness, and cosmopolitanism.<sup>39</sup>

This openly-declared antisemitism was an unpleasant surprise for progressive opinion, and at the same time revealed clear rifts within the 'patriotic' camp itself.<sup>40</sup> The Warsaw daily did not budge and in time adopted an even more radical stance.

A more violent dispute, though stemming from more innocuous causes, was waged over the concept of the people (i.e. the folk) in which *Głos* also took part. In a certain sense this polemic was the outcome of the unresolved discussion between Adam Zakrzewski and the home-grown Polish Marxists on the pages of *Przegląd Tygodniowy* conducted in 1883 and 1884. Zakrzewski, an attentive reader

---

38 'Prospekt', *Głos*, 1886, a statement by Dr. Henryk Nusbaum, p. 5, also id., 'Jestem żydem – dlaczego?', *Głos*, 4 (16) X 1886, no. 3, pp. 35–36

39 J.L.P. [J.L. Popławski], 'Antysemityzm wśród inteligencji', *Głos*, 21 X (2 XI) 1889, no. 44, pp. 54–55.

40 See 'Korespondencja „Wolnego Polskiego Słowa”', Paryż, 23 stycznia 1889', *Wolne Polskie Słowo*, 1 II 1889, no. 34, p. 2; 'Antysemityzm w Polsce', *Wolne Słowo Polskie*, 1 XII 1889, no. 54, pp. 1–2. See too W. [L. Winiarski?], 'Antysemityzm', *Przedświt* 15 III 1890, nos. 3, 4, 5, pp. 4–5. Some of the voices in this antisemitic wave on the pages of the Warsaw press, as well as attempts to counteract its effects, are noted by A. Friedrich, '„Oj Żydku, Żydku, nie ma z ciebie żadnego pożytku.” Postać „judeofoba” w nowelach „Gedali” Elizy Orzeszkowej i „Mendel Gdański” Marii Konopnickiej', *Morze Zjawisk*, 1998, no 1, p. 80.



of Marx who made use of 'narodnik' arguments, questioned the universality of Marxian principles of social development; that very universality whose legitimacy the Marxists were attempting to defend. The engine of economic development in a backward country, he stated with conviction, could be the peasant farm, and thus an institution – according to Marxian, or more accurately Engelsian prescriptions – doomed to extinction. The rural village community, opined Zakrzewski, could create an accumulation of capital and lead to economic development. Young Marxists, led by Ludwik Krzywicki, Adam Sądziński, and Stanisław Krusiński, energetically opposed these views.

This, at the time rather scholastic dispute, returned with redoubled force at the turn of the 1880s and 90s. The participants of the original discussion met on the pages of *Głos*. The same principles were in dispute. On the face of it there was nothing to indicate the violence of the impending debate. As late as the start of 1889, co-operation between the populists and the Marxists was somewhat idyllic.<sup>41</sup>

Ludwik Krzywicki, whose *Złudzenia demokratyczne* (*Democratic Illusions*), a lengthy piece which appeared in *Prawda* – a rival paper to Potocki's and Popławski's – was the somewhat unwitting instigator of this dispute. Krzywicki, a writer with great authority in socialist circles, rejected all analyses of social development that were not materialist. The peasantry, as a social class, the country folk who were the basis of 'populist' faith, were, in his opinion, doomed to extinction like other *petty bourgeois* classes. The mill wheels of history's social progress would grind them to historical dust.

However, we should also add that, in comparison with his attitude of a few years earlier, Krzywicki had moved away from his early-Marxist optimism. Progress, so he now opined, was double-edged in its operation: over all it was positive, although it was fatal for whole social groups. On the other hand, 'narodnik' elements still present in the early 1880s, elements which included the conviction that the capitalist phase could be avoided, evaporated in this line of reasoning.<sup>42</sup>

These unoriginal ideas, presented here in abbreviated form, met with an unexpectedly lively response from the editors of *Głos*. The argument, which had caught the attention of 'youth' in the Kingdom, involved for the most part second-tier journalists from this new group. In time, the whole group became involved in the dispute.

---

41 See, for example, *Głos*, 24 XII 1888 (5 I 1889), no. 1. On the pages of this number Popławski, Potocki and Hłasko are alongside the Marxists Krusiński and Krzywicki.

42 J. Jedlicki, *Jakiej cywilizacji Polacy potrzebują? Studia z dziejów wyobraźni XIX wieku*, Warsaw 1988, p. 349. There is also a detailed exposition here of the debate.

Not free from personal taunts, the schism between Krzywicki and the rest of the 'Głos-ites' – a dispute with a great many acts – shifted from the pages of the press to the drawing rooms of radical, 'democratic' Warsaw. Krzywicki recalled: 'And so began a mutual settling of scores and accounts, something picked up by young people and that ever more clearly carved out among them two channels of thought: populist and working-class [...]. The Ladies' Circle, busy raising funds for popular education under the chairmanship of Mieczysława Brzezińska, approached me with a request to give some talks on nationality [...]. I think the ladies harboured the hope that I would deal with nationality in a way that would offend the audience. The first talk, held in secret of course, and despite the high price [there was an admission fee] was very well-attended, I developed the theme that the meaning of nationality lies not in the tangle of customs close to our hearts, but in the great task before it – it is the great lever of democratization, education, socialization, but it is unable to accomplish this task here, hampered by the presence of occupiers on our territory. The ladies were dismayed by the rather strong emotions that did not subside and so, under the pretext that they were unable to find premises for a talk, called off the series [...]. They apparently justified this by saying that they could not imagine what I could say in further talks – I would simply lead those who had not been 'hardened' up the garden path. Yet the extent of annoyance on the other side was proved by one of the discussion sessions. Adam Sądziński's younger brother, Kazimierz I believe, was staying at the time in Warsaw. In his room of exceedingly fine proportions on some ground floor on Nowogrodzka Street, he held a discussion meeting to which he invited representatives of both points of view. Members of the Union of Polish Workers (Związek Robotników Polskich) and the Union (Zjednoczenie) were there, those who recognized *Głos's* principles appeared, including Mieczysław Brzeziński of the old guard – a decent and humane man – [...] and Dmowski of the younger ones. The argument revolved around the concept of nationality. As we were leaving, each side believed that it had won. On the way out Brzeziński, this oh so humane man, turned to me and those nearby and said: 'when our revolution breaks out, we'll start by hanging the lot of you [...]'. At the first shots I withdrew from the game of engaging in any kind of polemics with *Głos*. It more or less ceased to exist for me, or I really ought to say: for all of us.'<sup>43</sup> Elsewhere the writer added: 'After a series of my articles in *Prawda* in 1889, Popławski, and Hłasko too, there began seriously to scour themselves of all such "isms".'<sup>44</sup>

---

43 L. Krzywicki, *Wspomnienia...*, vol. 3, p. 92.

44 *Ibid*, p. 75.

During this quarrel Roman Dmowski appeared at the editorial offices of *Głos*. As an emerging student leader, but also a young ‘people’s’ campaigner, he was brought onto the editorial board by Brzeziński. However, he quickly began earning his keep. Once on the board, which had several layers of secrecy, with Potocki and Popławski designating the two most important ones, the ambitious natural science student began to rise above his peers.<sup>45</sup>

Dmowski quickly drew close to Jan Ludwik Popławski’s circle. Years later he recalled: ‘It was above all Popławski, whom many of us already recognized as our mentor, who attracted us younger ones [...]. On the board, in addition to Popławski, I was closest to Józef Hłasko. The latter did not impress me with the force of his intellect, but with his dignity [...]. As with Popławski, I felt within him a hot-blooded Pole [...]. I learned a great deal from him, and that I met him at the dawn of my life was of no small value to me [...]. From our first meeting we became honest and sincere friends. But in my relationship with him I still feel something of the relationship of pupil to teacher.’<sup>46</sup>

Why exactly did this young activist find the most kindred spirits among this group? In his memoir Dmowski wrote about Potocki that his was a speculative mind, detached from life, he added about Aleksander Więckowski, another key member of the editorial board: ‘He flirted with ideas; he did not love them.’ It seems that the factor most strongly attracting the younger activists to Popławski was antisemitism. Popławski belonged to those contributors to *Głos* who from the start laid the greatest emphasis on the disparity between Polish and Jewish interests. Although this was not racial antisemitism, it did, however, stand out from the views of the other ‘Głos-ites’.

The same was true of Józef Hłasko, who was perhaps the first contributor to the progressive press who began to write positively about antisemitic views. Hłasko, who had not joined the editorial board until 1888, when the assimilationist approach still dominated the pages of *Głos*, began systematically to raise the Jewish issue in his foreign affairs columns in a different way. Thus, in one of his reports

---

45 Usually we include the brothers Kazimierz and Stanisław Chelchowski, Władysław Jabłonowski, Bolesław Koskowski, Jan Stecki and Zygmunt Wasilewski, as well as their informal leader Roman Dmowski himself, in this group of young ‘patriotic’ activists who were now making their mark on the pages of *Głos*. See Senior [R. Dmowski], ‘Początki nowoczesnego obozu narodowego w Polsce’, *Mysł Narodowa*, 15 XI 1936, no. 47, pp. 733–735; D. Sz wajcer, ‘Zygmunt Wasilewski w „Głosie”’, in *Zygmunt Wasilewski. Polityk, krytyk, regionalista*, M. Meducka (ed.), Kielce 2002, p. 138 and note.

46 R. Dmowski, ‘Wspomnienie o Józefie Hłasce’, *Gazeta Warszawska*, 15 VII 1934, no. 212, p. 22.

he discovered the roots of antisemitism in France.<sup>47</sup> Although he camouflaged his own views with the opinions he discussed (usually those of Edouard Drumont and Gustave Le Bon), vulgar comments about assimilated Jews as such were also scattered throughout the text. In later sections the writer asked rhetorically about the Jewish contribution to history. From the initial comments it was clear that it could not have been great; quite the contrary. In response to the criticism which reached the editors in connection with the propagation of antisemitism, Hłasko presented his readers a long discourse on the Jews' touchiness.<sup>48</sup> He soon also began to record meticulously the most important voices in European antisemitic discourse. When at the start of 1889 the first signs of a change towards the Jewish issue appeared in *Głos*, he published under the name of 'J.H. Siemieniecki' a lengthy, serial commentary on one of Dumont's works.<sup>49</sup> This series of pieces on one of the works of the then well-known Jew-baiter, armed with remarks in an antisemitic tone, aroused a great deal of negative comment, even in 'patriotic' circles.

But for many young student activists antisemitism – often expressed in an aggressive, extreme form – was already an identification mark. Years later Dmowski recalled this group. This was a 'new human type with stronger Polish instincts than others had, with minds more attuned to life than to doctrines, not combative, but with a clear, though not physically aggressive aversion to Jews.'<sup>50</sup> In turn Ludwik Krzywicki remarked in his memoirs: 'Hłasko led Popławski, prompting him at editorial meetings [...] but especially he lured young talent to the paper, people who, in addition to democratic slogans, began to find other tones there,

---

47 J.H. Siemieniecki [J. Hłasko], 'Z obcego świata XLI (m.in. Antysemityzm we Francji. Czy żydzi we Francji stali się Francuzami. Polemika o rolę żydów w dziejach cywilizacji)', *Głos*, 26 XI (8 XII) 1888, no. 49, pp. 597–598. See too N. Bończa-Tomaszewski, *Demokratyczna geneza...*, pp. 177–178.

48 J.H.S. [J. Hłasko], 'Z obcego świata XLIV (m.in. Słówko o drażliwości żydów. Poglądy Micheleta na kwestię żydowską we Francji)', *Głos*, 17 (29) XII 1888, no. 52, pp. 639–640.

49 J.H.S. [J. Hłasko], 'Koniec świata (rec. E. Drumont, La fin d'un monde, Paris 1889)', *Głos*, 15 (27) IV 1889, no. 17, pp. 217–218; id., 'Koniec świata II', *Głos*, 22 IV (4 V) 1889, no. 18, pp. 226–228; id., 'Koniec świata III', *Głos*, 29 IV (11 V) 1889, no. 19, pp. 241–243; id., 'Koniec świata IV', *Głos*, 6 (18) V 1889, no. 20, pp. 254–256; J.H. Siemieniecki [J. Hłasko], 'Koniec świata (dokończenie)', *Głos*, 13 (25) V 1889, no. 21, pp. 263–266. See too J.H.S., 'Z obcego świata', *Głos*, 6 (18) V 1889, no. 20, pp. 258–259; J.H. Siemieniecki, 'Z obcego świata XLI', *Głos*, 26 XI (8 XII) 1888, no. 46, pp. 597–598. There is a rich specialist literature on the subject of E. Drumont. Of the latest works, Grégoire Kauffmann's *Edouard Drumont* Paris 2008, is particularly valuable.

50 Senior [R. Dmowski], 'Początki nowoczesnego obozu narodowego w Polsce', *Mysl Narodowa*, 15 XI 1936, no. 47, p. 734.

ones that particularly resonated with them, though being at odds with the assumptions prevailing there.<sup>51</sup>

What is striking is that Popławski too remarked in the pages of *Głos* on the appearance of a new grouping among the young, paying homage on the one hand to the highest 'cult of humane ideals', while on the other openly declaring antisemitism 'free of so-called racial and religious prejudices', and which 'is based not on differences in socio-economic views, but rather on a whole tangle of subconscious moods.'<sup>52</sup>

The young activist's position in the Warsaw ZET group and his steady rise in the organization's hierarchy were no doubt influential in Dmowski's drawing close to the leading 'Głos-ites'. Dmowski was already growing into the leader of the younger generation of activists, while Popławski and Potocki wanted to stay in touch with patriotic youth. Władysław Jabłonowski, who joined the editorial board at the same time, recalled: 'We came across each other on the *Głos* editorial board. [...] Roman came in almost daily, he would come in from Praga and was beginning to call the tune [...]. When you entered the offices and found Roman there, you felt a curious atmosphere with its own clear resonance that set the tone [...]. In major matters Popławski had an understanding with him, agreed with him, and sometimes even yielded to him.'<sup>53</sup>

Although Dmowski did not play a direct part in the exchange in the press between the 'Głos-ites' and Krzywicki, the quarrel left a lasting impression on his later writings. The first major outing by this student at the Imperial University in Warsaw was to a certain extent linked to views expressed in this debate. Dmowski had already published earlier minor articles of a literary or journalistic nature, but these were not works of any great value. Usually these short pieces written with flair did not distinguish Dmowski from a whole range of budding authors. This time, however, he stepped forward to face all opponents.

*Idea w poniewierce* (*An Idea Profaned*) was a reflection of the student polemics between the 'patriots' and the students dabbling in Marxism at the university or in study groups.<sup>54</sup> There is much to indicate that the editors deliberately put

---

51 L. Krzywicki, *Wspomnienia...*, vol. 3, p. 84.

52 J.L.P [J.L. Popławski], 'Antysemityzm wśród inteligencji', *Głos*, 21 X (2 XI) 1889, no. 44, p. 548.

53 W. Jabłonowski, *Z biegiem lat. Wspomnienia o Romanie Dmowskim*, Częstochowa 1939, pp. 129–130.

54 R. Skrzycki [R. Dmowski], 'Idea w poniewierce', *Głos*, 9 (21) II 1891, no. 8. Quotations are taken from this text. T. Mistewicz, 'Uwagi na marginesie nowej biografii Romana Dmowskiego', *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 12, 1980, vol. 4, p. 175 also emphasizes this article's value.

this piece by the ambitious natural sciences student on page two, right next to an ideological article by Józef Karol Potocki, entitled *Antysemityzm Głosu* (*The Antisemitism of 'Głos'*). Insofar as Dmowski's article was a continuation of the disputes between the young 'populists' and the Marxists, Potocki's concluded an extensive series of essays on the problems of assimilation and brought closure to the maturing evolution of the 'Głos-ites' views on the Jewish question. The appearance of both articles side by side might have been intended to indicate the paper's shift to the right.

Dmowski's piece represented an attempt at an ideological reckoning with, in the words of another 'patriot' of the time, Stefan Żeromski, 'Krzywicki-ism',<sup>55</sup> – i.e. a fashion for Marxist socialism, whose most distinguished proponent at the time was Ludwik Krzywicki, and which was widely supported by left-leaning young people.

Although even fifty years later Dmowski recalled the 'barbarous output of that social-democrat and anti-nationalist Ludwik Krzywicki', the personal sub-text here was of secondary importance.<sup>56</sup> In reality principles were at stake. On the other hand, *Idea w poniewierce* could pass for a manifesto of the young 'patriots' not long before the annual commemoration of the Third-of-May Constitution. Dmowski's piece appeared two months before the demonstration in the Botanic Gardens.

In fact, to a certain extent Dmowski's essay had grown out of the frustration and resentment that many 'patriots' felt towards conditions at the university. In student circles the numerically-stronger 'patriots' frequently lost key student elections; the majority of the more ambitious young people inclined towards the more dynamic Marxists. Thus, for instance, the young 'patriot' Żeromski, a student of the Veterinary Institute, an activist from the Kielce circle, noted in his *Diary*: 'S. [Jan Strożecki – a native of Kielce, *inter alia* a student at a so-called Marxist study group (a 'marksówka'), later an eminent socialist] with his internationalist pose and proletarian formulations is smoking me out of my lair. Every word of his hurts me strangely, I avoid speaking to him, for I can't understand these people. We stand side-by-side and yet we are so far apart. Then

---

55 See S. Żeromski, *Dziennik z wiosny 1891 roku*, edited by Z.J. Adamczyk, Z. Goliński, Kielce 2000, p. 35, note from 21 IV 1981.

56 See *Relacja Romana Dmowskiego o Lidze Narodowej*, edited by A. Garlicki, *Przegląd Historyczny*, 57, 1966, vol. 3, p. 418. According to Krzywicki, the duel described above between the Marxists and the 'populists' at Kazimierz Świądki's flat was the only time that he encountered Dmowski personally. See L. Krzywicki, *Wspomnienia...*, vol. 3, p. 92. See H. Holland, *Ludwik Krzywicki – nieznanym*, Warsaw 2007, pp. 108–112.

there are their platitudes – my, what platitudes which choke and torment me! The “proletariat” – the engine of the movement to regenerate the world, the “materialist conception of history” as a philosophical system etc. Centres of resistance, strikes, as well as awakening and excoriating *petty bourgeois* middle-class attitudes show me how pitiful my system of dreams is. The worst is when they convert me to cosmopolitanism [...]. Can the needs of one’s belly, which require German, French, Dutch, English etc. fists, clenched together, to fill with food, can they thwart you, in your soul an impoverished man, who was born here, who has suffered here and who has loved a woman? They must, for thus it is written, in this tone and from the top of the page.<sup>57</sup> There was a great deal of youthful exaltation in these fatalistic ‘patriot’ attitudes. But Żeromski’s notes also reflect a genuine powerlessness in the face of the allure of Marxist formulae: the clear-cut, as well as rational, solutions that scientific socialism was offering. Dmowski, when submitting his article to *Głos*, attempted to throw down a challenge to this fashion for Marx that was so popular in radical circles.

However, his attack was specific. It linked two important themes that were to be significant for his later writing: ideology and biological determinism. From the outset, his piece was very firmly situated in an antisemitic and even racist perspective.

The article breaks down into two parts. The first represents the quintessence of the ‘patriot’ view of international socialism, while in the second the *Głos* contributor presents the sources of Marxism’s popularity among the intelligentsia. At the outset the article’s writer falls back on a concept that was popular in ‘patriotic’ circles. Any thought, doctrine, or idea, suggests Dmowski, must be rooted in a given social reality. If borrowed from foreign, inappropriate sources and if grafted onto unsuitable soil – he claimed – it will lead to consequences different from those intended. The ‘most dreadful oddities’ sprout in such soil.<sup>58</sup> Although not everything was spelled out in the article and the reader did not always find there concepts like socialism, internationalism, or the people, the home-grown Polish Marxists were indeed put in the dock. The *idée fixe*, which made ‘fanatics – people with bees in their bonnets’ of young radicals, was ‘international socialism’. What is important for matters to come, Dmowski did not question the scientific version of socialism’s social aspirations, but attacked it for its universalizing method of perceiving reality.

---

57 S. Żeromski, *Dzienniki*, vol. 3: 1888–1891, Warsaw 1954, p. 201.

58 R. Skrzycki, *Idea w ponowierce’...*, p. 86.

Dmowski accused Marx's followers of having deformed their champion's ideas by not adapting them to local conditions. He would write: 'Some thinker came up with a big idea [...] shall we say in German. Someone undertakes to act as an intermediary in grafting it onto Polish soil, and does this with intentions as good as his understanding of the thing is inept. A poor idea, going through a head whose dimensions are cramped and walls are hard, emerges from it bruised and bleeding, looking like some dreadful creature. What is more – various items have been grafted onto it, ones with which it never had anything in common.'

'Who could have imagined,' he opined further 'that in the name of the economic liberation of the disinherited we can despise desires to create for a certain group of people having similar spiritual interests, conditions in which the normal development of civilisation would be possible. Who could have believed that in the name of the economic improvement of the people, one could disregard the development of the type of culture by which this people lives. Which sensible person will not snort with laughter at the statement that simple concern for the interests of those who have been harmed economically is a progressive desire, that reactionary attitudes are a defence of interests which harm others?' Let us here make a lengthy digression in order to convey the climate of this dispute.

Just as in the earlier dispute of the 'Głos-ites' with Krzywicki, it was not the idea of the liberation of the people that was the subject of controversy, but one of how to carry it out effectively. The 'illusion' of pre-Marxist democrats, as Krzywicki pointed out, was an exaggerated faith in the vitality of the rural population. In turn, the editors of *Głos* with no less determined meticulousness pointed to their champion's heated doctrinaire discussion of restricting the 'people' to only the urban proletariat.

Could this difference in the definition of 'the people' be captured unambiguously? Could, as Krzywicki and with him the home-grown Polish Marxists claimed, the term 'people' be used to define the urban or industrial proletariat, given that the peasantry as a social class was doomed? Or was the people simply 'the community of the working classes', as Popławski wrote in his time?

In *Głos* circles it took a long time to come up with a definition of the people. Aleksander Więckowski, a rabid opponent of Krzywicki and, in the general opinion of memoirists, one of the greatest intellects on the editorial board, eventually succeeded in defining *Głos's credo*. In a long article published over several issues he eventually established that the people means 'various social groups such as factory workers, agricultural labourers, craftsmen, minor rural landowners', in the lead alongside the 'international proletariat'. Więckowski then added that all those who work and create 'material value' belong to the people. Furthermore, the people are all those who obtain their means for survival from work.



It would appear that these polemicists were splitting hairs. But there was a method to this heated discussion: let us repeat – the crux of the argument was not the people per se, but the method, the technique, the way of its social, and by extension political, emancipation.

Equally worthy of note, as a cause of the dispute, was the style used in these opinions. A contributor to *Prawda* was listed here as a reactionary, but as a special type of reactionary. His views, in the opinion of writers to *Głos*, took the discussion back to the level of earlier, pre-idealist times – quite bluntly, to an ideology rejected by the liberal system’s whole radical grouping. ‘A noble ideal!’ contemptuously spat Józef Hłasko, reproaching a writer in *Prawda* for a return to ‘bourgeois “laissez-faire”’ and resorting to violence when applying the law to workers.<sup>59</sup> The regressive move, which Krzywicki had supposedly taken, was then a betrayal of ideals. As a columnist in *Głos* opined elsewhere, liberalism was the antithesis of socialism.<sup>60</sup>

Was Krzywicki still a real socialist, the ‘Głos-ites’ wondered? Over time these accusations and insults became more sophisticated. Krzywicki was a representative, the afore-mentioned Więckowski wrote, of ‘bourgeois neo-Toryism of the first water’, while his capitalist views were simply covered by socialist ‘silver-plating’ and socio-scientific verbiage.<sup>61</sup> The ‘false radicalism’ pursued by the *Prawda* contributor, the ‘radical Jowialski’, was meant – in addition to making ‘bourgeois wisdom’ absurd – to revile actively ‘the people’s poverty and cultural backwardness’. Więckowski then added that Krzywicki’s ‘historical fatalism’ was also a symptom of an ideological betrayal, ‘a horrid ventriloquism’ through which bourgeois philosophy shows through. It was Popławski who most clearly articulated the belief that the followers of Marxism and other ‘scientific methods’ had lost their ideals, devoting a lengthy leading article to the issue.<sup>62</sup> In his view, the ‘materialist understanding of history’ presented by Krzywicki, a ‘far from scientific method’, had become a shelter for a narrow doctrine and mental conservatism. The new idealism postulated was now going through its first baptism of fire in *Głos*.

Anyone who believes that Krzywicki had come out ahead in this press battle, even in his own camp, is mistaken. For many socialists of the ‘idealistic’ generation

---

59 J.H. Siemienicki [J. Hłasko], ‘Rachunek bieżący, II’, *Głos*, 10 (22) III 1890, no. 12, pp. 142–143.

60 [J.K. Potocki], ‘Bez obłudy’, *Głos*, 27 I (8 II) 1890, no. 6, pp. 67–68.

61 A. Więckowski, ‘Lud w programach demokratycznych V’, *Głos*, 21 VII (2 VIII) 1890, no. 24, pp. 370–371.

62 J.L. Popławski, ‘Bezwydnie wsteczniczy’, *Głos*, 14 (26) IV 1890, no. 17, pp. 199–200.

his arguments already sounded dry and mechanistic. Let us call on representative voices from the two rival camps. Feliks Perl, linked with 'Proletariat II', would write later: 'The weakness of Krzywicki's articles, as with our 'legal' Marxism in general, was how abstract our ideas were, their excessive dogmatism and finally, the one-sidedness of a purely economic treatment of things, in isolation from political and national relations.'<sup>63</sup>

In turn, Stanisław Grabski, one of the Union of Polish Workers' ideologues, referred to his contacts with the author of *Złudzenia demokratyczne* as follows: 'For me personally Krzywicki was not appealing. In my view he was too cold, too dry, and exclusively logical. I was driven above all by emotional motives. I also had an incurable tendency to weigh critically every doctrine.'<sup>64</sup>

A letter from Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz, a self-study-group man from Radom and later Kielce, a declared 'internationalist' who, following the debate carefully, reported on it to his fiancée, can also speak volumes: 'Since I haven't had a *Głos* for a week now, I formally miss it; I state with complete objectivity that if one side has crumbled in this polemic with *Prawda*, then it in no way is *Głos*, which has brought the thing to a close with some fine articles, such as Aleksander Więckowski's *Lud w programach demokratycznych* (*The People in Democratic Policies*), where he has clearly proved how the supposed radical Krzywicki is in error. In truth I haven't liked Siemieniecki's personal attacks on Krzywicki, but if someone like Krzywicki claims that he comes 'armed' with 'all current knowledge', then he is likely to upset people, who also believe that they have some education [...]. I value *Prawda* highly, but I feel that it's getting a little old. *Prawda* is 'Sulla' and *Głos* 'Pompey'; *Głos*'s rising star must win.'<sup>65</sup> Meanwhile the schoolboy Kelles-Krauz (together with Władysław Bukinowski) was leading an 'idealistic-patriotic' revolt against another Radom self-study group – the so-called *Kombinacja* (led by Władysław Goździkowski – later an eminent PPS personality), which was accused of 'narrow' and 'doctrinaire' materialism and an attachment to positivism. Later, as we know, Kelles-Krauz somewhat modified his views, becoming an influential 'internationalist.'

Let us, however, return to Dmowski's article. It appears that the author of *Idea w poniewierce* was more interested in the mechanics of Marxism's popularity than in the emancipation of the people. This article, apart from a certain ideological

---

63 F. Perl (Res), *Dzieje ruchu socjalistycznego...*, p. 242.

64 S. Grabski, *Pamiętniki*, vol. 1, prepared for publication by W. Stankiewicz, Warsaw 1989, p. 34.

65 K. Kelles-Krauz, *Listy*, vol. 1: 1890–1897, F. Tych (ed.), Wrocław 1984, p. 57, to Maria Goldsteyn in Radom, Wilno, 7 XI 1890.

interpretation, was above all a heated polemic with socialism. Dmowski dealt unceremoniously with the spokesmen of other intellectual constructs. He wrote: 'As a result of this, policies are developed based on a misunderstanding of social conditions, of society, and these conditions can prevent the implementation of such policies and then their representatives will imagine that they have discovered the philosopher's stone, when in fact they have discovered nothing and their brain has simply turned to stone.'<sup>66</sup>

Then what, according to the author of *Idea*, turned enthusiasts' hearts to stone, angry young things into parasites in their native society, social thoughts into a 'modern form of obscurantism' and condemned the main big idea to a life of poverty? What was the aetiology of this illness? Dmowski's reply was symptomatic, as when the leader of the Warsaw ZET group was able to link the old 'patriotic' motives, already known from all the rhetoric, with elements whose smithy were now becoming the columns of the Warsaw paper. Old ideas did not at all mean outdated ideas. The argument of love of one's country, but then betrayal of one's fellow countrymen's interests, disowning one's compatriots – this continued to be a poisoned dart in radical circles. At this time, at the high point of student disputes, a socialist sympathizer, Artur Gliszczyński, fired such a dart at his rivals. In a tendentious, but thus typical, little poem he wrote:

There is a great metamorphosis  
In this beloved land:  
It's not the Moscow lodge that oppresses the people  
But the capitalist's exploitation that sucks its blood...

And yet again the millions will toil  
That the lord might have gold and sweetmeats on his table,  
And yet again in a free Poland  
The people will shed tears...  
Oh, you patriots.<sup>67</sup>

Joining the 'patriots' camp meant one thing in the socialists' view: betrayal of the people's interests, thundered to the end of the 1880s the émigré, socialist newspaper *Walka Klas* (Class struggle), which was influential in radical circles. Did this also mean a betrayal of ideals? The leader of the émigré socialists, Stanisław

---

66 R. Skrzycki, *Idea w poniewierce...*, p. 86.

67 [A. Gliszczyński], 'Naszym patriotom', in *Wybór poezji dla robotników*, Warsaw 1891, pp. 18–19. See too F. Perl (Res), *Dzieje ruchu socjalistycznego...*, p. 351. He was the one, at the time an active 'internationalist', who identified the name of this poem's anonymous author.

Mendelson, busied himself explaining to the domestic working class the historical meaning of the Third of May. From one of his pamphlets one could learn that the only way to shed the weight of the past, 'the bloody divinity of our fate, would be to take a new path [...] onward with mankind's historical development.'<sup>68</sup> More radical were the Galician socialists, who believed that the Third-of-May Constitution had simply been 'a small step forward', and who opposed the 'present to the ghosts of the past.'<sup>69</sup> The 'patriots' gave their opponents as good as they got. This atmosphere of feverish 'patriotic/international' antagonism, of rivalry for control over the souls of the young can be clearly seen in Dmowski's article.

However, it is not this exchange of kisses of death between the 'patriots' and the 'internationalists', richly evident above all on the pages of the émigré press, which deserves our attention here. We shall see this rhetorical ritual more than once. What seem more to the point are the innovative elements in a piece by the leader of the Warsaw ZET group. They can be seen in his analysis of the roots of this 'doctrinal constriction', as Dmowski called Marxism.

Dmowski detected the very earliest reasons for Marxism's popularity in three sources. Firstly, he held that it was the outcome of abnormal conditions in public life. As we know from other sources, he saw as an example of this the presence of the Russians in Poland and their terrible influence there, if only in the effect of Russian schooling. Furthermore, he argued, there will always be 'blockheads' who are unable to grasp more than one idea. Abnormal conditions also attracted all manner of social deviants to the movement. This anthropological interjection was eloquent, given that it kept appearing in the writer's works in his attempts to explain the genesis of home-grown, Polish socialism. According to the description he presented, socialists were anthropological types taken from the works of Cesare Lombroso. This type of individual, he went on to say, introduces barbarous elements into even the most ethical social movement.

Yet it was not these warped, and in their own way depraved individuals who appeared to form the crux of the matter for the young writer. In his view, these cases represented barely a fraction of the whole in this constellation of 'the infected'. He went on to elaborate: 'Even worse [...] when among the intelligentsia of a given society there is a certain number of people who on the face of it represent a section of it but who in reality, on account of racial/cultural differences, differ so greatly in intellectual/moral terms from the rest that it is impossible to

---

68 [S. Mendelson], *Sto lat temu*, Kraków 1891, p. 77.

69 *Święto majowe a partia robotnicza. Głos z Galicji*, Kraków 1891, p. 5. '„Antypatriotyczną” retorykę ówczesnych socjalistów z obchodów rocznicy Konstytucji 3 maja omawia F. Perl (Res)', *Dzieje ruchu socjalistycznego...*, pp. 373–378.

contend that they have any civilizational interests in common [...]. A life raft for them will be to latch onto some social current where they can reach some position allowing them to convince themselves and others that they are above this society's every intellectual and civilizational interest. This is perhaps the most important reason for the disfigurement with us of certain trends [...] and the hardest cause to remove.<sup>70</sup>

Among the 'internationalists' reviled by Dmowski there was only a single significant 'racial/cultural' element: the Jewish one. It was exactly in the organic, hence lasting, contrast of two mutually alien racial/cultural elements that Dmowski sought the essence of the problem. Those two elements were not to mingle, since in the event of such a combination one would lead to the deformation of the other. This line of thought, invoking the then fashionable idea of anthropology, was not, however, expressed in so many words. Dmowski declared himself against vulgar determinism. 'Anthropological factors,' he averred, 'are simply soil which is conducive to the development of what we have called 'ideological cannibalism' [...] however, social conditions will decide which way this impulse will go and which idea will be gobbled up.' Dmowski did not focus his attention on social conditions. His whole accusation's internal logic concentrated on these 'alien elements'. It was to them after all that the writer attributed the 'defilement' of elevated ideas.

There was one more significant element in Dmowski's text. The dispute he was having with the home-grown Polish Marxists had a moral, not just a political or tactical resonance. He felt the basic harmfulness of mingling 'elements' to be indisputable and that there was no need to have a parting of the ways over it. He therefore did not take into consideration any additional arguments on behalf of his own approach, which after all was atypical for radical circles. He wrote perfunctorily about intangible or subtle processes, inaccessible or incomprehensible to 'minds modified in this way'. He went on somewhat vaguely – which fact is rather striking, given the rest of the piece's clarity – that a 'complete understanding' of this 'cultural type' (a concept he kept using with pleasure) was out of the question. He maintained that everyone who did not understand this was either lost in self-deception, or simply cynically cocky, or else, and this was the most serious accusation, had lost that moral instinct which is essential in order to function properly in society.

He saw in these same activists, who were 'unable to understand, or to feel' familiarity, the worst sort of 'alien element'. 'I revile only inhumane people,' he wrote with mounting passion, 'people who lie and who, spitting on the interests of their own race strive to protect the civilizing development of another society,

---

70 R. Skrzycki, *Idea w powiewierce...*, p. 88.

and then call themselves friends of mankind. They are cannibals in whom religious fervour is fuelled by an appetite for human meat [...]. The idea is to ride over others using some footling political programme, whose hideousness would offend even the noblest side of human nature [...] so that they can later say: we have nothing in common with this nasty society, which rejects us.'

This neurotic drive, which was urging 'alien elements' towards a curious infiltration of society, was completely false. The entry of representatives of a separate racial element into an alien society remained an iconoclastic gesture, hence a truly hostile act against society; an act which would lead to a natural defensive reaction. Undermining the rules of this natural selection was thus a reckless act, devoid of imagination, if not one of plain stupidity. Dmowski wrote: 'It's not an issue of principle here, but sport. Yes, sport!' Under this smokescreen lay another, more serious, charge. Since exploitation of socialism by 'alien elements' seeking in it paths to liberating society was false, then perhaps liberation thus understood was only an illusion?

In addition to presenting the alleged sources of socialism's popularity, *Idea* was above all a reckoning with Warsaw positivism. The writer made this current responsible for the afore-mentioned state of affairs. This 'fashionable mental illness', rationalistic inspection of reality, based on copying the mechanical rules of public life – albeit ones ill-adapted to home-grown Polish rules and principles – led to these, in his view, lamentable pipedreams. Here the elemental idealism of the young was juxtaposed with dry and ruthless rationality, soulless materialism. Full of optimism, Dmowski looked to the future recognizing that what remained of 'deceased Warsaw positivism' would not last long. The battle of narrow doctrinaire rationalism with 'feelings' would not amount to much, he stated in conclusion.

In truth it is hard to judge to what extent this philippic published on the pages of *Głos* represented the views of 'patriotic' youth of the day, or to what extent it was simply proof of the writer's convictions and those of part of the young people of Warsaw, in particular the Warsaw ZET group. There is much to suggest that there was not (even then) any moral permission to articulate loudly certain views – especially those of an unambiguously antisemitic tone – in 'patriotic' circles. Using racial/anthropological arguments in an environment in which there were many assimilated Jews must have been shocking. In May 1889, when articles which were clearly antisemitic in outlook began to appear in *Głos*, the émigré *Pobudka*, a publication officially recommended to the ZET brotherhood as reading material, uncompromisingly condemned such excesses.<sup>71</sup> Three years

---

71 See 'Z pod trzech zaborów', *Pobudka*, May 1889, no. 5, pp. 25–26.

later, a lengthy disquisition appeared in the same publication ridiculing Cesare Lombroso's views and those of the then-fashionable anthropological schools.<sup>72</sup>

On the other hand, it will surely not be out of place to mention here that Dmowski's article written using allusions, also out of concern for the censorship, did not depart greatly from radical rhetoric imbued with naturalist style. Many readers of *Głos* would have found it to their taste. Żeromski, 'the patriot', personally thanked Dmowski in 'the name of the nation' for *Idea*.<sup>73</sup>

The Żeromski case well illustrates the dilemmas of 'patriotic' youth faced with the issue of 'importing' an idea. As did many of his contemporaries, the young man from Kielce, reacted with exaggerated sensitivity to his traditional 'emotional' patriotism coming into contact with a cohesive system, such as he saw socialism to be. Among many 'patriots', especially those of a conservative bent, dislike of cosmopolitanism often turned into virulent antisemitism. In the 1890s these resentments constantly sought a suitable political outlet. Some of these 'patriotic' young activists were among Jan Jeleński's supporters. The ambitious man from Kielce, the 'red patriot', as he wrote about himself, was put off by the views of *Rola* not so much because of its negative attitude towards the Jews, as by the blunt and unceremonious way the 'Rola-ites' presented their views. It was clear to many people at the time that Jeleński, stopping at nothing in his attacks on the Jews, was making money out of antisemitism. The 'internationalist' Stanisław Grabski recalled: 'Jeleński was for us the embodiment of some dreadful backwardness.'<sup>74</sup>

At the time there was no way to reconcile this with Żeromski's views. He noted in one of his journals: 'My desk is covered in various piles of newspapers and journals [...] Am reading Schöffle [Albert Schaffle, the author of *Die Quintessenz des Sozialismus*] – a popular presentation of socialist ideas] and [...] H. Rzewuski's *Listopad* (November), as well as *Prawda* and *Rola*. When I read this last journal, I feel that I am eating raw potatoes. What a fool that Jeleński is, and a blackguard to boot. He's even stupider than Father [Teofil] Jagodziński [the editor and publisher of *Przegląd Katolicki*]. He also writes "zhańbić" with "ch": i.e. "schańbić".'<sup>75</sup>

---

72 See Remigiusz, 'Zbrodnia polityczna I', *Pobudka*, November-December 1892, nos. 11–12; id., 'Zbrodnia polityczna II', *Pobudka*, March 1893, no. 3; id., 'Zbrodnia polityczna III', *Pobudka*, May-June 1893, nos. 5–6.

73 See S. Żeromski, *Dziennik z wiosny 1891...*, p. 44.

74 S. Grabski, *Pamiętniki...*, p. 49.

75 S. Żeromski, *Dzienniki...*, vol. 3, p. 330, 27 III 1889. 'Zhańbić' is the correct spelling of the verb meaning 'to shame'. Translator's note.

Not much is known about the self-study group that the founder of *Rola* was running. Żeromski in his *Dzienniki* mentioned a 'little Terespol school' (Jeleński was at the time an employee of the Terespol Railway and also ran a network of free libraries) which his friend, the conservative 'patriot' Jan Nowiński, a Kielce man too, frequented. Żeromski described him as a dreamer, a poet, a refined aesthete and anglophile and he presented his antisemitic attitude as a revolt against assimilation, which was supposedly destroying true ideals. We can assume that Nowiński was one of those young 'patriots', who strengthened the 'nationalist' faction led by Roman Dmowski. Żeromski noted in his *Dziennik*: 'Nowiński – an ideologue, a dreamer, an antisemite and an aristocrat. I sometimes turn to him for clarity when I morally get my hands dirty, I drink virtue in his company – but it wears me out as a man and a sociologist. I worship in Nowiński the purity of youth.'<sup>76</sup> Among conservative 'patriots' antisemitism was a key matrix of their thinking.

Nor was the young Żeromski completely free of these anti-Jewish attitudes right until the second half of the 1890s. His private notes are filled with this type of remark and commentary. He wrote in his *Dziennik* of his employers, the assimilated Józefowicz family, that they embodied pure materialism. He accused friends who had disappointed him of 'going Jewish'. In his private notes he recorded about his university friend Leopold Blumenthal (Leo Belmont) that he was: 'A special Jew: a poet, a dreamer, a novelist.'<sup>77</sup> In a letter to his fiancée Oktawia Rodkiewicz he perfunctorily mentioned Benjamin Lilienstern (N.B. a supporter of the National Democrats until the late 90s, one of Piłsudski legionaries and Warsaw's deputy chief of police in independent Poland): 'He's a very good and fine fellow, the only little Jew who doesn't offend me.'<sup>78</sup> One could quote such comments endlessly. Yet Żeromski, although fascinated by the natural sciences like many of his contemporaries and not free from a naturalist approach in his depiction of social phenomena, did not go on to give his views on assimilation and national issues such a biological or purely racist character.

This dilemma between on the one hand fear of an invasion of alien ideals, above all cosmopolitanism symbolized by the 'internationalists' and personified by Poles of Jewish descent, and a conviction that antisemitism was concentrated hatred and hostility at odds with a sense of justice and human equality, was strongly portrayed in Żeromski's story *Oko za oko*, published in *Głos* in 1893.

---

76 S. Żeromski, *Dzienniki*, vol. 2: 1886–1887, Warsaw 1954, p. 102, 5 VI 1886.

77 Ibid, 7 III 1886, p. 158.

78 S. Żeromski, *Listy, 1884–1892*, edited by Z.J. Adamczyk, Warsaw 2001, p. 183.



Nonetheless, this second, 'humanitarian' approach, as the writer himself called it, was still depicted somewhat abstractly.

In the construction of the character of Adam Wawelski, the story's protagonist, Żeromski uses a number of the clichés which some of the 'patriots' accepted in the question of Jewish assimilation and which were soon also picked up by nationalistic ideology. It cannot be excluded that most of them were close to the writer's heart at that time. It is worth focusing on the main protagonist's sociological characteristics. Wawelski is an affluent law student, who returns to the provinces. His father Józef, a Jewish convert to Catholicism, runs a soap factory and shop and is – no need to belabour the point – nouveau riche incarnate. Żeromski draws his picture very maliciously. He does not spare us remarks about 'plutocratic convictions' nor various minor, but unpleasant Wawelski family afflictions. Hence young Wawelski is indeed his parents' son and also embodies all the stereotypical traits of a wealthy neophyte, which Żeromski could not stand. Adam is a fanatical social democrat, judging the whole of reality in terms of his own 'convictions'. This is how Żeromski describes him: 'Suddenly rays of far-sighted humanism broke into the world and formed in Wawelski's mind a telltale love, more artistic than scientific, for the names and images of misery, with which once again the wreath of "convictions" was plaited, providing its owner with an inexhaustible subject for conversation, argument, debate and exposition. There naturally now appeared a revulsion at "compromise" [...]. With alarming obviousness Adaś would expound in the drawing rooms to the wealthy and indignant to the nth degree ex-Jews what and when would become of this or that social class [...]. It should be acknowledged that he was extremely consistent in these views of his [...]. He knew and he wanted to know positive facts, causes and effects – he did not acknowledge any "vague dreams" or anything connected with them because he did not understand them, and so he did not believe it appropriate to refrain from sneering at them should that appear necessary.'<sup>79</sup>

Wawelski encounters hostility and rejection on the part of society, but he himself does not fit into this Polish world. After initial utopian initiations he becomes, like many of his contemporaries, a philistine: 'Adaś himself had attained the philosophical certainty that "life is not a romantic novel" and that he

---

79 S. Żeromski, *Oko za oko*, in id., *Wybór opowiadań*, prepared by A. Hutnikiewicz, Wrocław 2003, p. 144. On the nuances of the creation of this story see too B. Burdziej, 'Więcej Żyda niż jakiegoś tam Hamleta. „Temat [...] ohydnie trudny” w opowiadaniu „Oko za oko” (1892) Stefana Żeromskiego', in *Klucze do Żeromskiego...*, pp. 27–54. The author of this piece writes about Żeromski's direct anti-Jewish obsession, *Ibid*, pp. 32–33.

needed to find a rich wife in a hurry.' Who knows if Wawelski did not turn out to be a greater philistine than Piotr Obarecki or other Polish idealists. He lacked some kind of organic moral element, which meant that he experienced reality in corporeal and not spiritual terms. An eminent Żeromski specialist writes: "This young man's erotic experiences rivet attention as an analytical study of an altogether unique, and ever so perceptively illuminated type and category of love – animal love, both egoistic and hysterical, which becomes real, authentic suffering; when it encounters obstacles, after having achieved its goal, it easily changes into a state of boredom and satiation, and turns into hatred and vindictiveness when it is exposed and called by its real name."<sup>80</sup>

Żeromski did not give unambiguous answers as to whether these processes of mingling ethnic elements were socially valuable or not, although he was surely not indifferent to this dilemma and his protagonists continually wrestled with these questions. Świerkowski, a squire and local antisemite states: 'I would be happy with all my heart and soul to get rid of the Jews completely, but who I am going to let this garden to?' But he states elsewhere: "Give me a peasant who could replace a Jew, who would actually produce an income and give me as much as a Jew does. [...] Listen, Mister!' he suddenly shouted, 'if we don't become Jews ourselves – Jews, Mister – then I'd wager my right hand that we won't defeat these bloodsuckers!'. The narrator writes about Zofia, his wife with whom Wawelski has had an affair: 'Zofia was equally delighted by her success, although she was unable to accept, to decide internally to fraternize morally and on a family level with the handsome convert. No noble prejudices held her back [...] but she was unable to overcome a secret and inexplicable feeling of truly feminine dislike. She could see children, innocent creatures who come into the world, Wanda's children [...]. What if they developed hooked noses and protruding ears? Adam is a beautiful lad and there is not a trace of Jewishness in his face, in his whole person, in his speech, or even in his character, but those children, those children.'

Was the young Żeromski straying far from what Dmowski had written in his 1891 article? If not, then the boundary between these two ways of thinking was very fluid.

Incidentally, the views expressed by R. Skrzycki were simply a naturalized version of the accusations that had earlier been levelled at home-grown Polish progressives. It is no exaggeration to acknowledge that this mechanism of accusation returned with every ideological crisis. In the 1870s, critics from conservative papers had made similar accusations against the Warsaw positivists. They had been

---

80 A. Hutnikiewicz, *Wstęp*, in S. Żeromski, *Wybór opowiadań...*, p. LXVI.

chided for 'roughing up the Polish spirit' and questioning everything Polish. For instance, a well-known writer wrote: 'Negation and criticism have completely taken over the so-called progressive party. One's own innards are shaken up, one is ruthless towards memories of the past, even in poetry, stripping them of all ideals and cover, and this in the name of usefulness and a lesson for the future for which however no ideals, save the utilitarian-mercantile, have been postulated.'<sup>81</sup> The conservatives had used the same weapon against the first socialists.

There was a further point: certain revolutionaries, such as Józef Tokarzewicz (later the conservative writer who wrote under the pseudonym Hodi) used a similar line of argument, accusing the positivists of grafting onto native soil bourgeois ideals, hence ones foreign to the native spirit. As early as the 1880s strong naturalist themes appeared in these accusations. In the lead here was the antisemitic *Rola* with its eloquent publicists Jan Jeleński and Teodor Jeske-Choiński, who conducted a press campaign under the lofty banner 'struggles for existence'. The 'young conservatives', as they described themselves, unambiguously linked the lowering of social ideals to the influence of 'Jewish cosmopolitanism' and the invasion of alien elements. This group, gathered around *Rola* and *Niwa*, which had been taken over from the Warsaw positivists, was in many ways pioneering and introduced a number of new, or perhaps merely refreshed themes into public debate. Firstly, the introduction of an idea does not have to have an exclusively negative connotation; ideas need to be selectively chosen. Secondly, progress itself takes many forms; it is possible to distinguish negative progress and then progress that is beneficial for the local population (with whom the 'young conservatives' identified), i.e. positive progress. The Jews usually turned out to be the carriers of negative progress. Thirdly, in formulating such arguments these publicists employed a new type of persuasive style. As an expert on the subject maintains, it was not very different from twentieth-century propaganda.<sup>82</sup>

What was new here? More the method than the substance. A worldview based on natural science reasoning, although not always racist arguments, sharpened the conclusions which predecessors had reached. However, racism now dotted

---

81 J. Łapicki, 'Dzieło sztuki pod skalpelem pozytywisty', *Niwa*, 2, 1884, p. 82, quotation taken from B. Skarga, 'Czy pozytywizm jest kierunkiem antynarodowym', in *Swojskość i cudzoziemszczyzna w dziejach kultury polskiej*, Z. Stefanowska (ed.), Warsaw 1973, p. 288. See M.J. Olszewska, 'Teodora Jeske-Choińskiego koncepcja idealnego państwa', in *Etyka i polityka. Seminarium „Etyka i polityka: wybrane problemy”*, Kraków 16 I 1998, E. Nowicka-Włodarczyk (ed.), Kraków 1998, pp. 199–222.

82 M. Pąckiński, *Konserwatyzm na rozdrożu...*, p. 145.

the 'i', extending the argument à outrance: assimilation of the two elements was impossible, since it led to extinction.

Dmowski's textbook article should therefore also be seen in the broader context of the age. The racist method of social analysis, although outside the mainstream of thought, was not rare. This extremely biologicalist approach was appearing in other societies, as well. The best known, as it led to ideological confrontations, was the case of the Transylvanian writer, translator, publisher, and ideologue, Aurel Popovici. The first known racist manifesto, the so-called *Replică*, of which Popovici was co-author, appeared in 1891. *Replică*, as scholars emphasize, referred to the battle of racial elements (Hungarians and non-Magyar peoples) as the main principle ruling inter-ethnic relations.<sup>83</sup>

In this context we should observe the development of the worldview of the author of *Idea w poniewierce*. His access to the 'idealistic revolt', the search for 'new ideas' postulated by Jan Ludwik Popławski, meant on the one hand belief in the strength of an idea and a consciousness of moulding social reality, and on the other an anchoring of thinking in a naturalist framework. Furthermore, the ethnic dislikes and resentments which Dmowski had already been articulating while at school gained here a new, although not yet fully explicit scientific seal of approval. The revolt against 'narrow' materialism, this 'modern obscurantism' which leads to a cooling off of 'feelings' and hence to various 'tions' and 'isms', was bound to lead to a brutal clash with the Marxists. They were the ones to use the most developed new formula of cosmopolitanism, which was so disgusting to the young columnist and other 'patriots'. However, Dmowski was writing his charge sheet *de facto* against the Jews.

For the sake of accuracy we should add that Dmowski in his paper did not ascribe any demonic features to these 'racial/cultural elements'. In fact he recognized that their entrée to socialism was in its way morally justified. After all, he

---

83 See K. Hitchins, 'The Romanian question in Hungary. Aurel C. Popovici and Replică', *Die österreichische Osthefte*, vol. 14, 1972, no. 3, p. 285 and note. See too M. Turda, 'The Magyars: A Ruling Race': The Idea of National Superiority in Fin-de-Siècle Hungary', *European Review of History*, vol. 10, spring 2003, no. 1, pp. 5–33; id., 'Aurel C. Popovici and the symbolic geography of the Romanians in the late Habsburg Empire', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, vol. 36, January–June 1997, no. 1–2, pp. 97–121; L. Gui, N. Bocşan, 'L'idée de nation et le principe des nationalités chez A.C. Popovici', *Transylvanian Review*, vol. 6, winter 1997, no. 4, pp. 62–74; V. Neumann, 'Federalism and Nationalism in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy: Aurel Popovici's Theory', *East European Politics and Society*, vol. 16, 2003, no. 3, pp. 864–897.

maintained, they want to free themselves from the iron grip of religious anachronism. Justification, he continued, could not, however, mean agreement with the assimilationist illusion, let alone acceptance of its treatments. A moral explanation did not after all change the overtones of supposedly hard facts, of negative natural selection.

In Dmowski's view, the problem was right there, in the project of bringing to life something which was by its very nature an impossibility, and which also had the hallmarks of inauthenticity and even perversion. Such a mechanical mingling of different 'elements' could lead, in the opinion of the young 'patriot', to the destruction of the social order – in the very first instance to the growth in society of social parasites detached from the community. The development of something like this could never meet with agreement.

In this telling statement Dmowski provided a readable account of several of the basic ideological strands of his future political writing. In the first instance we have to single out a radical opposition to Marxism as a form of scientific utopia. This protest expressed itself most strongly in textbook idealism, i.e. a conviction that ideas, big ideas – and not rationalist formulae – decide about humankind's progress and historical development. This idealism showing through the text was also strongly augmented by biologism taken from positivist reading, in other words a conviction that the laws of nature are an immutable and hence integral part of the individual's public functioning in society.

Furthermore, Dmowski convincingly argued that these laws are more or less insurmountable: indeed, breaking them would no doubt cause disruption leading to a destabilization of the moral and public order. The most significant issue from the point of view of the treatise's internal logic was disrupting the basic law not to comingle different ethnic groups, i.e. based on his terminology, 'racial/cultural elements'. Dmowski pilloried 'alien racial/cultural' groups, which were trying to undermine this otherwise durable natural order. Their efforts and interventions – he argued – remaining in essence artificial and ineffectual, and had a terrible effect on the operation of the society in which they appeared. They led to moral collapse and extinction. This clear, accusatory statement, although without any clear references, left no illusions as to its target.

It seems that this scathing, yet effectively written polemic with the 'internationalists' succeeded for the young 'patriot' in opening the doors to the pages of *Głos*. Although the Third-of-May parade laid on by the Warsaw ZET group turned out to be a failure, Dmowski's pronouncements were nonetheless acknowledged by the paper's editorial board.

Dmowski's next contribution to *Głos* dealt with other issues. An article entitled *Z młodego parnasu* (*From Young Parnassus*), which appeared barely a fortnight

after *Idea w poniewierce*, was a example of literary criticism.<sup>84</sup> There is much to indicate that the writer felt comfortable in this liberal-arts atmosphere. The published article was a discussion of the literary work of two up-and-coming poets of the younger generation, generational contemporaries of Dmowski: Franciszek Nowicki and Andrzej Niemojewski. It is worth taking a look at this article, because it also shows what path Dmowski's anti-materialist revolt was taking.

What the 'Głos' columnist liked the most about both young poets' work was in fact its activist element. In the poetry of the Galician Nowicki (someone who became also well-known from the Kraków 'Ognisko' trial) Dmowski perceived a desire for youthful action. He praised *inter alia* the poet's effective grasp of natural phenomena in, for example, monumental mountain scenery, drawing the reader's attention also to the refined language. Refined did not mean decadent. He went on: 'The language of the sonnets [...] in its masculinity resonates beautifully in comparison to the pampered, phoney style of some of our current balladeers.' A poet, like any other creative artist, 'an active creative artist', must still have solid roots in his society; then he creates new value, continued Dmowski in his review.

The critical thread, which appeared in the later stages of the article, referred to both writers' supposed particular hermeticism. This strong anti-Galician current is worth noting; let us recall that for the progressive intelligentsia Galicia was synonymous with decay and decomposition. The editors were always keen to publish anti-Galician philippics. Now Nowicki, Dmowski claimed: 'Has strength, has temperament, but the writer is too provincial a poet, too much of a Galician and hence waves which could roll in deeper waters, roar across the muddy Galician pond.' Hence the advice proffered to the poet by the columnist: 'To move ahead, not sparing a glance for those who are helpless [...] not to confine himself to the Galician 'pond' [even though] there are noble objects in Galicia, such as the Tatra mountains.'

Dmowski also perceived a great many worthwhile features in the work of the second poet, whom however he treated rather more cursorily. However, he noted haste, poor finishing-work, and a lesser power of expression than in the other writer, although he praised the melodiousness and fluency of the poet's language. In his summation, not free of critical elements, emphasis of the virtues of both poets' work took first place. Dmowski wrote: 'Both are twenty year-olds with a surplus of vitality, both men's strings emit a sound not from unhealthy nervous

---

84 R. Skrzycki, 'Z młodego parnasu', *Głos*, 23 II (7 III) 1891, no. 10, pp. 112–113. Quotations are taken from this version.

tics, but from innervated waves of youthful blood. Finally we see in both men a return to social themes. There is no depth, no social thought here, no independent analysis of phenomena, but there are noble impulses, brought on by new directions in human thinking.' The critic foresaw that both writers would enjoy great popularity among the youthful intelligentsia. He was not mistaken.

From this short, even at times perfunctory review the outlines of the columnist's ideological *credo* began slowly to emerge. Thus youthful activism was contrasted with the lethargy of the older generation, or of other 'young people' – contemporaries, whose aspirations went no further than middle-class positions as 'Habsburg Empire mayors'. The freshness of the feelings of youth was contrasted to the sluggishness of all the 'old people'; the emphasis on social themes was confronted with the older generation's sclerotic philistinism. 'Where are these reactionary powers?' he inquired cuttingly. 'The older generation are nothing but straw-filled blockheads, propped up with black and yellow sticks to stop them toppling over.' Dmowski contrasted backward Galicia, supposedly so strongly present especially in Nowicki's work, to some vague, implicit idea of a larger community, symbolized by the size and grandeur of the Tatra mountains. Significantly, the columnist did not refer to creative artists to whom he was indifferent. He wrote about his generation, about young people who were ideologically close to him and who were an important subject throughout his writings. The reviewer appeared as the representative of recuperative forces in society. He did not advocate that his contemporaries seek generational dialogue or shabby compromises. He suggested something quite different: 'calling on the older generation to follow the path indicated by the young [...] will achieve nothing, better to fire up the young and move ahead, not sparing a glance for those who can no longer do anything.'

All these voluntaristic tones will sound more strongly in later statements by the young writer.

The years 1891–1892, which for the 'patriots' were a time of gathering their strength and drawing conclusions from their failed effort to rouse people on the anniversary of the Third-of-May Constitution, were for Dmowski a moment when his own views were crystalizing. The ideological rebellion born out of a reaction to the deterministic currents in culture, Marxism in particular, with which he had come into contact while still at secondary school, began to assume a clearer form. A significant stage in this clarification was a series of articles at the beginning of 1892 entitled *Z ekonomii interesów duchowych* (*The Economics of Spiritual Interests*).<sup>85</sup>

---

85 See R. Skrzycki, 'Z ekonomii interesów duchowych I', *Głos*, 1 (13) II 1892, no. 7, pp. 75–76; *id.*, 'Z ekonomii interesów duchowych II', *Głos*, 8 (20) II 1892, no. 8, pp. 86–87; *id.*,

Dmowski was now leading Warsaw's 'patriotic' youth. He had gained respect in younger pro-independence circles and had been noticed by the adults, although formally he was still only a 'senior ZET-ist': a board member of the so-called Warsaw group. Although in June 1891 he completed his university studies, and after a few months left to study in Paris, he kept his finger on the pulse. He was also, it appears, one of the originators of so-called national work. This idea was a link with the project for active defence, developed in its time by Zygmunt Miłkowski.

Let us recall that Miłkowski had suggested that the Russians be prevented from operating publicly on Polish soil. The émigré writer had proposed all kinds of forms of sabotage: from an active boycott of Russians to physical violence, including knifing Russian officials. These ideas were taken up again in the mid-nineties. This time, however, 'national work' in 'patriotic circles' was meant to be an attempt to attract young people away from the temptations of socialism. Years later Dmowski admitted: 'With the exception of barely one or two individuals, the average union member (i.e. ZET member) of the day [...] was a Polish patriot, but at the same time he was afraid of chauvinism [...] he felt the need to justify his own patriotism, "ennoble" it with a connection to socialist ideology [...] at the same time he held to a significant cult of heroism, which he saw exclusively in the ranks of the socialist revolutionaries.'<sup>86</sup> Indeed, among radical youth this motif of sacrifice for the cause, of heroic gestures appeared to play a not inconsequential role in ideological self-identification. The eminent sociologist (and historian of *inter alia* the cultural generation) Karl Mannheim wrote: 'Youth is not by nature either progressive or reactionary, it is a potentiality ready for new action.'<sup>87</sup> This supply of youthful energy and vigour needed to be ably exploited.

In less sophisticated circles, and these always represented an impressive base of 'patriots', the attempt to gain control of young people's souls often boiled down to developing an alternative tactic for stimulating activism. 'National work' could be a remedy for something that was in the air.

In practice, 'national work' achieved little. A boycott of a Russian theatre company appearing in Warsaw and which was organized at the end of 1890 and the start of 1891 had mixed results. The attempt to influence public opinion in

---

'Z ekonomii interesów duchowych III', *Głos*, 15 (27) II 1892, no. 9, pp. 98–100. See too another reading of this series of articles by B.A. Porter, *When Nationalism Began to Hate. Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth-Century Poland*, New York 2000, pp. 180–181.

86 *Relacja Romana Dmowskiego...*, p. 422.

87 Quotation taken from A. Kamiński, *Analiza teoretyczna polskich związków młodzieży do połowy XIX wieku*, Warsaw 1971, p. 89.



connection with the hundredth anniversary of the Third-of-May Constitution ended in failure.

From the autumn of 1891, when the Polish League announced the idea of a boycott of social events in order to remind people of the humiliation of Targowica, [Targowica – a village now in the Province of Lower Silesia where the so-called Confederation of Targowica, as opposed to the Third-of-May Constitution, was established. The word is synonymous with treason in the Polish language. GK] the young ‘patriots’, following the example of the socialist ‘Unionists’ (members of the Union of Polish Workers), or else approving of the direct action of the ‘proletarianites’ who forced businessmen to treat their workers better, began to pay visits to the drawing rooms of wealthy Warsaw families where social rituals were being observed rather too noisily. Stink bombs, and even excrement, were thrown into rooms where there were social gatherings. According to police reports, several merchants paid for their frivolousness with broken windows, and chroniclers reported that the attendance by some elegant ladies at boycotted balls cost them a ruined outfit. Reading the émigré press or the cross-border papers, which meticulously reported this type of happening, shows, however, that the results of these operations were not impressive. Even if there were spectacular incidents which achieved their desired effect, such as the ball at Count August ‘Gucio’ Potocki’s where a coffin was brought in, apparently causing several ladies to become hysterical, people went on enjoying themselves across town. However, of one thing we can be quite sure: in the long run this kind of action was inadequate.

Action should be accompanied by an idea. This lack of a uniform ideology was felt among young ‘patriots’, in circles of élite ZET youth, and in university groups; faced with the coherent vision that Marxism offered, the offering of the ‘patriots’ appeared shallow. Ambitious young people were no longer satisfied whether with views handed down by their fathers or with the positivist generation’s commandments.

Falling back on ‘national work’ was a pragmatic move of the part of the ‘patriots’, in its way perhaps an indispensable one, but it was also highly unsatisfactory. On the face of it Dmowski’s journalism did not provide a direct solution to the ‘patriotic’ dilemmas. He was now writing about literature, the theatre and was still devoting a great deal of attention to studying biology, which was evident even in the style of his writings.

The thoughts on the economics of spiritual interests, which he published in *Głos*, dealt with the issue of the development of civilisation. Dmowski had been in Paris for several months, attending mainly lectures on anthropology and the history of civilization. His confidant, Władysław Jabłonowski, recalled that he had on the whole stayed away from the heavily politicized Polish student colony,

devoting his time to a quite extensive study of French conditions. Jabłonowski recalled him as an unusually energetic person: 'Above all he was interested in the throbbing life of Paris, its intellectual life too. As always, he craved movement and variety, and hated boredom and stagnation.'<sup>88</sup>

The published series of articles was something of an oddity. The young columnist had become interested in rather exotic issues. What leads nations, states, whole civilizations to greatness? Which factors encourage and which hinder a culture's greatness and might? Where lie the sources of a power's longevity? These and similar dilemmas bothered the twenty-six-year-old columnist, the freshly-minted student of natural science and mathematics.

The young Dmowski's journalism was striking for its maturity and for the clarity of its reasoning.<sup>89</sup> Traces of much of the popular reading of the day could be seen in his reflections. Of the writers mentioned by name, we need recall here an individual to whom we shall later return: Jean-Marie Guyau. If biographers are to be believed, Dmowski had from an early age been interested in the fate of great civilizations. In his article on the economics of spiritual interests he subjected them to an altogether thorough analysis. He saw the rise and development of great civilizations as a natural historical outcome. However, in order to rise, nations must be born. They are the consequence of civilizational changes, among which Dmowski saw the advent of printing as the main one. In an introductory essay to the series of short pieces he wrote: 'Today's civilized mankind is divided, in a schematic way, into concentrations of individuals grouped around a common spiritual heritage, a common literature.'<sup>90</sup> This common spiritual heritage creates in these human concentrations, which are nations, a need to co-operate, to care mutually for one another.

On the other hand, he opined, the natural order of things is that such concentrations of individuals have a need to spread out, to develop. Blooming – that is, 'an increase in the number of individuals living a spiritual life' – is a sign of life.

---

88 'Ze wspomnień Władysława Jabłonowskiego', in M. Kułakowski [J. Zieliński], *Roman Dmowski w świetle listów i wspomnień*, vol. 1, Londyn 1968, p. 141. See too W. Jabłonowski, *Krótki życiorys...*, p. 486.

89 For the characteristic features of Dmowski's early journalism, including his style, see J. Zieliński, 'Zatrute ziarno (O powieściach Romana Dmowskiego)', *Res Publica*, May 1989, no. 5, pp. 36–37. On Dmowski's style see too A. Michnik, 'Rozmowa w Cytadeli', in *Szanse polskiej demokracji*, Warsaw 2009, p. 271.

90 R. Skrzycki, *Z ekonomii interesów duchowych I...*, pp. 75–76.

In Dmowski's opinion, there are two ways for this development to occur. Firstly, with the rise of the educational level in the community using the same language. Secondly, through efforts aimed at increasing the numbers speaking the same language. But this development is not at present simply a statement of bourgeois interests, as apparently believed by 'some writers who so revere economics that they are prepared to use it against logic', he continued. This development has its sources in human concentrations aware of their own 'spiritual interests' – in other words, nations. 'Awareness of these interests,' he argued, 'there where they collide is usually very strong, and they become the engine of powerful social currents, exerting an influence on the arrangement of universal relationships.'

Dmowski was transposing a Darwinian approach directly onto human communities. Each 'spiritual whole' aims to develop, to draw the largest number of individuals into the orbit of its interests, also trying to ensure that the individuals who are part of it not be drawn into other 'spiritual spheres of influence'. 'Ethnic groups' possessing too meagre a spiritual heritage strive to change this state of affairs. If they do this unsuccessfully, they themselves become part of other entities. Conflict between these entities is continuous and immovable. 'What does this have to do with the progress of mankind?' the writer enquired.

In fact this mechanism is extremely beneficial for mankind, he argued. Although colonialism, for instance, can lead to the destruction of savages, and sometimes even to an unavoidable decline in moral standards, sometimes lowering the colonizers' moral standards, in the overall scheme of things it contributes to the spread of civilization. And this, from the point of view of the whole of mankind, is the most important thing, and for which Dmowski was ready unceremoniously to sacrifice the 'savage tribes', as he called them. He wrote: 'The colonization process, increasing the number of civilized races [...] creates new centres of civilization' and 'becomes salutary not only for the race occupying this territory, but for the whole of mankind.'

The problem is rekindled when 'ethnic groups' possessing similar spiritual resources come face-to-face.<sup>91</sup> Here Dmowski established that a conflict between such 'spiritual entities' leads to the growth of general aggression, and thus to irreversible losses and damage to the whole development of civilization.

Nevertheless, the actual collisions of 'ethnic groups' are inevitable in the historical mechanism thus presented. For such is the world's nature. On the other

---

91 R. Skrzycki, *Z ekonomii interesów duchowych III...*, pp. 97–98.

hand, however, the development of intellectual life – becoming aware of spiritual interests and thus, following Dmowski, of the development of nations, the most powerful of which will become creators of civilization – would lead to progress in the area of happiness for the whole of mankind.

The civilizing programme was coherently laid out here, according to a true social-Darwinian recipe. This analysis, imperialist in spirit, not only justified violence, for after all its noble, i.e. civilizing goal sanctified all means, but also acknowledged it as an irreversible and inevitable element of social development. More to the point, these reflections right from the start had a very strong universalizing tone. The young columnist had set himself a considerable task – to discover the bases of human relations in order to uncover a new sense of the functioning of ‘ethnic groups’, based on common biological material, which for him were also ‘spiritual entities’. In this approach, the laws of nature and the state of things united with the expanse of the spirit, of ideals. So did one of the young columnists on *Głos* reply to a call launched by political leaders – to bring to life big ideas: ideals meant to change reality. In this apotheosis of expansionist ideas lay a strong belief that a great deal of space for up-and-coming pretenders to imperial power still remained. Nations which are prepared for rivalry among themselves, and initiate it by virtue of the very fact of their joint existence next to one another, Dmowski reasoned, are destined to develop or to disappear, and there is no turning back on this path. In ‘relations between peoples’, he continued, one either had to be an entity with high spiritual aspirations, or doom oneself to destruction. Nations are moral entities, but based on a common biological base. Hence the natural path for a nation’s development was the creation of an empire, of a great civilization, of power, for only such nations have the right to exist. Otherwise moral and physical destruction await them.

In order to join the march of civilization, in Dmowski’s view, one had to make a personal appraisal of one’s own resources. One had to define one’s own interests, as well as one’s spiritual and material resources, understand one’s own civilizational deficiencies, needs, and interests by a sober assessment and fundamental appraisal of them. The spirit, before it is reincarnated as a nation in order to regenerate it, must first develop an awareness of itself.

However, this outline concept hung somewhat in a vacuum. In order to bring it to life and give it a realistic form, one needed a radical transformation of the whole of society; one had finally to translate these idealistic ruminations and somewhat abstract ideological categories into the language of daily events. As a great many other ideas which at that time were in the air, so too did the project defined by Dmowski await its time, with no guarantee of success. Meanwhile,

a great deal of Dmowski's printed output from the first half of the 1890s was dominated by the issue of making an individual inventory of the state of Polish spiritual resources, or of what the *Głos* columnist of the day recognized as such: a personal accounting of the moral condition of Polish society in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.



## Chapter Three

### Racism, Polish Style

‘The idealistic revolt’, which the Warsaw *Głos* was leading, had its own breakthroughs, i.e. crises of ideas, in which the idealistic rebellion confronted a barrier in the form of limitations imposed by the current state of knowledge. The seeds of the fashion for anthropological studies developing in Europe in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century lay in the enormous popularity of Darwin’s teachings. His ideas, accepted in social and political thought, provoked wide interest and discussion. The concepts of ‘natural selection’ and ‘struggle for survival’ appeared to be so universal that their usefulness began to be recognized for studies of human societies.

So Darwin’s theory, whose development was accompanied by a whole series of concepts of varying popularity, found serious continuators in the social sciences. Observation of the politics of the day – especially in its international dimension, in which colonialism played a key part given that the European powers’ imperialist ambitions were meeting with their greatest triumphs – possibly contributed to popularizing the general reception of conclusions derived from Darwin’s teachings. These concepts spread rapidly, thereby provoking vehement critics, above all representatives of various Christian churches. This intellectual commotion was not simply a result of the blooming and growing popularity of the study of natural science – a blooming whose symbol was the name Darwin. The roots of this phenomenon lay much deeper.

One of the key reasons for this ferment may have been the need for a secondary consolidation of the bases of how bourgeois societies functioned. In this situation featuring the collapse of feudal bonds within Western Europe’s enlightened social classes (also, in line with the nomenclature of the day, amongst the ‘half-educated’ classes), there arose a strong need for some new scientifically-based (hence objective) indices of community. This community was to be defined according to new criteria, lasting criteria based on a modern state of knowledge. One of these propositions was racism. Somatic features, studied using quasi-objective means from which conclusions about overall character were then drawn, appealed to the imagination of the nineteenth-century scientifically-oriented reader more than the usually intuitively understood, and thus unsuited to scientific definition concepts of nation or nationality. Unlike the latter, race was a concept which in

the most exclusive, one might say ‘unchangeable’ way – blood being its symbol – defined the group’s collective identity.<sup>1</sup>

From this theory we may also conclude that the concept of race spreads the fastest in those societies in which the ethnic group’s identity is put to the hardest test: survival.<sup>2</sup>

An interesting hypothesis on the subject of racism was proposed by Benedict Anderson, who demonstrated internal sources (i.e. referring to internal relations in the mother countries themselves) and not external ones for the development of racist ideas. The anthropologist also questioned the thesis on racism’s solely functional nature in relation to what were original colonialist ideas, as Hannah Arendt’s well-known view puts it.<sup>3</sup> Anderson accepts that the spread of ideas referencing the instrumentality of race should be linked to relationships of internal domination and the subordination of certain groups to others. At the same time he demonstrates the continuing vitality of feudal relationships whose existence leads to attempts to preserve a hierarchical vision of power and privilege.<sup>4</sup>

Anderson also argues (here he is in agreement with Arendt) that ideas of race gain the most obvious popularity in societies that respect imperial and colonialist

---

1 See E.D. Weitz, *A Century of Genocide. Utopias of Race and Nation*, Princeton and Oxford 2003, p. 22.

2 The cases of Scotland and Romania in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, where racial theories were recognized by the intellectual élites, can serve here as an illustrative example. See C. Kidd, ‘Race, Empire, and the Limits of Nineteenth-Century Scottish Nationhood’, *The Historical Journal*, vol. 46, December 2003, no. 4, pp. 873–892; M. Turda, ‘The Magyars: A Ruling Race’: The Idea of National Superiority in Fin de Siècle Hungary’, *European Review of History*, vol. 10, spring 2003, no. 1, pp. 5–33; V. Neumann, ‘Federalism and Nationalism in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy: Aurel C. Popovici’s Theory’, *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 16, 2003, no. 3, pp. 864–897. Other writers, including those studying the racism of majority groups, also point out this aspect, i.e. feeling threatened, as a key factor in the formation of racist attitudes, see S. Beller, *Vienna and the Jews 1867–1938. A Cultural History*, Cambridge 1989, esp. pp. 188–206; P.G.J. Pulzer, *Die Entstehung des politischen Antisemitismus in Deutschland und Österreich, 1867–1914*, Göttingen 2004, esp. pp. 7–64, also pp. 105–113. M. Janowski, in ‘Kozy i jesiotry. Uwagi o specyfice liberalizmu w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej między rewolucją francuską a I wojną światową’, *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych*, 56–57, 1996/1997, p. 81 and note, comes indirectly to the conclusion in the case of the Hungarians that a majority group feeling itself threatened is the basis of the appearance of xenophobic, and thus also racist, attitudes.

3 H. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, New York 1958, p. 158 on.

4 B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London- New York 1991, pp. 148–149.



aspirations. Leaving these general thoughts to one side, it should be stated that racism, although not always in step with nationalism, was nonetheless usually linked to the idea of empire.

Be that as it may, racist propositions (since before Houston S. Chamberlain it was difficult to write about systematic attempts to explain social reality) were burdened from the very start with the flaw of incoherence. And although just about all the proponents of racism agreed that a mythical 'Aryan race' existed, invariably linked with the European peoples (but not, of course, with all of them), but as far as the rest were concerned, there were nothing but variances. The influence and significance of racism were far greater than appears to be commonly accepted. Hence, Tomasz Kizwalter rightly points out that although racism in its purest form had for a long time been beyond the pale of the basic currents of intellectual life in nineteenth-century Europe and America, patterns of racial thinking and racial stereotypes, such as the new direction had instilled, became part of general public notions.<sup>5</sup>

Anthropological concepts linked directly to the notion of race had greater prestige, at least as far as having influence on the intellectual élite. By the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century their spokesmen had achieved a significant influence on the developing social sciences.<sup>6</sup> It goes without saying that the *fin de siècle* climate was

---

5 T. Kizwalter, *Historia powszechna. Wiek XIX*, Warsaw 2003, p. 122.

6 Of the comprehensive approaches it is worth mentioning the following: M. Hawkins, *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought, 1860–1945. Nature as Model and Nature as Threat*, Cambridge 1997; J. Hecht, *The End of the Soul. Scientific Modernity, Atheism, and Anthropology in France*, New York 2003; A. Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany*, Chicago, London 2001; P. Weindling, *Health, Race and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism 1870–1947*, Cambridge 1989; *Rasse, Blut und Gene. Geschichte der Eugenik und Rassenhygiene in Deutschland*, by P. Weingart, J. Kroll and K. Bayertz, Frankfurt am Main 1992. Of the older works one might mention Leon Poliakov's classic works, above all *Le Mythe Aryen. Essai sur les sources du racisme et des nationalismes*, Paris 1987. M. Turda has presented a very interesting attempt to describe the reception of socio-Darwinism and anthropological theories at the turn of the centuries in several countries of East-Central Europe in *The Magyars: A Ruling Race...*, pp. 5–33. For general observations on the evolution of the concept of race in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries see: E.D. Weitz, *A Century of Genocide...*, esp. pp. 16–52; I. Hannaford, *The Race. The History of an Idea in the West*, foreword by B. Crick, Baltimore, London 1996, esp. pp. 325–368. M. Gawin, in *Rasa i nowoczesność. Historia polskiego ruchu eugenicznego*, Warsaw 2003, presents a short, but succinct review of the literature in Polish on the development of anthropological studies in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and their public reception.

conducive to this popularity. This current, always vital in European thought, at times grew in strength.

In the 1880s, contemporary opinion was unanimous that one of these waves was approaching. Jerzy Jedlicki writes: "The French invented *fin de siècle*. This first appeared in the middle of the 1880s and soon it was teeming with books, plays, and essays with *fin de siècle* in their titles. Or with *décadence*. Both expressions meant more or less the same thing: the decline of an era, the disappearance of ideals, the atrophying of the will (*le mal du siècle*), overripe, refined culture. *Etre fin de siècle* meant to feel oneself to be in a strange world, to reject its compelling conventions, but with more of an expression of fatigue than rebellion in one's eyes. Who can say how much posing, dandyism, or imitation of a fashionable lifestyle there was in this, and how much was genuine, suffering pessimism."<sup>7</sup>

Next in line after these seers of destruction came the learned academics. Such were the beginnings of the exceptionally popular Italian school of physical anthropology, with Cesare Lombroso at its head. The fashion soon crossed the ocean and established a thriving foothold in American academic circles.<sup>8</sup>

The academics were closely followed by the doctors, often poorly educated, but not only that. Studies, lavishly illustrated with graphs, tables and popular statistics, showed the transfer to a new generation of hereditary tendencies. Initially symptoms of decline were found in gloomy thugs appearing in photographs, which were used to frighten readers – Lombroso himself was famous for this – but later, they were picked up on the popular circuit, in whole social or national groups, such as women of easy morals, or Jews.<sup>9</sup>

These general *fin de siècle* attitudes accompanied some quite real complaints. The dramatic growth of industrial societies, creeping urbanization – processes which were spreading throughout ever greater areas of public life – brought with

---

7 J. Jedlicki, *Świat zwyrodniały. Lęki i wyroki krytyków nowoczesności*, Warsaw 2000, p. 196.

8 See P. D'Agostino, 'Craniums, Criminals, and the Cursed Race': Italian Anthropology in American Racial Thought 1861–1924', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 44, April 2002, no. 2.

9 See M. Gibson, 'The "Female Offender" and the Italian School of Criminal Anthropology', *Journal of European Studies*, vol. 12, September 1982, pp. 155–166; D. Vyleta, 'Jewish Crimes and Misdemeanors: In Search of Jewish Criminality (Germany and Austria, 1890–1914)', *European History Quarterly*, vol. 35, April 2005, no. 2, pp. 299–325; S.L. Gilman, *Die Schlaunen Juden. Ueber ein Dummes Vorurteil*, Hildesheim 1998, p. 98 and note.

them a whole raft of real victims: armies of the unemployed, all kinds of urban poverty, hordes of peasants seeking work, board, and lodging owing to a surplus of agricultural produce. Faced with these real social problems, liberal states at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, despite a growing government bureaucracy and the annual graduation of doctors of medicine, appeared helpless, or as some believed, ill-prepared.

It should also come as no surprise that in progressive and radical circles much was expected of the dramatically expanding studies of natural science. Hence careful attention was paid to the ideas emanating from the sphere of progressive groups of academics and learned societies.

For instance, Francis Galton was one of the leading lights of the British intellectual establishment.<sup>10</sup> His in principle straightforward project for the regeneration of industrial societies was rooted partly in racial stereotypes and partly in generally-operating phobias. However, it was above all based on current knowledge of natural science. This project by and large boiled down simply to the idea that the higher races, which are the most valuable biologically (he included above all the Anglo-Saxons in this group) and the most adapted, ought to increase their fertility. This view meant questioning the notions of Thomas Malthus (who had called for limiting procreation). Galton maintained that thanks to the multiplication of people with the best biological features, the cultural level of the whole of humankind would rise. However, it was easier to proclaim this than to introduce it. As the supporters of new directions decided after heated debates, it would be easier to carry out the task of 'ennobling' groups already alive. This was the very goal the eugenicists, promoted by Galton, set themselves.

On Polish territory social Darwinism did not arrive as an effect of dynamic modernization and industrialization, since these phenomena occurred there slowly and late. As with many other ideological currents, this one also came from the West and to a certain extent operated along the lines of intellectual fashion in narrow, but vigorous intellectual settings. Racist concepts, which had been growing in popularity since the 1860s in Europe, in Polish public opinion appeared on the margins of debate, while ideas connected with physical anthropology, not to

---

10 See N.W. Gillhan, *A life of Sir Francis Galton: From African Exploration to the Birth of Eugenics*, Oxford 2002. Also J. Jedlicki, *Świat zwyrodniały...*, pp. 168–171. T. Szczurkiewicz in his piece *Kierunek rasowo-antropologiczny w socjologii*, in id., *Studia socjologiczne*, Warsaw 1970, pp. 145–146 also provides a concise picture of Galton's views. See too M. Gawin, *Rasa i nowoczesność...*, pp. 43–50.

mention advanced studies, were treated for a time with a certain restraint. There were several reasons for this state of affairs.

First of all, the state of research in this field was plainly far from being fully developed. Polish élites gleaned their anthropological knowledge from foreign works, which often provided contradictory or incoherent information. Even the attentive reader could get somewhat lost in the rigmarole of mutually exclusive hypotheses and judgements. This reason, surely the least significant of all those which we shall discuss, did not just apply to Polish territory. However, it is easier to perceive its social effects in a backward country than elsewhere. The status and then the position of a small group of competent experts on the issue (above all academic teachers) in spreading this type of knowledge was for obvious reasons limited. Hence a significant role in propagating ideas referring to knowledge in the field of anthropology was left to a group of intellectual freelancers. That is to say popularizers of the new sciences, keenly interested in the problem.

Secondly, in progressive and radical circles, which usually had the greatest input in propagating the latest from the world of science, both social Darwinism and later physical anthropology must have caused ambivalent feelings from the point of view of overall outlook. The axis of this current of anthropological thinking was a grounded, almost axiological conviction of the immutability of human nature and thus of the essential impossibility of introducing egalitarian values into public life.

For a time this ambiguous message rather effectively prevented the reception of anthropological views in progressive circles. Not without reason Lombroso, along with a whole slew of subsequently forgotten anthropological luminaries, were later recognized as apologists for the current social arrangements. The meaning of these initial anthropological researches was read by many as clearly conservative, the more so because both Lombroso himself, as well as his numerous professional colleagues, in most cases became involved in right-wing politics. We should not, therefore, be surprised that initially the most tenacious opponent of the home-grown Polish enthusiasts for physical anthropology was none other than Ludwik Krzywicki. Later he too would validate some of his views on anthropological issues.

These reservations – pointed out here but summarily – ought not to invalidate the starting point of these deliberations: conclusions emerging from a study of nature were becoming the key to understanding the present. The first significant breakthrough in this reception was made by the positivist generation.<sup>11</sup> A new

---

11 See 'Recepcja Darwinizmu w drugiej połowie XIX w. w Królestwie Polskim', edited by T. Długockęka [et al.], *Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki Polskiej*, series b, 1961, vol. 5;

generation of radical intelligentsia introduced a great many new ideas into this field. Fresh from school, Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz (b. 1872) in an 1891 letter to his fiancée wrote about this as follows: ‘Nature is the leader of the new era; there can never be too many naturalists, to say nothing of our country, which is so ignorant of this branch of study. Only he who knows natural science can have a thorough understanding of sociology and history. I have to read law, for after finishing natural science I would have nothing to eat, but I must and will know the natural sciences.’<sup>12</sup> In one of his subsequent letters Kelles-Krauz wrote that he intended to spend a year at the Paris school of anthropology. As he made clear: ‘you can’t move forward in the social sciences without anthropology.’<sup>13</sup>

Another young man, Roman Dmowski, about whom his school friend Stanisław Czekanowski said that he loved only Poland and wanted to serve only her, had already defended his highly-regarded doctoral thesis on ciliates. His supervisor, the eminent zoologist Professor August Wrześniowski – possibly the most distinguished exponent of Darwinism in the Kingdom of Poland – made energetic efforts to get his talented student to take a post-doctoral degree at the Jagiellonian University. Dmowski had not read law following his father’s warning that lawyers were wheeler-dealers smart with the written word. He had chosen biology and right after graduating he began preparing a modern textbook on it. He also published quite a number of technical papers on biology and natural science in the broadest sense. Piotr Chmielowski, the most competent specialist in Polish letters of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, after the appearance in print of these few scientific papers, would rate their author as one of the most promising fresh forces in the study of natural science.<sup>14</sup> Dmowski soon chose politics, but this initial mark – as Tomasz Kizwalter puts it – would leave a permanent imprint on his view of the world<sup>15</sup> – as it also would on Kelles-Krauze and a great many other intellectuals of that generation.

- 
- G. Brzęk, ‘Recepcja darwinizmu w Polsce’, in *Recepcja w Polsce nowych kierunków i teorii naukowych*, A. Strzałkowski (ed.), PAU, Komisja Historii Nauki, Monografie no. 4, pp. 273–291; M. Gawin, *Rasa i nowoczesność...*, esp. pp. 39–43.
- 12 K. Kelles-Krauz, *Listy*, vol. 1: 1890–1897, F. Tych (ed.), Wrocław 1984, p. 94, (letter) to Maria Goldsteyn in Wilno, Orońsk 22VII 1891.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 226, to Maria Goldsteyn in Warsaw, Paris 6 XII 1892.
- 14 See P. Chmielowski, *Zarys najnowszej literatury polskiej (1864–1897)*, amended 4<sup>th</sup> edition, Kraków–Petersburg 1898, p. 468.
- 15 T. Kizwalter, ‘Nowoczesny Polak. Darwin i Nietzsche’, *Przegląd Polityczny*, 2002, no. 56, p. 104.

For a time interest in anthropology in the Polish lands boiled down to the hobby of a few, or maybe of little more than a dozen enthusiasts. In this respect Galicia had a special status, since it was where a group of Polish scientists were operating at a decent European level, indirectly at least participating in international scientific discourse in the field. Given the lack of systematic research, it is difficult to establish whether initially there had been some kind of significant exchange of information in this respect between the Kingdom and Galicia. In any event, starting from the second half of the 1880s the number of these not always professional enthusiasts of the new sciences grew considerably, which fact should also be linked to the appearance of the work of a new generation of natural science graduates.

Jan Ludwik Popławski belonged to this group of proponents of anthropology. Not only did he translate Lombroso's most famous tracts into Polish, but he also was keenly interested in the fashionable science's progress. He expressed this in pieces in the Warsaw papers, initially *Prawda* and later *Głos*, but that was not all. Ludwik Krzywicki recalled: 'On the whole Popławski was a pleasant raconteur, especially over a glass of iced punch [...]. His pleasure, or rather his favourite subjects carried the stamp of his translations. Lombroso's translator was always sniffing out among clever people symptoms of paranoia. [...] He also had a liking for jokes with a somewhat criminal tinge [...]. Once at an editorial board meeting Popławski suggested that it would be worth putting on an exhibition of photographs and biographies of various Warsaw cut-throats as a money-making venture to increase the paper's receipts [...]. But he showed a predilection for certain subjects not just by joking.'<sup>16</sup>

Popławski's interest in anthropological ideas affected some of his views on other matters, as well.

Of the inner editorial board of *Głos* it was none other than Popławski who expressed the greatest reservations about the assimilation of the Jews. It was he who on the pages of the quasi-biographical *Podniebie* (*The Sky*), written by another 'Głos-ite' Edward Paszkowski, who as 'editor Paclawski' [a key character in the novel. GK] belaboured the elements of the Semitic race. The 'Głos' ideologue recognized that the issue of the usefulness of such tribal/racial mixes could in the final analysis be solved only by anthropology.<sup>17</sup>

---

16 L. Krzywicki, *Wspomnienia*, vol. 3, Warsaw 1959, pp. 76–77.

17 Cf. T. Kizwalter, *O nowoczesności narodu. Przypadek Polski*, Warszawa 1999, p. 290 and note; A. Cała, *Asymilacja Żydów w Królestwie Polskim (1864–1897). Postawy, konflikty, stereotypy*, Warsaw 1989, p. 291 and note. For the shaping of the editorial board's views on social Darwinism and associated philosophical currents see too B. Popławski,

However, among the 'Głos-ites' it was not just Popławski who showed a lively interest in the progress of these sciences. Roman Dmowski belonged to the apologists of the naturalist key to explaining society. There is much to indicate that Dmowski's views on racial issues were a consequence of three significant factors: his own ethnic resentments brought from home, access to and participation in the 'idealistic revolt', as well as the intellectual climate in Europe at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The arrangement of these three elements in the formation of Dmowski's attitudes remained changeable and dynamic. In addition, there was the specific context of intelligentsia radicalism in the Kingdom of Poland at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The most visible among those radicals were young people born in the late 1860s and early 1870s. That had been in fact the highpoint of so-called Polish-Jewish reconciliation.

The Jewish question was without a doubt one of the most sensitive and emotive social problems with which the new generation had to deal, as well as an issue to whose interpretation an understanding of physical anthropology and of racial theories could easily be applied.

Whereas the fathers of this incoming generation – although this generational nomenclature should not be treated dogmatically – had been involved in Polish-Jewish reconciliation, their sons were witnesses to the ideological decline of the programme of assimilation. The programme's ceiling, i.e. the conditions that Polish society placed on assimilating Jews, was raised considerably and tightened, as well. More was expected of those adopting a new national identity than had been the case less than twenty years earlier. A clear indication of these processes was the founding, after the 1881 Warsaw pogrom, of the openly antisemitic weekly *Rola* in 1883.

The significance of Jan Jeleński's journalism in the 1880s should not be exaggerated. The work of the editor himself, as well as of a group of kindred columnists, influenced at the time a very specific type of reader: provincial priests and impoverished gentry. But the efficiency of this Warsaw gutter publication, as well as the phenomenon of the so-called 'Rola-ites' – the social movement that had grown up around Jeleński's paper – can be seen as a symbol of wider trends. In truth, *Rola* was boycotted by just about the whole of so-called cultured opinion, but on the other hand the views from the paper's columns were soon to move from the street into the drawing room.

---

'Recepcja Darwinizmu w Królestwie Polskim. „Głos” (1886–1894)', *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, 2007, no. 2, pp. 97–114.

From the mid-eighties the boundaries of public debate on the assimilation of the Jews began to be set on the one hand by *Rola's* rhetoric, supported more or less openly by conservative/clerical circles, and on the other by progressive opinion impatient with what in its opinion were the miserable effects of assimilation. These experiences appeared to open a new chapter in the social functioning of the Polish Kingdom's Jews.

However, the practical assimilation of Jews into Polishness continued. A whole generation of Poles of Jewish descent was attending schools and universities in Russia and Western Europe. Thus an indirect effect of the intensification of the policy of Russifying the Polish population was the radicalization of the views of young people entering society. In the case of Poles of Jewish descent this problem led to especially dramatic dilemmas.

The possibilities for the advancement of Jews via the religious/national conversion offered by the Romanov Empire, proved by degrees to be illusory, and this was felt the most strongly in Russo-Jewish assimilationist circles.<sup>18</sup> Post-feudal Russian society, or rather its imperial élites, was unable to set in motion mechanisms for absorbing the inflow of and the progress associated with the modernization of new social groups. The brutal anti-Jewish pogroms of the 1880s were a vivid illustration of a deeper rift in Russian opinion.

This situation, despite all its dissimilarities, was reflected in the Polish lands under Russian Partition. The crisis of assimilation in conditions of the Empire had a significant influence on the paralysis of Russificatory projects among Polish Jews. Cases of the Russification of Polish Jews were treated by Polish Jewish circles, as well as by the surrounding Poles, as evidence of national apostasy. Even if there still existed some perspective for emancipation on the Russian side, it was at this time that it turned out even more strongly to be an illusion.

For many Poles of Jewish descent the birth of radicalism in the 1880s could mean breaking the vicious circle. Socialism, with its offer of full political and social rights with no pre-conditions, offered new hope. Also a renewed patriotic movement with strong connections to the democratic traditions of the time of the January Uprising appeared to introduce fresh tones into Polish-Jewish relations.

---

18 See H. Rogger, *Jewish Policies and Right-Wing Politics in Imperial Russia*, Berkeley, Los Angeles 1982, esp. pp. 25–39; see too H.D. Löwe, *The Tsars and the Jews. Reform, Reaction and Anti-Semitism in Imperial Russia, 1772–1917*, Chur 1993; B. Nathans, *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 2002; J. Frenkel, *Prophecy and Politics. Socialism, Nationalism and the Russian Jews 1862–1917*, Cambridge 1981.



This was not a question here of new slogans, but rather of a renewal of old ones, which in their time had been keenly supported.

The slogan of the union of the downtrodden, which included the Jews, against the partitioning powers as preached by the patron of the pro-independence circles, Tomasz Teodor Jeż, and which was spread through the pages of *Wolne Polskie Słowo* (produced in Paris by Adolf Reiff, a Polish Jew), gave the impression of renewing the alliance of the 1860s. Both phenomena – on one hand the sundry variants of socialism with Marxism in first place, and on the other the reborn patriotic movement – met with a warm reception among Polish Jews and led to their enthusiastic involvement in radical groups.

Although it was possible to quantify the preponderance of Jews among the socialists, which fact should be explained by this movement's more universal message, a great many assimilated Jews also turned up in 'patriotic' circles. Their activities were already to be seen in the underground self-study groups, as well as in the especially active student world. Typically, this newly-awakened patriotic fervour affected people who had had nothing to do with these circles.

A telling example of these phenomena is Szymon Askenazy. A scion of a wealthy Jewish family, this young man did not take part in underground work at school, and had had only marginal contact with student groups. However, at the end of the 1870s and in the early 1880s, he experienced a rush of hot Polish patriotism. As the chroniclers recall, his lengthy declamations of Mickiewicz and other poets became unbearable in company. When the gushing young man would begin his long party pieces, the Askenazys' guests had learnt to decamp: the patriotic house would empty out for the duration of these pro-independence outbursts.<sup>19</sup>

This influx of Jews into radical groups contributed to the development of a certain rather characteristic stereotype: the cosmopolitan Jew.<sup>20</sup> It was then typical that this involvement on the left by Polish Jews was perceived by public opinion in very simplistic terms. The commonly-held view was that Jews were swelling the ranks of the so-called cosmopolitans and socialists in large numbers and not, as was in fact the case, of the 'patriots' too. The developing myth of the revolutionary Jews spread initially almost exclusively in conservative groups, but

---

19 Cf. J. Woliński, 'Warszawskie lata uniwersyteckie Szymona Askenazego', *Rocznik Warszawski*, 10, 1971, vol. 2, p. 143 and note; H. Mortkowicz-Olczakowa, 'Wspomnienie o Szymonie Askenazym. W setną rocznicę urodzin', *Twórczość*, December 1967, vol. 12, p. 81.

20 See J. Rogalla von Bieberstein, „*Jüdischer Bolschewismus*”. *Mythos und Realität*, Dresden 2002, including the introduction by E. Nolte, pp. 3–10.

was also taken up by some 'patriotic' circles. In the second half of the 1890s, it became one of the cornerstones of rising nationalist antisemitism.

Under Polish conditions interest in anthropology and race often became intertwined with the issue of the assimilation of ethnic minorities. This was also the case throughout Europe, but where racial intermingling was an everyday occurrence, the problem was beginning to play an important role. However, the appearance of problems of race on Polish territory in point of fact boiled down to Polish-Jewish relations. Polish racism, to use the phrase, came to refer above all to the Jews, and not, for instance, to the descendants of Germans, Russians, or Czechs, not to mention Ukrainians or Belarusians.

It seems that from the very start of the 19<sup>th</sup> century it was a given that modernizing processes were linked to the homogenization of national culture. The Slav nations inhabiting the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth fitted into this model as potentially slated for assimilation. In the case of Germans and Russians, their presence on Polish soil was closely linked to the partitions, and individual cases of assimilation did not in any way change this approach. In this scheme of things the one national group with a strong sense of identity, and for whom the homogenizing model did not solve the issue, were the Jews.

As already mentioned, Dmowski's anthropological and racial views consisted mainly of three factors. The initial condition associated with the development of this kind of attitude were the prejudices that he took from home.<sup>21</sup> If we are to believe Jędrzej Giertych, the distinguished National Party operative, and in the 1930s someone close to Dmowski, the greatest influence on his dislikes was his mother, Józefa Dmowska, née Lenarska. Unlike his father, she came from a middle-class family. Giertych recalls: 'One of the things Dmowski owes to his Mother is antisemitism. Dmowski would often say: "My father treated the Jews like an aristocrat: he joked at their expense and did not take them seriously.

---

21 For more on Dmowski's home see R. Wapiński, *Roman Dmowski*, Lublin 1988, pp. 15–16; K. Kawalec, *Roman Dmowski*, Wrocław 2002, pp. 7–13; A. Micewski, *Roman Dmowski*, Warsaw 1971, pp. 13–24. One of the ND leader's first biographers and his friend points out this dimension to the development of Dmowski's personality, I. Chrzanowski, *Wstęp. Roman Dmowski*, in M. Kułakowski [J. Zieliński], *Roman Dmowski w świetle listów i wspomnień*, vol. 1, London 1968, p. 19 and note.

Mother, however, reacted to them like a bourgeois; she feared them and saw them as a dangerous and malevolent force.”<sup>22</sup>

Dmowski's mother was the daughter of a tannery owner, who had gone bankrupt. That was a trade in which Jewish craftsmen played a leading role. One might hypothesize that the bankruptcy was the result of competition with them. As biographers attest, her childhood was passed in poverty and concern for her orphaned younger siblings; from the age of 12 until marrying at 23, she earned money by sewing gloves.<sup>23</sup> In passing it should be mentioned that this trade was also dominated by small Jewish manufacturers. In the case of Dmowski's mother dislike might have had (which did not mean that it did have) a deeper layer of resentment. While there is no room here for a broader examination of personal experience and its influence on later attitudes, it would surely not be out of place to observe that Dmowski's harsh, today we would say authoritarian, upbringing definitely rooted these dislikes more firmly in the structure of his personality than it moderated them. The atmosphere of Polish-Jewish antagonism on economic grounds, which was smouldering beneath the surface of public life and was now coming to the boil, was also definitely not without influence.

In his comments Jędrzej Giertych acknowledged that two traditions met in Dmowski: the noble, patriotic, and pro-independence one represented by his father, and the bourgeois one 'seeing the most dangerous enemy in an internal enemy: Jewry', cultivated by his mother.<sup>24</sup> In these observations, given their ideological simplification, a certain essential truth was captured: Dmowski brought the root of these attitudes from home.

To the extent that his mother was able to contribute to the seeds of antisemitism taking root in him, Dmowski's father doubtless was involved in developing his patriotic attitudes. From them grew his enmity towards the partitioning powers, especially towards the aggressive policies of Prussia. His dislike towards the 'Russkies', as the Russians were then disdainfully called, was also quite natural. As far as the Germans and the Russians, too, were concerned (the situation with the Russians was more complicated), this aversion was not actually caused by racial concerns, but rather was almost exclusively political. It was part and parcel of Dmowski's peers' generational experiences and quite independent of their later political sympathies. Dmowski's school and student vicissitudes with the patriotic underground movement intensified these initial attitudes.

---

22 J. Giertych, 'Wspomnienie o Romanie Dmowskim IV', *Słowo Narodowe*, 17 I 1939, no. 17, p. 6.

23 See R. Wapiński, *Roman Dmowski...*, p. 16.

24 J. Giertych, *Wspomnienie...IV...*, p. 6.

Views brought from home form but a background. Dmowski was never a middle-class or bourgeois politician in the classic sense, and the nature of his views on racial issues greatly exceeded what could be ascribed to a rationalized version of middle-class antisemitism.<sup>25</sup>

The influence of the *Głos* circle on the development of Dmowski's views on the Jewish issue was, as far as we can judge, secondary. If we try to reconstruct the mature point of view of the weekly's principal players on this issue, then we must adopt as a point of departure the conviction of the essential conflict of Polish tribal interests with Jewish ones. In its most extreme version (articulated by Popławski) this attitude meant the antinomy of Polish tribal elements and Jewish distinctiveness. The conviction that the two nations were not and would not be able to function properly in the same territorial and social area was also key.

It was also typical that although in *Głos*'s output the fundamental 'tribal' differences were frequently emphasized, and the statements' tone was antisemitic, the actual idea of Jewish assimilation was not directly questioned. For example, Józef Karol Potocki, who devoted the most energy to the issue, felt that the assimilation of the Jews into Polishness meant halting the Polish people's pro-independence processes, but also that of the Jewish population as a separate ethnic entity. However, he could never bring himself to openly come out against the assimilationist process. In the case of two organisms (here Potocki was a pupil of Spencer) when two separate social bodies vie against one another for dominance, since that is their natural developmental requirement, one must defeat the other and rule over it.<sup>26</sup>

The mysterious Witold Ziemiński, who in the autumn of 1890 published an extensive series in *Głos* entitled *Czem jest Izrael?*, included in one of his pieces the telling question: 'Can two different social types inhabit the same area?'; only later to reply to his own question: 'In our opinion the answer must be in the

---

25 The approach taken here is justified by a perception of integral nationalism as a project that was the antithesis of the Enlightenment heritage, and not just as an extremist version of a bourgeois worldview, as scholars using Marxist methodology see it. It should be noted here that the phenomenon's social face – the nationalist right wing – continues to represent one of the most lively objects of discussion in the literature on the subject, while neo-Marxist takes on it continually provide new avenues for research. A detailed discussion of the above-mentioned issues can be found in P. Kendziorek, *Antysemityzm a społeczeństwo mieszczańskie. W kręgu interpretacji neomarksistowskich*, Warsaw 2005.

26 See J.K. Potocki, *Antysemityzm „Głosu”*, in J.M. Majchrowski, *Polska myśl polityczna XIX i XX wieku*, part 1: *U źródeł nacjonalizmu: Myśl wszechpolska*, Kraków 1988, pp. 53–56. See too A. Cała, *Asymilacja Żydów...*, p. 290 and note.

negative.<sup>27</sup> Ziemiński's concluding article in the series was signed by the whole editorial board, which despite reservations towards some of the article's theses, approved its conclusions, i.e. the impossibility of having two social groups operating in the same space. This approach was later adopted in its entirety by the nationalist movement.

Apart from special exceptions to which we shall have to return, this line of argument did not contain any lasting biological-racial constructs entailing insurmountable boundaries between ethnic groups (although neither it did trivialize them). Rather, it saw the heart of the matter in social processes.<sup>28</sup> In this treatment of the Jewish issue two significant considerations were interrelated: the social 'democratic' (hence sociological/historical) with the naturalist, tribal and, as it were, innate consideration. Two currents: unification and exclusivism had here become inextricably intertwined. Homogenizing nationalism rooted in the Jacobin traditions could then coexist with an opposing current – in other words, with exclusionary and closed chauvinism. This apparently paradoxical oddity later appears constantly in Polish nationalism. It was not, however, a purely Polish phenomenon.<sup>29</sup>

In the 'first' *Głos* the emphasis, however, was on acknowledging the Jews as a sociological phenomenon, as a 'class of exploitative beggars', as Potocki wrote, a sort of historically formed *culture* of exploitation, hence a certain anachronism which must be assimilated, indeed 'digested' by the modern political organism. It is not hard to see in this intellectual structure an analogy with Karl Marx's line of reasoning in his famous pamphlet *On the Jewish Question*.<sup>30</sup>

---

27 W. Ziemiński, 'Czem jest Izrael? Szkic historyczno-społeczny', *Głos*, 6 (18) X 1890, no. 42, p. 470. See too A. Cała, *Asymilacja Żydów...*, pp. 298–299.

28 Another take on the issue: B.A. Porter, *When Nationalism Began to Hate. Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth-Century Poland*, New York 2000, p. 179 and footnote 273. He writes e.g.: 'The Jews, according to *Głos*, were not just alien, but *eternally* alien. This was the crucial innovation offered by these young intellectuals: they had taken the Jews out of progressive historical time and located them in the realm of nature, which never changed. Any changes that did occur were epiphenomenal; it no longer mattered what the Jews were like, it only mattered that they were Jews and that *as such* they were different and forever hostile'. I do not share this view, as this work will show.

29 M. Turda, 'The Magyars: A Ruling Race'..., p. 43.

30 See E. Silberner, *Was Marx an Anti-Semite?*, in *Essential Papers on Jews and the Left*, E. Mendelsohn (ed.), New York 1997, pp. 373–381.

Faced with the size of the Jewish community, i.e. the Polish tribal 'organism's' inadequacy, Jewish emigration was seen to be the only *de facto* way out.<sup>31</sup> Even Popławski, whose views were now approaching racist antisemitism, could not bring himself to question completely assimilation and to go over to a purely racist position. The 'Głos-ites' views on the Jewish question were definitely held in a nationalist key. Strictly speaking, however, they were not racist. The question of race had not become a key and decisive criterion in judging the Jewish population.

However, for the communities of assimilated Jews such subtle distinctions, presented often in the form of spiteful and hurtful opinions or stereotypical judgements, ones at which Potocki excelled, meant little. For those who did not repudiate their roots and tried to promote a programme of assimilation among traditional Jewish communities, accepting *Głos's* point of view would in effect have meant questioning their own *raison d'être*.<sup>32</sup>

It cannot be denied that the opinions of the *Głos* circle on "the Jewish question" influenced the development of Polish integral nationalism. Who knows, they might even have had a decisive influence. They made their way there in an extreme form, as presented by Jan Ludwik Popławski. The former editor of *Głos* became the second writer after Dmowski on the nationalists' theoretical journal *Przegląd Wszechpolski*.

For Roman Dmowski's own ideological evolution the aforementioned 'Głos' consensus on the Jewish question had a lesser significance. It appears that Dmowski's active involvement in the 'idealistic revolt' had a greater influence on the development of his worldview in this respect. Opposition to materialism remained part of a wider phenomenon – namely, the anti-positivist breakthrough.<sup>33</sup> The crisis of nineteenth-century rationalism was something more than opposition to a single philosophical current. A wave of cultural pessimism

---

31 See N. Bończa-Tomaszewski, *Demokratyczna geneza nacjonalizmu. Intelktualne korzenie ruchu narodowo-demokratycznego*, Warsaw 2001, esp. the sub-chapter: 'Nowy exodus – rozwiązanie kwestii żydowskiej', pp. 182–184.

32 A. Cała in *Asymilacja Żydów...*, p. 50 and note writes about the attitude of the communities of assimilated Jews towards *Głos's* programme, using the example of the Warsaw publication. See too H. Datner, *Ta i tamta strona. Żydowska inteligencja Warszawy drugiej połowy XIX w.*, Warsaw 2007, pp. 286–289.

33 Above all in the area of literary research see T. Weiss, 'Przełom antypozytywistyczny w Polsce w latach 1880–1890. Przemiany postaw światopoglądowych i teorii artystycznych', *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczno-Literackie*, vol. 10, Kraków 1966.

was bursting then just about all over Europe.<sup>34</sup> The idealistic revolt was turning against all strictly rationalist attempts to capture and describe the world. For the radicals, positivism became only a symbol and a substitute for a broader cultural phenomenon and was thus the first to be put in the dock.

For the university 'patriots' entering adult life in the mid-eighties Marxism remained the most extreme expression of rationalist doctrinaire thinking. As opposed to positivism, clearly on the defensive from the early 80s, groups of young Marxists were exceptionally active in intellectual circles. An ably-managed campaign of agitation in big-city environments also gained followers from among Marx's supporters within the working class. Evidence of socialism's increasing cultural influence was the opening up to Marxist writers of the pages of the progressive intelligentsia's papers, first of all Adam Wiślicki's *Przegląd Tygodniowy*, and then Warsaw's *Prawda*, where Aleksander Świętochowski himself brought them under his wing.<sup>35</sup> Perhaps in this regard the person of Edward Abramowski, one of the leaders of the young generation of Marxists, who in 1891 paid visits to Świętochowski with hopes of bringing him into the Marxist Union, might be symbolic!

In the Polish situation Marxism, in the view of its opponents in the 'patriotic' circles, combined two important ideological considerations. Firstly, it seemed to be a template brought in from elsewhere and hence unsuited to Polish conditions. On the other hand, Poland's home-grown Marxism was overly rationalist for the 'patriots': they saw it as yet another expression of home-grown scientism. A radical programme of social overhaul based on the working class, modest under Polish conditions, was viewed as socialist utopianism. The dispute of the young 'patriots' with the home-grown Polish Marxists was not just a consequence of the latter questioning the priority of seeking independence (this accusation could be levelled at only some of the socialists), but was also a repudiation of

---

34 See J.W. Burrow, *The Crisis of Reason. European Thought, 1848–1914*, New Haven and London 2000, p. 87; S.H. Hughes, *Consciousness and Society. The Reorientation of European Social Thought 1890–1930*, New York 1958, esp. the chapter: 'The Decade of the 1890's. The Revolt against Positivism', pp. 33–66; F. Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair. A study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology*, Berkeley 1961; G.L. Mosse, *The Culture of Western Europe. The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. An Introduction*, Chicago 1962, esp. pp. 73–93; Z. Sternhell, *Fascism as an Alternative Political Culture*, in Z. Sternhell, M. Sznajder, M. Asheri, *The Birth of Fascist Ideology. From Cultural Rebellion to Political Revolution*, trans. D. Maisel, Princeton and New York 1994, p. 11 and note; E.R. Tannenbaum, *1900. The generation before the Great War*, New York 1976.

35 See L. Krzywicki, *Wspomnienia...*, vol. 3, p. 137.

their extreme rationalist ideological underpinnings. Seen as the mechanization and objectification of humankind in a radical manner, Marxism seemed an unbearable straitjacket.

It is worth recalling, however, that the Marxists themselves were also evolving in their views under the influence of the changes that were taking place in the intellectual life of the period. The most versatile character of the time, Ludwik Krzywicki, in his mid-nineties views had already changed greatly from the 'pope' of Marxism of the 80s.<sup>36</sup> The home-grown Polish Marxists' world-view opinions and attitudes were also changing into a form of popular reformism, for instance. On the basis of these transformations new rivals to scientific socialism were appearing. Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, various forms of co-operativism, with Sorelian syndicalism in the first place, appeared to play the most important part.<sup>37</sup>

'The idealistic revolt' was not, however, conscious of itself for a long time. Of course, this idealism was a return to activism; in political terms it was a rejection of conciliation and a return to pro-independence ideas.<sup>38</sup> 'What is to be done?' Stefan Żeromski asked often in the pages of his *Dziennik (Diary)*. One of Żeromski's colleagues, another young radical, the 'patriot' Leon Wasilkowski, said at a school talk: 'What is to be done? Organic work, groundwork? These are means and not ends.' He finally came out: 'Let's play with open cards [...]. I say one word as my personal conviction and I draw back the curtain: freedom.'<sup>39</sup>

But this idealistic turn also had a deeper layer of consciousness. With the rebels criticizing various idealist approaches, it was initially difficult for them to agree on a coherent solution. As so often the case, their revolt was often linked

---

36 See T. Weiss, *Udział socjalizmu w polskim przełomie antypozytywistycznym*, in id., *Przełom antypozytywistyczny w Polsce...*, pp. 69–76. See too H. Holland, *Ludwik Krzywicki – nieznanym*, Warsaw 2007, p. 214 and note.

37 On the revision of Marxian socialism as a determinist worldview see I.L. Horowitz, *Radicalism and the Revolt Against Reason; The Social Theories of Georges Sorel*, London 1961; Z. Sternhell, 'The Anti-materialist Revision of Marxism as an Aspect of the Rise of Fascist Ideology', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 22, October 1987, no. 4, pp. 379–400; Z. Sternhell, M. Sznajder, M. Asheri, *The Birth of Fascist Ideology...*, chapter. 1: 'Georges Sorel and the Antimaterialist Revision of Marxism', pp. 36–91. The most important work in Polish is still L. Kołakowski's *Georges Sorel – marksizm jansenistyczny*, in id., *Główne nurty marksizmu. Powstanie–rozwój–rozkład*, London 1988, pp. 478–499.

38 B.A. Porter, *When Nationalism Began to Hate...*, chapter 'The Return to Action', pp. 75–103.

39 S. Żeromski, *Dzienniki*, vol. 1: 1882–1886, Warsaw 1953, p. 23.



to semantic chaos. Here it is worth referring to a quotation from Żeromski's *Dzienniki*: 'Yesterday, over the course of a number of hours we read Mr. Leon [Wasilkowski] 'work'. The work deals with everything under the sun. An introduction, a view of Polish history dominated by the certainty that we crashed due to civilizational abnormality and the national spirit; an attack on organic work, an attack on 'Stańczykowstwo'\* , an attack on *Kraj*, an attack on the nobility, an attack on religion, an attack on civilization, an attack on non-populist patriotism; then an outline of Russian history translated word-for-word from *Walka sił społecznych w Rosji* (*The Battle of Social Forces in Russia*), a delicate take on socialism [...] finally drowning in Panslavism. Oh Mighty Jehovah! This man's losing his mind. He is simultaneously an exponent of every intellectual/emotional direction.'<sup>40</sup> This idealistic rebellion was taking differing paths. The revolt harboured a welter of contradictions, ones not in the least obvious.

After all, the 'idealistic revolt' did not mean a total questioning of the past. The new idealists – as they often called themselves – had something more in mind: they did not want to be just the pupils of the romantics, as they wanted a renewed and richer romanticism than the experiences of nineteenth-century rationalism. The 'Głos' circle, while questioning the pre-eminence of science (its primacy in settling issues that were fundamental for the life of society), was at the same time one of the most knowledgeable about the current state of scientific writing.

This characteristic dissonance was reflected in the process whereby Dmowski's own views took shape. The young 'patriot', laughing at the Marxists for their reputedly excessively scientific and rationalised view of the world, one which was thus locked into dry formulae, had not the slightest intention of not taking advantage of the scientific achievements of the age. In an article published in *Głos* in 1892, *Cześć dla nauki* (*Hats off to Science*), the principal idea was a recognition that science had limits to its ability to know and to solve.<sup>41</sup>

These barriers were also meant to appear in the social sciences, where, in my view, it was harder to distinguish personal subjective convictions from a scientific outlook. This craze for 'being scientific, ridiculous idolatry', which reminded the 'Głos' writer of paying homage to the divinity of nature by barbaric peoples,

---

\* Stańczykowstwo refers to the characteristics of a group of conservatives based in Kraków in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. They were known for their loyalty towards the Austrian authorities and for their support of law and order. Translator's note.

40 Ibid, vol. 3: 1888–1891, Warsaw 1954, p. 18.

41 R. Skrzycki [R. Dmowski], 'Cześć dla nauki', *Głos*, 21 XII 1891 (2 I 1892), no. 1, pp. 2–3. Quotations are taken from this article.

purported to affect young intelligentsia circles. ‘The younger generation of intelligentsia,’ he wrote, ‘transfixed for some time by the terms “science” and “scientific” does not have the courage to study these terms in order to discover for itself whether this “science” really is this great and unlimited authority that it is cracked up to be.’ The journalist acknowledged the sphere of spirituality, as generally understood, to be such an unknowable expanse. What catches the eye in this minor text is that the young journalist ascribed to his opponents the usual low character traits. He wrote about their inability to think independently, and about individuals ‘who are afraid to stand on their own two legs.’

Dmowski compared his ideological adversaries to wild and uncouth characters, ‘primitive people, distinguished by a tendency to give homage to objects whose characteristics are quite foreign to them.’ Perhaps this was just a kind of rhetorical flourish – the article was an ironic polemic – but this thread of ascribing a moral tone to his own statements was much in evidence here and would later return many a time in his writings. There is much to suggest that the young journalist was not just conducting an epistemological dispute on the nature of scientific discovery, but that he recognized that this polemic had in essence a moral meaning and thus he ascribed somewhat ignoble motives to his adversaries. So this dispute was not epistemological, nor was it exclusively political. In Dmowski’s presentation of it, as in that of other radicals, it was a conflict of moral arguments.

Idolatry towards science was meant to turn it into an idol, a fetish, the writer continued. It was meant to be proof of the ignorance and mental weakness of those practising [British spelling.] it. On the other hand, right at the beginning of his musings the young ‘idealist’ recognized general fulminations against science as a dangerous manifestation of narrow-mindedness and mental crudeness. This view, like that of many of his ideological comrades, could testify to his personal position, proof of which was his frequent publications of a purely scientific nature.<sup>42</sup>

The leader of the young ‘patriots’ – the new Romantics as they sometimes called themselves – was in any case thinking of an academic career in science. As early as 1893, the year of the formation of the National League, the number of Dmowski’s publications of a scientific nature was more or less equal to his political articles. But politics put an end to these plans.

---

42 See *inter alia* R. Dmowski, ‘Studia nad wymoczkami. O kilku wymoczkach z rządu holotrica (cilitia) spotykanych w nalewkach siana’, *Pamiętnik Fizjograficzny*, 11, 1891 and reprinted Kraków 1892, p. 19, 1 unnumbered., 2 tables; [RD], ‘Z zagadnień biologicznych. Elementarna budowa ustrojów’, *Głos*, 1893, no. 34–35, 37; id., ‘Rozwój rodowy użębienia u zwierząt ssących’, *Wszechświat*, 1893, no. 13; [rd], ‘Kronika naukowa. Nowa rodzina parzystokopytnych’, *Ibid*.

This rift between a naturalistic approach to reality and a postulated primacy of spirit over matter, and thus a questioning of all kinds of determinism, made a mark on Dmowski's views on the nation and racial questions.

Physical anthropology as a science drew rather rigid boundaries between the races. In truth, there were significant differences between the views of individual scientists, but these tended to boil down to questions of detail. The message remained explicit. Races as such are creations that really exist. Intermingling them leads to a deterioration of a range of characteristics of the specific racial types. More extreme scholars, such as Georges Vacher de Lapouge, added that racial mixing *inevitably* leads to the destruction of specific racial types and to their disappearance from the world.<sup>43</sup> Accepting axioms of natural science signified approval of biological determinism. Man, as a living entity, and race as a natural/historical phenomenon are limited by their physicality, said nineteenth-century biologists. Anthropologists proved this contention in a more extreme version. Yet the triumph of the soul, which the idealists revered so zealously, was to give way to matter? How to combine biological determinism with faith in the primacy of spirit over matter?

For Dmowski reading Gustave Le Bon proved to be helpful. We can assume that Dmowski had turned to Le Bon's work in order to deepen his interest in the fate of great civilizations. These youthful enthusiasms in the history of empires in no way disappeared as he attained adulthood, but assumed a new form.

Le Bon, at the time an influential French philosopher of history, was interested in the fate of great ancient cultures, especially the causes of their greatness and subsequent fall.<sup>44</sup> He devoted bulky tomes to the ancient Arabs, Greeks and

---

43 See Z. Sternhell, *Antropologie et politique: les avatars du darwinisme social au tournant du siècle*, in *L'Allemagne nazi et le génocide juif*, Paris 1985, pp. 53–75; J.-Ch. Coffin, 'Le Thème de la Dégénérescence de la race autour de 1860', *History of European Ideas*, vol. 15, 1992, no. 4–6, pp. 727–732. See too for the views of G. Vacher de Lapouge, a socialist anthropologist, who combined in his works social Darwinism with elements of cultural pessimism, M. Tuiller, *Un anarchiste positiviste, Georges Vacher de Lapouge*, in *L'idée de race dans la pensée politique française contemporaine*, ed. P. Guiral and E. Temime, Paris 1977; P.A. Taguieff, *La couleur et le sang. Doctrines racistes à la française*, Paris 2002, pp. 199–326; I. Hannaford, *The Race...*, pp. 292–293.

44 See G. le Bon, *La Civilisation des Arabes*, Paris 1884; *id.*, *Les Civilisations de l'Inde*, Paris 1887; *id.*, *Les premières Civilisations*, Paris 1889. The best monograph on Le Bon and his influence on French intellectual life is still R.A. Nye, *The Origins of Crowd Psychology. Gustave Le Bon and the Crisis of Mass Democracy in the Third Republic*, London–Beverly Hills 1975; I. Hannaford, *The Race...*, pp. 337–340. For Le Bon's place and his influence on the ideas of the nationalist right see Z. Sternhell, 'Fascism: reflections on the fate of

Romans, the inhabitants of India, as well as to the fate of the people of Biblical Israel. However, the Polish response to Le Bon's work was limited.<sup>45</sup> The first version of one of his more important works, *Les lois psychologiques de l'évolution des peuples*, appeared not until 1896, in a translation by Zygmunt Poznański with a critical commentary by Julian Ochorowicz, [one of the main personalities in Warsaw positivism. GK]. For the rest of the French author's work, including the popular *La psychologie des foules* or *La psychologie du socialisme*, the Polish reader would have to wait for over a dozen years.

The 24-year-old biology student used what he had at hand. His review of an article by Le Bon (published in *La Revue scientifique*) on the influence of race on history appeared on the pages of *Prawda*.<sup>46</sup> This was probably one of his very first publications. For Dmowski Le Bon loomed a virtual revelation. His conclusions from reading the philosopher of science amounted to something of an epiphany. The reviewer wrote: 'Just as a zoologist or a botanist, in order to understand a given animal form or plant, studies the stages through which they have passed [...] so the chronicler in order to explain a given era in civilization or a break in a certain nation's course, must now delve into the past, or examine the constant creative factors, such as national, social, and religious arrangements, but above all natural factors: climate, geographical location, a country's geological character. Amongst these one of the most significant roles is played by race [underlining in the original].'

More to the point, Dmowski reacted sympathetically to Le Bon's renunciation of trivial anthropology. At the start of his piece he noted: 'seeking certain constant physical features, such as the shape of the head, the colour of the eyes or hair, is often disappointing.' Otherwise, Le Bon was not a supporter of race

---

ideas in twentieth century history', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, vol. 5, June 2000, no. 5, p. 139 and note. One can find a detailed analysis of Le Bon's views in P.A. Taguieff, *Le Racialisme évolutionniste et le darwinisme social 'libéral' de Gustav Le Bon*, in id., *La couleur et le sang...*, pp. 87–134. In Polish see too J. Jedlicki, *Świat zwyrodniały...*, pp. 192–195.

45 One of the first discussions of Le Bon's work was published in *Głos* by J. Hłasko – J.H. Siemieniecki, 'Z obcego świata XLI', *Głos*, 26 XI (8 XII) 1888, no. 46, pp. 597–598. The piece was met with voices of protest in the pages of *Prawda* and *Przegląd Tygodniowy*, whose writers acknowledged that Hłasko, by quoting Le Bon's views, was himself advocating racism. This assumption was not far from the truth. A few months later, the editor of *Głos* published a very laudatory discussion of E. Drumont's writings. Hłasko, alongside J.L. Popławski, was considered to be the protector of 'nationalistically' oriented 'patriotic' youth. L. Krzywicki, *Wspomnienia...*, vol. 3, p. 83.

46 RD [R. Dmowski], 'Rasa i dzieje', *Prawda*, 23 V (11 VI) 1888, no. 25, pp. 291–293. Quotations are taken from this article.

in the 'organic biology' sense. He favoured racial entities, although as based on constant racial characteristics. Race has a soul, held the French writer, which in turn rules feelings and human thought. It does so almost passively.<sup>47</sup>

This view of race was far superior to the early ideas of the first theoreticians of racism, such as Artur de Gobineau (1816–1882). Gobineau's concept of race, still rooted in the Romantic mentality, was fuzzy and unclear. His division of humankind into three races (white, yellow, and black), as well as the resultant origins of world history, had been done in an arbitrary fashion and was open to question. Furthermore, Gobineau was a gloomy doomsayer; he was more struck by the intermingling of the races, i.e. their degeneration as such, than by their rebirth. He did not glorify Aryans, nor did he direct his arguments against the Jews.

As an expert on the subject writes, Gobineau did indeed provide the modern racists with a stage and all the basic props, including the concept of the distinctiveness of constituent racial characteristics, as well as a prohibition on racial intermingling – that is, the concept of the degeneracy of a racial type. However, his views were not adopted immediately.<sup>48</sup> *Essais sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (1853–1856) called for a more optimistic reading in order that their author's fundamental discovery – race – not just become an epitaph, but serve as a call to action.<sup>49</sup> And in fact new, more palatable readings of the concept of race did begin to appear.

For Le Bon race was a historical factor, evolutionary in its own way, and thus splendidly adapted to socio-Darwinian concepts of social change. This dynamic vision of the world, in which race was a developmental factor, therefore perfectly complemented social Darwinism's initial structure. Inevitably, Dmowski compared results of research on contemporary natural history with Le Bon's conclusions. The two systems, in his opinion, were suited to being linked closely together. One of Dmowski's favourite terms taken from the work of the French philosopher of history was the phrase 'spiritual physiognomy', which he thereafter ever so willingly applied. The basis of race was supposedly contained in its spirit, for races have a spirit and a special spiritual identity on which national character and the nation's intelligence, apart from its 'physical constitution', also have a definite influence.

---

47 For Le Bon's understanding of race see R.A. Nye, *The Origins...*, respectively pp. 42–43, 49–54 and P.A. Taguieff, *La couleur et le sang...*, pp. 91–98.

48 G. L. Mosse, *The Crisis of German ideology: intellectual origins of the Third Reich*, London 1970, p. 124 See too A. Gniazdowski, 'Wolność rasy', *Przegląd Polityczny*, 2005, no. 72, pp. 122–131.

49 E.D. Weitz, *A Century of Genocide...*, p. 37.

Historical might, Dmowski explained, consisted above all of a moral order. In any event, Dmowski, as many of his contemporaries, had already taken this statement from his reading of Henry Thomas Buckle or William Lecky. But for a state to become a civilization it needs its own national 'intelligence'. 'On condition,' Dmowski emphasized, 'that it will be creative, spontaneous, and not imitative, simply adopting the fruits of creative minds.' However, such 'intelligences' are not born spontaneously.

Dmowski went on to read in Le Bon that an important element in the development of a new ethnic quality was the level of racial cohesion. Racial homogeneity was in this view an indispensable factor in the creation of an empire. Let us take just two examples, Dmowski said: England and France. In the first case, indigenous elements (British and Saxon) combined with a Norman influx creating a completely new, homogenous English race. In France, however, there were Burgundian, Picardian, and Provençal tribes, and a whole mass of others, which never united into a cohesive whole. 'Disturbances and feuding are the order of the day; it was hard to have institutions which would satisfy citizens' [sic] very different customs, aspirations and beliefs,' wrote Dmowski.

Conclusions came unbidden; 'These races are a legacy of the whole past and have a decisive say in matters of the future [...]. As the world ages, so too do races gain in permanence and resistance. The weight of inheritance increases. If races at the dawning of history are somewhat susceptible to change, then they lose this ability during their maturity. Political bodies forming a mosaic of nationalities should remember that a multi-racial amalgam can be achieved only slowly and by degrees.' On the other hand, some *de facto* racial intermingling did take place; even the most die-hard supporter of racial theories could not deny it. This issue also attracted Dmowski's attention. He admitted that in reality races at the present time might well assimilate and interbreed. In order to produce any kind of desired result such racial intermingling had to fulfill two conditions.

First of all, no race should greatly outnumber another. Secondly, differences between races – in their physical and intellectual form – cannot be too extreme. If one race is less numerous than another then it will eventually be eliminated. A supposed example of this was the 'warrior whites' amongst the black peoples in Africa, as the reviewer scrupulously noted. A lack of similarity among races, he stated, leads to a situation in which, if they should combine, the weaker race will be beaten and possibly destroyed. A positive example of such intermingling of similar elements was the birth of the Americans' 'exceptional courage'. While Dmowski regretted that the latter lacked 'aesthetic abilities', he at once added: 'these energetic people of action do not draw their stock from poets, artists, and dreamers.'

It appears that Dmowski was struck most by a situation when races, despite fundamental obstacles between them, eventually succumb to racial interbreeding. Such an outcome would turn out to be as fatal for the stronger element as it was for the one that had been absorbed: ‘Both lose,’ he wrote. ‘The third race bred is usually morally below the other two. Intermingling Hindus with Europeans, whites with blacks, Spaniards with Americans – produced weak tribes, incapable of joining the march of civilization.’

Dmowski also found a few other theories in Le Bon, which, as we may judge, very much appealed to him. The first, perhaps the most important one, stated that historical development leads more to a diversification of the races than to standardization. The best proof of this was meant to be the level of education – highly developed among some peoples, and among others very much lacking. But that was not all: Le Bon proved that this diversifying tendency also appears within races and nations. Dmowski went on: ‘Intellectual conditions do not have a uniform effect on individuals; the better endowed rise up, the underprivileged stay stationary. The gap between these two grows thanks to divisions of labour, which condemn the lower classes to monotonous and mind-numbing toil. An engineer these days must have more intelligence than a mechanic a hundred years ago, but today’s workman needs less for making a watch wheel, especially if he has spent his life slogging away at this one task, than his ancestor who knew how to make the whole watch by himself [...]. So if such eminent diversification outpaces tendencies towards a common denominator, then really dim prospects open up for democratic theories and equalizing dreams [...]. Iron necessity separates race from race and individual from individual, and reviles the loftiest slogans of our era.’ This minor paragraph is worthy of attention.

As we know, continually repeating the above theses led the author of *La psychologie des foules* to an evolution in his ideas. A few years later, he became one of the most virulent critics of liberal democracy and for that reason was elevated to the rank of the leading ideologue of the French radical right.<sup>50</sup> It is unclear how Dmowski reacted to the conclusions coming from the French philosopher of history’s treatise, which were so risky for our contemporary progressive. As exemplifications illustrative of Le Bon’s thesis Dmowski threw in a few of his own examples, writing e.g.: ‘The abyss thus dug deepens and widens with each century [...]. Anyone doubting this can find convincing confirmation in anatomical

---

50 Z. Sternhell, *Maurice Barrès et le nationalisme français*, Paris 2000, p. 34 and note. See too P. Boutry, A.-R. Michel, *Le Moule de l’individu*, in *Histoire des droites en France*, vol. 3: *Sensibilités*, J.-F. Sirinelli (ed.), Paris 1992, pp. 650–652.

data. While differences in the size of skull among backward peoples are really not great, among races on the higher rungs of culture they are as immense as are spiritual differences. True, the average, roughly proportionate size leads to progress, but this in no way explains the alarming deepening of differences between skulls [...] the best proof of which is the average skull size of Asiatic peoples, such as the Hindus and Chinese, hardly different from that in developed Western Europe, despite our overall superiority over the Asiatics.'

So this 'iron' rule of development stood in the way of the 'loftiest' slogans of the day. The differentiation of the races, and of individuals themselves in the framework of political communities, recognized as a rule of society's functioning, stood in striking contrast to egalitarian ideals. So was this demand for the democratization of peoples, one so fundamental for the radicals of the day, slated to be a pipedream contrary to the laws of progress? Was Dmowski even then openly betraying the slogans of the progressive camp in whose activities he had participated since secondary school?

A reading of the review in Warsaw's *Prawda* definitely did not permit such far-reaching conclusions. Readers of the progressive weekly did not receive categorical replies as to the political applicability of Le Bon's theories. Instead they could learn about the disturbing conclusions resulting from a reading of the work of this writer, who was then popular in France. The ideological doubts raised in Dmowski's mind by a reading of the French theoretician returned later. He overcame them only when he found himself on the other side of the barricades. At least that is what his contemporaries believed. Dmowski saw in this French writer's treatise a direct confirmation of his own beliefs brought from home.

On the other hand though, reading Le Bon yielded an ambiguous message for the 'patriotic' activist. The creation of empires and civilizations, which fired his imagination during his early years, did not always have to go hand-in-hand with social democratization. Furthermore, it could bar the way to these aspirations and effectively obstruct them. This is what Le Bon was arguing, as opposed to Buckle, Spencer, or Lubbock. Dmowski was not dotting the i's and crossing the t's and did not always clearly reveal his own views, at times hiding behind the formula of a commentator, at times refraining from offering a conclusion. However, one can hazard a guess that by accepting the idea of empire, he was even then ready to sacrifice some of his egalitarian convictions.

The second key conclusion from reading Le Bon was the conviction that race, and its contemporary representation in the form of nations, were not ahistorical phenomena. They do not last for ever, they are subject to evolution and they change in accordance with a constant pattern marked by four periods: birth, growth, decline, and death. 'There is a high point,' wrote our reviewer, 'beyond



which you cannot go and at which decline and degeneration begin. After genius in the stock, family decrepitude commonly sets in; after a nation's high intellectual level – a step backwards.' This pattern can also be transferred without major alterations to Polish reality at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. After all, as Le Bon had confirmed on his own authority, civilizations and empires fall. But races, especially those that practise cleanliness and uniformity, do not leave the stage of history quite so quickly. Only those with a will to live, a thirst for action, and a strong moral identity have a chance to obtain a permanent place in the march of civilization.

The third, perhaps the most important conclusion from a reading of the French philosopher of history was the conviction that it is possible to link the realms of ideas and spirit – in other words, qualities valuable for a whole generation with the hard reality of the laws of nature, 'indomitable' laws, which govern nature, and man, too, as an element in the social organism. Furthermore, material indicators are not always determinants of power, but rather the realm of will, character, and thought translated into action. Spirit united with matter!

However, Dmowski's subsequent journalistic career should serve to show how lasting an effect his reading, undoubtedly a close reading,<sup>51</sup> of Le Bon had left. However, we should not overestimate Le Bon's direct influence on Dmowski's views. The young Dmowski, as his friends had noted from his earliest days, was an independent thinker often at loggerheads with the fashions of the day. Striking for such a young man was rather his iron determination in developing certain premises. His reading of the French writer, 'a fine anthropologist and philosopher of history', as he wrote about him, served more as a confirmation of the 'patriot' in his own thinking, while also conferring on it a scientific imprimatur. We can assume that Dmowski was seeking in the French scholar's reflections confirmation of his earlier thoughts. In other words, Dmowski found what he was seeking.

The published write-up was just a further stage in his self-education and a compendium of his earlier reading. Le Bon's theses were really only the airing of certain postulates of social Darwinism, and thus were part of a pattern also known to his contemporaries. At the end of the review Dmowski added meticulously: 'Hence Draper redivivus' [underlining in the original].

---

51 In 1892 Dmowski was already in Paris. As his Paris colleague and later close friend Władysław Jabłonowski notes, Dmowski, immediately after arriving, set off for the School of Anthropology where he attended lectures on a regular basis. He wrote: 'Even then he was extremely interested in the monuments of ancient Eastern civilizations and before that he would go round the Louvre and gaze.' *Ze wspomnień Władysława Jabłonowskiego*, in M. Kułakowski, *Roman Dmowski...*, vol. 1, p. 147.

One of the generation's teachers, John W. Draper (1811–1882), in his widely-read *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe* (translated by Tadeusz Korzon in 1872–1873 as *Dzieje umysłowego rozwoju Europy*), argued that social progress is subject to the same laws as the development of the body, and that human life is the life of a nation on a smaller scale. Hence nations are subject to the same developmental phases from birth until death as is the human being. Although nations are a transitory form, their life span is unknown, since (as in the case with every man) it depends on the effort and actions of specific human types. Draper – a scientist with a great number of achievements in the fields of chemistry and physiology – emphasized the existence of free will in man. He posited a form of immortality for a nation in the creation of a civilization. In his review on the philosophy of history he assessed the significance of particular leaders and personalities by their services to civilization.

Here we should recall that Le Bon's ideas – digested for one's own use – allowed for a rationalization of a great many personal antipathies. Dmowski's prejudices against others, especially the Jews, which had been there during his schooldays, could thus channel themselves into an even more coherent philosophical system.

However, we must not forget Gustave le Bon's influence on forming the imagination of an era.<sup>52</sup> Together with Jean-Marie Guyau and later Friedrich Nietzsche, the French philosopher of history became one of the most evocative guides for the up-and-coming generation, especially when it came to its more reactionary faction. This was not just a Polish oddity.<sup>53</sup>

As has been mentioned, Dmowski joined *Głos's* editorial board at a very significant moment for the journal. The 'Głos-ites' were parting company with part of their team – namely, the Marxist contributors with Ludwik Krzywicki at their

---

52 One of the first to suggest Le Bon's influence on developing the views of the whole nationalist movement was L. Kulczycki, 'Jeszcze o nacjonalizmie', *Krytyka*, September 1902, no. 9, p. 156 and note. See too B. Grott, 'Chrześcijańskie i świeckie inspiracje w doktrynach nacjonalizmu polskiego', *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, 1993, no. 4, pp. 79–91. On this subject we should probably not omit the voice of Krzysztof Kawalec, who trivializes the meaning of these influences, pointing out the essential differences between Le Bon's views and Dmowski's ideas. Unfortunately, the historian does set out his views clearly. K. Kawalec, *Roman Dmowski...*, p. 213.

53 See G. Sluga, 'What is national self-determination? Nationality and psychology during the apogee of nationalism', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 11, January 2005, no. 1, p. 1–20. The writer of this interesting article evocatively proves that Le Bon's views were more or less a given for many of the participants in the Versailles conference. For this line of argument in a broader context dealing with the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century see ead., *Nation, Psychology and International Politics, 1870–1919*, London 2006.

head. This stage in the paper's evolution was linked to the strengthening antisemitic campaign. It was partly a splinter off the already-mentioned dispute between part of the 'Głos-ites' and Krzywicki, partly an element of the wider debate (perhaps the most significant in the 90s) on the Jewish question, which had been stirred up, somewhat unconsciously, by Bolesław Prus in his feature on the workings of the Hirsch foundation.<sup>54</sup> A unique increase in the debate's intensity on the pages of *Głos* took place after the publication by Jan Ludwik Popławski of an article entitled *Liberalne wykręty* (*Liberal Excuses*) (1890), in which the Jews were recognized as being an exceptionally harmful parasite on the Polish national organism.

The journal then published the previously-mentioned series of articles, called an historical/social sketch, with the distinctive title *Czem jest Izrael?*<sup>55</sup> The author

---

54 See B. Prus, 'Kronika Tygodniowa', *Kurier Codzienny*, 9 (21) X 1889, no. 291, pp. 1–2, as well as id., *Kroniki*, vol. 12, edited by Z. Szwejkowski, Warsaw 1962, pp. 69–81. After this piece, polemical voices poured forth from the pages of *Izraelita*, which provoked Prus into writing a fuller series entitled *Z powodu 12.000.000 guldenów*, which also appeared in the *Kurier Codzienny* (nos. 307, 309, 313, 315, 319, 321, 328, 331). A violent discussion developed on this series, which appeared in November and December of 1889, in which journalists from e.g. *Prawda*, *Izraelita*, *Przegląd Tygodniowy*, *Gazeta Polska*, *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, *Tygodnik Powszechny*, *Biesiady Literackie*, *Przegląd Katolicki*, *Kurier Warszawski*, the émigré journals *Pobudka* and the socialist *Przedświt*, *Rola*, *Wiek* and the Lwów *Ojczyzna* – the organ of assimilated Galician Jews, participated. This event also led a certain M. Kolasiński to write as 'an honest man' a pamphlet entitled *Polityczne samobójstwo*, part 1 *Antysemityzm zgubą*, Kraków 1890, in which Prus was under the gun. After a time the debate died down, but echoes of it cropped up many times later in Polish journalism in the 90s. The debate is pithily reported by H. Datner-Śpiewak, 'Inteligencja żydowska: czynnik postępu lub rozkładu? Z dyskusji nad inteligencją żydowską w Królestwie Polskim', *Biuletyn ŻIH*, October 1994 – June 1995, no. 4/94–2/95, pp. 30–35. Also ead, *Ta i tamta strona...*, pp. 278–286. See too A. Cała, *Asymilacja Żydów...*, 257–261; A. Friedrich, *Bolesław Prus wobec kwestii żydowskiej*, in *Bolesław Prus. Pisarz, publicysta, myśliciel*, M. Woźniakiewicz-Dziadosz (ed.), S. Fita, Lublin 2003, pp. 335–346.

55 W. Ziemiński, 'Czem jest Izrael? Szkic historyczno społeczny, I', *Głos*, 4 (16) VIII 1890, no. 33, pp. 395–397; id., 'Czem jest Izrael? [...], II', *Głos*, 11 (23) VIII 1890, no. 34, pp. 407–409; id., 'Czem jest Izrael? [...], III', *Głos*, 18 (30) VIII 1890, no. 35, pp. 431–433; id., 'Czem jest Izrael? [...], IV', *Głos*, 1 (13) IX 1890, no. 37, pp. 444–446; id., 'Czem jest Izrael? [...], IV [V]', *Głos*, 8 (20) IX 1890, no. 38, pp. 457–458; id., 'Czem jest Izrael? [...], VII', *Głos*, 15 (27) IX 1890, no. 39, pp. 469–470; id., 'Czem jest Izrael? [...], IV [VIII]', *Głos*, 22 IX (4 X) 1890, no. 40, pp. 482–484; id., 'Czem jest Izrael? [...], [IX]', *Głos*, 29 IX (11 X) 1890, no. 41, pp. 494–495; Editor, 'Czem jest Izrael? [X]', *Głos*, 6 (18) X 1890, no. 42, pp. 504–507. See too A. Cała, *Asymilacja Żydów...*, p. 392.

of this lengthy essay – even for a journal that published extensive pieces – was a certain Witold Ziemiński. This was probably a *nom de plume*. No contributor with this name had hitherto appeared in *Głos*, nor did he write for other Warsaw publications. Interestingly too, for a beginner Ziemiński demonstrated exceptionally detailed knowledge, based moreover on precise mental constructs.

The author of these sketches was not short on ambition. He cannot be faulted for the sweep of his narrative. He began his lecture more or less at the start of civilization and brought things up to what for him was the present. But this was a sweep mixed up with vicious dislike. Although Ziemiński announced a scientific examination of the Jewish question, of this, as he put it, ‘incurable human suffering,’ in fact his piece had little to do with a reliable elucidation of the issue. *Czem jest Izrael?* is a virulent lampoon of Jewish history, written with passion, and in an attempt to present the mythologized role of the Jews in world history. As witnesses in his multi-layered accusation the writer picked some élite company from the then leading fashionable scholars of civilization, such as Renan, Bel-langé, Havet, Rawlinson and Le Bon in the principal roles. Ziemiński surely took the most from the latter writer. Skillfully selected quotes from the ‘classics’ were sometimes more drastic in their bluntness than the work of the ‘Głos’ newcomer.

This article, unprecedented even in the context of ‘Głos’ publications at the time, was a telltale attempt to rewrite the history of the Jews. It is still not clear what had really motivated its author, but the amount of accumulated material was astonishing. It appears that Ziemiński was indirectly attempting to prove the, as he defined it: ‘obvious fallacy of the principle of human intellectual homogeneity.’<sup>56</sup> The error of this principle was supposedly apparent in the attitude of the Jews towards other communities and vice versa. This erroneous attitude had in the past led to a great many tragedies, and its thorough ‘scientific’ diagnosis ought to prevent this in the future. But these initial assurances hid a simple unspoken aversion to the subject of these inquiries. *Czem jest Izrael?* was something along the lines of a criminal history of the Jewish people. The crime had supposedly begun in ancient times, where the author sought the origins of the ‘rapacious and parasitical organization.’<sup>57</sup>

According to Ziemiński, the history of the Jews right from the start was doomed to be burdened with some ominous destiny. Although the writer attempted to provide the historical/social origins of Jewish history’s uniqueness, in

---

56 W. Ziemiński, ‘Czem jest Izrael?, I’..., p. 395.

57 Ibid.

the end the Jews' mysterious, simply metaphysical ghastliness always came back to him.

In Ziemiński's view, it was the Jews' Asiatic roots that supposedly gave their history its uniqueness. He pointed out that the Jews as a tribe had been born at the juncture between agricultural and nomadic cultures. Remaining nomads and living in that infertile expanse they had followed a policy of plunder. This plundering, alternating with a policy of conquering small neighbouring agricultural states, supposedly left on them the mark of spiritual difference. The Jews, through a conjunction of historical factors, but above all of spontaneous, intra-tribal tendencies, had stopped at a mythical stage of social development. The rest of their ancient history was cleverly constructed mythology. The Babylonian captivity was supposedly one of the great falsehoods invented by the Jews, *de facto* devised by them as a legend for political purposes. Another falsehood of Jewish history was their rule in Palestine. A similarly devious mystification turned out to be the Jewish faith itself. Yahweh, according to Ziemiński, was a collective term for all the gods from those lands where the Jews had lived in antiquity. Furthermore, Jewish monotheism was an invented collective delusion, whereas in fact the object of their cult was a compilation of a great many Eastern deities.

History written by the Jews was a great fabrication, the writer stated elsewhere. He wrote: 'This carelessness and uncontrollable mania for falsifying things leads to a situation in which there is no description of any current event in which names, places, and times have not been tendentiously changed [...]. Furthermore, we see glimpses of the history of other peoples, foreign to Israel, stated as its own, with the aim of legalizing an already completed usurpation and of laying claim to subsequent usurpations.'<sup>58</sup>

In principle, every stage in the history of the Jews had been, in this presentation, some sort of act of plunder. Even at the dawn of their history the Jews supposedly took on the external robes of other cultures so as to be able to throw them off as quickly as possible when becoming a power. The eminent personalities of Jewish history did not appear any better. The writer ascribed despicable characteristics to just about all of them. For instance, Judas Maccabeus, the leader of the Jewish insurgents against Roman rule, was presented as the ringleader of a band of villains. His victories were minor incidents, which Jewish legend had exaggerated.<sup>59</sup> Solomon and David were simple creations. The former was probably not even Jewish, argued Ziemiński with a sneer. The columnist saw the

---

58 W. Ziemiński, 'Czem jest Izrael?', II..., p. 407.

59 Ibid, pp. 408–409.

Jewish wise men in a similar light. They all appeared as second-rate imitators, re-gurgitators devoid of originality, and at the very least sworn cultists. They always banded together with their people to work to the detriment of their non-Jewish surroundings.

However, the Jews' historical role assumed especially malevolent characteristics only when they finally appeared in Europe. This fact, in Ziemiński's presentation, has a dual significance, since the author presents himself in his articles as a sworn European. The views he presented were supposedly derived from a 'European' or also an 'Aryan' point of view. The whole hypocrisy, the 'fantastical and one-dimensional nature of an Eastern merchant-cum-cultist's mind' was meant to emerge only in confrontation with the 'simple and straightforward mind of a European,' he wrote.<sup>60</sup>

This antinomy of Europeanness (or Aryanness) and Jewishness appears, in Ziemiński's view, at very different historical moments. Especially reckless is the writer's example of the European people's supposedly patient gentleness faced with supposed Jewish immorality. He also points to the ponderous honesty and good-heartedness of the European, whose innate goodness prevented the creation of the bloodthirsty horrors that the Jews' holy books contained.<sup>61</sup> This contrast in racial/spiritual elements runs through all ten parts of his article. The vocabulary used by Ziemiński is typical. He calls the Jews 'Asiatic aliens, Oriental hucksters of a Semitic type and an element distasteful to an inhabitant of the West, a nomadic tribe from Asia Minor.' He also did not fail to mention the 'ritual mutilation so offensive to the European sensibility.'<sup>62</sup>

But this European patience, Ziemiński went on, must eventually run out. The writer, in his tortuous antisemitic linguistic balancing act, achieved a peculiar finesse when presenting the root of antisemitic pogroms. Thus, he states that the Jews operate according to the following model. In the initial stages small, scattered groups of Jews show up in some community. They usually do not take part in community life, concentrating on accumulating material goods. They are meek and fearful, they do not pester the locals. 'Years later,' Ziemiński goes on, 'we see another picture; by now they are no longer small groups, but huge religious communities, encompassing sometimes whole towns, or significant districts in them. The members of these communities are no longer those original miserable and submissive beggars, but capitalists, entrepreneurs, great property-owners, often

---

60 W. Ziemiński, 'Czem jest Izrael?, I...', p. 395.

61 W. Ziemiński, 'Czem jest Izrael?, II...', p. 409.

62 W. Ziemiński, 'Czem jest Izrael?, III...', p. 422.

dignitaries and senior officials. We see them taking part in the life of the local community, which for its part, in place of its earlier condescending attitude, displays respect for their talents, submits to their leadership and in many instances tries to model itself on them.<sup>63</sup> The third stage begins when the Jews' material power slowly begins to transform itself into spiritual power, which leads to the opposite effect of 'increased racial solidarity and spiritual arrogance towards their surroundings, accompanied by a dismissive attitude towards the local population and a persistent imposition of leadership on it.'<sup>64</sup> The local population cannot abide this and responds with spontaneous dislike in the form of a pogrom, then by legal restrictions, deprivation of plundered wealth, and finally with expulsion of the Jews. In addition, the Jews, incapable of drawing conclusions from this state of affairs, rationalize their defeats, creating around them an aura of false martyrdom, and emerge from such defeats spiritually even more united; hence pogroms, even though morally justified, he continues, are no solution to the problem.

Now, the writer was not so much an opponent of this 'sentimental', 'spontaneous' antisemitism, as someone who perceived its inadequacies. He was more for a more rational, 'scientific' approach to the issue. 'At the present time,' he wrote in his summation, 'the Jews are mid-way through the third phase. Their star, having reached its zenith, is beginning to set and dark clouds are gathering above them ever more ominously.'<sup>65</sup>

We may forego any further reference to this turgid piece. Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century extremely antisemitic pieces were already appearing in the Polish press, although usually without a similar dose of hatred towards the Jews. An exception here continued to be *Rola* and Jan Jeleński's considerable output, but this individual, who was already the subject of discussion, occupied a separate slot in the current intellectual landscape. There is no way to deny Ziemiński a rarely-encountered ardour in presenting his arguments, as if all the views presented emanated from the instructions of some spiritual revolutionary system, or perhaps from a subconscious drive to reveal these supposedly hidden truths.<sup>66</sup>

---

63 W. Ziemiński, 'Czem jest Izrael?', VII..., p. 470.

64 Ibid.

65 Ibid, p. 469.

66 A great many studies on the borderline between social psychology and medical sciences point to the psychological basis of the development of antisemitic attitudes. See Z. Kossowski, *Antysemityzm jako sytuacja wewnętrzna i grupowa*, lecture given on 21 XI 2004 at the Polish Psychoanalytical Association (Polskie Towarzystwo Psychoanalityczne) (manuscript). See too *Myslenie stereotypowe i uprzedzenia. Mechanizmy*

The novelty lay in the fact that this openly declared antisemitism had found a place on the pages of the progressive press. It was typical that the writer stated with conviction that antisemitism could be reconciled with modernity. For instance, he wrote: ‘the neutral and enlightened reader well understands that the issue of progress is one thing, and the Jewish issue is another, just as clericalism and reactionary attitudes are again another.’<sup>67</sup> Hence, according to this formula, antisemitism was meant to be a positive phenomenon, creative in its way, ‘an indication of European societies’ conservative instinct [...] testifying to social consciousness and solidarity.’ Incidentally, Ziemiński loudly bemoaned the fact that so many modern people ‘eagerly involved with ideas of progress’ were unable to dissociate these issues. Others in turn, for the same reasons, throw themselves for a change into the arms of reaction, negating on the way modernity’s positive aspects. In both cases the writer explains this by rigid thinking, mental inertia, and the intellectual progressives’ obtuseness. Not without reason Ziemiński also devoted a great deal of space to a polemic with Bolesław Prus, who at the same time was publishing in the *Kurier Codzienny* a series of articles on the crisis in Jewish assimilation. He accused him of ignoring scientific methods as well as key factors in the issue – i.e. important indicators, such as ‘racial tendencies and twenty centuries of education.’<sup>68</sup>

In addition to the vitriolic tone, pioneering accents came through in Ziemiński’s study. *Czem jest Izrael?* (*What is Israel?*) was perhaps the first racist manifesto on Polish soil. The writer at one stage in his text carefully differentiated ethnic races from anthropological ones, acknowledging the latter only as certain intellectual patterns.<sup>69</sup> In our columnist’s view, the ethnic race of the Jews, their ‘spiritual physiognomy’, was composed of historically-confirmed Asiatic deviousness linked to modern urban degeneracy.

The “good news”, however, was that the modern age would now supposedly reveal the Jews’ whole sinister role in history. The Jews had survived through the ages, linking their original ‘Oriental spirit’ with a swathe of modernity of which they had become a malevolent symbol. Emerging from the murk of history the Jewish tribal type distinguished itself by the ‘constancy and homogeneity’ of its lastingly intertwined characteristics: the avarice, fanaticism, and narrow-mindedness invariably linked to them. This sinister combination of the ‘Jewish element’s’

---

*poznawcze i afektywne*, M. Kofta (academic ed.), Warsaw 2004. See in particular the studies in it by M. Kofta, M. Bilewicz, J. Więckowska, I. and K. Krejtz, B. Błoch.

67 W. Ziemiński, ‘Czem jest Izrael?, IV...’, p. 482.

68 W. Ziemiński, ‘Czem jest Izrael?, IX...’, pp. 494–495.

69 W. Ziemiński, ‘Czem jest Izrael?, VII...’, p. 469.



distinctive features lasted for centuries in the form of 'racial difference'. For contemporaries it revealed itself in the form of different variants of the Jewish people plundering their neighbours' community. The result of this state of affairs was meant to be the Jewish community's unique traits: its self-confidence, wild behaviour, base materialism, one-sided charity, and also its unbridled sensuality.<sup>70</sup> All these negative traits had now with disastrous force emerged into the light of day as the Jews had come into contact with the societies of Central Europe.

One of the diseases that the Jews had brought to this part of Europe was, in Ziemiński's opinion, cosmopolitanism. Naturally, for someone writing from a 'patriotic' perspective, cosmopolitanism was neither worthy of being considered in terms of real existence, nor as an authentic phenomenon. The *Głos* contributor recognized that cosmopolitanism was more of a spiritual state, the artificial, falsified consciousness of a disinherited group. In relation to earlier stages of civilization, cosmopolitanism was meant to be something along the lines of a resurgent wave of barbarism, a reversal of moral feelings. In the case of the Jews, cosmopolitanism was nothing but a cleverly created manifestation of Jewish tribal patriotism, Ziemiński claimed. The Jews, he argued, simply rationalized their own racial/tribal interests. 'Thus,' he wrote 'I doubt very much whether, even straining every ounce of imagination, a settled inhabitant of Europe would be capable of imagining a state in which love for one's native land, attachment to one's native tongue, a feeling of solidarity with those amongst whom one had grown up and matured had disappeared, a state in which the peoples of the whole world were mixed up in one chaotic mass [...].'<sup>71</sup> The Jews were supposedly infusing the democratic movements, which they populated so extensively, with cosmopolitanism, he claimed elsewhere.<sup>72</sup>

However, the 'Głos' writer's greatest fear was caused by incidents of racial intermingling of the native population with Jews. The Jews, just before the period of modernization, had been a degenerative element. That is how things appeared in Western Europe, so in an even bigger setting these processes of degeneracy ran through the culturally inferior nations, such as, for example, in Eastern Europe. 'Usury, selling vodka, prostitution, smuggling, fencing, counterfeiting money, finally fraud, deceit, and extortion in all its forms – are concepts which in the Slav mind combine the concept of the jew [sic] into an inseparable whole.' Ziemiński

---

70 Ibid.

71 W. Ziemiński, 'Czem jest Izrael?', VI..., p. 458.

72 Ibid, p. 457.

devoted a considerable part of his screed to the issue of human trafficking, which was, he indicated, at certain times ‘one of the Israëlite’s principal activities.’<sup>73</sup>

Of course, the process of Jewish assimilation was a fact the author did not deny. However, he was struck more by the results of this process. He focused on the overall cost of expenses and losses resulting from it, and was interested in the ‘value’ of modern Jews and the social value of the assimilated ones. Ziemiński became interested in the historical antecedents of the process of mass Jewish assimilation. The best warning against this type of crowding was, according to him, Spain. The example he presented of the fall of the Spanish monarchy was supposed to prove the dreadful consequences of these artificial, misleading processes. As far as we can judge, this ominous example greatly exercised our ‘Głos’ columnist, since he referred to it on several occasions. Elsewhere he wrote, for instance, that ‘the inevitable outcome of this [racial] intermingling must be antagonism and a split personality.’<sup>74</sup>

Perhaps the most suggestive image in the whole of Ziemiński’s essay is the one he presented of intermediate types, who had arisen as a result of the mass processes of ‘the infiltration of one element by another’. Cases of genuine assimilation, although they do appear, are nonetheless sporadic. Thus, the feasible intermingling of whole ethnic groups must for him have been something incomprehensible. ‘If even insignificant Semitic elements swim for a long time on the surface of our ethnic sea, what would be the result of a flat-rate crossing of Jews with the Polish tribe?’ he asked rhetorically.<sup>75</sup>

Ziemiński argued that the first result of such racial intermingling would be the creation of a new ethnic type. The Jewish racial type, formed over centuries, would in this mishmash have a clear advantage, and in the worst case Slav traits would be completely destroyed. ‘Not only, however, would the nation’s physical type undergo change – no less different would be his spiritual physiognomy,’ Ziemiński stated. ‘Temperament, tendencies, ways of perceiving the external world, morality, even ways of expressing oneself – would be quite different; this new society would feel no threads linking it with the country’s former inhabitants, their current history would have nothing in common with the former society’s history. It would be the Polish nation only in terms of the name of its language, in point of fact this would be a new creation, as foreign to us as are the children of other parents, although bearing the same name [...]. Hence the

---

73 W. Ziemiński, ‘Czem jest Izrael?, IV...’, p. 431–433.

74 W. Ziemiński, ‘Czem jest Izrael?, VII...’, p. 504.

75 *Ibid.*, p. 505.

consolation would be small for us if many centuries later a people, white or red-skinned, but alien to us in blood and spirit – albeit using our language (although, since dependent on race, it would perforce have changed radically) – used the name of our tribe.<sup>76</sup>

Such half-Poles/half-Jews would have to take part in the development of civilization. ‘Would mankind benefit from the appearance of a new type in place of a previous one?’ the writer inquired dramatically. Such an infusion of Jewish blood would definitely not enrich the Poles biologically. The Jews, as Ziemiński fervently argued, were an inferior and primitive element. For Polish tribal cohesion, as the ‘Głos’ writer frequently emphasized, ‘culturally younger than many European ones,’ it would mean a reversal and something akin to collective suicide in the distant future. Although the columnist admitted that the Poles were not at the highest level among the peoples of Europe and that they were not even capable at present of rivalling some of them, he then added that as a tribal entity they were generously endowed. The Jews’ situation was different, since in his view they were a completely degenerate ‘tribe’: ‘a one-dimensional type, having morally degenerated through their parasitical lifestyle, touched by intellectual sterility, finally physically destroyed and dwarf-like.’ In Ziemiński’s study the Jews represented, as it were, the archetype of an anti-race and then – being inherently incapable of development – in the future also an anti-civilization.

A great deal of space is devoted in the essay *Czem Jest Izrael?* to describing those intermediate types – the results of racial/tribal intermingling. This intensifying of negative traits would supposedly produce a veritable monster: ‘by the weakening of the life force, of fertility and resistance, by the appearance of poorly-formed beings, constantly confused, apathetic, incapable of action, powerless in their impulses, veering from one extreme to another, bereft of a consistent point of view and a sense of self-preservation.’ The example of individuals who had already been born to such Polish-Jewish unions was meant to demonstrate convincingly, he went on, that their role and their significance for the development of civilization were negligible and usually harmful.<sup>77</sup>

Interestingly enough, if Ziemiński’s whole screed was striking simply by the extraordinary accumulation of resentment, unceremonious generalizations, simple errors of fact, then the remedial measures proposed by the writer did not in the least differ from the ‘Głos’ position at the time. Like the majority of current ‘Głos-ites’ Ziemiński acknowledged that the remedy for the ‘Jewish question’ was

---

76 Ibid.

77 Ibid, p. 506.

the mass emigration of the ‘children of Israel.’ One gets the impression that it was as if imagination had not yet caught up with the antisemitic passion, which so intensively filled the emotional arguments.

It is telling that just as Ziemiński had unexpectedly appeared on the pages of *Głos*, so too did he surprisingly disappear from the weekly’s pages. Who was he? In addition to the essay in *Głos* that we have been examining, he placed only one other typical article. Just like the piece under discussion this one was also virulent in tone. *Bakteryje społeczne* (*Social Bacteria*), which appeared at the same time as one of the installments in the Jewish series, was a philippic aimed at one of *Prawda*’s contributors.<sup>78</sup> This was Leon Winiarski, at the time someone with definite Marxist leanings, of Jewish descent and, it is worth mentioning, a contributor to *Głos* (later a respected scholar of social life and a docent at the University of Geneva). As specialists on the subject emphasize, Winiarski – an adherent of mechanistic methods in social analysis – was one of the most distinguished Polish sociologists of the day.<sup>79</sup>

In his exceptionally aggressive piece Ziemiński referred to themes on which he had elaborated in his article. In particular, he harkened back to the thesis that the Jews were ‘undermining’ deforming democratic currents, i.e. using the writer’s earlier term, that they were ‘leaving a Semitic imprint [...] giving precedence to an element of hatred, an element destroying the creative organizational element.’<sup>80</sup> Typical too was the intermingling of naturalistic (if not biological) tropes with strictly racial ones. Ziemiński compared the *Prawda* contributor to a primitive, single-celled micro-organism preying on healthy organisms. Its activities, living at the expense of the organism on which it preys, were even more malevolent since it was artfully camouflaged by supposedly positive ideals. On the other hand, this ‘*bacillus* of destruction’, as he described it, was just one representative of a type that had multiplied extensively throughout society. He emphasized that the danger was all the greater because it proliferated in society ‘in youth and sick people’s anaemia.’ The unfortunate Winiarski was also, ‘by the discharge from his soul, undermining our, even without that, helpless and upset minds.’ The accusations Ziemiński levelled at the *Prawda* columnist were almost

---

78 W. Ziemiński, ‘Bakteryje społeczne’, *Głos*, 18 (30) VIII 1890, no. 35, pp. 422–423.

79 See Leon Winiarski (1865–1915), in *Sto lat socjologii polskiej*, J. Szacki (ed.), Warsaw 1999, pp. 232–233. See too the entry on Leon Winiarski in *Słownik socjologiczny*, P. Załęski, K. Olechnicki (eds.), Toruń 1997, p. 244.

80 W. Ziemiński, ‘Czem jest Izrael?, IV’..., p. 457.

exclusively *ad hominem*. The most trivial one was that Winiarski wrote on somewhat different subjects (which in fact was the case).<sup>81</sup>

Winiarski supposedly expressed his views with an undercurrent of ill will, sneering at the universal bases of social life: justice, morality, and truth. This idealistic colouring, which Ziemiński attributed to himself, was clearly juxtaposed with Winiarski's supposedly materialist 'immorality'. Although the criticism to a great extent dealt with the *Prawda* contributor's knowledge of French reality, this echo of home-grown Polish polemics between the Marxists and the 'patriots' was only too evident here. Ziemiński's eagerness in defence of the French peasant was, incidentally, grotesque. If Winiarski analysed French society with the aid of Marxian instruments, then Ziemiński appeared as a card-carrying 'nationalist patriot'.

Thus Ziemiński had the Marxist columnist making excessive use of worn templates, without an understanding of the local context. 'How dare anyone impose on him [i.e. the French peasant] concepts, which he is unable to understand, squeezing him into strange and unsuitable forms, while tearing from him what he feels is his soul's most precious treasure?' he proclaimed. The *Prawda* columnist, supposedly bereft of 'a consciousness of ideals and moral feelings', or indeed of 'honour and dignity' and thus devoid of basic moral impulses, was in no state to judge honestly concrete snippets of social reality for so-called 'organic reasons'. In fact, availing himself in a hypocritical manner of the social-democratic programme, Winiarski was spreading the 'product of his instincts', which Ziemiński immediately clarified as the tendencies and temperament of 'people from Berdichev and Brody' [small towns in the Polish Eastern borderlands, synonymous with the Jewish *shtetl* in Polish nineteenth-century cultural imagination. GK].

Emanations of the 'Jewish spirit' supposedly made themselves felt in the *Prawda* writer, even in the realms of language and morphological imagination. Ziemiński wrote, e.g.: 'On the whole Mr. L.W., when he wants to be funny prefers comic concepts, but not of the old Polish variety. Whenever he wants to show contempt for someone, he always mischievously proposes a mention including a comparison

---

81 Winiarski was a very prolific journalist, with wide interests. He earned his living in the arts in the broadest sense of the word (literature, literary criticism, architecture, painting, economics, international affairs). In the first half of the 90s he was one of *Prawda's* most versatile contributors, alongside Ludwik Krzywicki and Zygmunt Pietkiewicz. See. W. Bieńkowski, *Życie i twórczość Leona Winiarskiego. Z dziejów socjologii polskiej końca XIX w.*, in *Studia z zakresu socjologii, etnografii i historii ofiarowane Kazimierzowi Dobrowolskiemu*, Kraków 1972, pp. 285–297.

with some unclean creature.<sup>82</sup> In another paragraph he attributed to his adversary a simply unclean association of Christian holy places with ritual Jewish slaughter.

This peculiar spiritual racism did not disappear from the pages of *Głos* together with the mysterious Ziemiński. After the *Czem jest Izrael?* series another article appeared on a related subject. Although different in style and free of the obsessive attribution to the Jews of every evil on Earth, it still brought out the same themes and elements of content as had Ziemiński.<sup>83</sup> A certain Maurycy Cygar interested himself in a book by the Spanish journalist and writer Pompeyo Gener entitled *Heregias (Heresies)*.<sup>84</sup> As the commentator carefully noted, Gener's work on 'racial factors and historical influences, incorporated over the centuries into tradition, if not into the nation's lifeblood' would have a considerable significance in the scientific study of society. Cygar maintained that a study of history from the point of view of racial theories would throw new light on eternal political issues. The cause of Spain's collapse, and it was this issue that most struck the reviewer, was in Gener's view the unfinished cultural standardization of Spanish society. Poorly implemented natural selection in Spanish society had supposedly left within it a series of foreign elements, and also the remnants of non-Hispanic societies. The reviewer meticulously identified the role of 'a powerful Semitic element' and its fellow countrymen – the Arabs.' These two elements in the history of the Iberian state were on more than one occasion meant to contain alliances hostile to Christian monarchs. Cygar devoted the greatest part of the review to the effects of this unfortunate racial intermingling. In Gener's view, contemporary Spaniards were an atomized society, governed by people of words, but not deeds. The remnants of the 'spirit of Eastern peoples' can be felt at every turn in the writings of contemporary Spain. Literature, above all love stories and drama, are in this view of

---

82 W. Ziemiński, *Bakteryje społeczne...*, p. 4

83 A few months earlier a review from the French socialist paper *Egalité* had appeared on the pages of *Głos*. The review's author, signing himself enigmatically Z.J. – no such person had appeared, or ever subsequently would appear on the pages of *Głos* – discussed at length the problem of the influence of race on history and compiled at the same time the traits of the 'Jewish soul', distilling every issue on Earth down to the timeless clash of races. The style, the vocabulary, the line of reasoning and also the obsessively evoked motifs, including the leading trope of the fall of Spain being caused by the intermingling of the races, were strikingly similar to W. Ziemiński's and M. Cygar's musings. Z.J., 'O antysemityzmie', *Głos*, 24 III (5 IV) 1890, no. 14, pp. 165–167. For sake of accuracy it should be pointed out that Zygmunt Wasilewski used the initials Z.J. on the pages of *Przegląd Wszepolski*, but some years later.

84 M. Cygar, 'Zagadnienie kultury wobec stosunków rasowych w Hiszpanii', *Głos*, 13 (25) X 1890, no. 43, pp. 520–521.

things saturated with bloodthirstiness, an unparalleled use of crime and a liking for strange exoticism with perversions including pornography. In the realm of science he draws attention to the glaring lack of ideals, linked to empty rhetoric, or the writing of petty, unproductive monographs, 'archaeological scrabbling'. But literature is barely the tip of the iceberg. The fruits of this 'ethnographical shaking', in Cygar's phrase, can also be felt in political and daily life. The quotations produced by the reviewer prove that these alien 'racial touches' have made the greatest imprint on the liberal and progressive parties, whose leaders in spirit and behaviour are somewhat reminiscent of Eastern caliphs. Daily Iberian life is now just a mirror image of relations modelled at the upper levels of public life. Current obligations are treated with contempt, while day by day and year by year the population grows ever more idle. The reviewer added on his own behalf that, if the Spanish writer were to be believed, then work, time, and life in his country were in a similar state of rootlessness as they were in the time of Charles the Bewitched – one of the Spanish monarchs. 'Then we see,' he added not without malice, 'that the age of heroism is not yet in Spain the stuff of legend.'

Above everything hovered the 'Semitic psychological genius', as colourfully described in a quote from Gener, which, it should be noted, not only the Jews, but also the ancient Moors and even the gypsy races personified – in other words, oriental people. The reviewer doubted whether without recourse to radical measures Spain could rise again and be in a fit state to participate in the march of progress and civilization.

This not fully comprehensible 'promotional campaign' for racism died down just as quickly as it had burst into the journalism of the day. It is hard, incidentally, to find out what aims motivated those, or rather (much more likely) the writer, who were promoting these innovative ideas. In any event, Maurycy Cygar, the mysterious Z.J., as well as the author of the *Czem jest Izrael?* series, vanished from the pages of *Głos*.

This final study could have been sent into the weekly's editor anonymously.<sup>85</sup> Surely the success of Ziemiński's enterprise was only partial, given that the editors – while sharing his conclusions and thus compulsory (?) emigration of the Jews as a way to solve the Jewish question – dissociated themselves from

---

85 It is not clear from the memoirs of Zygmunt Wasilewski, who at the time was secretary to *Głos's* editorial board, how the 'great Ziemiński case' came to be printed. However, Wasilewski noted: 'The Ziemiński case has made a great impression; masonic circles have finally lost faith in *Głos*,' id., 'Na widowni', *Mysl Narodowa*, 24 I 1937, no. 4, p. 57.

his article's premises. To cap it all, the paper's ideological leader, Jan Ludwik Popławski, *de facto* dissociated himself from Ziemiński's racist reflections.<sup>86</sup>

This vehement racist manifesto turned out to be something of a false start. Angry voices were raised in Warsaw's papers. In turn the 'Głos-ites' seemed to lose steam in raising the Jewish issue after the series of Ziemiński's articles, while the paper's antisemitic tone became clearly less strident. Although the Jewish subject later returned like a boomerang, Ziemiński's ideas were not directly assimilated. At least, in terms of the paper's principal thrust.

What distinguished Ziemiński's piece from the extensive anti-Jewish writings of the day? First of all, the piece's whole structure was based on racist principles. If in *Rola's* articles the concept of race was somehow vaguely sensed, in Ziemiński's deliberations it was in fact the key to an explanation of social reality. What distinguished these texts from Catholic writings was the clear indication that races were socio-biological, in the face of which all cultural processes were always derivative and somewhat artificial. These processes, such as large-scale religious conversions, were in this view doomed to failure, for they represented the negation of ethnic entities as such. Furthermore, they undermined the bases of their social existence. Although Ziemiński referred in his articles to the fickleness of historical processes, on the other hand he unambiguously pointed out that biological factors were a constant, organic value and that their role would always be key in social development.

Secondly, this text's distinguishing feature was placing the writer firmly, one might even say definitively, in a broader identity, one perhaps deeper than a national one. Ziemiński appeared in these pieces as a European. He emphasized this frequently, and in other passages he seems unconsciously to refer to it. Although the very concept of 'European/Aryan' identification appeared here above all in a descriptive context, somewhat antithetical as far as the Jews were concerned, the writer's constant desire to emphasize his deeper racial-cultural identity could be felt. This 'European' moment, strengthened by a unique racial theory of history, appeared to a greater extent in his vitriolic attack on Leon Winiarski.

Thirdly, and finally, like the majority of antisemites of the period, Ziemiński believed that the times in which he lived were a historical space within which the

---

86 See J.L. Popławski, 'Warunki historyczne', *Głos*, 27 X (8 XI) 1890, no. 45, pp. 539–540. Interestingly however, some years later Popławski adopted Ziemiński's line of argument. In one of his textbook articles he referred to Ziemiński's work and agreed with him. See, id. 'Pochodzenie i istota syonizmu', *Przegląd Wszehpolski*, November 1902, no. 11, pp. 814–825. Also in J.L. Popławski, *Pisma polityczne*, vol. 1, Warsaw–Kraków 1910, pp. 245–263.



Jews' negative influence was demonstrating exceptional harmfulness. This line of reasoning was evident in criticism of the assimilation of Jews in Germany and France, but also in Austria, Hungary, and Romania where one of the first antisemitic conferences was held.<sup>87</sup> Then modern and rapidly modernizing Budapest, with its numerous and influential Jewish community – 'Jewdapest' – became a symbol of such thinking.<sup>88</sup>

This critique of Jewish assimilation in Hungary had, incidentally, a certain peculiar feature. Alongside the Catholic Church the Jews, as Robert Seton-Watson wrote, became a bastion of Magyar chauvinism.<sup>89</sup> Even if there was some exaggeration in this statement, there was also an element of truth in it. Such attitudes were also attacked by intellectuals of Jewish descent, for instance the liberal historian Oszkar Jászi, who recalled that such behaviour exposed other Jews to the hostility of persecuted minorities. Only unlike other writers, usually of conservative leanings, who reacted with horror to the 'invasion' of the Jews into public life, the author of the piece *Czem jest Izrael?* pointed to the Jews' historical harmfulness. Győzo Istoczy, the most vociferous Hungarian antisemite of the day, a participant in numerous antisemitic international congresses, adopted a similar attitude, underlining that the Jews were no longer just a denominational grouping, but 'a closed social caste, whose exceptionally strong unity was guaranteed by a community of blood, based on centuries-old tradition, common interests and religion.'<sup>90</sup>

Although Istoczy believed that it was in fact Hungary that faced the greatest threat from the Jewish 'invasion', among Hungarian antisemitic activists he was

---

87 See L. Volovici, *Nationalist Ideology and Antisemitism. The Case of Romanian Intellectuals in the 1930s*, trans. C. Kormos, Oxford 1991, p. 8.

88 See G. Barany, "'Magyar Jew or: Jewish Magyar?" To the Question of Assimilation in Hungary', *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, vol. 8, Spring 1974, no. 1, pp. 1–44; A.C. Janos, *The Decline of Oligarchy. Bureaucratic and Mass Politics in the Age of Dualism (1867–1918)*, in *Revolution in Perspective. Essays on the Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919*, A.C. Janos, W.B. Slottman (eds.), Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1971, p. 35 and note; P. Hanák, *The Image of the Germans and the Jews in the Hungarian Mirror of the Nineteenth Century*, in id., *The Garden and the Workshop. Essays on the Cultural History of Vienna and Budapest*, Princeton 1998, pp. 44–62.

89 S. Viator [R. Seton-Watson], *Racial Problems in Hungary*, London 1908, p. 188, quotation taken from E. Mendelsohn, *Żydzi Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w okresie międzywojennym*, transl. A. Tomaszewska, Warsaw 1992, p. 206.

90 Quote from J. Katz, *From Prejudice to Destruction. Anti-Semitism, 1700–1933*, Cambridge Mass. 1982, p. 26. See too A. Handler, *An Early Blueprint for Zionism: Gyozo Istoczy's Political Antisemitism*, Boulder–New York 1989.

the one closest to antisemitic 'universalism' which admitted that the real Jewish aim was world domination. In the past the Jews had been destructive towards their surroundings and would always be so, and modernity had only speeded up and exposed their negative role in history. In this scheme of things the Jews should simply disappear from the public arena. Ziemiński enigmatically recalled that the Jewish question would be settled when a 'co-operative' structure was in place.

If we agree with the American historian John Bunzl that in the case of modern antisemitism we need to separate the phantasmal, although socially conditioned, way of perceiving and explaining social reality from movements of social revolt which use negative sentiment for political aims, then Ziemiński's manifesto is clearly situated in the first dimension.<sup>91</sup> According to this view of things, and simplifying matters somewhat, racist antisemitism was one thing; economically-based antisemitism was another. Leaving to one side the issue of whether this distinction retains a full analytical usefulness, it should be added *ex post facto* that the modern style of politics did not avoid references to both the first, as well as the second dimension of antisemitism.

Interestingly enough, this second dimension of antisemitism usually found its organizational backbone in the lower ranks of the clergy. Insofar as Catholic activists such as Karl von Vogelsang, the editor of the Catholic periodical *Vaterland* in Austria, or even his celebrated acolyte Karl Lueger in Vienna itself,<sup>92</sup> or Father Stanisław Stojalowski in Galicia could pass for peculiar tribunes of social revolt, then Edouard Drumont in France, and in Polish conditions Jan Jeleński and Teodor Jeske-Choiński, decisively described the world in categories of basic dissonance between the Jews and their Christian surroundings. Everyone in agreement also tried to imbue the masses with this point of view, albeit to greater or lesser effect.

However, this distinctive racial philosophy of history, as presented by Ziemiński, Cygar, and their mysterious colleague Z.J. did not vanish completely from the Warsaw weekly's columns. What happened to it? It suddenly appeared a few months later in the journalism of another 'Głos' newcomer, who signed himself R. Skrzycki, in other words, Roman Dmowski. Were then Ziemiński,

---

91 See J. Bunzl, *Klassenkampf in der Diaspora. Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Arbeiterbewegung*, Vienna 1975, p. 16 and note.

92 As Lord Mayor of Vienna (1897–1910) Karl Lueger was seen as a model example of a political activist, who took advantage of antisemitism in order to gain social support. See J. Boyer, 'Karl Lueger and the Viennese Jews', *The Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*, vol. 26, 1981, pp. 124–144.

Cygar, and Z.J. one and the same person – Roman Dmowski? The fact is that this young leader of the ‘patriots’ presently became, putting it tactfully, Ziemiński’s most receptive student. In time it turned out that he had in principle assimilated everything in the series entitled *Czem Jest Izrael?* – its reasoning, its style, its key passages and ways of thinking, and even the examples evoked by the writers of the pieces mentioned. With one important reservation. In Dmowski’s journalism of the time Ziemiński’s antisemitic rage was changed into detailed, pedantic intellectual constructs.<sup>93</sup> One might think that their author realized that it was not yet possible to put this suppressed hatred into practice. For the time being.

Witold Ziemiński’s manifesto did not go unremarked in progressive opinion.<sup>94</sup> This was a symptomatic moment in the changes that were taking place among the younger generation of ‘patriots’. The events of 1890, i.e. the political crisis among radical youth associated with the student strikes in Russia, echoes among the ‘Głos-ites’, and in a symbolic way the Ziemiński piece too, led to a definite disintegration of the Warsaw student groups into ‘patriotic’ ones, already uniting for the most part nationalist youth, and ‘international’ ones, in which socialists of various stripes dominated. Years later Dmowski wrote pompously: ‘An abyss opened up, which as a result it was felt could only grow wider.’<sup>95</sup> Zygmunt Wasilewski – a ‘nationalist’ from Dmowski’s group – recalled: ‘Up to about 1890 [...] nationalist elements were in disarray.’<sup>96</sup>

For the ‘patriot’ Stefan Żeromski, for whom this was a moment of ideological crystallization, the Ziemiński series was important too. In his *Dziennik* he wrote out extracts from Ziemiński, and he recognized the ‘Głos’ newcomer’s contribution as a telling turn in the paper’s line. ‘I shall now team up more strongly with

---

93 See L. Oberlander, ‘Ewolucja poglądów Narodowej Demokracji w sprawie żydowskiej’, *Miesięcznik Żydowski*, 1932, vol. 1, p. 4.

94 See Elkan, ‘Za tydzień’, *Izraelita*, 14 (26) IX 1890, no. 38, p. 362; ‘Otchłań fałszu. Z powodu rozprawy w „Głosie” p.n. „Czem jest Izrael?”’, *Izraelita*, 5 (17) X 1890, no. 40, pp. 385–386; ‘Otchłań fałszu’, *Izraelita*, 12 (24) X 1890, no. 41, pp. 394–395; ‘Otchłań fałszu’, *Izraelita*, 19 (31) X 1890, no. 42, pp. 407–408; P. ‘Drogi ocalenia’, *Izraelita*, 26 X (7 XI) 1890, no. 43, p. 413. For more on Ziemiński’s article see L. Kulczycki, *Narodowa Demokracja*, Warsaw 1907, p. 8. Years later Ludwik Krzywicki recalled: ‘What really put me off *Głos* was the testament of faith of the young guns, whom Ziemiński for a time led, which saw no other cause of social problems beyond the Jews.’ L. Krzywicki, *Wspomnienia...*, vol. 3, p. 123.

95 Senior [R. Dmowski], ‘Początki nowoczesnego Obozu Narodowego w Polsce’, *Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy*, 13 XI 1936, no. 312, p. 3.

96 Z. Wasilewski, ‘Na widnokregu’, *Mysł Narodowa*, 10 VI 1934, no. 24, p. 361.

*Głos*, because I'm becoming more respectable,' he noted.<sup>97</sup> Later, as we know, Żeromski abandoned much of Ziemiński's 'science', but at the time – in the first half of the 1890s – it was not completely foreign to him.

Although Ziemiński's ideological *credo* did not, in terms of its author's apparent ambitions, resonate widely enough, interest in racial concepts did not disappear completely from the pages of influential papers, and even less so from the world of ideas within cultural opinion of the day. We may posit that there were two principal sources for the vitality of a racial understanding of reality.

We should recognize the first one as being nationalist ideas, in relation to which such a highly-developed exclusivist line of reasoning as presented by racial ideas could strengthen the image of a society threatened on the one hand by outsiders, and on the other, ready for external expansion by the acceptance of racial formulations. Nevertheless, racial logic was in essence contrary to the structures of nationalist thought understood as a project of society's cultural and political homogenization. However, 'contrary' does not mean excluding nationalism as such. It should be noted in advance that racial ideas and concepts were initially adopted by the developing home-grown Polish nationalist movement in a limited way, one might say that they operated on the fringes of the dominant, homogenizing discourse.

The practical basis on which racial ideas began to be adopted by nationalism, which was not necessarily associated with an acceptance of a highly-developed racist theory of history, was fighting political enemies and attempting to polarize the political scene. Harbingers of this approach could already be seen in various political campaigns initiated by the National League (formed in 1893), for instance in 1902 and 1903, in opposition to progressive opinion in the Kingdom of Poland, and then permanently against home-grown Polish socialist groupings in the elections to the Duma of 1906 and 1907 (alongside simultaneous tactical alliances between the Democratic-Nationalist Party and the Jewish Committee representing the interests of the Jewish *grande bourgeoisie*). However it was only

---

97 S. Żeromski, *Dzienników tom odnaleziony*, in id., *Dzieła*, vol. 8, prepared by J. Kądziała, Warsaw 1973, p. 208; See too W. Hendzel, '„Głos” (1886–1894) w świetle „Dzienników” Stefana Żeromskiego', *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Opolskiego. Szkice o literaturze. Filologia Polska*, no. 37, Opole 1996, p. 47; B. Burdziej, „Więcej Żyda niż jakiegos tam Hamleta”. „Temat [...] ohydnie trudny” w opowiadaniu „Oko za oko” (1892) Stefana Żeromskiego, in *Klucze do Żeromskiego*, K. Stępiak (ed.), Lublin 2003, p. 36.

during Dmowski's campaign for election to the Fourth Duma in the autumn of 1912 that racist rhetoric displayed its power in all its glory.

We can also accept 1912 as a starting date from which racism as such now openly began to be exploited within the framework of Poland's home-grown nationalist ideology. Symbols of this new style included the creation of the 'Tuppenny Paper' (*Gazeta Poranna – 2 Grosze*), a boycott of the Jewish population in the Kingdom, as well as the adoption by the nationalist camp of the majority of grass-roots antisemitic initiatives.

A scholar of the issue writes: 'After 1912, antisemitic propaganda grew in strength to a degree and in ways hitherto unnoticed. It was a clear, one might say qualitative change [...]. Elements of an attitude, which is hard to call anything other than 'Jew-centrism' began to appear. This was a line of reasoning which in essence reduced all 'matters of this world' to scheming and plots by 'international Jewry' and freemasonry.'<sup>98</sup>

A former member of the Central Committee of the National League, Teofil Waligórski, in a letter to another prominent League activist wrote at the time: '[Jan Jeleński] [...] has put the Jewish issue in its entirety on the agenda so thoroughly that Roman has added not a thing, not a phrase, not a single new idea. Don't object.'<sup>99</sup> We shall probably not discover what had caused the objections of the letter's recipient – one of the many opponents in the ND camp of Dmowski's aggressive anti-Jewish campaign, but not everything was true in this declaration. Jeleński, despite years of consistent 'Jew-baiting', never openly admitted to a racist worldview.

This 'old/new' approach speedily found eloquent tribunes in, amongst others, Stanisław Pieńkowski and Ignacy Oksza-Grabowski – permanent contributors to *Gazeta Warszawska* and the 'Tuppenny Paper' – who presented the racist view of reality in perhaps its most developed form.

Within the confines of the nationalist movement this eloquent term came into being by stages. The effective standardization of this rhetoric within the ND camp came to pass only when Poland regained her independence.

---

98 J.J. Terej, *Idee, mity, realia. Szkice do dziejów Narodowej Demokracji*, Warsaw 1971, p. 63.

99 T. Waligórski, to Karol Raczkowski, 13 January 1913, in 'Materiały dotyczące Ligi Narodowej i innych organizacji politycznych', APAN 30, p. 24 b.

The second outlet – at this stage barely discernible – through which interest in the concept of race and a biological understanding of human society developed, were the eugenic currents arising in opposition to the degenerative influence of modern civilization.<sup>100</sup> This second current, with some exceptions about which more anon, was dominated on Polish territory by progressive circles.<sup>101</sup>

---

100 M. Gawin's previously-mentioned, *Rasa i nowoczesność...*, Warsaw 2003, develops this issue more fully.

101 There were similar ratios in other Central-European countries. See, for instance, M. Kovács, *Liberal Professions and Illiberal Politics. Hungary from the Habsburgs to the Holocaust*, New York–Oxford 1994, p. 38 and note; M. Bucur, *Eugenics and Modernization in Interwar Romania*, Pittsburgh 2002, esp. ch. 1: 'From Cultural Despair to National Rebirth', pp. 19–45 and ch. 2: 'The Eugenic Solution: A New Scientific Paradigm', pp. 46–77.

## Chapter Four

# In The Face of A Crisis of Civilization

Poor, a thousand times poor, mankind! How many terrible dramas lie hidden in those pubs, in the lives of those girls, who know nothing, love nothing and live any old how and any old way. How do we destroy this dung of civilization? What should we do?

S. Żeromski, *Dzienniki*, vol. 3: 1888–1891, Warsaw 29 IV 1888

Now I am Zarathustra – the analogy with Christ I leave to master Wincenty – I talk to no-one, I just think, think and write.

R. Dmowski to S. Kozicki, Hotel Continental Mustepid Supérieur  
Algiers 13 IV 1913 in M. Kułakowski, *Roman Dmowski w świetle  
listów i wspomnień*, vol. 1, London 1968, p. 381

Roman Dmowski's journalism in the first half of the 90s was dominated by one issue – the problem of the Polish condition and mental state. Right after the first efforts of the young 'Głos' columnist it was clear that the spokesman of his generation (or more modestly: pro-independence radical) was turning himself into an ideologue with national aspirations. It is not inappropriate to mention here that Dmowski's evocative concepts were beginning to have a growing influence on 'patriotic' communities, and were falling on very fertile soil.

For Dmowski, as it was for 'patriotic' communities, 1891 was an important moment for a practical application of the ideas in Teodor Tomasz Jeź's pamphlets. After all, patriotic activities in the spring of that year brought a rather ambiguous message. The anniversary demonstrations in the Botanic Gardens turned out to be a disaster, for all practical purposes. The demonstrators did not awaken the city from its 'deep, partition sleep', not to mention the fact that the provinces were essentially passive. Of course, the defeat was not painful enough to root out effectively dreams of a 'national revolution', as the pro-independence uprising was described at the time, from 'patriotic' circles. On the contrary, in the recollections of participants in the events of the end of April/beginning of May 1891, one is struck by an extraordinary, almost ecstatic, enthusiasm, as well as a sense of a recurrence of vital forces, which had hitherto been lacking in clashes with the 'internationalists'. This euphoria was accompanied by an, on the face of things, incomprehensible feeling of youthful, carnival-like insouciance. Waclaw Naake-Nakęski, one of the active 'patriots', who at the time was working on the Terespol Railways, and who – apart from a stay in the Citadel – paid for his participation in the May demonstrations with the loss of his government job, recalled his first

days under arrest before going to trial as follows: 'All we lacked was spiritual sustenance, which prison regulations did not permit. But we managed to sort that out [...]. Meanwhile things became more and more pleasant inside. Our families sent in playing cards, chess sets, dominoes, books and newspapers, even pocket harmonicas. Our detention turned into a cheerful club. We lacked for nothing. When the urge came we took up dancing. Short fellows with nice faces played the women. The policemen on the doors were killing themselves laughing'<sup>1</sup> The 'patriots' did not, it must be admitted, receive heavy sentences, thus not creating an atmosphere of anxiety in pro-independence circles.<sup>2</sup>

The sight of 'masses of students, vets, and young people,' as one witness described it,<sup>3</sup> even if it did not arouse patriot euphoria among the population of Warsaw and did not impress the rival socialists, certainly did have a bracing effect on 'patriotic' circles. Among their leading élites, the conviction grew that it was this radicalized youth that was in fact the bedrock of pro-independence activities. On the other hand, however, the events of 1891 showed that in future every such event would require iron discipline and consistent co-ordination – discipline and co-ordination that could be exerted only by some national nerve centre. It is unclear whether it was then that the idea of moving the leadership from distant émigré Geneva to the Kingdom began to mature. Clearly, the personal element here cannot be ignored, i.e. satisfying the ambitions of some of the 'patriotic' leaders in Poland, including above all the leader of the young 'patriots' himself – Roman Dmowski.

One way or another, the failure of the May 1891 demonstration did not lead to a major change in the activities of the 'patriots'. On the contrary – it confirmed that Warsaw continued to be an essential base for the pro-independence movement. As one of the 'patriotic' activists of the day wrote: 'Warsaw is not just Poland's heart, but it is also revolutionary Poland,'<sup>4</sup> as compared to other towns ('In Kielce there's darkness and mud, not to mention gossip,') as the same writer

---

1 W. Naake-Nakęski, *Pamiętnik Warszawiaka*. 1864–1894, vol. 1, Warsaw 1930, BN, mf. 64420, p. 222.

2 Twenty-four participants in the demonstration were given sentences ranging from one to six months. Some of them were released early. About 120 students were placed under police surveillance. See M. Bogacz, *Akademicy Warszawy. Z dziejów organizacji studenckich w XIX wieku*, Warsaw 1960, p. 352.

3 See L. Krauze, 'Z warszawskich zapisków roku 1891', *Pamiętnikarstwo Polskie*, 5, January–December 1975, nos. 1–4, p. 208.

4 S. Żeromski, *Dzienniki*, vol. 3: 1888–1891, Warsaw 1954, p. 275, 22 XII 1888 (Saturday).



pointed out elsewhere,<sup>5</sup> leaving aside the darkest provinces. The idea of national action, which arose towards the end of 1891, was confirmation of this. After all, a defeat was a defeat and at the end of the day it had to be acknowledged and somehow dealt with.

Dmowski's journalistic writings of the first half of the 90s came under the clear influence of a double generational experience: a feeling of belonging to the 'intellectual proletariat', as well as participation in a Europe-wide cultural movement. In addition, there was active participation in pro-independence underground work and ideological access to an 'idealistic revolt'. Together, all these factors had a significant influence not only on Dmowski's own thoughts and attitudes, but also on the formation of the foundations of Polish integral nationalism.

Dmowski's first major piece of literary criticism was a thorough discussion and critique of Henryk Sienkiewicz's story *Bez dogmatu* (*Without Dogma*).<sup>6</sup> Indeed, *Luźne notatki* (*Random Notes*) – a series of articles signed R. Skrzycki – was one of the most extensive critical studies of the day of Sienkiewicz's story. Dmowski developed his critique from the vantage point of a representative of the younger generation, as well as of the principal critic of certain social trends that were spreading at the time. This tendentiousness in his approach to literature, i.e. assessing a literary work in terms of its social usefulness, will be seen many times with this writer. According to this model, a writer, when creating literature, remains a representative of a certain society, or, more accurately, of a certain social class. Sienkiewicz, as an aristocratic writer in spirit, Dmowski argued, mirrored in his story the life and social types of that social class.

In the opinion of the 'Głos' writer, the author of *Bez dogmatu* had painted a portrait of a vanishing Polish breed – the gentry élite – in its most refined and also bland and degenerate form. 'Its [i.e. the aristocracy's] life,' he wrote, 'is similar to vegetation in a greenhouse, isolated from the world [...] and artificially removed from the battlefield [...]. They are flowers, admired by the plebs peering

---

5 S. Żeromski, *Listy, 1884–1892*, edited by Z.J. Adamczyk, Warsaw 2001, p. 83, Stefan Żeromski to Oktawia Rodkiewicz, Kielce 11 I 1892. See too id., *Dzienniki...*, vol. 3, p. 45, 29 III 1888 (Thursday). Żeromski – at the time a politically active veterinary student, noted: 'In Kielce [...] people are like sleepy flies.'

6 R. Skrzycki [R. Dmowski], '„Bez dogmatu”. Luźne notatki I', *Głos*, 24 VIII (5 IX) 1891, no. 36, pp. 428–429; id., '„Bez dogmatu” [...] II', *Głos*, 31 VIII (12 IX) 1891, no. 37, pp. 441–442; id., '„Bez dogmatu” [...] III', *Głos*, 7 (19) IX 1891, no. 38, pp. 450–452; id., '„Bez dogmatu” [...] IV', *Głos*, 14 (26) IX 1891, no. 39, pp. 463–464; W. Hendzel, '„Głos” (1886–1894) w świetle „Dzienników” Stefana Żeromskiego', *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Opolskiego. Szkice o literaturze. Filologia Polska*, no. 37, Opole 1996, pp. 72–74.

inquisitively through the conservatory windows. Now Sienkiewicz has taken one of them from the conservatory and described it using the title of a man “without dogma”<sup>7</sup>

The character of Leon Płoszowski, the main protagonist of Sienkiewicz’s story, had caught the ‘Głos’ critic’s attention for a number of reasons. Dmowski not without reason acknowledged Płoszowski not only as the story’s main protagonist, but also as an example of a real human type. This ‘undogmatism’, this ‘brilliance without portfolio’, personified by Sienkiewicz’s hero, was meant to recreate real, living people. Furthermore, Dmowski maintained, Płoszowski could become for home-grown Polish youth what Werther had been in his time for the Germans – a symbol of his era. The reviewer argued that: ‘Just as Germans once blew their brains out after reading *Werther*, or ran off into the woods after reading *The Robbers*, we don’t want people here sickening for ‘undogmatism’ after reading *Bez dogmatu*.’<sup>8</sup>

The ostensibly secondary issue – i.e. whether Sienkiewicz’s protagonist is worthy of imitation – took up a great deal of space in this treatment. The evocative article proved that, unfortunately, this could come to pass. Dmowski maintained that unlike other societies with educated modern social classes, the Poles had barely a single social class with a lasting group identity. But this class was on the way out, was rotting and dying out, he argued. Płoszowski, ‘a man living in a greenhouse’, the quintessence of his class, was thus, in the ‘Głos’ critic’s opinion, a false idol for young people. He was an unproductive type, a contradiction of a man of action, in fact his antithesis. However, there were more ‘Płoszowskis’, since the type of person represented by Sienkiewicz’s hero had the characteristics of many people of the day. In fact, it was clear from Sienkiewicz’s literary intentions that Płoszowski was meant to focus within himself not just the dilemmas of a certain social class, not even the problems of a certain society, but the dilemmas of modern man.<sup>9</sup> According to Dmowski, the protagonist of *Bez dogmatu* was barely a representative of his group, and in all his reactions he illustrated its decline and social fall.

Dmowski, appearing in the role of representative of the younger generation – a group that emphasized its enthusiasm and idealism – described the social situation of the hero of Sienkiewicz’s story as a state of permanent vegetation. ‘This “undogmatism” is in harmony with Płoszowski’s other characteristics,’ he stated

---

7 R. Skrzycki, ‘„Bez dogmatu” [...] I...’, s. 428–429.

8 Ibid., p. 429.

9 Cf. T. Bujnicki, *U źródeł powieściowego pomysłu*, in H. Sienkiewicz, *Bez dogmatu*, edited by T. Bujnicki, Wrocław 2002, pp. V–XI.

at the start of the series.<sup>10</sup> With only a few exceptions, the characters in *Bez dogmatu* were, in his view, thrashing around in an already dying world. Tenderness, an odd state of permanent emotional oversensitivity, a lack of a strong will, a kind of bland brilliance in their judgements, *de facto* covering their shallowness, superficiality and emptiness, extreme aestheticism, terminal scepticism bordering on cynicism and amorality; all those attributes that Płoszowski possessed were, in the reviewer's opinion, the fruit of an inauthentic, as he called it, 'greenhouse' upbringing.

On the other hand, Dmowski, devoting so much attention to a literary figure, indirectly highlighted the importance of this type of attitude. Sienkiewicz's protagonist was a certain type of modern man. In the critic's opinion he was, however, a destructive type of modern: a type who represented no social value. He was an incomplete man, an anti-social man.

'According to the eternal law of nature,' wrote our columnist, 'every man, like the animals, must carry out a number of deliberate actions in order to obtain the means to sustain life and also to make it pleasant in the long run.'<sup>11</sup> Society or its individual representatives, standing on the sidelines of public life, directed all their life energy into other kinds of activity. They, Dmowski argued, focused all their attention on themselves and their states of consciousness. This artificial stimulation of internal life, self-analysis of their own psychological state, had developed in this type of individual unnatural, as well as inauthentic needs. It had killed the man of action. These people's mental state had made them susceptible to every external activity, even the most insignificant. Incapable of action, they were susceptible to every stimulus coming from their surroundings, unfit for any independent acts of will, they represented barely a substitute for authentic mankind. Dmowski compared these people to a phonograph record. He wrote: 'Such an existence over generations moulds man not only in terms of emotions, but also has a considerable influence on the mind. Deprived of a real-life foundation, mental development is guided by perversion and turns towards the greatest expertise in analysing one's own pleasure and suffering, while one's ability to understand life, to comprehend social phenomena is impoverished. This impoverishment of social thought is not just the property of the mind of specific individuals, but hangs in the air in the whole greenhouse and is transmitted to artists who breathe this air.'<sup>12</sup>

---

10 R. Skrzycki, '„Bez dogmatu [...] II'...', p. 441.

11 Ibid., p. 442.

12 Ibid.

To a certain extent this passionately-written critique still stayed within the bounds of a generational debate of the kind that *Głos* had sparked in its time. Dmowski, like his contemporaries, especially those coming from progressive circles, saw in Płoszowski and characters from his social class examples of social spongers, the leftovers of class attitudes. In a certain sense the ‘Głos’ columnist, along with other readers of Sienkiewicz’s story from the younger generation, were still children of positivism, looking for trends in the story and models to imitate in its protagonists. That is how Napoleon Hirszbard, a columnist linked to the progressive camp and more or less a contemporary of Dmowski, explained the case of Płoszowski and others like him. ‘For heaven’s sake,’ he argued in his commentary on the story, ‘don’t bring into the light of day these phantoms of decrepitude, parodying Childe Harold. Such selfishness at a time of a million general tribulations, when someone with only a modicum of social refinement is just one great complaint, is simply dreadful! [...] Only this rotten-to-the-core atmosphere of excess and gilded youth could incubate golden flies, which alight on carrion and parasitically feed on bad blood.’<sup>13</sup>

The socialist Feliks Perl, as well as his ideological comrade from Galicia Ignacy Daszyński, and many others from this grouping, saw the issue in similar terms.<sup>14</sup> The subject of ‘neurotics’, such as those in *Bez dogmatu*, somehow tormented Hirszbard. This type of decadent appears time and again in stories entitled *W presileniu* (*In Crisis*) published in 1894. In the tale *Zepsuty klawisz. Z teki historyka* (*The Broken Key. From a Neurotic’s File*) one such is the editor of an influential journal: ‘Mr. Nihil – a weak and effeminate character.’ About this time (1891) a member of the ZET, one of the participants in the crisis at Kraków University, the so-called ‘Ognisko’ affair, and later in fact the founder of *Krytyka* in Kraków, Wilhelm Feldman, wrote a story *W okowach* (*In Fetters*). Literary opinion saw this two-volume work as yet another detailed description of the ailments of the will. In another story, *Nowi ludzie* (*New People*), written by Feldman a few years later, Kraków students were meant in turn into the vanguard of action. Well-informed readers saw in them features of two young ‘populist’ leaders: Jan Stapiński and

---

13 C. Jellenta [N. Hirszbard], ‘Z galeryi pasożytów’, *Prawda*, 20 IV (2 V) 1891, no. 18, p. 210.

14 F. Perl, ‘Płoszowski i Hrabia Henryk’, *Krytyka*, December 1896, no. 9, pp. 365–378. Perl’s text was later issued as a pamphlet. See too I. Daszyński’s lecture entitled *Płoszowscy a Lassalle* in the Kraków City Council debating chamber in February 1894 – ‘Odczyt. Kronika’, *Naprzód*, 15 II 1894, no. 4, p. 4. The lecture’s content was also extensively discussed in the Lwów *Słowo Polskie*, at the time the journal of the democratic intelligentsia – ‘Płoszowscy i Lassalle’, *Słowo Polskie*, 25 II 1894, no. 4, p. 123.

Ignacy Daszyński. One of the story's secondary protagonists described their political adversary, a local Galician personality as follows: 'If he lived in Paris, he'd be a decadent, as a Pole – he's simply a loser.'<sup>15</sup>

In this generational view, as progressive critics agreed, the author of *Bez dogmatu*, although generationally linked to the Warsaw positivists, had already sold out (in the eyes of the 'young') to the right and could be seen as a spokesman for the 'old'.

Interestingly enough, the writer himself, staying at the time abroad, was carefully watching this violent reaction to his story among younger readers. He grumbled that reviewers 'are leaping at Płoszowski's eyes, are jumping onto his shoulders, and are taking liberties like a favourite pet.' He was particularly hurt by Dmowski's objections. In his *Listy z Afryki* (*Letters from Africa*), published in Warsaw's *Słowo*, he accused the *Głos* critic of looking at the story 'through a narrow lens.'<sup>16</sup>

The problem of imitating the behaviour and attitudes that characterized Płoszowski was in fact much broader and could not be limited to a single social class. In truth, ambitious progressive young people did turn to the story looking for models and ideals.<sup>17</sup> On the whole young readers' reactions were unambiguous, but simply showing interest must have provided much food for thought. Jan Strożecki, the leader of the 'heretical' fronde in a 'patriotically' conservative group at Kielce University, later a member of the Workers' Federation and one of the most distinguished personalities in the PPS, would write in his memoirs about the heroic plan of moral asceticism that he imposed on himself when a student. He enumerated: '1) Not to go to any balls, parties etc., 2) Not to spend time in the pub, 3) Not to read fiction.' He added about Sienkiewicz's work: 'The story *Bez dogmatu* tempted me enormously, but faithful to my principles I read it only after graduating from university.'<sup>18</sup> The journalism of the day even coined a word for

---

15 W. Feldman, *Nowi ludzie. Studium psychologiczno-społeczne*, vols. 1–2, Lwów 1894, p. 210.

16 H. Sienkiewicz, *Listy z Afryki. W dwóch tomach*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1893, p. 203. This letter, published in a conservative paper, was given the characteristic sub-title *Przykrości*. See too A. Potocki, *Polska literatura współczesna*, part 2: *Kult jednostki 1890–1910*, Warsaw 1912, p. 144.

17 See K. Kelles-Krauz, *Listy*, vol. 1: *1890–1897*, F. Tych (ed.), Wrocław 1984, p. 61, to Maria Goldsteyn in Radom, Wilno 19 XI 1890; S. Żeromski, *Dzienniki...*, vol. 3, pp. 413, 432, 455, 472.

18 *Wspomnienia Jana Strożeckiego*, text prepared by J. Kancewicz, R. Stanisławska, F. Tych, *Archiwum Ruchu Robotniczego*, vol. 4, Warsaw 1957, p. 45.

this phenomenon: 'płoszowszczyzna' ('płoszowism') as being a reflection of Sienkiewicz's story's wide reception, which to a certain extent explains Dmowski's own interest.

The 'Głos' critic in any event carefully examined this outpouring of journalism on the matter, and even whole stories that were meant to serve as a response to the dilemmas formulated by Sienkiewicz.<sup>19</sup> Eliza Orzeszkowa's *Dwa bieguny* (*Two Poles* ['Poles' in the meaning of the North or South pole]) was one of many attempts at a basic polemic with 'undogmatism'. A polemic, let us say at once, not artistically equal to Sienkiewicz's presentation. That is what people at the time said, including the young writer from the radical journal. Dmowski, reaching for *Dwa bieguny*, perceived layers of good intentions on the author's part and, on the other hand, the failings of this story by an already widely-acclaimed writer.<sup>20</sup> The columnist developed several key themes in this somewhat condescending critique of the well-known writer.

The young Dmowski sought in Orzeszkowa, as he had earlier in other writers, above all a moral message.<sup>21</sup> He sought and did not find the source of a new morality, of, as he put it, 'an active morality', i.e. according to his own definition, 'life at its most intense, going right up to the limits of one's effectiveness.'<sup>22</sup> In the reviewer's opinion, the source of the literary failure on the part of the writer of *Dwa bieguny* was ascribing a new morality to the land-owning gentry – a social class which would definitely not be able to create it, created absolutely nothing, since it was in a state of decline and fall. As he pointed out: 'people from the class that is perhaps the least likely to be the arena of moral conflict in contemporary

---

19 Amongst others T. Bujnicki writes about this in an introduction to a critical edition of Sienkiewicz's stories, see id., „Bez dogmatu” na tle współczesnym, in H. Sienkiewicz, *Bez dogmatu...*, p. XXII–XXXI. See too H. Markiewicz, *Bezdogmatowcy i melancholicy*, in *Z filozofii pozytywistycznej w Polsce. Ciągłość i przemiany*, A. Hochfeld, B. Skarga (eds.), Wrocław 1972, pp. 69–98.

20 R. Skrzycki, 'Dwa bieguny', *Głos*, 23 X (4 XI) 1893, no. 44, pp. 518–520. See too K. Kłosińska, *Zepsuty romans („Dwa bieguny” i „Ad Astra”)*. *Wśród powieści o „wieku nerwowym”*, in *Studia o twórczości Elizy Orzeszkowej*, J. Paszek (ed.), Katowice 1989, pp. 38–72; ead., „Nerwowość” w literaturze naukowej końca XIX wieku, in *Przełom antypozytywistyczny w polskiej świadomości kulturowej końca XIX wieku*, T. Bujnicki, J. Maciejewski (eds.), Warsaw 1986, pp. 93–113.

21 See R. Skrzycki, 'Powieść jako czynnik społeczny', *Życie*, 3 (15) XI 1890, no. 46, pp. 791–793.

22 R. Skrzycki, *Dwa bieguny...*, p. 519.

society;<sup>23</sup> Friends from Dmowski's youth recalled later that at the time he accused the gentry and the aristocracy of quietism.<sup>24</sup>

However, Dmowski's thoughts on the moral condition of Polish society of the time moved along a great many tracks. Alongside literary articles and anonymously-published texts of a political nature, Dmowski was also busy with journalism on society in general, and which today would be classified as ideological in tone. As early as 1892, he wrote a piece as R. Skrzycki in which he complained about some of the mechanics in the operation of mass culture.<sup>25</sup> In the view of the 'Głos' columnist, one of the effects of the commercialization of culture was the spread of ephemeral popular literature. In his even then unoriginal critique Dmowski focused on this mass-circulation literature. Furthermore, he felt the very fact that it was being distributed among the uneducated classes to be highly reprehensible. On the other hand, he held the view that literature must in principle bring some positive values worth imitating, as well as some moral comfort for the reader. He believed that literary creativity should be practised by people specifically predestined to such activity – the élite of the pen and also of action, for real art should be based on action.

This accusation also contained a judgement on the state of current mass culture to which our columnist attributed an enormous significance in terms of the democratization of social attitudes, as well as indicating those responsible for the current situation. Dmowski described the dominant literature as superficial, as well as morally destructive: 'it's [...] literary fluff, which links thoughts and feelings to the most trivial aspects of life and is thus corrupting.' He had not much to say about its creators either: 'a cohort of writers who believe that the pen has been created to help people forget about thinking.'<sup>26</sup> A lack of ideals, a lack of a creative idea, were linked, in this line of reasoning, to the pursuit of mammon and bowing down before the god of the market. From these thoughts – reviews written in the heat of the moment, articles of literary criticism – an image was appearing of a society in a deep, altogether structural crisis. From these writings

---

23 Ibid., p. 519.

24 W. Jabłonowski, *Krótki życiorys*, ed. J. Fijałek, *Rocznik Biblioteki PAN w Krakowie*, 78, 1961–1962/1963, p. 487. See too S. Czekanowski, *Roczniki długiego żywota mego*, BN, mf. 64677–83, p. 72.

25 R. Skrzycki [R. Dmowski], 'Zdrożne kierunki I. Porcelana w produkcji artystycznej', *Głos*, 11 (23) IV 1892, no. 17, pp. 196–198; id., 'Zdrożne kierunki II. Bohaterowie-znajomi', *Głos*, 25 IV (7 V) 1892, no. 19, pp. 220–221.

26 R. Skrzycki, 'Zdrożne kierunki I...', p. 197.

a dominant anthropological insight was also emerging: of a society composed of dependent individuals submitting to manipulation and collective fraud.

Already in the first of the articles on popular culture's 'indecent' trends, supposedly spreading gangrene throughout society, Dmowski pointed to the unproductive thinking classes – the home-grown Polish intelligentsia – which nourished itself on the work of vapid and immature artists, on those 'trivial problems', as he called them. In this context he evoked the cohorts of intelligentsia whose ethical level prevented them straying beyond the sphere of low material needs. 'For these people,' he lamented, 'serious literature, literature raising some kind of ideal [...] is an unpleasant and unpalatable dish. They view a book as a light dessert after a tasty meal, and it is just this kind of literature, thoughtless as the conversation in their drawing rooms, which they prefer.'<sup>27</sup> A whole gallery of literary characters, specially created for this eventuality and not reflecting real life, was to serve, in our critic's view, this growing social need for literary mediocrity, this drive for the run-of-the-mill. Polish women heading abroad to study held an important place amongst those most annoying the critic. This theme also provided Dmowski with an opportunity to sneer about women's emancipation. This distortion of one's vocation, morphing into a desire to undertake further education, would supposedly end in tragedy. Although he barely touched on this subject, it was clear that the author had strong views on it. Dmowski compared these unfortunate young women, suffragettes, to his alleged dog Burek, 'who had the habit of circling round for hours chasing his own tail and looking important.'<sup>28</sup> This honest, but none too bright animal was supposed to have died in the end as a result of this running around in circles. Dmowski proposed a similar diagnosis for the idea of emancipation. This feminist motif, scathingly and at the same time condescendingly treated, tossed in here as if unconsciously, would reappear on more than one occasion in the writer's journalism.<sup>29</sup> Women in society had, in this view of things, their permanent role in family upbringing, sanctioned by morality, and a similarly permanent place limited by biological usefulness. Changing this meant more or less demolishing the whole structure of a properly and 'normally' functioning society,

---

27 Ibid.

28 R. Skrzycki, 'Zdrożne kierunki II...', p. 221.

29 See K. Jaskułowski, M. Parus-Jaskułowska, *Nacjonalistyczne konstrukcje płci. Przypadek polski*, in *Zrozumieć płęć. Studia interdyscyplinarne*, vol. 2, A. Kuczyńska, E.K. Dzikowska (eds.), Wrocław 2004, p. 120 and note. See too J. Kurczewska, 'Pierwsi nacjonałiści polscy i sprawy kobiet', *Archiwum Historii Filozofii i Myśli Społecznej*, 44, 1999, pp. 191–204.



and even disturbing the cosmic moral order.<sup>30</sup> Dmowski would keep to these rigid principles to the end of his days.

These artificial characters and literary types, not corresponding to reality and yet found on a wide scale, were accompanied by equally imaginary, though ostensible life tragedies. In the columnist's view, they were more an expression of frustration on the part of the writers themselves, of their degenerate and shallow minds, than of real moral disputes.<sup>31</sup>

The motif of narrow worldviews, ideological disorientation and finally a lowering of social aspirations by the thinking classes was accentuated by an article published in *Głos* as an editorial, entitled *Familijna prasa* (*The Family Press*).<sup>32</sup> The young columnist was already then being promoted to the inner editorial board.

Dmowski was interested here in a small slice of public life, in other words the operation of the daily press. However, the diagnosis of the public state of mind that he presented dealt with the whole of Polish intellectual life and was exceptionally pessimistic.

In our columnist's view, the Warsaw press, partly as the result of commercialization and its appeal to a mass readership, partly owing to the squandering of social ideals, had lost its public dimension embracing the whole of society. Journalists, instead of writing about issues that were important and relevant for society, had turned their attention and energy to trivial matters, very often reducing the mechanics of public life to a vulgar game of material, mundane interests. The daily press in turn, responding to the expectations of its less demanding readers, inclined to publishing intimate material. 'In truth,' lamented the writer, 'it will soon be hard to find a man in Warsaw whose name has not been inscribed for posterity on the pages of the 'journals'. One is there because he rides a bicycle or sings to the lute, another because he ran dancing lessons somewhere, or played

---

30 See G.L. Mosse, 'Nationalism and Respectability. Normal and Abnormal Sexuality in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 17, April 1982, no. 2, p. 221 and note. See too id., *Nationalism and Sexuality. Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe*, New York 1985, ch. 5: 'What kind of Women?', pp. 90–113; id., *The Image of Man. The Creation of Modern Masculinity*, New York 1996, pp. 74–76; B. Porter, 'Hetmanka' and Mother: Representing the Virgin Mary in Modern Poland', *Contemporary European History*, vol. 14, May 2005, part 2, pp. 151–170; J. Kurczewska, *Pierwsi nacjonalści polscy...*, pp. 203–20.

31 R. Skrzycki, 'Zdrożne kierunki II...', p. 221.

32 R. Sk. [R. Dmowski], 'Familijna prasa', *Głos*, 5 (17) VI 1893, no. 24, p. 1. See R. Zimand, *„Dekadentyzm” warszawski*, Warsaw 1964, p. 243.

in amateur theatricals, or attended a charity dinner, another because he was celebrating a silver wedding anniversary, or had come into an inheritance. Every day there are tens, or dozens of such celebrities.<sup>33</sup> This 'familiar' tone was meant to lead to a fall in social standards and to readers turning inwards to private life.

It was obvious that this line of reasoning was close to that of a wider group of critics and not just those of a progressive bent.<sup>34</sup> In the first half of the 90s there were loud protests against the Warsaw press barons.<sup>35</sup> The publishers did not take this criticism lying down and possessed essential means for exerting pressure. For a time the pages of the Warsaw dailies were closed to Cezary Jellenta for an exposé, an article poetically lodged in a pamphlet, denouncing the 'shopkeeper's' practices of the 'knights of the journalism industry – the factory of gossip and sensationalism'. The journalist went outside the 'cordon' to defend himself, sending his responses to the Kraków press, including the radical *Krytyka*. There, obviously enough, he wrote in a similarly uncompromising vein: 'The silting up of literature and all the [press's] villainy are the creations of a capitalism that has seized writing.'<sup>36</sup> For instance, Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz's letters from Paris for *Prawda* describing the landscape of bourgeois journalism in its period of decline maintained a similar spirit, as proved by their author.<sup>37</sup> The chronicles of 'Count Krauz', as this socialist signed himself in the middle-class *Kurier Warszawski*,

---

33 R. Sk., 'Familijna prasa...', p. 1.

34 See S. Łucyk, 'Krytyka kultury wielkomięskiej w publicystyce Ludwika Krzywickiego', *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, 2001, no. 2, esp. part: „Dziennikarstwo jako przykład komercjalizacji kultury”, pp. 78–80. See too R. Zimand, „Dekadentyzm”..., p. 57 and note; W. Hendzel, „Głos” (1886–1894) w świetle..., pp. 101–108. Influential reactionary journals continually brought up conservative criticisms of the commercialization of the press and literary life. See M. Pąckiński, *Konserwatyzm na rozdrożu. „Młodzi konserwatyści” warszawscy wobec dylematów ideowych schyłku wieku*, Warsaw 1994, pp. 129–147; also A. Jaszczuk, *Spór pozytywistów z konserwatystami o przyszłość Polski, 1870–1903*, Warsaw 1986, p. 39 and note.

35 B. Holmgren in *Rewriting Capitalism: Literature and the Market in Late Tsarist Russia and The Kingdom of Poland*, Pittsburgh 1998, points to the widespread nature of these disputes in the formation of a mass-circulation press on lands under Russia's sway. See too Z. Kmiecik, *Prasa warszawska w latach 1886–1906*, Wrocław 1989, esp. pp. 8–46; L. McReynolds, *The News under Russia's Old Regime: The Development of a Mass-Circulation Press*, Princeton–New York 1991.

36 C. Jellenta, 'Syndykat błotny w literaturze', *Krytyka*, August–September 1896, no. 8, pp. 208–213.

37 See K. Krauz, 'Indywidualizm w dziennikarstwie', *Prawda*, 30 X (11 XI) 1893, no. 45, pp. 535–536.

were somewhat calmer and more measured. In private, though, their author considered them to be outright literary prostitution.<sup>38</sup>

Unlike the progressive journalism of the day, including that of the 'Głos' circle, which often reached for the Marxist toolkit and thus belaboured the commercialization of journalism in terms of the evolution of large-scale industrialization, or also exploited the themes present still in earlier utopian versions of socialism, Dmowski examined the mechanics of the press's development above all in moral/psychological categories. In his view, ideological bases were underpinned by earlier ethical choices. These choices, whether conscious or not, always had far-reaching consequences. The 'Głos' writer discerned in this lowering of social aspirations unexpected reasons, often unjustified shifts in public opinion, ascribing to real or alleged leaders responsibility for base, stunting social morals. Societies failed because their spirit failed, their ideals failed, as he stated in his summing up. These activist statements, recognizing the will to action as an essential mechanism in the changing of social attitudes and behaviour, were often repeated in Dmowski's writings, as if the author wished to fix them in his readers' minds.

There is no question that the very fact of focusing public attention on the private sphere and daily life represented for the radical activist a reason for fear and thought. Such a critique of these attitudes probably had a deeper cause too; it emerged from the same basic views on society that Dmowski held. A healthy society is a political community; a community whose aims, needs and aspirations are defined by tasks and political interest. Furthermore – a healthy society must aspire to undertake civilizational tasks, to take part in the march of civilization, to lead a life lived to the full. After all, such a community cannot be comprised of individuals with *petty bourgeois* and common aspirations, that is to say 'people with narrow minds, petty problems, and petty little aspirations.'<sup>39</sup>

These ideological markers laid down in the first half of the 90s were articulated even more forcefully after Dmowski's first trips abroad. His first trip to Paris in the autumn of 1891 was invaluable for the ideological development of our 'Głos' journalist and energetic student leader. Although it was not a psychological, let alone a philosophical shock, it is worth recalling this stage in our nationalist ideologue's development.

Dmowski went abroad above all for personal/political reasons. Without the means for finding a permanent source of income, living off his journalism,

---

38 K. Kelles-Krauz, *Listy...*, vol. 1, p. 146, to Maria Goldsteyn in Radom, Paris, 29 II 1892.

39 R. Skrzycki, 'Familijna prasa...', p. 1.

especially working on a low-revenue paper for the intelligentsia, was for the talented young man a back-breaking undertaking for the long term. Most of Dmowski's contemporaries, those who were not from Warsaw, returned home after their schooling and sank into provincial life.<sup>40</sup> In 'patriotic' circles, in order to keep up their spirits, some of these 'young guns' even came up with a new, secret initiative, the so-called *Łączność*. Of course, this was only one of the aims that motivated this underground organization.<sup>41</sup>

Paradoxically, the 'Varsovians' had the harder task at the outset. The graduate job market for the Warsaw intelligentsia was too restricted. The situation for most graduates with an arts qualification was the most dramatic. The press and the very few Polish cultural/social organizations absorbed the most talented young people, but these employment opportunities were limited. The rest had to do tutoring or take on rather more mundane jobs. In the case of the crowds of gentry youth, and these after all represented most of the people on the job market, this must have been a particularly demoralising experience. The problem of an 'overproduction of intelligentsia', which from time to time would violently come to the boil, appeared once again in this new, but also highly politicized, generation.<sup>42</sup>

---

40 The fate of such intelligentsia 'daredevils' in the backwards provinces was described by Żeromski, who personified only a certain broader literary trend of the day. See H. Janaszek-Ivaničkova, *Świat jako zadanie inteligencji. Studium o Stefanie Żeromskim*, Warsaw 1977, esp. ch.: 'Misja wykorzenionych', pp. 5–38. Among the more mediocre of this type of writer was Edward Paszkowski, also a former 'Głos-ite': *Podniebie. Z kronik czwartego piętra*, Lwów 1901, *Jasne Wody*, Lwów 1924; also: W. Rabski, *Zwyciężony. Dramat w 4 aktach*, Poznań 1896.

41 See T. Wolsza, 'Stowarzyszenie „Łączność” (1888–1893). U źródeł Ligi Narodowej', *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 19, 1987, vol. 2, pp. 3–33; id., *Narodowa Demokracja wobec chłopów w latach 1887–1914. Programy, polityka działalności*, Warsaw 1992, ch.: 'Stowarzyszenie kulturalno-oświatowe „Łączność”', pp. 29–46.

42 The debate on the problem of the 'overproduction of intelligentsia' beginning in the 1870s is presented in detail by J. Jedlicki, *Jakiej cywilizacji Polacy potrzebują? Studia z dziejów wyobraźni XIX wieku*, Warsaw 1988, esp. ch. 4: 'Potrzebni i zbędni', pp. 228–265; id., *Kwestia nadprodukcji inteligencji w Królestwie Polskim po powstaniu styczniowym*, in *Inteligencja polska pod zaborami*, R. Czepulis-Rastenis (ed.), Warsaw 1978, pp. 218–259; W. Hendzel, '„Głos” (1886–1894) w świetle...', part entitled: 'Problem inteligentnego proletariatu', pp. 95–101; id., 'Problem „inteligentnego proletariatu” w wypowiedziach „Głosowiczów”', *Sprawozdania. Opolskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk. Wydział Języka i Literatury*, series 2, no. 2, Wrocław 1990, pp. 57–79; J. Żurawicka, *Inteligencja warszawska w końcu XIX wieku*, Warsaw 1978, ch. 'Sytuacja materialna i warunki pracy', pp. 167–204, 178 and note. For the universality of the problem on a European scale see

Such an ambitious journalist as Dmowski would certainly have been able to support himself in this restricted Warsaw job market, but the freshly-minted young biologist's political and intellectual ambitions already outstripped the rungs of an intellectual career of the day. It was even harder to imagine that a young man with such fine prospects would wish to turn to the inheritance of his recently dead father – the paver.

After completing his studies, Dmowski went abroad with the aim of deepening his knowledge of natural history and biology. As his biographers agree, at the time he was seriously contemplating an academic career. After receiving aid from the Mianowski Fund for his first international foray, Dmowski headed off for Paris, where he undertook some short, but very intensive anthropological studies.<sup>43</sup> There is no question that the decision to leave, apart from any personal motives, was also hastened by the crack-down on the May 1891 demonstrators. The sluggish investigation could finally strike at the affair's leaders. Years later Dmowski would write about this as follows: 'I went to Paris to add a bit to my education and to get to know the West better.'<sup>44</sup>

The informal leader of the younger generation of 'patriots' continued to place his articles on the pages of *Głos*, returning with astonishing stubbornness to the same issues. Leaving aside his journalism of a purely scientific nature, his articles published on the weekly's pages during his Parisian sojourn were a continuation of previously-raised subjects.

Minor literary studies alluded to the more extensive discussion of Sienkiewicz's *Bez dogmatu*. Most of this output of literary criticism concentrated on the issue which he labelled active morality.

Published at the end of January/beginning of February 1893, a series of articles entitled *Proteusze* (*Proteuses*) was something of an epilogue to the debates carried on in their time in *Głos* about the condition of the young provincial intelligentsia. This polemic, exceptionally rich in commentary, came about as the result of the disaster of a survey which two other 'Głos' writers, Antoni Potocki and Zygmunt Wasilewski, had once sent out. The survey, aimed at the provincial intelligentsia, was an attempt to gather information about the rural population and also

---

L. O'Boyle, 'The Problem of an Excess of Educated Men in Western Europe 1800–1850', *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 42, December 1970, no. 4, pp. 471–495.

43 R. Wapiński, *Roman Dmowski*, Lublin 1988, p. 45; A. Micewski, *Roman Dmowski*, Warsaw 1971, p. 14.

44 R. Dmowski, 'Dobra krew. Wspomnienie o Ś.P. Władysławie Grabskim', *Gazeta Warszawska Poranna*, 1 XI 1927, no. 300, p. 5. See too R. Wapiński, *Roman Dmowski...*, pp. 45–46.

served as a sort of activist test for this newly-forming group, as well as for the new generation that was returning from university to the provinces. Only a negligible number of potential respondents replied to the meticulously prepared form (the Kielce school-leaver Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz was among this small group), which fact gave rise to an understandable annoyance in some quarters, and eventually a lengthy letter-cum-pamphlet, written in the form of an accusation by one of the survey's authors, at the time also secretary to the *Głos* editorial board – Wasilewski.<sup>45</sup>

Perhaps the most significant element of this whole heated *imbroglio* was Stefan Żeromski's *Silaczka*, also published in *Głos*.<sup>46</sup> A regular correspondent of the author's, the 'Głos-ite' and 'patriot' Walery Karwasiński, wrote to him at the time a personal letter: 'Your novellas affect me like an overcast warm day on which the sun bursts through from time to time [...]. *Pokusa* has more sun than clouds, but in our situation *Silaczka* is the most vital. I can't tell you how many Obareckis [Piotr Obarecki is one the main characters in *Silaczka* G.K.] I have seen in my lifetime.'<sup>47</sup> Dmowski's *Proteusze* was one of the voices in this discussion.<sup>48</sup>

Written in the convention of dispatches from France, the series of articles was in its own way a juxtaposition of two social models which had developed in two separate socio-civilizational cultures: France and the Polish lands. Dmowski employed the rather convenient convention of a description of a walk round the French capital linked to a conversation with an alleged friend Carlos. As is known from other sources, these conversations between friends did not entirely

---

45 Z. Wasilewski's series, entitled *Z listów do przyjaciela na prowincji*, appeared in *Głos* nos. 32–34 of 1891. W. Hendzel, 'Problem „inteligentnego proletariatu”...', pp. 57–79. For an account of the inside story of the whole episode see id., 'Głos (1886–1894) w świetle...', pp. 100–101.

46 For an account of the inside story of *Silaczka*'s creation see J. Kucharski, 'O „Silaczce” Stefana Żeromskiego', *Prace Historyczno-Literackie Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Gdańsku*, Gdańsk 1969, pp. 153–186; See too Z. Lisowski, *Gloria victae (Silaczka)*, in id., *Nowelistyka Stefana Żeromskiego*, Kielce 1998, pp. 10–42; A. Hutnikiewicz, *Geneza i źródła opowiadań*, in S. Żeromski, *Wybór opowiadań*, edited by A. Hutnikiewicz, Kraków 2003, p. XXVIII and note.

47 S. Żeromski, *Listy, 1884–1892...*, p. 78, Walery Karwasiński to Stefan Żeromski, 27 VIII 1891.

48 See [R. Dmowski], 'Proteusze. Z rozmyślań Diego Iguenaz'a', *Głos*, 2 (14) I 1893, no. 2, pp. 18–19; id., 'Proteusze. Z rozmyślań Diego Iguenaz'a, II', *Głos*, 9 (21) I 1893, no. 3, p. 27; id., 'Proteusze. Z rozmyślań Diego Iguenaz'a, III', *Głos*, 16 (28) I 1893, no. 4, pp. 39–40; id., 'Proteusze. Z rozmyślań Diego Iguenaz'a, IV', *Głos*, 28 I (4 II) 1893, no. 5, pp. 50–51.

have to be a literary creation.<sup>49</sup> Dmowski's companion in his ramblings across Paris would later recall that once again he saw then 'the scale of Roman's life and imagination.'<sup>50</sup>

The story's narrator, a Spanish nobleman, and the alleged author of these meditations, Diego Iguenaz (an irreverent allusion to Dmowski's nickname from college – Ignac from Praga), a descendant of ancient hidalgos, was studying in Paris. The series opened with some thoughts from a walk through the Latin Quarter – the seat of French universities and an area of intellectual bohemia. Don Diego, strolling along the pavements, was observing there on the spot among the young French what in his time the young columnist R. Skrzycki had followed with such anxiety among the Polish educated classes. The new man. The man of action.

The issue of the man of action, 'the strong-willed individual' – a motif that would powerfully appear in Dmowski's first publications, including in the extended series on *Bez dogmatu* – returned like a boomerang. Insofar as earlier this active type had remained a kind of metaphor, as if somewhat in opposition to the effeminate dandy Płoszowski, in Dmowski's French despatches he was already an individual of flesh and blood. Don Diego kept discovering him among the noisy students, the laughing young people, often in the company of women of easy virtue, young people who joked, sang rude songs, thus attracting the attention of the whole district. Iguenaz's companion, Don Carlos, whose 'idealism was deeply offended by this picture of a life freed from the restraints of any ideology' reacted to Don Diego's comments with surprise mixed with disgust.<sup>51</sup> For Don Carlos these young French were a band of layabouts, scroungers, and chuckleheads. The witty conversation which then ensued was, on the part of Don Diego, an apology for people of action, these 'civilized users of life', as he would put it.

This amusing little tale was written not without its own irony, and entailed a down payment on more important discussions. In them Dmowski returned to the issues then bothering him. He devoted perhaps the most energy to the development of the foundations of a new public ethics. His observations and thoughts formed an odd mix of the remains of strictly biological reading and intensive natural history and social studies, with earlier-applied public moralising. From these articles emerged the outlines of a detailed ideological project.

---

49 See W. Jabłonowski, *Krótki życiorys...*, p. 486 and note, as well as *Ze wspomnień Władysława Jabłonowskiego*, in M. Kułakowski [J. Zieliński], *Roman Dmowski w świetle listów i wspomnień*, vol. 1, London 1968, pp. 147–148.

50 *Ze wspomnień Władysława Jabłonowskiego*, in M. Kułakowski, *Roman Dmowski...*, p. 157.

51 [R. Dmowski], 'Proteusze [...] I...', pp. 18–19.

Don Diego's casual chat begins by defining the conditions in which public morality is created.<sup>52</sup> In the 'Głos' columnist's opinion, this phenomenon developed at the intersection of three planes. 'Internal factors' – i.e. permanent biological make-up, innate characteristics together with its spiritual/mental representations; 'permanent external factors', that is the social environment in which individuals live; and finally 'impermanent external factors', by which our columnist meant all the stimuli working on an individual with an uneven intensity, i.e. fashions, intellectual currents, cultural trends, etc. The outcome of these three elements influenced an individual's moral standing in society.

Without going deeper into the nuances of this elaborate construction, it should be noted that Dmowski was basing his whole model on these 'permanent external factors'. The piece's internal logic also indicated that the relatively homogenous structure of 'internal factors' remained an indispensable *point de départ* for a community's efficient operation. A shapeless amalgam of 'external factors' is what described under-developed and late-developing societies, as distinct from materially and culturally higher civilizations, in line with this view, and determined their civilizational weakness. Every wave of modernity, innovation, fashion, or even a simple innovative flurry led to these communities' ruling class allowing itself to be carried along by a current of change and led astray. If we accept Dmowski's pronouncement, ideals now went off into the wilderness. On more than one occasion Dmowski indicated what he had in mind: 'Mental and moral acquisitions arrive fast, since they don't penetrate deeply and just rest on the surface. Minds like that are capable of simultaneously holding the most contradictory theories and conflicting principles of behaviour. They accept theories, which are contradicted at every turn by life's experience, they sanction ethical principles, to which their own actions give the lie.'

As he pointed out, in this type of unstable, weakened social structure any kind of ideological influx created breaches which would end in historical catastrophe. Clearly, the echoes of student disputes between the 'patriots' and the 'internationalists' were still alive in Dmowski's writings. The clash of modernity – whose carrier was meant to be a given society's educated class, and more specifically its vanguard or ideologically engaged young people (the 'youthful grouping') – with adult society's unstable 'ethical system' would, in the author's view, lead the youthful protagonists in these events to a state of mass social depression. This 'reverse transformation' would change a generation of idealists into common *petty bourgeois*, 'a winged being into a crawling maggot'. It would turn an active

---

52 [R. Dmowski], 'Proteusze [...] II...', p. 28.



young generation with dreams and a quite promising future into leading 'Proteuses' – in other words weak, capricious people, susceptible to mood and thus influenced by their surroundings. Eventually it would turn them into passive and infirm members of local communities. It would turn Piotr Obarecki – the main protagonist of one of Żeromski's stories – from a 'thoughtful, committed idealist, community activist and dreamer, as well as a future great person,' into a disgusting philistine.<sup>53</sup> Few were able to escape from this fatal existential imperfection.

Dmowski presented a rather original way out of this dramatic trap of backwardness. Recognizing that the permanent conditions in which society exists would not change, and on the other hand that society could cut itself off from the modern world, he sought in the active individual opportunities for overcoming this dramatic antinomy. It was on him that he was shouldering the bulk of responsibility for the community. He wrote: 'we are coming to the conclusion that the source of this survival can lie only within the individual himself, in his independence, in his clear mental and moral individualism.'<sup>54</sup> Picturing a vision of these independent, vital individuals, who were meant to elevate the whole of society, transforming it on their own terms, Dmowski also emphasized the dangers that lurked for them. He devoted a great deal of space, for instance, to home-grown, i.e. national pedagogy, which in his opinion stifled individuality: 'stands, like a gardener, with secateurs by a hedge and eagerly trims back any bud that pokes above a designated height.' He stubbornly kept returning to the issue of dogmatism in the perception of various ideas, he also fulminated against this 'mental corset' which constricted young minds. Thus, for instance, he would spitefully compare the author of some anonymous little self-help work with Alexander the Great, who resolved all the complexities of public life with a blow with his sword; 'odder still,' he added sarcastically, 'the sword wasn't even all that sharp.'

The evocative image of havoc, created by new fashions, including the simply reviled 'materialist understanding of nature and history', was meant only to depict the external symptoms of a broader social phenomenon: the dependence of the home-grown Polish élites. This image of society was in point of fact extremely pessimistic. 'Any independence of principles, [...] or moral courage in stating a different opinion call down on an individual the accursed name of 'individualist', however, the ideal of a well-developed person is the person/phonograph.' Elsewhere he added: 'Human society is a sub-equatorial forest – in it there are straight

---

53 S. Żeromski, *Siłaczka*, in id., *Wybór opowiadań...*, p. 22.

54 [R. Dmowski], 'Proteusze [...] III...', p. 39.

trunks, standing on their own, and flexible lianas, which weave themselves around these trunks. How could there be a forest of nothing but lianas?

In mature societies, in civilizational terms, exceptional individuals are, in Dmowski's view, a natural product of internal conditions. This characteristic rift between underdeveloped societies and the civilized West was very heavily emphasized here. In our columnist's view, in developed societies, the role of the individual could be second-rate, so to speak, for the whole social structure worked correctly. This undisguised fascination with Western modernity did not, however, mean a desire to borrow foreign models. Eminent individuals, men of action, through the strength of their personal, creative acts had the task of bringing out the individuality from home-grown Polish communities; of seizing and revealing their innate exceptionalism, their unique originality, which 'represents their most important [...] foundation and basis for development.'<sup>55</sup>

Inasmuch, however, as this penetrating presentation of provincial relationships, linked to a critique of more or less the whole thinking class, in which moral falsehood had been intertwined with unquenched ambition, conveyed the radicals' general belief about provincial reality, the portraits of men of action, as presented by our columnist, must have appeared less credible.

Even in his piece on the Sienkiewicz story Dmowski indicated that one of its second-tier protagonists, a certain Śniatyński, a doctor and community activist, had the makings of such a complete man. And yet a complete man already existed, although the possibilities of revealing a 'new ethics' through him were somewhat limited. What did he lack? At the time Dmowski himself probably never knew. There was no clear answer in his French despatches. On the other hand, the author showed that the community activist's very social attitudes, his honest desires, as well as his demonstrated vitality and willpower, were just the stuff of a real daredevil, as was written at the time.

It was significant that while Dmowski was still a student he adopted the assumption that societies were subject to the laws of imitation and extended this to just about the whole intellectual class. This idea was close to that of many of his contemporaries, and it later became more deeply grounded in Dmowski through his reading of the then popular social psychologists (including Gabriel Tarde, as well as the home-grown Polish writer Julian Ochorowicz).

The 'Głos' columnist assumed with conviction that among the home-grown Polish intellectual class illusions replaced real life. This was supposed to explain its intellectual inertia and inactivity. Whereas better organized societies had

---

55 [R. Dmowski], 'Proteusze [...] IV...', p. 50.

already the developed the paths for modernization – a series of essential, rehearsed social procedures, by now almost second-nature, which in turn allowed the ‘spirit of individuality’ to be extracted from them – in ‘spiritual communities’ less well endowed in civilizational terms, this task was carried out by elevated, consequently heroic, ideals. Men of action, in fact a new type of man, were supposed to replace the lack of institutions. It was not a question here of the universal mechanics of adaptive development, about which the Marxists wrote, but of the ‘great ideas’, proposed by the ‘Głos’ circle, able to invigorate developmental mechanisms. ‘Big ideas’, which could be undertaken only by men of action, exceptional individuals.

The motif of exceptional individuals, heroes, whose task was to pull their societies out of a state of crisis was very popular in many intellectual circles in the Kingdom of Poland in the 1890s. The turn towards community championed by the positivists, the ideological call for social work, grass-roots work, reinforced later by their polemicists from socialist student circles, could also be found in statements by the young ‘patriotic’ generation. These ‘young people’ were, however, different.

Although the ideals of organic work had not disappeared from public debate, the shift of emphasis from the community to the individual was all too obvious. It was one of the symptoms of cultural pessimism, enjoying triumphs in the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century throughout more or less the whole of Europe. But some fashions catch on, others don’t. This one gained new supporters in the intelligentsia with quite unusual momentum. Not claiming any pretensions to present the whole picture of this phenomenon, we need to indicate a few causes for this state of mind among the home-grown Polish élite.

In the mid-eighties just about the whole progressive camp, from the Szkoła Główna generation to the university ‘patriots’ and ‘internationalists’, but also serious conservative circles, were united in the growing conviction of capitalism’s negative influence on humanity’s development. First of all, capitalism struck, somewhat paradoxically, at the hopes and aspirations of its home-grown Polish exponents – the positivists. It was they who in their later works began ever more clearly to point out its dehumanizing and alienating nature.<sup>56</sup> Thanks to Marxism, which had a consistent set of intellectual tools to hand, these general phobias were re-forged as a comprehensive record of society’s state of crisis.

---

56 See J. Jedlicki, *Jakiej cywilizacji...*, p. 300 and note. See too B.A. Porter, ‘Social Nation and Its Future. English Liberalism and Polish Nationalism in Late Nineteenth Century Warsaw’, *The American Historical Review*, vol. 104, December 1996, no. 5, pp. 1470–1490.

Marx's contribution, as a critic of industrial society, was pointed out not just by his home-grown Polish followers, young left-wing radicals, but also by declared liberals and radical 'patriots'. In January 1889, at the ceremonies commemorating the twenty-sixth anniversary of the January Uprising in a room of the Geographical Society in Paris, Stanisław Barański, the émigré *Pobudka*'s leading ideologue, pointed out that Poland could be raised up only in accordance with the newest currents of socialism – of course, he added immediately, alongside maintaining the sacred aims of nationhood. The next speaker, Zygmunt Balicki maintained equally firmly that noble Poland 'cannot be unconditionally resurrected', pointing out simultaneously 'the inertia and torpor of the conservative bourgeois system.'<sup>57</sup> The young 'patriot' Dmowski also appreciated the philosopher's sociological perceptiveness.<sup>58</sup> In this he was not alone among his comrades.<sup>59</sup>

The social damage which market forces, freed from feudal constraints, appeared to create, nevertheless remained for many people of the day merely the tip of the iceberg. Other kinds of pitfalls lay in wait for an industrial society experiencing birth pangs. Capitalism, breaking old national and corporate bonds, had destroyed a sense of stability and humanity's roots in the world. The individual, wrenched from his old identity, was now alone on the battlefield. The natural sciences provided an additional impetus to these attitudes. Charles Darwin's discoveries cannot be exaggerated. It wasn't an issue of direct conclusions drawn from reading the English natural historian; that was after all the preserve of a narrow circle of specialists. The more general conclusions emanating from the theories of the writer of *On The Origin of Species* appeared to be of more consequence.

In truth, the intellectual left found confirmation of its belief in the weakness of prevailing proof of the existence of supernatural reality, and indeed a scientific argument for its non-existence, while radical youth had now been handed a useful weapon with which to fight religious authority, but Darwinian conclusions

---

57 See Barański's and Balicki's addresses on the anniversary of the January Uprising: 'Korespondencja „Wolnego Polskiego Słowa”, Paryż, 23 Stycznia 1889', *Wolne Polskie Słowo*, 1 II 1889, no. 34, p. 2.

58 See R. Skrzycki [R. Dmowski], 'Idea w poniewierce', *Głos*, 9 (21) II 1891, no. 8, p. 86.

59 See W. Gryf [W. Jabłonowski], 'Rzut oka na robotnicze związki zawodowe i ich znaczenie dla proletariatu. I', *Przegląd Socjalistyczny. Kwartalnik Ekonomiczno-Polityczny*, October 1892, no. 1, pp. 27–38; W. Lipski [W. Jabłonowski], 'Z ruchu niemieckiej socjalnej demokracji. I', *Przegląd Socjalistyczny*, January-April 1893, nos. 2–3, p. 74 and note. One of the first translators of *Das Kapital* into Polish was Mieczysław Brzeziński, the co-founder of the Warsaw Circle for Popular Education, a patron of the so-called populists, amongst whom the university 'patriots' were also recruited.

were not optimistic for everyone. Including man in the natural order, integrating him into the natural world was in truth a response to the ambition of studying the puzzles of mankind, but on the other hand it aroused a natural tendency to see man as a higher form in the animal kingdom. The result was socio-Darwinism, which became an influential ideological current in the second half of the century.<sup>60</sup>

The more general conclusions arising from an adoption of Darwinism also forced reflections on the state and durability of institutionalized public morality. Its current basis in religion was losing much of its force. The individual firmly seated in the natural order was becoming the real subject of history.

The two most important impulses, i.e. biologism and individualism, already present earlier in one form or another in public debate but only now combined, became deeply rooted in the intellectual atmosphere of the period, providing inspiration for a great many influential ideological trends. The skill with which they were combined was supposed to affect the intellectual élites' attitudes in a significant way.

There were also more prosaic reasons for this general wave of doubt and pessimism among the Polish intellectual classes. The natural basis for these catastrophic attitudes was the home-grown Polish land-owning class, removed from political influence and to a growing extent losing its power to influence public life.

The process of the gentry's 'declassing', which had now been underway for some time and was to all intents and purposes by now impossible to stop, led to the creation of an unusually rich journalistic and literary output. The fate of a bankrupt squire, who had lost out to the active urban element, usually of foreign origin, filled the columns of the landowning press. The antisemitic *Rola*, founded by Jan Jeleński, became the first open vehicle for these anxieties.<sup>61</sup> For students, without even mentioning former school pupils, such a direct experience of the social crisis

---

60 See M. Hawkins, *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought, 1860–1945. Nature as Model and Nature as Threat*, Cambridge 1997, pp. 21–23; also T. Kizwalter, 'Nowoczesny Polak. Darwin i Nietzsche', *Przegląd Polityczny*, 2002, no. 56, p. 106.

61 See A. Jaszczuk, *Spór pozytywistów z konserwatystami...*, p. 210 and note; A. Cała, *Asymilacja Żydów w Królestwie Polskim (1864–1897). Postawy, konflikty, stereotypy*, Warsaw 1989, pp. 279–280; J. Jedlicki, *Jakiej cywilizacji...*, p. 353; T.R. Weeks, *Assimilation, Nationalism, Modernisation, Antisemitism. Notes on Polish-Jewish Relations, 1855–1905*, in *Antisemitism and its Opponents in Modern Poland*, R. Blobaum (ed.), Ithaca and London 2005, pp. 36–37; B.A. Porter, *When Nationalism Began to Hate. Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth-Century Poland*, New York 2000, pp. 164–167.

of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a phenomenon of an over-production of intelligentsia, thus forming fertile ground for growing student radicalism.

This generation, experienced in the Apukhtin school, felt national enslavement more strongly and more intensely than did older people. The radicals' feeling of patriotic, and often social alienation intensified upon colliding with the conservative provinces, which was documented by Żeromski's early work. In turn, the success of Germanization in the Prussian Partition, as well as General Józef Gurko's Russification inclinations in the Kingdom, could bring to mind fears about the fate of Polishness as such.

The well-known literary critic Antoni Potocki, a member of the *Głos* editorial board, later claimed that at the start of the 90s, the intellectual life of the day saw the birth of the cult of the individual to follow the cult of the collective.<sup>62</sup> It was not without significance that the individual, now placed on a pedestal, began to suffer from every kind of civilizational ailment. Sensitive to stimuli from public life, the artistic world was the first to bring these underlying trends to the surface. The extensive reception of Sienkiewicz's *Bez dogmatu* was clear evidence of this. Even the most bitter critics admitted that Sienkiewicz had captured the essential feature of contemporary life. Almost immediately *Bez dogmatu* spontaneously inspired a wave of imitations.

Aleksander Mańkowski's *Hrabia August (Count Augustus)* was being written at the same time as Sienkiewicz's story, while almost simultaneously a young writer – a member, it should be noted, of Warsaw student circles – Leopold Blumenthal (Leo Belmont) published a story entitled *W wieku nerwowym (In a Nervous Age)*; at the same time the story *Śmierć (Death)*, written by Ignacy Dąbrowski, who moved in radical/progressive circles, was also published. All these stories were published in 1890. That same year another 'nervous type', Kazimierz Zaliwski, began to write a memoir. He was the hero of *Fachowiec (The Professional)* by Waclaw Berent – a graduate of the Zurich Polytechnic (1896 doctorate on the physiology of fish), earlier a member of Rosa Luxemburg's group and later a well-known devotee and translator of Nietzsche. Żeromski, who wrote an extensive review for *Głos* of Mańkowski's story, had already earlier been signing his own diary as *Dziennik człowieka nerwowego (The Diary of a Nervous Person)*.

On the other hand, the need arose almost at once for a definite reply to this climate of decadence. Orzeszkowa tried to give such a principled response to Sienkiewicz's story by publishing *Dwa bieguny*. Michał Wołowski, a popular

---

62 See A. Potocki, *Polska literatura współczesna...*, part 2, *passim*.

dramatist of the day, a 'Głos-ite' too, although a second-tier one, later a director of Warsaw theatres, wrote the story *Z dogmatem* (*With Dogma*). However, the critics' opinions on the work were devastating.

Sienkiewicz, in outlining a new hero – a person conscious of the nooks and crannies of his own personality, an extreme individualist, indeed an egotist, pessimist, and an unbeliever all rolled into one, an individual lacking the will and the strength to live – somewhat despite his own intentions had responded to readers' needs. Readers, let me add, who did not necessarily come from the Kingdom. A Galician fan of the story wrote: 'This is what I say: Płoszowski and I are one and the same.'<sup>63</sup>

In some circles people even began to imitate Płoszowski. Appearing in the cultural press, and elsewhere too, were various types of intimate memoirs of 'the highly strung', of 'decadents' – victims of the increased pace of life, in which the hero or other protagonist suffered from a 'neurosis'.<sup>64</sup> The conservative critic Teodor Jeske-Choiński wrote: 'in various forms [...] it became the epidemic of the moment. No era has produced so many suicides, lunatics, hysterics, physical weaklings [...]. You need only to look around to see very clearly the signs of impending decadence [...]. You need only to listen in to the conversation of two witty little Warsaw "intellectual lightweights". Cynicism piled on top of cynicism follows cynicism.'<sup>65</sup> This 'phosphorescence of decay' or 'poison of negativity', as he called it, supposedly grew in the soil of capitalist conditions: speculative sales, the destruction of landed estates, and the spread of speculative start-ups. Jeske-Choiński, a leading contributor to *Rola*, blamed 'cosmopolitan' Jews for this state of affairs.<sup>66</sup> A little less than a year earlier he had published a tendentious story entitled *W pętach* (*Shackled*) (1893). Progressive critics immediately unearthed

---

63 J. Rozenzweig, „Bez Dogmatu” *Studium literackie*, Kraków 1891, p. 135.

64 See too K. Kłosińska, „Nerwowość” w literaturze naukowej końca XIX w., in *Przełom antypozytywistyczny w polskiej świadomości...*, pp. 93–113; ead, *Powieści o wieku nerwowym*, Katowice 1988.

65 T. Jeske-Choiński, *Na schyłku wieku. Studium*, Warsaw 1894, p. 15.

66 See Z. Mocarska-Tycowa, *Działalność krytyczno-literacka Teodora Jeske-Choińskiego wobec przełomu antypozytywistycznego*, Poznań 1975, esp. pp. 9–41, 91–194, ch. 4: 'Pod znakiem zwyrodnienia', pp. 115–155; M. Pąkciński, *Konserwatyzm na rozdrożu...*, pp. 129–147. For the later evolution of Jeske-Choiński's views on the Jewish issue see too T. Weeks, 'The International Jewish Conspiracy Reaches Poland. Teodor Jeske-Choiński and his works', *East European Quarterly*, vol. 31, 1997, pp. 21–41; M. Śliwa, 'Ksenofobie żydowskie Teodora Jeske-Choińskiego', *Studia Historyczne*, 1994, vol. 2, pp. 179–190.

in it Sienkiewicz's and decadent inspiration. The young 'patriot' R. Skrzycki's alarmist warnings of 'undogmatism' were not isolated ones.

Attempting to start up a rivalry for control over souls, the young radicals had to present an alternative vision of modern man. In this growing need for complete people, sort of Płoszowskis *à rebours*, works on heroism and heroes of public and artistic life probably hit the mark with the greatest impact. The young historian Szymon Askenazy also sought such heroes, or men of action, in Thomas Carlyle's *Heroes*.<sup>67</sup> In later works, when he had achieved for himself the position of the most eminent historian of his generation, he preached a cult of famous people: individuals who by their strength of will and actions transform the history of nations and societies. Here we can perhaps discover one of the reasons why Askenazy so often turned to writing biographies. In the margin of one of his works he noted simply: 'The most important thing is self-examined individuality.'<sup>68</sup> Similar tastes in the West encouraged these literary interests amongst the intelligentsia.<sup>69</sup>

A deeper feature of this same phenomenon was the reception of the works of Friedrich Nietzsche and the extraordinary response to them among Polish intellectual élites.<sup>70</sup> In the first half of the 1890s Ludwik Krzywicki was still indignantly describing Nietzscheanism's assault on the Warsaw élite. He wrote one of his pieces on the subject after staying for a few years abroad. He had left towards the end of 1891 and reappeared in Warsaw in mid-1893. The intellectual climate among the intelligentsia was already different. An irreverent article by

---

67 S. Askenazy, 'rec. Tomasz Carlyle, Bohaterowie, przekład z ang. Anczyc, Ska, Paprocki', Kraków-Warsaw 1892, *Biblioteka Warszawska*, vol. 1, March 1892, vol. 3, pp. 577-586. See too K.K. Daszyk, 'Szymona Askenazego neoromantyczna apoteoza czynu', *Studia Historyczne*, 38, 1985, vol. 2, pp. 225-242.

68 S. Askenazy, *Studia historyczno-krytyczne*, p. 242, quotation taken from J. Dutkiewicz, *Szymon Askenazy i jego szkoła*, Warsaw 1958, p. 68.

69 M. Micińska writes interestingly about this in *Między Królem Duchem a Mieszczaninem. Obraz bohatera narodowego w piśmiennictwie polskim przełomu XIX i XX w. (1890-1914)*, Wrocław 1995, pp. 399-425. See too J.W. Burrow, *The Crisis of Reason. European Thought, 1848-1914*, New Haven and London 2000, ch. 'Constructing the Self', pp. 171-196.

70 See M. Kopij, *Fryderyk Nietzsche w literaturze i publicystyce polskiej lat 1889-1918. Struktura recepcji*, Poznań 2005. See too G. Kowal, *Nietzsche w literaturze i publicystyce polskiej lat 1919-1939*, in *Fryderyk Nietzsche i pisarze polscy*, W. Kunicki, K. Polechoński (eds.), Poznań 2002, relevant pp. 273-348 and 349-440. Also T. Weiss, *Fryderyk Nietzsche w piśmiennictwie polskim lat 1890-1914*, Wrocław 1961; A. Walicki, *Nietzsche in Poland (before 1918)*, in *East Europe Reads Nietzsche*, A. Freifeld, P. Bergman, B. Glatzer Rosenthal (eds.), Boulder-New York 1998, pp. 43-83.



Krzywicki, which appeared in January 1894 on the pages of Warsaw *Prawda*, perfectly described the moment of transition between one era and the next.

Krzywicki wrote: ‘Then a wave of Neitzscheanism broke through to Warsaw! [...] I returned to find a radical change. [...]. *Żelazne prawo* (*The Iron Rule*) went out the window, young ladies threw their economics textbooks into the bin, young people began to make up for their lack of a mane and horns with something else [...] Nietzsche! He is the prophet that our intelligentsia swears by [...]. And if I had had any doubts on this score, a few days in Warsaw dispelled them. I was at one of those events, called a reception, where one bowl of empty words is poured into another. The male of the species, unable to spread its tail like a peacock, kept dropping words whose basic theme was the slogan – the hour of the superman has arrived. The representatives of the female sex, like the choir in a Greek tragedy, added: Nietzsche, the oh so great Nietzsche! Even our booksellers have sensed the mood of the moment, for in their window displays I can see *Thus Spake Zarathustra!* Our intellectual class is not only twittering about the great master of its thought, but also buys his books, no doubt slipping them into fancy dust jackets; now whether they read them is of course another matter, quite another matter.’<sup>71</sup> Contrary to appearances, the whole thing was not just an intellectual game or the stuff of gossip in Warsaw drawing rooms. In fact the lofty figure of the ‘superman’ seemed some kind of balm for the anxieties of the time. Krzywicki, in describing this crisis as mischievous hogwash, did not even foresee that he would be one of the victims of the Nietzschean bite. His morality play entitled *Sic itur ad virtutem* (*Such Will be Your Paths*) would be recognized as an expression of home-grown Nietzscheanism.

In progressive circles, as throughout Europe, and also among the radical Polish intelligentsia at the start of the 1890s, the reception of Nietzsche’s concepts was marked by a certain ambivalence.<sup>72</sup> For a great many socialist journalists Neitzscheanism appeared to be the rehabilitation of an out-dated metaphysics, a return to past, abandoned social forms. The ideal of a moral aristocracy smacked

---

71 K.R. Żywicki [L. Krzywicki], ‘Nasz Nietzscheanizm’, *Prawda*, 5 I 1894, no. 2, p. 43. See too M. Micińska, *Między Królem Duchem...*, pp. 416–417.

72 See S. Aschheim, ‘Nietzschean Socialism – Left and Right, 1890–1933’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 23, April 1988, no. 2. See too D. Stone, ‘An ‘Entirely Tactless Nietzschean Jew’: Oscar Levy’s Critique of Western Civilization’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 36, no. 2, April 2001, pp. 271–292; J. Le Rider, *Modernité viennoise et crises de l’identité*, Paris 1990, pp. 43–46; J.W. Burrow, *The Crisis of the Reason...*, p. 238 and note.

of ideological apostasy.<sup>73</sup> However, Nietzsche's writings gave the impression of brilliant aphorisms by a pretentious aesthete. Progressive critics raised the liking for paradox by the author of *Untimely Meditations*, which against the supposed cohesiveness of the fathers of scientific socialism was meant to prove the ephemeral nature of the former's thinking. Krzywicki for a long time recognized Nietzsche as a considerable poet, nay, even a poet of genius, while refusing him the status of a solid thinker.

Nietzsche's numerous and obsessively formulated accusations against developing modern mass society and democracy as such were greeted unwillingly, or with open hostility, in socialist circles. When the emancipation of women was becoming more or less a given in progressive circles, the philosopher was expressing none too tactful views on women. On the other hand, the idea of a modern, authentic and wholesome humanity, shorn of the metaphysical supports of individualism, gave rise in progressive circles, and in socialist ones too, to a not entirely deliberate stir. From the mid-nineties this interest began to turn into fascination.

The best illustration of this was the journalism of Zofia Poznańska, later Daszyńska-Golińska. This eminent socialist activist and feminist exhibited very early her broad range of abilities. She was very young when she married the exceptional socialist activist Feliks Daszyński (Ignacy's elder brother) and already as a student in Zurich she was writing for the progressive press. After her husband's untimely death, Daszyńska became even more deeply involved in the independence underground movement, also taking part in the Kiliński Revolt. At that time there was a distinctive evolution in her views. One of her first biographers Cecylia Walewska wrote: 'She came into contact abroad with the works of Nietzsche, who dazzled her. Henceforth the nightmare for the academic, reflective mind would be the reconciliation of socialist theory with the idea of the 'superman.'<sup>74</sup> Daszyńska would recall this in similar terms in an autobiographical sketch: 'The philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche would play an enormous role in my development. His almost anti-social ideology, recounted in fascinating aphorisms, was so different from Marxism that it should not have affected me, with my ultra-social views. I was always of the opinion that not only the masses, but also great people affect the world's development [...]. I spent two years agonizing

---

73 See L. [L. Krzywicki], 'Arystokratyczny radykalizm (Rozprawa Jerzego Brandesa o Fryderyku Nietzsche)', *Prawda*, 7 (19) IV 1890, no. 16, pp. 186–188.

74 C. Walewska, *Dr. Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska*, in *W walce o równą prawa. Nasze bojownice*, Warsaw 1930, p. 119.

over this quandary and only eventually freed myself from it by writing the pamphlet *Nietzsche-Zaratustra*.<sup>75</sup>

Daszyńska's case illustrated the wider phenomenon of moving away from Marxism, which was seen as a comprehensive vision of social change, but without abandoning its radical social demands. Scientific socialism, already codified as a doctrine, was striking by virtue of its determinism, while a reading of Nietzsche meant it could be enriched with a spiritual dimension, which was important for the 'idealistic revolt'. Daszyńska wrote: 'An overly mechanistic and materialist way of seeing social issues had shaken my faith in socialism.'<sup>76</sup> Nietzsche's message as an 'active protest' against the 'decadence' of the day, which the writer (seeing social reality in terms of natural history) defined as an 'impoverishment of a race's life force', was perfectly suited for this.<sup>77</sup>

The path that would lead a great many declared Marxists to revise their earlier views did not always pass through such a Nietzschean initiation. For a number of them these impulses to transform their own attitudes came from other sources. For some (Antoni Złotnicki – a member of the editorial board of the Paris *Pobudka*) this was contact with post-Kantian ideas, for others (Leon Winiarski) it was a confrontation with the English Pre-Raphaelites, or it was connected, as in the case of Edward Abramowski, with traumatic personal experiences.

It was in Nietzsche, however, that Zofia Daszyńska found a great many striking insights for her later social endeavours. In the previously-mentioned pamphlet (the first more or less complete presentation in Polish of Nietzsche's personality and views), the writer brought together several key themes. In addition to discovering the key to real humanity, i.e. rediscovered individualism, which was to remain, however, anchored in the wider community, the writer remarked on the need to make society 'more ethical'. This process of raising up whole societies to a higher ethical level was supposed to happen through imitation. The issue of the production – the 'incubation' of the new, authentic man – present in the philosopher's work seemed equally weighty. For Daszyńska, much exercised by the idea of the degeneration of contemporary industrial society and in later years

---

75 Z. Daszyńska-Golińska, *Notatki autobiograficzne*, in *Dr. Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska. Pionierka Wiedzy Gospodarczo-Społecznej w Polsce. Życiorysy zasłużonych kobiet*, Kraków 1932, p. 11.

76 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

77 Z. Daszyńska-Golińska, 'Nietzsche i moralność (Dokończenie)', *Przegląd Poznański*, 15 IV 1894, no. 3, p. 6. The article came out during the so-called Kiliński Revolt in which the writer took an active part.

a campaigner for the Polish eugenics movement, this was no minor matter.<sup>78</sup> The previously-mentioned intellectuals associated with the Left also came into contact with the German philosopher's works, and in Winiarski's case their influence on the development of his ideas can hardly be over-emphasized.

Among progressive opinion this fascination with Nietzsche came in stages. At the start of the 90s the philosopher's works really only reached the chosen élite. Still, the Nietzschean Stanisław Przybyszewski, the head of the socialist *Gazeta Robotnicza* published in Berlin (1892), could perhaps be considered an exception. But on the other hand, comprehensive attempts to discuss the philosopher's work were already appearing on the literary market. Circles of home-grown Polish enthusiasts, as well as committed enemies of the new philosophy, were rapidly springing up. The latter were dominated by conservatives and a few intellectuals from the Szkoła Główna. The main lights of progressive Warsaw criticism (Aleksander Świętochowski, Bolesław Prus, Piotr Chmielowski) adopted an ambiguous position.<sup>79</sup>

However, at the start of the 90s it was not Nietzsche, spreading the cult of elevated humanity, who was the Polish radicals' patron. The German thinker's extreme individualism still alienated progressive opinion, and especially progressive youth reared on egalitarian slogans found his subjectivism to border on a betrayal of ideals. With time this attitude would change, but initially enthusiasm was mixed with doubt.<sup>80</sup>

To begin with, thinkers who, while attempting to overcome passé determinism, did not stray too far beyond the bounds of the framework of the previous era's mental paradigm, had a much greater influence. From this cluster of people we need to mention above all two names: Alfred Fouillée and Jean-Marie Guyau. The former, an academic and theoretician who was especially active in the 1880s

---

78 See M. Gawin, *Rasa i nowoczesność. Historia polskiego ruchu eugenicznego*, Warsaw 2003, pp. 57, 146–149.

79 Świętochowski's attitude towards Nietzsche's work is succinctly expressed in his piece in *Prawda* – 'Poseł Prawdy, *Liberum veto*', *Prawda*, 1 (13) IV 1893, no. 19, from A. Świętochowski, *Liberum Veto II*, S. Sandler, M. Brykalska (eds.), Warsaw 1976, p. 156. See too P.Ch. [P. Chmielowski], 'Pretensje indywidualizmu', *Ateneum*, 2, 1895, vol. 1, pp. 209–215, as well as H. Struve's, *Anarchizm ducha u obcych i swoich. Studium krytyczne*, Warsaw 1899, which was extremely critical towards Nietzscheanism; M. Gloger, „Godny podziwu myśliciel i genialny wariat”. Bolesława Prusa poznawanie Nietzschego, in *Etyka i literatura. Pisarze polscy lat 1863–1918 w poszukiwaniu wzorców życia i sztuki*, E. Ichnatowicz, E. Paczowska (eds.), Warsaw 2006, pp. 78–89.

80 T. Weiss, in *Fryderyk Nietzsche...*, pp. 5–85, notes and discusses in detail the successive steps of Nietzsche's extensive reception in the Polish intellectual landscape.

and 1890s, and did not stray from the terrain of Spencerian evolutionism, tried to present a vision of social development taking into account the problem of the human ego and individual free will. Fouillée, as a supporter of the existence of constituent national characteristics, was drawing up ambitious projects of modern, which at the time meant secularized, morality.

In the idealistic rebellion, a rebellion that laid heavy emphasis on its moral roots and was led by *Głos* and perhaps in person by Józef Karol Potocki (translator and promoter of Fouillée and other writers of the so-called subjectivist sociological trend), such concepts of secular social ethics gave rise to understandable interest.<sup>81</sup> For the younger generation, the one that appeared at the start of the 90s in *Głos* looking for ‘big ideas’, these works were an important stage in ideological clarification.<sup>82</sup>

Besides Fouillée, the writer who influenced the whole movement’s views was his protégé, the afore-mentioned Jean-Marie Guyau. This writer, sometimes called the French Nietzsche, played perhaps a greater part than Fouillée himself.<sup>83</sup> The model for the man of action was sought in this exceptionally popular

---

81 See the discussion of Fouillée’s work: Z. Gr.: ‘Henryk Marion, Fouillé o M. Guyau,’ *Głos*, 13 (25) VII 1891, no. 30, p. 355; Jastrzębiec [J.L. Popławski?], ‘Temperamenty (A. Fouillée, Le tempérament physique et moral d’après la biologie contemporaine. Revue des deux mondes juin 1893),’ *Głos*, 28 VIII (9 IX) 1893, no. 36, pp. 425–426. Fouillée’s works appeared too in the *Głos* library, while extracts were reproduced on its pages. For the meaning and reception of Fouillée’s work see to J. Szacki, *Historia myśli socjologicznej*, Warsaw 2003, p. 352.

82 See W. Jabłonowski, *Krótki życiorys...*, p. 486. S. Grabski, *Pamiętniki*, vol. 1, prepared by W. Stankiewicz, Warsaw 1989, p. 36. I. Chrzanowski in Dmowski’s biographical entry in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 4, Kraków 1939–1946, p. 24, writes: ‘During his university years Dmowski, like the young Warsaw students of the day in general, buried himself in Darwin’s natural history works and the sociological works of Spencer, Lubbock, Morgan, Giraud Teulon, which were by now appearing in Polish translations. However, he was not attracted to the then fashionable in Poland philosophical works in the materialist and positivist vein: materialism was contrary to his faith in the power of the spirit that accompanied him from his youth to the grave, while already as a student [...] he had not viewed positivism uncritically, accusing its Polish adherents of parasitism of people’s thoughts, owing to a lack of their own.’

83 See J.H. Habitzel, *Lebensphilosophie und Erziehung bei Jean-Marie Guyau (1854–1888). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Pädagogischen Soziologie*, Bonn 1988, p. 5. This work is probably the most complete attempt to reconstruct J.M. Guyau’s views. See too B. Skarga, *Kłopoty intelektu. Między Comte’em a Bergsonem*, Warsaw 1975, pp. 197–205, 351–371.

writer. However, let's leave these writers for the time being; we shall return to them later.

Dmowski's journalistic output from the early 1890s represented a great apotheosis of the man of action. As mentioned, such an odd 'cult of the hero' was nothing unusual in the intellectual life of the day. The need for modern titans was very strong in pro-independence circles, among which the motif of the national hero continually appeared, all the time picking up new features, meanings, and sense. But the home-grown socialists, idolizing the collective working masses, also had their heroes, revering, for example, the memory of the personal sacrifice of the 'proletarians' hanged in the Citadel.<sup>84</sup> One of Maksymilian Horwitz's first pieces in the socialist *Przedświt* (1896) was devoted precisely to the memory of the Citadel heroes. On the basis of this need, legends then arose about the indomitable socialist conspirators, such as Marcin Kasprzak, Józef Piłsudski, or later Stefan Okrzeja.

The catalogue of heroes' characteristics and virtues, which were sought with such fervour, is worthy of some attention. Understandable in an era which, in the opinion of many, was suffering from aboulia, strong will and its consequences took pride of place. The authors of popular pedagogical textbooks of the second half of the 90s vied with one another in seeking ways to recover this will that had been exhausted by civilized life. Some saw a remedy in purely medical methods, others turned to parascientific remedies.

The work of the French psychologist and sociologist Théodule Ribot entitled *Les maladies de la volonté* became exceptionally inspirational for many groups. Then the author of a textbook translated into Polish by Józef Karol Potocki, *Kształcenie woli (Forming Willpower)* by Julien Payot, provided a detailed guide on how to regenerate the will. Several hundred pages long, the book saw several

---

84 The motif of the courageous hero/revolutionary was also emphasized in the pro-independence/socialist rhetoric of the journals, as well as in the press and publications connected with Marxist orthodoxy. See Art. 41, 1901 marzec, 28 stycznia 1886 r. W związku z 15 rocznicą wykonania wyroku na proletariatach „Kurier Robotniczy” in *Socjaldemokracja Królestwa Polskiego i Litwy. Materiały i dokumenty*, F. Tych (ed.), vol. 1, part 2: 1899–1901, edited by H. Buczek, Warsaw 1962, pp. 144–145; Nr. 26 1901 styczeń 28. Odezwa KC Królestwa Polskiego SDKPIL w piętnastą rocznicę stracenia „proletariatach”, Ibid., pp. 86–87; Z.Ł., ‘Rycerze ducha’, *Promień*, March 1903, no. 3, pp. 81–83. See too F. Tych, H. Schumacher, *Julian Marchlewski. Szkic biograficzny*, Warsaw 1966, p. 17 and note; A. Żuk, *Ofiary prawdziwe i dobrowolne. Ze wspomnień polskich rewolucjonistów XIX w.*, in *Przemoc i filozofia. 8 Lubelskie Odczyty Filozoficzne*, J. Mizińska, M. Kociuba (eds.), Lublin 2004, pp. 259–272.

editions. One of its readers, Władysław Konopczyński, an ambitious self-study-group member from Warsaw Secondary School no IV, would confide in his memoirs that he had studied above all the practical side: 'One must know one's opponent, the battlefield too. So let us learn about ourselves. I began my last year of school before my final exams under the sign of psychology and not history. It was then that Payot came to my rescue, not so much as a teacher, for I had already absorbed his precepts, but as a psychologist [...]. He led me to the issue of the relationships between thought, feeling, and will [...]. I have no doubt that in addition to memory, and a bent for research and a penetrating mind, character will also be useful for a historian.'<sup>85</sup> Also Payot's translator and regular contributor to *Głos* frequently explored the issue of strong will, its alleged lack or excessive dilution in home-grown Polish circles.

The men of action in Dmowski's articles were a specific type of hero of the day. It is not too hard to distinguish in them features from Guyau's and Nietzsche's theoretical lectures. These people could undertake real challenges and sometimes even change the course of history. With their efforts, often at the cost of personal sacrifice, they could change the fate of their own society. Furthermore, they had a moral right, if not a duty, to do this. After all, their key quality was supposed to be strong will and iron determination. Of course, such characters did not always appear directly in Dmowski, often these modern heroes were just a paradox, some not fully developed figure faced with the passive individuals who populated their own societies. On the other hand, men of action were now the people of the future. They also formed the down payment on the proposed complete new man.

It is not hard to find in Dmowski such direct borrowings from Guyau.<sup>86</sup> The journalist drew from readings of the 'French Nietzsche' both specific ideological instances, as well as theoretical constructs.

Men of action, creative individuals (in Guyau, usually artists) were meant to perform a defined pedagogical role: they were supposed to instill particular 'habits' and attitudes in the members of their societies, to bring out new customs from hereditary instincts. The creative man, the exceptional personality, possessing to the highest degree an awareness of his own existence and also able to sense the instincts of his race, will be capable of developing in the process of social education new habits and abilities for his own racial type. Creative people are the leaders of a race, claimed Guyau.

---

85 W. Konopczyński, 'Jak zostałem historykiem', *Znak*, October 1958, no. 10 (58), p. 1156.

86 See *inter alia* R. Skrzyżcki, 'Z ekonomii interesów duchowych II', *Głos*, 8 (20) II 1892, no. 8, p. 86; id., 'Używanie życia I', *Głos*, 6 (18) III 1892, no. 11, pp. 122–123.

For Dmowski the concept of race as a point of departure for the idea of the man of action had a fundamental significance, just as it did for Guyau. Racial instincts, ones inherited over centuries, and factors confirmed by social forms of living and not completely understood, could not simply be trivialized. Races anticipate nations, they were their prehistoric, pre-social substitute. At times Dmowski used concepts of race and concepts of tribe interchangeably, as did his closest ideological colleague, Jan Ludwik Popławski. The latter also sometimes equated race with nation in the natural-history sense<sup>87</sup>. Both of them recognized race as a biological sub-set of the soul of the nation, from which they extrapolated far-reaching political conclusions. On more than one occasion Popławski proved the superiority of biological over cultural patriotism, which led him to coin the well-known dichotomy of two civilizations: those of the peasant and of the gentry, but also an oddly-understood acknowledgment of democracy. But it was above all Dmowski who drew absolute conclusions from this conception of race and racial types – and his personal antipathies strengthened him in so doing. A separate place in these deliberations was held by the journalism of Zygmunt Balicki, in whose thinking narrowly-perceived biological determinism did not play a central role. He also presented a ‘natural-history’ point of view when defining the nation, but his thoughts were focused more on specifying the attributes of the nation in order to indicate its superiority over other social systems. His writings from that time indicated that the greater part of his attention was absorbed in defining the conditions of ideal ‘spiritual cohesiveness’, or the ‘greatest spiritual independence’ of a national grouping, rather than in seeking ‘destructive elements’. Later this sociologizing stance of Balicki’s, doubtless under the influence of working more closely with Dmowski and Popławski, began to draw close to these biological viewpoints. Taking all this into account it would be going too far to conclude that the concepts of race and tribe, even if used

---

87 See R. Zimand, ‘Uwagi o teorii narodu na marginesie analizy nacjonalistycznej teorii narodu’, *Studia Filozoficzne*, 1967, no. 4, p. 27. For the evolution of Popławski’s approach to the issue of race see id., *Jan Ludwik Popławski*, in *Literatura polska okresu realizmu i naturalizmu*, vol. 4, J. Kulczycka-Saloni, H. Markiewicz, Z. Żabicki (eds.), Warsaw 1971, p. 494 and note. See too E. Maj, ‘O niektórych problemach ideologii narodowej Jana Ludwika Popławskiego’, *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, January-March 1987, no. 1, pp. 219–229; T. Kulak, *Jan Ludwik Popławski 1854–1908. Biografia polityczna*, vol. 1, Wrocław 1989, p. 201; T. Kizwalter, *O nowoczesności narodu. Przypadek Polski*, Warsaw 1999, p. 313 and note; A. Walicki, *Tradycje polskiej myśli narodowej w perspektywie porównawczej*, in *Filozofia. Dialog. Uniwersalizm. Księga dedykowana Profesorowi Januszowi Kuczyńskiemu*, J.L. Krakowiak, W. Lorenc, A. Miś (eds.), Warsaw 2001, p. 289 and note.



interchangeably, appeared imprecise and that their meaning was blurred, vague, or simply unclear.<sup>88</sup>

According to the accepted position, initially more Dmowski's and Popławski's than Balicki's, races were like ballast and every society's stamp. Races had been, were and would remain, even if their historical representations were subject to the processes of distortion. In principle, racial burdens were impossible to overcome. Also within the boundaries of their own societies racial or tribal instincts determined the possibilities of development, and were a sort of 'bedding layer' – one of the phrases of the age – beneath the creation of a new society, a new community on reborn foundations. It was exactly for these reasons that the concept of race was quickly picked up by the turn-of-the-century radicals and not only by those on the right.

In race thus defined its potential for growth and success was in-built, as were its seeds of decline and destruction too. For unproductive races, and thus anti-social and *de facto* anti-civilizational ones hence fated to die out, there was in practical terms no solution in a rapidly-changing world. All that remained for such races was to turn to parasitism. It is clear that not all supporters of the concept of race and racial theories drew from this reasoning firm and uncompromising conclusions in order later to apply them with iron resolve to real life.

The concept of the creative man, about whom Dmowski had written so much in the first half of the 1890s, also included some practical indicators. In Guyau's view of things, developed in his work translated into Polish by Józef-Karol Potocki as *Wychowanie i dziedziczność (Upbringing and Heredity)* (1891), the figure of the genius-cum-pedagogue played a key role.<sup>89</sup> The teacher-cum-artist could, using an wide array of tools, form the new generation. Some of this work's home-grown Polish readers would simply turn to biological metaphors, writing later about the 'art of breeding in society a relatively significant number of healthy and strong people, with relatively well-developed moral and spiritual abilities.'<sup>90</sup>

The French theoretician demonstrated a series of procedures to create such new 'individual habits.' The quickest results were obtained, in his view, by the practice of developed suggestion in the form of hypnosis, with the proviso that these types of procedure could be undertaken on only a short-term basis in social terms. Social 'suggestiveness' required a great many resources and if only for that

---

88 T. Kizwalter, in *O nowoczesności narodu...*, p. 289, sees things differently. See too R. Waipiński, *Narodowa Demokracja 1893–1939. Ze studiów nad dziejami myśli nacjonalistycznej*, Wrocław 1980, p. 147.

89 See J.-M. Guyau, *Wychowanie i dziedziczność*, trans. J.K. Potocki, Warsaw 1891, p. 6.

90 k-i [L. Krzywicki], 'Dziedziczność a wychowanie', *Prawda*, 13 (25) I 1890, no. 3, p. 39.

reason its effectiveness was questioned. Developed imitative practices appeared more effective in daily and public life. The greater the degree of intensity in the instructor's will, the greater the success in achieving something, claimed Guyau, and the better and more lasting the results in forming the attitudes of potential followers. In an article commenting on the appearance of Guyau's work the translator accurately pointed out the need for consistency and regularity in presenting one's convictions. This was meant to be a measure of effectiveness. Potocki emphasized the 'considerable significance of faith in matters of education.'<sup>91</sup> The most effective appeared to be the 'suggestiveness of action', in other words good and bad examples – and teachers were meant to focus on them.

However, the teacher-artist (in Guyau the term is used interchangeably with genius) was not just a transmitter of moral instincts. The pedagogue-artist, still a curious blend of a teacher and a prophet of the new faith, had an exceptional mission to accomplish.

According to Guyau, unlike in Nietzsche, the teacher had the task of socializing his community. If every individual was to a certain extent a representative of his community, then the genius stood on the highest rung. In line with this attitude, the genius became a kind of creator of new reality. One of Guyau's enthusiastic Polish readers wrote: 'He [i.e. the genius] creates from the depths of his own life a new and original life, which does not exist, but could. Studying the creativity of geniuses in connection with the environment in which they reside, we are dealing with a triple society: first of all with [...] the pre-existing one which produced the genius and to a certain extent inspires him to creative work; then with a world of imaginary aims, abilities and thoughts which was born in the creator's mind and is a certain constraint on the canvas of possibilities; finally with a social group composed of some of the genius's admirers, who have taken to heart his ideals and are trying to put them into practice. In a word, the creator of a work of art, having emerged from a certain society, brings to life new worlds and changes the old ones.'<sup>92</sup>

New art, religion, and other examples of creativity – in a word, new ideas – would on the one hand be the means for unifying the man of action with the world, and on the other an expression of sympathy and feelings in common with his community. The genius/artist, finding solace for his needs in bringing to life new worlds, discovered a certain inadequacy in his society in the form of a lack of higher feelings connecting the community. The theoretician called this state a

---

91 J.K. Potocki, 'Walka z dziedzicznością', *Głos*, 16 (28) II 1891, no. 9, p. 101.

92 K. [L. Krzywicki?], 'Apostoł społecznienia', *Prawda*, 30 IX (12 X) 1889, no. 42, p. 488.

hunger for love. Every community, in Guyau's opinion, aimed to create a collective, shared consciousness and a unified sympathy encompassing the community. The genius/artist, as the highest expression of a desire for socializing would, as a 'source of love', in the future promote this type of attitude. Guyau argued that 'all love aims to produce and create life.'<sup>93</sup> New life.

Figures, threads, and motifs, as well as inspiration drawn from the works of Nietzsche, appear sparingly in Dmowski's early journalism, while explicitly (in the form of direct allusions) they surface perhaps just the once.<sup>94</sup> However, it is precisely the figure of Nietzsche's Zarathustra that takes front stage in Dmowski's deliberations on the nature of the new social order and on the role of the eminent individual within it. The perfunctory polemic with Nietzsche in one of the previously-mentioned articles comes down in reality to recognizing that the German philosopher had rather too hastily placed the eminent individual, the 'active individual' outside society. Quoted earlier, Guyau claimed that erecting such barriers between an eminent individual and society is a false social strategy and indeed immoral. He wrote: 'Isolation is moral infertility, it is an incurable weakness.'<sup>95</sup> Dmowski was already inclining to such a 'civic' attitude.

In his *Listy do przyjaciela* (*Letters to a Friend*) published in *Głos* in 1894 – a short essay which, as one of the few pieces from that time by the 'patriots' ideologue, had ambitions in the field of social philosophy – Dmowski basically agreed with the pessimistic view of liberal society, of which Nietzsche had presented such a blunt critique in his writings. The picture of an atomised society of alienated individuals, of a collapsing modern mass society in which unregulated market exchange set the rules, was dear to both their hearts. Clearly, an acceptance of this vision of society did not immediately mean the temptation of socialism. Nietzsche did not suffer from this temptation. Also, Dmowski never was a socialist, although a great many of his contemporaries and ideological comrades had passed through that stage in their intellectual development. Dmowski valued Marx as a sociologist, though rejecting his extensive vision of social change, not to mention remaining in a sharp ideological dispute with his heirs. And yet similar situations breed similar questions.

---

93 J.-M. Guyau, *Wychowanie i dziedziczność...*, p. 46.

94 See D. Iguenaz [R. Dmowski], 'Listy do przyjaciela I', *Głos*, 19 II (3 III) 1894, no. 9, pp. 103–104; id., 'Listy do przyjaciela II', *Głos*, 26 II (10 III) 1894, no. 10, pp. 115–116; id., 'Listy do przyjaciela III', *Głos*, 12 (24) III 1894, no. 12, p. 138. See B.A. Porter, *When Nationalism Began to Hate...*, p. 194.

95 J.-M. Guyau, *Wychowanie i dziedziczność...*, p. 115.

The Nietzschean key provided one of the more attractive responses to the ills of contemporary society. Anti-liberal critics willingly reached for it. Without a doubt, in order to be useful, this Nietzschean model had to be transformed into a home-grown likeness. In Dmowski's journalism of the period the genius/lawmaker, representing something of a culmination of certain convictions in Nietzsche and Guyau, was lacking; but this motif was not completely trivialized by him.

In the secularized, soulless world of Dmowski's writings, in such a non-metaphysical reality, existing – let us add according to Nietzsche – 'beyond good and evil', the figure of God seems not to appear at all, but there is only a solitary and self-aware individual; the man of action, who is able to face up to this ambitious challenge to re-name the world. This quasi-Nietzschean formula, present *de facto* in Guyau too, although in a gentler version, was a challenge to a self-creative posture, including the creation of values from the beginning, upon fresh foundations. Men of action, from Dmowski's *juvenilia*, were individuals who overcome their weaknesses, including themselves. For the world's regulating principle is (as it is in Nietzsche) is a desire for power, and in Dmowski's words, a desire for action. It is also uppermost in the psychology of the man of action. Guyau also indicated a new model for ethical living: the mere fact of existing, surviving, existing through active engagement was ethical.

The future author of *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka* would probably have also agreed with Nietzsche's statement, repeated by Guyau, that a real man should mould the world in his image. In one of his works the French philosopher had written: 'In our view, the subject creates, as it were, his own object [...]. Obligation is consciousness of a certain internal power, of a higher order than all other powers. To feel internally, the greatest that one is capable of achieving is to gain the very first awareness of what one is obliged [underlining in the original] to achieve. An obligation from the standpoint of actions [...] is a certain excess of life, requiring practice, an outlet [...]. The ability to act means to be obligated to act.'<sup>96</sup> Insofar as for lower-order beings, less well-endowed by nature, the scope of such obligations was modest, for the genius 'the civilized man' (Guyau's phrase) it was more or less limitless, added the theoretician. The challenge for the new ethical man was maximum participation in the world.

From Dmowski's journalistic and autobiographical statements we learn that he saw the founders and organizers of his home-grown political party, understood as

---

96 *Ibid.*, p. 68.

a new quality in public life, as just such creators-cum-men of action.<sup>97</sup> Dmowski would write about Władysław Reymont as the creator of the new type, to which we shall return later. He recalled the creative individual, who changes and alters reality according to his ideas in the context of founding in 1912 the antisemitic journal – *Gazeta Poranna z Grosze*. Antoni Sadzewicz, the editor and *de facto* founder of one of the most vitriolic anti-Jewish papers on Polish territory was, in Dmowski's view, also just such a 'man of action'.<sup>98</sup> After Poland's recovery of independence Dmowski, in conversation with Joachim Bartoszewicz – one of the ND's leading personalities – responded to a question on taking part in parliamentary elections, supposedly saying that that form of political activity did not interest him, for he considered himself one of the departing generations of 'political artists' for whom parliament would not be a suitable place. For a challenge worthy of him he acknowledged only the battle of the (Roman) European element against world Jewry. This was to be a Manichean life and death struggle.<sup>99</sup>

Dmowski added a certain significant feature to the portrait of the man of action – fanaticism. Active individuals, who were meant to change the unbearable reality around them were meant to be fervent idealists, declared dreamers, real fanatics of a new faith. Men of action were meant to inspire fanaticism in their followers. Was this yet another lesson absorbed from Nietzsche, who claimed that fanaticism was the one element of willpower that the weak and hesitant could adopt? Dmowski often singled out this specific character feature in others, valuing it in his adversaries, as well. He would recall Bolesław Wysłouch, the founder of *Przegląd Społeczny* and *Kurier Lwowski*, and a prominent populist: 'B. Wysłouch (a mason), a fanatic and thus worthy of respect.'<sup>100</sup> He would think along similar lines about his comrade from the Warsaw student organization and then a left-wing revolutionary, Waclaw Machajski, and several other individuals.<sup>101</sup> Dmowski acknowledged as just such an idealistic

---

97 R. Dmowski, 'Dobra krew (Wspomnienie o śp. Władysławie Grabskim z Kurcewa) I', *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1 XI 1927, no. 300, p. 5; id., 'Przed czterdziestu laty (wspomnienie z okazji jubileuszu Józefa Hłaski)', *Gazeta Warszawska*, 15 VII 1934, no. 212, p. 2; id., 'Jan Popławski. Jego stanowisko w dziejach rozwoju myśli politycznej', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 1922, no. 1, pp. 6–15; id., 'Niepospolity człowiek (o T. Waligórskim)', *Gazeta Warszawska*, 18 VIII 1913, no. 225, p. 1.

98 R. Dmowski, 'Dzieło i człowiek', *Gazeta Warszawska*, 26 VII 1913, no. 261, p. 1.

99 W. Bartoszewicz, 'Z notatek', *Myśl Narodowa*, 29 I 1939, no. 5, pp. 72–73.

100 'Relacja Romana Dmowskiego o Lidze Narodowej', edited by A. Garlicki, *Przegląd Historyczny*, 57, 1966, vol. 3, p. 417.

101 See 'W sprawie Machajskiego', *Gazeta Warszawska*, 20 I 1911, no. 20, p. 3.

fanatic Eligiusz Niewiadomski, the assassin of the first President of the Second Republic, raising in private conversations the need to 'beatify' the 'martyr for the cause' and going on about his acolytes' cowardice on the issue. He long remembered his devoted friend Zygmunt Wasilewski's prevarication in the Niewiadomski matter, drawing afterwards a spiteful picture of him in the story *Dziedzictwo* (*The Inheritance*).<sup>102</sup> At the time, however (the earlier 1920s) such views did not yet have a wide audience, even among the young nationalists.<sup>103</sup>

In the 1930s, in one of his apocalyptic works on the crisis in Europe – as the doyen and also one of the greatest radicals in his camp – Dmowski would state: 'One of the worst moral losses that our civilization has suffered is the general lack of faith in the future of great ideas, of adherence to a big idea, the ability to make a great effort and sacrifice at all, especially for non-selfish reasons. The honourable fanatics have died, the last ones are dying out.'<sup>104</sup> Within a few years he would spot just such an idealistic fanatic of 'national' issues in Adolf Hitler.<sup>105</sup>

The crowning achievement of this line of thinking on the part of Dmowski was a series of articles that appeared in the first half of 1894 in *Głos*.<sup>106</sup> At the time Dmowski was living in exile in Mitawa (today's Jelgava, Latvia) and was not taking direct part in the preparations for the Kiliński Revolt. Published in the form of letters to a friend, these articles on the one hand showed the alienation of an active participant in those events, and on the other they unintentionally became a summing-up of the writer's prevailing worldview. Both the title of the series, as well

---

102 See K. Kawalec, *Roman Dmowski*, Wrocław 2002, p. 230; S. Kozicki, *Półzycia politycznego. Pamiętnik*, vol. 3, Biblioteka PAN w Krakowie, manuscript, sygn. 7849, p. 213 and note.

103 J. Drobnik, *Diariusz, Poznań 1924–1931*, IH PAN, manuscript sygn. 70/1 PAN, p. 112.

104 R. Dmowski, *Świat powojenny i Polska*, Warsaw 1931, p. 24.

105 See R. Dmowski, *Przewrót*, Warsaw 1934, especially the section: *Hitleryzm jako ruch narodowy*, sub-chapter *Wódz* pp. 210–214, and also sub-chapter *Treść ruchu*, p. 215 and note. *Przewrót* was published in 1939, without any changes, in an occasional series of Dmowski's collected works re-issued by Antoni Gmachowski. The series *Hitleryzm jako ruch narodowy* appeared in 1932 and 1933 in a series of articles in, *inter alia*, *Gazeta Warszawska* and *Kurier Poznański*. The daily *Czas* in Kraków ran a discussion of these pieces giving it the eloquent title 'Roman Dmowski jako hitlerowiec', *Czas*, 27 IX 1933, no. 223, p. 1.

106 See D. Iguenaz [R. Dmowski], 'Listy do przyjaciela I', *Głos*, 19 II (3 III) 1894, no. 9, pp. 103–104, id., 'Listy do przyjaciela II', *Głos*, 26 II (10 III) 1894, no. 10, pp. 115–116, id., 'Listy do przyjaciela III', *Głos*, 12 (24) III 1894, no. 12, pp. 138–140

as the themes raised in it linked directly to Dmowski's Paris correspondence.<sup>107</sup> Although these pieces bore traces of the moods that accompanied the writer in exile, they appeared to be important testimony to the end of an era in the young Dmowski's evolving *credo*. The author of *Listy*, signing himself Diego Iguenaz, harked back to the convention of letter-reports to a friend, which he had used earlier. He was now writing to a comrade named Esteban, but just as before these reflections were of a more general nature. Apart from an introductory, expanded fragment of a personal nature, where Dmowski was analysing his own mental state, the next part was a full attempt to come to terms with the era.

Maintaining the convention of a story, *Listy* represented a comprehensive attempt to diagnose and draw up an inventory of ailments that haunted the period. Referring to the example of himself, Dmowski attempted to portray the crisis that had affected his contemporaries, a great many ideological colleagues, the generation with which he identified and even – a mere bagatelle – the world around him. He wrote: 'It seems to me that dividing up the soul is today a widespread complaint, from which most intelligent inhabitants of great cities suffer. This is the first reason for the lack of personalities about which these days people complain [...]. What kind of a grand concert is this one with *fin de siècle* Jeremiahs who, seeing in their victim nothing but decadence, Nietzscheanism, and other similar 'isms', rival one another in bemoaning it? In truth, one feels the urge to take part in these laments [...]. What if we had a go? Hm, we live in an age of unconstrained competition. Unconstrained competition. I am convinced that it is to blame for everything.'<sup>108</sup>

Dmowski saw then in free competition causes of the flooding of the cultural marketplace with material on the decline of the age and pessimism. To these general tastes the free market supposedly responded quickly and liberally. In the opinion of the 'Głos' writer, literature and journalism, still a part of the ubiquitous mechanism of supply and demand, were able to react efficiently to these moods. But Dmowski appeared to be least of all interested in the superficial influence of market forces on life, in this case in the form of cultural pessimism. In free competition, in free rivalry of individuals amongst themselves, the writer sought after all deeper sources for the current crisis. He found the essence of

---

107 At the time Dmowski was in touch with Władysław Jabłonowski also on account of preparations for the Kiliński Revolt. Jabłonowski, at the time a member of the Warsaw ZET group and the literary critic for *Głos*, was a sort of go-between for 'patriotic' Warsaw and the exiled Polish colony in Mitau. W. Jabłonowski, *Krótki życiorys...*, p. 490. See S. Studnicka, 'Dmowski w Mitawie', *Prosto z Mostu*, 5 II 1939, no. 6, p. 3.

108 D. Iguenaz, 'Listy do przyjaciela I...', pp. 103–104.

unconstrained competition in the contemporary city. He compared the effect of the great industrial city on contemporary man to a current known in northern waters – a maelstrom, a ‘wild vortex in which the stoutest vessels founder helplessly. Mariners keep their distance from it, since they know that should a vessel come within range of a maelstrom’s suction, nothing can save her; she hurtles with terrible speed into the whirlpool’s funnel-like depths, where a terrible force crushes her into little pieces. The ominous roar of this oceanic hell carries far, as if warning the unwary not to approach too near.’<sup>109</sup>

In this cauldron of civilisation, as he described this phenomenon, in which all the baleful consequences of the free market were concentrated, the solitary individual would suffer the most. Dmowski with unusual force rejected the belief that unconstrained competition could benefit the development of individuality. ‘It is false,’ he wrote with passion. ‘However,’ he added, ‘competition leads man through an adjustment to a certain template, unrepresentative in any way of the highest level of moral development, and [...] creates conditions in which the personality of the intellectually and morally developed individual is subject to excessive pressure under which it collapses.’<sup>110</sup>

It was noteworthy that this anti-urban and at the same time anti-capitalist diatribe was written from the point of view of a liberated individual. Although the writer presented himself as a representative of a generation, he delivered his comments above all from the perspective of the self-aware individual. His quasi-sociological analysis also contained a description of the influence that the commercialized environment had on the individual. Unconstrained competition, in addition to levelling and introducing moral uniformity through the ‘assimilation through trade of every facet of life’, supposedly led to its deserved fullness being deprived of characteristics of action. Dmowski also argued provocatively that this general betrayal of everything degenerated everywhere into a specific, parasitical human type – a ‘struggler for life’. It can be imagined that he was not enamoured of this type. Furthermore, this ruling moral anarchy eventually created a climate in which solitary individuals would succumb to collapse and decay. Thus would ‘anarchic souls and split personalities’ be born, he argued. Our journalist did not in the least see the ‘indigenous’ city dwellers, living in those ‘stone piles of rubble’, as being the worst afflicted by the ills of the age, but rather it was the human element, which of necessity gravitated to such habitats. Above all, people from the provinces, those ‘souls nurtured in fields and forests’, who when

---

109 D. Iguenaz, ‘Listy do przyjaciela II...’, p. 116.

110 D. Iguenaz, ‘Listy do przyjaciela III...’, p. 139.



colliding with a new environment lost the principal features of their characters. The author of *Listy* recommended for them monastic discipline and seclusion.

It was typical that Dmowski did not praise a solitary or asocial stance, of the kind that Nietzsche had introduced for similar reasons. The monastery, hospital, or prison, he added sneeringly, were hardly meant to regenerate vital forces. Quite the opposite, such an antisocial attitude would have been cowardly escapism. In a polemic in *Listy* with a 'powerful intellect [...] who ends up in a mental hospital' Dmowski argued that the author of Zarathustra had incorrectly defined his opponent. Modern society, the object of Nietzsche's attacks, was meant to be barely a 'bedding layer' on which full individualism could develop, which did not mean that it had to. Effective solutions to the dilemmas of contemporary life did not necessarily have to be sought in the ruins of the modern world. The road to salvation did not lead that way. 'The enemy of individualism in society,' he concluded, 'is what the antisocial element within it represents.'<sup>111</sup> The antisocial factor 'the destructive element' brought with it a hidden load of destruction, Dmowski added, without being specific as to what, in his opinion, was hidden beneath this enigmatic metaphor. As can be surmised from these comments, this was one further reference to his own earlier polemics. But elsewhere he argued: 'Unconstrained competition in the first phase of its existence brought into the arena of life fresh, brutal and confident forces, hitherto dormant. It was then that vulgar materialism appeared, which never doubted that everything it advertised was true and that it would definitely acquire the rest of truth.' It is worth pointing out another extract from this series. In this metaphorical treatise Diego Iguenaz argued that the new society would be continually confronted by a hostile environment, especially an internal enemy, in other words the 'destructive element'. Thus society should resort to violence, since violence is its moral right in the name of survival, as much against the external enemy as against the destructive element. In public life, and in this paradigm this was but the noblest reflection of nature, violence was also the innate right of the strong.

The young Dmowski's recipe for both 'split personalities' and 'lost souls' on the one hand, and men of action, i.e. those whose life energy needed to be released (another Guyau metaphor) on the other, and then for modern people, as well as all those who were soon to be recruited to modern life was the reborn community.

The dramatic tension between extreme individualism and collectivism bothered a great many people at the time. For the radicals only one thing was certain:

---

111 Ibid.

bourgeois/liberal systems did not create conditions for the survival and enrichment of authentic personalities. Józef Karol Potocki captured these insights succinctly. In a piece in a collective work in honour of Eliza Orzeszkowa, entitled *Indywidualizm (Z cyklu złudzenie naszych czasów)* (*Individuality (From the Cycle The Illusion of Our Times)*) Potocki raised some of these convictions, which were obvious in radical circles.<sup>112</sup> First of all, the liberal system brought freedom to barely a few, in exchange giving crowds of people bondage, exploitation, and degradation. Secondly, the need for specialization, Spencerian ‘diversification’ led to a lowering of aspirations, their extreme limitation and regression, which promoted individuals with low personal values, rather than distinguished personalities. The conclusion suggested itself: the struggle for economic survival gave pride of place to ethically deficient individuals who behaved ruthlessly towards their neighbours. Thirdly and finally, the ‘free exchange’ system, despite the comprehensive refashioning of whole societies, continued to favour members of the élite by being firmly rooted in the past. Participants in this competition would never start out on an equal footing. Potocki inquired rhetorically: ‘Should not then this system be called anti-individualist?’ The direct reply was clear, but for a more in-depth analysis Bohusz’s readers would have to wait a few years. When Potocki’s writings, being a summing-up of the previous decade, were issued as a whole (*Współzawodnictwo i współdziałanie, (Competition and Co-operation)* 1900) their author was no longer alive, while his views were not in line with the main movements that saw their beginnings in the radical crisis of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

An example of this generational fragmentation was the fate of some of Potocki’s ‘pupils’ at the moment of his death. His private secretary Adolf Warski was a leading figure in the SDKP; Stefan Żeromski was growing closer to the PPS, in which other participants in the evenings at Bohusz’s were active – among them Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz, Stanisław Wojciechowski, and Stanisław Grabski. The latter would also show up in the LN, as did Jan Stecki, a contributor to the ‘second’ *Głos*, in which he would elaborate on some of Potocki’s thinking – that ‘spiritual sociology’. Towards the end of his life Potocki himself withdrew from the nationalist movement on account of its growing antisemitic tendencies and the group’s move to the right.

---

112 J.K. Potocki, *Indywidualizm (Z cyklu Złudzenia naszych czasów)*, in *Upominek. Książka zbiorowa na cześć Elizy Orzeszkowej*, Kraków–St. Petersburg 1893, pp. 482–483.

For most of the socialist groupings Karl Marx had already evocatively expressed this recognition of capitalism's decline. An alternative was a collectivist system based on a community of production, incidentally felt more intuitively by the classics of Marxism than depicted in detail. The conviction that modern collectivism would bring out the individual's creativity was a given in these circles, perhaps even the axis of this whole anthropology. But in circles which rejected this socialist dogma and did not accept the Marxists' universalist responses, there were still a great many unanswered questions.

Zygmunt Balicki presented a viewpoint similar to Potocki's. It is worth recalling an article of his published in the pages of *Głos* in the second half of the 90s, since it documented the ideological moment when these dilemmas between individualism and collectivism were finally resolved.<sup>113</sup> The statement by Balicki, a leading LN theoretician, is the more worthy of attention for representing one of the writer's drafts for a later concept of 'national' morality, which in turn would be developed in his famous work entitled *Egoizm Narodowy wobec etyki* (*National Egoism and Ethics*) (1902). In a piece in *Głos* Balicki took the position, which Potocki had already presented (on the decline of bourgeois systems), drawing more radical conclusions from this assumption than had Bohusz. He wrote; "The essential feature of the contemporary socio-economic movement is the struggle with individualism."<sup>114</sup>

From the outset, the author clearly laid down a distinction between individualism and individuality, and if he rejected the former as an expression of the decline of his times, then he wanted to preserve the latter as the highest form of mankind. A further key assumption for Balicki was the recognition that individuality developed exclusively in society and was, as it were, a complete creation of social influences. The columnist amplified this second assumption with the remark that any kind of ethics on the part of the individual were possible only in society. It was this blending of individuals with society that gave meaning to their human existence and was in reality the cause of the birth of individuality: 'Individuality depends on the more or less multi-faceted participation by individuals in public life, and hence on the richness of its activities, furthermore on a combination of factors intrinsic to a given individual and synthesizing within him,

---

113 Dr Z. Balicki, 'Indywidualność a indywidualizm I', *Głos*, 31 V (12 VI) 1897, no. 24, pp. 578–582; id., 'Indywidualność a indywidualizm II', *Głos*, 7 (19) VI 1897, no. 25, pp. 604–608; id., 'Indywidualność a indywidualizm III', *Głos*, 14 (26) VI 1897, no. 26, pp. 626–630; id., 'Indywidualność a indywidualizm IV', *Głos*, 21 VI (3 VII) 1897, no. 27, pp. 652–656.

114 Dr Z. Balicki, 'Indywidualność a indywidualizm I...', p. 578.

and finally on the lesser or greater tension of feeling and co-operation, which the individual brings to the group within which he is to be found [...]. The more multi-faceted the individual's public life, the richer the individuality.

Balicki left in these deliberations space for great people in this new community, these 'secretaries of the age' according to Henry Lewes, who 'synthesize [...] within themselves the needs of their times, are symbols of its greatest spiritual tension and play the part of a wand in society.'<sup>115</sup> The LN ideologue, still a socialist (though, as he noted, with reservations) as well as a participant in the debates on the role of the genius in society, was not ready to give such eminent individuals full authority to call things by their name, as some of Nietzsche's devotees did. At this stage Balicki's lineage was even more strongly felt. Alluding to the limited state of knowledge in the science dear to his heart, he made it clear: 'sociology [...] knows but one thing, that these monarchs of thought, feeling, or action do not create a monarchy, though they stand at its head.' A moment later he added that just as Józef Potocki had done in his day, an appropriately organized society, even one 'composed of middling individuals' can do perfectly well without individuals of genius.

The columnist's subsequent battle with individualism was maintained in the spirit of the radical convictions of the day. In this view of things individualism meant the individual's desire to oppose everyone, the merciless struggle for survival and remained to a certain extent a relic of the animal kingdom, finding fulfillment most easily in a liberal social system. Balicki clearly opposed the idea that the struggle for survival derived from an instinct for self-preservation, from a need to satisfy basic needs and stay alive. Individualism represented a historical form of oppression. It was, he claimed, a negation of individuality. The former as a sort of import from the animal kingdom in reality killed all instincts of collegiality, opposed individuals and continually antagonized them.

This second concept gave a true sense of humanity's social existence. If individualism saw an opponent in another person, for the developed personality a point of reference was the struggle against nature for a better future for the whole community. Endless ambitious rivalry, the desire to dominate or the need to impose authority over other individuals would always divide communities in which individualism ruled. Balicki not infrequently reminded one where he was seeking the source of current society's ills: 'The struggle for survival in society [...] is a battle for position, for gratification, for an advantage over others. It's not for nothing that the name "struggler for life" means a careerist, brushing aside

---

115 Dr Z. Balicki, 'Indywidualność a indywidualizm III...' p. 628.

everything and everyone in pursuit of gratification [...]. The struggle for riches is nothing more than an attempt to obtain for one's sole use a portion of society's resources that have been accumulated through common efforts, and an attempt to seize power over things and especially when they confer power over people, or the right to their labour.' These 'self-centred impulses' made man a constantly aggressive being and led whole societies to chaos and complete collapse.

However, in this collectivist view of Balicki's a clear tendency could be seen to draw from these reasons ever more extreme conclusions of a utopian bent. The individual, in order to reach the pinnacle of his own consciousness, to gain his full individuality, was to a certain extent forced to lose himself in the community. As the sociologist added: 'in order to become creative a man must disappear as a self-sufficient entity; then he will be reborn as part of a collective, by it and for it. Individuality is power when it is with a society, but it stands to lose that power if it is on the outside.' The reasons for this need for the individual's complete integration with society were not specified. It was also unclear from Balicki's arguments why individuals were meant to make such a moral and, so it would appear, irrevocable transaction. Was it the already disturbing diagnosis of the ills of the age of individualism ('the poverty of a vegetative existence'), and thus a conviction of the end of the old world an adequate reason? Should the promise of developing human creativity in a new altruistic community have enough power to convince? If such an approach to community by the leader of the home-grown nationalists failed to surprise here, then Dr. Balicki, an uncommon student of society and the author of a number of respected sociological works, left readers with a great many unanswered questions.

From these deliberations one can also draw the mundane hypothesis that this debate on the concept of the individual in society was from the start marked in 'patriotic' circles as a point of access. The 'patriots' wanted to safeguard the concept of the national community and to recover from it a sense of human existence on Earth. Perhaps this debate had at its core the aim of gaining the souls of everyone who *de facto* took part in it.

In Roman Dmowski's view this extreme individualism had from the start been associated with certain conservative positions. Dmowski not without a certain affection made reference in one of his articles to the Middle Ages as an era when human personality was able to develop to its fullest potential. He wrote: 'We, who live in an age suffering from a lack of characters, from sickness of the will, we must, come what may, return in our minds to that time in which we see powerful images of boundless human individuality in which the will of individuals mustered the strength to commit such great deeds that against them all our efforts appear stunted. In comparison with people from the Middle Ages we look

like grafted acacias on city streets alongside oaks from an ancient forest.<sup>116</sup> However, that was not the place to seek the sources of such reasoning.

Nostalgia for the Middle Ages was not some key point of reference in these reflections. The writer clearly preferred interest in the current world and the future over the past. The ideologue, it would appear, also did not believe in retrospective utopias, such as appeared for instance in home-grown Polish conservatives, including *Gasnące słońce* (*The Dying Sun*) (1893) and *Ostatni Rzymianin* (*The Last Roman*) (1897) by Teodor Jeske-Choiński, or the widely-read stories of Józef Tokarzewski (Hodi). The former – an extreme reactionary and militant antisemite, an opponent of modernity in every guise, called later by Wilhelm Feldman ‘Petronius from Pacanów’ – rarely aroused interest in progressive circles. The author of *Listy do przyjaciela* was likewise no apologist for the gentry, as then were influential intellectuals from circles of the so-called young Warsaw conservatives.<sup>117</sup>

Dmowski for the most part was contemplating a new, regenerated community, built on new foundations. A radical critique of social reality was also accompanied by a basic striving to build a new world. He perceived in the Middle Ages for the most part a historical situation when personality had been able to develop to its genuinely full potential, since it was set in an organic community. That historical circumstance provided inspiration for the ideologues of a new society, but was unable to supply concrete models. The reborn community was meant to become a modern space in harmony with the contemporary world. Such a visionary community, which on the outside would be an entity of the struggle for survival and power, would on the inside be a community of concern, sympathy, and solidarity. Co-operation arising communally, when one individual complements another, would be conducive to diversity, to some complementing others and to the creation of authentic moral personalities. Only in this ‘spiritual uniformity’, defined anew, would true co-operation be possible and thus a state of moral solace for the modern individual.

Dmowski argued that only a society rebuilt anew, hardened in battle, and also a community empathetic on the outside, would be able to deal with ‘anti-social’ elements. Resorting once again to the metaphor he employed, it remained to create a building in which the mortar would not seep out from between the bricks.<sup>118</sup>

---

116 D. Iguenaz, ‘Listy do przyjaciela III...’, p. 139.

117 See ‘Upadek rycerstwa (a lecture by Dr. Bronisław Dembiński)’, *Przegląd Literacki*, a literary supplement of *Kraj*, 20 IV (2 V) 1890, pp. 15–16.

118 See D. Iguenaz, ‘Listy do przyjaciela III...’, p. 139.

This diatribe against false modernity written in Mitau could have been, as later events would show, the culmination of a certain stage in Dmowski's journalistic career. It also closed a segment of his political life. At the time when Dmowski was creating his piece, in Warsaw his ideological comrades were creating a great patriotic stir, a 'national revolution' that was meant to arouse the former capital, and perhaps even the whole country, and prepare it for pro-independence action. However, the Kiliński Revolt suffered an ignominious defeat. The events of April 1894 were proof of the pro-independence movement's weakness. Student rallies turned out to be very incoherent, while the help given the young people by 'adult society' – inadequate. From that moment Dmowski devoted himself completely to politics. His writings also became strictly political. Politics overshadowed his general liberal arts ambitions, so evident in the early 1890s. Nevertheless, the majority of the ideological demands outlined in his juvenilia can be found in his political writings. Politics were meant to be a tool for integrating these ideals and aesthetic/ideological attitudes.

Dmowski was entering adult life as a developed and mature person. The study of natural history, especially anthropology, had given him the conviction that the laws of biology ruled the human world. One could ignore them, trivialize them, or hold that they existed only to a limited extent, but only a strong individual, a creative personality could overcome these laws: a complete person frequently evoked by them. And such a person with the attributes of a hero, but a modern hero equipped with a modern set of instruments, has the right and indeed the duty to give meaning to his surrounding reality. Vivid personalities can achieve their potential only within a community, and only then and there will they be able to attain their true self. As we know, Dmowski was a reader of Nietzsche, but a critical and rather selective one. He seemed closer to Jean-Marie Guyau, the 'French' Nietzsche, from whom he borrowed not only key ideological themes, but even phraseology, vocabulary, and metaphors: the intensity and prolixity of life as a reason for action, the obligations arising from the reason for action, a right to intensiveness and extensiveness of life, the need for a new public morality or the figure of a mentor, which was close to his heart. Unlike Nietzsche, and taken more from Guyau, Dmowski would go on to hold that the creative personality reached his full life potential in sacrifice for others, his own, for instance, coming in the sacrifice of his personal life. A creative individual's mission in life became that of contributing his talents to the reborn collective. But a creative individual, or else a genius, also had the right to impose on society his imagination and visions – *idées forcées* (the active imagination – another one of Guyau's concepts).

It is worth noting that this borrowing from foreign philosophers and adapting them for one's own ideological projects was achieved at the expense of

vulgarizing and over-simplifying them. Often personal resentments and prejudices would squeeze themselves into such projects, together with a penetrating analysis of social reality. Such was the case with a great many intellectuals not just from that period, while the case of Dmowski and his personal obsessions added from the start a personal dimension to these deliberations.

On the other hand, it is hard not to notice here a certain chronological and ideological convergence with the notion of the big idea that would change reality. Big ideas, high ideals – this enigmatic slogan, which had also attracted young people at the turn of the 1880s/1890s – had been touted in its time by Jan Ludwik Popławski and was meant to be the leaven in a new, more just, and hence more authentic world. Both for many participants in the ‘idealistic revolt’, as well as for Dmowski, forming a worldview took place at the time of the crumbling of the great determinist systems. Dmowski, like many of his contemporaries attentively followed these intellectual movements, which were attempting to overcome the passé, as they admitted, continually chaffing mental corsets. His own suggestion was an attempt to discover a home-grown Polish response to these questions which the members of his generation were asking themselves. He was not alone in this.

Other minds of the time were reaching similar conclusions, although by different routes. As can be imagined, similar insights motivated Józef Karol Potocki, Edward Abramowski, Cezary Jellenta, as well as Waclaw Nałkowski and a great many others. Dmowski’s youthful journalism appeared at the same time as Nałkowski’s *Forpocztę ewolucji psychicznej i tryglodycy* (*The Advance Guard of Mental Evolution and Troglodytes*) (1895), as well as Marian Bohusz’s contributions, prominent in ‘red Warsaw’, in which a passive society was contrasted with activist, determined minorities; minorities, the last two agreed, consisting of new heroes. Coming from the rebellion against materialism, the ‘idealistic rebellion’ against determinism, and on the other hand from a critique of the world of bourgeois ideals, Nałkowski approached the construction of a radical opposition between the ‘nervous types (those whose internal life dominated their external one, their spiritual one the physical, the human over the animal); as if populating the world with ‘spiritual riff-raff and a troglodytic crowd.’<sup>119</sup> In truth, among the

---

119 W. Nałkowski, *Forpocztę ewolucji psychicznej i tryglodycy*, in id., *Jednostka i Ogół. Szkice i krytyki psycho-społeczne*, Kraków 1904; M. Walicka, ‘Światopogląd Wacława Nałkowskiego’, *Archiwum Historii Filozofii i Myśli Społecznej*, 28, 1982, part. 3: ‘Heroiczni nerwowcy’, pp. 187–195. Cf. [L. Belmont?], ‘Nałkowski jako obrońca nerwowców’, *Wolne Słowo*, April–May 1911, nos. 123–126; A. Grzelak, *Modernistyczny sen o mocarzu w eseistyce Cezarego Jellenty i Artura Górskiego*, in *Etyka i literatura*.



latter the writer distinguished between ‘men/bulls’ (‘men of action, often very useful’) ‘men/pigs (philistines of the worst sort’) and ‘men/timber’ (‘specialists’), but it was the ‘nervous types’ who were meant to form a modern élite that would call into question the old forms and would suggest a new ethics (‘in order to create out of the individual the most complete, most comprehensively developed and most enlightened person’).<sup>120</sup>

Nałkowski prophesied that the ‘nervous types’ (‘mankind’s spiritual avant-garde’) were a foretaste of the new man, comprehensively developed, ready for sacrifice and altruistic action, ‘a biological and social type’. For most of the radicals the real new man could come only from the people. Stefan Żeromski meticulously noted down the remarks of his friend Leon Wasilkowski: ‘The future has no use for us, no use for the gentry. We have to rot away completely. The best, people such as you and I, are Hamlets. The new people will come from the soil, from the popular masses.’<sup>121</sup>

In the second half of the 1890s, these new heroes already began taking on literary shape, like Tomasz Judym in Żeromski’s *Ludzi bezdomni* (*Homeless People*) and to stray into the provinces. Stanisław Posner, a journalist associated with the PPS, spotted them among his contemporaries and the local intelligentsia. He wrote: ‘In each provincial and county town there are “names” whom we see everywhere; people who do everything and get involved in everything; they initiate everything and from time to time complete things: they awaken the Muses, promote education, create industry; they are landlords honestly and faithfully carrying out the duties of hosts at public feasts, when the issue is that the town not present merely the disorder sanctified by past tradition as well as its current slovenliness and ill will. Places such as Łomża, Siedlce, Międzyrzec, and Płońsk have heroes like this. Everyone knows them [...] the indomitable apostles of “good tidings”, sowers of the future, unacknowledged martyrs, spurred on by enthusiasm through the thorny bushes of ignorance, envy, ill will, and human stupidity.’<sup>122</sup>

However, years later Posner admitted that it had been Żeromski who had captured the ‘man of action’ most completely in *Ludzie bezdomni*: ‘Homeless people! Today’s generation does not understand, cannot understand the effect this story had. It was not just a wonderful book. It was a Gospel, it “Brought the Good

---

*Pisarze polscy lat 1863–1918 w poszukiwaniu wzorców życia i sztuki*, E. Ihnatowicz, E. Paczowska (eds.), Warsaw 2006, pp. 153–164.

120 W. Nałkowski, *Filozofia praktyczna, czyli etyka*, in id., *Jednostka i Ogół...*, p. 317.

121 S. Żeromski, *Dzienniki...*, vol. 3, p. 9, 29 II 1888.

122 S. Posner, *Drogi samopomocy społecznej. Szkice i wrażenia*, Płock 1903, pp. 133–134.

Tidings"! It was Action! Every member of the PPS saw in this book an image of his Dreams, a road leading "in the bright moonlight" through the swamps of current social life! We didn't just read it, we drank it in, like a pilgrim, exhausted by a long journey, finding a spring [...]. Reading this book was a pure "political act".<sup>123</sup> As contemporaries wrote, Posner, a dedicated social activist, was himself surely one of these 'modern heroes', men of action.<sup>124</sup>

It must also be mentioned that not every member of this generation found Żeromski's heroes to his taste. Stanisław Pieńkowski (a supporter of Kiliński, advocate and translator of Nietzsche, a non-party journalist, who over time evolved towards the ND) saw the story as an example of decadent literature and the 'socialized decadent' Judym and his fiancée as soulless automata 'without a desire to do battle, without fire, without a heart, without blood, without passion. There are only obligations.' In another passage he added "Żeromski's fundamental blunders as a man in his works are: weakness of spirit, a weak soul's revenge and a weak soul's hatred. No-one will go far with these balls attached to their ankles."<sup>125</sup>

For the following, left-leaning generation of young people *Ludzie bezdomni* was to all intents and purposes a catechism. Konstanty Krzeczkowski, who aligned himself with Edward Abramowski's circle, wrote: '*Ludzie bezdomni* [...] was a book which had the effect, especially on young people, of the greatest world epic. The book was re-read many times, it was devoured, its aesthetic and social attributes were admired [...] It was a great shock for us young people [...]. We did not seize on its doctrine, we took it in its entirety to be socialism's worldview, we did not distinguish its subtleties and nuances. The book was so exciting, that every socialist faction found something in there for it.'<sup>126</sup>

From the middle road between historical materialism and the apotheosis of modern heroes developed the path that Ludwik Krzywicki took. Perhaps his evolution had already begun during his voyage to America in the mid-nineties.<sup>127</sup> At the start of the 1890s, together with Abramowski and a group of young socialist journalists, he had still sung on the pages of the Marxist *Tygodnik Powszechny* real hymns of praise to capitalist relations. Market forces, before they grew dialectically

---

123 S. Posner, *Stefan Żeromski w świetle wspomnień*, Warsaw 1926, p. 19.

124 See L. Krzywicki, *Wspomnienia*, vol. 3, Warsaw 1959, sub-chapter 'Stanisław Posner', pp. 234–240.

125 S. Pieńkowski, "Z powodu „Ludzi bezdomnych”", *Strumień*, 5 (17) I 1900, no. 3, p. 16.

126 'List Konstantego Krzeczковского do Stefana Kawyna dotyczący Ludzi bezdomnych', in S. Kawyn, *Edward Abramowski i jego idee w twórczości Żeromskiego*, in id., *Studia i szkice*, Kraków 1976, p. 350.

127 See L. Krzywicki, *Za Atlantykiem. Wrażenia z podróży po Ameryce*, Warsaw 1895.

into new 'social' democracies (possibly peacefully), were meant radically to modernize peripheral societies. But following his American travels, the 'pope of Polish socialism' returned sceptical as to the possibilities of such comprehensive transformations; in his journalistic writings the themes of 'orgies of financial exchange, cavorting in a procession to Mammon, barracks-like cities, or cities where anything can be exchanged or traded' would crop up frequently.<sup>128</sup> New mankind (an ethical programme from Krzywicki's work *Takimi będą drogi wasze*, 1905) was meant to develop in opposition to modern bourgeois culture, and not emerge from it.

The home-grown Polish philosopher and expert on Plato, Wincenty Lutosławski, for whom the means to the nation's regeneration was meant to be a quasi-religious sect, made a separate attempt. Illustrative of the scale of this complete transition in attitudes is the fact that even in the mid-nineties the philosopher was for many of his contemporaries seen as the bard of bourgeois culture (e.g. in *Forpoczty*). His piece entitled *Skąd się biorą pesymiści?* (*Where do Pessimists Come From?*) from the Warsaw *Ateneum* (1895) was accepted as the optimistic act of faith of a petty bourgeois, as was his polemic with Krzywicki on the pages of *Prawda* on the immoral influence of big-city civilization.<sup>129</sup> From similar dilemmas a new feminist movement was to a certain extent arising, one whose activists did not so much want equality with men as saw their aim to be the creation of a 'new woman'.

With the exception of the case of Józef Karol Potocki, who towards the end of the 1890s made a dramatic attempt to take on Dmowski's circle within the 'patriotic' camp, most of the remaining writers contented themselves with local, if not café, propaganda. And here we can probably find part of the answer to the question which half a century later was posed by the co-author of *Forpoczty* and later of the also famous *Pieśni o mocarzu* (*Song of the Mighty Ruler*), the advocate of 'intensivism' Cezary Jellenta: why did *Forpoczty* not become a revolutionary bomb?<sup>130</sup> The theoretical proposals of Nałkowski and Jellenta, also to a great extent of Krzywicki, had no influence whatsoever beyond narrow intellectual ghettos.

---

128 J.Z. Jakubowski, 'Ludwik Krzywicki jako krytyk literacki', *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, 1959, no. 6 (15), pp. 6–7.

129 See J. Nowak, 'Idea narodowa Wincentego Lutosławskiego. Epigonizm czy rozwinięcie romantycznej wspólnoty narodów', *Sprawy Narodowościowe*, new series, 2005, vol. 26, pp. 115–133.

130 C. Jellenta, 'Zapomniana awangarda', *Pion*, 20 VII 1935, no. 29 (94), p. 2. See too id., 'Forpoczty', *Pion*, 27 VII 1935, no. 30 (95), pp. 3–4.

And yet in the 1890s the most intensive stage of this debate was played out in a generational context. The generation – or at least its most distinguished representatives – which was maturing in a despised school, began to look at surrounding reality not only from the perspective of its own backwater, but also to search for universal solutions that embraced the whole of social reality. The basis for these proposals was the desire for a comprehensive modernization of their societies. These ‘new anthropologies’ seeking in the new man a way to overcome the pitfalls of the modern world in fact required a radical style, which frequently stopped just a short step away from advocating revolution, and indeed at times had recourse to revolutionary means. The starting point for this comprehensive social change were modern methods suited to the age, e.g. the mass political movement. Thus were born politics with a strong ideological tinge.

## Chapter Five

# The Kiliński Revolt

### The Collapse of Warsaw Student Radicalism in the First Half of the 1890s in the Kingdom of Poland

The high point of the development of youthful radical groups (one might go so far as to suggest the whole of the radical intelligentsia of the day) in the Kingdom of Poland was the political crisis in the first half of the 1890s. For pro-independence groups the commemoration of the anniversary of the Kościuszko Uprising had a symbolic dimension. Beginning at the start of the 90s with the demonstration in the Botanic Gardens in May 1891, the raising of awareness in Polish public opinion was meant to culminate in a demonstration that had been some time in the making, in honour of the man of the people who had brought the capital to the boil. The word in pro-independence circles was that a new Kiliński was once again going to scheme against the Muscovites.

This rallying of the 'patriots' and other pro-independence groups also turned out to be a reference point for home-grown Polish socialist circles. It became just such a catalyst almost by chance. Likewise, the 'internationalists' at the university and the socialist groupings which had sprung up in the mid-eighties: Proletariat II calling for active revolutionary work, and the Union of Polish Workers, laying emphasis on its legalistic programme, had no intention of focussing their efforts on student circles. But in fact that was where the radical crisis of the first half of the 1890s drew its principal source of manpower.

'Patriotic' circles had been preparing for several years for the anniversary of Kiliński's actions. The 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Kościuszko Uprising of 1794 was meant to be confirmation of the student movement's democratic pedigree, as well as a demonstration of the pro-independence groups' strength. However, already starting in mid-1891, bad luck began to dog the organizers. On the one hand, there were the extended echoes of the May demonstration. As a result of those events a group of student activists, including Stanisław Wojciechowski and Bernard Szapiro, had to draw away from the 'patriots' movement when the members of the ZET Central Committee were taken into custody. The former was given four weeks, and the latter three months in the Warsaw Citadel. These were not heavy sentences, but both activists were subjected to troublesome police monitoring. Similar restrictions were imposed on over a dozen other people. As early as May 1891, Jan Stecki (a member of the Warsaw ZET group and a

*Głos* contributor) quite by chance fell into Russian hands when the gendarmerie picked him up carrying medallions that had been specially minted for the anniversary of the Constitution of 1791. That same year, as a result of the arrest of Jan Warchocki, who had taken part in the demonstration in the Botanic Gardens, activists connected with the League were also held. The case of Warchocki, a junior civil servant connected with the Polish League, progressed sluggishly for a very long time, but in time it began to make ever larger waves.<sup>1</sup>

Starting in August 1891 there were 23 people linked to pro-independence circles in gaol. Amongst those in temporary custody were also the co-founder of the Association of Popular Education (*Towarzystwo Oświaty Ludowej*), the former president of the United Young People's Circle (*Zjednoczone Koło Młodzieży*) from St. Petersburg, one of the ZET's most eminent activists, Bolesław Hirszfeld, and finally too, after his return from Paris in 1892, the informal leader of the Warsaw ZET group, Roman Dmowski. Although after the defence of his doctorate he had withdrawn from day-to-day organizational work going abroad to study, Dmowski remained one of the pre-eminent personalities among the 'patriots'. When in 1893 rumours started to circulate around town of preparations for further demonstrations, the *éminence grise* of Warsaw drawing rooms, Karol Benni, personally went to Praga (Warsaw's right bank) to see Dmowski, who at the time was awaiting sentencing, to dissuade him from taking part in the demonstrations, which were threatened with a crackdown. Władysław Jabłonowski, a witness to the incident, recalled: 'Dr. Benni left empty-handed.'<sup>2</sup>

Indeed, his arrest in August 1892, followed by a six-month stay in the Citadel, did in practice remove Dmowski from further events. The Russians, although they initially treated the incident at the Botanic Gardens exceptionally gently, began gradually to perceive that the May events formed part of a large-scale political operation. 'The gendarmerie took on the case of political offences connected to the commemoration of the Third of May Constitution', and it was then conducted personally by the Head of the Warsaw Gendarmerie, Colonel Paweł Bieleński, who was famous for having cracked down on Proletariat.<sup>3</sup> In mid-1893 the Russians, still not fully aware of the threat, neutralized the vanguard of the 'patriotic' leaders. Dmowski, Bolesław Hirszfeld, Tomasz Ruśkiewicz, and

---

1 M. Bogacz, *Akademicy Warszawy. Z dziejów organizacji studenckich w XIX wieku*, Warsaw 1960, p. 162.

2 *Ze wspomnień Władysława Jabłonowskiego*, in M. Kułakowski [J. Zieliński], *Roman Dmowski w świetle listów i wspomnień*, vol. 1, London 1968, p. 140.

3 S. Wiech, *Spółczesność Królestwa Polskiego w oczach carskiej policji politycznej (1866–1896)*, Kielce 2002, p. 174.

Jan Warchocki – the leadership of ‘patriotic’ Warsaw – were sent into administrative exile beyond the borders of the Polish Kingdom.

In January 1894, sentences were passed on the next group of student activists, whose part in, or even mere ties to the May 1891 commemorations had been proved. The next influential ‘patriots’ were eliminated from current activities, these included Stanisław Boufał, Władysław Kierst, Stefan Surzycki, and Marian Abramowicz.<sup>4</sup> Taking the latter out of play, a Moscow ZET leader, a man of great courage, who managed to come out of just about any trouble unscathed, could seriously undermine the morale of the whole pro-independence community. Most of the afore-mentioned individuals were also talented agitators.

However, it was above all the Warsaw ZET group, which from the early 1890s had spearheaded these activities, which once again was weakened the most. However, the organizational machinery for all these activities was up and running, and so preparations were not abandoned. At this stage the anniversary’s magic turned out to be so potent and the impetus of student radicalism so great that everything appeared to ineluctably point to a major demonstration in April of 1894.

The organizers were also not distracted from their preparations for the demonstration by internal divisions within the LP (Liga Polska). A ‘re-organization’ of the League, which was carried out at a meeting in April 1893 by one of the leaders of the younger generation of ‘patriots’, Dmowski, in reality meant that the activists of the Warsaw branch of the ZET assumed leadership of the organization, but this was acknowledged by only some of the pro-independence groups. A group of older LP activists based in the Kingdom under the leadership of the engineer Tadeusz Balicki, brother of Zygmunt, did not submit to the ‘reforms’ and attempted to convene a meeting to censure the ‘insurgents’. The reason was not trivial: Dmowski, who had joined the League not until 1889, had broken the voluntary oath of loyalty. Although the ‘insurgents’ gained the support of several key individuals in the movement, including the LP Commissioner for the Polish Kingdom, Jan Ludwik Popławski, in the first few months of 1893 nothing appeared to be settled as to the organization’s future.

The leadership of the new League did, however, hold a couple of aces. First of all, it possessed a charismatic leader who had already on several occasions shown himself to be an equally effective organizer. Dmowski also at this time proved himself to be an adept agitator, effortlessly moving from quasi-philosophical essays on the pages of the opinion-forming press to ruthless moves taken from

---

4 See M. Bogacz, *Akademicy Warszawy...*, p. 143.

the arsenal of political demagoguery, both in pamphlet propaganda as well as at student meetings. Secondly, it was precisely the Warsaw ZET group supporting Dmowski that was putting T.T. Jeź's demands into practice.

If one of Dmowski's first biographers is to be believed, the informal leader of the Warsaw 'patriots' had already during his first foreign trip (1891–1892) carried out a survey among League members into the issue of reforms 'of a purely nationalist nature'.<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to establish how respondents' views unfolded. Much points to these reactions being none-too-enthusiastic, since the originator had to put off his plans for the future.

It is known that at this time Dmowski won over Władysław Jabłonowski, an up-and-coming 'Głos-ite' and an influential figure in the new League. Jabłonowski belonged to the so-called Young Ones, who as early as January 1893 had approached the LP leadership with accusations of ineptitude and a lack of systematic work in the Kingdom. The budding literary critic also took part in the April meeting already mentioned and became a member of the first intake into the LN Central Committee.

The energetic efforts of the 'rebels', above all Dmowski, and also Zygmunt Balicki, who was the spiritual leader for many ZET members, were frustrated by the former's exile in September 1893. All differences remained in a kind of vacuum.

The most important report on this ferment in the League was a pamphlet written by Dmowski entitled *Nasz patriotyzm*, which alongside the propaganda materials published in a series *Z dzisiejszej doby*, could pass as one of the most pertinent political manifestos of the Kiliński Revolt.<sup>6</sup>

---

5 I. Chrzanowski, *Roman Dmowski – zarys biograficzny*, in M. Kułakowski, *Roman Dmowski...*, vol. 1, pp. 30–31.

6 E. Piltz, *Nasze stronnictwa skrajne, przez Scriptorą*, Kraków 1903, p. 85; Informator [L. Wasilewski], *Stronnictwa polityczne w Królestwie Polskim*, Kraków 1904, p. 34 and note; B. czł. LN [L. Wasilewski], 'Rzecz o Narodowej Demokracji I, *Przedświt*, April 1902, no. 4, pp. 132–133; id., 'Rzecz o Narodowej Demokracji II. Niepodległość i powstanie', *Przedświt*, May 1902, no. 5, pp. 173–178; W. Pobóg-Malinowski, *Narodowa Demokracja 1887–1918. Fakty i dokumenty*, London 1998, pp. 57–60. Adam Michnik presented a personal apologia for the Kiliński Revolt years after the fact in a piece entitled *Rozmowa w Cytadeli*, in *Szanse polskiej demokracji. Artykuły i szkice*, London 1984, especially the sub-chapter: 'Narodowa Demokracja i polityka czynna', pp. 214–219. However, Andrzej Walicki rightly points out the superficial similarity between the tactics of the democratic opposition of the 1970s and 1980s and the ND 'polityka czynna' – *Trzy patriotyzmy*, in id., *Polskie zmagania z wolnością. Widziane z boku*, Kraków 2000, p. 263.



This document, written at the behest of the new League's leadership, was the last really significant reflex by the revolutionary pro-independence current, which was reborn alongside the political crisis of the 1890s, finding its institutional reflection in the formation of the LP and the ZET. In an ideological sense this pamphlet derived from a tradition of patriotic stirrings which had led to the January Uprising, but also contained a great many disparate threads, ones which appeared systematically in the author's writings, but which were not necessarily close to the whole 'patriot' movement.

*Nasz patriotyzm* began by contrasting the national interest with the partitioning power's interest. If however in Miłkowski's well-known pamphlet this national struggle had a political dimension above all, then Dmowski strongly emphasized its comprehensive, national character. In his view, the Russian Empire not only had designs on subjugating the Polish population, demanding of it unquestioning political loyalty, but was aiming in the long term to eradicate Polishness as such in the spirit of Prussian *ausrotten* ('complete integration of Poland with Russia'). The leader of the new League also laid out an extensive vision of Polish society's gradual decline and biological extinction, 'even if the Russian government were not to take a single further step in its inimical actions.' Absorption of Polish society by Russia is also, he argued, unhelpful from the perspective of human development. Hence every form of resistance, he noted, was good.

In this piece the leader of the League presented two of the 'national' movement's 'dogmas'. First of all, the pro-independence movement should keep before it the interests of all Polish society, including without exception all areas inhabited by Poles. Secondly, 'true patriotism' should take into account the good of the whole nation and not of particular classes or social groups taken together as society. This initial premise, reinforced by a vision of the destruction of native society, led to the conclusion for the need to engage the partitioning power in a comprehensive struggle. The aim of this struggle was both to combat the Russian authorities, as well as those conciliators supporting them, treated broadly in his text as 'the nation's passive side'. The highlighted starting-point inevitably entailed seeking an alliance with everyone who did not accept the current state of affairs.

It is noteworthy that a desire to seek alliances with all 'active elements' rather than to antagonize them shows through the whole document. The young Dmowski did not in truth abandon reminders of the doctrinal differences between Marxist socialism ('negating with its sick cosmopolitanism the nation's clearest needs and offending feelings that to the nation are sacred'), but immediately pointed out that this was, however, socialism's 'external vocabulary', which in reality exposed the whole movement to 'hateful treatment', but in the final

analysis would after all have a temporary significance and superficial influence. Behind this statement lay no doubt the writer's belief that 'the laws of life' – as he would frequently repeat in other writings of his – would destroy these socialist illusions. This belief, in Dmowski's case already strongly reinforced ideologically, did not have to vary greatly from the experiences that were dear to his committed contemporaries.

The movement of people between individual circles was as frequent as it was unexpected. One of the 'nationalist socialists' at the university, Stanisław Wojciechowski, recalled his contacts with the 'internationalists': 'There was more doctrinaire thinking in all of this than a sincere interest in the workers. I became convinced of this when later working on behalf of the workers, when I encountered only three internationalists whom I knew, whereas there were about a hundred of them at the university. Apparently scientific socialism quickly lost its appeal in its supporters' heads; minds turned out to be rather changeable, and hearts indifferent.'<sup>7</sup> A 'patriot' with convictions close to those of the 'nationalists', Stefan Żeromski, depicted in his stories published in *Głos* packs of such 'idealists' dramatically changing their views. A few years later, the author of *Szybyfowe prace* became close to the PPS. His colleague Jan Waclaw Machajski, a 'nationalist' too, metamorphosed into a left-wing radical. Bolesław Dębiński (alternatively Dembiński), who resigned from the ZET, angered by the leadership style introduced by Dmowski, and later an eminent activist for the proto-Marxist ZRP, not long after was writing in the 'national-socialist' *Pobudka* (also under the name Jan Drut), and then drew close to the ND. Another ZRP activist, one of the principal leaders of the 'Marxist study groups', Leon Bein, was also to be found among the 'Pobudka-ites'. The diarist mentioned above, a prominent ZET-ist during his student days, later a member of the Marxist Union of Workers, during the Kiliński Revolt, was one of the PPS's leading lights. There were countless such metamorphoses among the young intelligentsia.

There were also not such strong antisemitic overtones in *Nasz Patriotyzm (Our Patriotism)* as there were in other pronouncements by Dmowski, if we exclude comments about Warsaw being inundated by masses of 'Russified Jewry', which the writer used as an example of numerous 'anticivilizational efforts' inspired directly or indirectly by the Russians. This fact is worth noting. On the other hand, the leader of the LN approvingly noted the strengthening among the socialists of a pro-independence current. He appreciated the importance and value of a

---

7 S. Wojciechowski, *Moje wspomnienia*, vol. 1, Lwów-Warsaw 1938, p. 16.

mass working-class movement, and he even granted socialism, though based on essentially false premises, a certain positive role (e.g. the development of the proletariat's political consciousness or the rise in living standards and education among the poorest classes). Perhaps behind these positive references lay a hope that home-grown socialism was in the process of defining its own identity and would be able on its own to rid itself of a great many erroneous illusions. Summarizing, the socialists in this reckoning were recognized as potential allies ('an important social trend, a developmental trend which helps to create the best national forces'), and their influence were deemed essential for the whole pro-independence movement.<sup>8</sup> Nonetheless, Dmowski saw no place in the camp of the 'active currents' for social élites for whom the partitioning powers represented a solid base for their specific interests.

It would be going a little too far to conclude that Dmowski declared himself in this document to be a democrat.<sup>9</sup> Although at first glance it is clear that the writer, wanting to inscribe himself into the home-grown progressive tradition – hence the references to the Third-of-May Constitution or the gentry *Nihil novi* constitution of 1505 – equally strongly wished to carry out a thorough revision of the traditions of what he called 'cheap patriotism'.

The real aim of the 'true patriots' was the development and strength of one's own society and not its democratization. The processes of awakening the social consciousness of wider segments of society were inevitable and that had to be accepted. It is hard to detect in this approach signs of cynicism or just political calculation, and on the other hand it also lacks burning democratic enthusiasm, hence we are dealing more with a cold statement of hard social fact. It is also worth recalling that agreement with the inevitability of society's democratization does not necessarily signify an acknowledgment that democracy as a political system was valuable in itself.

And yet the whole document maintained a poetic idiom close to the pro-independence revolutionary current, and was a sort of contribution to *Rzecz o obronie czynnej* (*Thoughts about Active Defence*) and the whole journalistic

---

8 J. Kancewicz, *Polska Partia Socjalistyczna w latach 1892–1896*, Warsaw 1984, p. 35. See too B. czł. LN [L. Wasilewski], 'Rzecz o Narodowej Demokracji VII. Narodowi demokraci a socjaliści', *Przedświt*, October 1902, no. 10, pp. 371–374; L. Kulczycki, *Narodowa Demokracja*, Warsaw 1907, p. 17.

9 N. Bończa-Tomaszewski, in *Demokratyczna geneza nacjonalizmu. Intelktualne korzenie ruchu narodowo-demokratycznego*, Warsaw 2001, especially the sub-chapter: 'Nasz patriotyzm – program nacjonalistów czy demokratów', pp. 191–206, analyzes the LN leader's pamphlet from this angle.

output of T.T. Jeż in *Wolne Polskie Słowo*. The programme of ‘active politics’ gained here a detailed addition filled with punchy slogans. ‘This programme’s means are limitless,’ declared Dmowski. The detailed spectrum of undertakings to which he was summoning brought to mind the desire for an overall reckoning with the Russians and their allies by means of general social involvement. The League’s leader then listed: ‘Individual and mass demonstrations and commemorations, various forms of passive protest, not working [i.e. strikes], or refusing to pay taxes, combatting all external forms of Russification, destroying government supplies, finally punishing zealous agents or traitors to the national cause.’

Dmowski also called for the creation of the foundations of an illegal national life with its own literature and press, with national schooling, secret societies, and similar courts. Although he questioned the value of insurrectionist outbursts (as the prelude to another national bloodbath), he did not abandon a vaguely outlined policy of disobedience (‘punishments and threats’) and a thinly disguised call for individual rough justice (‘let us remember Ireland’).<sup>10</sup> A vision of moral terror would, in our columnist’s eyes, lead to the collapse of Russian rule and become the catalyst for rejecting the whole partition system. The crowning achievement of this policy was meant to be the forming of an ‘internal national government’, which would force the partitioning powers’ authorities to make political concessions. Leaving aside a few of Dmowski’s typical digressions, this perspective of daily ‘chronic revolution’ dovetailed nicely with the overall attitudes among rebellious student youth and could very enigmatically portend the further evolution of that element in the pro-independence circles from which National Democracy would shortly arise.<sup>11</sup>

Reality soon turned out to be rather more modest than these high-sounding statements. Ferment in pro-independence circles focussed above all on Warsaw students. In turn, academic life continued at its own pace. From the start of the 1890s, this pace appeared to be determined by the arrival at the university of a new generation of students. Large groups of these young scholars already had

---

10 Władysław Studnicki, in sympathy at the time with the ‘internationalists’, recalled even from Dmowski’s piece that the latter had been calling for Russians to be knifed, but no such words appeared in *Nasz patriotyzm*. However, the reference to Ireland would not have been lost on the readers of the day. See W. Studnicki, *Roman Dmowski*, in id., *Ludzie, idee i czyny*, J. Gzella (ed.), Toruń 2001, p. 128.

11 R. Wapiński, in *Narodowa Demokracja 1893–1939. Ze studiów nad dziejami myśli nacjonalistycznej*, Wrocław 1980, p. 29. is one of those who maintains the thesis that *Nasz Patriotyzm* was a manifestation of Polish nationalism.

a certain amount of political experience in terms of school self-study groups, some even had underground experience. The appearance of this group of activists strongly radicalized student attitudes. They were like yeast for student life. Seen in retrospect, the events of the first half of the 90s seemed to be a stage in the sequence of incidents, which culminated in the Kiliński Revolt.

In the first months of 1894 there was a dramatic increase in incidents in academic life. Beginning in March, 'patriotic' Warsaw youth began to conduct intensive pamphlet propaganda among craftsmen, and (indirectly) almost certainly among older grammar school pupils, as well. The intensity of the emotions of the day can be gauged by the tumultuous ovation given by Warsaw students to some well-known Polish actors at the Variety Theatre. A witness to those events recalled: 'they were given a standing ovation, flowers were thrown at them, there was frenetic applause and they were called back time and again.'<sup>12</sup>

Student disturbances hung in the air for other, rather more mundane reasons. The climate of those days is well conveyed by one minor episode. The stir among the Polish student body led to the unmasking in March of the same year of a thief, a third-year law student, a certain Silberstein (alternatively Zylbersztajn).<sup>13</sup> The Board of Student Aid, an unofficial student association, albeit recognized by the university authorities, decided to turn the case over to the Student Court. This body, like Student Aid, was not legal, but was likewise not harassed by the authorities. As far as we can judge, the city police also usually tried to respect its decisions, especially given that the court dealt exclusively with internal student matters, usually staying away from politics. This time, the case was much more complicated. Silberstein was accused not only of over a dozen thefts, but also of snooping on behalf of the Russian authorities.

After examining the case, the student honour court issued a ruling that the student be expelled from the university, and then appointed a delegation drawn from its members to go to the university authorities to have the decision enforced. The authorities, whether on account of the truth of the accusations, or out of reluctance to accede to the students' demands, declined to carry out the request. Stanisław Koszutski, who was then a member of the court recalled that the university authorities' attitude, although expected, caused great indignation both among student activists (Student Aid, 'Kolo'), as well as the general student body.

---

12 S. Koszutski, *Walka młodzieży polskiej o wielkie ideały. Wspomnienia z czasów gimnazjalnych i uniwersyteckich – Siedlce, Warszawa, Kijów, Berlin, Paryż (1881–1900)*, Warsaw 1928, p. 92.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 96 and note.

It is noteworthy that the 'political' 'Kolo' took on the case and that its leading representatives began to seek a confrontation with the university authorities. 'Kolo' delegates pushed through an appropriate motion, which was later voted on in Student Aid and then distributed in the self-study groups, at lectures, and among university members who were uninvolved in the case. However, the young people's ire focussed exclusively on the Rector, Ivan Shcheklov, for whom the students did not much care. Student leaders insistently tried to obtain a meeting with the university authorities, including the Rector. Among the members of the University of Warsaw he was not an especially unpopular figure, but it was decided to treat the issue as one of principle. The students were expecting an honourable solution to the whole imbroglio. It is difficult to tell what reasons the authorities had for their actions; suffice it to say that they took their time making clear-cut decisions. A conflict appeared to be developing along lines similar to those from previous confrontations, ones vividly remembered by the young people

It is worth recalling two minor, although characteristic incidents. For instance, during the 1892 academic year, during examinations, provocative comments by one of the teaching staff, a well-known Warsaw Russifier, Professor Pyotr Zilov, almost led to student riots. More or less all the first-year medical students, around 200 people, refused to take their examinations, calling for Zilov's removal from the university. For political reasons the university authorities could not allow this, but they also did not want to inflame the situation. In the meantime the Rector had shown the door to a student delegation and, after giving a number of the more hot-headed activists a patronizing telling-off, had warned of severe measures against the leaders of the whole affair. The authorities, seeing that the organizers were systematically gaining support among the students and also afraid of university-wide disturbances, came up with a solution worthy of Solomon. Every student who personally petitioned giving a logical reason for re-taking the examinations would be able to do so.

In response to this stipulation about 200 medical students submitted identical statements that their reasons for withdrawing from the examinations had been nervous stress (нервное раздражение) (sic!)

The Rector's office saw this as provocative. This led to almost every first-year medical student having to repeat the year and the expulsion of the alleged instigators. It would, however, be simplistic to think that the university authorities came out of this with the upper hand. The punishment of having to repeat a year was not that onerous, (many students in fact did not complete their courses on time), while the incident's leaders could continue their studies at other Russian institutions. The naming of these 'ringleaders' had in any event been somewhat arbitrary and had little real relationship to what had in

fact taken place. The students could again deem themselves the moral victors of the whole incident.

The Student Court sentenced all those who had not submitted identically-worded petitions to the Rector's office to public censure and exclusion from student life, and 'Koło' and Student Aid unanimously upheld this decision. The heroes of the 'Zilov incident' gained recognition and respect among their fellows, but also aroused apprehensions among the inhabitants of Warsaw. An influential 'ZET-ist' of the time recalled: 'When the case of one of our comrades accused of breaking the boycott of Professor Zilov's class came up before the court, the accused's mother came round to the room of the president Idzikowski with a sugarloaf asking for her son to be acquitted. We comforted Idzi, who was deeply upset by this bribe, by pointing out that even Jews were afraid of our court's verdicts.'<sup>14</sup>

In mid-1893 the incident involving a Russian student, Alexander Levshin, ended in a similarly ambiguous fashion.<sup>15</sup> This, it would appear none-too-bright student announced to his Polish colleagues that he was going to denounce them to the university authorities for corresponding in Polish during lectures. The use of the Polish language had for some years now been administratively banned and, in line with university policy, was supposed to be severely punished. However, no-one took any notice of it. Enraged to the core, the Polish students decided to make an example of Levshin. The 'internationalist' Feliks Malinowski, later to become a well-known Warsaw doctor, appeared in the role of enforcer of the 'rules of honour'.

One might legitimately assume that the students had not chosen by accident a lecture by the detested Zilov to enforce the 'honorary' slap on the face (in Koszutski's words, a 'tangible punishment'). Admittedly, the student Malinowski was expelled for two years, but that same year he started studying medicine at the much more liberal University of Dorpat. After two years he did in fact return to the University of Warsaw once again to become involved in conspiratorial work. Just as in the 'Zilov case' the radical university world once again came out of this imbroglio morally united. When, a few months later, there was a similar incident, the university authorities forced a Russian student to leave. And it was not

---

14 S. Wojciechowski, *Moje wspomnienia...*, vol. 1, p. 10.

15 See J. Braun, 'Położenie i ruch organizacyjny młodzieży akademickiej na Uniwersytecie Warszawskim w latach 1890–1914', *Roczniki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego*, 1963, vol. 4, p. 81; M. Bogacz, *Akademicy Warszawy...*, p. 312. See too S. Koszutski, *Walka młodzieży...*, p. 81 and note.

just anyone, but the son of the infamous Head of the Russian grammar school in Lublin, one of the most ardent Russifiers, Sergiusz Siengalewicz!<sup>16</sup>

In fact the students emerged victorious from each such confrontation, or at least emotionally strengthened in their resistance to the university authorities and, as it seemed to many of them, to the Russians in general. These attitudes of strength and youthful vitality began to be felt ever more strongly and suppressed disturbing signals coming from many sources.

The 'Silberstein affair', which took place at the beginning of 1894, played out almost identically. This time, the more hot-tempered students admitted that the 'pickpockets' and narks' protector' – Rector Shcheklov himself – needed to be punished, as the then 'internationalist' and later SDKPiL sympathizer Koszutski wrote in his memoirs.<sup>17</sup> The idea was born among the 'Koło' student leaders to hire for this operation artisans from working-class districts, so-called Warsaw 'wide boys'. Interestingly enough, the initiative came directly from the president of 'Koło', Jan Miszewski, a supporter of the 'internationalists'. After a lightning fundraising drive for this none too glorious undertaking, they got down to work. The incident did not proceed according to plan, for the designated 'collectors' not only evaded imposing a 'short-term punishment for wickedness', as the memoirist wrote, but took the monies collected by the students for themselves.<sup>18</sup>

This student upheaval, which lasted for months, was inevitably heading for some dramatic and violent conclusion. Once again a delegation to repeat the request for Silberstein's expulsion emerged from among representatives of 'Koło', the Student Union, and other student groups. Shcheklov eventually agreed to receive it. The visit of the young people's representatives to the Rector's office was accompanied by a student rally, whose fevered participants crowded into the room where the meeting was to take place. Yet again emotions overruled cold calculation.

The student activist already cited a number of times recalled: 'From that moment the delegation of the many was replaced by the 'many'. Glancing at the faces of my colleagues standing closest to the Rector I spotted just about all the 'Koło' and Student Aid delegates, while the rest of the room was filled with students from different years and departments. Unprecedented anger was on their faces, and all eyes bored angrily into the Rector. When to our renewed precise question as to whether Silberstein would be immediately expelled, the Rector replied 'no',

---

16 See too J. Braun, *Położenie i ruch organizacyjny...*, p. 81; 'Kronika', *Przedświt*, series III, November-December 1893, nos. 11–12, p. 14.

17 See S. Koszutski, *Walka młodzieży...*, p. 84. This account contains perhaps the fullest description in a memoir of the events.

18 *Ibid.*



Władysław Bielecki, pale as a sheet, but pale with anger not fear and looking quite terrifying [...] in his booming voice shouted in Russian right into the Rector's ear: "The Rector is a spymaster!" and at that very moment the 'Kolo' president Miszewski, standing alongside him, shouted "The Rector's a spy!" Neither then, nor later did I ever hear such a strong and unanimous cry.<sup>19</sup>

During the incident, which turned into a senseless fracas as the situation got out of hand, Shcheklov was indeed slapped and a larger group of Russian administrators was almost lynched. The spontaneous sequence of events once again demonstrated the strength and extent of student radical attitudes, as well as their support in wider student circles, but also the weakness, or rather a certain helplessness on the part of the university authorities in the face of an escalation of attitudes and radical feelings. The day after the confrontation with the Rector, the authorities expelled Silberstein, which was unanimously recognized as a student victory. Koszutski, the 'internationalist' noted down not without satisfaction: "The young people gained a moral victory."<sup>20</sup>

These minor episodes taken together represented the student body's attitude and must doubtlessly have had an influence on the sequence of events in the approaching Kiliński business. The 'patriot' Zdzisław Dębicki recalled: 'A sort of excitement ruled. Something was always about to happen, something was in the air.'<sup>21</sup> The tension in student circles was accompanied by equally hurried action on the part of the police authorities. The gendarmerie, sensing a student demonstration, began to intensify a painful crackdown, which must have added to the restlessness among university students and pupils in the top grammar school forms. Tension was also growing among Warsaw's Russians, who expected the inevitable disturbances to lead to a new St. Bartholomew's night, i.e. a massacre of the Russian population in Warsaw. The systematic distribution by activists of the new League of leaflets in the Kingdom's largest cities appeared to confirm this.

A general assembly of student delegates of the political 'Kolo' preceded the rapidly-approaching Kiliński Revolt. The course of this meeting was symptomatic of the atmosphere that dominated at the university and among the radical intelligentsia. 'Kolo' was at the time split into two ideological camps: the 'patriots', also known at one time (by the memoirists) as the 'nationalists', and the 'internationalists', i.e. a collection of disparate small socialist groups with somewhat vague

---

19 *Ibid.*, p. 88.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 91.

21 Z. Dębicki, *Grzechy młodości*, Warsaw 1923, p. 53.

views, although ultimately close to those of the PPS. The influence of the 'social democrats' linked to Rosa Luxemburg's group was very small or completely non-existent among the 'internationalists'. Both these groups passionately fought one another with philosophical polemics, but in the case of solutions involving student life, attitudes towards the university authorities and, of note, the division of opinion in student organizations, they were able to achieve consensus.

Taking into account social composition, as well as institutional experience, in most cases this was one and the same student group. Most of the participants came from impoverished aristocratic families or, to a lesser extent, the petty bourgeoisie. Among committed youth there were hardly any representatives of wealthy or aristocratic circles (in the student jargon of the day: the tail-coat brigade and the ball crowd), and if there were one or two individuals, they were lost in the student melting pot. With a few exceptions, just about everyone had come through the Apukhtin government schools and was hostile towards Russians. Years later the 'internationalist' Benedykt Hertz recalled: 'My whole childhood was lived during the time of a regime with but one aim: to turn young Polish people away from Polishness [...]. This "bright" idea of the Tsarist coppers of course came to naught; its sole result was patriotism and nationalism magnified to chauvinism among the overwhelming majority of pupils, especially in government schools.'<sup>22</sup>

Just as in the earlier disturbances, the 'patriots' were keen to broadcast events widely. Thus, in addition to the propaganda campaign, intensified since March, among the Warsaw population (a campaign which had also been carried out in certain provincial centres in the Kingdom), attempts were also made to undermine the student body. The organizers of the Kiliński Revolt were aiming to gain the unambiguous support of the student 'Koło', which, however, was no easy task. It was clear from the start that among the delegates there would be declared opponents of a demonstration.

The arguments of both sides in the dispute were well-known and it was hard to expect that, given the equal distribution of forces, a compromise could be reached, let alone some spectacular unification. At first glance, it appeared impossible to work out a common platform. By this stage it was not so much a conflict of opposing views as an emotional dispute.

Hence the specially convened assembly of 'Koło' delegates revealed a great many minor features and divisions which were there in the adult political world, too. However, we should approach with care this distinction between the adult

---

22 B. Hertz, *Na taśmie 70-lecia*, prepared by L.B. Grzeniewski, Warsaw 1962, p. 62.

and student worlds, for after all the 'adults' were for the most part intellectual young people.

The most significant feature of this meeting was the appearance of cracks in 'patriotic' circles.<sup>23</sup> The birth of the PPS (1893) affected the crystallization of attitudes on the part of a significant number of the 'patriots', and especially of that group that had earlier identified itself with the community of the Paris journals, *Pobudka* and *Przegląd Socjalistyczny* (two publications supporting radical democratic ideals with strongly expressed pro-independence convictions) of the so-called national socialists. Up to the time of the appearance at the university of the small group around Dmowski, it was these 'national socialists' who had made the running in youthful pro-independence groups. Years later a current 'patriot' Zdzisław Dębicki wrote: 'On the whole we were all candidates for the Polish socialists, thus the fledgling Polish socialist party (PPS), casting its nets in the university, hauled in some big catches.'<sup>24</sup> The 'national socialists' also had considerable influence in the *Łączność* organization, formed at the end of the 1880s, and where, it should be noted, the new leader of the National League, although himself a member of this association, wound up at lightning speed.

In the end, however, the resolution supporting the demonstration passed, given the slight preponderance of 'patriots' in 'Kolo'. Its opponents ensured that those who opposed the march would not be forced to attend. The outvoted 'internationalists' also resolved in their own caucus not to take part in the demonstration. The immediate sequence of events leading up to the demonstration in Warsaw's Old Town is well-known, has been frequently described, and does not require a detailed review.<sup>25</sup> However, it is worth focusing on several characteristic issues which the demonstration revealed.

First of all, the Kiliński Revolt turned out to be above all an intelligentsia and student movement. About 200–300 students took part in the demonstration, which in general terms corresponded to the membership of 'Kolo' and other informal student groups. A sizeable contingent of Warsaw's progressive intelligentsia also took part in the march. It is also not far from the truth to state that anyone from the radical intelligentsia who happened to be in Warsaw on the day turned

---

23 S. Koszutski, in *Walka młodzieży...*, p. 92 and note, describes the 'Kolo' meeting. See too M. Bogacz, *Akademicy Warszawy...*, p. 326.

24 Z. Dębicki, *Grzechy młodości...*, p. 54.

25 *Ibid.*, pp. 7–12; S. Koszutski, *Walka młodzieży...*, p. 95 and note. B. Cywiński, *Rodowody niepokornych*, Warsaw 1996, pp. 335–364; M. Micińska, *Gołęb i Orzeł. Obchody rocznic kościuszkowskich w latach 1894 i 1917*, Warsaw 1995, esp. ch. 5: 'Manifestacja warszawska', pp. 47–52.

up in the vicinity of Old Town. An impressive group from the *Głos* editorial staff marched along Wąski Dunaj and Podwale streets, led by Józef Karol Potocki. Leading student activists were in the crowd: Julian Grabowski, known also as Jule and Józef Idzikowski, formerly 'patriots' and now prominent PPS members; the distinguished statistician and economist with populist views Adam Zakrzewski, as well as a group of young writers including Benedykt Hertz, Edward Słoński, and Stanisław Pieńkowski.

It is also worth noting that over half of the several dozen people arrested by the police were women. This large group represented an almost complete cross-section of the women's movement of the time, and also forcefully showed women's contribution to and significance in radical pro-independence circles. There was a wide range of attitudes. Women involved in the self-study movement and in popular education were probably the most widely represented in the march. They were usually activists in the pro-independence underground movement, often from distinguished families with patriotic and insurrectionist traditions. These women tended to provide social support for radical Warsaw's activities. Through their commitment and hard-to-overstate involvement they formed a kind of technical and moral shield for illegal activities.

These women remained on the sidelines, but they were the ones who ensured the smooth running of the current 'illegalities'. In later years they too would organize contact points and ensure that party conspirators could in fact operate. It was also from this group that the 'dromedaries' emerged – young socialist women later well-known in PPS circles, who served as couriers – as well as older women maintaining the insurrectionist traditions of 1863. This latter group was best represented by Cecylia Kirkor, one of the oldest female demonstrators and mother of two other 'Kiliński-ites': Dymitr and Michał Kirkor.

But among the female demonstrators another no less numerous group of young women distinguished itself, and ones who could be considered the new generation of female activists. Insofar as the first female participants could be included in the overall patriotic tradition, often without reference to specific divisions in the illegal movement, these younger activists were usually already involved in new groups and movements. They had a great deal in common with the older generation, including strong roots in national tradition and patriotic symbolism, sometimes social friendships, but much separated them, too. Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska found herself on Podwale street after her return from Zurich, where she had taken her doctorate. For two years after completing her studies she had worked as a private docent in Berlin at the Humboldt Academy. By then she was a widow, having lost her socialist activist husband Feliks Daszyński, and was an energetic teacher in self-study groups. A year earlier, when the subject

was in vogue, she had published the first introduction in Polish to the works of Nietzsche, whose *oeuvre* had fascinated her for some years.

One of her first biographers would later write that Daszyńska-Golińska had been arrested on Podwale street with a small volume of Nietzsche in one hand, and the poetry of Mickiewicz in the other.<sup>26</sup> The young writer of this account, Cecylia Walewska, the author of what were for those time iconoclastic stories, also took an active part in the demonstration. A strong commitment to the fledgling feminist movement separated her from Daszyńska. Walewska was one of the members of Paulina Reinschmitt-Kuczalska's salon, the germ of the later Association for Equality for Polish Women (1907) (*ZRKP - Związek Równouprawnienia Kobiet Polskich*), the first Polish feminist organization (which Daszyńska would eventually join). The writer would then resign from the organization since the home-grown Polish feminists refused to make independence a priority.

In the mid-1890s, Daszyńska wanted to tease out of the socialist movement an emancipatory head of steam for women, seeking inspiration in the Nietzschean idea of superman, as well. Walewska for her part was looking for a new formula for a feminine current in literature. Together with her younger female colleagues (including Ewelina Wróblewska, also later a member of ZKRP), she maintained that once the 'Muscovites' had been thrown out, a democratic Poland would be born.

Young schoolgirls, like fifteen-year-old Anielka Ciągłińska, for whom taking part in the march was more of a romantic adventure, appeared in the demonstration. The Kiliński Revolt sealed their participation in the pro-independence movement.

However, the heroes of these events were above all the Warsaw students. Despite the fact that the demonstration was to be a 'patriotic' undertaking, just about all the 'internationalist' students took part in the march. The course of events could serve more or less as a model example of the logic of student radicalism. Thus had it always been. The natural need for action, for a practical expression of revolt and rebellion against the partitioning power was stronger than ideological and situational differences. The 'internationalist' Koszutski wrote later: 'Since I was against the demonstration in principle, I obviously should not have taken part in it and in this spirit of non-participation a unanimous decision was taken that evening in my 'Kielce' group, as indeed it was in other 'international-socialist' groups. We told each other to our faces that we would not take part, "let the nationalists

---

26 See C. Walewska, *Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska*, in eadem, *Nasze bojownice. Z dziejów ruchu kobiecego w Polsce*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1911, p. 56.

go alone, after all we can't support the nonsense that they're planning" and so on and so forth, but we weren't sure that we wouldn't go if only to have a look at what was happening. However, when the time of the demonstration came, there was a feeling, sensed by many in our camp, that one was being pushed and pulled to join the march [...]. Suffice it to say that when, at around 10 on the morning of the demonstration our friend Waław Czapliński knocked on the door of the room where I was living [...] he found me and Roterski ready to go.<sup>27</sup>

And yet the aims of this Warsaw show of strength came to naught for precisely the fact that it was *inter alia* a student operation. First of all, the Kiliński Revolt turned out to be an academic commotion and not a mass show of strength by the whole nation, or even, which was of greater significance to its organizers, by Warsaw. Fewer than twenty artisans took part in the demonstration, and some of them were probably there by accident.

True, the demonstration was noticed, but certainly it was unable to produce the desired moral impact. The march was ignored by the workers and numerous *petty bourgeois*. The lightning police response also thwarted the possible arrival of pupils from Warsaw's grammar schools. The Catholic Church was also frightened by the student commotion and the Russians' robust reaction to it. Archbishop Wincenty Popiel, in any event with a poor reputation in radical circles, made an example of the priest who had conducted a patriotic mass and scolded him. The atmosphere was in no way similar to that on the streets of Warsaw before the outbreak of the January Uprising. Already by that April afternoon it was clear that the people of Warsaw were not about 'to do a number' on the Russkies.

On the other hand, the Russian authorities were able to demonstrate exceptional effectiveness. A joint operation by the civil police, the Warsaw gendarmerie, the university authorities, and the Russian procurator's office within barely a few months put an end to the operations of the radical student grouping, and also stifled several small non-conformist groups in Warsaw. Such hasty work on the part of the authorities did not necessarily have to be the result of good intelligence in pro-independence circles. Much more important might have been the announcement of a visit in September 1894 by Tsar Alexander III and a desire to 'pacify' the city. Although the authorities were unable to establish the identity of the demonstration's actual organizers – several of them were not from Warsaw – a number of effectively-made arrests *de facto* paralyzed the life of 'Red Warsaw'. The university authorities in turn recalled the 'Silberstein affair'. The gendarmerie

---

27 S. Koszutski, *Walka młodzieży...*, p. 96. See too B. Cywiński, *Rodowody niepokornych...*, p. 361.

by chance also stumbled upon a few minor communist groups forming *inter alia* the skeleton of a new social-democratic organization, the SDKP.<sup>28</sup> In August, arrests began of PPS supporters. This organization's principal leaders were either under arrest (the majority), or had to flee the authorities as rapidly as possible abroad.<sup>29</sup> The Russians had reminded everyone just who ruled in Warsaw.

'Red Warsaw' – the radical intelligentsia's personnel base, a natural reservoir for parties and small ideological groups that in terms of the status quo were insurrectionary – fell silent. It was never to be reborn in its mid-nineties' form.

Likewise from the point of view of broad public opinion troubling signs now began to appear for the radical intelligentsia. Events took a similar turn in the spring of 1894 in provincial centres. Although the leaders of the 'patriots' were counting above all on influencing the Kingdom's 'heart', i.e. the former capital, incidents in the provinces were not completely without importance. In Łódź, Kielce, and Lublin there were merely inconspicuous and symbolic demonstrations involving for the most part grammar school pupils from the top forms. In one or two local churches there were insignificant patriotic events. In other provincial capitals, such as Kalisz or Częstochowa, no major disturbances were recorded.

Events in the provincial capital of Radom events were more grotesque than dramatic. The Radom Government Grammar School was a breeding ground for intelligentsia radicalism in the 1890s. A well-run self-study group operated in the school from the end of the decade, with its own library and two underground school papers. The main intellectual debates of the day were eagerly followed in Radom's self-study groups; debates in which some pupils, such as Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz or Władysław Bukowiński, took an active personal part. The local élite tried to draw on some of this youthful intellectual ferment, setting up in the local paper, the *Gazeta Radomska*, a special youth section. The grammar school pupils annually sent representatives to underground school congresses in Warsaw.<sup>30</sup> The 'Radomian' university group was always a powerful support for intelligentsia radicalism. In the lively student 'Young People's Group', through which passed a whole series of individuals who were subsequently eminent in public life, there were a great number of 'Radomians'.

---

28 J. Kancewicz, 'Powstanie i początki działalności Socjaldemokracji Królestwa Polskiego (1893–1895)', *Z pola walki*, 1963, vol. 4 (23), pp. 38–39; A. Kochański, *Warszawska organizacja SDKPiL w latach 1893–1905*, (in manuscript form), Warsaw 1970, p. 8.

29 See J. Kancewicz, *Polska Partia Socjalistyczna...*, p. 182.

30 Kólkowicz [J. Dąbrowski], *Przyczynek do historii ruchu wśród młodzieży polskiej zaboru rosyjskiego*, Lwów 1902, p. 12.

The Radom grammar school was located in a former Piarist school and also included a Russian church, a fact which was used in pro-independence propaganda. As patriotic rumour had it, in the cellars there were supposed to be secret passages which alleged plotters wanted to use, along with dynamite, to blow up the Russians praying in the church. The headmaster of the Radom grammar school, a supporter of Russification, Vasilii Smorodinov, recalled: 'The Poles began to spread a rumour that during Easter celebrations all the Russians would be wiped out, including those in the church, as well as those who had stayed at home [...]. Given the information on the existence of underground tunnels beneath the school buildings, the headmaster made a careful inspection of all the cellars and basements under the school. No trace was discovered of secret passages, and the Governor was informed of this. Not content with the headmaster's report, the Governor formed a special task force consisting of the Deputy Governor, Baron Buxhoeveden, the province's architect, the chief of police, the head of the Governor's private office, and the school's headmaster. The task force was to check all the school's buildings and clarify the rumours of the existence of underground passages beneath them. It minutely examined all the cellars and basements, checked the cellars' walls and floors using crowbars, but no signs were discovered of the existence of secret passageways. A report was drawn up on the results of these inspections and it was presented to the Governor. However, this did not satisfy the inflamed Russian community, whose nervousness increased as Easter approached [...]. As the Russian community worried, so did the Poles ever more stubbornly insist that the underground tunnels existed, and revolutionary groups distributed proclamations embellishing the horrors promised for Easter.'<sup>31</sup>

Faced with the anxiety of the Russian community, the task force met twice more, and in turn also examined the whole school courtyard, where by chance foundations for the new church dating from the start of the century were discovered. This detailed inspection should have definitively allayed every doubt. It did not. Smorodinov added in his memoirs: 'Rumours of the plan to blow up the school chapel during Easter matins still did not die down.' Clearly, the Russian authorities could not take such feelings lightly, since panic was growing daily among the local Russians. So, on the day of the demonstration a detachment of police surrounded the school; the library and all other areas which appeared suspicious were

---

31 W.G. Smorodinow, *Moja służba w Warszawskim Okręgu Naukowym i zdarzenia ze szkolnego życia. Wspomnienia pedagoga*, edited by W. Caban, trans. B. Drozdowska, Kielce 2003, pp. 217–218.



illuminated. The patriotic parade, as in other locations throughout the Kingdom, turned out first of all to be a demonstration by school-age youngsters.

Some Polish inhabitants, fearing disturbances, sneaked out of town. It is doubtful whether those who remained were in any way favourably disposed towards the demonstrators. The young marchers were not even able to march in close order from the church, as they had planned. The event ended with a youth gathering in a local city park. The parody turned into farce when the youngsters, lacking a building having a connection with the Third-of-May anniversary, crowned their sorry march by gathering near the ruins of Queen Bona's castle, which had been erected, if Smorodinov is to be believed, by a Russian Governor Anuchin with the aim of beautifying the town.

The Kiliński Revolt was a failure and had to lead to a reassessment of the guidelines which student disturbances of the 1890s followed. Above all, there was a great question mark next to the continuation of the pro-independence movement in its current form. The movement's base, the Warsaw student republic, had been broken up and marginalized in the space of only a few weeks. The young people's political arm, in the form of the all-student political 'Koło', disintegrated, as also did the apolitical Student Union, whose leader, a 'nationalist', one of the demonstration's actual organizers, Szymon Kossobudzki, together with his whole board was in gaol.

Within a few months it turned out that the work of the self-study groups had been paralyzed, and not just the student ones, but also the school ones which were dependant on them; both in Warsaw, as well as in the provinces. Although the grammar-school pupils had not taken part in the preparations for the Kiliński march, the fallout from the events of April had to be painful for the school self-study movement. As a result of the crackdown the work and meetings of the Student Self-Study Groups' Hub (*Centrala Kółek Uczniowskich*) – the student group, which co-ordinated the self-study work of grammar-school pupils throughout the Kingdom – were also suspended. The self-study groups did not revive in this spontaneously-organized form with a democratically-elected board. The women's Flying Universities also suffered from the crackdown, while the Women's Circle for Popular Education (*Kobiece Koło Oświaty Ludowej*) was to all intents and purposes closed down.<sup>32</sup> The organizers turned out to be unprepared for

---

32 See D. Wawrzykowska-Wierciochowa, 'Kobiece Koła Oświaty Ludowej (1883–1894)', *Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy*, 1960, vol. 3 (43), pp. 70–71. In the case of the aforementioned organization, just as important as the Kiliński Revolt was the death of Karolina Kulinowska, a leading light in KKOL. It is worth pointing out that female groups suffered the least as a result of these events and that even in 1894 the Circle

such a turn of events. The Warsaw ZET group – the call to action’s overall organizer and brain – was also effectively closed down. Just about all its members at every level of the organization, both ‘brothers’ and ‘pals’ were taken into custody. A great many ‘comrades’ – in other words, activists at the lowest ZET level – were also brought in, which in practice froze all the Union’s activities for several years. Towards the end of April, one or two surviving LN activists went about Warsaw distributing leaflets about the commemoration of the anniversary of the Third of May, but there was no-one left to celebrate it. An attempt to revive the ZET’s operations during the first months of 1895 came to naught.

Given that Warsaw was always seen as a sort of decision centre for the whole ZET, the whole Union suffered from paralysis. Its ruling body, the so-called *Centralizacja*, was soon moved to Lwów. A few years later a remodelled organization, called the Grupa Narodowa (known in the Prussian Partition as the Grono Narodowe), was formed, but it took on a new form. Like the newly-minted Liga Narodowa, these groups became skeleton organizations and an incremental vehicle for the awakening nationalist movement. The rank of comrade was completely abolished, and the Association focussed on developing new patriotic activists by way of ‘raising national consciousness’. Scholars would come to call this new organization the second, or nationalist, ZET.<sup>33</sup>

A blow just as painful as the student rout were the arrests among *Głos*’s editorial staff. The post-April crackdown took Józef Karol Potocki and a number of leading contributors out of play. New blows fell on the editorial board in August. Antoni Wiśniewski, the paper’s permanent Łódź correspondent, turned out to be an Okhrana agent. From his detailed reports and his equally methodically-kept private diary it was possible to decipher the close links between the weekly’s editorial board and other organizers of the Kiliński Revolt. This was an exceptionally painful hit. As a result of an effective investigation, the paper’s de facto driving force Józef Hlasko and a young student, Jan Szmurło, were arrested, while its editor Potocki was soon joined in the Citadel by his editorial colleague, Jan Ludwik Popławski. This was a blow to the very heart of the ‘patriots’.

---

of the Kingdom and Lithuania (Koło Korony i Litwy), involving female activists, was founded.

33 A. Próchnik, ‘Zeł’, *Światło*, January 1937, no. 1, p. 10. See T.W. Nowacki, *Szkic do dziejów ZET-u*, in *ZET w walce o niepodległość i budowę państwa. Szkice i wspomnienia*, editorial committee. T.W. Nowacki [et al.], Warsaw 1996, p. 61; *Zarzewie 1909–1920. Wspomnienia i materiały. Wybór dokumentów i przypisy*, foreword by A. and A. Garlicki, Warsaw 1973, p. 12.

The Kiliński Revolt's biggest defeat was a moral/political one. The politically-committed younger generation had failed to rouse Warsaw, let alone the provinces. Neither the social élites nor the Warsaw working class had supported the demonstration. All the grumbling about the provincial élites' lethargy and indolence, which in its time *Głos* had stigmatized and Żeromski had colourfully portrayed in *Silaczka* and other contemporary tales, found almost tangible confirmation. Progressive circles linked to the Warsaw positivists behaved very ambiguously. Frightened by the dynamics of the student movement's growth, these circles, after several unsuccessful attempts to calm things down, remained passive. The opportunity to bring closure to a decade of humiliations and crack-downs was receding against a background of wide social apathy. The Russians could breathe a sigh of relief.

There is no doubt that the calm in international affairs also had an overall effect on social issues. The Alliance between France and Russia suggested that the European scene was beginning to stabilize after the stresses of the mid-90s.<sup>34</sup> The death of Tsar Alexander III (November, 1894) and then the departure of Governor-General Gurko that same year, provided an opportunity for reaching an agreement. Soon the Head of the Warsaw Censorship Committee, Ivan K. Yankulio, hated by the creative intelligentsia, was ousted. The political climate changed, as the Warsaw élites saw it.

For the Kiliński-ites themselves participation in the demonstration had possibly been an important generational reference point. For some time former participants attempted to maintain social links and this despite the external cracks which at this time were appearing in pro-independence circles; cracks which with time would only expand. Before he went into administrative exile in Russia, Zdisław Dębicki (later a well-known Warsaw journalist and columnist), even wrote a plaintive poem which was meant to commemorate the April march and the painful feeling of loneliness which he felt in custody.<sup>35</sup> Another poet, the above Benedykt Herz, recalled his time in goal: 'The three months I spent here in the company of those who were fired up by revolution were a turning-point my life.'<sup>36</sup> Although the former was involved with the ND post-1905, the latter actively involved with the left, they met again at a Kiliński Congress.

---

34 See D. Filar, 'Wpływ sojuszu rosyjsko-francuskiego 1893/1894 r. na program polityczny Ligi Polskiej i Ligi Narodowej', *Zeszyty Historyczne Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego*, 3, 1963, pp. 123–154.

35 Z. Dębicki, *Grzechy młodości...*, p. 53.

36 B. Hertz, *Na taśmie...*, p. 153.

The symbol of the whole crisis – Jan Kiliński – had also not fulfilled the hopes reposing in him. Modern politics require symbols, but the bourgeois hero, a figure embodying the *petty bourgeois* contribution to the struggle for the nation's independence, had not fired the imagination of the people of Warsaw. The commemorations throughout the country of the anniversary of the Kościuszko Uprising, celebrated in various towns during the partitions, were sometimes impressive, in Lwów even very impressive.<sup>37</sup> Michał Bałucki, a well-known Kraków writer and dramatist, passing as one of the bards of the then bourgeoisie and in pro-independence and radical circles, recognized more as an opportunist and social climber, perhaps to expiate his supposed national sins, wrote for the occasion a play entitled *Kiliński* (1893). It was played to full houses in Lwów theatres, but in Warsaw – for obvious reasons – it was not performed.<sup>38</sup>

However, only later events would show that the symbol of the 'cobbler-colonel' was not completely dead. One of the sections of the ZET revived in the second half of the 90s, would include a Jan Kiliński Union of Artisans, which became a seed for the nationalist workers' party (Narodowy Związek Robotniczy), an alternative to the class-based trade unions.

The state of the 'patriotic' forces after the events of April also forced an examination of views. The principal ideologue of this 'patriotic' stir, Roman Dmowski, produced a summary of the march which was sharp in form, but thin on new conclusions. His piece entitled *Po demonstracji 17 kwietnia (After the 17<sup>th</sup> of April Demonstration)* was in specific terms a lightning response to criticism of the patriotic youngsters' achievements by the conservative press in all three partitions.<sup>39</sup> Seen in this light it could be a continuation of the generational debate between the old and the young, the highly-radicalized generation that was entering public life in the mid-1890s.

But taking the long view this piece was above all the epitaph of nineties' student radicalism. At this time Dmowski was not in Warsaw. After spending several months in the Citadel, he was forced to settle in Mitau. The leader of the newly-formed LN, the author of several key texts reflecting more the attitudes of certain circles of Warsaw youth than of all the pro-independence groups of the day, began

---

37 See K. Stauter-Halsted, 'Patriotic Celebrations in Austrian Poland. The Kosciusko Centennial and the Formation of Peasants Nationalism', *Austrian History Yearbook*, 35, 1994, p. 84 and note. See too M. Micińska, *Gołąb i Orzeł...*, esp. ch. 1: 'Obchody kościuszkowskie w Galicji wiosną 1894 r.', pp. 17–32.

38 See J. Załęga [M. Bałucki], *Kiliński. Obraz historyczny w pięciu aktach*, Kraków 1893.

39 See [R. Dmowski], *Po manifestacji 17-go kwietnia. Z dzisiejszej doby X*, Kraków 1893. For quotations from this text see too B. Cywiński, *Rodowody niepokornych...*, pp. 363–364.

to impose his views on society. His idea of a revolt in the LP was met with restrained support in émigré circles abroad, including that of T.T. Jeż himself, who saw in Dmowski, as did others at the time, above all an effective organizer.

Although there is a lack here of trustworthy sources, this was surely an initial sign of trust. The old pro-independence émigrés had no intention of relinquishing their ideological patronage of the new organization. A columnist for *Wolne Polskie Słowo* states that it was the opposite. One can legitimately speculate that accepting the ambitious young leader was linked to a desire to bring him into line in the immediate future. The leader of the new League had also to establish his leadership credentials.

In the afore-mentioned article Dmowski summed up the effect of the Kiliński Revolt in a few sentences. The demonstration had made sense, for it had introduced a Polish factor into the European debate. It had required victims, since artfully exploited national martyrdom, as the author thought at the time, could have an educational meaning. It had been a lesson in patriotism for young people and the working classes.

This didactic strain, present also in other non-political works by the writer, would systematically return later. Even in this polemical sketch it could be seen that the emphasis had shifted from advocating active, real attitudes, visible evidence of his own pro-independence convictions, to complex educational efforts. The leader of the League had already stated earlier that 'a nation which wishes to be free must curb its own morality of subservience.' The Nietzschean strain, i.e. developing an active morality, would also grow. A revision of the Polish mental attitude was also to entail a complete rebuilding of home-grown Polish political thought, in the writer's eyes anachronistic and useless in the modern age. As Bohdan Cywiński rightly points out, the Kiliński Revolt was, in Dmowski's opinion, an introductory lesson in political thought.<sup>40</sup> It is worth pointing out that in this piece the Leader of the LN continually emphasized his attachment to democratic traditions and was seeking allies on the left.

In a pamphlet published in March 1895 entitled *Ugoda czy walka (Compromise or Fight)*, the last piece in the *Z dzisiejszej doby (Today)* series, Dmowski repeated just about all the motifs of his earlier journalism, sharpening the focus of some of his previous themes.<sup>41</sup> Two issues need emphasizing.

---

40 B. Cywiński, *Rodowody niepokornych...*, p. 364.

41 [R. Dmowski], *Ugoda czy walka. Z dzisiejszej doby XI*, Lwów 1895. Quotations are taken from this text.

First of all, the writer reminded us that the national struggle with the partitioning power was all-encompassing and could not be reduced to half-measures. The leader of the League wrote *inter alia*: 'The issue between us and the Russians is one of survival.' This premise was strengthened by the conviction that Polish society was becoming in this confrontation a kind of *cordon sanitaire* between Europe and the Russians' (the hungry locusts') voracious expansion. The Polish question was in his view of the matter an organic part of Western civilization.

Secondly, the future national struggle would involve not only a settling of scores with an external enemy, but also the elimination of an internal enemy ('attempts to demoralize'). However, he saw the latter's presence within the society of the nation as being of far greater significance, since, in Dmowski's view, its efforts threatened the whole of society with destruction. He wrote: 'This is the cause of our defeats. Hence, if we wish to achieve anything, we must immediately engage in battle against both these enemies: we must fight the government, as well as the enemy within, which is a hundred times deadlier, for it undermines the ramparts we have been building for decades and is ready at any moment to hand over the castle to the enemy.'

Even assuming that these combative statements, written in polemical form, referred above all to the new tactic for fighting the explicitly-indicated compromise camp, the outline presented of a national struggle foretold a new stage for that part of the pro-independence movement which had suffered the most as a result of the rout of the Kiliński Revolt. In January 1895, the leader of the LN appeared on the pages of the *Lwów Przegląd Wszechpolski*, whose editorship he then took in mid-year. For that part of the pro-independence faction with which he was involved, this spelled the start of a new chapter in their activities.

## Chapter Six

# A Journey Towards Ideals

### Roman Dmowski's Journalism 1895–1905

People with our temperament do not wish to be hobbled by any moral obligations [...]. We both tend to do things a little on the grand side, which means that both of us feel confined in this world of ours. [...]. You feel that there are no free people in Poland, ones breathing deeply, liberated from this stink which impregnates our moral climate [...]. Meanwhile, only those people who are prepared to ignore everyone and everything can make a major impact.

*Roman Dmowski to Władysław Reymont, 1898, M. Kułakowski, Roman Dmowski w świetle listów i wspomnień, vol. 1, London 1968, pp. 216–217*

The League's principal value and its politics lay in an ability to take on public opinion, widely-held views, and widely-held bad political habits. This ability, against the backdrop of Poland's considerable herd instinct, is rather rare in our country, and the League has been able to stick to its chosen path only thanks to the stubbornness of the handful of people leading it, but above all thanks to the personal stubbornness of Dmowski.

'Relacja Romana Dmowskiego o Lidze Narodowej',  
edited by A. Garlicki, *Przegląd Historyczny*, 57, 1966, p. 3

### The only conservative in Poland

Hassan lived in a large, old city that lay on a poor, because infertile plain, somewhere in the East. The plain was endless, bounded in the east by lofty mountains. But the people from the plain, weighed down by the cares of daily life, had no eyes for the magnificent mountains. Hassan, a young fanatic and idealist, was a misfit. From the time he had heard from a travelling dervish the legend of the shining peaks, the vision of this marvellous place, like a persistent dream, would not leave him alone. He dreamed of one day going there. However, the itinerant dervish had told him that no-one had ever seen this land, for no-one had been able to conquer its slopes. But Hassan was not about to give up. He decided to teach himself to climb. But where he lived not a single steep hill was to be found. One day the youngster saw a man in the market with a monkey in a cage. The animal was playing around, scrambling up the bars of its cage. Hassan decided to build himself a cage in order to teach himself to climb steep slopes.

After a few years he felt that he was ready and set off. At the foothills of the mountain he spotted an inn where two individuals were chatting, served by a charming woman. When they learned of Hassan's venture they tried to convince

him of the absurdity of his idea. However, the young man would not let himself be diverted, even by the beautiful young woman's charms. He set off, although not without some trepidation. Full of enthusiasm he climbed, resting to catch his breath. After a time he had second thoughts, halted, and looked up. Before him towered an immense, seemingly endless mountain, whose peak was invisible. Hesitating, he looked down to see how much ground he had covered. But no sooner had he done so than he felt giddy and would have fallen had it not been for a bush, which he deftly grasped. When he recovered himself, he was filled with a terrible fear that for climbing he needed not just mountaineering skill, but also the ability to look down. This, however, Hassan had not learned.

After dusk the thought of a solitary climb in the dark nagged him and thus he finally abandoned his plan. He returned to the inn. Upon his arrival, he threw himself into a frenzy of pleasure – he ate, drank, and played dice with the two travellers, finally falling asleep in the young woman's arms.

When he awoke in the morning he perceived that he was swimming in a dirty puddle and that he was a duck. From the other ducks he learned that every adventurer who had abandoned the climb had turned into a pond bird. After a time Hassan noticed that the travellers who had kept to their daring ambitions were turning into magnificent eagles. Life was not bad for Hassan the duck, the pond was large and all around were nutritious creatures. However, there was still a longing in his heart. When one day he swallowed a snail's shell and realized that the end was near, he saw the past once again before him. A young man, very similar to Hassan, who was also on his way to climb the mountain, came by. Hassan, seeing the efforts by the trio at the inn – the fat man, the thin man and the girl – tried to cry out and forestall them, but when he exerted himself, all he could achieve was a quiet quack. The call of a dying duck.

This story, abridged here, was written by R. Skrzycki and appeared in the second half of 1894 in *Słowo Polskie* in Lwów – a journal of the democratic intelligentsia and groups associated with the Polish League.<sup>1</sup> In it the writer included a great many references to his fate, and partly too to the fate of his generation, but above all he referred back to his earlier writings. Resorting to the metaphorical format, he portrayed the key dilemmas facing young 'patriots'.

Roman Dmowski, as a forced resident of Mitawa, was isolated from the political milieu he had previously inhabited. At the time, the town contained a student colony of sorts, with a dozen or so people leading a lively social life, but the mood

---

1 R. Skrzycki [R. Dmowski], 'Wędrownka do ideałów (Bajka wschodnia)', *Słowo Polskie*, 10 VI 1894, no. 11, pp. 329–332.



among the active Poles (there were other leading ‘patriots’ in exile, including Tomasz Ruśkiewicz and Bolesław Hirsztfeld) was doubtless not the best.<sup>2</sup>

It does not seem appropriate at this stage to make a direct comparison of Dmowski’s fate with this literary tale; however, it is worth pointing out one or two episodes in the story.

Hassan’s ambitious plan appeared to be nothing but a dream to those around him. For the protagonist himself it was an indication of romantic heroism. His efforts – similar to those of conspirators in pro-independence circles – demonstrated the limitations in the activities both of youngsters, as well as adults, in radical circles. The youth movement in the mid-nineties very quickly unravelled after colliding with resistant social material. Student radicals, effective at galvanizing their peers, turned out to be helpless when faced with the passivity of older segments of society. Youthful idealism, when confronted with provincial apathy, proved inadequate. Devising a national strategy turned out to be quite another matter. So too was tedious, daily organizational work.

When in the first half of the 1890s Dmowski turned to the habitués of intelligentsia drawing-rooms and sought support for a certain illegal undertaking, one of their *éminences grises*, Karol Benni, laughed at him. Władysław Jabłonowski, a witness to this event, recalled: ‘Benni refused: “Remember, gentlemen, that the Russian authorities can scoop us, the intelligentsia, up like cream with a spoon and [...] dump us in Kamchatka [...]” Hardly had we broken out laughing, which in any event occurred later, than we found ourselves in the street.’<sup>3</sup>

In 1894, the Russians reached for this spoon. This turned out to be an effective move. Arresting most of the participants in the demonstration, followed by energetic trials leading to exile or just an administrative clampdown, paralyzed the radical circles’ activities for a few years. The frightened provincial intelligentsia, not to mention conservative élites, also moved away from radical youth. After the wave of disturbances came a time of conciliation. Hopes for calling a nationwide protest followed by regaining independence faded like a beautiful dream. Given these conditions, the radical circles’ energy naturally enough had to move outside the borders of the Kingdom.

It is noteworthy that the Russian authorities’ actions met with a certain amount of approval in certain segments of society. The silent social support, which had

---

2 See S. Studnicka, ‘Dmowski w Mitawie’, *Prosto z Mostu*, 5 II 1939, no. 6, p. 3. For a shortened version see M. Kułakowski [J. Zieliński], *Roman Dmowski w świetle listów i wspomnień*, vol. 1, London 1968, pp. 157–163. See too D. Iguenez [R. Dmowski], ‘Listy do przyjaciela I’, *Głos*, 19 II (3 III) 1894, no. 9, p. 103.

3 *Ze wspomnień Wł. Jabłonowskiego*, in M. Kułakowski, *Roman Dmowski...*, vol. 1, p. 130.

still accompanied the call to action in the first half of the 1890s, burst like a bubble. The perspective of yet another national bloodbath, which young people might provoke, dismayed even some radical circles. The dampening of emotions among the students was greeted with evident relief in many quarters. Bolesław Prus's involvement in the welcoming committee for the new Tsar Nicholas was somewhat symbolic.<sup>4</sup> Although it is hard to describe the events of the time as a traumatic experience for that generation, conclusions had to be drawn all the same. It is worth recalling that Hassan's personal battle was taking place against a background of apathy on the part of the rest of society.

But Hassan's story can be read on another level. As its subtitle announced, in this Eastern tale the protagonist was a lonely hero who undertook a task that many had abandoned. He wanted to achieve an ideal. However, the goal could be different. For the young leader of the 'patriots', an activist with a detailed social and political agenda, such a goal could be the desire to put his agenda into practice. A personal, although no longer private epic, a journey towards ideals.

If we take the main protagonist's statement seriously, then what seems vital is adopting a personal principle while attempting to define one's views and positions. We see Hassan's tale through the eyes of a man of action. Dmowski's writings were initially devoid of this personal dimension. The columnist wrote about 'active individuals', 'powerful characters', 'vivid and rounded personalities' in the third person. Reading these pieces it is hard not to get the impression that this vivid personality was the writer himself: Roman Dmowski. At the same time, these statements were striking by virtue of the methodical and determined way the subject was tackled: a consistent idealization of men of action.

The virtues that Dmowski championed in his writings could be found in the reminiscences of people who came into contact with him at this time. According to Zofia Kirkor-Kiedroń, the sister of Stanisław and Władysław Grabski, who ran in radical circles in the Kingdom and later in Galicia too, Dmowski was clearly the dominant personality in the spheres in which he moved. He did not appeal to Kirkor, who was a connoisseur of men's beauty as well as the psychology of human types: "He did not attract me. Neither his appearance – the ponderous

---

4 J. Sobczak, in *Cesarz Mikołaj II. Liberal z usposobienia. Autokrata na tronie*, Toruń 2003, ch. 8: 'Polskie fascynacje młodym cesarzem i nadzieje w nim pokładane', pp. 399–410, presents an interesting survey of the attitudes of the time. See too A. Szwarc, *Od Wielopolskiego do Stronnictwa Polityki Realnej*, Warsaw 1996, ch. 5: 'Sukcesy i porażki (1895–1900)', pp. 211–301. See also the following for a general outline: *Obóz ugody a inteligencja 1864–1905*, in *Inteligencja polska XIX i XX wieku*. Studia 6, R. Czepulis-Rastenis (ed.), Warsaw 1991, pp. 73–105.

physique, the broad flat face with its unattractive features – nor his conversation or general demeanour. A powerful intellect was evident in his small, bright eyes and in his speech, not so much because of the depth of its content, but because it was interesting, lively and often sarcastic. However, what bothered me was the big-headedness, even conceitedness plainly visible in his eyes. Doubtless Dmowski had his reasons for being sure of his opinions and pleased with himself. But he should not have made it so obvious.<sup>5</sup>

Another observer, Jan Skotnicki – the well-known painter and in independent Poland also a government official – presented a similar picture of the ND leader. Although from a later time, this account corroborates the previous one: ‘I got to know Dmowski in Warsaw in 1912, after which we would often meet. He seemed to me to have a clear and intelligent mind, perhaps just a little too rigid, with a brutal personality and that he was doing everything possible to get on in the world. He gave the impression of a man very much in love with himself. He also had something of the parvenu about him. He looked at the world around him rather indulgently, sometimes with a thinly-veiled mocking little smile. I must also admit that he was not always wrong, since his personality towered over the whole community of older and younger pre-war nationalists [...]. A casual conversation with him, which I had a few times, was a very satisfying experience. He sparkled with quick-wittedness and humour which was sometimes on the brutal side; he was also distinguished by an ability to move from one subject to another, while maintaining the continuity of the conversation. Upon encountering disagreement, he would betray stubbornness, even when he was clearly in the wrong.’<sup>6</sup> One could cite several other such descriptions.

The certain haughtiness on Dmowski’s part noted by memoirists did not always have to be a function of his personality. As his contemporaries recall, Dmowski tried consciously to develop his image for public consumption. In line with the method he frequently preached, an instructor was meant to lead by example, but also in his own way to dominate his surroundings, to become a model and a guide for his pupils’ behaviour. The right to impose one’s agenda on others, as well as a ruthlessness in overcoming every obstacle, was meant to come from the conviction of its truth. A sense of superiority was essential for this, as well as an advantage over potential charges, and so these traits were to be acquired by

---

5 Z. Kirkor-Kiedroń, *Wspomnienia*, part 1, *Dziecięce i młode lata*, introduction H. Wereszycki, edited by A. Szklarska-Lohmann [et al.], Kraków 1986, p. 374.

6 J. Skotnicki, *Przy sztalugach i przy biurku. Wspomnienia*, Warsaw 1957, pp. 166–167, 170. See too R. Wapiński, *Roman Dmowski*, Lublin 1988, p. 210.

dint of practice. Jean-Marie Guyau, as the actual creator of this concept, recommended that his pupils behave in such a fashion.

One might legitimately present a counter-hypothesis. One's own personality traits, or else an individual's characteristic features, e.g. strongly narcissistic tendencies or a megalomania growing with age, found an outlet in a well-thought-out ideological and educational proposition. It was possible that Dmowski's ideological agenda in its personal form was the outcome of both factors.

Dmowski conscientiously prepared to achieve his 'educational' mission, as the Lutosławski sisters' duet illustrates. Dmowski had become close to the Lutosławski family during his stay in Kraków towards the end of the 1890s. This connection was partly social, partly political. Wincenty Lutosławski, at the time an active LN member, kept an open house in Kraków. Alongside the Balickis' residence, the retreat in Dębiny, the Lutosławskis' flat was one of the local nationalist élite's more important venues. New ND activists would later emerge from these drawing rooms. Antoni Plutyński, one of these activists recalled: "The little place [in Dębiny] really was the anteroom to the ND shrine, and such was its charm, that it was quite out of the question to back out half-way. You had to go on."<sup>7</sup> Maria, née Lutosławska, in turn wrote: "The Balickis lived at Dębiny [...]. There they held National League congresses and meetings, there students from the Jagiellonian University would gather, organized into nationalist groups; orders and directives were sent from there across the whole country. Those who carried newspapers – *Polak* and *Przegląd Wszechpolski* – across the 'cordon' would often leave from there, and when they returned they would head for Dębniiki in order to present a report on their journey and the accomplishment of their assignments. At Dębniiki nationalist youth had a spiritual home of an exceptionally high cultural level [...]. My parents' flat on Groble was a sort of extension of Dębniiki."<sup>8</sup>

Two of the four Lutosławski sisters, Izabela and Maria, who later stayed in touch with Dmowski, preserved these times in their memoirs and private correspondence with their friend from home. The Lutosławski sisters' accounts are a reasonably well-documented account of the 'pedagogical' aspirations of the future author of *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka*.<sup>9</sup>

---

7 A. Plutyński, 'Na Dębniikach u Zygmuntoństwa Balickich. Garść wspomnień', *Kronika Polski i Świata*, 25 VI 1935, no. 26, p. 2.

8 M. Niklewicz, *Pan Roman: wspomnienie o Romanie Dmowskim*, edited by T. Wituch, Warsaw 2001, p. 122.

9 See too I. Wolikowska (née Lutosławska), *Roman Dmowski. Człowiek, przyjaciel, Polak*, Warsaw 2007. This publication is enriched by a great many personal accounts, which are included in an annexe.

Dmowski showed up at the Lutosławskis' house in the autumn of 1900 after one of his trips abroad. He had returned to Poland in order to settle permanently in Kraków. He quickly became friendly with the Lutosławskis. It would appear that not only political sympathies had attracted him to their home. The political exile's lack of a fixed abode, as well as his unsettled personal situation, were not unimportant. Dmowski became something of a mentor to the Lutosławski children. Izabela Wolikowska née Lutosławska recalled: 'Mr Dmowski was invited as a family member to come round every day for lunch and dinner. He entered our circle so naturally and so simply, which was his nature [...]. Friendship immediately blossomed, as surely as if it had been inspired. I can't think of another case like it, although I dare say there must be, when a stranger from quite a different milieu becomes a family member immediately and for a lifetime, until death.'<sup>10</sup>

Dmowski willingly accepted this quasi-pedagogical role and carried it out with methodical meticulousness. In addition to regular visits and morality lessons in the form of stories and talks tossed out in passing, he would send 'instructional' letters and also personally supervise the Lutosławski sisters' development. He would 'instruct' through conversation and above all by personal example, i.e., as he put it later, through 'action'. In one of his letters to Maria he came straight out: 'For life is movement, action, and work, and not meditation, reflection, and psychological analysis.'<sup>11</sup> Then, in correspondence with Izabela dating from this period, he would list a whole catalogue of moral attributes which should define the behaviour of maturing young women. Attached to his memoirs, Dmowski's exchange of letters with the Lutosławski sisters was a detailed, almost pedantic list of precepts, pointers, and ethical advice that he provided, as he put, for his 'spiritual family'.

In his role as a mentor Dmowski warned against gossiping and frittering away one's energy on trivia. He taught attention to detail and consistency. He mocked excessive intellectual ambition acknowledging that it was the preserve of predestined individuals. He rebuked idleness and 'frivolity', extolling also structure and an energetic daily life, which he attributed to good breeding and material conditions. However, he in particular underscored the advantages of willpower, which he acknowledged as a key element in a real man. Dmowski was gallant towards women, but he did not share their aspirations for emancipation. Quite the contrary: he would deride women's modern ambitions sarcastically, occasionally bitingly, unceremoniously and often quite brutally, even when dealing with people

---

10 Ibid., p. 33.

11 Letter dated 29 VI 1906, quoted in M. Niklewicz, *Pan Roman...*, p. 36.

close to him. He ascribed a different role to women: creators and tenders of the home fires. In his methodical way he took care that his female charges, within the limits prescribed by him, developed their own views of reality. And yet force of example had to be a key factor. The whole combination of virtues, advice, and tips gave the impression of an authoritarian educational system.

But was Dmowski an effective teacher? Were the values that he was ‘inculcating’ lasting and unchanging, as he advised in his own writing on social matters? To a great extent our ideologue achieved his goals. The Lutosławski sisters became ‘ND victims’, as another frequent visitor to the retreat at Groble, Józef Hłasko, perversely claimed. Izabela Wolikowska recalled: ‘We were stuffed with the issues of Polish politics, to which Roman Dmowski gave his whole life. At home, which he visited twice a day, the conversation continually revolved around issues of public concern. We matured early in this atmosphere of struggle, bristling with problems, but grounded in powerful ideals [...]. He spoke to us a great deal and taught us many things [...]. There was something in the nature of family ties between us. He was always able to steer the conversation so as to teach us something. In the convoluted world of class injustice and privilege, I knew no man with such a selfless, even-handed and generous attitude towards Polish history [...]. Mr. Dmowski would often go to congresses abroad and in Poland. He would always write us children cards and short letters full of humour. He wrote to me at that time: “Thank you for encouraging me to live, I bless you, your teacher”<sup>12</sup>

However, the strongest argument in favour of the effectiveness of Dmowski’s methods was the Lutosławskis’ later activities, including their active involvement in the nationalist movement.<sup>13</sup> The piquancy of this story is enhanced by the fact that the Lutosławski family’s women were influenced more by the charismatic leader of the ND than was Wincenty Lutosławski himself, an ideologue and teacher, whose path soon diverged from that of the ND. The picture of those days in Kraków, as well as of the author of *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka*, presented by Lutosławski *père*, was extremely critical.<sup>14</sup>

For Dmowski, however, the vehicle for putting his own convictions into practice was above all the ideological movement of which he was a co-founder – the

---

12 I. Wolikowska (née Lutosławska), *Roman Dmowski...*, pp. 38–39.

13 On Maria Lutosławska see W. Wasiutyński, *Czwarte pokolenie. Szkice z dziejów nacjonalizmu polskiego*, London 1982, sub-chapter ‘Niklewiczowa’, pp. 83–87. The writer of these reminiscences describes her as the ‘Grande Dame of the Nationalist Movement’, p. 87.

14 See W. Lutosławski, *Jeden łatwy żywot*, Warsaw 1933, p. 242 and note.

National League. The leader of the 'All-Poles' intended to make the organization, which had been remade by him, a tool for influencing society. With the benefit of hindsight, Dmowski's writings from the turn of the century appear to be consistent and in line with his plans. Wilhelm Feldman saw in this evolution, which the LN was undergoing in the mid-nineties, revolutionary pro-independence ideas being replaced by xenophobic nationalism. For the editor of the Kraków *Krytyka*, this process was partly a function of the times, and partly the effect of the League leadership's actions. He recalled with emphasis that Dmowski, who in his opinion had played a key role in this evolution, was a man with a stubborn will.<sup>15</sup>

Dmowski's first years in Galicia were a time of creating the framework for this new direction. The youngest of the three leaders of the newly-founded LN began his journey toward ideals by taking over a small Lwów fortnightly the *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, from the Geographical and Trade Association. This journal was meant to focus the Polish reader's attention on the fate of the Polish world-wide diaspora. Produced by the social activist Wiktor Ungier the periodical led a rather sickly existence. Dmowski showed up in *Przegląd* in the first half of 1895 as the author of one or two minor monographs and must have immediately drawn attention to himself. He wrote with verve and conviction, and his contributions, though short, stood out in contrast to the paper's restrained tone. Starting in the middle of 1895, *Przegląd* was taken over by the League and to all intents and purposes by Dmowski. For six months this émigré from the Kingdom himself edited and wrote most of the articles that appeared in the paper.

This often current reporting is worthy of our attention for several reasons. First of all, the articles appearing in *Przegląd* were *de facto* the first statements by the fledgling party. A series entitled *Z dzisiejszej doby* (*Today*), published in the first half of the 90s, served as the new movement's first collective manifesto, and was rather more the epitaph of the National League's precursor – the Polish League. Although its authors were the creators of Poland's home-grown nationalism, including the founders of the LN (among them Dmowski, as the author of *Nasz patriotyzm*, and Józef Karol Potocki, who then left the League, and Bolesław Lutomski), it did not convey the spirit of the fledgling movement.

One should not exaggerate the value of this series of publications from the perspective of the further development of nationalist ideology.<sup>16</sup> Dmowski, the

---

15 See W. Feldman, *Dzieje polskiej myśli politycznej w okresie porozbiorowym*, vol. 3: *Od końca XIX w. do roku 1914*, Warsaw 1933, p. 105.

16 Roman Wapiński presents this issue differently. This historian, one of the foremost experts on the history of home-grown nationalism, claims that Dmowski's 1893 piece

principal player in these events, would later refer to his pamphlet in restrained tones as a youthful and somewhat immature piece.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, he maintained that these first years of *Przegląd* were a canvas for developing nationalist ideology.<sup>18</sup>

Furthermore, these pieces from *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, written in the heat of the moment and placed in the context of the time, by degrees formed a coherent, detailed ideological agenda. This agenda threw down a challenge to just about the whole of contemporary public opinion, since it was an attempt to revise not only Polish attitudes, dominated by an image of national history, but above all Poland's cultural heritage. As Bohdan Cywiński has written, the dramatic nature of Dmowski's ideological posture lay in abandoning respect for the individual and a feeling of unity with the human community in the name of patriotism and love for one's own country.<sup>19</sup> Let us be specific: of patriotism and nation defined according to one's own or perhaps communal convictions. This issue is all the more striking in that we are dealing with the collected thoughts of barely a few individuals, who if not exactly run-of-the-mill, were nonetheless on the margins

---

entitled *Nasz patriotyzm* could be considered the first manifesto of Polish nationalism in the version later developed by the ND. In one of his works he writes: 'We can find in this pamphlet in embryonic form the new camp's whole basic ideological/political canon, only formalized over the next few years.' *Roman Dmowski. Wybór pism*, edited by R. Wapiński, Warsaw 1990, p. 11. It is worth emphasizing that this anonymously-published document, which was not insignificant, was distinguished from earlier pronouncements by the LP, the LN's precursor, by a rhetorical dimension and a different tone, but not only could any LP member sign up to the brochure, but PPS supporters too. Dmowski's contemporaries also read this piece similarly. See W. Feldman, *Dzieje polskiej myśli politycznej...*, p. 115; S.G. [S. Grabski], 'Nasz patryotyzm. Podstawy programu współczesnej polityki narodowej', *Przedświt*, Berlin, October 1893, no. 10, pp. 22–23. See too an interesting comparison of Dmowski's manifesto with earlier LP pronouncements, which have been presented by N. Bończa-Tomaszewski, in *Demokratyczna geneza nacjonalizmu. Intelktualne korzenie ruchu narodowo-demokratycznego*, Warsaw 2001, pp. 189–206.

- 17 He recalled: 'Alongside the organization's 1893 reform, there appeared an (illegal) pamphlet written by Dmowski entitled *Nasz patriotyzm* in which the author in still rather a juvenile way described the national camp's tasks in Poland: 'Relacja Romana Dmowskiego o Lidze Narodowej', edited by A. Garlicki, *Przegląd Historyczny*, 57, 1966, vol. 3, p. 442.
- 18 See R. Dmowski, *Nasze dziesięciolecie*, in *Narodowa Demokracja. Antologia myśli politycznej „Przeglądu Wszechpolskiego”*, edited by B. Toruńczyk, London 1983, p. 215.
- 19 See B. Cywiński, 'Romana Dmowskiego żywot i sprawy', *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 15 X 1972, no. 42, p. 5.



of public life of the day – individuals who initially were not supported by a single voice of any significant segment of public opinion, or by any state mechanism, let alone the kind of propaganda possibilities which only the 20<sup>th</sup> century would develop.

It is worth recalling that the agenda of Dmowski and his ideological colleagues was adopted not through ideological indoctrination, but by way of conscious, often dramatic (individual or group) choices. In the first half of the 1890s there was little to indicate that the ideological approach proposed by the editor of the Lwów, later Kraków *Przegląd*, an emigrant and vagrant, would become key, if only for the new movement, which, it should be noted, consisted of just a few dozen, later a few hundred people. Furthermore, it was hard to foresee that this approach would define the shape and later incarnation of Polish nationalism. Dmowski's proposals won the day, when they demonstrated their effectiveness and adaptability, but their success was not preordained.<sup>20</sup>

Finally, this journalism – like Dmowski's later writings – proved starkly that specific recommendations, and even doctrine or political thinking, were rooted in axiological choices. Out of these disparate, often summary texts the shape emerged of an intellectual-cum-ideologue, for whom public activity was the path to realizing his own convictions.

The first practical task for the new group forming around Dmowski was that of assembling around the paper's activists, whom the Kiliński disaster had scattered, above all the student community from the Kingdom. These efforts led to gathering in the paper's orbit a group of several, sometimes over a dozen writers who first of all filled up *Przegląd Wszechpolski* with their material for the next decade and secondly created the framework of an organizationally and ideologically flourishing movement.<sup>21</sup> A great many contemporaries (including those from opposing camps) saw this early cadre of Dmowski supporters as a kind of sect and this apparently partisan point of view was not really an exaggeration.<sup>22</sup>

---

20 See A. Walicki, *Słowo wstępne*, in *Idee i koncepcje narodu w polskiej myśli politycznej czasów porozbiorowych*, J. Goćkowski, A. Walicki (eds.), Warsaw 1977, p. 17.

21 See Z. Dębicki, *Grzechy młodości*, Warsaw 1923, p. 98. Dmowski conducted a reconstruction of the history of *Przegląd Wszechpolski* in one of his textbook articles: Narodowiec [R. Dmowski], 'W naszym obozie. Listy do przyjaciół politycznych, IX', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, September 1901, no. 9, p. 530.

22 See E. Piltz, *Nasze stronnictwa skrajne, przez Scriptora*, Kraków 1903; id., *Nasze stronnictwa skrajne*, in *Narodowa Demokracja. Antologia...*, p. 259 and note. See too J. Klaczko, 'Konspiracje i jawne działanie', *Przegląd Polski*, 144, April 1902, no. 430, vol. X, pp. 10–15; Wincenty Lutosławski, among others, wrote: "They always behaved like

None other than Zygmunt Balicki provided perhaps the best description in Polish journalism of the effect of secret groups on society. What most struck the writer, an excellent sociologist, was the mechanism for changing social attitudes inspired by small, often secret and underground, as well as dogmatic groups.<sup>23</sup> Dmowski himself wrote in letters to Zygmunt Miłkowski about the group's exceptional unity. One factor in this, he suggested, was conflict with the 'Galicianians', even eminent members of the League: 'Mr. Fr. [Franciszek Rawita-Gawroński, Miłkowski's son-in-law, a leading ND personality in Galicia] is a completely different kind of man in terms of the conditions here. Our strength is that we all trust one another and that we have no internal clashes of personal ambition, no rivalry between people, no seeking of honours, jealousy and so on. Brought up on collective work and in collective danger we live in a compound, as it were, with brotherly love, respecting one another, and trusting one another.'<sup>24</sup>

Dmowski's journalism from the second half of the 1890s was perhaps the strongest expression of this strenuous desire which had arisen in patriotic circles both in Poland and abroad, to focus the pro-independence circles' aspirations of the day into one place and to turn them into a joint model of practical behaviour. The conviction of the need to form a sort of national government was a strong component of pro-independence circles of all kinds right from the very beginning. Leaving aside the agenda that the ND finally worked out, this conviction defined the tactics of a great many pro-independence circles at the turn of the century.

The practical expression of assimilating these two premises, and thus of a desire to combine the patriotic groups under a single leadership and provide them with an idealistic agenda, was the working out of a broad political platform. Initially, a common link for all the circles was the battle against conciliation. The

---

conspirators, who do not flinch from violence not only towards a foreign and enemy government but also towards their own society. W. Lutosławski, *Jeden latwy żywot...*, p. 242.

- 23 See Dr. Z. Balicki, 'Psychologia sekt I', *Głos*, 7 (19) III 1898, no. 12, pp. 267–272; id., 'Psychologia sekt II', *Głos*, 14 (26) III 1898, no. 13, pp. 292–296; id., 'Psychologia sekt III', *Głos*, 28 III (9 IV) 1898, no. 15, pp. 340–345. The piece also stands out as a practical manual for small ideological groups trying to foist opinions dear to them onto society. See too Z.B. [Z. Balicki], 'rec. z Scipio Sighele, Psychologie des sectes', *Kwartalnik Naukowo-Polityczny i Społeczny*, 1<sup>st</sup> quarter, 1898, vol. 1, pp. 134–145.
- 24 Roman Dmowski to Zygmunt Miłkowski, 7 VI 1903, in M. Kułakowski, *Roman Dmowski...*, vol. 1, p. 253. See too Z. Dębicki, *Iskry w popiołach. Wspomnienia lwowskie. „Grzechów młodości” część druga*, Poznań 1930, ch. 'Nasza kolonia', pp. 175–201.

overwhelming majority of contributions to *Przegląd* in the early years dealt with the notion of combatting any kind of loyalty towards the partitioning powers.

This tactic admittedly obscured at the time any strategy. Rather, current activities defined the directions for development during the League's initial years. *Przegląd's* output, strongly grounded in the present, tried to trivialize the fact that in wide swathes of society the idea of conciliation was on the increase, its popularity down to the behaviour of specific circles or certain individuals in public life. Together with the appearance of an informal conciliation camp, which from the early 1880s had been supported by the St. Petersburg *Kraj*, this was not a particularly onerous task. Indeed, with time it turned out that successive slogans to galvanize patriotic opinion, the ones that the nationalist *Przegląd* resorted to, were falling on barren soil, while the public response to these calls was insignificant if not non-existent.

The call for a national government was in turn also a practical concept. It arose from specific political experience and it did not have to arouse opposition at once as a matter of principle. For some pro-independence activists, especially those from émigré groups, this could mean association with the legacy of the January Uprising.<sup>25</sup> For former pupils of the Apukhtin school it was natural to include this idea in the orbit of patriotic discourse. But also among activists in Poland, as well as those for whom Dmowski's coup of 1893 had not been to their liking at all and who found themselves in the LN, the demand for a single command centre could seem sensible and defensible. In the initial phase, *Przegląd Wszepolski* willingly turned to these national, patriotic, but also generally democratic references.

It should also be recalled that the new League had arisen on somewhat different ground. Dmowski's and Balicki's 'April' coup had been not just a change in the leadership and a shift in the decision-making from abroad to Poland. Unlike the democratic, open formula of the late-eighties, the new April 1893 Constitution of the National League was to a significant extent the by-laws for the leadership group. The first article of the unofficial constitution is worth quoting: "The National League Organization is based on the principle of strict centralization, which consists of lower levels showing unquestioning obedience towards higher ones."<sup>26</sup>

---

25 On the role of memory of the January Uprising among pro-independence élites see A. Walicki, 'Ideologia narodowa powstania styczniowego, (1)', *Przegląd*, 19 I 2003, no. 3 (160), pp. 50–52; id., 'Ideologia narodowa powstania styczniowego, (2)', *Przegląd*, 26 I 2003, no. 4 (161), pp. 47–55.

26 *Ustawa Ligi Narodowej z dnia 1 kwietnia 1893 r.*, p. 212, in S. Kozicki, *Historia Ligi Narodowej (Okres 1887–1907)*, London 1964, p. 423.

The chronicler of the nationalist movement admitted later that the LP had been a Masonic creation, proof of which is lacking. One can without hesitation accept that the new organization arose as a body from authoritarian soil.<sup>27</sup> Further reforms only strengthened this model. In the organization's first few months of operations, Dmowski himself carried out the admission of new members to the LN. Since there was no institutional continuity between the two organizations, the League's unofficial leader had practically unlimited authority. Another matter is that columnists linked to the League quickly began to give new meanings to old slogans and to develop their ideological interpretation, one differing in tone from those that had earlier prevailed.

If in the dust up with the conciliatory stance Dmowski's position was rhetorically clear-cut, in point of fact this approach did not distinguish the leader's position from that of other League columnists. Already as an involved student activist, Dmowski had put some extensive service under his belt in this area, and reviling the loyalist approach to the partitioning powers was a continuation of his youthful activities.

In the League's first operational phase this gauntlet thrown down to conciliation was likewise a challenge to a not inconsiderable segment of public opinion. If only by the threat of a patriotic boycott the loyalist position was not always clearly expressed, the death of intelligentsia radicalism by the mid-nineties in the Kingdom indicated that the phenomenon of so-called conciliation and its acceptance by society might have deeper social roots.

The first effective slogan to come out of the reaction to conciliation was the 'All-Polish' platform, in other words, opposing the politics of conciliation with the principle of links between all three partitions, as well as national political unity. In line with this approach, a modern, strong community with political ambitions should have a single set of national policies. This argument was the practical expression of another demand, which has already been mentioned: namely, the idea of organizing public opinion under the direction of a single centre. This idea found its ultimate meaning in the project of regaining independence, as a result of active politics. This was a response to the minimalism of conciliatory circles, which were ready to abandon pro-independence aspirations: that is, in the case of the Russians, in favour of a liberally interpreted Slav community, or the

---

27 See S. Kozicki, 'Liga Narodowa i wolnomularstwo', *Zeszyty Historyczne*, 2002, no. 141, pp. 78–85. Cf. too A. Tyszkiewicz, *O „Historii Ligi Narodowej” Stanisława Kozickiego*, *Ibid.*, pp. 75–77; S. Surzycki, 'List do redakcji Niepodległości', *Niepodległość*, 5, 1932, vol. 2 (10), pp. 318–319; L.W. [L. Wasilewski], 'Jeszcze do historii Ligi Narodowej', *Niepodległość*, 2, 1930, vol. 2 (4), pp. 366–368.

Poles' participation in Habsburg politics. This second offer could, in the opinion of many, lead to turning Austria-Hungary into a tri-partite Habsburg state. This was an attractive idea and not just for Galician conservatives.<sup>28</sup>

In the case of the Prussian Partition, combatting tri-loyalty meant, on the one hand, a critique of behaviour calling for an acceptance of the status quo while, on the other, combatting any attempts whatsoever to achieve a political understanding with the Prussian authorities. Although this might seem paradoxical, it should be noted that this 'All-Polish lesson' took the longest to adopt in this last region, but it took root the most deeply. This meant in practice overturning the effects of assimilation by fighting against Russification and Germanization, and in the Austrian Partition continually emphasizing the separate identity of Polish interests within the sphere of Austro-Hungarian politics.

Dmowski's heavily-emphasized input into this anti-conciliatory current was a consistent reminder that each of the partitioning powers was applying 'national', i.e. nationalist policies, and that combatting Polish aspirations had been, was, and would be a constant element in their national strategy. In this view of things there was also a conviction that it was illusory to imagine that these countries had some kind of dynastic, or, as the socialists put it, class interests separate from those of the democratic opinion of 'the people', which were supposedly supportive of the Poles. This approach was also accepted by a good number of pro-independence circles. Dmowski, together with Popławski, unlike some of the Leaguers from the older generation (e.g., T.T. Jeż), pointed out that there was only one Russian or German set of policies towards the Poles. It is not out of place to point out that this 'nationalistic' projection – although in many cases based on observation of the partitioning powers' actual policies – represented the first symptom of future divisions within the League.

This line of reasoning, finding solid justification in the Russian and Prussian Partitions, was less effective on Galician territory, where LN columnists focused on emphasizing the difference of Polish interests in the area of culture.

As Barbara Toruńczyk rightly points out, on political grounds the polemic with tri-loyalty can be reduced to two arguments.<sup>29</sup> The first stated that the conciliatory camp's minimalism, including its abandonment of the idea of its own

---

28 See M. Janowski, *Inteligencja wobec wyzwań nowoczesności. Dylematy ideowe polskiej demokracji liberalnej w Galicji w latach 1889–1914*, Warsaw 1996, esp. sub-chapter: 'Niepodległość Polski i stosunek do Austrii', pp. 41–43.

29 B. Toruńczyk, *Mysł polityczna i ideologia polityczna Narodowej Demokracji*, in *Narodowa Demokracja. Antologia myśli politycznej „Przeglądu Wszehpolskiego”*, edited by B. Toruńczyk, London 1983, p. 10. See too A. Walicki, *Trzy patriotyzmy*, in id., *Polskie*

country, was the result of underestimating the worth of one's own nation. This was a nationalist argument, in the strict sense of the word. The League's publicists emphasized that a nation with as much civilizational potential as the Poles ought to aspire to tasks with a national element to them. Abandoning national independence meant for the commonwealth of Poles something more than apostasy in the traditional sense, since, as he argued, remaining a subordinate nation was impossible in the long run. The nationalists' criticism of the conciliatory camp had a special significance when arguments about the possibility of the nation's destruction were brought in. According to this view, nations lacking in political aspirations were destined to be ground down by the wheels of history. They became mulch, 'racial material' or, as Dmowski put it bluntly elsewhere, 'a compost heap' destined for the building of new nations and civilizations.

There was as yet nothing new in this biological approach. The division into historic and not historic nations, into nations with and without a tradition of statehood – and so in fact at the crossroads of history – was also strong in left-wing tradition, if only in Marx and Engels. In the latter this division contained several aspects of determinism.

The loyalists' other mistake, in the light of this kind of thinking, was equally not insignificant. But, as Barbara Toruńczyk states, it was something more than just a political accusation. The National Democrats accused the conciliatory camp of offering loyalty to the ruling dynasties, and that thereby they were immediately admitting defeat. By disarming their own people through backing down the conciliators appeared to believe that they would win concessions, encouraging the Russian Empire to be accommodating. At the root of this conviction lay, however, a deeper axiological idea. The league's publicists, above all Popławski and Dmowski, argued that only real power could become a factor and force in politics. This power could come from the gun (Popławski's strongest theme), however *Przegląd Wszechpolski's* ideologues quickly moved on from such an approach in favour of the idea of effectively 'managed' public opinion. This motif would continue to return ever more strongly.

In other words, the conciliatory camp – although proud of its connections at court – did not understand 'real politics', and had not grasped the principles of politics as such. The partitioning powers' indecisive policies towards the Poles proved that the nationalists' thinking was not necessarily off the mark, while successive nationalist changes in Russia's and Germany's policies appeared to confirm

---

*zmagania z wolnością. Widziane z boku*, Kraków 2000, sub-chapter 4: 'Dylematy realizmu politycznego i dziedzictwo endecji', pp. 257–269.

this line of thought. This approach excluded the Poles in principle from getting embroiled in any international treaties. Dmowski, now as the Kiliński Revolt's ideologue, laughed at faith in help from the West in these regional differences, in which the Polish stake was to go back on the table. At the time, these arguments had above all a strongly anti-bourgeois and democratic tinge.<sup>30</sup>

Insofar as this first line of reasoning united pro-independence groups for the national democrats, the second line was aimed above all at those groups for whom the end of conciliation created a certain ideological vacuum. It was in this showdown with the so-called conciliatory camp, in reality in most cases home-grown conservatives, and against the background of developing nationalist ideology, that Dmowski's originality became apparent.

This ideological evolution turned the student activist of the 1890s into the ideologue of the 'law and order party' at the time of the 1905 revolution, later the leading light of the Polish right, or as he called himself – the one true conservative in Poland.<sup>31</sup> Of course, this was not conservatism in the traditional sense. Dmowski doggedly conducted ideological warfare against home-grown conservatives. In fact, it is doubtful whether we can call this approach – combining elements of traditional right-wing and left-wing ideas – conservatism. Sticking to Dmowski's words, we ought to speak of a 'new conservatism', or also of a 'new democracy', i.e., of a new ideological agenda, which – by applying radical means – was supposed to lead to the accomplishment of long-range conservative goals.<sup>32</sup> Simplifying, this

---

30 See [R. Dmowski], *Nasz patriotyzm*, Berlin 1893; id., *Po manifestacji 17-go kwietnia*, Kraków 1894. Cf. id., *Walka czy ugoda*, Kraków 1894.

31 M.P. [M. Pruszyński], 'Rozmowa „Polityki” z R. Dmowskim. Z cyklu wywiadów tygodnika „Polityka”', *Polityka*, 6 VIII 1939, no. 24, p. 2. See too M. Pruszyński, *Migawki wspomnień*, Warsaw 2002, p. 84.

32 See M. Blinkhorn, *Introduction. Allies, Rivals, or Antagonists? Fascists and Conservatives in Modern Europe?*, in *Fascists and Conservatives*, M. Blinkhorn (ed.), Boston, Sydney, Wellington 1990, pp. 1–13; G. Eley, *Conservatives and Radical Nationalists in Germany; the Production of Fascist Potentials, 1912–1928*, *Ibid.*, pp. 50–70; Z. Sternhell, 'Fascism: Reflections on the Fate of Ideas in Twentieth-century History', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, vol. 5, June 2000, no. 5, pp. 139–162; E. Weber, 'Fascism(s) and Some Harbingers', *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 54, December 1982, no. 4, pp. 746–763; id., *Revolution? Counter-revolution? What Revolution?*, in *Fascism: A Reader's Guide Analyses, Interpretations, Bibliography*, W. Laqueur (ed.), London 1979, p. 488; S.G. Payne, *Fascism, Comparison and Definition*, Madison 1980, ch. 2: 'Some Historical Antecedents of Authoritarian Nationalism in Europe', pp. 22–41; R. Matyja, 'Czy Narodowa Demokracja była formacją konserwatywną', *Kwartalnik Konserwatywny*, Autumn-Winter 1998, no. 4, pp. 136–146.

approach can be defined as right-wing nationalist radicalism. The chronological parameters of this work prevent a detailed examination of this phenomenon: hence, I shall restrict myself to indicating its outlines.

The social base from which both *Przegląd's* Lwów circles, as well as the LN's were emerging, was in the initial stages, in terms of the thinking of the day, democratic. The League and its ideologues continued to be embroiled in an argument of principle with the conservative camp also on political grounds. The *Głos* group, one of whose leading personalities – Jan Ludwik Popławski – also became a key ideologue of the forming nationalist movement, was radically democratic.

During the partitions the conservative approach had in the majority of cases led to the conciliatory camp.<sup>33</sup> In conditions with a functioning Polish élite, participation in public life meant either accepting a loyalist approach, or the exact opposite – involvement in the pro-independence movement, which in the nature of things was anti-establishment.<sup>34</sup> Breaking down this antinomy could be achieved either through national apostasy, or as the result of an individual 180-degree turn.

In terms of ideas stretching back to the traditions of the French Revolution, being simultaneously a conservative and a progressive (in Polish conditions conservative and pro-independence) was something of a contradiction. Exceptions to this (above all the phenomenon of the Hotel Lambert) prove the rule.<sup>35</sup> Right-wing radicalism was an attempt to overcome this rift, and in Polish conditions also a significant voice in the debate on the condition of home-grown Polish modernity.

Dmowski's agenda right from the start carried the hallmarks of authoritarianism. Certain personal experiences had inclined the writer to such solutions. Already as a teenager Dmowski had shown signs of exceptional leadership.

These charismatic attributes came to the fore when Dmowski entered university, when within the space of two years he had progressed from an ordinary student to a board member of the Warsaw ZET group. Stanisław Grabski, at the

---

33 This issue is comprehensively treated by M. Król, *Konserwatyści a niepodległość. Studia nad polską myślą konserwatywną XIX wieku*, Warsaw 1985. See too W. Karpiński, *Idee narodu w polskiej myśli konserwatywnej po powstaniu styczniowym*, w: *Idee i koncepcje narodu...*, pp. 201–219, 136–152.

34 This theme is developed by B.A. Porter, *When Nationalism Began to Hate. Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth-Century Poland*, New York 2000, esp. the chapter: 'The Revolutionary Nation', pp. 29–37.

35 Somewhat differently M. Król, *Konserwatyści a niepodległość...*, pp. 258–267 and 268–275. See too id., 'Osobowość radykalna (Józef Kalasanty Szaniawski: polski jakobin i konserwatysta)', *Fakt. Tygodnik Idei*, 8 VI 2005, no. 23 (62), pp. 8–9.



time a member of the ZRP, recalled a clash with Dmowski as a student: 'Dmowski gave me such an unexpected reply that I have never forgotten it. "To have a successful uprising and in order to attract the popular masses to it you don't need policies, but leaders. Have a hundred people like me, and the whole nation together with its peasants and workers will be in the mood for a real fight."<sup>36</sup>

In Dmowski's early choices we can see the dilemmas which the young Polish intelligentsia of the 1890s faced: on the one hand, sensing the fall of the old social order, indeed the end of an old world; and on the other aware that a creative individual could organize a new world by an act of will. These two premises found their crowning achievement in a new élitism, i.e., in the idea of the need for mankind to be reborn through the creation of a new man, which found its most powerful justification in the words of Guyau and then Nietzsche. These threads taken together – reinforced by the crisis of industrial society and an accompanying vision of its degeneration – led the thinking of a great many intellectuals to a very practical conclusion. One of these conclusions was the creation and development of eugenic currents or – somewhat toned down – plans for new social policies.

This new élitism did not always have to lead its supporters into the right-wing camp. It suffices merely to look at the careers of one or two of Dmowski's first-class contemporaries. Elitism 'barely' led the independent thinkers Cezary Jellenta and Antoni Lange (although close to the progressive camp) to formulating a literary apologia for heroic action. Faith in new heroes led the student radicals from the turn of the 80s and 90s Józef Kiliński and Mieczysław Golberg (actually Goldberg, an admirer of the early Maurice Barrès and the 'cult of the self') towards anarchism and later attracted them to socialism. Golberg, earlier a prolific contributor to *Głos*, perceived the weakness of anarchism during the Dreyfus Affair (in Paris he edited *Sur le Trimard*, which was, as the editors announced, an organ of the unemployed and a paper involved in defending Captain Dreyfus), when he recognized (as did many others) that a free person's creativity can be saved only by a progressive movement based on real power – the working class. At the time he was also linked with the French avant-garde (including Guillaume Apollinaire, Alfred Jarry), which was gaining renown in the French literary world.<sup>37</sup>

---

36 S. Grabski, *Pamiętniki*, vol. 1, prepared for publication by W. Stankiewicz, Warsaw 1989, p. 60.

37 See P. Aubery, 'Mécislas Golberg, anarchiste', *Le Mouvement Social*, no. 52, July-September 1965, pp. 97–109; F. Tych, *Mieczysław Golberg* (biographical entry), in *Słownik biograficzny działaczy polskiego ruchu robotniczego*, vol. 2, F. Tych (ed.), Warsaw 1987, pp. 280–282. Mieczysław Goldberg, unlike his brother Adolf (also an

It was the conviction of the key role of the individual in society as a causative factor in history which led Augustyn Wróblewski and Wincenty Lutosławski – each coming from different circles – to create a sect promoting moderation in life's shallow pleasures, as they jointly would put it. Their place would be taken by an ethical rebirth, in Lutosławski's case linked to a vision of the nation's moral regeneration. According to this line of reasoning, only prophets, or those behaving like them, could reform a rotten, unjust world. The connection of élitism with biologism led some representatives of the crisis to opposing ideological pastures. *Czystość*, a paper of progressive abolitionists, edited in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by Wróblewski, was already promoting home-grown eugenics. In later years Wróblewski became involved in the anarchist movement.<sup>38</sup>

A fascination in developments in the natural sciences, along with reading Nietzsche, led Zofia Daszyńska to the idea of breeding 'a new man', and her friend, also a 'Kiliński-ite', the Polish feminist Maria Wiśniewska (Maria Turzyma) 'only' to a Christological vision of the reborn 'new woman'.

Turzyma, although linked to the socialist section of the women's movement, even wrote a tendentious play entitled *Cudzoziemiec* (*The Foreigner*), whose protagonist – a young engineer from the Kingdom, a *porte-parole* for the radical intelligentsia – propounds the idea of the regeneration of society by bringing the 'new man' to life. He experiences a defeat when he is rejected by the conservative Galician provinces.<sup>39</sup> In Turzyma's presentation, it appears that space for the existence of the 'new man' was to appear together with the triumph of the socialist idea, enriched however by elements of other ideologies. The women's movement in fact frequently referred to the new élitism which acknowledged that educational work with children ought to create conditions for the development of the 'new woman'; hence it emphasized the spread of new teaching methods. The intellectual patron

---

extraordinary individual) also in later life used the name Golberg. It was with this name that he signed articles in the French press.

38 See M. Śliwa, 'Syndykalizm i anarchizm Augustyna Wróblewskiego', *Rocznik Naukowo-Dydaktyczny. Prace Ekonomiczno-Społeczne*, 4, 1985, vol. 99, pp. 43–77. See too J. Salwiński, 'Krakowscy anarchosyndykaliści Augustyna Wróblewskiego', *Studia Historyczne*, 30, 1991, vol. 2, pp. 248–260.

39 See M. Turzyma [M. Wiśniewska], *Cudzoziemiec*. A satire in 4 acts (against a backdrop of Galician conditions). A song of rebirth. A dramatic novella. 1896 in *Archiwum rodzinne i redakcyjne Adama Wiślickiego*, ABP m.st. Warszawy, Akc. 359, III 328.

of this teaching was the English social activist Ellen Key, whom Iza Moszczyńska consistently promoted in the Polish lands.<sup>40</sup>

In this context it is worth recalling that several decades later, after the 1926 coup, Daszyńska – by then an eminent social activist – threw in her lot with Józef Piłsudski's administrations, acknowledging that only men of action, providential people could save the country.<sup>41</sup>

The discovery of the importance of the independent individual in modern society first of all turned Edward Abramowski – the most charismatic personality in the left-wing faction of the radical movement of the 1880s and 90s – away from Marxism and then led him to the idea of 'bringing ethics' into society. In the view of this sociologist and social theoretician, a comprehensive regeneration of society was to be preceded by a spiritual transformation accomplished by the individual. Authentic revolutions were played out – he argued – within individuals; however, in order for them to be achieved the individual had first to be turned into a 'great man'.<sup>42</sup>

The recognition of the role of élites confirmed Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz – who even as an ambitious schoolboy had been giving some thought to the role of eminent individuals in history ('I [...] then wanted to be quite exceptional, at least a Napoleon in my own way' – taken from his youthful correspondence) – in his conviction to devote energy to the needs of the working-class movement, as the driving-force in history.<sup>43</sup> In a letter to his fiancée Kelles-Krauz was more specific: 'Let us both agree that we do not need to seek extraordinary people, that it is enough to be ordinary in the avant-garde...' Other dilemmas, probably typical of any idealistic non-conformist, accompanied contenting oneself

---

40 See C. Arni, 'Simultaneous Love: An Argument on Love, Modernity and the Feminist Subject at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century', *European Review of History – Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, vol. 11, Summer 2004, no. 2, pp. 185–205.

41 See *W poczuciu obowiązku obywatelskiego*. An interview with Senator Dr. Z. Daszyńska-Golińska conducted by H. Ceysinger, *Kobieta Współczesna*, 17 VI 1928, no. 25, p. 4.

42 See R. Paradowski, *Światopogląd Edwarda Abramowskiego*, Warsaw 1996; M. Augustyniak, *Mysł społeczno-filozoficzna Edwarda Abramowskiego*, Olsztyn 2006.

43 K. Kelles-Krauz, *Listy*, t. 1: 1890–1897, F. Tych (ed.), Wrocław 1984, p. 268, to Maria Goldsteyn in Warsaw, Paris 4 V 1893. Presenting the theme of the 'genius-fanatic' in the work of one of the most eminent Polish socialist theoreticians of the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries would require detailed research. Elsewhere Kelles-Krauz recalls, for instance, work on a manuscript in which he uses Pope Gregory VII as an ethical model. Although the writer completed the study, it was never published and remains in manuscript form. *Ibid.*, p. 150, to Maria Goldsteyn in Radom, Roselands, Walmer 19 IV 1892.

with 'radically-perceived normality'. Krauz then added: 'Another fear then again grips me continually: what if we are unable to maintain ourselves at this level, what if we slip back into the grey ranks of real, everyday mediocrity? After all, life pushes us in that direction with its material demands [...]. That would be a dreadfully shabby ending.'<sup>44</sup>

This generation also saw the arrival of individuals in whose biographies some of the ideological moments of the breakthrough came together. Brought up in a Polish patriotic atmosphere (although abroad in Graz, Austria), Władysław Gumpłowicz (born 1869), the son of the eminent sociologist Ludwik Gumpłowicz, like most of his contemporaries had his youthful ideological initiation as a radical progressive, only to return to the bosom of home-grown socialism by way of a fascination with anarchism (including reading *Elisée Reclus*). As a socialist he visited on numerous occasions the anarchist phalansteries in England. By now a supporter of 'socialist ethics' and a promoter of reformism, Gumpłowicz became one of the most eminent ideologues of the more moderate wing of the PPS, an exponent of Darwin, and an active member of temperance movements (he used the pseudonym *Anty-Al.-Koholik*), as well as advocating the need for a eugenic renewal of society. In this instance the generational revolt and the anti-positivist breakthrough took place within a single family.

Władysław's father, Ludwik, a social Darwinian, whose vision of history brought to mind the natural order with a violent antagonism between specific social groups (which he called races, although this was a relatively 'soft' use of the term) as a law of nature, encountered in his son a proponent of breaking down this naturalist determinism. In his son's view, although the principle of a 'struggle of the races' as an assassination group in history does not always allow itself simply to be marginalized, its efforts should be radically limited in favour of an altruistic community, in which the conflict rending society will vanish into oblivion.

Another student radical of the 90s, Jan Waclaw Machajski, a fiery speaker at underground 'nationalist' meetings, later a member of the ZET and the LP and a friend of Żeromski, after disillusionment with, as he admits, the undemocratic character of the Polish pro-independence movement, became involved in the creation of anarchist/syndicalist communes. In the spirit of his ideas the rebirth of the individual was to be achieved by way of a social revolution, preceded by the separation of the working-class movement from the intelligentsia. For this latter group (as a remnant of the degenerate gentry) was attempting to appropriate the democratic movements with the aim of gaining for itself a leading place in

---

44 *Ibid.*, p. 268, to Maria Goldsteyn in Warsaw, Paris 4 V 1893.

society. A healthy society, in order to develop the full potential of its own creativity, ought to divest itself of the anachronism of former social groups, eliminate the degenerate thinking classes and develop a new man from scratch. Ruled by internal 'instincts', the working class would mature on its own to such awareness, thought Machajski.<sup>45</sup>

Amongst these solutions Dmowski's road was separate, although not as original as might appear at first glance. One of the spiritual guides of his youth, Le Bon, invoking anthropological sciences, not only proved the legitimacy of segregating society along racial lines, but also undermined the equality of civil rights within the framework of these same racial types. As early as the 1890s, Dmowski had been tackling this issue, not yet formulating unambiguous conclusions. These dilemmas of a student radical at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, reinforced in the case of the leader of the 'patriots' by personal antipathies, returned in full force with the disaster of the Kiliński Revolt. One of the first practical lessons, which Dmowski's circle drew from these experiences was, let us recall, the conviction of the necessity to 'organize' and discipline opinion under the leadership of 'men of action.'<sup>46</sup>

Dmowski's early fascination with the creation of great empires, which he acknowledged as the nation state's culmination, inclined him to authoritarian conclusions. These youthful interests took on a new dimension with the adoption of social Darwinism, which led the writer to formulate a simple, but at the same time also brutal and practical alternative. Either a strong polity would arise grounded in lasting and stable foundations, or this temporary society would be threatened with extinction. There was no other way. The adoption of compromise solutions would mean stagnation and a state of helpless impermanence.

In line with this approach, a vacuum could exist neither in nature, nor in human societies. In its genesis this view contained a vision of the fall and extermination of the weak and ill-adapted, a notion that degeneration and crisis were the fate of

---

45 See A.A. Kamiński, 'Socjalizm jako wymysł inteligencji. O życiu i poglądach Jana Wacława Machajskiego', *Prace Naukowe Akademii Ekonomicznej we Wrocławiu, Nauki Humanistyczne*, 2003, no. 8, pp. 48–71; P. D'Agostino, 'Intelligentsia Socialism and the 'Workers' Revolution. The Views of J.M. Machajski', *International Review of Social History*, vol. 14, part 1, 1969, pp. 54–89; M. Zahorska, *Inteligencja w poglądach Jana Wacława Machajskiego*, in *Inteligencja polska XIX i XX w....*, pp. 164–184.

46 B.A. Porter in his brilliant, although not always convincing studies in 'Democracy and Discipline in Late Nineteenth-Century Poland', *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 71, July 1999, no. 2, pp. 346–393, emphasizes the meaning of these 'disciplinary' experiences for the whole generation; id., *When Nationalism Began to Hate...*, ch. 6: 'Organization', pp. 135–156.

societies that were not strong enough, as well as a specific racial philosophy of history. Hence from the very start this led its author to extreme conclusions. To these returning issues were also added the dilemmas and problems typical for the *fin de siècle* climate. Radical worldviews often brought in their train extreme practical solutions.

In addition to all of this, Dmowski, a participant in the pro-independence underground movement of the turn of the 80s and 90s, wanted to be modern and thus remain on the cusp of current criteria of progressive thought, i.e., the political activation of the masses and of social reform, which he – like the majority of his ideological comrades – saw as obvious. As the basis of this modernity he recognized too the requirements of national solidarity, in line with which a polity represents unity. Thus, reforms violating this solidarity to any significant degree were utopian or – at the very least – simply stupid.

The idea of class peace, strongly emphasized in conservative thought as well as in ‘patriotic’ circles, was recognized as a great value. In the early stages this was one of the few points of contact between the two approaches: conservative and budding nationalist.

These purely political dilemmas led to comprehensive solutions. In turn, world-view problems often faced non-conformist youth with practical, as well as political, issues. If power alone decides the shape of nature, as well as human society, where is it to be drawn from? From what sources should its legality be extracted? As a rule it was assumed that brute force was not a decisive factor. Criticism of Polish chauvinism, a home-grown version of Hakatism [*Deutscher Ostmarkenverein*, also known acronymically as *Hakata* or *H-K-T* after its founders Ferdinand von Hanseemann, Hermann Kennemann and Heinrich von Tiedemann], and so an aggressive version of national xenophobia overlaid with ideology which in time appeared among critics of the ND, was appropriate here, but did not exhaust the phenomenon’s complexity. It would not be out of place to recall that Dmowski already at this time was not denying the title of Polish chauvinist. Incidentally, two other leading League ideologues were doing the same.<sup>47</sup>

---

47 See Cajus [I.L. Popławski], ‘Kilka słów o naszej myśli politycznej. Pogadanka warszawska,’ *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 1 III 1897, no. 5, p. 103 and note; Diego [R. Dmowski], ‘Na niwach i ugorach,’ *Słowo Polskie*, 12 XII 1903, no. 580, p. 1. The leader of the ND was able to maintain an ironic distance from his views. He wrote in one of his letters: ‘A vague presentiment tells me that your son is to be named Tadeusz [...] I fear that people might suspect you of naming him after Kościuszko. For a national Pole something more stylish might be “Otto” (in honour of Bismarck).’ Roman Dmowski to Stefan Surzycki. 27 VIII 1903, BPAU, manuscript 7809, quotation from W. Bułhak, *Dmowski – Rosja*

For the generation which was coming of age in the mid-nineties, this moral legitimizing of the work of renewal of their societies could be introduced on the basis of an elevated idea, a concept, which changed the surrounding reality, taming it, or also – as others were to say – shaping it into a common, ‘socialized’ public space.<sup>48</sup> For a Polish proponent of social Darwinism, who simultaneously saw himself as an idealistic rebel, this issue – how to turn his own society into a national power, a realistic factor in the current world (known as a *de facto* community of predators) – was not trivial. After all, that is how Western civilization and the current world were perceived in this post-positivist generation.

Politics were here seen as a part of nature, the struggle of everyone against everyone, hence issues of life and death had been, were, and would be an existential experience. From these circumstances, our *Głos* contributor introduced the imperative to build an empire, for only empires, great civilizations, had the right to survive. Dmowski had no need to read the classic political tracts in order to acquire the basics of this knowledge. A conviction of the need to change the old world was one of the elements of generational experience.

For a great many Central-European intellectuals and theoreticians these kinds of impulses, decisive in the development of their own worldviews, came from the West. For the young Dmowski, just as for many of his contemporaries, nineteenth-century Britain was just such a subject of fascination. During his first visits to France at the start of the 90s, the amazement that he felt at the civilization of several European nations, he felt above all for England and France, but also for Prussia, which was continuing to grow in strength. Later their charm began to fade, while Dmowski himself, as his own views began to take shape, would use foreign examples more sparingly. However, we can hazard the hypothesis that contact with the West was for the leader of the new generation of ‘patriots’ a formative experience. However, not in the simple sense of the word, as many thought, i.e., of literal borrowings from foreign models or institutions.<sup>49</sup>

Dmowski, and together with him a group of activists from the younger ‘patriotic’ generation, saw in Great Britain not merely a repository of essentials in the form of institutions, from whose formation one could draw examples and

---

*a kwestia polska. U źródeł orientacji rosyjskiej obozu narodowego 1886–1908*, Warsaw 2000, p. 60.

48 See T. Snyder, *Nationalism, Marxism, and Modern Central Europe. A Biography of Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz (1862–1905)*, Cambridge Massachusetts 1997, p. 123.

49 For this argument in an expanded form see A.M. Fountain, *Roman Dmowski. Party, Tactics, Ideology 1895–1907*, Boulder and New York 1970, esp. ch. 4: ‘England and “New Poland”’ pp. 47–63.

which one could then copy, but rather the efficiently-working mechanisms of government and the organization of public life. For young people brought up in a pro-independence tradition, one of whose leading motifs was to find ways of connecting to the heritage of the First Polish Republic, Imperial Britain represented an example of a society, which had succeeded in rising to the challenges of its day; retaining all its earlier attributes from the past and turning them into even greater power. The strategy, which had failed the eighteenth-century élite, had to be a key reference point for many Polish thinkers. This influence of English models was multi-faceted and was not restricted to young people with 'nationalist' sympathies.

Britain was, for many left-wingers, also a substitute for modern society as such. The image of Great Britain, as opposed to decaying bourgeois-cum-decadent Europe (read: France), was powerful and became part of the 1880s generation's experience. Dmowski's observation that just about every 'Głos-ite' (apart from Popławski) read English willingly and in quantity was something more than a simple statement of fact. This recourse to English models was more or less a generational declaration.<sup>50</sup>

Dmowski's first visits to England belong to some of the most secretive phases of his political activities. It appears that no correspondence from that time has survived; correspondence that in terms of other periods represents a valuable addition to the writer's intensive journalism. Dmowski also more or less disappeared as a journalist at this time. He made his first visit to England in 1898, after handing over the editorship of *Przegląd Wszehpolski* to Jan Ludwik Popławski. He crossed the English Channel after one or two other foreign escapades. And yet, at this time there was a certain change in Dmowski's attitudes.

His friend from Lwów days, Zdzisław Dębicki, clearly recalled the moment: 'Dmowski returned from London only towards the autumn of that year, but he returned unrecognizable. He was now wearing an elegant English frock coat, a shining top hat in the latest fashion, gloves; in a word he looked the proper gentleman. Alongside this external change, there must also have been some internal ones. In addition to underground work, which linked us, he began to establish contact with Galician politicians, with whom he had longish conferences.'<sup>51</sup>

External changes brought with them a much more significant ideological transformation. What else did the League leader bring from Great Britain? Dmowski had not changed the essentials of his worldview, nor the outlines of the ideological

---

50 *Relacja Romana Dmowskiego...*, p. 418.

51 Z. Dębicki, *Iskry w popiołach...*, pp. 93–94.



agenda, which he had already presented in *Głos*. However, he did change his tactics and the League followed suit.

The first lesson was surely of a more general nature. During his European reconnaissance trips the editor of *Przegląd Wszechpolski* perceived that his thoughts coincided to a great extent with the views that he had observed abroad in kindred ideological currents. Marian Kiniorski, who had been with him on some of these trips, noticed immediately that Dmowski was quite well versed in Western European politics.<sup>52</sup> The leader of the young nationalists from the *Lwów Teka* recalled in similar fashion: 'He was interested in linking the stream of Polish nationalism to the French nationalists' well-developed currents and the mighty English party, formerly the Conservatives, [...] freshly rebranded as the Unionists.'<sup>53</sup>

Even as a leader of 'patriotic' youth Dmowski had wanted to be abreast of the trends of the age. He had always seen himself as a man on the cusp of progress, thus the experience of his European, and above all English trips seemed to confirm him in this conviction. *Przegląd's* leading ideologue also brought from England a certain model for a politician's conduct and a certain template for behaviour in public life. This was not in any event a case of passive imitation, but rather of 'affinity through choice'.

The ideal model for Dmowski was the English politician Joseph Chamberlain. In the world of Victorian England, of a hierarchical society, this eminent politician came from the people. As the son of a small businessman, he had had, to a certain extent, a similar start in life to Dmowski. In his youth, Chamberlain had been associated with the English liberals, later forming within the party the radical platform. By the standards of the day this was a democratic/progressive group embracing elements of *petty bourgeois* populism and located outside the British Establishment.<sup>54</sup> It was among the radicals that the most extreme antisemitic attitudes in English society were to be found.

---

52 M. Kiniorski, *Z czterdziestu pięciu lat wspomnień o Romanie Dmowskim*, Warsaw 1939, p. 12.

53 A. Plutyński, *Na Dębnikach...*, p. 12.

54 R. Shannon, *The Crisis of Imperialism 1865–1915*, St. Albans 1974, pp. 178–179. See too D. Judd, *Radical Joe. A Life of Joseph Chamberlain*, London 1977; P.T. Marsh, *Joseph Chamberlain. Entrepreneur in politics*, New Haven and London 1994. For the British politician's significance for the extreme right-wing see R. Thurlow, *Fascism in Britain. A History 1918–1985*, London 1987, p. 6 and note; W. Mock, *The Function of Race in Imperialist Ideology. The Example of Joseph Chamberlain*, in *Nationalist and Racialist Movements in Britain and Germany before 1914*, P.A. Kennedy and A. Nicholls (eds.), Oxford 1981, p. 193 and note. For Chamberlain's place in Britain's foreign policy see

Chamberlain, a Member of Parliament and an energetic mayor of Birmingham (1873–1875), came out with his new style of politics at the moment when, together with a number of MPs, he opposed in 1885 plans for Irish autonomy (Irish Home Rule). Later he began to move to the right towards chauvinistic British nationalism. As in the case of the majority of European right-wing radicals, so too the British Unionists (the Unionist Liberals) began their march to power and influence by calling into question, or undermining the rules of nineteenth-century liberal politics. In the 1890s Chamberlain became one of the more well-known spokesmen for British imperialism and, upon becoming Colonial Secretary in 1895, promoted an aggressive line in British politics.

His energy, although not based on any deeper reflection, became the prefiguration of right-wing British extremism. Starting in 1892, Chamberlain remained allied to the Tories, but he had much greater ambitions. He aimed to supplant the Conservatives' place and position in the whole right wing. Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century many commentators believed that he would win the battle for the souls of the right-wing electorate. In many ways Dmowski discovered in this British politician a kindred soul. That was how his close collaborators remembered him. Among Polish journalists at the turn of the century he became perhaps the most vociferous champion of European, including Polish imperialism.<sup>55</sup>

After settling in Kraków, Dmowski changed his lifestyle. The memoirists noted that, beginning in the mid-nineties, he renewed his contacts in gentry and aristocratic circles. Retaking the reins of *Przegląd Wszeczpolski* he wanted to turn it into an influential paper, introducing new sections (including a foreign one), changing the layout, and making the monthly similar to the British *Spectator*. When in

---

M. Leśniewski, *Miejsce południowej Afryki w kształtowaniu koncepcji polityki imperialnej Wielkiej Brytanii, 1899–1914*, Warsaw 2001, pp. 31–33.

55 See R. Dmowski, 'Polityka zagraniczna. Parę słów wstępu. Sprawa południowo-afrykańska', *Przegląd Wszeczpolski*, January 1902, no. 1, pp. 45–51; id., 'Polityka zagraniczna. Niemcy – ich polityka ekspansywna i stosunek do mocarstw', *Przegląd Wszeczpolski*, May 1902, no. 5, pp. 125–133; R. Skrzycki, 'Szowinizm', *Przegląd Wszeczpolski*, October 1903, no. 10, pp. 805–815. See too M. Leśniewski, *Wojna burska (1899–1902). Geneza, przebieg i uwarunkowania międzynarodowe*, Warsaw 1996, p. 245. Typical was Stanisław Krzemiński's view, giving his first reaction to reading *Mysł nowoczesnego Polaka*: 'At the time [...] Dmowski's imperialist maxims did not frighten off people [...] and could preserve his fresh, still raw understanding of the workings of parties in America and England as an untouched field of Polish ideas', S. Krzemiński to K. Lewakowski, 12 February 1910, AZHRL, man. 2, vol. 44, quotation taken from W. Bułhak, *Dmowski – Rosja...*, p. 74.

1903 the satirical, but superbly well-informed Lwów *Liberum Veto* published the ten commandments of an 'ideal Pole' – a biting parody of ND rhetoric – the sixth 'commandment' was: 'Joe Chamberlain is the Lord, thy God, and Dmowski is his prophet'.<sup>56</sup> 'The most active demoralizer of the English soul', as the Polish progressive press often described the British politician, became a model for Dmowski to follow. These analogies should not obscure the fact that the LD leader retained the core of his ideas, which, however, he wished to present in a somewhat different and more attractive form.

The second, rather more practical lesson drawn by Dmowski from his English trips depended on absorbing the significant premise that his ideological agenda could be realized not so much by a coup (a 'national revolution' as 'patriotic' youth was still trumpeting in the mid-nineties), as by legal means, through gaining entry to the Establishment. A member of the Lwów colony of 'Kingdomites' recalled the moment: 'I sensed that "our policies" were beginning to sail on deeper waters.'<sup>57</sup>

The first element in this plan was to abandon the most 'revolutionary' point in the League's programme: the tradition of insurrections. This new tactic of uniting the conservatives initially brought indifferent results. It made its greatest gains in those areas where ethnic conflicts overlaid social unease, as in Poznań, or above all in Eastern Galicia, e.g., during the peasant strike of 1903.

However, the National Democrats' and Dmowski's polemic with the conservative camp went on for years. An attempt at settling scores with the Kraków conservatives was made alongside an appearance by the League in the Polish Kingdom. Nationalist tactics then made a change of emphasis. After attempts to strike up an alliance with the younger generation of conservatives and their real collapse (an expression of which were also some articles critical of the LN in the Kraków *Czas* and echoes of Michał Bobrzyński's essay *Rozmiary niebezpieczeństwa* (*The Dimensions of Danger*) in *Czas* and *Przegląd Polski* in March 1904), the League abandoned attempts to bring round Kraków conservatives and came out openly against them.

There is much to indicate that Dmowski was already considering building a great camp embracing all 'Polish' currents starting with the 'national workers' party' and ending with the conservatives. The intellectually-underpinned

---

56 'Polak doskonały. Przykazań dziesięcioro', *Liberum Veto*, 1 IX 1903, no. 18, p. 2. The second point ran as follows: 'When dealing with Ruthenians hew to the proverb "Do unto others as you would not have them do unto you". The tenth: "Subscribe to *Słowo Polskie*".

57 Z. Dębicki, *Iskry w popiołach...*, p. 94.

threads of this idea can already be found in the series entitled *W naszym obozie* (*In Our Camp*) of 1901 (in *Przegląd Wszepolski*), which presented a detailed outline of the League's future tactics for the next few years. In a more general version these threads were reflected in *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka* published in 1902 on the pages of *Przegląd*, in which the writer pointed to Great Britain as a society in which national elements, preserving the 'basis of national life', came together in the Conservative party. Dmowski immediately clarified that what he had in mind was not so much real British conservatism as their version of a nationalist party, i.e., the British Unionists led by Chamberlain.

It must be remembered that our nationalist ideologue made a grave mistake in his English forecasts by believing that Chamberlain's chauvinist tactics would bring him victory throughout the conservative camp. The English Tories soon gobbled up the Unionist electorate, while Chamberlain himself, after some health problems, finally withdrew from politics without having found any popular successors. The Irish question, the second issue that inflamed xenophobic passions among British voters, (in British historiography this phenomenon is termed the 'Ulsterization' of British politics) also did not create a lasting base for right-ring radicalism. As a British historian has phrased it succinctly: 'Ulster did not become a British Sudetenland, nor Belfast the equivalent of Italian Fiume.'<sup>58</sup>

In turn the liberals there, treated by Dmowski as the party of civil rights, but also the party of chaos in internal politics – and thus a convenient opponent for political in-fighting – were relegated to the political side-lines by the socialist party (the Labour Party). Dmowski's conviction of the essential antagonism between liberal and 'national' currents also said more about the nationalist theoretician than about the real climate in Europe at the time.

Perhaps in this distorted and *de facto* incorrect reading of the rules of European politics lay the seeds of subsequent disappointment with England as a model for civilization, followed by the nationalists' leader rejecting the liberal order of things. The nationalist ideologue was after all not interested in the model of British parliamentary democracy, while his interest in British public life in fact boiled down to only one issue: the sources of British power.

In this view democracy or the parliamentary system were not connected to universal ethic values, and thus did not represent aims or challenges worthy of

---

58 J. Stevenson, *Conservatism and the Failure of Fascism in Interwar Britain*, in *Fascists and Conservatives...*, p. 265.

the West, but remained simply an instrument for consolidating the national community with the state.<sup>59</sup> When it was advantageous for their tactics, the ‘nationalists’ were all for a democratic system, but they also had no doctrinal objections to turning against democracy. This approach was supported by an ingenious tautological formula, according to which a movement standing guard over a whole nation’s rights had, to have a democratic character on principle, as it were, whereas any other form of democratism was thus recognized as a well-worn platitude, an expression of ‘democratic dogmatism’ and, in the worst case, as leaving the gate open to ‘foreign elements.’ On this issue there was a perfect harmony of views among the movement’s leading ideologues. Sympathizing with nationalist tradition, a historian at the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century summed up these issues succinctly: ‘Dmowski was fighting to cleanse democracy of liberal influence.’<sup>60</sup>

This general approach to political issues by ‘pure nationalism’ is well captured in an instalment of the series entitled *W naszym obozie* (*In Our Camp*) (*Przegląd Wszechpolski* 1901), which sounded like an ideological declaration by the leader of the League: ‘Advertising in 1897 we publicly called ourselves a “democratic national” party and they call us a “national democratic” party, or “national democrats”. We don’t deserve this name: the core of our programme is nationalism [underlining in the original], which in truth can be nothing but democratic, but which does not have much in common with a whole series of other democratic systems; our party is democratic national, or national for short, and so we are nationalists [...]. Our starting point is not doctrine, but our own self-interest [...]. What motivates me, and I think most of my colleagues, is not that someone somewhere announced ‘human rights’, but that we are opening up the widest opportunities for the Polishness we feel within ourselves, and that we wish to remove everything standing in the way of its free, innate development. A good yardstick for me is value for the Polish cause; everything which leads to improving it, enriching it, expanding its influence is good, and the only brakes – are my moral instincts of a civilized person, respect for myself and my country.’<sup>61</sup> The aim that the writer set for his movement was the creation of a ‘Polish civilization’, based on the national life of the ‘Polish race.’

---

59 See A. Whiteside, *The Socialism of Fools. Georg Ritter von Schönerer and Austrian Pan-Germanism*, Berkeley 1975, p. 301.

60 M. Łagoda, *Dmowski, naród i państwo. Doktryna polityczna „Przeglądu Wszechpolskiego” (1895–1905)*, Poznań 2002, p. 176.

61 Narodowiec, ‘W naszym obozie. Listy do przyjaciół politycznych I, *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, January 1901, no. 1, pp. 25–26.

Dmowski himself did not so much reject democratic solutions, as despised them for being an imperfect approach, which gained in significance in the hands of mediocrities. Critical opinions on various ways for introducing democracy to public life had already appeared in *Przegląd's* columns. In the light of these statements the voice of the League's leader – expressing reservations as to the value of general elections – must have rung out meaningfully.<sup>62</sup>

The leader of the League did not join the Democratic National Party in Galicia (the League's branch in the Austrian Partition), elected in 1904 along democratic lines, justifying his refusal by an unwillingness to operate in the 'bog of Galician politics'. Elected *in absentia* to the First Sejm in the newly-independent Poland, he apparently attended its sessions just once (!) in order to sign the March Constitution of 1921, although it was well-known that he did not agree with many of its articles, and that he considered the solutions for dealing with national minorities to be scandalous.

A friend of his from the 1890s compellingly captured this attitude towards politics and public life: 'He was too strong a character and his gaze encompassed too broad a horizon for him to be able to come down to being simply the chairman of a parliamentary group, following instructions, assigning speakers to specific issues and personally becoming involved in verbal polemics with opponents, who undoubtedly would have specially organized opposition against him. He could only be a leader in the fullest meaning of the word [...]. He himself claimed that in his creativity there were certain elements of artistry, which he could not develop in an atmosphere of base political intrigue and elbowing to obtain high positions in government.'<sup>63</sup> A distinguished parliamentary commentator, who was not friendly towards Dmowski, recalled things similarly: 'However, Member Dmowski takes no part in the first Sejm. Indeed, he rarely visits the building, feeling that the title of Member of the Sejm is not important enough for him.'<sup>64</sup>

---

62 See Narodowiec, 'W naszym obozie. Listy do przyjaciół politycznych, X', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, October 1901, no. 10; R. Dmowski, 'Pro domo sua, VI', *Słowo Polskie*, 2 IX 1903, no. 415, pp. 2–3; 'Przegląd prasy', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, September 1903, no. 9, p. 71. See too A. Borkowski, 'Idea demokracji w myśli politycznej i działalności Obozu Narodowego 1893–1939', *Przegląd Zachodni*, 1998, no. 4, p. 73 and note; M. Łagoda, *Dmowski, naród i państwo...*, p. 129 and note; B.A. Porter, *Democracy and Discipline...*, p. 346 and note.

63 M. Kiniorski, *Z czterdziestu pięciu lat wspomnień...*, p. 65.

64 See B. Singer, *Od Witosza do Sławka*, Paris 1962, p. 125.

As his contemporaries recalled, Dmowski often used the Russian Tsar Alexander III – one of the greatest satraps of the era – as an example of an effective statesman. Wojciech Wasiutyński recalled that the leader of the ND publically admired a certain Ecuadorian politician who was famous for having put the whole opposition onto a train and then having it driven over a cliff.<sup>65</sup> While the memoirists all emphasized that these examples were brought out in humorous contexts and that the person using them was trying to annoy the audience, these strictures were not altogether correct.

On a more general level these policies were concisely expressed in a commentary by a young nationalist from the mid-twenties, who noted down in his diary that Dmowski not without reason was considered in certain circles to be a revolutionary mind and to see reality in terms of bringing the ‘national’ principle to life.<sup>66</sup> Putting this thread to one side it is worth pointing out that the thoughts of the ND’s principal theoretician contained strikingly pioneering motifs, also in terms of political issues.

Inasmuch as we can accept the writer’s view that the example of the two-party system mentioned in *Listy do przyjaciół politycznych* (*Letters to Political Friends*) and later in *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka* was exemplary for a modern society, it is worth adding that, in terms of this view, both parties had to absorb two fundamentals of ‘modern’ politics: both the principle of political realism, as well as that of national egoism, whose spokesman in the Polish lands the LN proclaimed itself to be. Dmowski wrote: ‘If England is today the leading nation in terms of individual liberties, that is due above all to the English liberals, who were not prevented all that much by the conservatives; meanwhile their rule in all parts of the world and on every sea, their extensive colonies, numerous commercial markets and the spread of the English language were not prevented all that much

---

65 W. Wasiutyński, *Prawą stroną labiryntu. Fragmenty wspomnień*, prepared by W. Turek, Gdańsk 1996, p. 65.

66 The relevant note reads: ‘The issue of the political system,’ he said, ‘is irrelevant so long as the nation itself exists and develops.’ The author of *Diariusz* calls this pure nationalism. See J. Drobnik, *Diariusz*, vol. 1, 10 X 1925, IH PAN, manuscript 70/1, p. 30. Another excerpt from these conversations between Drobnik and Dmowski is also interesting: ‘I am a man without principles,’ says Dmowski. In his view, sticking to a specific political dogma is stupidity. ‘The point is that a nation should be strong and should develop. Those political systems which encourage development are good’ – 5 XI 1925, *Ibid.*, p. 51. See A. Micewski, *Dmowski a ewolucja obozu narodowego* (*Tygodnik Powszechny*, 11 grudnia 1983), in *id.*, *Polityka staje się historią*, Warsaw 1986, p. 144, and also K. Kawalec, ‘Myśl polityczna Romana Dmowskiego’, *Przegląd Zachodni*, 55, July-September 1999, no. 3, p. 43.

by the Liberal Party [...]. The antagonism of these two parties would maintain the country in political equilibrium.<sup>67</sup>

A problem arose when the parties to this argument did not accept the indices of 'modern' politics in the way that Dmowski presented them. It also remains a moot point to what extent such an interpretation of the rules governing the world of politics was simply a projection, or to what extent it was an attempt at an analytical description of reality – in this case of the principles governing British politics. In a practical sense the leader of the League came across this issue on the domestic political front, where both the majority of conservatives, as well as representatives of Polish progressive circles, not to mention the socialists and the populists – i.e., almost the whole of current public opinion – questioned and rejected this understanding of 'modern' politics, which differed radically from their own.

In relation to conservative thinking, conclusions emanating from this controversy were important in that they had a significant impact on the development of Dmowski's thinking. A series of articles published in the autumn of 1905 in *Przegląd Wszepolski* entitled *Koniec legendy* (*The End of A Legend*) contained a collection of earlier-formulated criticisms of conservatives from the point of view of national politics. As far as we can tell, the writer was motivated at the time not so much by a willingness to repudiate home-grown conservatives (*Koniec legendy* was directed at Kraków's Stańczyk-ites), as by a desire to 'clean up the surrounding area', with the aim of taking over their position.

We can examine on a similar level the genesis of a pamphlet entitled *Upadek myśli konserwatywnej w Polsce* (*The Fall of Conservative Thinking in Poland*), initially published on the pages of *Gazeta Warszawska* in 1913 and 1914, devoted above all, as its author wrote, to taking on the 'bad habits of conciliation'. In this work, which to be honest was more political than theoretical, there were paragraphs that unambiguously indicated the differences between integral nationalism and conservatism.

Dmowski acknowledged that the main task of 'nationalist political thought' was to stand guard over two safeguards of 'modern' politics, ones forming the 'most elementary bases of national survival' – namely, 'national egoism' and 'real politics', which was in line with an ideological interpretation of the eternal struggle of national elements. The issue of the political order, representing a key element in the conservative viewpoint, boiled down with the ND leader not so much to an issue of preserving certain institutions, as much as to bringing back the principles of social selection which had been infringed.

---

67 R. Dmowski, *Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka*, Wrocław 1996, s. 81.



Dmowski kept repeating that carelessly conducted biological selection leads to the collapse of societies. Meanwhile Polish conservatives wished to preserve the social order and institutions, which did not respect this rule or even denied it altogether. 'Conservatism's strongest bastion' – the 'Kraków school' – had thus developed on a basis of delusion. Dmowski wrote: 'The conservative direction in political thought, in the Western-European sense, had no foundation in Poland, so she [Poland] could not produce it.'<sup>68</sup> The writer added a few other accusations to his charge of Polish conservatism's artificial genesis.

He attacked the Kraków conservatives for treating religion like an object, also for distorting political structures, as well as monopolizing public life in Galicia. He again tried to quote the English model, which, in his view, was the optimal route towards the stability and development of a modern society. On the one hand, these sections can be read as a paean on behalf of free parliamentary give and take. Dmowski stated: 'Competition forces a party to a continual revision of its own policies, both moral as well as political, forces it to make them provide the greatest value for the nation. A lack of competition develops a blindness in a party, allows baser instincts to triumph over nobler ones and sooner or later leads to degeneration.'<sup>69</sup>

On the other hand, however, in practice this general view of politics was loaded with contradictions. At the very outset, the ND ideologue was narrowing his understanding of a free exchange of views. He excluded the socialists from the workings of parliamentary give and take. In Dmowski's view, this was a political party copying foreign models, organically incapable of independent creativity, invariably submitting to foreign oversight, and also basically 'anti-nation'. The peasant parties fared no better in these assessments, since without 'national' oversight they could barely 'organize class hatred'. Dmowski concluded: 'If class interests conquer here, we had better say goodbye to the whole Polish business in the fullest sense.'<sup>70</sup>

Liberal and progressive circles were, in this exposition, presented as ideological spokesmen for national minimalism and the bards of empty and deceptive sentiments, 'small-minded humanitarians', whose presence in public life led to stagnation and the collapse of ideals. Already in *Podstawy polityki polskiej* (*The Bases of Polish Politics*), a piece from 1905, the leader of the League was arguing that a victory of the 'dogmatists [...] of abstract Mankind and universal ethics' would lead to a general moral collapse: 'on the surface of the Earth there would

---

68 R. Dmowski, *Upadek myśli konserwatywnej w Polsce*, Wrocław 2004, p. 4. Quotations are taken from this edition.

69 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

70 *Ibid.*, p. 99.

be one chaos of human atoms, one single moral puddle stinking to high heaven.<sup>71</sup> The 'distortion' of conservatism represented, in this view of things, simply the next effect of parliamentary politics. Helping group interests, constant compromises, factional battles, in a word the essence of politics in a liberal society, would lead conservatism to a state of inevitable collapse.

In addition, the conservatives oftentimes made alliances with progressive circles and stood in opposition to Polish nationalists. For Dmowski these phenomena represented the heart of the matter: 'No country on Earth can point to such a display of "conservative" politics...'<sup>72</sup> Taking this view of the situation in fact the whole political scene would need a complete overhaul, which only then would make the acceptance of free public debate possible. A broad pluralism of views, presented as a principle, in practice meant excluding, if not in fact eliminating, uncomfortable participants in public life. A free space could exist only with an obligation to 'modern' politics and in conditions of hegemony organized by the League.

In another case the rivalry of ideas turned into some barbaric *imbroglio*, together with an inevitable tendency towards society's complete disintegration and collapse. In *Podstawy polityki polskiej* Dmowski presented such an apocalyptic vision of a society, which had not brought into its workings the principles of 'modern' politics, of the new 'national ethics': 'Thus national ethics are the basis of ethics between people [...]. When they disappear, then the whole life of a society gradually disintegrates, society unravels, all moral ties break, mutual obligations disappear and we get a case of *homo homini lupus*. Deprived of their rallying-points people become helpless, anarchic masses waiting for a new master, who will take them in hand using not moral, but physical coercion.'<sup>73</sup>

All this logic led to the question of the place of Jews in public life, which was key for the writer. They were held responsible for this pathological state of affairs. They were the socialists' principal base, but they also supported the progressive camps, as well as morally destroying the conservatives from the inside. In *Upadek myśli konserwatywnej* the Jews were presented not just as a different racial type, but above all as a group susceptible to international influences; an 'in-between race', which – participating in international conspiracies – claimed for itself the right to carry on political in-fighting domestically. This recourse to xenophobic attitudes got the conservative reader's attention when the writer compared the Jews' alleged scheming with the equally dangerous designs of the Polish socialists.

---

71 R. Dmowski, *Podstawy polityki polskiej*, in id., *Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka...*, p. 103.

72 R. Dmowski, *Upadek myśli konserwatywnej...*, p. 100.

73 R. Dmowski, *Podstawy polityki polskiej*, in id., *Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka...*, p. 103.

Dmowski proved that he could be not just a good theoretician, but an even better rabble-rouser. Let us recall that in conservative thinking this theme of a political community under attack by foreign troublemakers, usually directed from abroad, was always present and eagerly exploited. In one of the best-known pamphlets on socialism written by Paweł Popiel entitled *Choroba wieku* (*The Sickness of the Age*) (1880) the motif of the cosmopolitan Jews took first place.

In Dmowski's view, the Jews' infiltration of public life could lead to a host society's degeneration and could eventually cause its destruction. He wrote; 'A Jew cannot be a conservative in a European society, even if he has for some reason decided to be one. The entire tradition of that community is alien to him, contrary to everything that the Jewish soul has absorbed for countless generations. He treats with disgust the European peoples' entire past, he nurtures a dislike of their religions, he looks at any hierarchy that has arisen in these societies as usurping the position to which the 'chosen people' are entitled. He simply instinctively aims to destroy in its European surroundings respect for tradition, attachment to religion, respect for any kind of hierarchy, maligns, sneers at, derides everything that is sacred to any honest conservative [...]. The eruption of a powerful Jewish wave into our life has brought in its wake into those social spheres, which have entered into close contact with the Jews, such destruction of any conservative elements, such a revolt against any national tradition, the collapse of religious feeling and of even a basic respect for religion, such distaste for even the most legitimate hierarchy that to some extent it has threatened us with simple barbarism. If the whole body politic succumbed to this influence, we would in fact lose the ability to organize social life, we would become an anarchic band without any inner moral structure, fit to live only in externally-imposed fetters'.

The leader of the ND, who only a few months earlier had stirred up in Warsaw a violent antisemitic campaign (the elections to the Fourth Duma in 1912), stubbornly emphasized that the battle of the elements was a basic law of social development. The battle with a completely alien element was recognized as a dictate of one's conscience. Among many 'dangers facing the Polish way of life' (such as, for instance, conciliatory minimalism, political and cultural assimilation, the weakening of Polish influence in the *Kresy* border lands, ignoring the people's needs and political passivity) 'the Jewish threat' was the greatest and the 'most dangerous for [...] the future.'<sup>74</sup>

---

74 R. Dmowski, *Upadek myśli konserwatywnej...*, pp. 83–84. In a letter to J. Zółtowski from the early 1930s Dmowski wrote that the Jews, together with 'materialist' America were aiming to destroy European civilization. On the other hand, he consoled himself with the thought that as a result of demographic processes East European Jews,

Without the slightest exaggeration we can admit that the Polish conservatives to the very end did not understand what the ND leader was going on about. His finest opponent, Władysław L. Jaworski, stated that Dmowski was guided by some base ambitions of his own.<sup>75</sup> The reviewers to a man were on the whole in agreement: this no-holds-barred, frenzied attack on the home-grown conservatives came from an enemy camp.<sup>76</sup>

In addition to his criticism of the conservative camp, Dmowski was preparing a work that was meant to be the theoretical underpinning of his earlier publications, his *magnum opus*, while being, as he wrote to his friend Stanisław Kozicki, a 'catechism of the ND faith' for the Polish nationalist movement.<sup>77</sup> It is worth noting that in this piece Dmowski addressed issues dealing with preserving the political status quo. Unlike his preceding works, these thoughts were at a higher level of argument. The writer began with the Aristotelian antinomy between civilized and barbaric societies, which in the paper under discussion took the form of opposition between peoples – the European/Aryan and the non-Aryan.

In addition to deliberations on man's nature and his ties to higher social forms, including the nation, Dmowski pointed to the birth of European civilization. He

---

including the Polish ones ('the reservoir of the Jewish race') would die out. 'If the mine of Jewish raw materials on Polish soil disappears, the Jewish question will be ended throughout the world; Jewry will die out once and for all.' R. Dmowski to J. Zóltowski, Chłudowo, 28 April 1930, in 'Między Niemcami a Rosją' *Arcana*, 1996, no. 11, p. 55. The *Arcana* editorial board published these extracts with a view to exonerating the founder of the ND from 'stereotypes and simplifications'!

75 See [W.L. Jaworski], *Pan Dmowski o konserwatystach* (Roman Dmowski, „Upadek myśli konserwatywnej w Polsce”, Warszawa 1914), Kraków 1914, p. 20. The conservative/nationalist Lwów *Rzeczpospolita*, which although still opposing Dmowski's line, wrote in similar vein, see 'Pamiętnik dobrej, lecz bardzo próżnej osoby (Roman Dmowski, Upadek myśli konserwatywnej w Polsce, Warszawa 1914); *Rzeczpospolita*, 18 IV 1914, no. 118, pp. 105–112.

76 The debate on Dmowski's essay is dealt with by M. Jaskólski, 'Konserwyzm–nacjonalizm. Studia nad kontaktami ideowymi krakowskich konserwatystów i demokracji narodowej przed 1914', *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace z Nauk Politycznych*, 1989, vol. 36. See too M. Kozik, 'Przemiany galicyjskiej myśli konserwatywnej pod wpływem polemiki z Narodową Demokracją', *Archiwum Historii Filozofii i Myśli Społecznej*, 27, 1981, p. 251; R. Matyja, *Czy Narodowa Demokracja...*, p. 252; K. Kawalec, 'Konserwatyści i narodowi demokraci przed I wojną Światową', *Myśl Konserwatywna*, Autumn 1997, no. 1, pp. 33–52.

77 Roman Dmowski to Stanisław Kozicki, 13 IV 1913, in M. Kułakowski, *Roman Dmowski...*, vol. 1, p. 381.

saw its roots in the process of 'raw tribal material' taking shape, and that on them a thriving civilization arose.

In one of the articles that were part of the work he wrote: 'It was principally the Aryan race that provided the human material from which the nations of Europe arose [...]. At the heart of the European nations' existence lay above all the physical and spiritual properties of the Aryan race, the most superior race, representing the summit of human development, physically stronger, in its physical form closer to what we see as the ideal of human beauty, spiritually elevated, both in terms of intellect and emotions, expressed especially in its imaginative richness, as well as in its sense of reality, precision of thought and the need to seek truth, and superior to all other races by virtue of its powerful development of individuality. The languages of the European nations, developed by this race are, in line with the elements mentioned above, the finest of tools for thinking and the most subtle expression of feeling, and with their help the non-Aryan peoples, who have entered the family of European nations, have risen to a higher level of spiritual development.'<sup>78</sup>

This 'spiritual richness of the Aryan race' appeared in various historical forms. In this context the writer named Greco-Roman civilization, the organization of the Christian Church, and finally contemporary nations, which had been formed by the state. It goes without saying that the Slav peoples occupied a prominent place in this Aryan mythology. Dmowski understandably, unlike other racist philosophers of history (above all H.S. Chamberlain), saw the Slavs – alongside the Helleno-Latin and Germanic peoples – as one of the basic Aryan tribes. In passing he indicated that there were theories, according to which the legendary Aryans came from Polish lands. This unambiguous linking of the ancient Slavs with Aryan Europe had a dual significance: on the one hand it was meant to emphasize their place among the most cultivated peoples, and on the other to remind them of the special civilizing mission that they had towards the rest of the world.

In fact there were more points of agreement than not with Chamberlain's views. It is hard to establish whether Dmowski was in general influenced by his work. In the ND ideologue's writing there is a lack of direct references to this writer, who was popular in right-wing radical circles. What is certain is that Dmowski knew Chamberlain's work.

Chamberlain's approach was also based on a vision of a Manichean conflict between the races, from which this Germanized Englishman (the son of a British

---

78 R.J. [R. Dmowski], 'Podstawy bytu narodów europejskich I', *Sprawa Polska*, 3 (16) IX 1917, no. 34, p. 481.

admiral) drew, unlike for instance Gobineau, optimistic conclusions.<sup>79</sup> In this view, the battle of the races would bring victory to the Aryan race and lead to a renaissance of the German nation's creativity. Racism's leading theoretician made the Jews the principal adversary of the Germanic or Teutonic race – the purest Aryan grouping. It is noteworthy that Chamberlain declared that he was not an antisemite, he abjured all contact with vulgar Jew-hating and presented his views as if they were based on scientific arguments. As evidence of his impartiality he dedicated his most important work to a Jewish professor, Julius Wiesner in Vienna.

Contrary to appearances, the author of *Die Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (*The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*) was also not an enthusiast of the purely anthropological approach, and although he had begun his career as a naturalist, he was far from presenting scientific proofs. He kept on pointing out that he had introduced his racist message out of an 'idealism of action' and the individual's right to describe the external world in accordance with his own ideals. Except that this idealism – taken from a reading of personally-interpreted works of Kant – was based on an ideology of German exclusivism.

Chamberlain regarded the Jews – a people coming from Asia and thus seen as alien in terms of the whole West – as a mixture of as many as three racial types. The drive to preserve racial purity that they supposedly exhibited, came from external sources: a unique linking of, so it seemed, the racial will of the Jewish people with a whole weave of historical factors.

At the same time he saw every current in Judaism as emanating from a corrupted race and as poisonous for the rest of the world. Jewish monotheism could not face a confrontation with Christian faith, while Yahweh could not be compared to the God of the Hellenistic Christians or the Indo-Europeans. As an expert on the subject explains: 'If the Jew was the destroyer of civilization, a symbol of materialism, intolerance and social collapse, then the Teutons, a separate branch of the Aryan race, represented their historical opposite: idealism, mysticism, loyalty and a sense of freedom.'<sup>80</sup> The author of the foremost interpretation of European

---

79 H.S. Chamberlain, *Die Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, vols. 1–2, Munich 1899–1900. The fullest presentation of Chamberlain's views is provided by G.G. Field, *Evangelist of Race. The Germanic Vision of Houston Stewart Chamberlain*, New York 1981. See too G.L. Mosse, *Toward the Final Solution. A History of European Racism*, Madison 1985, p. 105 and note; L. Poliakov, *Le Mythe Aryen. Essai sur les sources du racisme et les nationalismes*, Paris 1987, p. 358 and note.

80 G.G. Field, *Evangelist of Race...*, p. 191.

racism had unambiguously linked Aryans, Indo-Germans, and Indo-Europeans with the Teutons – in other words the Germans, while he had seen France, Russia, and the rest of Europe as a mixture of different races. A bastard mixture of the races, as a contemporary historian adds.<sup>81</sup>

Chamberlain's treatise intended to acknowledge that only the Germans retained an authentic racial purity and thus had the right to impose their order on the world. Without a doubt the author of *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka* had never nurtured such ambitions towards his own community.

With Chamberlain, as with Dmowski, race was a dynamic and historical concept, based on the Darwinian model of the struggle for survival. Clearly race was biological material, but above all it was the soul. Chamberlain based his historiographical construct on the Aryan myth, which he drew not so much from physical and anthropological features, as in fact from the mystical soul of a race, which was impossible to describe in full – this being a central concept in Dmowski's whole construct. For the secret of race lay in its soul, not in its body.

A typical discussion of Chamberlain's work which appeared in the SDN paper *Mysl Polska* in 1907 conveyed many of these ideological affinities.<sup>82</sup> The article signed by a writer with the mysterious initials W. Z-cki (which never again appeared in this paper) was not so much a faithful representation of Chamberlain's views, as a further instalment in the reflections of the author of *Czem jest Izrael?* by Witold Ziemiński.

The reviewer introduced the author of *Die Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* as the namesake of a prominent statesman, whose work, 'free of professional antisemitism, strikes one both by its erudition as by the writer's exceptional talent, especially when it comes to tackling subtle questions of psychology', immediately drawing the reader's attention to the key issue: 'who the Jews are and why they are so powerful.'<sup>83</sup> Where, in the reviewer's opinion, did the

---

81 G.L.Mosse, *The Crisis of German ideology ...*, p. 130.

82 W. Z-cki, 'Żydzi. Houston Stuart Chamberlain, „Żydzi”' *Mysl Polska*, 18 I 1907, no. 3, pp. 40–41; W. Z-cki, 'Żydzi. Houston Stuart Chamberlain, „Żydzi”', *Mysl Polska*, 25 I 1907, no. 4, pp. 56–57.

83 This motif in Dmowski's journalism – some saw it simply as an obsession – had been appearing in his writings from his earliest days. See among others R. Skrzycki, 'Listy Warszawiaka z Galicyi V', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 15 II 1897, no. 4, pp. 79–80; R. Dmowski, 'Zagadnienie sprawy żydowskiej', *Przegląd Narodowy*, December 1910, no. 12, pp. 641–653; id., *Czem są Żydzi*, in id., *Przewrót*, Warsaw 1934, pp. 281–291. It is interesting that each time the writer reached the same conclusions albeit using slightly

source of the Jews' power lie? He acknowledged that its underlying cause was the systematic demonstration of willpower.

However, this characteristic, in the writer's view without the advantages of a real soul that only Aryan peoples possess, in fact allowed the Jews to impose their views on other societies, but had never led them to produce anything creative. The reviewer added on his own behalf: 'Unbridled, egoistic will dries up the soul; religion degenerates into fanaticism, thoughts become deviousness and willfulness, art, expressing the love and hatred of a given moment, merely represents, but does not create – learning becomes industry.'<sup>84</sup> He went on to show that Judaism had never been an expression of mystical yearnings, typical of other religions, but had expressed merely the poverty of utilitarian materialism, becoming a dead cult, in this respect resembling only Marxism ('a doctrine which is so closed and narrow that it simply crushes the minds of its adherents and condemns them to the role of blind followers.')

From the historical point of view, the Jewish religion turned out to be, in this approach, a blatant hoax, while the Jews themselves were an example of an ancient parasitical sect preying on other societies. The sources of the Jews' fatalism lay in their degenerate race, thus every Jewish idea became a peculiar anti-creativity ('preventing all development, cramming the living spirit into an anti-civilizational formula'), representing for other nations nothing but a 'great danger'.<sup>85</sup>

After all, the author of *Die Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* had with him the key theme, which efficiently weakened the direct reception of these views in certain reactionary circles. One of the axes of Chamberlain's thinking was a recognition that the Catholic Church had contributed to the establishment of national chaos (*Völkerchaos*), and with its missionary work had accelerated the process of the intermingling of the races leading to their actual degeneration, thus losing sight of Christianity's original message. The philosopher of history demonstrated that Catholicism had accomplished the 'Judaization' of Christianity. Thus the Teutons should renew Christianity and restore to it the real message of faith. For the ND leader, who at the time was emphasizing that the Catholic Church remained a national institution and asset, this was an unacceptable line.<sup>86</sup> W. Z-cki did not even mention these nuances in Chamberlain. It also cannot be

---

different words. See too W. Ziemiński, 'Czem jest Izrael? Szkic historyczno-społeczny, VI', *Głos*, 15 (27) IX 1890, no. 39, p. 470.

84 W. Z-cki, 'Żydzi...', *Mysł Polska*, 18 I 1907, no. 3, p. 41.

85 W. Z-cki, 'Żydzi...', *Mysł Polska*, 25 I 1907, no. 4, p. 57.

86 See [R. Dmowski], 'Demokracja Narodowa i Kościół', *Gazeta Codzienna*, 5 XI 1907, quotation taken from T. Mistewicz, 'Narodowa Demokracja i Związek Katolicki w latach



excluded that, despite all the analogies, this reading was of secondary importance to Dmowski and that he took from it only that which he found useful.

So much for digressions, let us pick up the main thread. With Dmowski these deliberations from the period before the First World War made reference to the fate of the whole of Europe. The European order, whose highest, that is, non-material expression was the development of national spirit, from the very outset had had fundamental, even metaphysical enemies. The ideologue in a roundabout way reconstructed the beginnings of national spirit as the highest expression of national consciousness. This is not the place to lay out these ideas down to the smallest detail. After an abbreviated examination of the issue we can simply state that consciousness of 'national spirit' derived from 'inherited national instincts'. He who did not possess these instincts not only was in no state to understand the rules of national life, but was also working toward its detriment. 'In every society anti-national camps are composed above all of people neither descended from nor loosely related to the nation of people who have not inherited a national instinct, or who have done so only to a lesser degree,' claimed the writer.<sup>87</sup>

This antagonistic conflict between the national spirit and destructive factors, this struggle between moral opposites, or in fact of a new ethics with decay, was a key thread in this view of things, forming the thrust of a whole line of reasoning. The most critical part of this discussion recalled the antinomy between 'souls under the strong sway of a nation's collective soul' and independent souls. Dmowski cited his dilemmas of the 1890s. – the dispute between radical individualism and collectivism. Yet although our ideologue saw in these controversies a real collision of ideological systems, he himself declared definitively: 'Indeed we know that two moral sorts of people, two spiritual systems, standing at opposite spiritual poles, know how to combat public opinion. One of these systems, with all its powerful individual development, remains under the strong sway of the soul of a society, the soul of a nation, which expresses itself through its national conscience and gives it the strength to stand up to its society, to public opinion, when the latter is not in agreement with its conscience and with the dictates of the national soul.'<sup>88</sup>

---

1905–1908', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 96, 1989, no. 2, p. 143. See too id., 'Stosunek Romana Dmowskiego do religii i Kościoła', *Studia Historyczne*, 1989, vol. 1 (124), pp. 57–72.

87 R.J. [R. Dmowski], 'Duch narodowy i czynniki rozkładowe I', *Sprawa Polska*, 10 (23) XII 1917, no. 48, p. 704.

88 R.J., 'Duch narodowy i czynniki rozkładowe II', *Sprawa Polska*, 17 (30) XII 1917, no. 49, p. 724.

'Men of action', the 'heroic type' from Dmowski's early writings, had already become rooted in the nation. Another, opposite type of individualist, had been described by him as a demented soul, an alienated individual, who by virtue of his own egoistical needs laid waste everything around him, thereby leading to the destruction of every civilized society: 'Such a person is the detritus of the great processes of history, a moral primitive, lost on the path of the morally-constructed, centuries-old development of society [...] a criminal sort, for whom the voice of conscience is alien.'<sup>89</sup>

For the 'civilized' individual the choice between these possibilities was simple and unambiguous: 'On the one hand we have ethics of the highest order, on the other – a lack of any ethics at all, which was none too accurately called *moral insanity*.' The dualism of opposites, described in this manner, became the backdrop for further conflicts tearing apart the social world. In opposition to the eventual victory of the national soul other, ostensible attempts to escape the trap of individualism also appeared. Our ideologue saw socialism and cosmopolitanism as the two most serious ones.

Simplifying somewhat these arguments we can state that, according to the writer, the above-mentioned ideological propositions would find their ruthless defenders and advocates in the Jews, since that had been determined by the stigma of their degenerate race. Dmowski wrote: 'the Jews sometimes unconsciously nurture a profound distaste for, and dislike of the for them strange moral underpinnings of the European social order', they also represent the greatest, because deadly threat to the basis of European civilization: to the family, to the Church, to the basic institutions of public life, to the 'basis of the Aryan peoples' social structure, which has been developed over centuries.'<sup>90</sup> What is characteristic is that, although the writer continually mentioned the hierarchy of civilizational and racial types, perceiving, for instance, a conflict brewing in the not-too-distant future between Europe and the Asian societies, the fundamental clash of civilizations would come on the Europe-Jews axis.

This whole line of reasoning was unfailingly leading to a Manichean vision of a battle with the 'Jewish element'. To the Aryan European – 'a social being of a high order' – was opposed the complete opposite: pure negativity.<sup>91</sup>

---

89 Ibid., p. 725.

90 R.J., 'Duch narodowy i czynniki rozkładowe III', *Sprawa Polska*, 26 XII 1917 (8 I 1918), no. 50, p. 739.

91 See M. Pąckiński, *Judeofobia, antysemityzm, ariocentryzm. Kryzys kultury chrześcijańskiej a retoryka tekstu*, in *Kwestia żydowska w XIX wieku. Spory o tożsamość Polaków*, G. Borkowska, M. Rudkowska (eds.), Warsaw 2004, pp. 418–419.

The eventual confrontation with the Jews meant here not only a battle with an economic competitor, with an alien organism hampering progress, or even a factor working against the 'national' movement, but with an enemy of the whole of European civilization, its most dangerous 'agent of destruction'. In line with this thinking 'national camps' throughout the whole of Europe were to be developed as a defensive reaction to 'anti-national currents'; nationalism was thus their conscious, rationalised expression.

The conservative idea, seen thus, and with its crowning glory being racism, meant a restoration of the moral order, but this order was rooted in the natural world; a biological/ethnic order, whose highest expression was civilization. Obviously there was no question of a single universal civilization, after all mankind as such did not exist. Dmowski kept reiterating this, giving his words the force almost of an axiom: 'Mankind is not a social concept [...] despite many centuries of international mingling, mankind is not closer to blending into a single society [...] mankind cannot become a single society [...] mankind is tending not towards integration, but towards differentiation. That is what progress means.'<sup>92</sup> Dmowski began one of the sections of his piece with a kind of ideological statement of faith: 'Thanks to advances in human knowledge, we now know for certain that throughout the world man is not a single social type [...]. Now while the study of societies is still in its infancy, it has already developed a kind of phylogenetic tree of social systems and human social types [...] these are not just quantitative differences, but qualitative ones too: in different societies man is not just socialized to a different extent, but in a different way.'<sup>93</sup>

The idea of a universal community was here called into question and radically limited to a common circle of civilization.<sup>94</sup> The Jews ('one of the principal sources of danger facing European societies') were definitely excluded and with no right of appeal. In this sense retaining and protecting the political order meant restoring the real moral order.<sup>95</sup> The real order had been obscured by ostensible

---

92 R.J., 'Duch narodowy [...] III...', pp. 738–739.

93 Ibid., p. 737.

94 'In fact, when speaking of mankind, we usually think of those civilized people who are closest to us in terms of reactions, feelings and ideas.' Ibid., p. 738.

95 See A. Wielomski, *Pojęcia rzeczywistości i nierzeczywistości w radykalnej myśli konserwatywnej*, in *Konserwatyzm. Historia i współczesność*, S. Stępień (ed.), Lublin 2003, pp. 97–112. For the same construct in C. Maurras, *L'Ordre et le désordre*, Paris 2007. See too R.H. Kedward, *Charles Maurras and the True France*, in *Ideas into Politics. Aspects of European History 1880–1950*, R.J. Bullen, H. Pogge von Strandmann and A.B. Polonsky (eds.), London 1984, p. 119–129.

equilibrium, the latter would have eventually to be overcome, since it deformed the true order of things and furthermore carried with it the imprint of the destruction of all of civilization.

This odd understanding of conservatism was linked to an individual activism, whose aim was to fight the enemies of public order. This activism found its principal ideological justification in racism; racism fulfilling the role both of an instrument to activate the masses into putting this programme into practical language, as well as of a regulating idea standardizing social order. If this package of ideas could be termed radical or even revolutionary conservatism, it was above all conservatism driven by antisemitic radicalism, or simply anti-Jewish revolutionism.<sup>96</sup>

Parts of *Wstęp do polityki polskiej* (*An Introduction to Polish Politics*), published in instalments during the First World War in *Sprawa Polska* (and later in 1919 in *Przegląd Narodowy* too), a work in which, as Dmowski wrote in his correspondence, 'the ND spirit will appear in all its glory, in its graceful, classical nudity',<sup>97</sup> were not in the end issued in book form, although the author kept returning endlessly to these themes in this work.

## Attitudes towards the Jews and the Jewish Question

A result of presenting the Jewish issue, in its entirety, is that we talk about it as if were a question of assimilating the Jews [sic], or banishing or murdering them. However, these solutions are out of the question, since none of them is within our power, despite being highly desirable.

Narodowiec, 'W naszym obozie. Listy do przyjaciół politycznych, V',  
*Przegląd Wszechpolski*, no. 5, May 1901, pp. 274–275

You told me that if my policies finally led to Poland being rid of this [...] Jewish plague, I would have done Poland a service to rival perhaps Batory's [...] but this is theory. What we need today are policies.

Roman Dmowski to Jan Zółtowski, Warsaw, 8 May 1930, in  
'Między Niemcami a Rosją', *Arcana*, 1996, no. 11, p. 55

Perhaps the most characteristic issue in the process of formulating the nationalist camp's views at the turn of the century, the ideological moment when Dmowski's

---

96 See G.L. Mosse, 'Introduction: Towards a General Theory of Fascism', *International Fascism. New Thoughts and New Approaches*, G.L. Mosse (ed.), SAGE Readers in 20<sup>th</sup> Century History, vol. 3, 1979, pp. 1–37. See id., *The Fascist Revolution: Toward a General Theory of Fascism*, New York 1999.

97 Roman Dmowski to Stanisław Kozicki, Naples 20 V 1913, in M. Kułakowski, *Roman Dmowski...*, vol. 1, p. 384.

influence eventually proved to be decisive, was without a doubt “the Jewish question”. The fledgling group from the start worked out a reasonably coherent political platform on the issue. The 1897 policies of the National Democratic Party for those lands that lay in the Russian Partition, mainly the work of Jan Ludwik Popławski, referred directly to the traditions of the Polish League.<sup>98</sup> Dmowski was partly the co-author of this document, although, we can assume that his influence on the interpretation of the Jewish question, was not yet decisive. However, Dmowski knew how to wait.

The first statements by the youngest of the National League’s leaders betrayed more of a desire to maintain ties to an earlier democratic tradition than to define a new vision for tackling this issue. As early as in a symbolic farewell to the ‘chronic revolution’, to the idea which had justified the 1890s’ crisis, Dmowski had written: ‘Behind diplomatic and commercial Europe stands the Europe of the people, to whose wishes we cannot be indifferent.’<sup>99</sup> There were indeed limits to this bridge-building with ‘older’ democrats.

It should be noted that the first contributions by the future author of *Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka* to *Przegląd Wszechpolski* did not distinguish themselves by a lurid exposition of the Jewish subject. In a quasi-ideological piece entitled *Jedność narodowa* (*National Unity*), which appeared in mid-1895, the issue was not even mentioned.<sup>100</sup> The writer pointed out that nations develop on historical bases, with national identity playing a vital role in this. He mentioned that a strong sense of national uniqueness, based on a common collective consciousness and a common ‘national soul’, testified to the fact of remaining a separate national entity. A national soul, ‘a spiritual physiognomy’ (a concept constantly present in Dmowski) develops by way of a common historical tradition. The *Przegląd* contributor explained: ‘This national soul, created through a lengthy historical process, finds the justification for its existence and its aspirations in history. The expression of historical laws is not an empty phrase, is not a meaningless formula.’<sup>101</sup> Two telling moments: a national tradition confirmed by the laws of history and an ethnic principle strengthen one another. However, for this

---

98 See ‘Program Stronnictwa Demokratyczno-Narodowego w zaborze rosyjskim’, *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 1 VI 1897, no. 11, pp. 241–247. See too *Narodowa Demokracja. Antologia...*, pp. 96–112.

99 [R. Dmowski], *Po manifestacji 17 kwietnia. Z dzisiejszej doby X*, Kraków 1894, p. 34.

100 See Skr. [R. Dmowski], ‘Jedność narodowa I’, *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 15 III 1895, no. 6, pp. 82–83. J. Myśliński, *Grupy polityczne Królestwa Polskiego w Zachodniej Galicji 1895–1904*, Warsaw 1967, p. 133.

101 Skr., ‘Jedność narodowa I...’, p. 83.

writer the laws of history were something qualitatively different from a simple juridical note derived from the past, not so much a title, as a moral obligation derived from history. The nation-state was for Dmowski even then a key reference point for his concept.

Both these themes outlined here could equally well have been read then as referring to Poland's democratic/progressive heritage, or also as an appeal to genuine nostalgia for the restoration of the state within its pre-partition borders. In this first interpretation 'national soul' was a synonym – quoted already by the romantics – for a community of the nation's patriotic members, without reference to belief, background, or birth, while the tradition of the First Polish Commonwealth had been its historical, although still fresh embodiment.

In the second view, 'national soul' was a non-material expression of a biological organism whose past was rooted in history. Dmowski's previous statements would lead one to suppose that he was more interested in the second approach. A reference in the manifesto to a prevailing formula of Polish patriotism, treated indeed as 'the very best in us', makes the case for the first approach. It is not irrelevant, despite everything, to recall here that the rejection in 1895 of historical heritage, or at any rate of the democratic tradition itself, would have been not only rash, but akin to political suicide. No adept political player would have gone for that, and by then Dmowski undoubtedly was one.

Many a pro-independence patriot, including one with PPS sympathies, could have gone along with many of the notes sounded in the manifesto. The critique of the 'patriots' programme (i.e., *Nasz patriotyzm*, 1893), which the socialist Stanisław Grabski made in the Paris *Przedświt*, can serve here as an illustration of the issue. Grabski reluctantly noted Dmowski's lack of faith in the possibility of an armed uprising, but acknowledged the nationalist movement's democratic roots. He established that the 'patriots', as representative of the petty bourgeoisie must, in accordance with the logic of the historical process, serve under socialist 'banners'.<sup>102</sup> Another critical reviewer of Dmowski's statements commented perfunctorily: 'In 1896 and 1897 the "League" resolved to organize a "broader" national-democratic party'.<sup>103</sup> On another tack, the Lwów journal, as well as the

---

102 S.G. [S. Grabski], 'Bibliografia. Nasz patriotyzm. Podstawy współczesnej polityki narodowej', *Przedświt*, October 1893, no. 10, pp. 22–23. See too W. Wojdyło, *Stanisław Grabski (1871–1949). Biografia polityczna*, Toruń 2003, p. 61; W. Pobóg-Malinowski, *Narodowa Demokracja 1887–1918. Fakty i dokumenty*, London 1998, pp. 57–61.

103 L. Kulczycki, *Narodowa Demokracja*, Warsaw 1907, p. 19.

new party, in their first years avoided as it were on principle the nationalities issue.<sup>104</sup>

However, short news articles in *Przegląd*, in which the reader could uncover specific writers' personal positions, were eloquent. In *Wymowne cyfry* (*Eloquent Numbers*), published in the first half of 1895, and thus before the League had taken over the paper, R. Skrzycki described relations between nationalities in Lithuania.<sup>105</sup> In an alarmist note the writer warned against the growth of the Jewish population in Vilnius (Wilno) Province. In his view, the number of Jews was growing at a worrying rate. On the basis of a statistical analysis of data for the years 1850–1890, Dmowski demonstrated that the growth of the Jewish population was a secondary sign of a given area's backwardness. He wrote: 'A healthy and strong body, in which every function is normal and in line with the dictates of nature, is the least likely soil for a parasite to take root.' But behind this modernizing façade it is possible to discern the deeper, indeed the inherent extent of the workings of the Jewish population in a non-Jewish environment.

The argument was logically constructed, but at the same time shockingly brutal in its conclusions. 'The Semitic element, invariably living off the exploitation of the local population, would always strive to reproduce, stated the author. In order effectively to exploit its surrounding environment, it must grow in numbers. The more Jews there are, the easier it is for them to influence their surroundings. Their strategy for survival then depends on the Jewish population's steady numerical growth. A greater 'Semitic element' inevitably leads to a dramatic growth in their parasitical culture of exploitation. On this the argument ended. Dmowski concluded: 'The Jewish population is an undeniable parasite on the body of the society in the country where it lives [my underlining. GK]'. Although the argument was based on a narrow area of provincial reality, pretensions to a complete, 'universal' understanding of the problem can be sensed. According to this view, the Jewish population was harmful in itself, everywhere,

---

104 See M. Łagoda, *Dmowski, naród i państwo...*, p. 105 and note; see too K. Kawalec, T. Kulak, *Endecja wobec kwestii żydowskiej (1883–1939)*, in *Polska, Polacy, mniejszości narodowe*, E. Grześkowiak-Łuczak (ed.), Wrocław 1992, pp. 121–138.

105 R. Skrzycki, 'Wymowne cyfry', *Przegląd Wszepolski*, 15 V 1895, no. 10, pp. 145–147. Quotations in the body of the book are taken from this article. See too R. Wapiński, *Roman Dmowski...*, p. 108, also S. Rudnicki, *Towarzystwo Rozwoju Handlu, Przemysłu i Rzemiosł*, in *Gospodarka, ludzie, władza. Studia historyczne ofiarowane Juliuszowi Łukasiewiczowi w 75 rocznicę urodzin*, M. Kopczyński, A. Mączak (eds.), Warsaw 1998, p. 310, as well as B.A. Porter, *When Nationalism Began to Hate...*, p. 223.

by its very nature as it were. The diagnosis offered was based on the criterion of a battle of the elements. The element, which brought civilization to a certain area, had the right to rule over this territory. The area of Lithuania was a sort of social laboratory of these processes. Resorting to the writer's metaphors – a battlefield of elements. A battle for survival. A life and death battle.

Dmowski's short treatise (above all, anti-Russian in tone) was meant to prove the Poles' civilizational right to those lands. It was not the Poles' historical, moral or political attributes that determined their superiority over other societies, but in fact their civilizational ones. Belonging to the superior civilizations was meant to justify their territorial ambitions. Polish society was a civilizational factor there, claimed the writer: 'the element bringing education and progress in all areas to the local population.' Thus the Russians, introducing their rule in these lands had, in the writer's opinion, given away this horn of plenty, this 'land of milk and honey' as prey for the parasite. The Jew/parasite. Dmowski chided the Russians: 'You [...] were the most talented breeders of jews.' [sic] Such biological metaphors were present throughout the whole work. The writer seemed to be in his element. Elsewhere he thundered: 'Mould developed on a healthy, once strong body, a parasite thrives, and beautiful Lithuania turned into a Jewish kingdom!' This lecture in practical parasitology, with a strong socio-Darwinian tinge to it, appears several times in other writings by Dmowski at the time.

Yet R. Skrzycki's intransigent stance in his contributions diverged at the time from the general line of the paper which was, let us recall, also edited by the leader of the LN himself. What is significant is that Dmowski was then making attempts at a critical assessment of Polish-Jewish relations. In one of his chronicles from the Kingdom, as a supposed local correspondent, he reported on the dramatic rise in antisemitism in the Congress Kingdom.<sup>106</sup> He wrote: 'This exceptional rise of judeophobia is the result of the last ten years.' This comment represents quite well the line of reasoning of *Przegląd's* principal contributor. Antisemitism was a defensive reaction, a healthy response by an ill-treated society, for it effectively counteracted the disastrous Jewish expansion.

This theory was supported by numerous examples. The force and intensity of the antisemitic attitudes displayed was supposedly explained by their genesis. As the author evocatively commented, the Jews had made their 'Semitic mark' on Warsaw positivism [...] having absorbed a great deal of the Jewish element.

---

106 Ski [R. Dmowski], 'Z zaboru rosyjskiego. Warszawa d. 26 Lipca, *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 1 VII 1895, no. 14, pp. 223–224. Quotations are taken from this article. See M. Łagoda, *Dmowski, naród i państwo...*, p. 105.



Dmowski enumerated: ‘Through unprecedented ruthlessness, exceptional arrogance, an ability to sneer at that which the whole nation has come to love and spitting on what for most people is sacred, finally a Talmudic attitude towards various dogmas, a Hassidic fanaticism and a truly Mosaic exclusivity.’ This vehement exposé of the Jewish threat was meant eventually to achieve an awakening from a blissful sleep, from the lie of the assimilationist illusion.

The *Przegląd* correspondent also used this opportunity to settle generational scores, placing the responsibility for this Jewish invasion on Polish positivists. In exchange for ostensible support – ostensible, given that the Jews, as a fundamentally alien element, were of course unable to offer any other – the positivists were supposed to open up the pages of their press to them. Dmowski noted bitterly: ‘If the conservative press supported assimilation with a certain reticence, the “progressive” press mounted unreserved support for Judaism.’ Interesting, from the point of view of the writer’s earlier pieces, was his recalling the *Głos* position on the matter. The correspondent noted that the paper’s approach was restrained, although he saw positives in the *Głos* circle’s perception of the Jewish problem. The paper’s antisemitism was meant to stem from normal daily life, as he wrote: ‘influenced by life experience.’

With the same outrage that accompanied the paper’s antisemitic campaigns, Dmowski discerned the complaints of a group of assimilated intellectuals and their typical oversensitivity, ‘excessive sensitivity [...] bred in the hot-house atmosphere of “Warsaw positivism”’. Already then this intellectual group, in his view, was revealing its internal hypocrisy. It was false and inauthentic in its actions. As he noted: ‘Polish only on the outside.’

The second important issue in this piece was an analysis of the antisemitic current in Warsaw. Although the commentator saw it as a spontaneous defensive move, a healthy response to ‘assimilationist’ hypocrisy, he was patronizing towards the actual antisemitic protagonists. He wrote that Jan Jeleński had read the current mood well – ‘an elemental hatred of jews’ [sic] – but that he was a simpleton when it came to methods. In a separate comment on Józef Drzewiecki, the editor of *Niwa Polska* – a weekly for landowners, which in the 1890s began to print violently antisemitic texts – he hinted that he was nothing but a ‘noisy homoeopathist’.<sup>107</sup> And indeed the strategy that Dmowski, unlike those somewhat home-grown antisemitic activists, was using attracted attention by its comprehensive approach and was based on more solid premises.

---

107 Józef Drzewiecki was indeed a well-known Warsaw homoeopathist.

The writer's conclusion that one day someone will want to exploit these strengthening antisemitic attitudes gives pause for thought. Dmowski wrote: 'There would probably be more people who would willingly share with Jeleński the number of subscribers and the profits of antisemitism, and were it not for the press restrictions in force here, we would probably have as many ultra-antisemitic weeklies as we have undertakers' establishments.

These venomous antisemitic outbursts of Dmowski, though served up in moderate doses, must have been all the more striking in that, in the first years of its existence, with the exception of the odd article or two, *Przegląd Wszechpolski* did not raise the issue. The opinions of an anonymous Student, bemoaning 'arrogance, egoism, servility', and writing thus: 'all the features of the Semitic tribe – the most disgusting of alien elements', were something of an event.<sup>108</sup> The student's confessions referred to the Jews flowing in after the Russian pogroms, the so-called 'Litwaks', who also were not highly regarded in the pro-independence socialist press. The author of one of the pieces most filled with anti-Litwak sentiment in the socialist *Przedświt* was Feliks Perl.<sup>109</sup>

A young socialist (later inter alia the co-founder of the Warsaw Housing Co-operative) Teodor Toeplitz wrote cuttingly in his letters of 'nasty little Russian Jews' and it should be added that similar opinions were widespread among the progressive intelligentsia, not excluding people of Jewish descent.<sup>110</sup>

---

108 See Student, 'Z zaboru rosyjskiego, Warszawa dnia 10 października', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 15 X 1895, no. 19, p. 302. If we accept the findings of M. Łagoda, the author of a monograph on *Przegląd Wszechpolski's* political doctrine, this 'Student' could also have been Dmowski. In annuals of the paper, which Łagoda has discovered, with cryptonyms, acronyms and pseudonyms that contributors to *Przegląd* used, personally decrypted and signed by Dmowski himself, all the pieces, with the exception of those annotated separately, were supposedly written by Dmowski. The one signed a 'Student' does not have such an annotation. On the other hand, we know that in the paper's first phase (1895–1896) Dmowski also for reasons of principle to all intents and purposes wrote the whole paper, which meant signing his own pieces with a variety of pseudonyms, and at the very least approving everything that appeared in print. See annexe in M. Łagoda, *Dmowski, naród i państwo...*, pp. 285–286.

109 F.P. [F. Perl], 'Z kraju i o kraju. Żydzi-rusyfikatorzy', *Przedświt*, 1893, no. 10, p. 21. See too F. Perl (Res), *Dzieje ruchu socjalistycznego w zaborze rosyjskim do powstania PPS*, Warsaw 1958, p. 455 and note.

110 See K.T. Toeplitz, *Rodzina Toeplitzów. Książka mojego ojca*, Warsaw 2004, p. 197; J. Olczak-Ronikier, *W ogrodzie pamięci*, Kraków 2001, p. 122 and note; S. Wojciechowski, *Moje wspomnienia*, vol. 1, Lwów–Warsaw 1938, pp. 40–41; L. Krzywicki, *Wspomnienia*, vol. 3, Warsaw 1959, p. 328 and note. See too 'Listy Józefa Piłsudskiego,

Although such views were usually a reflection of a radical assimilationist approach, they did, however, contribute to an increase in general anti-Jewish feeling, as well as to a general acceptance of antisemitic rhetoric in public discourse.<sup>111</sup> It is perhaps worth noting that just about every society had its own *Ostjuden*.<sup>112</sup> The French carefully counted them in Germany; the Germans, as well as assimilated Jews, found them among Polish Jews; the Poles among Jews from the Taken Lands, who found them in Russia herself.

We can also assume, without taking too great a risk, that Dmowski's fiery, antisemitic outbursts were something of a test: a sort of survey among potential *Przegląd* readers, and perhaps League members too. There was an exceptionally large tolerance for this type of statement. Even if some people were put off by the aggressive tone of these publications, a great many were ready to lend an ear.

This characteristic change in mood can be symbolized by the simultaneous departure of Józef Karol Potocki from the League, and the arrival in it of the young, promising painter and art critic Eligiusz Niewiadomski in 1897.<sup>113</sup> The former, in one of his last columns in *Głos*, warned against the growing elements of 'national zoology' in Polish political thought, themes towards whose popularization his own input had otherwise been not inconsiderable.<sup>114</sup> The latter, after

---

nr 39, do Bolesława Miklaszewskiego w Ameryce, Londyn 24 IV 1896; *Niepodległość*, 14, November–December 1936, vol. 3 (38), p. 448; J. Piłsudski, 'Do Centralizacji ZZSP w Londynie (24 VII 1897)', edited by W. Pobóg-Malinowski, L. Wasilewski, *Niepodległość*, 18, September–October 1938, vol. 2 (49), pp. 227–233; 'List Józefa Piłsudskiego do redakcji „Przedświtu”, 15 II 1898', *Niepodległość*, 18, November–December 1938, vol. 3 (50), p. 373; S. Stempowski, *Pamiętniki (1870–1914)*, Wrocław 1953, p. 222. J.D. Zimmerman, 'Józef Piłsudski and the 'Jewish Question', 1892–1905', *East European Jewish Affairs*, vol. 28, summer 1998, no. 1, pp. 69–86, is interesting on Piłsudski's and the early socialists' attitude to the Jewish population.

111 A.S. Lindemann, in *Anti-Semitism before the Holocaust*, Harlow 2000, p. 54 and note, writes comprehensively about the growing anti-Jewish climate in Europe after the Russian pogroms of the 80s.

112 See J. Wertheimer, *Unwelcome Strangers. East European Jews in Imperial Germany*, New York–Oxford 1997, pp. 22–41; S.E. Aschheim, *The East European Jew in German Jewish Consciousness 1800–1923*, Madison 1999, pp. XV–XXXI, as well as pp. 58–79; F. Guesnet, „Litwacy” i „Ostjuden” (*Żydzi ze Wschodu*). *Migracja i stereotypy*, in *Tematy żydowskie*, E. Traba and R. Traba (eds.), Olsztyn 1999, pp. 73–80.

113 Niewiadomski assassinated the first Polish president, Gabriel Narutowicz, in 1922. The following year he was sentenced to death after a short trial. Translator's note.

114 Quotation taken from M. Koszycka, *Marian Bohusz (Między naturalizmem a kulturalizmem)*, in *Historia i kultura. Studia z dziejów polskiej myśli kulturalnej*, vol. 2, A. Mencwel (ed.), Warsaw 1991, p. 94.

a youthful fascination with socialism to be followed later by disillusionment in its – as he would write – ‘sterility’, briefly shrugged this off later: ‘The Jews have infected socialism with moral venom and creative impotence.’<sup>115</sup>

Jewish issues appeared with greater intensity in Dmowski’s journalism at the time of the elections to the Viennese Council of State in 1897. Those universal, although not yet equal elections in Cisleithania (they were conducted along electoral college lines) were one of the first trials by fire for the young ND group. The League was supporting populist candidates, although it did so without much conviction. In this election for the first time for quite a while the views of the Jewish proletariat were in evidence, and for the most part it supported the Galician socialists.<sup>116</sup> As can be imagined, this was no minor matter for the fledgling nationalist movement. Even less may its importance be discounted as far as Dmowski was concerned.

The *Przegląd Wszechpolski* group had already become established both organizationally, as well as politically. The paper’s editorial board, strengthened by Popławski’s arrival in Lwów, with growing vigour began to emphasize its separate political stance, ascribing to its potential supporters scenarios of specific behaviours. The Dmowski-Popławski duo, soon enlarged by Zygmunt Balicki, who had settled in Kraków, began to outline the shape of its developing ideology. In these writings the paper’s attitude towards the nationalist groups also began slowly to crystalize.

At the time Dmowski was invariably pointing out the Jews’ organic, atavistic special characteristic. If other *Przegląd* contributors still struggled with distinguishing the behaviour of offshoots of the Jewish population in different partitions, in line with the nationalist criterion of recognizing the Polish national interest, then the leader himself constantly pointed out that the ‘Semitic element’ would always have in its sights its own interests as a faith-group and would ruthlessly aim to put them into practice. Many contributors to *Przegląd Wszechpolski* still did not assess so unambiguously the behaviour of the ‘Jewish element’.

---

115 E. Niewiadomski, ‘Zeznania oskarżonego (Według stenogramu)’, *Gazeta Poranna 2 Grosze*, 1 I 1923, no. 1 (3634), p. 4.

116 M. Sobczak, ‘Kwestia żydowska na przełomie XIX i XX w. w ocenie tworzącego się polskiego ruchu narodowego’, *Prace Naukowe Akademii Ekonomicznej we Wrocławiu*, no. 722, Nauki Humanistyczne, 1996, no. 2, pp. 185–199. See too P. Wróbel, ‘The Jews of Galicia under Austrian-Polish Rule, 1869–1918’, *Austrian History Yearbook*, vol. 25, 1994, pp. 97–138.

Even for Popławski, usually speaking out aggressively on Jewish issues, the Galician Jews to a certain extent could be considered Poles.<sup>117</sup> Dmowski, however, although in most of his articles he refrained from presenting a comprehensive approach, systematically went on at length about the illusion of assimilating the Jewish population, simultaneously pointing out the Jews' destructive effect on urban society. This influence was racial in character.

In typical fashion in February 1897 Dmowski shared with his readers not so much a detailed review of the situation of the Jewish population in Galicia as, so he wrote, observations made over the years.<sup>118</sup> The editor of *Przegląd* would have recourse to this persuasive approach on more than one occasion, each time demanding an objective, 'scientific' solution to the problem. Through these comments ran the theme of illusion, of honest infantilism, and naïve blindness, which apparently lingered among the local Poles towards the Jewish population, while on the other hand there was the Jews' consistent and well-organized manipulation. This passionate desire to expose the illusion of assimilation appeared not just in this article.

It should be mentioned that this recurring theme of exposing Jewish base behaviour is common to all the nationalist antisemites, and notably not always a direct function of racial motivation.<sup>119</sup> In this, as in other statements by Dmowski, there was no trace of fascination in, or normal respect for these supposedly expansive achievements of the Jews, which were planned in advance; respect which the author frequently expressed for other 'active elements'. There was also a lack here of this telltale ambivalence in attitude towards the Jews, which the conservative critics of assimilation unthinkingly revealed. Even in the statements of noisy antisemites of the time, such as Teodor Jeske-Choiński in *Rola* or Kazimierz Ehrenberg in the *Kraków Głos Narodu*, or the well-known 'vanquisher' of the Jews, Teofil Merunowicz, this division between 'good' and 'base' Jews was in evidence.<sup>120</sup>

---

117 Quoted in M. Sobczak, *Kwestia żydowska na przełomie...*, p. 190 and note.

118 R. Skrzycki, 'Listy Warszawiaka z Galicji V', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 15 II 1897, no. 4, pp. 79–81. Quotations are taken from this article. See too XXX [R. Dmowski], 'Z zaboru rosyjskiego, Warszawa d. 23 lutego', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 1 III 1897, no. 5, pp. 107–108; id., 'Z zaboru rosyjskiego, Warszawa 26 Października (m.in. Logika asymilacyjna)', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 1 XI 1897, no. 21, pp. 483–485.

119 See K. Holz, *Nationaler Antisemitismus. Wissenssoziologie einer Weltanschauung*, Hamburg 2001, especially the sub-chapter: 'Nationalismus und Antisemitismus', pp. 12–19.

120 See A. Friedrich, *Żydzi, Niemcy i Polacy w publicystyce Bolesława Prusa i Jana Jeleńskiego*, in *Żydzi i judaizm we współczesnych badaniach polskich*, vol. 3, K. Pilarczyk

The same was true for well-known German antisemites of the period, the Protestant preacher Adolf Stöcker, or the influential historian Heinrich von Treitschke, for whom the conversion of Jews to Christianity meant a solution to the problem.<sup>121</sup>

The case of Dmowski's antisemitism is different. Behind cold, analytical description we can find violent emotions stirring in the text. The *Przegląd* chronicler mentioned, for example, meeting a workman, who turned out to be 'a representative of the Jewish people's interests,' although, as he meticulously pointed out, 'not a drop of Jewish blood was in his veins.'<sup>122</sup> The unspoken suggestion was that the workman was not supposed to have any pro-Jewish sympathies. A short quasi-investigation led the journalist to some interesting results. The none-too-bright proletarian turned out to be the pupil of a Jewish student. The writer concluded that no other ideological direction owed the Jews as much as did socialism.

Elsewhere Dmowski indicated that the loyalty of the Jews was merely a function of fear of naked power, and even then did not lessen their attention to even the shabbiest profit. The 'attraction of officialdom' lasted only until the possibility of making some money appeared. Infected by this 'materialist' leprosy, Jews were capable of the worst fraud and baseness. 'A Jew is by nature affected by his surroundings insofar as he senses their power,' he wrote. Correcting himself immediately, he added: 'The average citizen of the Mosaic faith is far too practical not to look at his constitutional rights as a way to earn a few guildens for his vote at the elections.'

These daily, feverish efforts by the Jews in the pursuit of material goods was supposedly accompanied by their typical innate arrogance, the result, according to *Przegląd's* columnist, of their sense of their own difference and tribal pride. Dmowski did not hesitate to share with his readers his observations on the subject

---

(ed.), Kraków 2003, pp. 199–21; ead., 'Jak antysemityzm sprzed stulecia wpływa na współczesne dyskusje w internecie?', *Midrasz*, June 2004, no. 6 (86), p. 27; T. Weeks, 'The International Jewish Conspiracy Reaches Poland. Teodor Jeske-Choiński and his works,' *East European Quarterly*, vol. 31, 1997, pp. 21–41; A. Żbikowski, 'Rozwój ideologii antysemitycznej w Galicji w II połowie XIX wieku. Teofila Merunowicza atak na żydowskie kahały. *Przegląd Piśmiennictwa*, part 1, *Biuletyn ŻIH*, July-December 1993, nos. 3–4 (167–168), pp. 53–62; part 2, January–September 1994, nos. 1–3 (169–171), pp. 21–39.

121 A.S. Lindemann, *Anti-Semitism before the Holocaust...*, p. 62.

122 R. Skrzycki, 'Listy Warszawianka z Galicji V', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 15 II 1897, no. 4, p. 80.

of the dress and daily behaviour of Galician Jews, which supposedly annoyed the man in the street the most. Traces of this aesthetic distaste, and even personal aversion towards Jews can be found in Dmowski's remaining articles of this period. Even if we find similar opinions in other antisemitic columnists of the day, surely no other well-known writer began to hammer these attitudes into such a consistent and rationalized political message.

Dmowski did not explain directly the source of these dreadful Jewish afflictions. He also rarely linked the phenomenon of Jewry exclusively to the issue of biological determinism. Racial instincts – in line with this view of things – had already been harnessed to the narrative of history. But spirituality, the sphere of free ideas, was simply an essence, the highest, since immaterial, element of the natural world. However, it is hard to agree with the view that races, as harbingers of a nation, were seen here as an immutable phenomenon thus not subject to the laws of history, as if extracted from the realm of the binding laws of history.<sup>123</sup>

On the contrary, races, racial types – just like nations and civilizations – were subject to the rules of circular development, according to the old, but not outmoded trinity: birth, growth, extinction. Extinction, according to the above perspective, was meant to be preceded by an extended stage of crisis and degeneration. However, it would be a stretch to draw the conclusion that Polish ideologues of nationalism – as Roman Zimand has claimed – in recognizing the biological fact of being Polish as a value in and of itself, trivialized interest in the biological nature of this Polishness. Being Polish was a value, which one does not recognize, does not study, but which one experiences, wrote Zimand.<sup>124</sup>

Clearly such a non-discursive, intuitive approach to the nation was also at work among theoreticians of Polish nationalism. It is possible that for some of them it was a position adequately justifying their own attitudes. The case of Leon Rutkowski, an anthropologist and distinguished community activist, a colleague of Dmowski's from August Wrześniowski's academic seminar, a member of the ZET and later the LN, shows another side to this approach, however. Rutkowski, a scholar of the 'Polish race' spent years analysing the composition of the Polish population from an anthropological standpoint.

Interestingly enough, this close friend of Ludwik Krzywicki did not tie his biological approach to the nation to particularly prominent antisemitism. When he died towards the end of the First World War his funeral procession

---

123 See B.A. Porter, *When Nationalism Began to Hate...*, p. 212

124 R. Zimand, 'Uwagi o teorii narodu na marginesie analizy nacjonalistycznej teorii narodu', *Studia Filozoficzne*, 1967, no. 4, pp. 26–27.

was accompanied by a group from the local Jewish community. Nevertheless, Rutkowski, as his successors claimed, became one of the precursors of the 'Lwów school' of Polish anthropology.<sup>125</sup> The principal architects of this approach, presenting a theory of the strongest permeation of a Nordic element in the Western Slavs, were linked to the ND.

The Rutkowski case and that of similar 'bards of the Polish race' among League activists was by no means an isolated one.<sup>126</sup> On the other hand, it would certainly be difficult in principle to maintain the view that this racial/anthropological attitude to the problem of the nation continued to be dominant at the time or was even widespread. The strength of democratic convictions was too strong among Leaguers simply to adopt such racist, not to mention hierarchical thinking. On the whole this naturalist thinking was found in other formats. Thus Jan Stecki maintained that the battle of the races was an eternal law of historical development, but he immediately made a pertinent proviso in the spirit of the later works of Józef Karol Potocki: 'Thus co-operation as a developmental factor predominates over competition, or balances it out all over the world in all its activities and at every stage of development [...]. Solidarity, co-operation, association, mutual aid, harmony in life all weigh just as much as struggle, and in future should weigh more.'<sup>127</sup> However, attempts at a rather more precise definition of race and the whole issue of race, undertaken by League ideologues, had produced startlingly miserable results.

One can without a doubt get the impression that the concepts of race, of racial types most strongly showed their usefulness in presenting the non-Jewish population's practical opposition to the Jews. Stecki, one of the many supporters of a Polish colony in Paran , wrote, after reading the most recent anthropological research: 'the Poles are a superior and healthier race and mature later than do

---

125 See A. Maciesza, *Dr. Leon Rutkowski, jako badacz naukowy*, in *Ksi ga pami tkowa Płocczan*, Warsaw 1931, pp. 141–156. S. Kozicki, in *Historia Ligi Narodowej...*, pp. 382–389, wrote about Rutkowski's place in the nationalist camp. See too ' p. Dr Leon Rutkowski', *Gazeta Poranna 2 Grosze*, 9 I 1917, no. 9 (1547), p. 1.

126 See *Dr J zef Psarski, 1868–1953*, Ostroł ka 1982. J. Załuska, a prominent ND activist from the turn of the century recalled him as a 'pioneer of the pure Polish race', J. Załuska, 'Koło O wiaty Ludowej 1894–1898', *Przegl d Wszeczpolski*, March 1924, no. 3, p. 212.

127 J. Stecki, 'Darwinizm społeczny II', *Głos*, 13 (25) III 1899, no. 12, p. 269. See id., 'Darwinizm społeczny I', *Głos*, 6 (18) III 1899, no. 11, pp. 244–246.



the Jews, they are also a cleverer race than the Jews at developing in favourable circumstances.<sup>128</sup>

As for the leader of the LN, there was no such hesitation as to the biological nature of 'tribal elements'. Insofar as idleness and a lack of an instinct for self-survival, which Dmowski ascribed to the Ukrainian people, supposedly emanated from some innate characteristics, as he specifies 'from deep racial instincts', these specified negative social attributes appeared naturally among the Jews.<sup>129</sup>

The implications of these arguments became ever clearer, and conclusions of a more general nature ever more absolute. The Jews, unlike, for instance, the Ukrainians or the Belarusians, whose developmental opportunities the writer clearly trivialized, were becoming a real and genuine force. This was undoubtedly a negative force. The Jews were by nature incapable of positive creativity. Even if they turned out to be the sole supporters of progress, it was negative progress.<sup>130</sup>

Both as a social group, as well as individuals, the Jews had been acknowledged as enemies and pests in terms of Christian society. Dmowski expressed the issue more broadly. The basic, for immovable, binary antinomy on the path of the social contract, Jews – non-Jews, Jews – Aryans, appeared with him only towards the end of his life. It continually surfaced in reflections of the 1890s, as a certain anthropological/historical formulation. The Jews, unable to transform themselves into a modern nation, also possessed a great many innate attributes for transforming their surroundings to their advantage, leading to their disintegration and eventual destruction.

In these paradigms of the philosophy of history there was no more space for a moral or merely social rebirth of the Jews, which distinguished the editor of

---

128 J. Stecki, 'Nasz stan fizyczny', *Głos*, 10 (22) IV 1899, no. 16, p. 36.

129 R. Skrzycki, 'Listy Warszawiaka z Galicyi VI' (inc. 'Rusini') *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 1 IV 1897, no. 7, pp. 152–153. See too id., 'Listy Warszawiaka z Galicyi VIII' (inc. 'Wartość ruchu ruskiego; Stan umysłowy inteligencji ruskiej; Skutki moralne; Bezideowość'), *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 1 V 1897, no. 9, pp. 193–195; id., 'Listy Warszawiaka z Galicyi IX' (inc. 'Widoki rozwiązania kwestii ruskiej; Mniej polityki'), *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 15 VI 1897, no. 12, pp. 268–269.

130 See R. Skrzycki, 'Listy Warszawiaka z Galicyi V', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 15 II 1897, no. 4, pp. 79–80; id., 'Wymowne cyfry', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 15 V 1895, no. 10, pp. 145–147; Ski [R. Dmowski], 'Z zaboru rosyjskiego Warszawa d. 26 lipca', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 1 VIII 1895, no. 14, pp. 223–224; [R. Dmowski], 'Z zaboru pruskiego, Poznań' (inc. 'Żydzi w zaborze pruskim'), *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 1 X 1895, no. 18, p. 288.

*Przegląd Wszechpolski* from other nationalist columnists.<sup>131</sup> It is worth focusing on this moment, for the overwhelming pessimism towards the idea of Zionism and towards all efforts at regenerating the Jews distinguished the strictly racist antisemitic discourse from even the radical nationalist one, but shorn of this element.

If Bolesław Koskowski, Władysław Jabłonowski or Zygmunt Wasilewski, the leading publicists associated with the National Democrats, viewed the Jews as a fundamental threat to the local population, they at the same time saw in Zionism a realistic route to the renewal of Jewish society. Although the weakness of the Jewish nationalist movement was widely perceived in home-grown nationalist circles and its key failings carefully enumerated, these arguments did not shut the door on the rebirth of the Jews as a separate ethnic group.

The basic difference of Dmowski's position could be seen in this approach. The League's leader did not go on excessively about the threat supposedly emanating from Zionism, regarding this ideological creation rather as yet another effect of a separate group identity than as the idealistic current that he saw the Polish 'nationalist movement' to be.<sup>132</sup> In his view, Zionism was merely a bubble. It was doomed to failure. Jews both in elections to Austrian ruling circles as elsewhere represented a potential threat to the Polish population. In the best case as an uncertain national element, caused by their own racial/tribal logic, they became a tool of both forces. There where the influence of their surroundings was strong enough, the Jews were excessively loyal. They were always and everywhere ready to be of service to the strongest. In turn even those who were the most honest morally, as he would describe them, 'even very young and idealistic' assimilated Jews, were unable to free themselves from their tribal burdens and eventually contented themselves with favouring their own group.

---

131 Z. Was. [Z. Wasilewski], 'Walka z opryszkami', *Głos*, 2 (14) III 1896, no. 11, pp. 241–242; Z.W. [Z. Wasilewski], 'Sjonizm', *Głos*, 3 (15) X 1898, no. 42, pp. 985–988; E. Prokop-Janiec, *Literatura wobec nacjonalizmu. Twórczość krytyczna Zygmunta Wasilewskiego*, Kraków 2004, p. 243 and note; B. Koskowski, 'Dla zdrowia ludu', *Głos*, 22 VI (4 VII) 1896, no. 27, pp. 639–642; B.K. [B. Koskowski], 'Kolonizacja żydowska', *Głos*, 8 (20) VIII 1898, no. 34, pp. 793–794; B. Koskowski, 'Emigracja żydowska', *Głos*, 31 VII (12 VIII) 1899, no. 32, pp. 701–702; E.Wr. [J. Stecki?], 'Państwo żydowskie', *Głos*, 21 IX (3 X) 1896, no. 40, pp. 937–943; id., 'Państwo żydowskie', *Głos*, 28 IX (10 X) 1896, no. 41, pp. 965–968.

132 See R. Skrzycki, 'Listy Warszawiaka z Galicji V', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 15 II 1897, no. 4, pp. 79–80.

The Jews, as a racial type, both in a group and individually, both the traditional ones, as well as the assimilated ones, turned out to be not only anachronistic ballast for their developing society, but also in an ethical sense were becoming a structural evil for every modern society. This double, and thus pragmatic and moral thread will appear more than once in this writer.

The leader of the ND tried to document carefully and depict from many angles the dreadful influence of this Jewish stigma. His discussion of Władysław Reymont's *Ziemia Obiecana* (*The Promised Land*), which he placed in the *Przegląd Wszepolski* in 1899, is definitely worth our attention.<sup>133</sup> This piece is even more noteworthy, given that the paper on the whole did not publish literary reviews and that Dmowski, who at the time was travelling extensively, must have given himself a great deal of work, sending in such an extensive essay from abroad.<sup>134</sup>

The peasant writer had from the start fascinated Dmowski and not just because of the man's talent or his own literary ambitions. In his view, Reymont appeared to be a new type of writer. A creative artist who supposedly explored and extracted from his society new elements, which had hitherto been absent from, or trivialized in the intellectual world, but which after all were key for society. Reymont, as the reviewer emphasized, when writing his piece supposedly 'hammered with strong blows', presenting a work 'not of tinkering, but of fearless strokes'. Dmowski must also have recognized in the writer many generational features dear to him. He recalled Reymont's life, his peasant ancestry, his tribulations with Russian schooling, which either destroyed and morally depraved powerful personalities, or rejected them; he described too the difficult start to the writer's literary career: 'In such conditions only an exceptional person could have survived, thus this unusual career is some kind of proof of his uniqueness, it is proof too of his powerful personality, refusing to bend to the despicable Muscovite school [...] nor to the common stereotype of today's day-to-day life.'

Echoes can be found in the discussion of *Ziemia Obiecana* of aesthetic aspirations and demands, which in his time the young man of letters R. Skrzycki had called for in *Głos*. The *Przegląd* columnist was attracted to new heroes, 'men of action' changing reality 'with a flourish' and shaping it in their own image.

---

133 See R. Skrzycki, 'Nowa powieść polska (Uwagi do Ziemi Obiecanej Wł. St. Reymonta)', *Przegląd Wszepolski*, February 1899, no. 2. Quotations are taken from this article. See too A.M. Fountain, *Roman Dmowski...*, pp. 49–51; R. Wapiński, *Roman Dmowski...*, p. 89.

134 The discussion was an expanded version of a talk given by Dmowski at the literary meetings of the Scientific and Literary Union in Lwów at the beginning of 1899. See M. Kiniorski, *Z czterdziestu pięciu lat wspomnień...*, p. 10.

Amongst such people Karol Borowiecki was of course pre-eminent. According to Dmowski, he was a more psychologically authentic person than heroes such as, for instance, Połaniecki or Wokulski, though he also represented this social type. In Borowiecki the critic recognized the qualities and features of the new Pole.

The new Pole was a man ready to do battle in the field of economic life. Action thus would supposedly enrich his nature, extract from 'race instinct' his creative power – his will to dominate. Action would show mankind's hidden strengths. The reviewer listed them with emphasis: 'a craving for pleasure, vanity, a desire to rule, competitive envy, the race instinct striving to crush other races, finally aimless risk.'

However, the most important thing for Dmowski in the story was Reymont's new presentation of relations between ethnic groups. The extensive review in *Przegląd* was one of the first attempts in Polish journalism of the day to analyse a work of literature from the standpoint of the racial philosophy of history. The peasant writer, according to the reviewer, used all his talent to depict the struggle between opposite, mutually-hostile racial/tribal types. The columnist saw a real novelty in comparisons with the work of Reymont's predecessors. He wrote: 'For him people in society are not mathematical units, but facts of nature, creations of race and the centuries-long action of cultural influences etc. Society is not a random, mechanist mix of various elements, but an organic whole, connected by a series of common features, of beliefs in ethical ideals. When in his stories Okoński [A. Świętochowski's *nom de plume*] [...] promotes tolerance for foreign elements, attacks racial-cultural antagonism [...] and pities poor Chawa on the grounds that they are not leaving her alone, with Reymont this antagonism comes to the fore. The writer finds there to be a profound ethical difference between the Polish and Jewish races, depicts it vigorously and finally formulates it when he can. Intercourse between these elements in his story is not a mutual rapprochement, or assimilation, but mutual renunciation, in a word, a merciless struggle.'

On the other hand, the peasant writer was not neutral in describing these conflicts. Not without some satisfaction did the reviewer state: 'From his tale emanates faith that the Polish element will eventually win.' He added elsewhere: 'In none of our other writers has the noble cult of power, as well as a sense of national individuality and of attachment to it, been so powerfully expounded.'

Not only do threads and paradigms raised earlier reappear in this piece, but whole intellectual and linguistic structures too. The story's detailed examination from a technical and ideological angle was accompanied by an irresistible desire to prove just how deceptive the kind impulse of mixing various racial elements

can be. The voice of such radical, focused antisemitic hostility sounded especially strongly both in terms of the traits of the Jewish characters in the novel, as well as in the general descriptions of Jews as an ethnic group.<sup>135</sup>

In Reymont's story *Dmowski* clearly saw ideals close to his heart and found motifs which he evoked over and over again, but which might not even have been present in Reymont's story. In his commentary the Jews were treated not just as a different racial element, like the literary image of the Germans, whom the reviewer also did not treat with any greater emotion, but as a qualitative and basically different type.

Acknowledging the racial criterion as key, *Dmowski* also ascribed to the Jews as a race an exceptional role. The Jews were immutably different and at the same time also hostile towards their external surroundings. In this view of things they had, as a race, an unchangeable flaw. He wrote: 'After the Germans come the Jews, strong in their separate morality, which in fact is part of a uniform system of immorality [...]. Cleverer and with a broader intelligence than the dumb German ex-workers, wanting not only to possess millions, but also to gobble up those who do, not only to show them off, but also to demonstrate good tone and taste, unattainable for them with their eternal features of temporary tenants running other people's property, mindlessly plundering and destroying with not a thought for the future of what they have exploited, with their eternal inner anxiety, as if linked to race, diluted in blood, they do not as the Germans do have that moderation, that steadiness when clambering up, they move faster, in dramatic leaps, then they stumble, fall down, go to prison for arson, lose their money earned from shady deals, and always help one another when it comes to destroying someone of another race.'

Apparently this reading of the story was to Reymont's taste, since his friendship with *Dmowski* henceforth took on a new tone. *Dmowski* too was to return more than once to Reymont's work, confirming his initial impressions. It was probably not just because of Zygmunt Wasilewski's personal efforts that, for instance, *Chłopi* (*The Peasants*) would be printed in 1903 in the *Lwów Słowo Polskie* – the ND's flagship in Galicia.

In the more general strategy of presenting the Jewish issue by the ND youth community an important moment, although with more of a symbolic significance, was the death in 1899 of Bolesław Hirsztfeld. This very distinguished activist for

---

135 B. Umińska, in *Postać z cieniem. Portrety Żydówek w polskiej literaturze od końca XIX wieku do 1939 roku*, Warsaw 2001, pp. 126–143, points to the strongly stereotypical images of Jewish characters, especially women, in *Ziemia Obiecana*.

the pro-independence underground movement had been accepted into the LN at the time of its formation. He came from a fully assimilated Jewish family with patriotic traditions dating back to the start of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Earlier, in the Polish League, he had been one of the finest organizers of popular education, the founder of the Warsaw Circle for Popular Education. After his arrest in 1893, he went into exile alongside Dmowski and other leading 'patriots'. Dmowski, together with Tomasz Ruśkiewicz, was sent to Mitawa, Hirszfeld with Jan Warchocki to Riga. Even then Hirszfeld remained on terms of a certain social intimacy with Dmowski.<sup>136</sup>

For the pro-independence underground movement Hirszfeld continued to be a symbol of 90s' radicalism, the last of the intransigents who had been able to reconcile the pro-Marxist socialists and the pro-independence left with the developing nationalist movement. The Society for Assistance to Political Prisoners, which he had set up, was one of the last public spaces in which these groups found a measure of understanding. For the generation which indulged its idealism, he was one of the 'men of action'. For Stefan Żeromski, Hirszfeld became (apart from Józef Karol Potocki and Marian Abramowicz – both mentioned in *Przedwiośnie* (*The Coming Spring*)) a model of personal sacrifice for the Cause. The author of *Ludzie bezdomni* would write later: 'What trace is there of those whom we had the pleasure of seeing among us, of Marian Bohusz and Bolesław Hirszfeld, sons of immortality? They threw into the surrounding pond every outburst of passionate will which nourished them, they tore their souls out by the roots and having given them as fodder to the greedy darkness, overcome with despair, they nobly took their own lives in secret.'<sup>137</sup>

For many members of the LN, especially those from an older generation, Boś, a legend in his own circle, remained the embodiment of personal sacrifice and dedication to the 'national' cause.<sup>138</sup> 'Bring us more Hirszfelds!' trumpeted Zygmunt

---

136 See J. Hłasko, 'W redakcji „Głosu” (Wspomnienia z lat 1887–1895)', *Gazeta Warszawska*, 17 IX 1932, no. 287, p. 5.

137 S. Żeromski, *Słowo o bandosie*, in id., *Pisma zebrane*, vol. 4: *Sen o szpadzie. Pomyłki i inne utwory epickie*, edited by Z.J. Adamczyk, Warsaw 1990, pp. 34–35. See too id., *Listy, 1897–1904*, edited by Z.J. Adamczyk, Warsaw 2003, p. 112, to Anna Hirszfeld, Warsaw 6 II 1900. Żeromski also wrote specially for the PPS press an obituary of Hirszfeld, which he gave to Piłsudski. As far as we know, this piece never saw the light of day. There also appeared in *Robotnik* a short, but eloquent mention of his death – 'Bolesław Hirszfeld', *Robotnik*, 3 XII 1899, no. 34, p. 9.

138 See Stanisław Bukowiecki's reminiscences about the National League. Akta Stanisława Kozickiego, APAN, sygn. 30/3, p. 8; S. Bukowiecki, *Fragmety wspomnień z końca XIX stulecia*, BN, sygn. 7960 III; L. Krzywicki, *Wspomnienia*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1957, pp. 233–235; M. Czapska, 'Rozmowy', *Zeszyty Historyczne*, 1971, vol. 19, pp. 100–101.

Miłkowski in a eulogy given during the deliberations of the Foreign Association of Poles Studying Abroad – an organization close to the League.<sup>139</sup> Boś also enjoyed great respect among nationalist youth.

On the other hand, the growth from below among some of the Leaguers of a spontaneous and also often fierce antisemitism felt in teacher circles close to Hirszfeld, drove him away from the organization. In the second half of 1899 Boś, as Hirszfeld was known among colleagues, committed suicide. There was definitely a number of reasons for this tragic act, but the feeling of rejection which Hirszfeld had experienced at the hands of a great number of former colleagues, must have been especially overwhelming. Yet he left over 30,000 roubles in his will for popular education. This sum was also put at the disposal of activists associated with the ND.

The leadership of radical Warsaw demonstratively bade farewell to Hirszfeld at the Powązki Cemetery. One of the two graveside eulogies was given by the well-known literary critic Władysław Jabłonowski – a leading figure in the National League.<sup>140</sup> This was one of those funerals that close an era and have symbolic significance. Courtesy farewells, some of them written by League members, *de facto* ended yet another stage in the treatment of the Jewish problem.<sup>141</sup>

One of the last Polish-Jews – distinguished activists, who had functioned actively within the nationalist community and who just by their very presence had demonstrated the possibility of such a double ethnic identity – disappeared from the Leaguers' mental horizon. Without a doubt this was a psychologically pivotal moment in the treatment of Jews in nationalist publications. While alive, Hirszfeld had been a visible refutation of the racist convictions which were now beginning to operate within the community with growing strength.

However, the key moment for putting these private, or at least semi-private phobias of one of the ND leaders into practice and the whole organization's programme was the development of a comprehensive ideological policy. Racism did not have to go hand-in-glove with even the most aggressive nationalism. After all, both views' internal logic appeared to be different. Nationalism with its demand to level all the members of the body politic clearly conflicted with the racial

---

139 'Sprawozdanie z XIII Zjazdu Zjednoczenia Towarzystw Młodzieży Polskiej Zagranicą (Odbytego w dniach 23–30 grudnia 1899 w Zurychu)', *Goniec Polski*, 5 I 1900, no. 7, p. 67.

140 See 'Ostatnia posługa', *Kurier Warszawski*, 24 X (5 XI) 1899, no. 306, p. 6.

141 Z.W. [Z. Wasilewski], 'Bolesław Hirszfeld (Wspomnienie pozgonne)', *Głos*, 16 (28) X 1899, no. 43, p. 886; 'Bolesław Hirszfeld', *Przegląd Wszepolski*, November 1899, no. 11, pp. 658–664.

logic of exclusion, hierarchy, and differences. These two mutually-exclusive views ought then to be opposed to one another. The practices of homogenization of the body politic, dear to the nationalists, meaning the subordination of the minority to the dominant group, were far from such determinist paradigms. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Hungarian nationalism, which was very aggressive towards the non-Magyar population, went hand-in-glove with a forceful policy of assimilation towards minorities. This included the Jews.

The case of Roman Dmowski was, however, qualitatively different. It is reasonable to assume that the League's leader retained a goal, or even saw it as a personal mission to 'instil' this radicalized version of antisemitism in his followers. Racism, in his take on it, had become one of the key ideological bonds in the version of nationalism that he was advocating.

In narrower terms the dynamics of these metaphors and topoi, as well as the peculiar growth of some racial threads, should be linked here with a clarification of a raft of ideas and a separate language – the nationalist discourse, which was developing along with the group's ideological ambitions. The new ideological formula, that was integral nationalism, meant describing reality with the help of one's own categories and definitions, and the charismatic leader and the most versatile publicist of the group, with aspirations to broad-brush overviews, was the undoubted leader in this.

After returning towards the end of 1901 from yet another trip abroad, Dmowski once again took over the editorship of *Przegląd Wszechpolski*. He settled down for good in Kraków.<sup>142</sup> In the December 1901 issue the new editor explained that the paper, as the sole publication with a 'broad, truly nationalist outlook', was setting itself new challenges.<sup>143</sup>

As the spokesman for the 'spiritually healthy part of the nation' Dmowski indicated that there would be a series of solutions whose aim was the rebirth of Polish thought through 'the introduction of stronger national elements'. Hidden under this enigmatic phrase lay the idea of organizing and consolidating public opinion: 'the obligation to watch over the health of Poland's thought, over the purity of the national character of our political aims'. Concealed within the framework of this new, disciplined tactic on the part of the League's mouthpiece was the concept of control over public opinion in the broadest sense. Dmowski

---

142 See Z. Wasilewski, *Podróże Dmowskiego (Przyczynek biograficzny)*, in R. Dmowski, *Przyczynek. Przemówienia*, Poznań 1936, p. 73; A.M. Fountain, *Roman Dmowski...*, ch. 'Cracow', pp. 64–85.

143 [R. Dmowski], 'Od redakcyi', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, December 1901, no. 12, pp. 705–707.



explained: 'Guided by a sense of [...] responsibility and [...] obligation, we have decided to deploy in our paper stricter control over Polish opinion and over the activities of political factors of every kind, and to record and judge just about every fact of Poland's overall political life, the partitioning powers' actions, the voices of the press.'

The leader of the League wanted to turn *Przegląd* into a journal promoting a new philosophy of thinking about politics and society. This project, still very much in its infancy, was meant to create a mental space for the birth of the new man. The need for comprehensive solutions, which had been maturing even earlier in leading LN circles during the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, began to take real shape. The new detailed ideological formula was not only meant to consolidate the political parties' prevailing demands on a more lasting basis, but also to help them reach new supporters, and in a broader context to become the seed for the regeneration of the whole of society.

The harbinger of Dmowski's comprehensive ambitions was the publication in 1901 of a series of twelve articles entitled *W Naszym obozie. Listy do przyjaciół politycznych* (*In Our Camp. Letters to Political Friends*), which came out over the course of the whole year. The writer signed himself 'Narodowiec' ('A Nationalist') and set himself the goal of changing a great many convictions grounded in the community.<sup>144</sup>

In the first piece opening the series Dmowski warned that his contribution would be polemical in tone and indeed certain sections represented a change in the League's doctrinal line. The Jewish question, which was touched upon in every one of the twelve instalments, doubtless played a not insignificant part. Although Dmowski's propositions did not ostensibly diverge from the dominant concept, they in fact represented a radical breakthrough. It was as if the prevailing arguments had taken a 180° turn in relation to the League's previous pronouncements.

The first issue that Dmowski tackled was to define the Jewish question. As early as the first article the writer excluded the Jews from the national community, acknowledging them as an immutably foreign element. He rejected out of hand the view that the Jewish population could *in gremio* be subject to the naturalization process. From the point of view of an ethno-tribal approach, dear to

---

144 See M. Sobczak, 'Wpływ myśli Romana Dmowskiego na postrzeganie przez formację narodowo-demokratyczną „kwestii żydowskiej” na ziemiach polskich w latach 1901–1905', *Szkice Humanistyczne* OSW 3, vol. 5, 2003, nos. 3–4, p. 7 and note.

the nationalists, this was an understandable approach. However, Dmowski went a step further.

Indeed, Dmowski argued that even assimilated Jews represented a suspicious national element, and at best a less than wholesome one. He mercilessly declared: 'Even the very best Jews, the most assimilated with the Poles, neither think nor feel nationally.'<sup>145</sup> After this dictum, repudiating any kind of assimilation, he in subsequent instalments developed a detailed argument, revising to a certain extent the radical nature of this initial statement.

As in earlier publications, the whole framework of this line of reasoning was based on racial premises. Racism was the thinking that prepared the ground for this lecture. The world of the spirit, a significant moment in Dmowski's view of things, was meant to be rooted in 'the instincts of race.' The Jews, as a racial type, with their distinctive individuality formed by their history, must eventually become a threat to Polish society. After formulating this assumption, the *Przegląd* columnist recalled once again that social development is achieved by natural selection. In the case in question – the Jews' assimilation into Polish society – selection was producing pitiful results. The pedantically assembled argument was inevitably leading to the conclusion that there were no *de facto* assimilated Jews. To all practical purposes such assimilation could not be carried out.

It was obvious that assimilated Jews were functioning in society – Dmowski did not deny this – but what value did they create? He gave no direct answer in the article, but this question, coming after a whole batch of examples, sounded completely rhetorical. He argued that the growing number of Jewish supporters, 'Jewified Poles' he called them, was meant to be eloquent proof of the failure of assimilation. Assimilation was taking place – he argued perversely – but it was the Jews who were assimilating us. Such individuals, devoid of 'national instincts', could at best preserve the status quo. Modern nationalism, however, was meant to accomplish the task of regenerating the body politic!

In other words, the Jews, like their supposed and actual defenders, were seen as a natural resource for the opponents of the grouping represented by Dmowski. They were quite clearly counteracting the regeneration of Polish society. By their very nature they were opposing the current ambitions of the 'nationalists.' The writer came straight out saying that a comprehensive confrontation with these communities was merely a matter of time.

---

145 Narodowiec, 'W naszym obozie. Listy do przyjaciół politycznych, I', *Przegląd Wszehpolski*, January 1901, no. 1, p. 28. Quotations are taken from this article. See too B. Toruńczyk, 'Myśl polityczna i ideologia polityczna Narodowej Demokracji', in *Narodowa Demokracja. Antologia...*, p. 25.

However, in this piece, laden with racist clichés, something else was striking. All the themes raised had already appeared before in Dmowski's journalism. What was new was the transfer of racist paradigms to the field of daily social pragmatism. The ability to make a cold, almost brutally Machiavellian diagnosis of the situation was tied to a cynical absence of scruples when applying these ideas in a social context. Dmowski opined that a lasting, comprehensive solution to the Jewish problem should be narrowed down to a triad. He listed them: 'The Jews [sic] should either be assimilated, expelled, or murdered.'<sup>146</sup> Although, in the writer's opinion, this dilemma was neither trivial nor superficial, he did, however, warn from the outset that for the moment it had to remain unsolved. He added: 'For the time being all this is out of the question, for all of these solutions are beyond us, even if most desirable.'

It is worth emphasizing that in this listing of possible alternatives only assimilation was seen as completely preposterous. If we accept the legitimacy of the concept of eliminationist antisemitism, then the ND leader's views presented here completely fall into this category.

It is noteworthy that the dilemma presented by Dmowski was neither original nor new. As early as the 1880s, Eliza Orzeszkowa had presented a similar problem in her pamphlet *O Żydach i kwestii żydowskiej*, (*On the Jews and the Jewish Question*) admitting, however, that the only way out of the situation would be the Jewish people's complete assimilation.<sup>147</sup> A similar conclusion, in a more extreme form, emerged from the deliberations of Antoni Lange, a 'Young Poland' poet and translator, more or less a contemporary of Dmowski's, who stated that the only way out of the situation was that the Jews be baptized en masse. Lange's statement seems especially striking, since it appeared at the very moment of the 1890 crisis, described earlier.

Lange's six-part piece entitled *Uwagi o sprawie żydowskiej* (*Comments on the Jewish Issue*) was published on the pages of the St. Petersburg *Kraj's* literary

---

146 Narodowiec, 'W naszym obozie. Listy do przyjaciół politycznych, VII', *Przegląd Wszehpolski*, May 1901, no. 5, p. 424.

147 E. Orzeszkowa, *O Żydach i kwestii żydowskiej*, Wilno 1882. J. Detka, 'Narodowy aspekt kwestii żydowskiej u Elizy Orzeszkowej', *Biuletyn ŻIH*, 1961, no. 40; G. Borkowska, 'Żydzi Orzeszkowej', in *Kwestia żydowska w XIX w....*, pp. 139–150; U. Phillips, 'The Jewish Question' in the Novel and Short Stories of Eliza Orzeszkowa, *East European Jewish Affairs*, vol. 25, Winter 1995, no. 2, pp. 69–90; A. Friedrich, '„Słów kilka o żydach i ich nieśmiertelnej kwestii”'. *Problematyka żydowska w korespondencji i publicystyce Elizy Orzeszkowej na tle nurtów epoki*, Gdańsk 1993 [in manuscript form], pp. 81–103; see too M. Janowski, *Polska myśl liberalna do 1918 roku*, Kraków 1998, pp. 213–215.

supplement, and without a doubt belonged to one of the most significant responses to Bolesław Prus's intervention in 1890, mentioned earlier.<sup>148</sup> It was typical that Lange used all the concepts and categories that the antisemites of the time employed, and his contribution began with a confession of which none of the combative Jew-devourers of the day would have been ashamed. He wrote: 'The Jewish race, unfortunately for itself and other nations, instead of dying out, as other ancient peoples have done, has survived to our day.'<sup>149</sup>

But there was in this dramatic admission more pessimistic fatalism than hatred of ancestors. Lange was reversing the perspective used by antisemites. He admitted that the Christian environment's persecution and repression had created the Jewish issue, leading to the Jewish race's 'in-breeding.' He added with some bitterness: 'If Christian Europe, always aiming to eliminate them, had been more consistent and energetic in order truly to eradicate them [...]. Now it is too late; sentimentality has taken hold to such an extent that no-one (at least not aloud) has presented logically and consistently the principles for solving the Jewish question in the spirit of antisemitism, that is eradicating the Jews [sic] with fire and the sword [...]. Christian Europe has committed the gravest injustice to the Jews [sic] by not eradicating them. It did not know how to eradicate them, it merely debased them and made them frightful.' The writer also established that to a certain extent modern antisemitism is merely an extension of earlier persecution, the 'logic of hatred,' which turned the ancient nation into an 'artificial tribe.'

On the other hand, he argued that racial antagonism (although in these arguments the concept of race had a conventional meaning) was a natural effect of the growth of business. Discrimination had made the Jews a 'nation of traders,' which meant that when European societies were shaping their business classes, conflict with the Jewish population was inevitable. Lange did not disregard the particular case of the Jewish population on Polish soil. He showed that paradoxically the representative of modernity was Jan Jeleński. Although in a brutal and litigious way, this fervent antisemite with his project of Christian shops was meant to exemplify the spirit of elemental rivalry. Lange wrote: 'This is the crux

---

148 See A. Lange, 'Uwagi w sprawie żydowskiej I', *Przegląd literacki Kraju*, 17 (29) VIII 1890, no. 33, pp. 7–9; id., 'Uwagi II', *Przegląd literacki Kraju*, 24 VIII (5 IX), no. 34, 1890, pp. 4–5; id., 'Uwagi III', *Przegląd literacki Kraju*, 30 VIII (11 IX) 1890, no. 35, pp. 6–8; id., 'Uwagi IV (dokończenie)', *Przegląd literacki Kraju*, 7 (19) IX 1890, no. 36, pp. 4–6; id., 'Uwagi V', *Przegląd literacki Kraju*, 14 (26) IX 1890, no. 37, pp. 10–12.

149 A. Lange, 'Uwagi [...] I'..., p. 7.

of the Jewish issue: the battle of the shops.<sup>150</sup> Elsewhere he elaborated: ‘The bourgeoisie is a trading class, but it is also the representative of democratic thought in all its forms [...]. The bourgeoisie is right.’<sup>151</sup> This statement was not an apology for the middle class, but rather an acceptance of reality. The writer admitted that faith in the natural struggle of national elements was obvious to him.

The writer began the second part of his disquisition in similarly apocalyptic vein: ‘Poland, by accepting the jews [sic] who had been wandering from country to country, has rendered them and herself a terrible service. After assessing the debits and credits it turns out that accepting the Jews was the original and most terrible mistake in Polish history.’<sup>152</sup> A moment later he carefully listed the faults of this poorly-conducted selection: ‘Thanks to the acceptance of the jews [sic], the nobility came to dominate Poland; thanks to the jews [sic] Catholicism dominated; thanks to the jews [sic] the peasant groaned from oppression. It was a tragic co-operation, whose roots lay in the passivity of a bourgeoisie with foreign roots.’

Jumping ahead somewhat of the thread of the disquisition it is worth recalling that most of these arguments appeared later in *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka*, while Antoni Lange wrote one of the most original (because in verse) critiques of Dmowski’s work.

Lange, a radical democrat in the spirit of the age, also linked, it should be noted, with the ‘second’ *Głos* (edited by Zygmunt Wasilewski), brought the Polish-Jewish conflict down to antagonism between two opposite social organisms. His voice was deceptively similar to the views which perhaps the most eminent Polish Spencerian, Józef Karol Potocki, would announce a little later: two social organisms are unable to function in the same space. Lange though wrote: ‘Yet only nationality can be the principle and *raison d’être* of a certain group of people living in a certain area [...]. For political and social forms are variable, while only nationality is constant and immutable (although of course not eternal, just in the way that every ordinary person’s individuality is immutable).’<sup>153</sup>

The logic of social development, as the writer saw it, had to lead to the elimination of one of the peoples. If eight years earlier the writer of *Nad Niemnem* (*On the Niemen River*) had been willing to acknowledge the cruelty of earlier centuries as the anachronistic baggage of the past (‘burning, expulsion and any kind of persecution belong now to junk, reduced to ashes in the cleansing fire of civilization’,

---

150 A. Lange, ‘Uwagi [...] III’..., p. 7.

151 A. Lange, ‘Uwagi [...] IV’..., p. 4.

152 A. Lange, ‘Uwagi [...] II’..., p. 5.

153 A. Lange, ‘Uwagi [...] IV’..., p. 6.

as she wrote in the previously-mentioned pamphlet), then the young poet had no illusions. These two voices divided the era. While Orzeszkowa was a mild Spence-rian, then Lange was already invoking Spencer in the spirit of *ausrotten*.

The moderation typical of the positivists was becoming an ever greater burden. The author of *Uwagi* prophesied that this time too everything would occur at the Jewish population's expense: 'If we lived in the 10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> centuries then doubtless the expulsion of the jews [sic] from Poland would take place any day now.' Even if in these statements vestiges of faith that it would not come to more bloodshed still lingered, the columnist would soon dispel them as if in passing. But with all this gloomy fatalism accompanying these disquisitions, the cold rationalism of such an approach to the issue was striking. Lange recognised both the expulsion, as well as the mass murder, of the Jews to be unfeasible. In his view, the mass emigration of the Jewish population would only defer the problem by a few years, and it would indeed return in a new form. The slaughter of the Jews would require in turn a systematic plan for extermination: 'The drawback of violent, spontaneous eradication is that it cannot be properly organized; it would willy-nilly have to cease half-way without accomplishing its goal. Whereas systematic eradication, it can easily be calculated, would last at least 75 to 100 years; and it is hard to imagine that the mass of mankind would be slaughterers for one hundred years. While we can and should foresee bloody outbursts, slaughter, however – owing to its futility – must be seen as the most abstract of abstractions.'<sup>154</sup>

As can be seen, the imagination of the author of *Uwagi* was still rooted in nineteenth-century concepts. Therefore the columnist advocated assimilation as the sole means of solving the Jewish question. But complete assimilation, carried out thoroughly and systematically. The register of solutions drawn up by him meant the removal for all practical purposes of the Jews from society. 'The jews' [sic] psychological metamorphosis' was not only meant to bring changes in their moral consciousness, but would lead to the practical liquidation of the Jews as a separate social group. While Orzeszkowa the positivist was still ready to acknowledge religion (because a private matter) as the only special Jewish feature worthy of retention, Lange by now had no such scruples. He openly added: 'Assimilation is a form of eradication.'

In what way then did this statement differ from other voices, such as Witold Ziemiński's, or later Dmowski's, maintained to a certain extent in a similar spirit and style? For these two this form of 'eradication', to which Lange referred, meant

---

154 Ibid., p. 5.

absorbing into a healthy organism an infected element, an invasion of decomposition and degeneration. Lange felt it: 'I could be accused of advising the jews [sic] to commit national suicide and of condemning the Poles to abnegate the purity of their blood.'<sup>155</sup>

Dmowski, like Ziemiński before him, were indeed racists, and they compared the Jews' degeneration with the vitality of the Polish tribal element. They derived the moral impetus for the formulation of their views from a conviction of the Jews' total degeneracy. The concept of the Jews' racial singularity was to their way of thinking irreversible, and it became the pivot and support for the cohesion of a whole ideological construct. If Lange's statement was still a reflex of the homogenizing discourse in the spirit of Jacobin practices ('this reform [...] should be implemented with complete intolerance' [underlining in the original]), then Ziemiński and Dmowski were already standing on the ground of fundamental difference and a hierarchy of racial types. Lange, however, was aware of the danger of civilizational wear and tear both on the part of the Poles, as well as the Jews.

As the majority of radicals of the day, the young poet, rather like the early Popławski, admitted that these modern times were a historical space in which nations grounded in their biological bases were experiencing civilizational collapse. The issue of Polish degeneration was in any event in Popławski's thinking undergoing an evocative transformation in line with the evolution of his views. In the second half of the 1890s for the nationalist J.P. Jastrzębiec (Popławski's *nom de plume* in *Przegląd Wszechpolski* and elsewhere) merely the élite had degenerated, while the people developing outside history remained biologically untouched.

So Lange wrote: 'Both the Poles, as well as the (Polish) jews [sic] belong to exceptionally fertile tribes, and yet at the same time the most physically degenerate [...]. In that case is it not natural that both tribes' abnormal attitude produces not only economic/social powerlessness, not only impoverishes the spirit, but seeps too into the realm of physiology and physically deforms both elements so that both decay?'<sup>156</sup> In this commingling of two tribes he saw the makings of a reborn ethnic quality, absorbing the Jews – 'an attempt at a rational and useful incubation of the human race.' This constructivist approach on the part of the author of *Uwagi* clearly indicated his openness to modern means and solutions.

---

155 Ibid., p. 6.

156 Ibid., p. 4.

This did not change the fact that this remained within the parameters of a radical assimilationist paradigm, constantly present in public debate.<sup>157</sup>

When Orzeszkowa and Prus relied on moral indicators, in the first case in tones of friendly and suggestive pedagogy, and in the second in a spirit of growing irritation, then Lange emphatically pointed to the need, indeed the requirement, for change forced through by the state. Not without a certain irony did he write: 'Surely no-one will accuse me of "going liberal" in my project.'<sup>158</sup> Elsewhere he added: 'But let us not fear words: let there be persecution.' Radicalism was the trademark of this response. Shortly afterwards, Lange, like a great many other radical supporters of assimilation, including Aleksander Kraushar or Henryk Nusbaum, converted to Catholicism.

There was yet another level that distinguished these texts by Lange from Dmowski's later publications. The author of *Uwagi* uncompromisingly reached extreme conclusions and sharpened them, wishing to demonstrate the consequences of various actions, thereby running the risk of being accused of extremism and utopianism. Ziemiński did likewise. Insofar as the latter's manifesto was an act of faith in the existence of constituent racial types, in the prohibition on the mingling of the races, a conviction of the significance of basic racial paradigms written out in detail, then Dmowski's writings from 1901 had an eminently practical character.

The Dmowski of this time was an ideologue, but one who carried out his projects by realistic political approaches, energetically preparing himself for his new role. After staking out the overall limits of his piece he transitioned exceptionally smoothly to practical instructions. In his view, the Jewish question required everyone to take an immediate position. For tactical reasons it could not be an ambiguous one. In every district the Jews adopted a different attitude towards Polish affairs. It was always motivated by one quantifiable criterion – the strength of the dominant factor in any given area. A battle of the elements took place in each of these areas. The victor enforced his writ. There where the Russians were on top,

---

157 T.R. Weeks, 'The Best of both Words: Creating the Żyd-Polak', *East European Jewish Affairs*, vol. 34, Winter 2004, no. 2, pp. 1–20; id., *Assimilation, Nationalism, Modernization, Antisemitism. Notes on Polish-Jewish Relation, 1855–1905*, in *Antisemitism and its Opponents in Modern Poland*, R. Blobaum (ed.), Ithaca and London 2005, pp. 24–28; A. Friedrich, *Wieloskładnikowa tożsamość indywidualna w pismach Henryka Nusbauma*, in *Kwestia żydowska w XIX w. ...*, pp. 193–200. See too A. Cała, *Asymilacja Żydów w Królestwie Polskim (1864–1897). Postawy, konflikty, stereotypy*, Warsaw 1989, p. 87 and note.

158 A. Lange, *Uwagi* [...] V'..., p. 11.



the Jews Russified; there where the Germans dominated, the Jewish population was forcibly Germanized. In areas with a Polish majority, the Jews lived a 'spiritually Polish life'. Yet had they genuinely assimilated?, he would invariably inquire. Many members of the League and its sympathizers still seemed to think so then.

In full flight the leader of the LN undermined the reliability of these processes and energetically proved that the Jews were only appearing to submit to them, adopting the conditions of their surroundings. The weaker their surroundings' influence, the stronger the dynamics of the Jewish population's achievements. The Jews, as a group as well as individually, assimilated and traditional Hasidim and Zionists, wealthy and complete paupers, 'locals' and newcomers, always showed their true face. It was hardly surprising that the phenomenon of assimilation filled him with a disgust, which he did not hesitate to mention at every opportunity. It is surely unnecessary to specify what in fact the *Przegląd Wszechpolski's* leading columnist had in mind writing about the unfalsified, authentic face of Jewry.

There could be but one conclusion: even the assimilated Jews were a dangerous element for the social fabric, and might even represent a greater threat on account of their innate deceitful tendencies. In one of the *Listy warszawskie* from 1903 Dmowski wrote: 'Even if we could agree that absolute fraternization with the Jews Hungarian-style would be beneficial for us, that it would not demoralize us and would not disrupt our strength, our ability for creative social life, that it [...] would not turn out to be brittle metal, unsuitable for any solid construction, even then such fraternization would be impossible, since the Jews ruthlessly go over only to the side whose dominance is unquestioned. In our conditions they could at best become a friend in waiting, ready to share our victory, but not willing to be on the losing side. Possessing such a friend in waiting is, in our nation's situation, exceptionally dangerous, and only the lack of a national instinct of self-preservation and common sense allow us to help him to strengthen his position in the country.'<sup>159</sup>

As he added later, this behaviour on the part of Polish opinion could be explained only by the 'sick state of our soul, or an epidemic of uncritical judeophilia.' On the other hand, could there be a real alternative between 'enemies of Polishness and waiting friends'?

The logic, phraseology, style, and even the examples used in the text were similar if not identical to Dmowski's previous statements on the subject. The

---

159 Ignotus [R. Dmowski], 'Listy warszawskie. Warszawa 16 czerwca', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, June 1903, no. 6, pp. 459–469. See too id., 'Listy warszawskie', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 1903, in *Narodowa Demokracja. Antologia...*, pp. 157–158.

writer skilfully shifted from racial arguments to strictly nationalist ones, from the political to the purely pragmatic. However, he was now ready to indicate and define the problem's practical boundaries, as well. The Jews were harmful, as he proved in many ways, but the issue would not be solved in the near term by one conclusive action. Dmowski showed once again that in politics, with all its resentments, he could also be a consummate tactician. Even on this issue he was a cool realist.

Even more striking in the light of subsequent events was that he was also able to wait patiently, consistently sticking to an announced ideological *credo*. Guidelines for 'political friends' had to be for now. Although it was a delusion that there were Poles-Jews or, horror of horrors, Poles of Jewish descent and not, as he stated, simply Jews of Polish, German or French descent, but they had to be lived with here and now. As he added: 'quite apart from sympathy or distaste for crooked noses and protruding ears.' The process of Jews going over to the Polish side continued to occur, which even Dmowski could not deny. According to the author of *Listy*, this was more indirect proof of the strength of Poland's national rebirth than of the legitimacy, or even more the durability of these processes of assimilation among the Jews. As he perversely pointed out, this phenomenon too spoke to mistrust with respect to the Jews. The fact of Jews adopting Polishness remained, however, irrefutable.

The practical conclusion came down to a recognition that it lay in Poland's interest for the Jews living in the Polish lands to remain for the time being under Polish cultural influence. However, he did not provide any pointers as to how to achieve this, as if a common-sense calculation did not allow for overcoming previous hateful statements.

In one of the articles in the series Dmowski recalled again that the principal task which nationalism set itself was to place the national interest in first place. As he specified, this in the first place meant the elimination of destructive elements, 'the removal from our national life of all foreign, insidious influences.'<sup>160</sup>

The Jews as such, even without the relevant recommendations, invariably occupied a high, unquestionably the highest, place on this list. They were capitalist bankers, at the same time supporting the socialists on the quiet, they 'Jewified' the progressive press, promoting humanitarian slogans, at the same time publishing conservative journals they advocated cosmopolitanism, and stood simultaneously in the front rank of the most rabid, xenophobic chauvinists. This last

---

160 Narodowiec, 'W naszym obozie. Listy do przyjaciół politycznych, VII', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, July 1901, no. 7, p. 425.

accusation must have sounded especially odd in the writer's arguments, although in actual antisemitic discourse it was not, as we said earlier, original.

In other words, the Jews were always on the front line of moral decline in society. All these accusations unwittingly demonstrated a single sombre syndrome of decay. Wherever signs of collapse, destruction, crisis, decline and degeneration could be seen, there the Jews would eventually be found. Dmowski wrote: 'The jews'[sic] influence on opinion is, and will continue to be demoralising. There can be no thought of using it for national policy goals, for it will always [my underlining. G.K.] openly or covertly, act against the nation's interests. Our sole task in relation to it is to combat it with every possible means.'<sup>161</sup>

However, this expressive disquisition did contain an admittedly narrow opening, but one not to be overlooked. For Dmowski argued that if an individual of Jewish descent, whom one encountered, would definitely accept his new, Polish identity with its whole cost-benefit analysis and 'all the good and the bad', then all doubts and reservations about this individual should be put in abeyance. Although the columnist would later warn that an individual was not a group, let alone some larger entity, he did, however, state that: 'no-one has the right or the need to check his blood.' This telling statement did not, of course, cancel out his previous comments, but to some extent it did change the tone of this statement.

If even the writer himself did not have much belief in this identity transgression – his whole previous argument, as well as earlier, frequently-expressed views, contradicted it (he recognized the merciless battle with the Jews as convincing proof of the complete identification of people of Jewish descent with Polishness) – then this declaration was eloquent. Once again the powerful motif in Dmowski's writings of the men of action appeared in this statement. Only they could free themselves from the laws of history and the ballast of the natural world, and in this specific case – the curse of race. The conditions that the nationalist ideologue set candidates for new Polish identity were, however, to all intents and purposes impossible to fulfil. Only personalities rising above the average, 'strong people', could rise to such challenges.

The *Przegląd Wszechpolski* columnist referred in these pieces to the character of Bolesław Hirszfeld as one of the few individuals who had managed to overcome the odium of their race. But Hirszfeld had moved away from the National Democrats precisely because of their growing antisemitism; an antisemitism, which Dmowski saw as a healthy sign of opposition to the Jewish invasion!

---

161 Narodowiec, 'W naszym obozie. Listy do przyjaciół politycznych, VI', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, June 1901, no. 6, p. 346.

Stanisław Bukowiecki, one of the founders of the ZET, a member of the Polish League and later a National League activist, recalled that Boś had left the League shortly before his death, 'on account of the new trends appearing in it.'<sup>162</sup>

In the view of many observers, this eminent pro-independence activist took his own life also on account of the despicable and slanderous antisemitic insinuations directed at him. So, this active definition of Polishness for Jews, which Dmowski was offering, in fact turned out to be impossible to fulfil. But was Dmowski's solemn declaration sincere? If this curious test of reliability had not been passed by one of the most eminent patriots to be found in the League, someone who came from a long-Polonized family with a pro-independence tradition (a co-founder of the LP, the National Treasury and the ZET) a closet Catholic and even for a time a personal colleague of Dmowski in his 'political' work, then who else could manage it? Dmowski must have been aware of all this.

And yet in the short term antisemitic racism was giving way to nationalism, the hierarchy of racial type to national homogenization, the determinism of birth and history immersed in biology to the conscious decision of free will. In this regard the ND ideologue was prepared to abandon his resentments, already strongly based in racial concepts, on behalf of the individual's conscious, if not heroic, choice. Even if in fact not much came of it, this reading was hard to avoid. It is worth noting this, since our nationalist ideologue would also later abandon it, too.

However, Hirszfeld remained one of the few people of Jewish descent for whom Dmowski retained a certain respect, thus granting him the right to participate in the national community. For, in his view, Hirszfeld had overcome the fatal stigma of his race. Even years later, when Dmowski recalled Hirszfeld in a personal account he would not mention (as he customarily did with other individuals) that Boś was a Jew.

In practical terms this declaration of intent could have been a hand stretched out to a number of League members of Jewish descent still operating in the community, emphasizing their place and significance for the movement. There were not many of them left, but their services for the organization were not to be questioned. Even if Dmowski had wanted to (but he probably did not), he could not simply have got rid of them.<sup>163</sup>

---

162 See *Wspomnienia Stanisława Bukowieckiego o Lidze Narodowej*. Akta Stanisława Kozickiego, APAN, sygn. 30/3, p. 5. Bukowiecki, together with a group of activists, left the National League in 1911 during the growing wave of antisemitism in the group.

163 The case of the Natanson brothers was typical. Stanisław Stempowski, connected in the 1890s with progressive *Prawda*, recalled many years later the profile of Bronisław

On the other hand the criteria of such a 'nationalist' selection offered by the ND ideologue were hard, indeed impossible to fulfil. There is much to indicate that *Przegląd's* principal columnist was making the League itself the ideological and moral gatekeeper of this national selection process. Describing the assimilationist perspective, he deliberately showed the pitfalls lurking for candidates for Polishness. Was he also dismissing them ahead of time? The dramatic attempt to reconcile fire and water, biological determinism with the freedom of conscious thought, remained an alternative, but one that was not truly realistic. An honest presentation of the problem would have meant the need to show some positive references. But these were lacking in Dmowski's journalistic writings (both then and later). On the contrary, the author made possibly a supreme effort to convince the reader that such an alternative was nothing but a rhetorical figure, or an empty gesture.

Barely a year later on the pages of *Przegląd Wszepolski* there was yet another shift in tone on the Jewish question. The issue was the problem of Jewish national rebirth, which often appeared on the pages of papers connected to the nationalist movement. On the occasion of the 1897 elections in Galicia, mentioned before, there had already been those saying that nationalist goals of emancipation were maturing among the Jewish population. The attitude of part of the Jewish proletariat demanding a separate political platform within the framework

---

Natanson, a ZET member and a distinguished figure in the pro-independence movement: 'He was simultaneously going through an inner conflict. Thanks to a personal friendship with Dr. Waclaw Męczkowski [an eminent educationalist, in the LP from the start, one of the leading figures in the Warsaw LN, in 1904 he was one of the first to leave the organization] and with Stanisław Bouffał he took part in nationalist underground activities centred on the National League of Messrs. Dmowski, Z. Balicki, Jabłonowski and Zygmunt Wasilewski and others, he wrote illegal proclamations for them and provided money. Take it they did, but he was treated the same as that noble dreamer Bolesław Hirszfeld – as a second-class citizen, who was kept away from the high altar. Poor Boś Hirszfeld was unable to bridge this gap, neither by being baptized nor by generosity, and he took his own life, and then Wasilewski wrote his obituary. 'Broniek did not take his own life, but he felt deeply the bad attitude towards him and left'. S. Stempowski, *Pamiętniki...*, p. 218. In turn Bronisław's brother, Stefan Natanson, also a member of the ZET and an eminent figure in the LN, also a co-founder of the SDN in the Kingdom of Poland, a participant in the trials of Poles in Prussia in 1901, the publisher of the nationalist *Ojczyzna* and a colleague of Dmowski's in the KNP in Paris, parted company with the camp only in the 1920s. It was then, like his family, which had given distinguished service to its country, that he became the object of a wild antisemitic witch hunt in the press.

of all-Galicia social democracy was meant to be an emphatic example of this.<sup>164</sup> The majority of Jews, however, came out for the socialists, which clearly did not win them any new friends on the Polish side, but should have refuted, or at least skewed, the conviction of growing Zionist influences. However, things turned out otherwise.

The Jewish population's electoral behaviour, instead of undermining the conviction in Polish nationalist circles that the Jews represented an unstable or unreliable element in Galician society, strengthened it. Dmowski himself, commenting live on the results of that campaign, yet again received confirmation of his conviction of the Jews' negligible, if non-existent civic 'value'.<sup>165</sup>

Other nationalist commentators on the whole did not formulate such unambiguous judgements on the subject of the Jewish population. There were measured opinions and ones devoid of the ready formulae, which their leader used. Nevertheless, a short, but violent antisemitic campaign stirred up by some conservative/clerical groups proved that antisemitism as a political proposition found a certain social resonance. This Galician incident must have provided much food for thought. Antisemitism was becoming not only a marketable commodity, but also a useful political tool. As Ignacy Daszyński, one of the two socialists elected then to the Viennese parliament recalled, a conviction began to develop among national democrats that antisemitism could become a surrogate for class warfare.<sup>166</sup> For a socialist using a class perception of reality antisemitism could become barely a substitute, an ersatz version of reality, such as class conflict. A decade earlier, German and Austrian social democrats had grappled with a similar experiment, noticing how much social resonance antisemitism could produce among the underprivileged classes.<sup>167</sup>

---

164 J. Shanes in, 'Neither Germans nor Poles: Jewish Nationalism in Galicia before Herzl, 1883–1897', *Austrian History Yearbook*, vol. 34, 2003, pp. 191–213, portrays quite well the evolution of the Jewish population's attitudes at the turn of the 1880s/1890s. See too M. Sobczak, 'Zwolennicy koncepcji asymilacyjnej Żydów wobec rozwoju syjonizmu w Polsce na przełomie XIX i XX w.', *Prace Naukowe Akademii Ekonomicznej we Wrocławiu*, no. 752, Nauki Humanistyczne, 1997, no. 3, p. 191.

165 R. Skrzycki, 'Listy Warszawiaka z Galicyi V'..., pp. 79–80. See too M. Sobczak, 'Kwestia żydowska w interpretacji Romana Dmowskiego w kontekście rozważań o „istocie narodu” i procesie asymilacji Żydów na ziemiach polskich u schyłku XIX w', *Prace Naukowe Akademii Ekonomicznej we Wrocławiu*, Nauki Humanistyczne, 2003, no. 8, p. 113 and note.

166 See I. Daszyński, *Pamiętniki*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1957, p. 129.

167 See P.G.J. Pulzer, *Die Entstehung des politischen Antisemitismus in Deutschland und Österreich, 1867–1914*, Göttingen 2004, esp. sub-chapter 27: 'Die Sozialdemokraten',

Insofar as for Marxists antisemitism was, recalling August Bebel's statement, barely socialism for fools, then for integral nationalists it was exactly this battle of the elements that was real, the essence of man's social existence. And this was so independently of whether they were ready to define this battle in terms of anthropology, spiritual race, ethnic tribe, or simply of a political nation.

It was quite another matter that antisemitic resentment was in fact beginning to take root and settle into Galician life. The power of negative attitudes, as displayed by Georg Schönerer (in his youth a democrat and a liberal) in a series of his public appearances on the occasion of the revelations of malfeasance in the building of the Northern Railway (the *Nordbahn*, in 1884 in Cisleithania), or later Karl Lueger systematically in elections to the Vienna city council (starting in 1890), as well as activists of minor national-socialist parties in the Sudetenland, became an example for local politicians in particular countries within the Habsburg Monarchy. In Galicia it was Father Stanisław Stojalowski, artfully interweaving plebeian antisemitism with social demagoguery, who first began to exploit eagerly the antipathies of the lower social depths on a larger scale.<sup>168</sup>

The Galician example also led to other conclusions. The Zionists, despite failing to achieve the expected result, did not disappear from the stage. The activities of Teodor Herzl, or in Polish conditions Alfred Nossig, were viewed with comprehension, if not with a certain dose of patronizing understanding and even tacit approval. For even the greatest pessimists with regard to solving the Jewish question, the prospect of a mass migration by the 'trading tribe' seemed attractive.

The development of Zionism on the territory of the Russian Partition was different. In those areas the Jews, like the Poles, were the objects of similar Russification efforts; these efforts were interrupted in the 1880s by waves of wild, popular antisemitism. The appearance in the mid-eighties on the Polish lands of a group of Russian Jews polarized already tense Polish-Jewish relations. It is

---

pp. 270–280; J. Bunzl, *Klassenkampf in der Diaspora. Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Arbeiterbewegung*, Vienna 1975, p. 16. A.G. Whiteside discusses extensively these problems in a valuable monograph *Austrian National Socialism before 1918*, The Hague 1962.

168 See K. Stauter-Halsted, *The Nation in the Village. The Genesis of Peasant National Identity in Austrian Poland, 1848–1914*, Ithaca and London 2001, the part 'Anti-Semitism as a Basis of Cross-Class Alliances', pp. 133–141. This distinguished comparative work is worthy of particular attention. See too ead. *Jews as Middleman Minorities in Rural Poland: Understanding the Galician Pogroms of 1898*, in *Antisemitism and its Opponents...*, pp. 39–59; O. Narkiewicz, *The Green Flag. Polish Populist Politics 1867–1970*, London–Totowa 1976, p. 68 and note.

hard to establish without detailed research the true nature of demographic relations and whether the influx of 'Litwaks' did indeed dramatically change ethnic relations in these areas. One thing is surely not for discussion. The 'Litwak' syndrome settled in for good in the Polish imagination.<sup>169</sup>

The 'Litwaks', as declared or simply loyal agents of Russian policies, remained one of the universal enemy symbols in Polish political culture right up to the end of Russian rule. It cannot be denied that in deep-seated opinion Russian Jews eagerly became part of the existing Polish-Russian relations of the day, strengthening the Russians' influence and potential. The possible demand for unifying their laws in relation to the Polish population was seen with dread, and was treated as a slap in the face for public opinion.<sup>170</sup> Seeds of future conflict lay in these tensions. Subsequent elections to the Russian Duma after 1905 would reveal them in full.

Jan Ludwik Popławski, Dmowski's mentor and guardian and in the Kraków days the monthly's second columnist, attempted an overall view of the issue of Zionism.<sup>171</sup> Popławski's declaration must be especially significant, since in it the columnist had revised his views. Although the piece in *Przegląd* was a direct reaction to echoes of the First All-Russian Zionist Congress in Minsk (the summer of 1902), it also tackled a great many other issues.

---

169 See R. Blobaum, *Criminalizing the 'Other': Crime, Ethnicity, and Antisemitism in Early Twentieth-Century Poland*, in *Antisemitism and its Opponents...*, p. 97. J.D. Zimmerman's richly and extensively documented work, *Poles, Jews and the Politics of Nationality. The Bund and the Polish Socialist Party in Late Tsarist Russia, 1892–1914*, Madison 2004, points to the presence of this issue in relations between the pro-independence socialist movement and the Bund. See too F. Guesnet, *Polnische Juden im 19. Jahrhundert. Lebensbedingungen, Rechtsnormen und Organisationen im Wandel*, Cologne–Weimar–Vienna 2001, ch. 'Die Zuwanderung aus Russland', pp. 61–86.

170 T. Weeks points to this problem in *Poles, Jews and Russians, 1863–1914: 'The Death of the Ideal of Assimilation in the Kingdom of Poland'*, *Polin. A Journal of Polish-Jewish Studies*, vol. 12, 1999, pp. 242–256; id., *The Best of Both Worlds...*, p. 16; id., 'Fanning the Flames: Jews in the Warsaw Press, 1905–1912', *East European Jewish Affairs*, vol. 28, 1998–1999, no. 2, pp. 73–75. See too S.D. Corrsin, *Warsaw before the First World War: Poles and Jews in the Third City of the Russian Empire, 1880–1914*, Boulder 1989; L. Sadowski, *Polska inteligencja prowincjonalna i jej ideowe dylematy na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, Warsaw 1988, p. 233 and note.

171 J.L. Popławski, 'Pochodzenie i istota syjonizmu', *Przegląd Wszepolski*, October 1902, no. 10, pp. 728–735; id., 'Pochodzenie i istota syjonizmu', *Przegląd Wszepolski*, November 1902, no. 11, pp. 814–825. See too T. Kizwalter, *O nowoczesności narodu. Przypadek Polski*, Warsaw 1999, pp. 314–315. M. Sobczak in *Wpływ myśli Romana Dmowskiego...*, p. 11 and note, presents a discussion of, as well as the detailed context of the article's appearance.



The two-part screed was, in ideological terms, a reference to one of Popławski's most important publications of the 80s, a work entitled *Dwie cywilizacje* (*Two Civilizations*) (1886). The *Głos* columnist introduced in it the concept of the people as an essential substratum in the process of creating a modern nation. The people, ahistorical, unaffected by history and untouched by the tooth of degenerate civilisation, was presented in opposition to the historical body politic. The people would heal, refresh and *de facto* revive the body politic. This blueprint for the creation of a modern nation was open to an individual's free choice.

Furthermore, Popławski, although an enthusiast of the latest anthropological trends, of the concept of the physical race and the biological understanding of tribalism, remained immersed within the Polish historical tradition. As an activist in the pro-independence underground movement, but at the same time a nationalist, he could not with one careless gesture abandon homogenizing pretensions towards the peoples of the former Commonwealth. Also partly towards the Jewish population, although he described the latter over and over again in *Głos*, *Przegląd Wszepolski* and *Polak* as parasitical and harmful.

This dramatic rift between faith in the naturalist basis of the tribe and an attachment to one's own history took a long time to heal, excluding racism in the strict sense of the word.<sup>172</sup> Even if it was just a shadow of the remains of the democratic illusions about assimilation, they gave him no peace.

Let the quoted polemic of the *Głos* editorial board led by Popławski with Witold Ziemiński (examined above) serve as an example. Popławski then rejected Ziemiński's racism, emphasizing the influence of historical conditions and thus explaining the uniqueness of the Jewish population's position in European society, explaining the Jewish community's problems in the modernization process. Ziemiński's approach, taken up by Dmowski, excluded Zionism as a revitalization devoid of any prospects of the degenerate Jewish race; a rebirth which was doomed to failure.

In this article printed in *Przegląd* Popławski returned to his old blueprint for the creation of a modern nationality. Zionism was treated here as a current convergent with the trends that could bring out the national element in the people, who were outside history. But Zionism and contemporary nationalisms were similar trends, the writer was now saying, but not identical.

---

172 See J.L. Popławski, *Dwie cywilizacje*, in *Pisma polityczne*, vol. 1, Warsaw–Kraków 1910, p. 137. This issue was taken up specifically by other writers, including T. Kizwalter, *O nowoczesności narodu...*, pp. 276–284; T. Kulak, *Jan Ludwik Popławski 1854–1908. Biografia polityczna*, vol. 2, Wrocław 1989, p. 452 and note.

In Popławski's view the Jews did not possess all the potential that European peoples had. They were a sect within which over time there had been a petrification of certain religious and caste institutions, which when linked with a given racial/tribal type had led to the exhaustion of their ability to develop. The Jews as an entity had been recognized as an exhausted grouping; a peculiar anachronism in history. Their every regeneration was doomed ahead of time to failure.

Popławski, not accepting right away the racial toolkit, although not radically rejecting it either, accepted the racial interpretive blueprint. The Jews as a parasitical sect were becoming harmful: disgusting in terms of a national ethic, hostile to social ideals and dangerous for the native Polish mind, whatever that might mean. Zionism here was deprived of a moral title to recreating its society, while its representatives were seen to be serial patter merchants, common in those days, ideological swindlers, who wanted to buy and exploit the attention of world opinion. The Zionists, however, through their own actions, were harming others, especially younger communities. In Popławski's view, antisemitism appeared as, on the one hand, a healthy sign of revolt against the sect's exclusiveness, and on the other, as a natural symptom of the liquidation of the Jews' 'noteworthy characteristics' by modernizing societies. 'We cannot absorb them, we must rid ourselves of them,' ran his conclusion. After years, Popławski and Ziemiński would shake hands. The author of the *Przegląd* essay recalled his quarrel with Ziemiński, in essence admitting that Ziemiński had been right. Nationalism and racism seemed to find a great deal of common ground.

Popławski, one of the most extreme 'nationalists' in the League, but paradoxically in his own way a democrat in the name of homogenization, the most eminent adversary of Dmowski's racist philosophy of history, went over to a strictly racist position. Dmowski had triumphed.<sup>173</sup>

Insofar as Popławski had indicated the genesis and what in his opinion had been the key developmental moments in the rebirth movement among the Jews, calling at the same time for Zionist influences to be paralyzed, scenarios had already appeared earlier in the orbit of nationalism, as well as possible consequences of this supposed Jewish invasion. It was a given that, for instance, the Zionists and the 'Litwaks' had become a tool of the Tsarist régime. But this was merely the beginning of this sequence of incrimination that was now beginning to appear.

---

173 A 1910 piece of Dmowski's, 'Zagadnienie sprawy żydowskiej', *Przegląd Narodowy*, December 1910, no. 12, pp. 641–653, is worthy of attention. The article mentions W. Ziemiński's arguments, while Popławski's changed attitude is brought in as a point of departure for 'studies' of the Jewish question.

The local 'hawks' picked up the issue. Above all Dmowski was in the first row of those sounding the alarm. Already in *Listy do przyjaciół politycznych* he had indicated that the Jewish population, growing in numbers, would aim to occupy land to which it was not entitled in its country of residence.<sup>174</sup> The Jewish population's awakened aspirations would, for obvious reasons, indeed not make it a nation, but would create a spontaneous social dynamic, which in turn would create a series of irreversible consequences.

In this line of reasoning there were not that many false premises. For people at the time the rapid birth rate among the Jews was a fact. This was the result of impoverishment and overpopulation among the Jewish population, as well as of the retention of a traditional way of life, in line with which a large family was one way of maintaining social security. It could be explained with the help of the traditional apparatus of the social sciences. Something else was striking: how the anything-but-banal sociological intuition of these publications' writer ably manoeuvred among the pitfalls of the antisemitic discourse.

Dmowski threw into his earlier accusations against the Jews yet another one, perhaps the most resounding and ominous. In one of his news commentaries in *Przegląd Wszechpolski* he began to warn against the apparition of Judeo-Polonia, now making an appearance.<sup>175</sup> The Jews, unable to set up a community in Palestine or anywhere else, would thus become a separate, autonomous quasi-community. The experiment in terms of social engineering, which creating a Jewish nationality would be, was to be carried out on lands that were ethnically Polish. The obsessive thought, which kept recurring in Dmowski's pronouncements, that the Russians were behind this sinister plan for the eradication of Poland, as he was to write: 'the weakening and destruction of the Polish element by strengthening this insidious factor', was heightened here by indicating that such types of currents were appearing too among the Jews.

These earlier phobias were reinforced by a conspiracy theory brought in through a side door. Dmowski wrote: 'There is no doubt in my mind that this movement among our Jews is developing according to a plan, that it is guided by conscious thought and that it has a very well-developed internal structure. It cannot be a coincidence that so many signs are appearing at the same time.'<sup>176</sup>

---

174 Narodowiec, 'W naszym obozie. Listy do przyjaciół V', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, May 1901, no. 5, p. 284 and note. See id., 'W naszym obozie, VI', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, June 1901, no. 6, pp. 345–347.

175 See Ignotus, 'Listy warszawskie', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, August 1902, no. 8.

176 *Ibid.*, p. 284.

Earlier antisemitic discursive strategies here found their crowning achievement: the Polish lands were becoming the most suitable terrain for a Jewish national organization. In the spirit of this ominous scenario, Polish territory would literally become the property of the Jewish nation. Through their pragmatic, materialist rapacity, their planned insight into the Polish cultural sphere, the Jews would take control of all social life, just as they now dominated business, argued Dmowski. Let us recall; the Jews were not a civilizing factor, quite the contrary, they invariably brought only the negative side of progress. The Jews would also not create a nation – according to this line of reasoning they were organically incapable of such a thing – but would bring destruction to Polish society.

The racial logic of these pronouncements was spreading ever-faster among Polish nationalists, even if not every League member immediately accepted every resultant consequence. However, it would be a simplification to believe that in the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century it was antisemitism that most strongly attracted new groups of supporters to the League.<sup>177</sup>

The creation of such a community of meaning among ideologues and their audience took much longer, and followed much more tortuous paths, than the logic of a certain discourse, or even the dynamic of the negative attitudes on the part of the actors in those events might have indicated.<sup>178</sup> It needs to be pointed out that it was precisely an analysis of the birth and development of such an anti-semitic ‘communicative community’, or also of a ‘cultural code’, that represented a much more cognitively striking subject than was confirmation of statements and judgements, which were comprehensible at first glance.

The above reservations do not change the fact that the view of antisemitism, which Dmowski was presenting stubbornly, and with perhaps a sense of moral purpose, was gaining popularity, while its author was already turning out to be not only an able organizer and a sophisticated columnist, but also a suggestive and effective creator of an idea – ‘an instructor and a pedagogue’.

Dmowski was presenting not only intellectual outlines, linguistic clichés repeated constantly in his writings, but was also skilfully able to make them symbols rooted in cultural heritage. Antisemitism in its racial variant, as a certain demand and a theoretical construct, was also intensively beginning to enter the National Democracy’s organizational language and its current propaganda publications.

---

177 See B.A. Porter, *When Nationalism Began to Hate...*, p. 227.

178 Mieczysław Sobczak in his work *Narodowa Demokracja wobec kwestii żydowskiej na ziemiach polskich przed I wojną światową*, Wrocław 2007, has attempted to present the views of the nationalist camp on the Jewish question at the turn of the century in the form of a separate monograph.

And the charismatic leader's obsessions were slowly beginning to spread throughout the camp.

It was another matter that in the face of the League leader's broadly conceived plan no alternative project arose, nor did other leaders of comparable charisma and importance for the movement appear then. Dmowski's antagonists, or merely declared opponents, sooner or later left the nationalist camp. The ND leader was deftly able to silence the rebellions and change of direction aimed at his line. He was becoming not just the face, but also the voice of Polish nationalism. His policy demands, relating to the Jewish question, were in their entirety written into the SDN manifesto in the Kingdom of Poland in 1903.

Stanisław Kozicki, in the 1890s a student activist with experience in the self-study groups, a ZET brother, wrote that Dmowski stood out among the League's leaders at the turn of the century by his brilliant political intuition.<sup>179</sup> In turn Jan Harusewicz, who in 1888 had accepted Dmowski into the ZET, recalled: 'Over the course of a friendship with Roman Dmowski, which lasted for many years having begun virtually in our student days, a friendship based on our joint political work, it was his quite phenomenal perceptiveness that made the greatest impression on me. His unusual ability to foresee the future! It was almost infallible. J. Popławski, of blessed memory, once confided in me along similar lines.'<sup>180</sup> In the nationalist camp's handling of the Jewish question it is hard not to give some credit to both ND activists. Jan Harusewicz, a left-wing activist of the Koło Katologowe among the Warsaw students in the 80s, by now a member of parliament in the Second Republic loudly greeted the first President of re-born Poland: 'Long live Mosiek Narutowicz, the king of the jews [sic].'

Kozicki's adventure with student self-study groups began in typical fashion. In reply to a question from one of his friends whether he was for the oppressors or the oppressed, Kozicki replied that he of course was with the latter, thanks to which he was roped into a socialist circle. The young activist left the organization offended by its dogmatic attitude towards religion.<sup>181</sup>

Many years later, as a leading columnist for the *Tygodnik Polityczny Warszawskiego Dziennika Narodowego*, Kozicki called for the compulsory resettlement of

---

179 S. Kozicki, *Historia Ligi Narodowej...*, p. 394.

180 J. Harusewicz, *Wspomnienie koleżeńskie*, in *Pamiętka uroczystości wręczenia Dyplomu Honorowego Romanowi Dmowskiemu przez Wszechnicę Poznańską dnia 11 czerwca 1923 r.*, a reprint from *Kurier Poznański*, Poznań 1923, p. 55.

181 The memoirs of Stanisław Kozicki (1876–1939), vol. 1, part 1 (covering the years 1886–1907), BJ, sygn. 9783 III, p. 8. See too A. Garlicki, *Józef Piłsudski 1867–1935*, Warsaw 1988, p. 15.

all the European Jews on Madagascar. For what purpose? So that that degenerate race, as he wrote then, that eternal parasite on mankind could die out on reservations, as in their time the Red Indians had done.<sup>182</sup> In the *Tygodnik Polityczny WDN*, created specially in April 1935 in order to develop ‘national thought’, Kozicki busied himself with international problems. According to Jędrzej Giertych, the journal had been founded at Dmowski’s request so that WDN informational material could reach a less sophisticated reader.<sup>183</sup>

The journal became deeply involved in spreading ‘national revolutions’ throughout Europe. The secret of their success, just like most vital ‘national’ issues, could be found in an ‘international’ solution to the Jewish question. In 1938, Kozicki, summing up the previous year, called the thing by its name: ‘the main problem facing the nations of Europe is the removal from Europe of the Jews and the Jewish spirit.’<sup>184</sup>

A more spectacular example of the evolution of views on the Jewish question was seen in Waclaw Naake-Nakęski. As a young pro-independence activist he had got to know Dmowski in the 1880s in the reading room of the Warsaw Benevolent Society. Even then the energetic youngster from Praga made an enormous impression on him. Nakęski left a few sentimental reminiscences about these encounters. Dmowski accepted him into the ZET. For his participation in the demonstrations organized by the ‘patriots’ in 1891 Naake-Nakęski received

---

182 [S. Kozicki], ‘Żydzi na Madagaskar’, *Tygodnik Polityczny Warszawskiego Dziennika Narodowego*, 24 I 1937, no. 4, p. 1; J. Giertych, ‘Dwieście lat służby narodowej’, *Gazeta Warszawska*, anniversary edition, 31 XII 1974, p. 6.

183 J. Giertych, ‘Dwieście lat służby...’, p. 6.

184 [S. Kozicki], ‘1937’, *Tygodnik Polityczny Warszawskiego Dziennika Narodowego*, 2 I 1938, no. 1, p. 1. The author of these pieces could well also have been Jędrzej Giertych, who edited *Tygodnik* and, like Kozicki emphasized the ‘international’ dimension to a solution of the Jewish question. Even in February 1939 Kozicki was warning that the Jews would be responsible for the outbreak of a world war. He wrote inter alia: ‘Examining this issue from every side we come to the conclusion that Jewish policies are pushing Europe towards war quite consciously and consistently [...] A general war today is in the interest of only the Jewish nation and if one broke out it would be a Jewish war. S. Kozicki, ‘Wojna żydowska’, *Tygodnik Polityczny Warszawskiego Dziennika Narodowego*, 26 II 1939, no. 9, p. 2. Urszula Jakubowska, the author of a monograph on these publications, writing about J. Giertych’s journalism on the pages of *Tygodnik Polityczny* and other nationalist journals, says that it was ‘an expression of simply fanatical antisemitism’. It is hard to find a more succinct description: U. Jakubowska, *Oblicze ideowo-polityczne „Gazety Warszawskiej” i „Warszawskiego Dziennika Narodowego” w latach 1918–1939*, Warsaw–Łódź 1984, p. 127.

the longest of any sentence – six months. Later their paths diverged somewhat. Nakęski, not resigning his membership in the ZET, became actively involved in the creation of the socialist movement. In 1895, at the Second Congress he was even elected as an alternate to a member of the PPS Workers' Central Committee, and he joined the national editorial board of *Robotnik*.

In the 1890s his views began to evolve in the direction of the LN, while a meeting with Dmowski and a joint trip to Rapperswil finally sealed his entry into the League. Nakęski explained his parting with the socialist movement by socialism having become stuck in dogmatic formulae, by its senile atrophy. In 1903 he joined the editorial board of the Lwów *Słowo Polskie* and also became a director of the Publishers' Association in order later to devote himself to journalism in the press linked to the nationalist movement.

In 1925, Naake-Nakęski published an open letter to Stefan Żeromski on the occasion of the appearance of *Przedwiośnie*.<sup>185</sup> In many ways this was a settling of scores with the generation's 'dogmas'. He accused Żeromski of a great deal, but above all of a lack of awareness of the reality of the Jewish question, of 'its excessive focus on humanitarianism'. It is worth quoting one of its passages at some length. The letter's author wrote: 'You may stay a socialist, or even a communist if you want, only get rid of the Jewish element and any kind of Jewish ideology [...]. You could even become the devil, but at least our Devil Boruta and not a devil [...] with sidelocks. At the same time get rid of all sympathy for half-Poles and break off all contact with them. Be yourself and get down to literary research on the Jewish question and you'll write a great work [...]. There is also no agreement on what would be a "great" deed in the Jewish question. For the enraged Jew-hater it would be to follow the example [...] of the English Edward IV who, in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, in order to save his people from the grip of the Jewish devil, ordered all the Jews to be loaded onto ships and drowned at sea. And he confiscated their estates for the treasury. However, the Lechites' tender hearts flutter at the thought of such cruelty and they seek other ways out of the situation, which, however, has no way out. Everything has failed us: assimilation, democracy, emigration, and boycotts under the partitions will disappoint us likewise and this age will disappoint us too, when despite all the means at our disposal, we are fatalistically heading towards our own destruction. Thus there are various ways of understanding a "great deed" in Poland'.

---

185 W. Naake-Nakęski, *Saltomortale Wielkiego Pisarza. List otwarty do Stefana Żeromskiego z powodu „Przedwiośnia”*, Poznań 1925, pp. 23–24.

The evolving path taken by Harusewicz, Naake-Nakęski, Kozicki and their colleagues in relation to this touchy, as they all agreed, subject, was pointed out at almost every ideological turn of the nationalist camp by its leader – Roman Dmowski.

## A Vision of Public Order

I have never held that one could save the country by political work alone; I have never wanted to shut myself up just in politics. I have held too that the whole future of our nation depends on whether we can organize it properly from a moral point of view.

‘Roman Dmowski to Stanisław Grabski, 29 V 1919, M. Kułakowski,  
*Roman Dmowski w świetle listów i wspomnień*, vol. 2, London 1971, p. 166

Dmowski’s journalistic writings discussed here were a symptom of a political evolution that had led to the aggressive campaigns which the National League had begun against its political opponents as early as the first years of the new century. Antisemitism, not always in its racist form, apart from its unifying ideological function, turned out to be a handy tool in the current battle. In the context of the movement’s growing political aspirations, its focused enmity towards the Jews was growing, just like other ethnic resentments, into the status of a symbol and a myth, around which a political battle in the era of mass movements could be concentrated. Such a myth was supposed to return a sense of unity to the fractured community.<sup>186</sup> We are one of the most disorganized nations on Earth, said almost with one voice the new nationalists in all the countries of Europe in which they appeared. Enmity towards outsiders became these groups’ basic political line.

Myths, as we know, become laden with new sense and new meanings. This entry into public life with a new set of symbols was perhaps one of the key novelties served up by the nationalist movement.<sup>187</sup> On the other hand, it is risky to prejudge, let me repeat, whether in the period we are discussing it was precisely

---

186 See J.L. Talmon, *The Myth of the Nation and the Vision of Revolution. The Origins of Ideological Polarisation in the Twentieth Century*, London–Berkeley 1980; G.L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses. Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars Through the Third Reich*, New York 1975, ch. 1: “The New Politics”, pp. 1–20; B. Baczko, *Les imaginaires sociaux. Mémoires et espoirs collectifs*, Paris 1984, p. 108 and note. See too B. Toruńczyk, *Mysł polityczna i ideologia Narodowej Demokracji*, in *Narodowa Demokracja. Antologia...*, p. 26.

187 See Z. Sternhell, *Fascism: reflections...*, pp. 139–162; id., *Fascist Ideology*, in *Fascism: A Reader’s Guide Analyses...*, p. 325 and note; id., *Morphologie et historiographie du*



dislike of Jews that played a leading role in the movement's development. However, the next few years would show that it was precisely these convictions on the part of the nationalist right's leaders, small groups of radical thinkers from the Kingdom of Poland, which made an effort to meet social expectations.

Appointing itself guardian of the nation's interests, the nationalist League aimed to polarize the political scene. Insofar as towards the end of the 1890s the organization was trying to attain this goal in the pro-independence community, in the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century these efforts embraced just about the whole political scene. It is worth pointing out that this attempt at re-arranging the political furniture under the auspices of a symbolic division into patriots versus traitors (or, to put it another way, 'good' Poles versus 'half-Poles' and others), was linked not only to the nationalists' striving for power, but was also a result of this grouping's wider ideological approach.

The objective advantage of antisemitic phobias appeared in these manoeuvres useful to the extent that they began to be exploited more frequently and more widely. In these campaigns in the nationalist press, which were aggressive on a scale hitherto unseen, Roman Dmowski's voice resounded especially clearly. The League's leader appeared continually to sense the need for emphasizing his own position. Dmowski, together with other ND publicists, using the handy concept of new patriotism (of whose orthodoxy the League was meant to be the sole repository), began with equal fervour to broadcast their 'modern' method of perceiving political issues, as well as to combat opponents of this patriotism.

This ideological practice of stigmatizing affected above all the Polish socialists. Interestingly enough, the pro-Marxist SDKPiL orthodox did not initially go for rejecting national identification on principle. In this case xenophobic accusations of stuffing socialism with the 'Jewish element' would at least have some reflection in reality. The nationalist press spent almost no time on socialist orthodoxy. Perhaps the influence of supporters of the SDKPiL was too weak among the ND's potential political clientèle to broadcast its existence with aggressive rhetoric. It was also possible that, according to ND columnists, the issue was too obvious to merit attention.

Taking the long view, this mass attack on patriotic socialism was an extension of the battle to dominate the pro-independence underground. In the broader context this confrontation could be seen as yet another scene in the fundamental

---

*fascisme en France*, in id., *Ni droite ni gauche. L'idéologie fasciste en France*, Brussels 2000, pp. 11–112.

struggle over the model of modernization, or also – using the vocabulary of the day – a battle to control souls.<sup>188</sup>

The League made a small demonstration of its capabilities in this area with respect to youth organizations. After the rebirth of the ZET in the second half of the 1890s, the LN began efforts to wrest control of student organizations both at home and abroad, and of school groups, as well. The reformed Warsaw ZET took over the supervision of the university Student Aid in Paris and other overseas academic centres, League members came to dominate the formerly non-party self-help organizations, demanding from their members unquestioning obedience to the ‘Polish national interest’.

A participant in these events, a pro-independence socialist, recalled that a ruthless ‘party training programme’ unexpectedly appeared among the university ‘nationalists’, and that in a pluralistic environment the ‘eminently exclusivist’ line began to dominate, usurping for itself the name of ‘the only centre of nationalist politics.’<sup>189</sup> Where these changes could not be fully introduced, separate youth groups sprang up. Thus in Warsaw the socialist-progressive *Spójnia* grew out of Student Aid; in Zurich, after the break-up of the Association of Polish Students Abroad the All-Democratic Union of Progressive Youth emerged.<sup>190</sup>

In carrying out these actions no attention was paid to former loyalties and friendships. In the Paris *Spójnia*, an organization uniting young people of all democratic persuasions and under the influence of Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz and Bolesław Motz, a breakaway developed in the form of *Koło*. An observer of those events, an SDKP (the SDKPiL was formed only in 1900) sympathizer, although earlier a collaborator with *Głos* under the editorship of Zygmunt Wasilewski,

---

188 See *Relacja Romana Dmowskiego...*, p. 431.

189 J. Grabiec [J. Dąbrowski], *Czerwona Warszawa przed ćwierć wiekiem. Moje wspomnienia*, Poznań 1925, p. 157.

190 This ideological-cum-organizational offensive in youth organizations has been documented by a great many authors including S. Kozicki, *Historia Ligi Narodowej...*, pp. 43–54; J. Grabiec, *Czerwona Warszawa...*, ch. ‘Bratniaki i Spójnia’, pp. 37–68; J. Braun, ‘Położenie i ruch organizacyjny młodzieży akademickiej na Uniwersytecie Warszawskim w latach 1890–1914’, *Roczniki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego*, 1963, vol. 4, p. 99; S. Dobrowolski, *Związek Młodzieży Polskiej (Zet) 1886–1906*, in *Nasza walka o szkołę polską 1901–1907*, vol. 1, B. Nawroczyński (ed.), Warsaw 1932, p. 119; T. Tomaszewski, *Spójnia (1899–1905)*, *Ibid.*, p. 253; L. Wasilewski, *Ze wspomnień (1899–1904)*, part 2, ch. 8: ‘Londyn 1899–1904’, ‘Z pola walki’, 1974, no. 4 (68), pp. 213–215; H. Więckowska, ‘Zjednoczenie Towarzystw Młodzieży Polskiej Zagranicą (1887–1914)’, *Niepodległość*, 6, May–October 1932, p. 2 and note.

recalled that the whole undertaking had been inspired by a former ‘Kiliński man’, the head of the Paris ZET branch, Wiktor Krypski: ‘He streaked like a meteor across Paris and left a “fiery trail” on the Polish-student sky in the form of the creation of *Koło* with an ever more pronounced pro-ND line [...]. When I got to Paris I found two Polish youth organizations already in existence. Social and comradesly relations continued to be correct, but the ideological battle over convictions was rather lively and it intensified as events developed. I recall that after *Koło* had issued some provocative statement, I wrote a ‘crushing’ response at the request of *Spójnia*, which *Spójnia* issued in the form of a pamphlet.’<sup>191</sup>

Krypski, Kelles-Krauz’s old friend, successfully divided up the community of young Poles in France. For the latter, Krypski’s activeness must incidentally have been all the more painful, given that he had personally recommended him for a great many émigré organizations, including the Paris-based ZZSP. These controversies were ideological in character, but what distinguished them above all was the League’s extremely aggressive tactics towards its opponents. Against the background of those events, and also a whole series of actions by the ‘nationalists’, Bolesław Motz published in the pages of the émigré *Głos Wolny* (*Wolna Trybuna Polskiej Irredenty*, as the editorial board called itself), an article entitled *Nasi hakatyści* (*Our Hakatists*), in which perhaps for the first time the subsequently popular comparison of the LN’s activities to those of the German chauvinists was used in public.<sup>192</sup>

With the impetus of a new ideological formula the LN applied this mechanism for gaining influence to women’s pro-independence groups, as well as to

---

191 S. Koszutski, *Walka młodzieży polskiej o wielkie ideały. Wspomnienia z czasów gimnazjalnych i uniwersyteckich – Siedlce, Warszawa, Kijów, Berlin, Paryż (1881–1900)*, Warsaw 1928, pp. 147–148. See too K. Kelles-Krauz, *Listy*, vol. 2: 1898–1905, F. Tych (ed.), Wrocław 1984, pp. 310–312.

192 B. [B. Motz], ‘Nasi hakatyści’, *Głos Wolny*, 5 VI 1900, no. 11, pp. 1–2. Motz wrote too: ‘A complete lack of the most basic democratic principles, Bismarckian tendencies, political chicanery – those were the accusations we made against the paper [i.e., *Przegląd Wszepolski*] B. [B. Motz], *Bilans pięcioletniej pracy naszej pseudo-demokracji*, *Ibid.*, pp. 2–3. See too W. Śladkowski, *Między irredentą a socjalizmem. Paryski „Głos Wolny”, 1899–1901*, in *Wokół historii i polityki. Studia z dziejów XIX i XX wieku dedykowane Profesorowi Wojciechowi Wrzesińskiemu w 70 rocznicę urodzin*, S. Ciesielski, T. Kulak, K. Ruchniewicz, J. Tyszkiewicz (eds.), Toruń 2004, pp. 861–870; id., *Dr Bolesława Motza nadsekwaska kariera i praca dla Polski*, in *Materiały V Sympozjum Biografistyki Polonijnej. Kraków 22–23 września 2000*, A. Judycka, B. Klimaszewski (eds.), Lublin 2000, p. 146 and note.

the internal settling of scores among the 'old' émigrés.<sup>193</sup> League members skilfully began to exploit outdated conflicts and quarrels, and even specific groups' and coteries' personal disagreements, dividing the émigré groups. Against the background of the remaining activities these energetic efforts and tactical alliances on the part of their representatives (above all Balicki and Dmowski) with the conservative émigrés (including the community of the Polish School in Batignolles, and personally in the form of the influential 'old' émigré figure – Józef Gałęzowski), who were close to the Kraków conservatives, appear to complete the image of the nationalist groupings' more general swing to the right.

Unhesitating obedience was demanded everywhere, and in the event of a refusal, a smear campaign against enemies was launched. Towards their opponents, at first admonishing reprimands were used, followed by a whispering campaign and false accusations slipping into denunciations. Antoni Plutyński recalled that these 'disciplinary' practices aroused opposition even within the League: 'A great deal of space was devoted to criticism of groups and individuals disturbing the interests or dignity of Polish society. Here Popławski's temperament would often take him too far.'<sup>194</sup> There were frequent cases of scheming or general imputations of immoral behaviour. The most impertinent were given a spell in the 'nationalist' pillory (*In the Pillory* was the name of one of the regular columns in the rabble-rousing *Pochodnia* – the paper of the Warsaw SDN), dragging their name

---

193 See W. Bułhak, *Dmowski – Rosja...*, ch. 'W kierunku politycznego realizmu. Liga Narodowa wobec konferencji rozbrojeniowej w Hadze (1899). Spór o obsadę Komisji Nadzorczej Skarbu Narodowego', pp. 59–72; H. Bukowski, 'Listy Henryka Bukowskiego do rodziny Gierszyńskich. Źródło do dziejów Muzeum Polskiego w Rapperswilu', *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, 7, 1977, pp. 475–528. See too H. Gierszyński, *Emigracja i Skarb Narodowy*, Kraków 1904; id., *W sprawie Skarbu Narodowego*, Lwów 1903.

194 A. Plutyński, 'Dokoła Czytelni Akademickiej we Lwowie' *Wiadomości*, 1956, no. 29 (535), p. 2. One of those who had been attacked the most frequently in the nationalist press recalled many years later: 'Over the course of many years I experienced to the hilt his dislike of me, be it in the underground or the legal press, in which he appeared as Jastrzębiec. He backed away from no insinuation at my expense; no-one in my whole life devoted so much energy and printed paper to shower me with invective, to defame me. L. Krzywicki, *Wspomnienia...*, vol. 3, p. 98. In a well-known satire on Popławski Andrzej Niemojewski wrote: 'To calumny an honest person in his paper, to spatter a person of ideals with the charge of traitor to the nation is as easy for him as it is for a child to chop down a flower in a field with a stick. He is a man who never has a conversation with his conscience,' id., 'Człowiek-gąbka', *Prawda*, 9 (22) II 1902, no. 47, p. 558.

through the mud as turncoats to the national cause.<sup>195</sup> *Pochodnia* accused Ludwik Krzywicki of betraying the ‘national interest’, and even of treachery on behalf of the Russians for supporting the student strikes in Russia in 1899. It must be admitted that the other side in these disputes gave as good as it got. Predatory antisemitism began by degrees to tear itself off a leading position in this nationalist rhetoric. With this freight of experience the League got down to confronting the Polish socialists.

Dmowski’s polemic with the socialists dated back to the early 1890s. Our LN ideologue and the socialists made a similar diagnosis of the state of society; but their conclusions were diametrically opposed. From the dawn of this conflict the ‘patriots’ most versatile ideologue had given this dispute clear antisemitic overtones.

Moving from political tactics to matters of ideology, we should emphasize that integral nationalism was growing out of opposition to the progressives’ universalism.<sup>196</sup> The linear vision of progress, in the view of their critics, was taking the form of a radicalized version of the positivists’ belief. The conclusions that Marx’s adherents were drawing were, however, more far-reaching. The socialists made class conflict the flywheel of their own political project, apart from a millenarian belief in the world’s rebirth, ‘a leap into the kingdom of freedom,’ as Marx had written. The Marxists generally overrated its intensity and saw it even where other observers were unable to perceive anything. In justification we can recall that in their historiographical scheme of things class division was universal, degrading the human being the same way, whatever the conditions or the degree of geographical latitude.

This gave rise to strong opposition in ‘patriotic’ circles. On the theoretical/cognitive level this opposition to socialism meant, however, above all a reaction against dogmatism, scientific insularity, in other words the very failings the ‘idealistic revolt’ was fighting among its opponents. This ‘idealistic crisis’, let us recall, was also transforming home-grown socialism. In effect for a certain time – despite

---

195 W. Pobóg-Malinowski, in *Narodowa Demokracja...*, p. 75 and note, documents this practice initially, mainly based on the socialist press.

196 See Z. Sternhell, *La modernité et ses ennemis: de la révolte contre Lumières au rejet de démocratie*, in *L’Eternel Retour. Contre la démocratie, l’idéologie de la décadence*, Z. Sternhell (ed.), Paris 1994, p. 9 and note; id., *The Crisis of Fin de Siècle Thought*, in *International Fascism: Theories, Causes and the New Consensus*, R. Griffin (ed.), London 1998, pp. 169–174; E. Weber, *Fascism(s)...*, pp. 746–75; R.O. Paxton, ‘The Five Stages of Fascism’, *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 70, January 1998, no. 1, p. 2 and note.

differing practical recommendations – the socio-economic measures proposed by the nationalists differed little from those advocated by their opponents on the left. In Dmowski's journalistic writings, and to a greater extent in the writings of other nationalists (including Balicki and Popławski), the consciousness of the ambivalence of their own attitudes towards socialism appeared insuperable.

All these contradictions had already become apparent in the unofficial, but perhaps most influential of the young 'patriots' papers – *Pobudka*. As its subtitle announced, the journal was the organ of the (*de facto* non-existent) 'Polish national-socialist party'.<sup>197</sup> The patron of this ideological mixture of socialism with openly patriotic themes continued to be Bolesław Limanowski, the patron of the Parisian Gmina Narodowa-Socjalistyczna. The Liga Narodowa in any event signed a federative agreement with the Gmina. In the autumn of 1892, out of similar dilemmas, the journal *Przegląd Socjalistyczny* came into being as a breakaway from *Pobudka*. Dmowski, together with Władysław Jabłonowski, but also with the community of émigré 'national' socialists (including Kazimierz Dłuski and Bolesław Motz), belonged to its founders. While the ephemeral monthly (only four numbers appeared) did not openly advocate class conflict, it did not question its existence.

In an introductory article by Dmowski and Motz this issue was solved in conciliatory fashion.<sup>198</sup> The conflict between labour and capital indubitably existed, claimed the article's authors. However, when faced with the limited extent of capitalist influence in the Polish lands, as well as the slender ranks of workers too, and moreover the tense international situation, its limitations were for the time being acceptable. The home-grown radicals (the socialists, as well as the 'patriots') while retaining ideological flexibility should have been ready to make a tactical alliance – this could be read into the conclusion. Each group, retaining

---

197 The best description of *Pobudka* is in the work of F. Perl (Res) *Dzieje ruchu socjalistycznego...*, pp. 296–303; J. Myśliński, *Polska prasa socjalistyczna w okresie zaborów*, Warsaw 1982, pp. 42–46; J. Lorentowicz, *Spojrzenie wstecz*, Kraków 1957, p. 104 and note.; M. Żychowski, *Bolesław Limanowski 1835–1935*, Warsaw 1971, p. 227.

198 [B. Motz, R. Dmowski], 'Polskie partie robotnicze i sprawa narodowa', *Przegląd Socjalistyczny. Kwartalnik Ekonomiczno-Polityczny*, October 1892, no. 1, pp. 1–7. There is some dispute in the professional literature as to the authorship of this article. See R. Wapiński, *Roman Dmowski...*, pp. 46–48; J. Myśliński, *Polska prasa socjalistyczna...*, p. 46; W. Bieńkowski, *Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz. Życie i dzieło*, Wrocław 1969, p. 32. I personally incline to Wiesław Bieńkowski's, Teodor Mistewicz's and Jerzy Myśliński's opinion that Motz and Dmowski did write the article and not, as the other opinion has it, that it was Dmowski, Motz and Kazimierz Dłuski. Dmowski was probably also the text's real co-editor.

its own identity, would carry out its own propaganda in its own area of operations: the socialists among the urban proletariat, the 'democrats' in rural circles and the petty bourgeoisie.

However, the vision of a democratic Poland did not turn out to be attractive enough to maintain these unions. *Przegląd* in Paris soon collapsed, swiftly exposed by the socialist *Przedświt*.<sup>199</sup> It should be noted that most of the editors, including Motz (according to Kelles-Krauz, the 'heart and soul' of the undertaking), later ended up in the PPS.

This tactical manoeuvre of contracting an alliance between the 'nationalists' and the socialists was certainly underpinned initially by some substantial mistrust. Władysław Jabłonowski, who published in *Przegląd* a number of extensive articles, including an enthusiastic report from one of the German socialists' congresses in Berlin, recalled that Dmowski – being 'forever an opponent of socialism' – from the start wanted to move socialism onto the nationalist track.<sup>200</sup>

In 1892, the Gmina in Paris joined the newly-formed Overseas Union of Polish Socialists.<sup>201</sup> Although the *Przegląd* people were not invited to the Paris Congress where the ZZSP was formed (Bolesław Limanowski participated in a private capacity), specific activists began to filter into the Union. The ZZSP in turn made energetic efforts to integrate some of the 'patriotic' groups into its activities. Dmowski was supposed to be one of the greatest opponents of such alliances.<sup>202</sup> Stanisław Wojciechowski, a ZZSP member, co-founder of the PPS, but earlier an influential 'national socialist' recalled: 'In Warsaw I paid a visit to Dmowski, who after his release from the Citadel was awaiting his sentencing. After a conversation with him I came to the conviction that one should not count on a concentration of all our forces in the socialist party, some of them would have to be in a separate patriotic party.'<sup>203</sup>

---

199 See [S. Mendelson], 'Porozumienie czy dyplomacja?', *Przedświt*, June 1893, no. 6, p. 12.

200 W. Jabłonowski, *Z biegiem lat. Wspomnienia o Romanie Dmowskim*, Częstochowa 1939, p. 132.

201 Relations between the ZZSP, formed at the Paris Congress (17–23 XI 1892), and the PPS, founded later in 1893, remained more complicated than is normally understood when ascribing a certain continuity to these formations. J. Kancewicz's work, *Polska Partia Socjalistyczna w latach 1892–1896*, Warsaw 1984, documents in great detail and deals specifically with these issues in their initial, heated period.

202 J. Kancewicz, *Polska Partia Socjalistyczna...*, p. 348; see too id., *Działalność organizacji warszawskiej PPS w latach 1896–1896*, in *Warszawa powojstaniowa 1864–1918*, vol. 2, S. Kalabiński, R. Kołodziejczyk (eds.), Warsaw 1969, p. 84.

203 S. Wojciechowski, *Moje wspomnienia...*, vol. 1, p. 74.

The formation of the PPS, or rather this organization's adoption of a clearly nationalist character, knocked an important argument in the dispute out of the 'patriots' hands. Even many years later Dmowski admitted that the PPS's pro-independence turn had been an ingenious diversion at the 'nationalist' movement's expense.<sup>204</sup> In the mid-nineties these conflicts temporarily calmed down. The collapse of the Kiliński Revolt was not uninfluential in, by its very nature, lowering the temperature of these polemics. Both directions' supporters suffered from these events, which had a significant influence on their subsequent operations. Both sides wanted to draw conclusions from this lesson.

The LN's subsequent evolution *de facto* revived ancient dilemmas. There were a great many supporters of an agreement between pro-independence socialism and the democratic and often socially radical 'nationalist' groups. The desire for co-operation was all the stronger because home-grown socialism, to the indignation of its doctrinal guardians, began over time to adopt none-too-orthodox forms. This was caused to a great extent by the arrival in the PPS of a great many former 'nationalists', and on the other hand by the LN's move to the right. In a more general sense, it cannot be forgotten that the heroes of those events were the generation of graduates from Apukhtin schools, of school underground groups, burning advocates of Polish independence. Perhaps the best example of this ideological ferment was putting Józef Piłsudski, an activist who, as he admitted, was influenced in a moderate way by the works of Marx and other classics of socialism, at the head of the socialist paper *Robotnik*, based in Poland. To a certain extent this sudden promotion of Piłsudski was something of an accident.

*Robotnik's* first editor, Jan Strożecki, a Marxist by conviction and one of the most distinguished figures on the editorial board, ran the paper for a few months. Kazimierz Pietkiewicz sarcastically described relations on the board as follows: 'Just as in parliament one had to tack between policies and practical issues [...] Strożecki stood guard over the purity of socialist principles, Grabowski [Julian Grabowski, pseudonym Żul, a member of the ZET Central Committee (*Centralizacja*) and the LN] over the purity of nationalist principles, Nakęski over the purity of style and orthography, and only Piłsudski was not that interested in any particular purity.'<sup>205</sup> Shortly thereafter Strożecki was arrested. The editorial board

---

204 *Relacja Romana Dmowskiego...*, p. 430.

205 K. Pietkiewicz, *Maria Gertruda Paszkowska*, in *Życie i praca Marii Paszkowskiej. Księga pamiątkowa*, L. Wasilewski (gen. ed.), Warsaw 1929, p. 20. See too J. Kancewicz, 'U progu PPS. „Robotnik” – centralny organ partii 1894–1896', *Z pola walki*, 10, 1967, no. 4 (40), p. 10; id., *Działalność organizacji warszawskiej PPS w latach 1896–1896*, in *Warszawa powstaniowa...*, p. 47.



was in fact moved to Wilno, which after Warsaw was the second hub of the PPS intelligentsia.

Piłsudski, in the second half of the 1890s the *de facto* leader of the PPS organization in the Kingdom of Poland, would recall that reading his homeland's bards had had a greater influence on his view of the world than reading the theoreticians of socialism. In a survey in 1903 for journals for young socialists he came out with this: 'Marx's abstract logic, as well as the elevation of merchandise over man, did not suit my brain.'<sup>206</sup> In one private conversation he admitted with disarming honesty: 'I attempted to get to know and dig deep into the ideals of socialism. I began to read Marx's *Das Kapital*. But when I came to the proof that a table equals a frock coat, or that a frock coat equals a [...] I closed the book, since it seemed to me absurd to put it like that. Materialist philosophy [...] has never convinced me. I also could not come to terms with Engels's odd matriarchy. I was critical of socialism and have never lost that critical approach.'<sup>207</sup>

From the outset Piłsudski was a supporter of seeking an understanding with the 'nationalists' on political grounds. He was one of those activists, who usually calmed down budding ideological controversies. Already in one of his letters to the editor of the revived (after the Paris Congress) *Przedświt* he pointed out: 'It is time to drop this stale polemic with the 'patriotniks'; here in Poland we have so much work in common with any democracy that we really don't need to go opening up festering old wounds between different points of view.'<sup>208</sup> Comrade Wiktor's correspondence with party comrades indicates that there were more such conciliatory efforts and attempts.

On the other hand, the party's leadership at this time was also far from orthodox socialism. Did everyone consider themselves to be participants in the 'idealst revolt'? Accounts by the remaining leading PPS personalities of the day all sound startlingly similar. Leon Wasilewski wrote later of his attitude towards socialism: 'Its revolutionary and underground dimension attracted me more than the theory. I was a sincere democrat, but at the time I did not yet appreciate the attitude of class struggle, while I did not want to read to the end Marx's *Das Kapital*, which

---

206 [J. Piłsudski], 'Jak stałem się socjalistą', *Promień*, September 1903, no. 9, p. 24; J. Piłsudski, *Pisma zbiorowe. Uzupełnienia*, A. Garlicki, R. Świętek (eds.), vol. 2: 1898–1914, Warsaw 1993, p. 46; see too A. Garlicki, *Józef Piłsudski...*, p. 14.

207 A. Śliwiński, 'Marszałek Piłsudski o sobie', *Niepodległość*, 18, September-October 1938, fol. 2 (49), p. 204.

208 J. Piłsudski, 'List do redakcji Przedświtu, Wilno 15/3 lutego 1893', *Niepodległość*, 12, 1932, vol. 1 (30), p. 138; id., 'Do Stanisława Wojciechowskiego, koniec 1893', *Ibid.*, pp. 142–144.

had just come out in a Polish translation, because I found it boring.<sup>209</sup> Stanisław Wojciechowski recalled: ‘We just couldn’t digest Marx and his theory of class struggle, and it didn’t resonate with our feeling of social cohesion, with an understanding of the nation as a social organism in which each generation, individual, and group must subordinate itself to the good of the whole.’<sup>210</sup>

Much of this can undeniably be explained by the fact that the individuals quoted had joined the PPS from ‘nationalist’ groups. In the 1890s Wojciechowski was a leading figure in the Warsaw ZET, Wasilewski was even temporarily a member of the LN, both in the not-too-distant future were to become the hard core of the ‘old brigade’, the part of the PPS focused more on pro-independence action than social revolution. But it was also hard to forget too that former members of the highest circles of the Polish socialist party had made such declarations. Piłsudski and Wojciechowski, starting at the Fourth Congress (7<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup> of November 1897) up to the middle of June 1899, had remained members of the three-person CKR – the PPS’s highest body; Wasilewski had stood at the head of *Przedświt* (1897–1904) – the most influential party mouthpiece.<sup>211</sup> At a later date, in somewhat different circumstances, each of these individuals would figure among the PPS’s leading activists.

However, Józef Piłsudski had other qualities. Years later, a leading PPS activist, the legendary underground Fakir, Kazimierz Pietkiewicz, recalled: ‘Piłsudski was actually a novice in the workings of the workers’ movement and had to learn about them from us old hands. However, he did have experience as an exile.’<sup>212</sup> Comrade Wiktor, also the editor of 34 issues of the underground *Robotnik* issued in Poland (even his contemporaries recognized it an achievement not to have been ‘blown’) was wreathed in legend, especially among young people.<sup>213</sup>

Organizational work, such as distributing illegal publications, which in practice the groups had in common, led to a certain amount of co-ordination between the pro-independence socialists and the nationalist movement. Also old friendships and connections, often going back to student days, were not unimportant.

---

209 See too A. Garlicki, *Józef Piłsudski...*, p. 15.

210 S. Wojciechowski, *Moje wspomnienia...*, vol. 1, p. 47.

211 See L. Wasilewski, ‘Kierownictwo PPS zaboru rosyjskiego (1893–1918)’, *Niepodległość*, 11, 1935, vol. 3 (29), p. 354.

212 K. Pietkiewicz, *O czasach pepeesowych i przedpepeesowych słów kilka*, in *Księga pamiątkowa PPS. W trzydziestą rocznicę*, Warsaw 1923, p. 36.

213 See A. Uziembło, ‘Wspomnienia lwowskie’, *Przegląd Wschodni*, 7, 2000, vol. 2 (26), p. 483; M. Sokolnicki, *Czternaście lat*, Warsaw 1936, p. 64; W. Sławek, ‘Wspomnienia (1895–1910), I’, *Niepodległość*, 17 (revived version), 1984, pp. 144–145.

Even in the second half of the 90s the leaders of the LN had been sending out their representatives to the board of the Adam Mickiewicz People's University in Kraków.<sup>214</sup> There could have been more joint enterprises. On the one hand, Dmowski's private correspondence with Limanowski, the elder statesman of the émigré socialists, vividly shows this rift, as does the ever more aggressive line of *Przegląd Wszechpolski* and other publications of the movement towards the socialists' activities.<sup>215</sup>

Although structural tensions died down in the mid-1890s, they did not die out altogether. The League, using the demands of national solidarity, continually made ideological manoeuvres with the aim of attracting to its cause all social classes, including the domestic proletariat. If the nationalists were prepared to cede this field of 'national work' to their doctrinal opponents, this was merely a short-term tactical manoeuvre. With time, the nationalist movement's political aspirations, with the aim of expanding its social base, began to grow and assume more aggressive shapes.

Already in the first years of *Przegląd Wszechpolski's* existence the problem of defining relations with Polish socialism was key. The first references to the socialist movement dealt with the disputes between *Głos* and *Przedświt*. The hard line towards the activities of the Galician socialists appeared in the paper only during the elections to the Council of State in 1897. It was then that some anonymous *Przegląd* columnists accused Daszyński and his supporters of arousing the proletariat against the populists, of betraying the national interest. Accusations of playing to the Jews were vigorously renewed. Popławski stated with conviction that Galician socialism was almost entirely the product of Jewish minds.<sup>216</sup>

---

214 See B. Koskowski, 'Przez granice. Fragment pamiętnika', *Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy*, 24 XII 1938, no. 352, p. 3; K. Wojnar, 'Ze wspomnień i przeżyć (1888–1908)', *Niepodległość*, 18, November–December 1938, vol. 3 (49), pp. 379–457.

215 See Roman Dmowski to Limanowski (end of 1895), in M. Kułakowski, *Roman Dmowski...*, vol. 1, pp. 192–194. The correspondence between *Przegląd Wszechpolski's* editor and this leading émigré personality has survived only in part.

216 See J.L. Jastrzębiec [J.L. Popławski], 'Z całej Polski. Inteligencja i tłum żydowski wobec kandydatów', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 1 III 1897, no. 5, pp. 104–105. This radicalization of attitudes towards the Galician PPSD is quite well depicted in 'Kronika galicyjska' in the paper. See Prawdzic, 'Z Galicyi', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 1 X 1896, no. 19, p. 499; 'Z Galicyi. Kandydaci socjalistów', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 15 II 1897, no. 4, p. 90; 'Z Galicyi', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 1 III 1897, no. 5, p. 114. See too M. Łagoda, *Dmowski, naród i państwo...*, p. 78.

An important moment in the conflict was the appearance in 1898 of a piece in *Kwartalnik Naukowo-Polityczny i Społeczny*, entitled *Uwagi krytyczne nad socjalizmem współczesnym* (*Critical Remarks on Present-Day Socialism*) by Zygmunt Balicki, a former ZZSP member, and an equally hard-line response by the PPS's principal theoretician Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz in *Przedświt*.<sup>217</sup> Balicki's contribution undoubtedly carried some weight. *Uwagi* was also an important stage in the self-definition of this second, or third most important figure in the nationalist movement. The list of accusations it directed at the socialist movement was doctrinal in nature, but perhaps the most important ones dealt with socialist ideology's moral exhaustion. The League leader also undermined the theory of class struggle, as well as criticizing the actual concept of class ('the cult of class'), and he rejected the dictatorship of the proletariat as a dangerous manifestation of an ideological current becoming a prisoner to dogmatism.

Such thinking was inevitably intended to acknowledge that socialism was no longer a progressive movement, that it had lost its recuperative power, that it was undoubtedly becoming a manifestation of reactionary attitudes and of narrowly-defined group egoism. As an imported doctrine, which had developed in different, foreign circumstances, it was also an expression of abstract needs and desires. As an ethical demand it was not conducive to bringing out of an individual his multi-faceted creativity. This last argument was doubtless the strongest here. Kelles-Krauz was in many ways correct when he stated that Balicki in writing such a text was no longer a socialist. However, it is hard to find any traces of ideological apostasy in Balicki's arguments. The journalistic *Ostoja* was not really a new incarnation of the noble, hence anachronistic brawler, Sienkiewicz's Longinus Podbięta, as the polemicist described him.

The conviction that if the accepted truths were outmoded, they should be jettisoned as ballast as soon as possible came through to the forefront of Balicki's arguments. It was thus that the nationalist theoretician presented Marx's views – as a 'sociological error' which his followers had turned into a scholastic formula. In this stock-taking Balicki reached similar conclusions to those of other leading League ideologues. To some extent, however, he remained true to the thinking of his political mentor, Bolesław Limanowski, for whom socialism was the evolutionary culmination of democratic strivings. However, the moment that socialism

---

217 B. Ostoja [Z. Balicki], 'Uwagi krytyczne nad socjalizmem współczesnym', *Kwartalnik Naukowo-Polityczny i Gospodarczy*, 1898, vol. 1, pp. 60–91. See too K. Kelles-Krauz's response, *Sartor sarritus, albo czy się Ostoja ostoi*, in id., *Pisma wybrane*, vol. 2, Warsaw 1962, pp. 61–101; A. Żarnowska, *Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz (1872–1905)*, in K. Kelles-Krauz, *Pisma wybrane...*, vol. 1, p. XV.

had exhausted its recuperative potential, he stated, it needed to be dropped. He concluded that to raise the interests of only one class when faced with the reality of a national organic community was a manifestation of group exclusivism.

This line of reasoning was well-known in 'patriotic' and positivist circles and had been described frequently. There is no point in going over it again here.<sup>218</sup> For Balicki, a member of socialist councils and one of the ZZSP's first members, this meant putting an end to polemics with the socialists and finally going over to the other side in the dispute.<sup>219</sup> The author of *Uwagi* introduced in place of socialism the idea of a community harmoniously solving its own internal conflicts. A healthy national organism must take up the issue of the workers, responded the sociologist, for the presence of capital and labour is written into the nature of modernity.

The response of Kelles-Krauz, one of the few, although influential spokesmen for doctrinal (i.e., Marxian) correctness in pro-independence socialism, also left no illusions. The PPS theoretician mercilessly ridiculed the contradictions, gaps, and inexactitudes in Balicki's socialist reading. Nor is there any question that the nationalist ideologue's attempts to clean socialism (Balicki at the time still called himself 'a socialist up to a point') from 'accidental' and 'subsidiary' features (including historical materialism, the class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat) was even then something of a back-breaking, although by no means

---

218 M. Łagoda, *Dmowski, naród i państwo...*, esp. sub-chapter.: 'Kwestia socjalna i robotnicza', pp. 123–129; cf. too sub-chapter 'Stosunek do demokracji, kapitalizmu, socjalizmu oraz ruchu ludowego', pp. 129–139; B. Grott, *Zygmunt Balicki ideolog Narodowej Demokracji*, Kraków 1995, esp. ch. 'Stosunek do socjalizmu i socjalistów', pp. 55–61; A. Dawidowicz, *Zygmunt Balicki (1858–1916). Działacz i teoretyk polskiego nacjonalizmu*, Kraków 2006, pp. 149–167.

219 This dispute of Balicki's, a ZZSP member from the very beginning, with the pro-independence socialists, including above all with Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz, dates from at least the polemics on the pages of *Przedświt* in 1895, see M. Luśnia [K. Kelles-Krauz], 'W kwestyi „równoległości” (List do redakcyi)', *Przedświt*, series III, July 1895, no. 7, pp. 19–23; (editorial), 'Listopad 1895 r.', *Przedświt*, series III, October–November 1895, nos. 10–11, pp. 1–4; S. Lasota [Z. Balicki], 'O stosunku do patryotów. W kwestyi „monopolu”. List pierwszy', *Ibid.*, pp. 5–7; Ignotus [W. Goździkowski?], 'Kilka słów o patryotach (Z powodu „W kwestyi równoległości”)', *Ibid.*, pp. 7–9; M. Luśnia, 'Państwo konspiracyjne i Skarb Narodowy', *Ibid.*, pp. 7–9; S. Lasota, 'W kwestyi „monopolu”. List drugi', *Ibid.*, pp. 10–11. These polemics are summarized by J. Kancewicz, *Polska Partia Socjalistyczna...*, pp. 446–448; A. Dawidowicz, *Zygmunt Balicki...*, pp. 152–153. See too T. Snyder, *Nationalism, Marxism...*, pp. 81–87; W. Bienkowski, *Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz...*, p. 51.

isolated task. Maurice Barrès, who as his own brand of socialist (*'un certain socialiste'*), as he described himself, pointed out in his journalistic writings (above all for the paper *Le Cocard* 1893–1895) the ideological paths for the extensive league of European socialists, who were steering their earlier, left-wing experiences towards the radical right.<sup>220</sup>

As has already been mentioned, neither was Kelles-Krauz free of the idealistic style present in Balicki's piece. He accused Ostoja of spiritual aging ('he no longer really cares for abolishing man's exploitation of man') and moral compromise with outdated social forces; he stigmatized theoretically-inflated quietism, as if it had been presented by Balicki and his political friends. Kelles-Krauz's statement was, however, something qualitatively different from his polemics with party comrades, if only from the famous lecture at a meeting of ZZSP's Paris branch in November 1894, at which the writer pointed out critically to the members of the new grouping (i.e., the PPS) their far-reaching ideological compromises.<sup>221</sup> These two visions: the autarkic one based on solidarity presented by Balicki, and the democratic/socialist one identified with Kelles-Krauz, were alternatives, and on many points were undeniably irreconcilable, but their supporters did not have to fight each other so fiercely and brutally.

Although it was clear to every reader of such statements that relations between both groups continued to be antagonistic on an ideological level and that the gap was becoming more obvious, at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, not everything appeared to be settled when it came to mutual relations. The members

---

220 This evolution is discussed in detail in works by Z. Sternhell. See e.g., Z. Sternhell, M. Sznajder, M. Asheri, *The Birth of Fascist Ideology. From Cultural Rebellion to Political Revolution*, trans. D. Maisel, Princeton and New York 1994; Z. Sternhell, *Fascism: Reflections...*, pp. 139–162; id., *Fascist Ideology*, in *Fascism: A Reader's Guide Analyses...*, pp. 325–406. See too E. Weber, *Nationalism, Socialism, and National Socialism*, in id., *My France. Politics, Culture, Myth*, Cambridge Massachusetts 1991, pp. 261–284; M.B. Loughlin, 'Gustave Hervé's Transition from Socialism to National Socialism: Another Example of French Fascism?', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 36, January 2001, no. 1, pp. 5–39; id., 'Gustave Hervé's Transition from Socialism to National Socialism: Continuity and Ambivalence', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 38, December 2003, no. 4, pp. 515–553; D. Pels, 'Hendrik de Man and the Ideology of Planism', *International Review of Social History*, vol. 32, 1987, no. 3, pp. 206–229.

221 See K. Kelles-Krauz, *Klasowość naszego programu*, in id., *Pisma wybrane...*, vol. 2, pp. 5–30. See too T. Snyder, *Nationalism, Marxism...*, pp. 62–67; W. Bienkowski, *Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz...*, p. 43 and note.

and low-level sympathizers of both groups, especially pro-independence young people, were expecting some kind of party agreement.

For many members of this last group these burning disputes seemed to be a reflection of their own petty squabbles and personal antipathies. Michał Sokolnicki, an eminent PPS-Revolutionary Faction activist, recalled that there were still some echoes of this collaboration. Sokolnicki, a self-study group member, then a participant in the pro-independence socialist underground movement, acknowledged *Przegląd Wszechpolski's* theoretical contribution of 1895–1896 as a ‘necessary complement’ and ‘parallel common factor’ to his own left-wing convictions.<sup>222</sup> In the work of the self-study groups, in which he had been active, party underground publications were linked to the journalism of *Przegląd Wszechpolski* and *Pochodnia*. Later, this activist would frequently be employed as an intermediary in contacts between these two groups.

However, the fact that Sokolnicki, as other supporters of ‘parallelism’, found the most in common in the works of Józef Karol Potocki, whose little group had more or less disappeared with its leader’s death, spoke volumes. This subsequently eminent historian ascribed sources of the evolutions of the League and of its individual leaders to their restless personal ambitions. This was not an isolated account. Stanisław Kozicki, in the 1890s an activist in the Kraków ZET, recalled this stage of inter-group relations similarly: ‘The League and the PPS followed separate paths, yet in the Russian Partition these two organizations met on many common battlegrounds. In Warsaw there often existed good personal relations between the activists of the two parties, many people of a patriotic bent worked with and actively helped both camps.’<sup>223</sup>

Amongst lower-level activists, in provincial centres where the activists’ theoretical consciousness was low, these divisions were even less apparent. ‘Division of labour’ or ‘parallelism’, as relations between the pro-independence socialists and the ‘nationalists’ were described, did not have to lead to hostility and mutual invective. After Popławski took over the editorship of *Przegląd Wszechpolski* in 1898, articles appeared continually indicating the possibility of maintaining these tactical connections. On the other hand, even during the Mickiewicz celebrations in 1898–1899 in Warsaw, there was yet another dramatic dispute between the League and the domestic socialists.

The PPS position, expounded in the writings of the domestic *Robotnik*, was principled: celebrations of this kind (a rally to accompany the erection of Adam

---

222 M. Sokolnicki, *Czternaście lat...*, p. 228.

223 S. Kozicki, *Historia Ligi Narodowej...*, p. 36.

Mickiewicz's statue in Warsaw had been suggested and held by conciliatory groups) should be boycotted. But this was to be an active boycott, an open show of social opposition. One of many published appeals said: 'We simply cannot allow the memory of our national poet to be besmirched. He who silently swallows this insult, who tamely accepts the affront, is worthy of no better fate. So let wretched cowards stay silent, as should those in captivity who create their own happiness from the tears and work of others. However we, as the conscious segment of the people, for whom he lived and suffered, we do not wish to be silent and we shall not be silent.'<sup>224</sup>

This rhetoric of patriotism and respect ran round progressive intelligentsia circles like lightning. Historians who were close to the Piłsudski tradition saw this moment as a breakthrough for the pro-independence movement. This statement no doubt contained a great deal of exaggeration; the patriotic demonstration organized by the PPS was not too impressive, but the events' resonance provided a great deal of food for thought. In the Kingdom, a key area for the Polish lands, a very serious competitor for the League in the battle for leadership had appeared, and unlike earlier initiatives, it had a very serious organizational and ideological base. And what was key was that this competitor came on the scene at once with a coherent political message. Unlike the LN, which appeared to have lost its way in this situation, issuing belated and esoteric statements, the domestic socialist leaders got down to business energetically. If even a direct PPS success was propagandist and symbolic in nature (it depended above all on mobilizing public opinion not only in the intelligentsia, but also the working-class), in the long run it could not be overrated.

Zofia Kruszevska, part of these progressive initiatives and a participant in those events, recalled: 'Several days before the unveiling of the statue we learned [...] that a man, committed heart and soul to the cause of the nation, would be coming to stay at our flat. This young man arrived, with dark hair and steely eyes, delicate features and little blue veins on his temples. It was Józef Piłsudski. We made up a bed for him on a small sofa, which we lengthened with some chairs and which with a mattress was probably not too comfortable, we gave him breakfast, after which he would disappear and return only in the evening. We shortly received some leaflets protesting the official unveiling of the monument to which

---

224 See J. Piłsudski, *Pisma, mowy, rozkazy*, vol. 1, M. Sokolnicki and J. Stachiewicz (ed. board), introduction and notes by L. Wasilewski, Warsaw 1930, pp. 422–424. W. Pobóg-Malinowski, in *Narodowa Demokracja...*, pp. 110–116, analyses a series of proclamations, prepared mainly by Piłsudski. See too J. Grabiec, *Czerwona Warszawa...*, p. 45 and note.



only a select few would be admitted, and calling upon us to go there in numbers, as a people [...]. So we went – progressive intellectuals led by my mother [...] to Aleje Jerozolimskie and waited for “the people”. Instead of “the people” Chief of Police Klejgels arrives, and trembling for fear that some act of rebellion might break out, starts shouting in Russian “ladies and gentlemen, disperse” or it would be the worse for us [...], and then we suddenly get the news that “the people” have been locked up in the workshops of the Warsaw-Vienna railway and in factories, even though on Christmas Eve no-one usually worked after noon. So we go as a small group, but extremely proud that we are “the people”. Meanwhile we were getting busier and busier in the Free Reading-Rooms.<sup>225</sup>

For the PPS too the sudden appearance of an effective organizer and militant in the person of Piłsudski was not without meaning. Although the domestic organization was soon to suffer painfully after a wave of arrests of its leading activists, this dash towards the pro-independence position by part of the movement now appeared to be unstoppable.

These tendencies were not to everyone’s taste, which later became the source of a great many conflicts and eventually led to a schism in the party. Nevertheless, the patriotic legend of Comrade Wiktor, a dozen or so months later the hero of a daring escape from a St. Petersburg prison, would henceforth systemically grow.

The League’s response was not long in coming. Soon several articles appeared (including a celebrated series of articles entitled *Nasz demokratyzm* (*Our Democratic Methods*) by Jan Ludwik Popławski) pointing to the growing ideological chasm between the domestic socialists and the ‘nationalist’ movement.<sup>226</sup> As one scholar has noted, Popławski in these pieces for the first time rejected outright the theory of class struggle (‘multiplying hatred and accentuating class antagonism’) in favour of national solidarity.<sup>227</sup>

---

225 Z. Kruszevska, *Wspomnienia I*, edited by D. Wawrzykowska-Wierciochowa, *Pamiętnikarstwo Polskie*, 1976, no. 1, pp. 164–165.

226 See J.P. Jastrzębiec [J.L. Popławski], ‘Nasz demokratyzm’, *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, March 1900, no. 3, pp. 129–138; id., ‘Nasz demokratyzm II’, *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, April 1900, no. 4, pp. 193–206. See id., *Nasz demokratyzm II*, in *Narodowa Demokracja. Antologia...*, pp. 163–169. See T. Kulak, *Jan Ludwik Popławski 1854–1908...*, vol. 2, p. 547 and note. See too J. Dyduch, ‘Stosunek „Przeglądu Wszechpolskiego” do Polskiej Partii Socjalistycznej zaboru rosyjskiego w latach 1895–1905 (Wybrane zagadnienia)’, *Rocznik Naukowo-Dydaktyczny. Prace Ekonomiczno-Społeczne*, 1985, no. 4, vol. 99, pp. 43–77.

227 J. Dyduch, *Stosunek „Przeglądu Wszechpolskiego”...*, p. 54. The existence of social classes and their antagonism in contemporary society was not denied here. See J.L. Jastrzębiec, ‘Nasz demokratyzm II’, *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, April 1900, no. 4, p. 196.

It is worth noting that Popławski had not completely renounced his left-wing roots, recalling that the criterion for effective involvement in social affairs for the movement with which he had become associated, was both the 'national interest', as well as the 'people's social interest', while still admitting the 'parallelism' of both strains. Indeed he accused the socialists of doctrinarism and party egoism, of favouring Jewish interests and of using ruthless methods in their current activities. Despite this, he did not forget to remind them of the numerous 'honest patriots, fervent and honest Poles' working in the socialist party. However, the conciliators, whom *Przegląd's* leading columnist also stigmatized in his articles, definitely did not have these personal qualities.

However, even in polemical full-flight, pointing to the growing 'anti-democratic and anti-national currents' within the boundaries of home-grown socialism, Popławski did not deny completely the significance of the workers' movement. Continually, as if despite himself, he would also recall the disinterestedness and idealism of many PPS members. This polemic was soon further supported by an appeal from the League's Central Committee, which reminded once again that it was the nationalists who deserved the right to control Polish politics.<sup>228</sup> The League as a whole abandoned this pro-independence point of principle only with reluctance.

This piece by Popławski, perhaps his last before Dmowski returned to the editorship, the voice of Polish nationalism grounded in historical tradition, resounded so clearly on the pages of *Przegląd Wszechpolski*. The editor of the day declared: 'The fact of being born or living in a certain place or of tribal ancestry cannot be decisive in the nationality of thousands and millions of people, not even of individuals. Centuries of common political life, of the commonality of spiritual and material culture, of the commonality of interests and so on, are a hundredfold more meaningful than the commonality of ancestry or even language.'<sup>229</sup>

It was typical that during Dmowski's absence, the pages of *Przegląd* saw the return of ideas of resurrecting the notion of Polish legions, and also of organizing

---

228 B. Toruńczyk, *Mysł polityczna i ideologia polityczna Narodowej Demokracji*, in *Narodowa Demokracja. Antologia...*, p. 47.

229 J.L. Jastrzębiec, 'Nasz demokratyzm', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, March 1900, no. 3, p. 136. There is another article by Popławski in the same spirit, 'Jubileusz pruski', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, January 1901, no. 1, p. 3.

military cadres in the event of future battles for independence. It appears that Popławski himself was behind these concepts.<sup>230</sup>

Over time the League's conflict with the socialists was intensifying. This was above all tied to the League's overall move to the right, and the movement's growing unambiguous positioning of itself in opposition to the entire progressive camp. In these transformations the more authoritarian variant, which Dmowski represented, began to get the upper hand over the 'pro-peasant' variant, linked to a number of radical social slogans and grouped around the movement's other key figure – Jan Ludwik Popławski. Popławski also remained the most eager defender of all irredentist traditions. To some extent these divisions were clearly pre-arranged, and their occurrence can be proved only by a change in tone in the movement's leading journals, above in *Przegląd Wszechpolski*. From the outside the League was on the whole working cohesively.

Against this background of anti-socialist rhetoric, Dmowski's aggressive writings began nevertheless to stand out. The sharp rivalry between the pro-independence groupings was beginning to turn into a hostile confrontation. Dmowski's return to *Przegląd* in 1901 in essence cut off the idealist polemics. One of the activists who then grew close to the ND leadership circle recalled that in 1902 'the movement's whole baton was already in Dmowski's hands. It was evident how alongside Popławski's political thinking, flowing evenly and calmly like the Vistula, Dmowski's current surged and dredged, throwing out moss-covered stones, tangled undergrowth and was changing the riverbed. For these thoughts of a modern Pole were tough.'<sup>231</sup>

In an ideological piece entitled *W naszym obozie* (*In Our Camp*) in 1901 the League's leader, signing himself Narodowiec, came out and named the socialists as, alongside the Jews, the most dangerous enemies of the developing 'new patriotism'. He wrote: 'socialism stands in the way of our movement's development [...] its spirit is inimical to our spirit [...] the views it spreads are poles apart from ours [...] from our point of view its propaganda is to a great extent political

---

230 See Wojciech Wiącek z Machowa, 'W sprawie „legionów”', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, December 1900, no. 12, pp. 744–746. The author, one of the first Galician peasants in the LN, was acknowledged as a political pupil of Popławski.

231 S. Stroński, 'U trumny Romana Dmowskiego. My wszyscy z Niego...', *Kronika Polski i Świata*, January 1939, no. 2, p. 1. See too T. Kulak, *Jan Ludwik Popławski 1854–1908...*, vol. 2, p. 666. The author of the most significant monograph on Popławski, she also summarizes succinctly the contemporary disputes between the most important figures in the Galician League, *Ibid.*, pp. 666–670.

demoralization.<sup>232</sup> The whole extent of Dmowski's argument presented here, as well as in other lesser statements, can be summed up in a few headings.

First of all, the socialists were supposedly seeking to incite social rebellion by putting class interests above the task of 'national work'. In a word, they wanted to destroy national unity by 'breaking the nation into pieces'. Through their constant rabble-rousing they were becoming a factor in anarchy, not to mention that in so doing they were also paralyzing the realization of the project of national renewal, whose basis had to be, in Dmowski's view, national solidarity. The false perspective of modernization, which they had adopted, was also leading to a great many unexpected and dangerous consequences.

Secondly, socialism was in turn politically depraving society's strata, creating preposterous and harmful illusions on the prospects of social development. Dmowski not without reason addressed many of his ideological pieces precisely to young people, seeing in them the real audience for his ideas. Meanwhile, the young were becoming the first unwitting victims of socialist illusions. Seeing in socialism an alternative solution to the 'new patriotism' for the contemporary world's ills, Dmowski emphasized that its presence represented a constant and tangible threat for all-embracing nationalism. The strength of socialism supposedly grew out of the ambition to reconcile integrally the individual with the world, along with the rupture which had appeared and would continually intensify in modern society. The younger generation was indeed by its very nature reaching for 'modern' solutions with progressive attributes. Socialism with its universalizing aspirations was for young people the embodiment of this modern approach. Although Dmowski compared the harmfulness of scientific socialism with the destructive influence of conciliatory attitudes, writing that 'the radical sportsman's cheap demagoguery is just as destructive as the cheap diplomacy of the conciliatory clown,' he was in fact proving that the challenge represented by the socialists was much more significant. He kept returning to his 'instructional' pieces from the mid-nineties in which he had so passionately put the spiritual 'stagnation' of international doctrines in the pillory.

In line with this formulation, the socialists were the nationalist camp's rivals also in the sphere of current tasks, e.g., in carrying out agitation among the peasantry. Popławski, and with him the group of League publicists who were close to him, had also underestimated the role and influence of socialist agitation in rural communities. Furthermore, the first generation of 'Głos-ites' had even admitted

---

232 Narodowiec, 'W naszym obozie. Listy do przyjaciół politycznych, VIII', *Przegląd Wszepolski*, August 1901, no. 8, p. 474.

that socialist ideas, like patriotic agitation, could help enlighten the peasantry. This line of reasoning could appeal to the imagination of supporters of the nationalist right, all the more so as the socialists themselves were becoming more 'nationalist' in the world of militancy.<sup>233</sup> Dmowski thus emphasized the altogether dire consequences of the rise of their influence. Socialist agitation – even if it encountered only a narrow field of opportunity – could quickly spread, so he argued. Like the plague. With the doctrinal flexibility shown by pro-independence socialism, this could lead to long-term, unfavourable consequences.

The ND leader could already perceive them by the fact that the peasant classes, lacking supervision from 'organized nationalist opinion', were picking up emancipatory phrases and slogans. The peasants, absent this supervision in line with the national interest, were becoming a wild, enraged black spot, or else at best just another social class with claims (and with all the resultant consequences). The peasant's racial instinct would be crushed, and the peasantry urged towards unsuccessful revolt, 'Ukrainian peasant revolt', instead of towards the reconstruction of the national polity, or indeed the construction of the 'great Polish nation.' This creeping social rebellion had to have an effect on the 'nationalist' agitators themselves, if only on account of the competition for influence with socialist mouthpieces, the spokesmen for rural 'agrarian socialism'.

Dmowski would repeat this line of argument at the time as if he felt that held opinions ought to be confirmed, repeated, and recalled so that they gained a deep foothold in social memory. A piece entitled *Co to są socjaliści i czego chcą?* (*What are Socialists and What do They Want?*), published in *Polak* in 1903 and written for the rural reader, is worthy of note. This screed stands out among Dmowski's countless antisemitic publications by virtue of its socio-technical, if not indeed its instrumental use of the anti-Jewish rhetoric of the Church.<sup>234</sup> Dmowski was

---

233 See the series of articles by Mazur (S. Grabski) in *Przedświt* from 1899–1901. Grabski also took over the editorship of the party *Gazeta Ludowa*, and the fierce debates about the line it adopted did indeed influence his departure from the PPS and his subsequent entry into the LN. The direction embodied by Grabski, although significantly weakened by the departure of this circle's most significant figures, was never totally marginalized. The rivalry with the League and its subsidiary organizations in the countryside was also an object of the PPS domestic leadership's constant concern. See J. Piłsudski, *List do towarzyszy w Londynie z 25 listopada 1902 r.*, in W. Jędrzejewicz, 'Listy Józefa Piłsudskiego z okresu PPS (1898–1904)', *Niepodległość*, 11 (revived version), 1978, p. 43.

234 W. Grochowski [R. Dmowski], 'Co to są socjaliści i czego chcą? III', *Polak*, May 1903, no. 5, p. 70; id., 'Co to są socjaliści [...] I', *Polak*, March 1903, no. 3, pp. 33–34; id., 'Co to są socjaliści [...], II', *Polak*, April 1903, no. 4, pp. 53–54; id., 'Co to są socjaliści

not at this time a practising Catholic – indeed, it is doubtful whether religious faith had any great meaning for him, but for the ‘cause’ he was able to bring in all sorts of sources.

In these pieces the socialists were unambiguously identified with the Jews, the socialist idea itself presented as a true product of the degenerate Jewish mind – with Marx and Lassalle mentioned by name – working against the interests of Catholic society. One of these articles ended with a summing-up, which well reflected the entirety of this multi-layered, propagandist narrative and for this reason is worth quoting at length: ‘As we have said, the founders of socialism were the jews. [sic] So ever since socialist parties have been around, jews [sic] everywhere clamour to join them. [...] Socialism is very friendly towards jews [sic], socialist papers never say a word about their excesses, about how jews [sic] harm and exploit poor people, yet they are full of blasphemy against religion, as well as the most disgusting slander against the Church and the clergy. Reading these papers one might think that the worker’s lot will improve the minute people stop believing in God and going to church. At times it would be hard to understand what is going on, if one did not know that sitting at a table in the editorial offices is some nasty little jew [sic] having a grand old time with his hatred of the Catholic Church and Christian society.’<sup>235</sup>

Finally, Dmowski claimed, socialism was depraving the Polish intelligentsia. Once positivism had lost its popularity, socialist concepts had, according to our nationalist theoretician, gained the allure of progressive modernity. For many imitative minds, in his view the majority in any society, socialist ideas became surrogates for a real, authentic consideration of reality. Through their inherent sterility they detracted from solid work in the ‘nationalist’ arena. In this view, socialism in the nature of things was yet another preserver of the status quo, the

---

[...] IV’, *Polak*, June 1903, no. 6, pp. 85–86; id., ‘Co to są socjaliści [...] V’, *Polak*, September 1903, no. 9, pp. 133–134; id., ‘Co to są socjaliści [...] VI’, *Polak*, October 1903, no. 10, pp. 149–150. K. Lewalski, in *Kościół chrześcijański w Królestwie Polskim wobec Żydów w latach 1855–1915*, Wrocław 2002, writes extensively about antisemitism strongly coloured by religion. See B.A. Porter, ‘Making a Space for Antisemitism. The Catholic Hierarchy and the Jews in the Early Twentieth Century’ *Polin*, vol. 16, 2003, pp. 415–429; A. Wolff -Powęska, *A bliźniego swego... Kościół w Niemczech wobec „problemu żydowskiego”*, Poznań 2004. S. Buryła, in ‘Antyjudyzm czy antysemityzm. Kilka znaków zapytania’, *Studia Judaica*, 7, 2004, no. 1 (13), pp. 95–110, has juxtaposed a great many inspirational thoughts on the subject of the relationship between traditional prejudices and modern antisemitism.

235 W. Grochowski, ‘Co to są socjaliści [...] VI’, pp. 149–150.

state of crisis, chaos and degeneration. Although in this case the chaos affected the intellectual élite, it could be contagious.

Left to its own devices the intelligentsia would always draw without restraint on models and inspiration from the West, usually adopting false or disastrous ideas. Dmowski repeated after Popławski that the domestic thinking classes remained vulnerable en masse to any scrap of a general idea.<sup>236</sup>

*Last but not least*, in Polish conditions the socialists would without any restraint introduce into public life destructive elements, in other words, what we have been discussing: the Jews. In Dmowski's opinion, not only had the Jews invented socialism, but they were its guiding spirit, its boosters, as well as in essence its sole beneficiaries. Socialism was the secular Jewish religion, although Dmowski concealed in this statement a rhetorical device. The socialist idea was for the Jews, as a certain racial/cultural type, another convenient tool for dominating their surroundings. A useful tool, since ostensibly universalist, but in fact used for exploitation and parasitism of the external world. This line of argument led to some ruthless conclusions: the battle with socialism was one of the fronts in a total battle with the Jews, and confronting the Jews must therefore lead to friction with the socialists, the argument concluded.

The best example of this type of anti-socialist and anti-Jewish rhetoric by Dmowski, even a paradigm one might say, was an article entitled *Historia szlachetnego socjalisty* (*The Tale of an Honourable Socialist*), published in *Przegląd Wszechpolski* in the autumn of 1902.<sup>237</sup> This article, like possibly no other piece of journalism of Dmowski's at this time, resonated widely both among pro-independence socialists as well as with the wider public. Above all, on account of its aggressive, brash, and in many places even vitriolic tone. This screed, presented as an analysis in the field of political psychology, was above all, however, a satire

---

236 Popławski was spreading the idea of the Polish intelligentsia's sterility in the 80s on the pages of *Głos*. See inter alia J. Nieborski, 'Z kraju', *Głos*, 23 VII (4 VIII) 1888, no. 31, pp. 367–368. Later this view was extensively developed on the pages of *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, see Popławski's standard piece *Polityka nerwów*, (*„Przegląd Wszechpolski”*, 1897, pp. 193–195), in *Narodowa Demokracja. Antologia...*, pp. 92–96. B. Toruńczyk – J. Juryńska, 'Inteligencja w poglądach endecji do roku 1905', *Roczniki Nauk Społecznych*, 7, 1979, pp. 187–207, presents the fullest review of ND opinion on the Polish intelligentsia's attitudes.

237 Sk. [R. Dmowski], 'Historia szlachetnego socyliasty. Przyczynek do psychologii politycznej społeczeństwa polskiego', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, October 1903, no. 10, pp. 758–772. Quotations are taken from this text. See *Historia szlachetnego socjalisty*, in *Narodowa Demokracja. Antologia...*, pp. 169–174.

on pro-independence socialism. A significant satire, since pointing out the basic indicators of the developing language, ways of thinking, and the intellectual framework, in other words, the mental structures of Polish nationalist discourse. Although at first glance the hero of this piece appeared to be Józef Piłsudski, he was not the only, definitely not the sole object of these detailed analyses.<sup>238</sup>

We most certainly cannot ignore this personal theme in the developing dispute. Józef Piłsudski was now turning into a key figure for the pro-independence left, and his rival must have been very much aware that there would sooner or later be a clash in the pro-independence movement between these two currents: nationalist and socialist. The leader of the domestic PPS organization, already from the time of the publication in 1895 of his famous piece entitled *Rosja* on the pages of the one-off *Robotnik*, had been calling for a permanent separation of the Polish pro-independence movement from Russian opposition movements.<sup>239</sup> Thus he fulfilled one of the most important demands, by which the 'nationalists' in pro-independence circles united their sympathizers. Piłsudski was also gaining very complimentary opinions in pro-independence circles. Jan Ludwik Popławski, in a famous article from the turn of the century, warmly assessed Piłsudski's efforts to assimilate national/patriotic elements by the PPS and to bring the worker back to the 'nation's bosom.'<sup>240</sup>

Warsaw *Pochodnia*, on the occasion of the detainee's escape from St. Petersburg, and also during the violent disputes between the LN and the PPS, wrote openly of the escapee's 'bravery and nobility', which were 'always linked to a sincere and deep patriotism.' The editors expressed the hope that Piłsudski's return would have a positive effect on the socialists' activities.<sup>241</sup> However, *Pochodnia*

---

238 See A. Ajnenkiel, *Romana Dmowskiego i Józefa Piłsudskiego spór o Polskę*, in *Do niepodległości 1918, 1944/1945–1989. Wizje – Drogi – Spełnienie. Księga jubileuszowa w osiemdziesiątą rocznicę odzyskania niepodległego bytu państwowego*, W. Wrześniński (ed.), Warsaw 1998, p. 210 and note; K. Kawalec, *Roman Dmowski*, Wrocław 2002, p. 72; A. Walicki, 'Niech zginą pół Polacy', *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 11–12 V 2002, p. 22. See too R. Wapiński, *Roman Dmowski...*, p. 122. J. Pajewski writes in general about a 'splendid article about Piłsudski', *Roman Dmowski*, in id., *Rozprawy i studia z dziejów powszechnych i Polski*, Poznań 1997, p. 226. Also in a different spirit, A. Micewski, *Roman Dmowski*, Warsaw 1971, pp. 67–69; T. Mistewicz, 'Uwagi na marginesie nowej biografii Romana Dmowskiego', *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 12, 1980, vol. 4, p. 182.

239 J. Kancewicz summarizes the article in *Polska Partia Socjalistyczna...*, pp. 266–277.

240 From A. Plutyński, *Dokoła Czytelnicy Akademickiej...*, p. 2.

241 'Kronika', *Pochodnia*, June 1901, no. 10, p. 7. See too 'Ucieczka więźnia stanu', *Goniec Polski*, June 1901, no. 17, p. 137. This latter paper, produced by the Association of Polish Exiles and edited by Zygmunt Miłkowski, came under the authority of the



was suspended. The unambiguously pro-independence, which at the time meant 'revolutionary' line of the paper edited by Teofil Waligórski, was becoming troublesome for the other party chiefs, and above all for the leader. It was evidence of a lively, openly irredentist current in the community, and it effectively repudiated the long-term goals of 'realistic politics'. Concerns about the editorial board had already appeared in 1899, when the League had begun to change direction.<sup>242</sup> Towards the end of 1901 Dmowski took over as *Pochodnia's* editor and then shut it down at lightning speed.

After his escape from St. Petersburg, Comrade Wiktor settled in Kraków in an important centre of the pro-independence left, where at the time *Polak* and *Przegląd Wszepolski* – the LN's two most important papers – were published. This city also held the second largest concentration of nationalist youth after Lwów. But the ND's influence was not so obvious at the Jagiellonian University. The effect of Piłsudski's magnetic personality could change a great deal. In a confrontation between these two charismatic figures, with all their personal attributes, Dmowski had one yet significant failing: by his uncompromising approach – in his speaking, his writing, his actions – he was able to alienate even his closest colleagues. Piłsudski beat him hands down in this respect. The landowner Kajetan Morawski, a diplomat in the Second Republic, recalled a comment by one of the ND leader's supporters: 'You wanted to talk to Dmowski, but you wanted to kiss Piłsudski's hand.'<sup>243</sup>

The case of Lwów, where Dmowski's 'new patriotism' collided with Szymon Askenazy's and Stanisław Szczepanowski's differing visions, was extremely instructive. At the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the de facto nationalist leader lost both of these confrontations. In his memoirs Antoni Plutyński quoted a great many local debates which set youthful circles alight. After one of these he had written that his attitude towards Dmowski had cooled.<sup>244</sup> Meanwhile Comrade Wiktor was very active.

In 1902, after settling in Kraków, Piłsudski in no time at all reorganized the domestic socialist organization. His changes followed the spirit in which the League had transformed itself some years earlier. In letters to comrades in London he

---

League. It wrote about Piłsudski as 'the most active and honest of people in the Polish socialist camp', *Ibid.*, p. 137.

242 See U. Jakubowska, *Prasa Narodowej Demokracji w dobie zaborów*, Warsaw 1988, p. 35 and note.

243 K. Morawski, 'Wakacyjne trzy po trzy', *Wiadomości*, 9 XI 1958, no. 45 (658), p. 1.

244 See A. Plutyński, 'Szymon Askenazy we Lwowie. Wspomnienia i impresje 1–7', *Polska Zbrojna*, 1935, nos. 205–214.

continually called for 'All-Polish socialist policies', greater openness with the 'legal' intelligentsia, an approach to the masses, while retaining a strong, underground leadership.

In a letter in 1903 he specified: 'I have always yearned for and dreamed of a 'party brain' and I have always come to the conclusion that this is a luxury, which I have hitherto been unable to permit myself, but which I can now see to be a necessity – what is essential is a leading idea, control of events, an active involvement in life.'<sup>245</sup> We can also hypothesize and point to yet another aspect of this dispute.

In the opinion of the American historian Timothy Snyder, in the 1890s in PPS circles, especially in Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz's output, an alternative vision of the modern nation to the League's appeared. As has already been mentioned, this distinguished sociologist and columnist was one of the most principled polemicists in terms of nationalist conceptions of the nation. His project of forms for the social existence of a modern nation had it based on a political and not on an ethnic/tribal entity, as the dominant 'nationalist' strain would have it. Kelles-Krauz was, moreover, a supporter of revolution as a factor in social change, change in which he saw an opportunity to link social and pro-independence elements; changes, which independence would bring and solidify.

In his arguments he linked historical materialism with a modern approach to the national polity based on a commonality of language, historical fate, as well as citizens' common feelings of spiritual identity. He acknowledged the nation in its modern iteration to be the result of processes caused by the development of capitalism and, unlike Rosa Luxemburg's circle, proved the long-lasting value of the creation of nations from the point of view of the march of civilization.<sup>246</sup> Not undermining the role of ethnic origin ('blood ties') in the development of

---

245 J. Piłsudski, *List do towarzyszy w Londynie pisany z Rytra 14 września 1903*, in W. Jędrzejewicz, 'Listy Józefa Piłsudskiego z okresu PPS (1902–1904)', *Niepodległość*, 15 (revived version), 1982, p. 51 and note. See too J. Piłsudski, *List do towarzyszy w Krakowie na przełomie lutego i marca 1904 r.*, no. 50, in *Ibid.*, p. 24.

246 T. Snyder, 'Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz (1872–1905): A pioneering scholar of modern nationalism', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 3, July 1997, part 2, pp. 231–250. S. Ciesielski, in his foreword (*Przedmowa*) in K. Kelles-Krauz, *Naród i historia. Wybór pism*, edited by S. Ciesielski, Warsaw 1989, pp. 18–19, presents the issue similarly, although not as clearly. See too T. Snyder, 'Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz, 1872–1905: A Polish Socialist for Jewish Nationality', *Polin*, vol. 12, *Focusing on Galicia: Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians 1772–1918*, I. Bartal, A. Polonsky (eds.), 1999, pp. 257–270. See too *id.*, *Nationalism, Marxism...*, pp. 251–252.

national politics (yet to a lesser degree than, for example, Ludwik Krzywicki), Kelles-Krauz rejected a biological vision of the nation.

In this original theoretical thinking there was also room for the Jewish community – for Dmowski enemy number one of the modern nation. Although Comrade Luśnia did not personally adopt an unambiguous position in the dispute between the socialist ‘right wing’ and ‘left wing’ (being ideologically closer to the party’s left wing), his views found many adherents in the younger PPS ranks. With all the limitations, unlike the nationalists’ growing authoritarian views, this was a concept closer to the pro-independence groups’ democratic and radical mentality. Among young people, in whom Dmowski always reposed a great deal of faith, there were still a great many followers to be had. The stakes in this dispute over the ‘control of souls’ were, for a convinced ‘instructor’ very high.

Let us return to the principal argument. In *Historia szlachetnego socjalisty* Dmowski started from the assumption of socialism’s fundamental foreignness, its strange, exotic, almost perverted inspiration. From its first paragraphs the piece strongly emphasized this factor. Socialism, analysed from the point of view of its human base was, in the writer’s opinion, a collection of three human types. The largest one was the Jews: ‘Not in some metaphorical sense, but quite literally.’ In this view, the Jews not only had created socialism, but had done so with the aim of using it as an instrument of their domination, ‘an outlet for their sectarian-cum-organizational instincts.’ It was meant to be an ideological lever for world domination. This basic goal was meant to lead to another, further one, not always understood by its creators, i.e., linking up with fellow compatriots in other countries. Although Dmowski did not at this juncture maintain that socialism was exclusively of Jewish manufacture, ‘purely an expression of Jewish interests’, he at once concluded that only the future would reveal its real face. He added; ‘but who really knows what the future holds’.

Under this reservation lay a whole panoply of fraud which the Jews in the future would perpetrate, while the main motive behind the Jews’ attraction to socialism was their racial instinct. Using Dmowski’s vocabulary this was an extrarational echo, a somewhat inexplicable reflex of their ‘spiritual physiognomy’. In the spirit of this view, socialism represented an expression, to some extent the essence of Jewish spirituality: ‘Being from the strictly critical point of view [...] the most suitable direction for the jews, [sic] a direction which a recognition of the interests of their race suggest that they support – socialism at the same time provides a splendid outlet for the Jewish psychological type’s instincts and tendencies. Its principal thinkers and organizers, being jews [sic] themselves, have filled it up with such a spirit of negation, of hatred of Christianity, of our ethics and civilization, of a revolt against the political structures of Aryan societies,

that only with great difficulty can one see this as the philosophy and ethics of the proletariat, and not see in all this the voice of the Jewish soul.

The second group of supporters of socialism were, in Dmowski's view, national apostates. Traitors, who had abandoned the patriotic interest. Morally vile, often personal cowards who in new currents like socialism were able to settle their none-too-honest affairs. Dmowski mentioned by name in his article Erazm Piltz, the author of well-known critical pieces about the LN, which came out at this time. For the sake of accuracy we should add that Piltz had never been a socialist, and although he enraged Polish nationalist circles with his publications, it is still somewhat unclear why he was included in the camp of socialist supporters. Perhaps it was because Dmowski recognized that every political dispute could be reduced to an us/them, friend/foe relationship, in nationalist rhetoric – 'nationalist versus anti-nationalist'.

The third 'social type' within socialism was, according to R. Skrzycki, social degenerates; eternal revolutionaries, he argued, individuals apparently taken straight out of Lombroso's works. These figures, appearing within the framework of some ideological direction, represented a sort of barbarian recidivism, some threatening kind of anachronism, following in the wake of the development of modern civilization. Insofar as the first group – the Jews – became socialists more or less for natural reasons, and the second one – the renegades – for purely practical ones, this third 'social type' represented the product of every non-conformist group. According to Dmowski, the socialists together created a curious human blend into which morally pure and noble people happened to stray only by accident.

The last honest person in this socialist Gomorrah was supposedly Piłsudski. The noble socialist could not long remain surrounded by less noble colleagues. In the ND ideologue's piece, the leader of the pro-independence socialists personified more or less an ideal Polish type. In Dmowski's article, which was a reply to Piłsudski's opinion in a survey for the Lwów *Promień* entitled *Jak zostałem socjalistą* (*How I Became a Socialist*),<sup>247</sup> one could, however, pick out a more general desire to deal with the generation's socialist illusions.

On the basis of this reasoning, Piłsudski and the few activists like him had found themselves among the socialists by accident and temporarily. All life instincts, 'race instincts' would draw them away from socialism until they broke

---

247 J. Piłsudski, 'Jak stałem się socjalistą?', *Promień*, September-October 1903, nos. 8–9, pp. 342–348. See too id., 'Jak zostałem socjalistą', in id., *Pisma zbiorowe (wydanie prac drukiem ogłoszonych)*, vol. 2, L. Wasilewski (ed.), Warsaw 1937, pp. 45–53.

with it. Piłsudski here was seen as the leader of a foreign force who had lost his way; of a force from which he would have to break if he turned out to be 'a good Pole'. In Dmowski's view the eternal laws governing social life all pointed that way.

In principle every element in Dmowski's view of things appeared in this obfuscatory line of reasoning. Socialism was treated here as the essence of foreignness concentrated in Jewish hands. Its representatives were not political opponents, ideological rivals, but a more or less diabolical enemy of substance. For this reason the battle with it would take on the character of a moral crusade. However, the centre of gravity in this line of thinking was inevitably shifting away from an ideological battle to a racial-cum-tribal level, since the Jews, the principal beneficiaries of socialism, were carrying out the interests of their race whether consciously or not. Just as the 'nationalist' idea was after all only a creation of the Polish 'soul'. All the remaining acts of this fundamentally racial-cum-tribal battle here became hardly an off-shoot of the essential dispute and to a certain extent naturally faded into the background. In any event, it is not known whether in this line of reasoning both of these acts in the battle with socialism, i.e., on the basis of ideology and race, had not already blended into a single syndrome of eliminating the enemy – a foreign body. The 'żydo-komuna'.

In this piece Dmowski once again referred to a Manichean vision of the political world. Who is not with us, is against us. In his scheme, in which the battle of the elements was treated as a natural mechanism regulating social life, indifference, or a rejection of the principles of this battle meant national apostasy, going over to the enemy, which had to lead to far-reaching consequences. The use in this article of military/naturalist vocabulary time and again showed its effectiveness. It also pointed to something more than the writer's combative style. The philippic, which Dmowski launched against the socialists, also contained racial paradigms, set national/ethnic stereotypes, as well as numerous projections of the enemy and finally a considerable charge of aggression, condensed into fewer than twenty pages.

But Dmowski's article also contained a proposition – a hand outstretched towards 'real' Poles, those who had been led astray, or who had simply lost their way. It is hard here to avoid the historical context in which R. Skrzycki's pronouncement appeared. Within the PPS views were now being heard undermining the leadership of the older generation of activists, the so-called elders, whose unquestioned leader remained Piłsudski. In this 'revolt of the district leaders', as this ideological crisis is usually called, activists of Jewish descent played a significant part, and this spiteful satire could have been directed against them. The attempt to use the socialist party's internal disputes was not too successful. However, *Historia*

*szlachetnego socjalisty* remains a reasonable attempt at the type of agitation carried out by our nationalist ideologue – a combination of a sophisticated ideological conception of the enemy and a scenario of actions for political friends, as well as the writer's personal antipathies.

On the eve of the 1905 revolution Dmowski got into a fight with the socialists with an unambiguous political plan. At the start of the year, he entered the Kingdom under an assumed name, for all the world a travelling salesman of counter-revolution, in order to begin a new phase of his life, but also to seal a new phase for the whole nationalist movement in the Polish lands. He headed for Warsaw with the single-minded conviction that the success of the revolution could bring about a new national catastrophe, acknowledging himself and his political friends as the exclusive representatives of the Polish cause or of Polishness as such, and his scenario as the only possible one for the 'national interest' and 'political realism'. In one of his letters to Zygmunt Miłkowski he wrote: 'now the ground is burning beneath our feet [...]. In the Kingdom the situation is serious and to a certain extent dangerous, while at the same time opening up certain perspectives, for what will happen, for what the result will be we are responsible. For today we are the only element having a broader respect and some kind of influence on opinion. If we do not look to ourselves, there will be total anarchy. Then to hell with our almost twenty years of work, our organization, and prospects for the immediate future and the National Treasury, and with everything we have been working for.'<sup>248</sup>

This plan assumed the complete and systematic removal of the influence of the PPS and the socialists, as well as their presence in public life as 'destroyers of Poland' – sometimes, as later events would show, also by their physical elimination. The new tactic of cleaning up the 'moral swamp of Polish politics' saw

---

248 Roman Dmowski to Zygmunt Miłkowski, Kraków 31 III 1905, in M. Kułakowski, *Roman Dmowski...*, vol. 1, p. 312. In a famous letter of April 1906 to Miłkowski he carried out his aetiology of the 1905 revolution: 'This whole political syphilis, with which the Muscovites have been infecting us for forty years has now come out and it is unclear how it will end. The socialists in the Republic believed that the time had come to "overthrow the Tsar" and when their "revolution" failed, they take it out on their own people, they harm it with strikes, they rob, they murder bourgeois manufacturers and nationalists (the latter often indulge in tit for tat). Believing in revolution they have formed a combat team, composed of boys between the ages of 15 and 20, of unemployed workers, of knife men and even common thieves. Hysterical people, jews [sic] and simple idiots are running this team [...]. We are forced to fight this kind of revolution with knives.' See Roman Dmowski to Zygmunt Miłkowski, 9 IV 1906, in M. Kułakowski, *Roman Dmowski...*, vol. 1, p. 331.

perhaps its greatest expression in a lecture given by the League's leader in April 1905 and repeated as the LN's official position. A summary of this text indicated that it was only a matter of time before there would be attempts at further and forcible solutions. Dmowski argued in it that irrespective of the party name adopted, every Polish socialist movement joined the ranks of politics 'against the national interest' and excluded itself from the realm of the life of the nation. The lecture's final conclusion left no illusions: 'Socialism has virtually ceased to exist as a Polish movement.'<sup>249</sup>

However, Dmowski's personal relationship with Piłsudski were rather complicated. During a visit to Japan in 1904 they had a personal exchange of views. Despite the sharp ideological dispute that divided them, this meeting was full of mutual respect. As a witness recalled, they parted after a nine-hour 'friendly chat', each with his own views.<sup>250</sup>

However, the effect of this Japanese meeting turned out to be lasting. Piłsudski, although he would later often criticize the ND's 'new patriotism', placing it in the context of European chauvinism, did, however, defend Dmowski personally for his noble intentions and great ambitions for his nation.<sup>251</sup> Dmowski, in turn, though he later would often speak of his rival in immoderate terms, criticizing him above all for surrounding himself with mediocrities, always retained a personal respect for him, which was never fully explained. Had he recognized in his rival one of the revered new aristocrats of the soul, a figure who mould the world in their image, a 'man of action'?

Against this background the battle with the progressive camp, with positivist circles in Warsaw, or with Galician democrats appeared more moderate. Throughout the whole second half of the 90s Dmowski and his circle tried not to harm relations with these influential groups. Relations with the Warsaw progressives

---

249 [R. Dmowski], 'Stronnictwo Narodowo-Demokratyczne, jego zasady i działalność', *Przegląd Wszeczpolski*, July 1905, no. 7, 'p. 467. See too R. Wapiński, *Roman Dmowski...*, p. 153.

250 See diary entries by Tytus Filipowicz, according to W. Jędrzejewicz, 'Sprawa „Wieczoru” (Józef Piłsudski a wojna japońsko-rosyjska 1904–1905)', *Zeszyty Historyczne*, 1974, no. 27, p. 24.

251 See [J. Piłsudski], 'O patryotyzmie', *Walka*, October 1902, no. 1, pp. 4–6. At the time of the numerous debates on *Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka*, which took place just after the work's appearance, Piłsudski supposedly took part in Kiev in one of these illicit meetings and defended Dmowski. His opponent was Andrzej Niemojewski. See K.W. Wierzejski, 'Fragmenty z dziejów polskiej młodzieży akademickiej w Kijowie (1864–1920)', *Niepodległość*, 19, May–June 1939, vol. 3 (53), pp. 469–470.

were even more complex than is generally accepted. They also had a pragmatic dimension. In these circles, at least in the first years of activity, there were a great many League sympathizers, or at least contributors to the National Treasury. It should be remembered that the LN was the only organization to adopt openly patriotic slogans, expertly broadcasting its principled, pro-independence stance at every occasion. In the first years of its activities, also as a result of the paralysis of other pro-independence circles, it could pass for the heir to the home-grown democrats. The League's leaders were able to take advantage of this.

A favourable neutrality between these groups emerged partly as a result of the troubled situation of the national democrats, operating in the second half of the 90s, mainly in Galicia. As long as the nationalist papers did not try to interfere in Galician politics, they were tolerated by the conservative Homeland Department and the local élites. For these same reasons they also received moral support from the opposition. Paradoxically though, Galician democrats had their eye on this splinter of patriotic youth as a future ally for their own activities in the provinces. As we know, they were painfully disappointed.

These hopes of the Galician progressives did not always have to appear unrealistic, proof of which was Stanisław Szczepanowski's authority and extensive influence among Galicia's nationalist youth. The respect in which this figure was held and his influence on young people's patriotic attitudes were comparable to, if not greater than Dmowski's in these circles.<sup>252</sup> Insofar as the dispute with the positivists in the Kingdom of Poland indicated a fundamental, although still gentle in tone critique of the progressive camp for supposed political illusions or inadequacies, then in the case of the Galician democrats it focused on their derivative, opportunistic political tactics.

Both on the ground in Galicia, as well as in relation to the Kingdom, this polemic with progressive currents for a time shifted to the cultural sphere. Dmowski saw an essential point of contention with the liberals in the derivative or outright passive imitation of foreign models, which the progressive circles in Poland had supposedly adopted. Dmowski derived his criticism of progressive currents from a personally-perceived conservative defence of familiar surroundings, while his own ideological road – from radical student activist to conservative extra (as he appeared to the left) – was reminiscent of the evolution of, for instance, Ludwik Maślowski, the Lwów democrat, publisher of *Prawda*, who had gone over to extreme conservative attitudes. In 1884, Maślowski had published his famous *Listy*

---

252 See A. Plutyński, 'Borysławskie początki', *Wiadomości*, 1 VI 1958, no. 22 (635), p. 3.



*do przyjaciela* (*Letters to a Friend*), which were a farewell to the ideas of his progressive youth. Was this then the old, though still active, dispute between the supporters of all that was home-grown and the modernizers, which represented one of the key dilemmas of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (and doubtless later) for Poland?<sup>253</sup>

But this was just the external dimension of this dispute, proof of incomprehension on the part of early critics as to what this new nationalism really was, what kind of social dynamic it generated, and that they underestimated it. Dmowski was not a renegade from democracy, even less a cynic, at least in the accepted meaning of these words, although he was perceived as a pragmatic and not infrequently a brutal political player. But he had probably never been a democrat. In his view it was not compromise, but continually fighting the enemy, which was the essence of public life. The League's leader, followed by the ideologues of integral nationalism who tried more or less dialectically to reconcile this dispute between familiarity and modernity – rootedness in the familiar and an openness to modernization – to build those two positions into a dynamic whole. Taking into account the intellectual tools with which they got down to this task, but above all the goals that they set themselves, this was, however, something more than yet again deciphering a universal diagnosis of the situation.

This was the seed of a social vision which was fully developed only in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. On the other hand, a comparison of the changes in attitude by this segment of the radical intelligentsia with the political evolution of certain conservative thinkers, such as the Kraków Stańczyk-ites, does not seem pointless here. The situation of intellectuals in a backward country added a certain local colour to these dilemmas on the part of the Polish intelligentsia. In retrospect, as a modern-day Central-European writer puts it, these efforts on the part of Polish intellectuals seem to be a cry of despair from the provinces at being unable to be the centre.<sup>254</sup>

The case of Roman Dmowski is in this respect almost a model. The leader of the right wing of this radical turn-of-the-century crisis had probably always thought of the 'new' Poland as an empire, a great power which was to play a key part in the region, and was also to become a leading player on the European, if not the world stage. He had already deployed this vision before his supporters at the start of his 'journey towards ideals'.

---

253 See J. Jedlicki, *Jakiej cywilizacji Polacy potrzebują? Studia z dziejów wyobraźni XIX wieku*, Warsaw 1988, pp. 7–17; see too T. Kizwalter, 'Nowoczesność i polityka. Dyskusje w zaborze rosyjskim połowy XIX w.', *Przegląd Historyczny*, 81, 1990, no. 2, pp. 107–124.

254 See A. Cistelean, 'Prowincja zmarnowanych szans', *Literatura na świecie*, 1998, no. 9 (326), p. 125.

The real confrontation with progressive circles began only after Dmowski's return from his foreign trips, once he had settled in Kraków and had become editor of *Przegląd Wszepolski* again. During Popławski's editorial tenure *Przegląd* had in truth harshly critiqued the attitudes of certain figures in public life connected to positivism, but those opinions had not gone beyond the dominant method and style of expression of the remaining supporters of independence. In an important row in 'progressive' Warsaw concerning the WTD reading-room, during which one part of conservative opinion was for closing these centres, Popławski had taken the side of the progressives.<sup>255</sup> The Warsaw Leaguers took the same position. Warsaw's *Pochodnia* also later came out critically against Jan Jeleński's circle and the Catholic conservatives.

Thus the breakthrough in this area came with Dmowski's return to the editorship of *Przegląd Wszepolski*. The appearance of Andrzej Niemojewski's *Legenda* – a book around which a violent debate was unleashed among intellectuals – was commented on by the *Przegląd* editors, probably Dmowski himself, in a short antisemitic note, derisory in tone.<sup>256</sup> In the opinion of the reviewer, *Legenda* were supposed to show convincingly how the Jewish mind 'assimilates' the native intelligentsia ('one of the interesting little channels through which the psychology of Kazimierz and Nalewki seeps into the river of the Polish mind'). Niemojewski, whom R. Skrzycki had praised in *Głos* for his idealistic attitude and youthful non-conformism, foretelling for him a wonderful career as the leader of his generation, was now roundly dragged through the mud by the editor of the principal ND organ, who accused him of doing the Jews' bidding.

Perhaps the figure of the poet ('who, it seems, has not a drop of Jewish blood') was invoked here only as a didactic warning to show how the Polish intellectual had been spiritually 'Jew-infested'. The writer who fantasized about being a 'great rebellious soul', in fact 'feels and thinks like a typically radical Israélite.'

A foretaste of a comprehensive approach to progressive currents had already been extracted from *Listy do przyjaciół politycznych*.<sup>257</sup> Not without reason the new editor was foretelling that he would turn *Przegląd* into a militant mouthpiece.

---

255 This dispute is discussed in detail by A. Heflich, 'Walka o czytelnie Warszawskiego Towarzystwa Dobroczynności (1897–1899)', *Niepodległość*, 6, 1932, vol. 3 (14), pp. 341–354. See B. Cywiński, *Rodowody niepokornych*, Warsaw 1996, ch. 'Skandal w WTD', pp. 217–251.

256 [R. Dmowski?], 'Uwagi', *Przegląd Wszepolski*, February 1902, no. 2, p. 155.

257 The eighth instalment of a series of articles was devoted specifically to progressive circles: Narodowicz, 'W naszym obozie VIII', *Przegląd Wszepolski*, August 1901, no. 8.

He accused 'vintage democrats' of passively imitating foreign models, revealing the gap in their own thinking, buying peasants for Polishness with material benefits, as well as of a positive attitude towards 'foreign elements'. This last argument was perhaps the most important, but the columnist did not develop it, indicating that part of public opinion was an 'echo of Jewish opinion'. Elsewhere he recalled aphoristically: 'in mutual relations between people ruthlessness of mind and character always come out on top. Among all the races the Jews have always distinguished themselves by their ruthlessness, whereas we can say something quite different about ourselves.'<sup>258</sup> Only the introduction of a 'clear nationalist programme' would return a sense of public order, which had formerly been lost.

Even when assembled, all these arguments indicated the haughty protectionism of the strong, of new forces that a radical change of attitudes would bring, rather than a fear of a real opponent, if only in the case of Dmowski and the socialists. Elsewhere, 'Narodowiec' added: 'Warsaw political liberalism, pseudo-humanitarianism, warped philanthropy, isolated radical currents must have their day. A wave of young life will pour in, a nationalist wave coming from the people, which will revive the capital's dead mental life, will give society a political programme, and will finally bring out the active energy within it.'<sup>259</sup>

It came to a real confrontation with the progressive camp during the 'Warsaw invasion of Galicia' (Z. Wasilewski), that is, during the entry of the National Democrats onto the Galician scene. The movement's leading ideologue reacted at lightning speed, each time according to his principles as well as ruthlessly, to negative views of the League's aggressive tactics, which had been in evidence especially during the peasant strikes. It is not out of the question that he felt personally affronted by some of the attacks by the progressive press, although on the other hand one could suppose that it was precisely from these sharp, often brutal, skirmishes that he drew an inner drive to further action.

With the perspective of time Dmowski's journalistic writings in the last years before the outbreak of the 1905 revolution give the impression of an almost ceaseless desire to ignite an ideological war. These expressive pieces, loaded with negative emotions, were in clear contrast to the dry analyses of the political situation, to which *Przegląd's* leading writer had still been devoting his attentions in the mid-1890s. It can be clearly seen in the several dozen pieces from 1902–1904 that real emotions – an earlier, controlled rage – were coming into their own.

---

258 Narodowiec, 'W naszym obozie I', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, January 1901, no. 1, p. 28.

259 Narodowiec, 'W naszym obozie VIII', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, August 1901, no. 8, p. 481.

More or less every polemic would become an occasion for a paroxysm of verbal aggression, the opening of a new front in the battle of words. In one of his private letters Dmowski revealed the tactical line taken by the League at this time. This calculation, written cold, is worth noting, since the nationalist movement would return to it many a time. 'So it appears that we can count on no faction in society apart from ourselves [...]. We are surrounded on all sides and yet we are growing rapidly – that is the best augury for the future. If we were well received in political circles, we would achieve a federation of Polish parties, but since we have been opposed, we shall strike to the right and to the left and we shall take their place – thus will arise a single, great, united, national-democratic party, all under one umbrella.'<sup>260</sup>

Thus in *Listy warszawskie* (*Warsaw Letters*) published in 1902 one can find a critique of Warsaw progressives. This was a response to a piece by Aleksander Świątochowski, an indirect attempt to deal with the whole progressive camp. 'Progressive Warsaw' took a long time to come up with a final assessment of what this energetic arrival by the ND on the Galician stage really meant.

A letter from Andrzej Niemojewski to Ludwik Gumplowicz, written in the heat of the moment and portraying contemporary attitudes among the Warsaw progressive intelligentsia, well illustrates this lack of clarity. Niemojewski, an influential writer, as well as an explosive personality, but also one with considerable journalistic talents, played a considerable part in these press polemics with the Galician National Democrats: 'I've not replied because the cloud over St. Stanisław had not moved away before the whole nationalist horde crashed down on me. For two years in a row *Przegląd Wszechpolski* kept attacking us, they dragged the whole Warsaw progressive camp through the mud, and they forced foolish notions onto our women and young people. For two long years we were patient because it's a holy, illegal paper. But there came a day when we said to ourselves: enough is enough. I charged into the attack with an article *Człowiek Gąbka* (*Sponge Man*) – people were initially stunned and then they immediately began to run in circles. A torrent of signed and unsigned angry and often filthy letters fell on me and the editors. They wanted to turn the students against me, by fomenting protests. But I'm no idiot. I bring various specimens into the office for a chat. But these specimens back off a protest, since it turns out that I, almost an old man, am somehow younger than they are, somehow redder, that their whole ethics are like yogurt, the youngsters wriggle, get red in the face, finally sneak

---

260 Roman Dmowski to Zygmunt Miłkowski, 27 I 1903, in M. Kułakowski, *Roman Dmowski...*, vol. 1, p. 248.

out. Then a fight broke out between the grown-ups; people had also been patient for the longest time, they had put up with a lot, had let some things go, but when I drew a line in the sand, friend turned on friend, one old chum hollered to another “hey you!” Finally people said to themselves that the time had come to settle accounts [...]. The nationalists are pretty strong, but so are we [...]. The nationalists are not fussy about their weapons. There was no mud, there was no filth, there were no calumnies that they didn't throw at me. I, who had done time with them, and who have now been sentenced to two years under police surveillance, unable to leave town, I am hailed as a man who if he wants a prize for his articles, needs to get the police or the gendarmes to give it to him. And what cowards they are too! None dare sign their articles, they fight anonymously, not one stands up for, as we say, the honour of the regiment. For almost three months I was living like a soldier in a besieged castle, I had to spend all my time checking the papers, reading, grabbing things, talking, convincing, often with no food and no sleep. That's how it is here.’<sup>261</sup>

*Prawda's* chief columnist for some time did not intervene in this mutual exchange of accusations and invective between the Warsaw progressive weeklies and the League press: mainly *Słowo Polskie* and *Przegląd Wszechpolski*. Świętochowski held his peace for a long time, but his reaction must have been devastating for the LN leaders; it destroyed any chance the League had of making a calm entrance onto the stage of the Kingdom of Poland and any attempt at unifying all the ‘Polish’ circles, for which the nationalist leadership, including Dmowski in person, had been gearing up.

‘The Messenger of Truth’ treated the Galician case as an opportunity for more general thoughts on the nature of contemporary politics. The theme of his piece was a recognition that a new rule of public life was becoming the elimination of ‘ideological mish-mash’ (a blend of various policies) in favour of single-focus policies, as well as of moderate views in favour of radical ones.

This statement, based on examples from European countries, could be applied to domestic conditions. The columnist, in a somewhat allegorical manner, alluded too to the situation in Galicia where the ND, having recourse to exotic alliances and tactical electoral coalitions, also using chauvinistic demagoguery, was uniting a new league of supporters and was ruthlessly forcing itself towards power. Warsaw progressive opinion was united in recognizing that under this

---

261 A letter from Andrzej Niemojewski do Ludwik Gumpłowicz, Warsaw, 23 II 1903, no. 7, in *Listy Andrzeja Niemojewskiego do Ludwika Gumpłowicza z okresu „Legend” i przekładu „Życia Jezusa” Renana*, edited by H. Barycz, *Pamiętnik Literacki*, 1950, no. 2, pp. 575–576.

screen of different, sometimes conflicting slogans, the Galician nationalists were in fact peddling a conservative social programme, while at the same time furiously attacking their opponents. This was 'The Messenger of Truth's' other thought: 'Tardy in mental and social development we have more half-breeds than other peoples, werewolves, minotaur-like dwarves with the heads of bulls and human bodies. You will find nobility and democracy in these freaks, capitalism and socialism, antisemitism and tolerance, fanaticism and free-thinking, a cult of martyrdom and playing the informer, minor rules and great exceptions, straight logic following zigzags, any number of personal needs. Such people make the most noise about good and about public safety with their little tongues, they attach empty phrases like bladders to cats' tails and float them up to the roof to make a great noise [...]. Anyone who wants to remain an eager gawker in the face of this buffoonery, let him take advantage of the rights of this freedom denied no-one at any time; but he who has the pride and the wish to be a rational person, let him not harness himself to the triumphal chariot of circus or carnival clowns.'<sup>262</sup>

Świętochowski's conclusions also left no doubt as to his sympathies: 'The needle on our ideological barometer [...] is also moving left. Hence the screaming of beings, hiding their werewolf nature in thick mists and avoiding clear air, hence the roars of Minotaurs guarding the social labyrinth against Ariadne's thread. Useless anger: the noble-peasant-unbeliever-believer-liberal-conservative-philosemitic labyrinth cannot remain a divine temple, and the saving thread will continue to unwind.'

Dmowski's response was instantaneous. Supported by anonymous publications in Lwów *Słowo* he prepared himself for this battle as if for the final conflict. In a letter to Miłkowski he put it like this: 'Now the Messenger of Truth himself has put his authority in the balance in the hope that he can tip it in favour of our opponents. Thus we need to take care of this authority. We have accepted the challenge and have given our Word on Warsaw progress [...]. There is no other way to do it, for the moment is decisive. The most significant obstacle on the path of our development in the Kingdom is this splinter of 'progressive' in spirit and jew-infested [sic] intelligentsia congregating for the most part in Warsaw. It needs to be destroyed and we are tempted to do so. The time has come to declare a great battle and to take Warsaw by storm. If we win, everything will be different,

---

262 Poseł Prawdy [A. Świętochowski], *Liberum Veto. Tępienie mieszańców, Prawda*, 7 (17) I 1903, no. 3, p. 31.

and I'll be damned, forgive my language, if we'll let ourselves be beaten by these degenerate hacks.<sup>263</sup>

The name signed under *Słowo o warszawskim „postępie”* (A Word About Warsaw Progress) was Hostis. Hostis, or enemy.<sup>264</sup> Indeed, this was no normal polemic, but rather an attempt at the moral annihilation of its opponents. The very first lines showed that the writer was preparing for more or less the final reckoning: ‘So we have a new civil war, which perhaps may not be long, but which has initially taken on a very aggressive character – a war between Warsaw ‘progress’ and the national-democratic line.’

The description given of the progressive camp differed little from earlier (or indeed later) opinions enunciated by Dmowski – however, here all these views appeared in a radical form. A considerable part of this short piece was an attempt to discredit personally the polemicists. In fact every personal description was a libel artfully stuffed with more or less subtle insults and innuendos. Niemojewski was portrayed as a maniac filled with excessive ambition (‘a heroic sort, whom unhealthy ambition has pampered’), a cowardly hysteric (‘he knows that these days the stake is only a figure of speech and thus doesn’t roast all that much, and so he would like to become the great Polish Giordano Bruno’), and a defamer (‘he has drawn up a list of people who need to be put to death in order to attain glory [...] so he has begun furiously to attack them’). The author of *Legendy* (according to Hostis, ‘mediocre literature’) had supposedly been over-publicized by ‘critics from the Mosaic faith’ and Polish bigots. This could not have been of much use to him, and so his superiority complex had turned into a persecution complex expressing itself in the pursuit of imaginary enemies.

Świętochowski fared no better in these reflections: ‘Let me take all his writings,’ opined Dmowski, ‘all the years-long series of brilliant columns and there is not a single thought opening up some new point of view before people [...] in all this there is not a positive central thought, which would show that this man has some path before him and wants to lead others along it. Everywhere humour replaces deep thought, this humour palls with time and nothing else takes its place – instead of a consistent body of writing aiming to implement something, there is just a series of twists in thinking, somersaults turned on the page without rhyme or reason, with no plan, without even a goal. This is really making a mockery of journalism and practical ethics. And when a future historian of Polish thought

---

263 Roman Dmowski to Zygmunt Miłkowski in M. Kułakowski, *Roman Dmowski...*, vol. 1, p. 249.

264 Hostis [R. Dmowski], ‘Listy warszawskie. Słowo o warszawskim „postępie”’, *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, February 1903, no. 2, pp. 54–67. Quotations are taken from this text.

will run all this through a critical sieve, nothing will remain, everything will filter through [...]. Ignorance, superficiality, rubbish, and with all this an arrogant self-certainty.'

But the progressives, apart from their intellectual barrenness, their 'ideological parasitism', really did bring destructive elements into public life. Time after time Dmowski would have recourse to naturalist metaphors claiming: 'In every field you can be a creative worker or a parasite.' And elsewhere: 'progress, however much it comes from Warsaw [...] is immobile with little suction tubes coming from the West, and these tubes are drawing ever stingier juices, which have less and less nutritional value, but with more and more destructive products. The parasite has been slowly turning into a saprophyte.'

The danger here was double. The *Przegląd* correspondent pointed to the progressives' harmful influence among young people as the first danger. Borrowing other people's ideas lured the younger generations away from their own community, steered their thinking in abstract directions, and had them using worn-out templates ('the drying-up and increasingly stinking streams of European radical liberalism'). Young people brought up in this way were becoming indifferent to nationalism.

The second threat was much more serious, since it had been developing now for over a few decades. This threat was the introduction into society of 'foreign elements' (the writer had been making this accusation against the home-grown liberals with greater or less intensity from the start of his career). By means of these two phenomena the progressives had created real havoc. Insofar as losses could be rectified among domestic youth, the sustained influence of hostile elements, not connected to society by 'real ties of obligation', could be irreversible. As a concrete example of these foreign influences, which were continually depraving public opinion, Dmowski pointed to the activity of correspondents from the progressive papers in various parts of the country, 'radical jewboys [sic], hating in fact the whole of Polish society, its traditions, its collective spirit, its most significant aspirations.'

Elsewhere he pointed out that the Warsaw progressives' strength was in fact based on 'born "progressives" [...] owing their way of thinking to simple anthropological attributes.' He eventually stated: 'basically what comes through them [i.e., the progressive camp] is a parasitic type of conservative instinct, which feels that its ideas won't survive on their own.'

There was a double message contained in this elaborately-constructed tirade. First of all, the Jews as a 'racial element' were not capable of real creativity and thus needed artificial assistance in the form of all sorts of ideological constructs. Secondly, every ideological dispute in the final analysis comes down to a battle of



racial/ethnic types, and in the case of the Jews being present – to a battle taking on the form of a Manichean life-or-death struggle. For these reasons the ‘national democratic’ line had in the name of actual progress of thought (in the original supposedly in inverted commas and consistently replaced by ‘real progress’) to conduct a ruthless battle with these tendencies (‘to sweep out the rubbish [...] from the temple of Polish thought’). At the end Dmowski added in a somewhat calmer tone that the bells had already been cast to ring the death knell of Warsaw ‘progress’.

A characteristic postscript to these polemics was an article of November 1902 entitled *Półpolacy* (*Half-Poles*). In it Dmowski submitted to the judgement of ‘national’ opinion the opponents of the League’s position on the Ukrainian issue, being, in the author’s words, a ‘touchstone of the feeling of national solidarity in our society.’<sup>265</sup> He began with the statement that disputes over national character are one of the tests of civic loyalty. Behind this somewhat obvious assumption lay thinking with extreme conclusions. Our columnist presented Ukrainian national aspirations as unjustified and, more importantly, unambiguously hostile to the Polish population. Thus there needed to be a ruthless response to this ‘un-national element’ to which one could not apply ‘universal human’ templates.

It is not true that Dmowski excluded the Ukrainians from the process of national assimilation.<sup>266</sup> On the contrary, he acknowledged that the Ukrainian population presented in fact a model example of a primitive ethnic group that ought to be absorbed by an organism that was capable of surviving and expanding. For the ‘Polish element’ this was yet another civilizational challenge to adapt ‘ethnic raw material’; to raise something ethnographically of ‘poor quality’ to the rank of ‘good Poles.’<sup>267</sup> This passage requires a detailed commentary, since it illustrates graphically how the extreme assimilationist view led to more or less exterminatory conclusions. According to Dmowski, the Ukrainian population, demanding national rights, was undermining the natural hierarchy of civilized order, and thus automatically excluded itself from the sphere of ‘universal human templates’.

This supposedly principled attitude towards the freedoms of a ‘Ruthenian’ nation and the expressed moral discomfort, which Dmowski was meant to feel

---

265 [R. Dmowski], ‘Półpolacy’, *Przegląd Wszepolski*, November 1902, no. 11, pp. 801–805. All quotations are taken from this text. See too [R. Dmowski], *Półpolacy*, in *Narodowa Demokracja. Antologia...*, pp. 153–156.

266 See B. Toruńczyk, *Mysł polityczna i ideologia polityczna Narodowej Demokracji*, in *Narodowa Demokracja. Antologia...*, p. 25.

267 That is how Dmowski presented relations between the Polish and Ukrainian populations in private conversations. See Z. Dębicki, *Iskry w popiołach...*, p. 79.

in the face of the excesses of the forced Polonization of Ukrainians, which he described in *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka*, and in other pieces too, at this juncture ran into an essential limitation, a sort of *reservatio mentalis*.<sup>268</sup> The nationalist ideologue was talking of complete equality for the 'Ruthenians', but on Polish terms. He was not doing this because of pedantic reservations, like those which appeared, for example, in relation to the assimilation of single 'individuals of Jewish descent'. Indeed, he generously acknowledged the right to 'Ruthenian' culture's free development, definitely however limiting it to nurturing some form of local, even religious identity. But on the other hand the so-called Ruthenian people, 'in the hands of a band of some semi-educated condottiere', which meant Ukrainian social activists demanding secondary schools teaching in their own language, was already becoming an intransigent enemy. In this case the noble 'competition' of the elements led inevitably to 'going native', which needed to be ruthlessly opposed. This exclusion from civilized nations of 'non-state' elements brought painful consequences of a general kind, for it proved a desire to reject unilaterally the rules of mankind, but of mankind read anew, in line with the canon of the new morality. Our ideologue was clearly drawing the borders of 'civilizing' national egoism.<sup>269</sup>

In another piece from this period Dmowski wrote: 'Reading about the murder of white people by black African savages and having the ability to feel human emotions, as a man I automatically empathize with the victims of the massacre, with civilized people who have fallen at the hands of savages. It is all the same to me whether they be Germans, Englishmen, or Portuguese'<sup>270</sup>

According to such moral calculations the writer could feel empathy for 'civilized people', but already the fate of 'uncivilized people' was outside his sphere of interest; no-one in full possession of his faculties should be concerned with the fate of these people ('black African savages' or 'half-monkeys'). The *Przegląd Wszechpolski* columnist demonstrated a similar logic when commenting on the

---

268 R. Dmowski, *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka...*, p. 90. See too A. Walicki, *Testament Dmowskiego*, in id., *Polskie zmagania z wolnością. Widziane z boku*, Kraków 2000, p. 323.

269 See A. Walicki, *Testament Dmowskiego*, in id., *Polskie zmagania...*, p. 323. Dmowski's attitude towards the Ukrainian issue went through certain fluctuations. In *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka* published in 1902 he was prepared to acknowledge that 'Ruthenians' could become 'a self-contained Russian nation capable of life and struggle' (p. 54). When in fact the Ukrainians began to demand national rights, his attitude began clearly to evolve in favour of extreme chauvinism, coloured by colonial arguments.

270 R. Dmowski, 'Szowinizm', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, October 1902, no. 10, p. 811.

Boer War and stating that Great Britain's victory would bring benefits to the whole of civilization.<sup>271</sup> Dmowski was presenting his own original approach, since only a few months earlier another League publication, edited by Jan Załuska, *Polak*, had emphasized the benefits of the Boers' resistance to the British.<sup>272</sup>

A serious part of Poland's intelligentsia, which in the writer's opinion had not grasped 'the nation's interest', and in the Polish-Ukrainian conflict wanted to act as a mediator seeking compromise, did not fit into these political calculations. In a dispute in which there were only winners and losers, there was no room for compromise. It was clear from this piece that all opponents of the 'national instinct' understood thus became enemies not so much of the League or its position, as of Poland and Polishness, as such. In one of his paragraphs Dmowski put this succinctly: 'It's not a question of what kind of Poland there will be, but whether there will be one at all!'<sup>273</sup> The writer was no longer interested in convincing anyone, he just acknowledged that the freedom of action of representatives of the 'un-national way of thinking' needed to be limited and their voice systematically excluded ('to work to have it disappear as quickly as possible in the future national interest'). Elsewhere he added: 'we shall not only never agree with these people, we shall never understand one other.'

In this, in places metaphorical text one could identify a number of 'enemies within' ('aiming to weaken national bonds, to destroy unity, to turn what should be a wall into a heap of crumbling ruins'). Although the opposition between 'national and the un-national' ways of thinking was meant to lie above all in a man's moral make-up, hence the factor of one's opponents' ethnic origins was somewhat secondary, Dmowski saw the largest grouping of 'Half-Poles' amongst assimilated Jews.<sup>274</sup>

Only they were able to dominate, 'to assimilate' the remaining 'partial' citizens. From the subsequent commentary it emerged that this meant primarily

---

271 See R. Dmowski, 'Polityka zagraniczna (Parę słów. Sprawa południowo-afrykańska)', *Przegląd Wszepocholski*, January 1902, no. 1, pp. 45–51. See too M. Leśniewski, *Wojna burska...*, p. 245.

272 'Z wojny Burów dla nas nauka', *Polak*, December 1901, no. 12, p. 1. See too J. Myśliński, 'Prasa wydawana przez Ligę Narodową w Krakowie przed 1905 rokiem (Zarys informacyjno-bibliograficzny)', *Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego*, 2, 1963, p. 50.

273 [R. Dmowski], 'Półpolacy', *Przegląd Wszepocholski*, November 1902, no. 11, p. 803.

274 Dmowski was to write a decade later that by the term 'Half-Poles' he understood above all assimilated Jews, but in this piece this was not yet clear. See id., *Upadek myśli konserwatywnej...*, p. 45.

conciliators and people with progressive views. Even in this fragmentary example it turned out that ethnic/racial characteristics outweighed individuals' free will. The link between ethnic origins and 'national' morality turned out to be basically unbreakable. The victory of 'national' forces was meant to force the 'Half-Poles' to stay silent on national matters, but their eventual victory could lead to the 'destruction of the national spirit and social atomization.'

A supplement to this famous article appeared in the next number of *Przegląd* and was as radical in tone as the original text.<sup>275</sup> The editor explained that all those who in any way openly undermined the League's successive actions formed a nascent coalition of 'Half-Poles'. From the cited examples, it emerged that apart from the conservative circles omitted here (otherwise criticized elsewhere) really just about the whole of current public opinion was meant. The only way to keep a tight rein on these 'coalesced' groups that were hostile to the national polity was to subject them to the 'physical and moral tyranny [...] of the healthy national majority.'

In a similar spirit, although in a somewhat calmer tone, Dmowski polemicized with the Galician democrats. The temperature of these disputes was lower, the arguments less brusque, probably because the National League in Galicia, unlike the situation in the Kingdom, was continually making energetic efforts to bring the local liberals under its wing. Just the arrival of the national democrats on the Galician scene was linked with attempts to win the sympathies of part of this bourgeois electorate. The signals coming from these communities were not as unpromising as those from progressive Warsaw.<sup>276</sup>

Here the occasion for developing a position towards these communities was the critique to which Tadeusz Romanowicz subjected *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka*.<sup>277</sup> The polemic by Romanowicz, a leading figure among Kraków democrats, published in *Nowa Reforma*, focused on proving the Galician liberals' patriotism and service given to Polish affairs. This was perhaps the most concise attempt

---

275 [R. Dmowski], 'Uwagi', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, December 1902, no. 12, pp. 947–950.

276 A. Wątor, in *Narodowa Demokracja w Galicji do 1918*, Szczecin 2002, pp. 762–773, tentatively describes these moves by the League towards the Galician democrats.

277 M. Janowski, in *Inteligencja wobec wyzwań...*, pp. 53–55, gives an account of T. Romanowicz's arguments and the context for the appearance of the articles themselves. See too W. Bernacki, *Liberalizm polski 1815–1939. Studium doktryny politycznej*, Kraków 2004, p. 32. For a general description of the development of the Galician democrats' doctrine see M. Gałuszko, *Walka konserwatystów krakowskich z demokratami na łamach ich organów prasowych w okresie 1867–1895*, Toruń 2007, pp. 13–28.

at reminding public opinion of the views of the 'old-school democrats,' a sort of summing-up of democratic politics in the region.

At this juncture it is worth tentatively noting that Dmowski in his piece had contrasted 'national movements' with liberal groups, accusing the latter of playing with 'the national interest' in the name of abstract human rights. At this time the sharper accusation that an open polemic with spokesmen for the 'national interest' carried all the hallmarks of national betrayal did not appear in the ND leader's stylized 'profession of faith,' although it soon would; however just the accusation of a lack of patriotism must have been painfully wounding for the Galician democrats.

Dmowski's reply, which appeared in *Słowo* in Lwów, is worth examining for two reasons.<sup>278</sup> In this series of articles – the only polemic in the press with critics of *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka* – several basic categories of political thinking, as the 'old democrats' understood it, were questioned: the principles of modern politics, patriotism, the national battle, the primacy of individual over national rights. The second reason, recalling these texts, was also not insignificant and it is worthy of some attention.

Dmowski's response provided a short yet eloquent understanding of democratic principles by nationalist ideologues, it was also an unspoken but comprehensible criticism of liberal democracy as such. The League's leader was working on the assumption that liberal systems in backward countries led usually to political rivalry based on the continual desire to eliminate one's opponent. The parliamentary game came down to a ruthless competition for power, and only the parties' weakness prevented them from finally destroying their opponents. Then he added, as if in passing, that this model of politics had taken root in other European countries and, what was more important, in Galicia. In Galician conditions one other important aspect came into play: a temptation had arisen to seek assistance from foreign elements in these internal battles. At this juncture Dmowski pointed to élites in Vienna. Not only did this type of democratic politics lead to internal anarchy, but it also left the 'national interest' vulnerable to

---

278 R. Dmowski, 'Pro domo sua,' *Słowo Polskie*, 31 VIII 1903, no. 405, pp. 2–3; id., 'Pro domo sua II,' *Słowo Polskie*, 1 IX 1903, no. 407, p. 2; id., 'Pro domo sua III,' *Słowo Polskie*, 3 IX 1903, no. 409, pp. 1–2; id., 'Pro domo sua IV,' *Słowo Polskie*, 5 IX 1903, no. 411, p. 2–3; id., 'Pro domo sua V,' *Słowo Polskie*, 7 IX 1903, no. 413, p. 4; id., 'Pro domo sua VI,' *Słowo Polskie*, 9 IX 1903, no. 415, pp. 2–3. See too 'Przegląd prasy,' *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, September 1903, no. 9, pp. 710–715.

serious danger. Dmowski concluded: 'the country was becoming a plaything for foreign politicians hostile to us, its benefits constantly the plunder of others.'<sup>279</sup>

Without exaggeration we can acknowledge that this line of reasoning was drawing the leader of the nationalists closer to conservative critics of liberal democracy. A factor which, in the writer's opinion, influenced in a significant way the level of political aggression was the degree of the socialization of Polish culture. The higher it was, the more hostility became unproductive, which increased the society's possibilities for further development. Acquired political knowledge, citizens' political consciousness should, so Dmowski reasoned, provided an entrée to participation in political life.

Here, however, the similarity with conservative thinking ended. The leader of the National Democrats established that only the 'national camp' was the real repository of home-grown political culture, of 'modern' political thinking. So that democracy did not become a system of endless fighting, the voter had to become politically conscious, but this knowledge had to have a 'national' character. In these pieces the crux of the dispute did not come down to the ND's exclusive right to engage in what was called 'realistic' politics, but rather to a recognition that modern 'political education' had been hitherto expounded the most clearly by the League, and that every participant in public life would eventually have to come to terms with it. *Tertium non datur*. Dmowski went on: democracy – yes, but only if it accorded with the 'national interest'. Any other way of approaching politics became, in this view of things, a political delusion, empty words, or national betrayal, and demanded to be mercilessly unmasked: 'That is why [...] we attack the politics of liberal slogans, abused carelessly or dishonestly, which have become rooted here in wide circles.'

He wrote too, and not without a certain irony, of liberal democracy's beneficence: 'But is not this universal right to vote, for which they [the democrats] are today trying to drum up some pressure, an illustration of the liberalism which is incompatible with the demands of our political life? Who needs it today? Whom is it going to make happy? The essence of democratic politics is the influence of the people on government and public issues, he explained, but the key to democratic politics understood in this way is knowledge growing out of the authentic 'interests and aspirations and instinct for self-preservation of the nation.' Only the League knew how to describe all these elements in a comprehensive manner, which included the whole of society's 'national interest'. After this sequence of

---

279 R. Dmowski, 'Pro domo sua VI...,' p. 3; 'Przegląd prasy', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, September 1903, no. 9, p. 712.

tautological arguments Dmowski warned: 'We are aiming to create national policies [...]. Indeed I have more for Mr. Romanowicz: we shall achieve that aim and will create such policies.' In conciliatory vein he hoped that the columnist would regain his place in society by 'another, more appropriate route'. Romanowicz did not respond to this polemic, and died of a heart attack a few months later. Life added a suggestive epilogue to this exchange. In the special elections to the Lwów city council a 'new democrat' – Stanisław Głąbiński – a representative of the SDN, was elected to 'old democrat' Romanowicz's seat.

These polemical campaigns were accompanied by statements of a more general nature, revealing that the community that was forming perceived itself as a new ethical force, bringing back the appropriate rules of public order in society. It is hard to miss the regenerative aspect of these statements, since it began to take root more firmly in Polish nationalist rhetoric. In a characteristic discussion of relations in Warsaw, in which inter alia Zygmunt Wasilewski, Bolesław Lutomski, and Tadeusz Grużewski took part, Dmowski declared that the introduction of 'nationalist' laws in the former capital would signify the city's moral regeneration by removing national spoilers, 'demoralising social elements capable of spreading moral poison and in this way undermining the nation's existence.'<sup>280</sup> This ethical sorting out of urban affairs gained in significance in terms of the visions of the great future, which he foresaw for his native city. He added as if under his breath: 'Some foretell for her [i.e., Warsaw] a future as the largest city in Europe.'

This view was formulated most strongly in a piece by Dmowski entitled *Etyka i polityka* (*Ethics and Politics*), from the beginning of 1904.<sup>281</sup> The remarks collected in it were a summary of the press campaigns, which the League had been conducting under his leadership over the previous few years. This was possibly the first time that the writer had so clearly pointed out his group's ideological heritage: a protest against 'the intellectual classes' growing materialism.

He drew far-reaching conclusions from the revolt against utilitarianism in public affairs and the lowering of ideals. The ideological direction which he led, had all the hallmarks of a movement of moral renewal, and on this basis he claimed the right to overhaul the whole of public life. From this recommendation another stage emerged in the long-range strategy of disciplining domestic society.<sup>282</sup>

---

280 R. Dmowski, 'Warszawa IV', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, December 1902, no. 12, p. 515.

281 I. Ża-wski [R. Dmowski], 'Etyka i polityka', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, January 1904, no. 1, pp. 18–27. Quotations are taken from this article.

282 See [R. Dmowski], 'Istota walki narodowej', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, February 1902, no. 2, pp. 81–87. See too id., 'Walka o prawo i organizacja narodowa', *Przegląd*

Without a complete moral overhaul, he claimed, the All-Poles' political victory would come to naught; building on weak foundations would not transform the rules of public life. An isolated act of political will would not bring a real, psychological regeneration of the nation, of whose rebirth Dmowski expected so much. He wrote straight out: 'If we do not raise the moral level of public life in Poland, the key aims of our movement [...] will lose their force.' What lay then behind this regenerative rhetoric? Dmowski emphasized here that one long-range goal of the movement should be a comprehensive transformation of the polity, but that propaganda for these new ethics should be tied to complete control over society. He added: 'Only an aggressive role befits our line in moral terms, based on positive propaganda for our ethics of citizenship [...], as well as striking at everything which, standing on the ground of baser ethics, opposes us.'

This 'ethical sublimity', peculiar to the nationalist movement, should shine over the whole of society. Although the writer warned that it was impossible to expect that everyone would adopt the National Democrats' political principles, he at once added that one of the most important tasks for domestic nationalism should be to impose widely its own ethics on everything. This moral dictate had its positive side (leading to the indoctrination of public opinion with nationalist ideals), as well as a negative one (based on a continual effort to exclude and eliminate the public enemy). The columnist specified: 'our duty is to attempt to raise all public life here to the ethical level of our position, possibly to remove from it elements that rely on too low a level of ethics [...], we must aim to sideline from public life all those who demoralize the soul of society by continual chicanery, falsehood, and slander, and who maintain general society in a state of political immaturity and ignorance by a continual, conscious mockery of logic, who lay it low morally, spread mutual hatred and mistrust for their own party ends.'

Although these discussions had a current dimension – Erazm Piltz continued to be the anti-hero – and were linked to the negative reception by a segment of public opinion of the League's activities ('instead of criticism we were met everywhere by invective,' grumbled Dmowski), this more general aspect of the issue would not disappear and would keep returning continually. Polish nationalism would begin to build its identity on the idea of permanently excluding 'destructive elements' from the polity.

---

*Wszechpolski*, June 1903, no. 6, pp. 401–413; id., 'Organizacja opinii', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, April 1904, no. 4, pp. 241–247. B.A. Porter, in *When Nationalism Began to Hate...*, pp. 143–156, writes about the growing significance in ND rhetoric of this concept of a 'disciplined society'.



The axis of this message was to perceive in one's political opponent an internal enemy and to desire to exclude him permanently from the polity as a matter of ethical principle. The regeneration of one's own polity brought with it the need to destroy old social ties, the embodiment of which were critics of the ND. This conviction, based then on instinct as much as thought spread throughout the dominant nationalist discourse, leading to ever more radical practical conclusions.

Yet another key element in Dmowski's political strategy, but one that carried no less weight in his ideological project, developed in his thinking from this polemic with the progressive camp. If the idea of 'organizing' public opinion was nothing new in pro-independence currents (nationalist rhetoric had already been using this argument since the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century), then Dmowski had really radicalized this discourse, giving it a qualitatively new meaning. Insofar as he wanted to fight fiercely socialist currents as being destructive for Polishness (offering individuals an opportunity to redeem their sins in terms of the national cause), he planned to enter into tactical coalitions with conservative elements with the intention of dominating and eventually excluding them, he recommended that other currents, which had their roots in the enlightenment tradition, after they had been isolated from 'foreign elements' (for which he had reserved another solution), be subjected to 'the tyranny of moral and physical discipline', with the aim of marginalizing them. This authoritarian, disciplinary vision went through its first real test during the 1905 revolution.

It should be recalled too that this coherent political-cum-ideological construct had appeared within the framework of the more general pro-independence strategy which the National League had adopted. The key to it was recognizing that only a single co-ordinating centre could implement policies embracing the whole of a captive society. In the event of an international crisis, which by then was widely expected, only a well-run organization could ensure an effective defence of 'the national interest'. Such an organization, remaining a substitute for a national government, was to be an element capable of taking binding decisions with regard to the outside world, an element with real political advantages at its disposal. An organization like this needed to take control of public opinion.

By the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Dmowski was, whatever one might think of his ideological project, an exceptionally able politician and a visionary, too, who knew that foreign policy was tied to well-thought-out domestic policies. The leader of the ND was alone in his camp in representing such a clear intellectual vision. He derived his moral and social mandate for further changes and reforms in the organization from this approach. This strategy still fitted into the framework of an irredentist tradition, and so initially those members of the LN (a pro-independence organization *par excellence*), who did not necessarily subscribe to all of the

leader's views and were able to disagree with a great deal, also came out in favour of this line of reasoning. They were the ones who would leave the movement when these long-term calculations brought such meagre results, quite incommensurate with their ambitious aims. On the other hand, Dmowski's vision had right from the start exceeded the goal of regaining political independence, and represented an expression of overall aspirations to transform the whole of the body politic and to set it up on a completely new basis.

Dmowski some years later presented a vision of public order in a systematic form in part of a work, which in his view was meant to be not just a profession of nationalist faith, such as *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka*, so much as an interpretation of ND thinking. Digressing, it is worth recalling here the key ideas of a screed entitled *Wewnętrzna polityka narodowa (Internal National Policy)*, which appeared in 1919, although the writer had prepared it as early as 1913.<sup>283</sup> For the reader of Dmowski's journalism this piece was like an expanded gloss on his journalistic excursions of the 1890s, including *Listy do przyjaciela* written by Diego Iguenaz.

In this piece the writer began from the assumption of a structural crisis of the liberal order in Europe. He perceived the principal sources of this crisis to lie in the domination of market economics, which created, as he wrote 'not the best type of person', and indirectly allowed the Jews a systematic and ominous influence on public life.

The fundamental crisis of European civilization reached in principle all spheres of public life, from daily life to religion, literature and political life. The 'new politics' were supposed to grow out of a rejection and victory over such a state of affairs, for leaving things as they were would be 'passive contemplation of the progress of destruction' and a 'national crime'. Could retaining the status quo be ethically permissible? The writer replied: 'The politics that a strong nation wishes to have [...] must have the strength and the energy to oppose this moral

---

283 This article was part of a larger work entitled *Wstęp do polityki polskiej*. As has already been mentioned, this was meant to be 'a bible of ND faith', which, according to its author, included the 'whole of knowledge on the people and the nation.' See R. Dmowski, 'Wewnętrzna polityka narodowa I', *Przegląd Narodowy*, 1919, no. 2, pp. 137–155; id., 'Wewnętrzna polityka narodowa II', *Przegląd Narodowy*, 1919, no. 4, pp. 259–277. All quotations are taken from this text. See too A. Micewski, 'Nacjonalizm w miejsce konserwatyzmu (Między liberalizmem a nacjonalizmem)', *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 21 IX 1975, no. 38, pp. 1–2; id., *Polityka staje się historią...*, pp. 78–87; M. Król, *Ład utajony*, Kraków 1983, pp. 87–95. T. Mistewicz, *Uwagi na marginesie...*, p. 186.

and social destructiveness in all areas.' Modern politics ought to be able to draw from the body politic 'obedience [...], hierarchy and power'.

This approach rejected the rules of liberal politics. Dmowski was more specific in that the prevailing divisions into movements and parties were out of date and had lost their *raison d'être*. Conservatism, for which he felt a certain affinity, was already in the past ('it has lost its soul [...] it's a corpse'), but victorious democracy carried within itself the germ of the collapse of European society. The ideologue appreciated the positives flowing from some democratic procedures, which depended, for example, on the growth of civic self-awareness, but to an even greater extent he recognized that democratic mechanisms introduced into public life anarchy and chaos leading irrevocably to the degeneration and downfall of whole societies. The inheritance of the enlightenment had, in his view, contributed to strengthening 'anti-national elements' in society.

All the democratic options (in the text he pointed to 'anti-national directions that in the name of "human rights", class interests and the good of nameless mankind opposed the individual to the nation') led inevitably to the weakening and squandering of the 'moral bases of the national *raison d'être*'. Dmowski painted for his reader a whole palette of the wickedness, disease, and inadequacies of public life to which the liberal order led. He warned of moral degeneration under the influence of poorly chosen reading matter: 'Who knows if the majority of crimes committed these days in some countries is not the product of a moral plague spread by the press and literature.' The question was rhetorical.

The writer pointed out that artistic creativity that lacked 'organized', 'nationalist' supervision lost its way, destroyed customs, spreading public shamelessness and refined depravity, flattered baser instincts in the form of pornography which saw the Jews as its main clientèle. This kind of artistic creativity, left uncontrolled, supposedly masked dilettantism and an organic inability to think; to think in a real, 'manly' and disciplined way. The cult of reason disconnected from real life, practised by the élite, 'barren intellectualism' without any social roots, was becoming a social plague. One could produce more examples of this moral degradation of society. To all this the antidote was to be the 'organization of the life of the mind' under the banner of 'national' regeneration understood in a certain way.

The piece contained also extensive sections on the benefits accruing from new 'national' education, as well as comments on the need to watch over the 'nation's composition in terms of ancestry'. Dmowski saw ignoring the latter to be particularly dangerous: 'Otherwise the nation is threatened with the loss of its integral existence, the destruction of its national spirit, the paralysis of its self-knowledge.' The ND leader, who never showed much of an interest in the

economy, pointed to the need for an essential change in elemental economic development in 'moral and political' terms. He suggested far-reaching interference by the state in the economic process, and believed leaving this sphere to the free workings of the market to be mistaken and harmful.

These broadly-presented suggestions for the 'organization of national capital' painted a picture of economic autarky. This vision of discipline embraced more or less the whole of public life: 'Everything that strengthens national unity, which links it in a cohesive spiritual whole, and so, apart from the afore-mentioned factors, national practices, customs, life's traditional institutions, the spirit of the mind, artistic style etc. All this needs care and protection, everything is the object of national internal policies.'

National unity, national instincts, and a constant will to strengthen the 'bases of the nation's existence – absent these features nations never accomplish great things, and are unable to defend appropriately what is theirs' – were supposedly expressed in their whole structure.

Political arrangements were the crowning glory of this complex transformation. Dmowski had long maintained that change, the power to affect public life, was possible thanks to acts of political will, and he remained faithful to that conviction to the end. The old, in Dmowski's opinion passé opposition of conservatism and progress, reaction and democracy, in this new version of politics was meant to be brought down to the opposition of, and antagonism between the 'national' forces ('everything that leads to raising the nation's moral strength, to strengthening its unity, to organizing it in unified, obedient groups'), and the 'anti-national' forces, which in fact bring a nation to its knees. Just as in earlier pieces, this negative cement, the essence of 'anti-national factors', were the Jews ('who in the shamelessness typical of their race are today rapidly infecting European societies'), helped by the freemasons. This second negative reference in Dmowski's pieces appeared in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and henceforth permanently settled into the framework of his thinking. The masons, criticized by Dmowski could be seen as the *pars pro toto* – a symbolic expression of the spirit of the enlightenment. The whole piece was then an expression of deeper aspirations on the part of the writer to build an unambiguously antagonistic alternative to them.

Interestingly enough, the place of the Jews in public life, as well as that of the masons, was not specified in these extracts, as if the writer acknowledged that he had already said everything that there was to say on the matter. On the other hand, however, such a 'nationalist' recuperative crisis had, if it wanted to be effective and durable, to have a European, if not a world, dimension. This in Dmowski was something new, which showed how nationalist views, bolstered by antisemitic

racism, were maturing and showing themselves open to universalist aims. The influence both of the masons, as well as the Jews, far exceeded national borders. The masons supposedly saw in the 'destruction of national spirit' of European societies a condition for the success of secret societies, while the Jews were a 'polity [...] which in elemental terms was aiming to rule the world on the basis of the political destruction and moral disorganization of the nations amongst whom they were living.' To cap it all, the Jews in line with their racial logic, would strengthen the Masonic lodges. The opposition of 'national' and 'anti-national factors' in every society had in this text a moral and civilizational, indeed a universal, character. In order to be effective the anti-Jewish revolution would have to adopt a global dimension.

However, although Dmowski was promising the consistent and methodical elimination of 'anti-national' elements from public life (adding immediately 'if possible'), on the other hand he, always one for extreme solutions, appeared to hesitate over an open declaration of their final, ruthless and complete destruction. Although the moral dilemma – 'creative elements' versus 'collapsing society' – was resolved here, our radical's ardour had, nevertheless, cooled down somewhat on this matter. Here perhaps lay the greatest ideological split that the National Democrats' ideologue left his supporters in the first years of reborn Poland.

For this developed formula of 'new national politics' hid a dramatic contradiction. The writer introduced a clear distinction between societies' 'problems of moral existence and moral strength' and current issues. Insofar as on this second level he recommended to his followers the option of a 'nationalist' game for the highest stakes, a battle for ultimate victory ('the great obligation towards the nation is to fight the great internal battle to the last, to complete victory, to achieving a substantial advantage over one's opponent'), then in the case of the first esoteric issue ('the bases of national *raison d'être*') he continued to allow for a certain dose of limited political pluralism.

The text's logic, or at least the stubborn and durable tendency of this line of thinking, led to the conclusion of the need to eliminate 'anti-national elements' as a continual and incurable threat to the existence of the body politic. On the other hand, Dmowski was coming to the conclusion that the side which emerged victorious from such a decisive confrontation might be threatened with degeneration, 'murderous one-sidedness' and getting stuck in its own dogma.

It was obvious that in the long run our nationalist ideologue saw only the 'national camps' as emerging victorious. He explained his doubts directly by a view of national instincts developed right after his trip to Japan: some individuals were meant to feel an attachment to their nation and our ideologue gave them

greater rights and obligations, while other individuals – as a result of a lack of strong instincts and the resultant relations with their own nation – were to take a lower place in the national hierarchy. Within the framework of this hierarchical society an exchange of views was to be introduced. This initial assumption could mean too that not all individuals with strong nationalist instincts were already to be found in the ‘national camps’. The public debate, although in an ‘organized’ manner, was certainly meant to uncover them and to confer on them an appropriate status in the national hierarchy. Thus Dmowski added: ‘In this respect the division of the nation into camps fighting one another is truly an innate phenomenon, having its sources in the very construction and form of its members’ souls, and as such is not a passing phenomenon.’

So where did this hesitation and these doubts come from? Was this the reflex of a former fascination with the great Western democracies, where disputes were solved by parliamentary battle?<sup>284</sup> Or was there perhaps a deeper conviction that a continual confrontation of views represented the essence of public life, and that abandoning it led to moral ossification and rot, degeneration and the victors’ internal collapse, as happens in the natural world? Or was there in this assumption a more mundane lack of trust in one’s own supporters, who might, as had not infrequently been the case, providentially understand the great work of national regeneration, and ignore and finally waste it?

In these arguments there indeed returned continually a reflection on English attitudes (on England as the ‘highest form of civilization’), but more as an example of an effective embodiment of the principles of ‘hierarchy and power’, essential for keeping the body politic alive, than a universal model of political relations. Using this line of argument, Dmowski gave first place in leading mankind to almost all ‘nations of Germanic race’, whose sense of ‘hierarchy and obedience’ had made them the organizers of political Europe and the creators of European nationhood.<sup>285</sup>

Not always were fine beginnings, as well as a wonderful historical tradition, an adequate sign of lasting power, as the case of contemporary France proved, which in this view of things was a sort of withered branch on the tree of civilization. For at the heart of greatness lay a consistent act of political will, a readiness to fight, and a belief in eventual victory, and Dmowski saw in these voluntary attributes an opportunity for ‘second-rate nations in terms of civilization.’

---

284 K. Kawalec, in *Państwo a naród w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym – spory niezakończone*, in *Do niepodległości. Wizje...*, p. 188, accepts this.

285 See R. Dmowski, ‘Ewolucja polityczna Polski’, *Przegląd Narodowy*, February 1914, no. 2, pp. 170–183.

If the leader of the ND made in this piece perhaps the greatest mental contribution to home-grown totalitarian thinking, introducing into the nationalist project not just the bacillus – his earlier writings can be seen in this light – but the whole apparatus of a totalitarian view of the world, it must also be acknowledged that he left a great many things unsaid at this stage in his mental development. Furthermore, it was no simple matter, even for committed supporters, to draw such a consistent demarcation line: where ‘issues of the national *raison d’être*’ ended and where normal internal politics began. Within the framework of such thinking there was also a certain narrow compromise with unaccepted reality, as well as a combative attitude, ready for ruthless, definitive acts, as well as the complete elimination of the enemy.

All these phases in the forging of a vision of a ‘new patriotism’, of injecting his ideals, as Dmowski would certainly have put it, took place amidst violent rows, sometimes in ideological debates of a fundamental nature. Dmowski was always in the forefront of these battles. He usually found himself among the most ‘furious’. Very rarely, if at all, did he give way on issues of principle; he felt good in an atmosphere of hostile confrontation, as if battle were his natural milieu. ‘Battle is the basis of life,’ he wrote in *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka* and he held to this motto like no other. A person close to him recalled: ‘Dmowski was unrivalled in this kind of battle. If attacked, he did not go onto the defensive, but went straight for his opponent, nailing him to the wall with some really basic statement to which there was no answer other than a simple yes or no [underlining in the original]. His usual line was; “if you were a good Pole, you would understand and so on.” This usually shut up his opponent, who then began to consider, for perhaps the first time in his life, whether he really was a good Pole.’<sup>286</sup> One could produce a great deal more evidence along these lines.

These ideological campaigns also had a certain personal dimension. For the League’s leader was a personality with a strong moral bent in his assessment of events in public life. In his own eyes too he probably never lost the conviction of the ethically integral nature of his own behaviour. The focused act, the all-too-obvious over-activity were for him dictates of his inner nature, more than just adopting this or that practical solution.

There is much to suggest that this apotheosis of activity, the cult of force, of brutal often predatory fighting, and not just verbal violence, had its roots within

---

286 Z. Dębicki, *Iskry w popiołach...*, p. 68.

him, in his fiery warrior spirit. He wrote in a personal letter that he was a man who throughout his life had forced through his policies with his fists.<sup>287</sup>

Was he unique in this apology for action? From numerous memoirs, life stories, and journalism emerges a picture of a man whose attitude towards life, awareness, and expressed ideals represented a dynamic whole. One of his political opponents, the editor of the socialist *Robotnik*, Mieczysław Niedziałkowski, wrote that Dmowski appeared to be a figure carved out of a single slab of stone.<sup>288</sup> In this view, his entire biography had been to some extent consciously constructed as a testament to an idea. Dmowski as a human type was a man of ideas.

A supporter from Galician days who remained under his spell pompously described the issue: 'In his face there was something profound, elementally Polish and Slav, something of the predator, of the modern man, of the practical man as well as the thinker and visionary. In his whole being there was luxuriance, a sense of superiority, the manliness of a warrior. He came from a race of great people. Of leaders. He felt strong and he liked to show this. I remember him shortly afterwards in the countryside. He was organizing and taking part in races with young people, he was lifting heavy bales in the farmyard, he would set off for long walks in the sharp, windy March weather [...]. After the war, taking advantage of the once-close relations between my father and R. Dmowski, I tried to stay in touch and went round to see him once or twice a year hoping to talk. Personally engaging, he never turned me away and sometimes talked for hours. What extraordinary conversations they were! The aura of an exceptional person radiated from Dmowski. He would raise those brows of a thinker, look up and improvise. Thoughts bubbled and overflowed. There were always new ones, unexpected ones, original ones, out-of-control ones [...]. Now, as I recall those powerful leaps of thought, I have to admit that more than one of those statements that were most at odds with what was in the air, with what was generally accepted, more than one of the views which seemed to me to be simply wrong or incorrect, turned out to be right after a few years, or a dozen years. And when I try to understand what was the greatest merit of those thoughts, what assured their verifiability, I think that it was the result of the daring with which he opposed doctrines. Dmowski

---

287 Letter from Roman Dmowski to Ignacy Paderewski, 2 IX 1917, in M. Kułakowski [J. Zieliński], *Roman Dmowski w świetle listów i korespondencji*, vol. 2, London 1972, p. 79.

288 M. Niedziałkowski, 'Zgon Romana Dmowskiego', *Robotnik*, 3 I 1939, no. 3 (7636), p. 3.



had the courage to think through an issue to the end, even if the most unpleasant conclusions emerged.<sup>289</sup>

This dimension of the radicals crystallizing their thoughts frequently took on a daily, oftentimes brutal form. In order to force through his views and opinions, the main protagonist of these deliberations knew how to attain the highest level of cynicism, while tawdry opportunism, often mixed in with uncompromising intrigue, were a given. The battle with newspaper columns and party statements then moved into the social sphere. Ideas, before they began to spread in people's minds, often went through a community test, often a special social examination.

So too in this dimension Dmowski turned out to be a precursor. Let an illustration of this be a certain curious, but most eloquent duel with Szymon Askenazy that he provoked. For Lwów's progressive circles the historian from Warsaw was a symbol of the rebirth of history. He came from the generation that carried within it the experience of Russian schooling, and for whom patriotic passion always played a surpassing role. Askenazy with his programme for the rebirth of the Polish *raison d'état*, which involved openly referring to the Commonwealth of the Two Kingdoms, as well as to the great-power historical traditions, which were still alive, adapted splendidly to the aspirations of the developing nationalist community.

Avoiding involvement in day-to-day politics, he had declared admirers both among pro-independence socialists and 'All-Poles'. Over the course of a few years the historian had become more or less the leader of the more ambitious patriotic young people. Zygmunt Wasilewski recalled: 'his lectures received ovations and, spread throughout the country on a sympathetic wave of publicity, electrified Polish patriotism.'<sup>290</sup>

Just about all the leaders of the Lwów ZET passed through his historical seminar, including Antoni Plutyński, Adam Skałkowski, Adam Szelański, Kazimierz Jarecki, and Zdzisław Próchnicki. At the time a young academic sympathetic to the League, Waclaw Tokarz, was linked to Askenazy, while Stanisław Stroński, Edward Dubanowicz, and Stanisław Kasznica, in other words, more or less the whole later *Rzeczpospolita* group, were strongly under his influence. Some of them became distinguished historians.

But for some leaders of the League, including Dmowski personally, the position and influence which Askenazy had gained for himself among young

---

289 A. Heydel, 'Wspomnienia o Romanie Dmowskim', *Wieczór Warszawski*, 6 I 1939, no. 6, p. 5.

290 W. [Z. Wasilewski], 'O jednym z żywiołów ginącej epoki', *Mysł Narodowa*, 7 VII 1935, no. 28, p. 413.

nationalists were a threat. Dmowski with his typical bluntness recalled many years later: ‘He came up with the term “Polish *raison d’état*” to contrast with “the national interest” of the “All-Poles”. The first could include the Jews, the second one had to oppose them. He had managed to detach from the League’s influence a whole group of young people, which included some very bright individuals.’<sup>291</sup>

Dmowski spent a good deal of time preparing for this battle with Askenazy for the souls of the young.<sup>292</sup> This was part of the ideological offensive, which the League had been conducting under his leadership from 1901. In a letter to Zygmunt Miłkowski Dmowski indicated that Askenazy was paralyzing the League’s influence, attracting young people away from it. However, he was unable to come up with a specific accusation.<sup>293</sup> In fact, there could only be one argument, which he never came out and used: Askenazy was a Jew. This splendid expert on the Napoleonic era, a fervent Polish patriot, and also a teacher of the young, came from a ‘hostile element’. Dmowski pointed out the terrible influence of assimilated Jews in a series of ideological articles which came out at this time. Let us recall that in the opening article he had come out directly: ‘Even the best assimilated Jews neither think nor feel nationally.’

The author of this ideological quasi-manifesto for the National Democrats was already at this time a political leader, a celebrated journalist, a recognized figure in his community. The issue of the ethnic background of one man, whom he personally knew and met, should not have been that important. But the professor from Lwów was at this time supervising a number of young historians linked to the League. He was showing them ways to develop, was facilitating their research, acting as a mentor, leading by example. After all, an instructor of Polish youth could not be someone fundamentally different in spiritual terms!

---

291 *Relacja Romana Dmowskiego...*, p. 432.

292 Stefan Surzycki, one of the founders of the ZET, claimed that the Board of the Warsaw ZET group had already in the 90s been trying to limit the influence of people of Jewish descent. The Board had been trying to keep them, as unreliable people, at a distance from the Association, not bringing them into its inner workings. Surzycki included among these unreliable ones a law student at Warsaw University, Szymon Askenazy. See S. Surzycki, ‘Z dziejów pamiętnego Zetu’, a copy from *Mysł Narodowa*, 1930. Before Dmowski assumed the leadership of the Warsaw ZET group, Askenazy had been at least indirectly connected with the pro-independence underground movement, including the ZET itself. See Stanisław Bukowiecki’s account of the Nationalist League. Akta Stanisława Kozickiego, APAN, sygn. 30, p. 1.

293 Roman Dmowski to Zygmunt Miłkowski, Zakopane 13 IX 1901, in M. Kułakowski, *Roman Dmowski...*, vol. 1, p. 236.

At best, as Dmowski argued elsewhere, he remained ‘nationally’ unreliable. Especially since he already had great ambitions. In the previously-mentioned letter to Miłkowski he foretold the development of a new school of history in the spirit of integral nationalism: ‘a new direction cleansed of unnecessary foreign influences [...] a twentieth-century school of historians.’<sup>294</sup>

He followed up this statement with action. The League’s leader with his typical forthrightness presented the battle of the elements in an abridged version. We can surmise that he wanted to neutralize in passing, as it were, the influence of other ‘instructors’.

Events played out around 1902, or 1903 in Lwów. During one of his friendly conversations with the leaders of the ZET youth branch, Dmowski demanded an unqualified declaration of loyalty. One of the main protagonists of this episodic, yet eloquent event, the then editor of *Teka*, left a detailed account. This report conveys well the leader of the League’s thought process, and *modus operandi* too – and so it is worth quoting at some length; ‘One evening the four of us were playing dominoes at Schneider’s – Popławski, Kasprowicz, Szelański, and me. Suddenly the door opens and in walks Mr. Roman Dmowski. After greeting us he turns to me: “I’m so glad to have found you here. I’ve come specially from Kraków to have a talk with you.” So we sat down with Popławski, who like Dmowski was a member of the National League’s Central Committee, at a separate table.

Dmowski: “Mr. P. [Plutyński], you must make a choice and decide between national-democratic ideology, and Askenazy’s *raison d’état* and Szczepanowski’s liberalism.”

Me: “Forgive me, if I don’t make a choice. I owe my position in national democracy to my own efforts and not to your generosity.”

“What are you up to Roman?” indignantly said Popławski, “Are you setting up the Spanish Inquisition here in my house?” I don’t recall how Dmowski backed down, but at that time Popławski’s authority was so great, that he had to back down.<sup>295</sup>

Of course Dmowski did not back down, nor did he explain to Popławski what he had against Askenazy, who at that time was not mixed up in politics, and simply spent his time educating ‘nationalist’ youth. Dmowski did not relent and attained his goal another way. Plutyński, at the time the guardian of the group’s ideological cohesion recalled: ‘A few months after the conversation at Schneider’s

---

294 Ibid., p. 236.

295 A. Plutyński, ‘Szymon Askenazy we Lwowie. Wspomnienia i impresje. 5’, *Polska Zbrojna*, 2 VIII 1935, no. 210, p. 5.

I met Dmowski on the stairs at Askenazy's. He greeted me smilingly and very confident:

"Well, I've sorted things out with your professor." I went upstairs and found Askenazy as down as I ever saw him.

"Dmowski's just been here."

"I know, I met him on the stairs."

"Do you know why he was here? To get me to convert and then the National Democrats will stop attacking me and will recognize my work." I did not know what to say or do. I knew Roman Dmowski's forthright ruthlessness. However, I had not imagined that he would be so uncompromisingly ruthless.<sup>296</sup>

We shall probably never learn just what arguments Dmowski presented at the time. Only one of the participants in the meeting has left an account. Both Askenazy, as well as the editor of *Przegląd Wszepolski*, never publicly referred to this symbolic event.

From this story we can draw the conclusion that, in the final analysis, the League's leader saw religious conversion as a definitive way of solving the Jewish question. Although this was contrary to his whole proclaimed system of values, to the views which he had for years been preaching, during his years in Kraków Dmowski attended a number of weddings of people of Jewish descent. In several cases he had even reportedly been a godparent. On the other hand, one probably could not find any public justification by him for such behaviour.

One could also make a rather more prosaic hypothesis about Dmowski's meeting with Askenazy in Lwów. Dmowski's proposition was indeed unacceptable. Both from a practical, as well as a simple, purely human point of view. It was simply shameless blackmail. That is how Askenazy, a proud and haughty man, took it. Plutyński recalled: 'Askenazy began to talk in broken sentences: look at this attitude to a man and his religion. I know from history these secret organisations of ours which want to bow and scrape to everyone. Who's going to guarantee Polish patriotism? Am I? The Cossacks chopped up my great grandfather's wife for helping the Bar confederates. My grandfather was the chief rabbi in Antwerp, but he came here to Lwów to lay his bones. What guarantees does conversion bring? Today I am unreliable for you, but I would be reliable if I deeply hurt my own father and caused him grief.'<sup>297</sup>

The young nationalist took it the same way: 'I had grounds for doubting whether for Dmowski the issue of one's religion was important enough to justify

---

296 A. Plutyński, 'Szymon Askenazy [...] 6' *Polska Zbrojna*, 4 VIII 1935, no. 212, p. 6.

297 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

such a proposition.<sup>298</sup> Askenazy did not accept the offer, but Dmowski did not give up. These two individuals' paths still crossed on more than one occasion. The historian remained an implacable adversary of Dmowski and his camp, although, as he supposedly recalled in private conversations, had it not been for the antisemitism of the League's leader, he would have become a National Democrat.<sup>299</sup> Kajetan Morawski, who came into closer contact with Askenazy, bluntly summed this up. 'Just a whisker divided him from many of the nationalist camp's views.'<sup>300</sup>

As far as Dmowski himself was concerned, this controversy contained something more than just the political nature of the whole event. Kazimierz Dłuski recalled one of the *bons mots* coined by the Chairman of the Committee of the Polish Nation about the 'famous historian of Jewish descent': "ce n'est pas un homme, c'est un juif."<sup>301</sup> The ND press also oftentimes put the historian in the 'nationalist' stocks for 'filtering the Jewish destructive element into Polish souls.' It would revile him until his death.<sup>302</sup>

An effort was made in Polish letters to describe such a social personality. It was attempted by the distinguished sociologist and student of culture Florian Znaniecki in sketches in the 1930s, entitled *Ludzie terażniejsi a cywilizacja przyszłości* (*People Today and the Civilization of the Future*).<sup>303</sup> The name which Znaniecki gave this social type was a little unfortunate (people/deviants), but the attempt at a description that he presented remains the most interesting feature

---

298 A. Plutyński, 'Szymon Askenazy we Lwowie', *Wiadomości*, 15 VII 1956, no. 29 (537), p. 2.

299 A. Mostowicz, *Łódź – moja zakazana miłość*, Łódź 1999, pp. 100–101, quote taken from A. Landau-Czajka, 'Trudny wybór. Asymilowani Żydzi o problemie tożsamości narodowej w II Rzeczpospolitej', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 112, 2005, no. 2, p. 60.

300 K. Morawski, *Tamten brzeg. Wspomnienia i szkice*, Paris 1992, p. 56.

301 K. Dłuski, 'Wspomnienia z Paryża od 4 I do VII 1919', copy of *Naród*, Warsaw 1920, p. 47.

302 See 'BP prof. Szymon Askenazy' [an obituary], *Mysł Narodowa*, 30 VI 1935, no. 27, p. 410.

303 F. Znaniecki, *Ludzie terażniejsi a cywilizacja przyszłości*, Warsaw 1974, esp. 'Ludzie zboczeńcy', pp. 304–343. Quotations are taken from this text, This model for describing the radical intelligentsia was borrowed first from Znaniecki by Adam Michnik, not using that model, as far as one can tell, for Dmowski, to whom he devoted a separate piece. See A. Michnik, 'Rozmowa z Cytadeli', *Zeszyty Historyczne*, 376, 1983, no. 64, pp. 3–56. See too R. Wapiński, *Roman Dmowski...*, p. 194. It seems that Wapiński is of the opinion that another model from Znaniecki's typology is more suitable for the attitudes of Dmowski and his companions – 'well-brought-up people'.

of our universal radical's social biography. In Znaniecki's view, 'supra-normal deviants', alongside 'people of work, people of play' and 'well-brought-up people' were supposed to represent one of the main examples of human social attitudes in modern civilization. Never mind here the accuracy of formulations and the adequacy of other biographical types.

Perhaps the most significant attribute of 'people/deviants', distinguishing them in a society of 'supra-normal people', was their rebelliousness. In this sociologist's view, this attribute prejudged a person's whole biographical evolution, creating a continual need for that individual to break out of the 'well-regulated world'. The scholar saw the genesis of this feature in a combination of two factors.

First of all, in youth and childhood the individual's participation in various objective systems (e.g., educational ones) was linked to violence. A system that was unable to draw out of an individual his abilities and aspirations, steered him towards non-conformism. Rebellious attributes grew in importance when an individual developed a sense of his own importance by the possibility of breaking out of repressive conditions. Znaniecki gave the example of groups of people his age for whom destroying the order established by the 'old folks' was the main point of the game. Youthful revolt against a broad category of old folks (from positivist groups to the repressive schooling of the partitioning power) was one of the characteristic experiences of Dmowski's generation. In this instance this liberation could also have a strong personal dimension.

At the same time 'Ignac of Praga's' 'hooliganism', like the young activist's later activities in underground organizations, was of a formative nature. On the other hand, the sociologist did not claim that this rebelliousness as a personal problem always had to have a specific meaning in a social biography. On the contrary, according to Znaniecki, personal non-conformism singles out two types of 'deviant people': sub-normal deviant people and supra-normal. 'A sub-human deviant solves his problem by breaking out of the norm on his own; the supra-normal, by changing the norm [...]. A worker with a subjective, rebellious attitude [...] becomes a pauper, a tramp or a robber, whereas a Proudhon is planning, writing, and working to change the capitalist order to a socialist one.' Rebelliousness does not also have to mean that an supra-normal person in public life does not accept norms in his private life.

The upward impetus for a great many supra-normal deviants in their normal personal life was, according to the sociologist, an early contact with other cultural circles ('cultural systems'), which their own society did not prepare them to live in, and in which active participation was possible as a result of hard work.

For a great many supra-normal people initiation meant coming into contact with other, usually older supra-normal people. What in Znaniecki's opinion

distinguished the supra-normal people from other social types was setting themselves some final goals, also in the conviction that their own strength and the potential to bring them to life would develop as they went along. This setting of final goals, let us add, in ideological and also utopian terms, was usually linked to an individual's conviction about the connection or contact with some objective cultural sphere, remaining outside official educational systems. This usually happened in opposition to his surroundings.

Znanięcki wrote; 'Every supra-normal deviant in his childhood and youth had the ability to do a great many independent experiments, and thus "did a great many stupid things"; each one was a person with considerable education, gained to a great extent without the help of instructors.'

An important discriminating feature of supra-normal deviants was building one's own social personality through independent tasks, and not ones imposed or felt externally. However, the scholar noticed that supra-normal individuals fixed their attention in one area, rejecting or ignoring all the others. To accomplish such an eventual task at least a small group of trusted and relatively loyal supporters was essential.

This task focused on the supra-normal deviant's public life and thus too, as Znanięcki pointed out, he would become 'fanatical about his own idea.' Such fanaticism was a path to freeing oneself of all dependency. The sociologist described this fanaticism thus: 'A supra-normal deviant in time divides people into supporters and adversaries, and this division, tied to a complete dedication to his own point of view and fanatical belief in his own ideas, becomes the most important guideline in his own public life [...]. Just attracting supporters seems to him like a "battle for human souls". The harder his path in life, the greater the obstacles and antagonism he encounters, the more clearly does the antithesis of himself and his group appear to him, on the one hand, and of the rest of society or even mankind, on the other. This attitude is also shared by supporters/deviants: furthermore, to the extent that his surrounding group's activity has taken on the character of a battle with opponents, this group will oftentimes attract typical fighters.'

Such personalities required a group of colleagues with the aim of upholding the belief that the task in hand would one day be completed. From the memoirs of contemporaries, similar or strikingly convergent character traits can be found in the lives of other radicals of the day: Rosa Luxemburg, her companion Leon Tyszka, or Edward Abramowski, or Waclaw Machajski, as well as Feliks Perl and Feliks Dzierzyński. In reality each radical formation relied on this type of person. As a reference to Polish reality, Znanięcki used the example of Józef Piłsudski in his analysis.

For the historian of ideas this is not too instructive a case. From the perspective of twentieth-century ideological crises Piłsudski is something of an anachronism. However, he was also a man of battle. In a letter to a close colleague he wrote: 'I fight and I shall die simply because I cannot live in the toilet that is our life, it is insulting – listen to me! – it is insulting to a man who is not a slave [...]. This is not sentimentality, not snivelling, not some instrument for social conflict, or whatever, it is simple humanity. I want to win, but without a battle, a real one, I'm not even a competitor, but just a beast driven with a stick or a whip.'<sup>304</sup> He also expressed himself contemptuously about 'humanitarians', and pointed to the need to create 'physical strength [...] brutal violence'. However, it is hard not to agree with this sociologist when he wrote that the type represented by the figure of the future Head of State, was a certain type of pro-independence radical, for whom every ideology was simply a tool to attain the ideal of a reborn Polish state.

It will surely be no great exaggeration to claim that this radical *habitus* soon became a permanent part of Polish thinking on public life.

---

304 Józef Piłsudski to Feliks Perl, September 1908, in J. Piłsudski, *Pisma zbiorowe. Wydanie prac dotychczas drukiem ogłoszonych*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1937, p. 299.



## Chapter Seven

# The Modern Pole Confronting Turn-of-The-Century Challenges

The responsibility of people who have any ideas at all, who think just a little about the past and feel the need for some continual, consistent action following a clear plan, is above all to work on drawing human attention away from these details, from chewing over this dreary daily fare, to directing it to broader and more important issues, to real work for the future of the nation, to realistic, planned politics.

Cajus [J.L. Popławski], 'Kilka słów o naszej myśli politycznej. Pogadanka warszawska', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 15 III 1897, no. 6, p. 123

You have to know the world and understand it, and create your own life following your own needs. Then the world will not be so ugly, and life in it not as bad as we often imagine.

R. Dmowski *Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka*, 1903

### National Democracy at the Turn of the Century

*Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka*, published separately in 1903, had been de facto in preparation for years. Published in instalments in *Przegląd Wszechpolski* it did not initially create a sensation in nationalist circles. A great many concepts contained in the work were far from the commonly-held ways of thinking ascribed to this group. Generally known as the essence of early ND thinking, *Myśli* initially became more a kind of Dmowski *credo* than, as later it became commonplace to see it, a catechism of current nationalism. Dmowski's treatise was striking because of its scope and the writer's ambition, but it also went beyond local concerns.

For the National Democrats the turn of the century was very rich in significant events. The nascent movement had raised itself from the defeat that the Kiliński Revolt represented for all patriotic circles. In the provinces old contacts began to revive, while intelligentsia circles, still linked in the mid-nineties to *Łączność* and later with the National League too, were becoming very active. A considerable publishing achievement was *Polak* edited by Jan Ludwik Popławski. This popular paper, not free of national-socialist demagoguery directed at the peasantry, quickly found readers and not just among the people.

From the mid-nineties a great number of projects affiliated with the League, and above all with educational circles, with the Association for National Education founded in 1899 in the lead, began to work effectively in the provinces in the Kingdom of Poland. The results of their work were not long in coming. The

organizational test for the movement turned out to be a congress of rural activists in 1898 on Christmas Eve in Warsaw. The appearance of around 400 peasants apparently surprised even the organizers.<sup>1</sup>

The League was rebuilding its influence in Warsaw student circles. Starting in 1898, a ZET circle was re-activated in Warsaw, and it immediately began to outnumber the groups of patriotic youth. Attempts at setting up the organization on the territory of the remaining Polish lands initially met with indifference from the locals, for instance in the Poznań region. However, the first years of the new century turned out to be far more fruitful for the National Democrats.

The nascent organization's propaganda work was developing the most dynamically in Galicia, which at the time was a peculiar advance base for intelligentsia radicalism. Initially the League's influence was limited in principle to émigrés from the Kingdom. This 'Kingdom' imprint was meant, until the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, to indicate the growing nationalist camp. Two years after settling in Galicia, Dmowski entitled an extensive series of articles in *Przegląd Wszechpolski* in 1897 *Listy Warszawiaka z Galicji* (*A Warsaw Man's Letters from Galicia*). In the opinion of the League's ideologues, the key to the Polish issue was to be found in the Kingdom.

'Crownies' formed the social base both for the pro-independence left as well as for numerous little 'patriotic' groups. The influence of Marxian orthodoxy also extended above all to the émigré communities. However, in the latter case their influence before 1903 was minimal.

The development of Galician social democracy, in turn, which was reconstituting itself as the Polish Social-Democratic Party, was now taking place at the local level. Relations between the 'Kingdom-ites' and the 'Galileans' were very tense. Józef Piłsudski, as the editor and publisher of the socialist *Robotnik* continually

---

1 For this period the best works are still T. Wolsza's studies, above all *Narodowa Demokracja wobec chłopów w latach 1887–1914. Programy, polityka, działalność*, Warsaw 1992. On *Polak's* output, *Ibid.*, p. 74 and note. On Christmas Eve 1898 and its repercussions for the National Democrats' tactics, *Ibid.*, p. 76. On the Association for National Education (TON), *Ibid.*, pp. 78–102, and especially this writer's 'Towarzystwo Oświaty Narodowej', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 94, 1987, no. 2, pp. 71–95. On the role of the *Łączność* organization in rallying intelligentsia circles connected to the 'patriots' see *id.*, 'Stowarzyszenie „Łączność” (1888–1893). U źródeł Ligi Narodowej', *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 19, 1987, no. 2, pp. 3–33.

complained in letters to the Central Office of the Overseas Union of Polish Socialists of the Galician comrades' 'growing philistinism'.<sup>2</sup> Stefan Żeromski too complained to his fiancée: 'How many of our honest hopes, dreams from the depths of our hearts, good intentions have to break against the hard Hapsburg buttons of the Bobrzyńskis and of other officials like them? Perhaps they won't break [...]. We shall see.'<sup>3</sup> The 'Galicization' of society in the Austrian Partition led for the longest time to limiting the 'Kingdom-ite' colony's influence.

It is difficult to define the timeframe of this exodus of young radicals from the Kingdom to Galicia. Perhaps it had been going on from the time that Galicia had begun to liberalize politically. However, nothing could be further from the truth than the conviction that the more open, bourgeois/proletarian Lwów had from the beginning been an oasis for these politicized students. Paradoxically, initially it had been conservative Kraków, which had to a far greater extent than the capital Lwów become one of the most powerful centres of this radical diaspora. The ZET's first, indeed founding congress was held in Kraków. The strength of the traditions of old Poland – frequently mentioned in memoirs – symbolized by Kraków's Wawel (the destination for pilgrimages by 'patriots' from all parts) must have played a part, too. This odd mix of patriotic traditions and the freedoms that the Habsburg Empire assured could have been alluring for arriving young members of the intelligentsia. It is difficult, however, to confirm whether there was some quantifiable exchange of ideas between the arriving 'Crownies' and the 'Galileans'. The astronomical number of over three thousand pupils and students, who supposedly passed through Galician pro-independence organizations at the turn of the 1880s/1890s, was not 'visible' at the university.<sup>4</sup> Reports by

---

2 See 'Listy Józefa Piłsudskiego do Bolesława Jędrzejowskiego i Leona Wasilewskiego. Rok 1898', edited by W. Pobóg-Malinowski, L. Wasilewski, *Niepodległość*, 20, July-August 1939, vol. 1 (54), p. 130. A good introduction to the history of relations between the émigrés from the Kingdom and the Russian Partition and the Galician population is a monograph by J. Myśliński, *Grupy polityczna Królestwa Polskiego w Zachodniej Galicji 1895–1904*, Warsaw 1967, esp. pp. 11–43.

3 S. Żeromski, *Listy 1884–1892*, edited by Z.J. Adamczyk, Warsaw 2001, p. 218, Stefan Żeromski to Oktawia Rodkiewicz, Nowy Targ 25 IV 1892.

4 See W. Borzemski, *Pamiętnik tajnych organizacji niepodległościowych na terenie byłej Galicji od roku 1880–1897*, Lwów 1930, pp. 40–45. The editor of this collection claims that there were school self-study groups in over a dozen provincial cities, with which we have no quarrel. However, the scale and extent of these initiatives gives pause for thought, as does the lack of their reflection in the student life of Galicia. It was different in the Kingdom, where just about every school crisis affected student attitudes. See too A. Wątor, *Narodowa Demokracja w Galicji do 1918 roku*, Szczecin 2002, p. 19.

the Kraków police, reviewed by the provincial authorities, must, however, have sounded reassuring.<sup>5</sup> Although this is a somewhat misleading source of information, it was not far from reality.

In the early 1890s, after the spectacular crushing of the student demonstrations around the 'Ognisko', the life of the radical colony in Kraków more or less died out. The underground work of the 'patriots', less antagonistic there than in the Kingdom, came down to peddling underground pamphlets and propaganda. When the police uncovered one of these 'operations', it turned out that the main object of its activities was local distribution of political materials. More serious illegal practices were not confirmed. The district authorities also did not acknowledge this threat as significant, since, it is noteworthy, the principal accused, the 'Crownie' Ignacy Domagalski (an LP sympathizer and later an LN member), was sentenced to exile from Galicia, although less than 18 months later he was granted permission to reside in Kraków. After moving to Lwów, Domagalski would become the unofficial banker and also the *de facto* publisher of *Przegląd Wszehpolski*,<sup>6</sup> and later the director of the influential Publishing Association which was linked to the movement.

Stefan Żeromski, who visited Kraków for the first time in 1892, recalled that 'all the Kraków and Lwów radicals' were in fact grouped around the émigrés from the Kingdom.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, Kraków was beginning to lose its drawing power over the young intelligentsia at the expense of Lwów, which was growing in significance. Żeromski's correspondence well illustrates this. For the talented 'patriot' from the Kingdom, coming into contact with Kraków was a clash of great national aspirations with the place's somehow overwhelming listlessness. Letters from his short visit to Lwów give the impression of a sudden sobering-up and are worth quoting at length, since they provide quite a good picture of the mentality of 'patriotic' youth from the Kingdom. Żeromski wrote: 'Lwów is a beautiful city. I had not imagined that we had such a Lwów, which any old German casually calls Lemberg. It is without a doubt more beautiful than Kraków, and almost as beautiful as Prague. It is in every sense of the word a European city, beautiful, clean (as long as you don't look at the Jews), varied, interesting to visit

---

5 See Członkowi Zjednoczenia. Opinie, 1899–1909, St. Gr. Kr. Mat. 731, AMKr, p. 43; Opinie o Zjednoczeniu, 1901, St. Gr. Kr. Mat., 363, AMKr, vol. 11; Opinie o Zjednoczeniu, 1901, St. Gr. Kr. Mat. 364, AMKr, vol. 14; Dr. Z. Balicki. Nadzór 1898–1904, St. Gr. Kr. Mat. 277, AMKr, vol. 22.

6 See J. Myśliński, *Grupy polityczne...*, p. 31 and note for the political fortunes of the Kraków colony of émigrés from the Kingdom at the time.

7 S. Żeromski, *Wspomnienia*, Warsaw 1950, pp. 30–31.

and a lively capital [...]. A number of buildings such as the Sejm, the Museum of Industry, the Lending Bank, the Mickiewicz and Staszic Popular Schools, fill me with pride. These Poles though [...]. I always thought: Czechoslovakia has buildings like this, so what about us? The Sukiennice and shabby Wawel, while here your eyes ache! Kraków cannot climb out of its city square, Lwów has bubbled out and the froth just spreads. You go down beautiful Zyblikiewicza Street straight into a field and there are no suburbs and dirt, exactly as in Prague. What a park, what pavements, what lighting! And the museums – the Ossoliński and Dzieduszycki – these are landmarks of European scientific importance [...]. A trip like this is very instructive and [...] morally rejuvenating. One looks to the future more cheerfully. Jesuit/Tarnowski/Jewish Kraków alone does not yet represent the whole of life.<sup>8</sup> Roman Dmowski too, fleeing in 1895 from exile to Galicia with a plan to produce a political paper, was already heading for Lwów. Perhaps there were tactical reasons for this, perhaps some settling of current political scores, or perhaps merely security concerns. The Kraków police were supposedly less understanding towards émigrés from the Kingdom, especially towards those who were politically unreliable.

There were, however, deeper reasons for Lwów taking on for a certain time the role of the nationalists' nursery. In the 1890s the city began to blossom dramatically. The symbol of its rapid transformation was the All-National Lwów Exhibition of 1894, as well as a local, but noisy commemoration of the centenary anniversary of the Kościuszko Uprising. This major event, which was accompanied by a Sokół parade and the founding of the Popular Schools Association, as well as the *Przegląd Wszechpolski* (a publication meant to integrate Poles throughout the world) which was also published by the Geographical and Trade Association, along with a great many more minor events, resonated widely in public opinion throughout Poland.

For pro-independence circles, but others too, this was a signal that this joint organizational effort – the Exhibition was accompanied by congresses of Poles from all over the country – could produce a better-than-expected effect. If the Exhibition had become a sign of Polish civilization, as correspondents of papers in the Kingdom claimed with a certain exaggeration, then the commemoration of the Kościuszko anniversary simply expanded its national dimension.

---

8 S. Żeromski, *Listy 1884–1892...*, pp. 198–200, Stefan Żeromski to Oktawia Rodkiewicz, Lwów 13 V 1892, no. 48. See too Z. Dębicki, *Iskry w popiołach. Wspomnienia lwowskie. „Grzechów młodości” część druga*, Poznań 1930, p. 3.

Bourgeois/democratic Lwów began more strongly to adopt the role of a sort of ideological pole for conservative Kraków. Already in the 90s the well-known Lwów scholars Tadeusz Wojciechowski and Oswald Balzer began a polemic with the Kraków school of history in connection with Franciszek Piekosiński's dissertation on the origins of the Polish szlachta. The Warsaw law student and promising historian, Szymon Askenazy, later reinforced the Lwów historians' position. One of the groups of patriotic university youth gathered around him and it included the leaders of the Lwów ZET: Adam Skałkowski, Jan Leszczyński, and Antoni Plutyński.

In the second half of the 1880s a key event for consolidating progressive opinion was a speech by Stanisław Szczepanowski. The attitude of this well-known journalist, businessman, and traveller, a sort of home-grown 'self-made man', embodied a synthesis of patriotic emotion with the sober pragmatism of an organic man; a synthesis that was frequently raised in the pages of the democratic press. A young nationalist movement activist recalled: 'Stanisław Szczepanowski's pieces *Aforyzmy o wychowaniu* (*Educational Aphorisms*) and *Idea polska wobec prądów kosmopolitycznych* (*The Polish Idea and Cosmopolitan Currents*) in *Słowo Polskie* had an especially strong effect on the soul of Lwów. This man, who knew the societies of Western Europe better than anyone else in the country, who in *Nędza Galicji* (*The Poverty of Galicia*) proved that he also knew and understood economic collapse and social backwardness better than others, had the courage to attempt to confirm not the equivalence but the superiority of Polish ideas over others. He placed the force of the creative love of *Dziady* (*Forefathers' Eve*) above the cold logic of *Faust*. He was no poet-cum-dreamer, nor an agitator-cum-columnist, but a powerful creator of real value, who like Moses of yore striking the water with his stick, was, with a blow from a drill in the Carpathians, opening up the oil wells of Słoboda Rungurska, Schodnica, Bitków, etc.<sup>9</sup>

The key stage in the development of local intelligentsia radicalism was linked to the arrival of the next wave of émigrés from the Congress Kingdom, who appeared in Galicia after the 1895 Tsarist amnesty for the Kiliński Revolt. It was precisely from this group that later emerged at the Jagiellonian University the student 'Zjednoczenie', close to the pro-independence socialists, especially the Kraków branch of the ZZSP. After the destroyed 'Ognisko' this was the first student association with progressive views. Prominent personalities of the nationalist movement passed through 'Zjednoczenie', people like Tadeusz Gruzewski – later secretary

---

9 A. Plutyński, 'Szymon Askenazy we Lwowie. Wspomnienia i impresje', *Polska Zbrojna*, 28 VII 1935, no. 205, p. 3.

to the editorial board and columnist on *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, as well as a group of talented historians: Franciszek Bujak, Waclaw Sobieski, Stanisław Zakrzewski, and Waclaw Tokarz. The previously-mentioned Stanisław Pieńkowski was a 'Zjednoczenie' activist, who only later became involved with the nationalist movement.

The case of 'Zjednoczenie' well illustrates the process of fragmentation and polarization of the student movement in the first half of the 1890s into a whole series of factions and small groups, with a key division into nationalist and socialist youth. Just the association, through its open, pluralist formula, represented more of an epilogue to the Kiliński Revolt than some new quality.<sup>10</sup> The least numerous part of this émigré wave strengthened the Kraków ZET group. Ideological antagonism would soon inflame both these groups, which still remained on friendly terms.

Over time, this spontaneous student rivalry began to gain strength. An important moment of ideological self-definition for progressive Kraków youth was when Dmowski took over *Przegląd Wszechpolski* and nationalist ideology began slowly to be clarified. For the 'Crownie' Tadeusz Grużewski, a speaker in 'Zjednoczenie' who left the association in November 1896, the turning point was probably disillusionment with materialist socialism.<sup>11</sup> Grużewski, now signing himself as G. Topór in the Kraków/Lwów *Przegląd*, would call socialists 'narrow dogmatists'. In turn Waclaw Tokarz, who also left the association that year, admitted that work in 'Zjednoczenie' was going in a 'party-political direction'. Others were parting company with the association less spectacularly. Franciszek

---

10 See M. Francić, *Postępowe organizacje studenckie w Krakowie (1895–1914)*, in H. Dobrowolski, M. Francić, S. Konarski, *Postępowe tradycje młodzieży akademickiej w Krakowie*, Kraków 1962, esp. the part 'Zjednoczenie i Ruch', pp. 59–89, for the forms of activity of the association. See also the pieces by B. Bobrowska, 'Zjednoczenie. Dzieje pewnego stowarzyszenia', *Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy*, April–June 1963, no. 2, pp. 229–261, as well as J. Buszki, 'Z dziejów radykalnych organizacji akademickich w Krakowie – „Zjednoczenie” i „Ruch” (1895–1904)', *Rocznik Naukowo-Dydaktyczny WSP w Krakowie, Zeszyty Naukowe, Historia*, 1962, vol. 14, p. 195 and note; id., *Ruch socjalistyczny w Krakowie 1890–1914*, Kraków 1961, pp. 117–119; J. Myśliński, *Grupy polityczne...*, pp. 55–63. One can learn about the interesting fates of the association's members in Z. Kirkor-Kiedroń, *Wspomnienia*, part 1, *Dziecięce i młode lata*, intro. H. Wereszycki, edited by A. Szklarska-Lohmannowa [et al.], Kraków 1986, p. 272 and note, and also J. Klemesiewicz's, *Przebojem ku wiedzy. Wspomnienia jednej z pierwszych studentek krakowskich z XIX w.*, Wrocław 1961, pp. 258–306; B. Bobrowska, *Socjalistaromantyk Emil Bobrowski*, BOSS, manuscript, sygn. 12003.

11 See J. Myśliński, *Grupy polityczne...*, p. 143 and note for Grużewski's activities in 'Zjednoczenie'.

Bujak, one of the first ZET members to be born in Galicia, a member of the LN, left only in January 1898. Waclaw Sobieski had resigned as early as December 1895.<sup>12</sup>

This diaspora's joint efforts with Popławski's and Dmowski's group did not always turn into direct co-operation with the nationalist *Przegląd*, or lead to joining the League. Understandably, faced with the young people's inexperience, the paper's editors opened their pages only in moderation to newcomers. The most experienced of this group, Gruzewski, appeared permanently in the paper only in 1899. Participation in distributing the new publication also played an important part. While *Przegląd* was produced in Lwów, it was aimed at the thinking reader in the Kingdom and from the beginning involved the whole Kraków ZET group.

The distribution of nationalist papers and pamphlets required the greatest dedication, personal daring, and effectiveness. In this way personal contacts between members of the movement solidified, and the modest community became integrated. Antoni Plutyński wrote later: 'A practice developed that every 'ZET-ist' or candidate for the ZET was supposed to smuggle at least one load [...]. A fanatical attachment developed among young people to the organization, which had given them an opportunity to enrich their personal lives, as well as their overall Polish horizons of thought and action. That is the how capital of enthusiasm for the new movement was accumulated.'<sup>13</sup>

The nationalists' influence in student Kraków increased in strength when Zygmunt Balicki, a charismatic personality, arrived. When in 1898 he moved into the Kraków suburb of Dębniki he clearly energized the activities of the ZET youth, and this had to have had some effect on its further fortunes. Even if at first this was not evident in the group's influence, it had to impact the smouldering divisions. Balicki brought the local ZET group under his control, but also gained influence amongst émigrés from the Russian Partition. Skilfully-managed political work permitted the ZET at first to outnumber the Educational Circle of the Association for Popular Schools (TSL), and then the TSL itself, as well as other educational organizations. The reborn ZET attempted too to influence the attitudes of young people in education by bringing out the non-party paper *Młodość*, but this initiative ended in disaster. The organization was unable to take control

---

12 See W. Sobieski, S. Zakrzewski, *Wspomnienia z życia i działalności Koła Historyków Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 1892–1927*, Kraków 1928, pp. 50–55, from M. Francić, *Postępowe organizacje studenckie w Krakowie (1895–1914)*, in H. Dobrowolski, M. Francić, S. Konarski, *Postępowe tradycje młodzieży...*, p. 71.

13 A. Plutyński, 'Wspomnienia o Panu Romanie', *Mysł Polska*, February 1947, no. 107, p. 2.



of the Academic Reading Room, nor push through anti-Ukrainian resolution at meetings and reunions.

In the local League's 'student' character lay both its weakness and future strength. The weakness arose from the fact that the new movement, without any resounding slogans, had limited possibilities for rallying people, and an accompanying weak base and moderate political significance. In Kraków, where conservative influence was strong throughout the whole first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the 'new' democratic ideas with which the LN had come out, were not a saleable commodity. Without a doubt the fact that the group's real leader up to 1905 (i.e., until his departure for the Kingdom of Poland) was Balicki, a considerable organizer revered by young people, but unlike Dmowski, less willing to make tactical compromises, had an influence on this. By the standards of the day, Balicki remained a revolutionary. That is how he must have been perceived by Kraków opinion.<sup>14</sup>

Dmowski, who had been producing *Przegląd* in Kraków from 1902 (in reality from December 1901), although he was presiding over the League's move to the right, also did not play any major role in expanding its political base. The political conferences with younger conservative politicians, in which he took part, came to naught. On the other hand, the cohesion of the nationalist community (for the most part students of institutions of higher learning in Kraków), the result to a certain extent of its more modest size than, for instance, in Lwów, helped create a cohesive group, which distinguished itself from the remaining ND circles by its ideological and political unity, dedication to the 'cause' and low tendency to fracture – with one significant caveat: the threshold of organizational and political loyalty remained nationalist purity. At the moment when the League under Dmowski's leadership began to undermine him, by taking the road of conciliatory politics, their features appeared in the cohesive structure of the nationalist group in Kraków too. In 1905, during a ZET youth conference, the first to oppose Dmowski as an LN delegate were none other than members of the Kraków ZET, Feliks Młynarski and Maria Zawadzka, supported later by the members of the Lwów group.<sup>15</sup> Although the protest was quelled, just about all its participants later ended up outside the nationalist movement.

The beginnings of the new movement in Lwów developed differently. The fact of publishing the group's first theoretical journal in that city in fact had an effect on the fortunes of the whole community. In 1895, two of the nascent movement's

---

14 See J. Myśliński, *Grupy polityczne...*, pp. 141–142.

15 W. Potkański, *Ruch narodowo-niepodległościowy w Galicji przed 1914 rokiem*, Warsaw 2002, pp. 61–62.

key figures were in Lwów: Dmowski and Popławski. For the new group these were institutions as well as men.

Dmowski, at one time a youth activist and leader, rapidly won himself a strong position in the hitherto passive student community. It is very possible that it was because of his personal inspiration that as early as 1896, Zdzisław Próchnicki, the President of the Lwów Academic Reading Room (but the students' *de facto* informal leader), declared that the League's platform was closest to the views of young people in Lwów.<sup>16</sup> From that moment the continual and systematic growth of the movement's influence among politically-involved young people began.

Nationalism was attracting above all patriots of every stripe and more besides. As an anonymous reporter described it for the conciliatory *Kraj*, the last years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century up to 1903, when a small group of supporters of the Populist Party appeared at the University, marked the hegemony of nationalist youth. One of the ZET leaders recalled later that the movement swept 'like fire' through young people.<sup>17</sup>

The nationalists' domination in student Lwów – in contrast to the conditions in Kraków, where the influence of radicals from the left and the right was more or less equal, and where there were also quite a number of small conservative and Catholic groups – began to be felt also at the polytechnic in Lwów. For the sake of accuracy, the political balance of this influence soon reversed at this technical institution.<sup>18</sup>

The symbol of this young ND grouping's enterprising spirit was bringing to life the monthly *Teka*. After a few issues, the journal, which emanated from Academic Reading Room circles, accepted the sponsorship of the ZET, becoming to all intents and purposes its mouthpiece.<sup>19</sup>

Shortly thereafter, Adam Skalkowski, a former President of the Academic Reading Room, took over the editorship, and succeeding editors (including Antoni Plutyński, Stanisław Stroński, and Edward Dubanowicz) would arrive

---

16 A. Plutyński, *Wspomnienia o Panu Romanie...*, p. 2. See too the account by Zdzisław Próchnicki in *akta Stanisława Kozickiego*. For materials on the Nationalist League and other political organizations APAN, sygn. 30, p. 127 and note.

17 S. Stroński, 'Do Lwowa', *Mysł Polska*, December 1948, no. 12 (129), p. 13.

18 *Obserwator*, 'Nasza młodzież (Najnowsze Stronnictwa wśród młodzieży galicyjskiej)', *Kraj*, 7 (20) II 1903, no. 6 (1075), p. 8. See too W. Sikorski, *Listy do Franciszka Smolki*, Lwów 7 I 1903 r., *Ze skarbca kultury*, 1976, vol. 27, p. 210.

19 The authors of a monograph on another eminent ND activist maintain otherwise, moving this date by over a dozen months to October 1901. See J. Faryś, A. Wątor, *Edward Dubanowicz. Biografia polityczna do 1939*, Szczecin 1990, pp. 13–16.

almost straight from their studies.<sup>20</sup> If the accuracy of the LN Commissioners' report is to be believed, its twin in Galicia, the ZET, numbered in 1902 only about 200 members, but most of the new blood came precisely from among the students in Lwów.<sup>21</sup> It was precisely the young nationalists in Lwów who became the base for the ND press, which was setting itself up after 1902. Four students immediately showed up on the editorial board of *Słowo Polskie*, the largest Galician daily and also the 'All-Poles' most powerful mouthpiece.<sup>22</sup> Others followed. Dmowski used sneeringly to say: 'You see, there are three governing entities in Lwów: the Viceroy, the Speaker and the President of the Academic Reading Room.'<sup>23</sup> It was hardly surprising then that the first detailed critique of the nationalist movement from the pen of Erazm Piltz, entitled *Nasze stronnictwa skrajne (Our Extremist Parties)* (1903), had been preceded by a statement against the nationalist radicalization of the younger generation in the form of a screed entitled *Nasza młodzież (Our Youth)* (1902), by the same author.

However, the League's political work among the 'adult' portion of Polish society was less effective. *Przegląd Wszechpolski* edited by Dmowski was not widely read, or rather, was read selectively. As a chronicle of the pro-independence movement and of Polish life all over the world, including the burgeoning Polish émigré community, it did a splendid job. For part of patriotic opinion *Przegląd* represented a supplement to the censored progressive press, as well as the illegal socialist papers. In circles of the cross-border press – the Galician liberal-progressive dailies such as *Nowa Reforma*, or *Słowo Polskie* while Stanisław Szczepanowski was editor, or also Bolesław Wysłouch's radically democratic *Kurier Lwowski* – the Lwów fortnightly was considered to be one of the most reliable sources; a compendium of news of what was happening in the Kingdom of Poland. The nationalist *Przegląd*, as a paper addressed to the reader in the Kingdom, was tolerated by the Austrian authorities and the Homeland Department in Lwów. But the editors', especially Dmowski's, ambitions were much greater.

In correspondence at the time Dmowski, the editor and principal author of texts in the first few years of the paper's existence in its new form, often complained of a lack of understanding and a certain mental barrier that the new views

---

20 U. Jakubowska, *Prasa Narodowej Demokracji w dobie zaborów*, Warsaw 1988, pp. 32–33.

21 'Sprawozdanie z działalności Ligi Narodowej od 1 lipca 1902 do 1 lipca 1903. Dokumenty do historii Ligi Narodowej. Komitet Centralny Ligi Narodowej do Komisji Nadzorczej Skarbu Narodowego w Raperswilu', W. Pobóg-Malinowski (ed.), *Niepodległość*, 9, January–June 1934, vol. 23, p. 443.

22 Obserwator, 'Nasza młodzież...', p. 9.

23 S. Stroński, 'Liga we Lwowie i Krakowie', *Mysł Polska*, 15 X 1953, no. 19 (233), pp. 22–24.

which he was promoting were encountering. In a letter of March 1899 to Zygmunt Miłkowski he wrote: '*Przegląd Wszechpolski* was my project and I brought it to life, and thus created a machine, which it was immeasurably difficult continually to use [...] and continually to oil. I persisted in my error for quite a time putting too much faith in being able to appeal to people's intellect [my underlining. GK].'<sup>24</sup>

Years later, Dmowski would write of this tactical change of emphasis, which also had long-term effects: 'We understood that following the same path, i.e., not touching on deeper ethical and social issues, skirting the difference in basic points of departure and working exclusively on establishing purely ethical views, would get us nowhere [...]. The resistance that the population in general displayed towards what, in our view, were the most obvious political issues convinced us that political views do not above all depend on putting the most logical arguments on the scales, but on an individual's whole mental makeup, his feelings and character [my underlining. GK].'<sup>25</sup>

On this basis, Dmowski argued that building only what he went on to call 'an integral direction for Polish thinking' would lead to a fundamental change in society; to this radical socio-moral metamorphosis, whose inevitability he had already been prophesying. However, this detailed project had to be accompanied by a release of indispensable layers of social energy. The sources of this energy could not be drawn from just a rational inspection of reality, since its fuel was precisely, as he pointed out in a letter to Miłkowski, in this 'natural' national feeling. Such 'deep ploughing' and 'honest sowing', to continue using the leader of the League's metaphors, contained in a comprehensive and thorough worldview, in the form of an ideological platform: 'a way of thinking with not only its own politics, but also its own sociology and finally its own ethics', based too on new 'national' sensibilities, was meant to contribute to transforming the Polish mind, followed by the whole national community.<sup>26</sup>

Jan Załuska, a student activist, since 1902 a member of the League, later the editor of *Polak*, and also linked to the 'Zorza' movement, recalled that Dmowski, apart from holding in his hand the whole organization, was above all working strenuously to transform the psychology of his generation, with a view to rebuilding

---

24 Roman Dmowski to Zygmunt Miłkowski, 6 III 1899, in M. Kułakowski [J. Zieliński], *Roman Dmowski w świetle listów i wspomnień*, vol. 1, London 1968, p. 224.

25 R. Dmowski, *Nasze dziesięciolecie*, in *Dziesięciolecie Przeglądu Wszechpolskiego. Artykuły i rozprawy z zakresu polityki i pokrewnych dziedzin*, R. Dmowski (ed.), Kraków 1905, p. 5.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

the country by means of a spiritually united nation.<sup>27</sup> Of course, Załuska's account, written from the perspective of an independent country, in the strictest sense does not stand up to scrutiny either when compared to *Przegląd's* output, and even less to the League's activities. The issue of Poland's independence, if only because of the censor's requirements, could not be openly raised.

It is also unclear whether, in the view of the movement's ideologists, such an unprepared, sick, infantilized and philistine nation was ready for independence! The aim of the National Democrats, or at least of its leader, was not just any old independent Poland, but a Poland firmly based on 'national policies', as their leader wrote in one of his letters to Miłkowski.<sup>28</sup> Only in such a form would it be capable of surviving and becoming a real political player in the current world. 'We are in no hurry,' announced the title of one of Popławski's famous articles in *Przegląd Wszehpolski*. However, the afore-mentioned Załuska had teased out the essence of the issue.

For Dmowski had set himself the goal of the rebirth, the psychological and physical regeneration of the nation, and this task motivated him above all others. Only strong and powerful peoples, rooted in healthy racial types, led by 'organized opinion', could retain their independence and could subsequently create empires and civilizations, he maintained.

From this point of view, the activities of the reconstituted Warsaw *Głos* (1895–1899), as well of as the already-mentioned *Kwartalnik Naukowo-Polityczny i Społeczny* (1898), must have appeared modest. The former, through its socially radical, but also in its way pluralist formula (declared supporters of the PPS and the SDKP were also published in *Głos*), did not fulfil its purported propaganda role. The weekly edited by Zygmunt Wasilewski did not have a great deal in common with the rapacious cheek that the Potocki-Popławski duo had in its time triggered.

Printed in Lwów as a theoretical interpretation of the new movement, *Kwartalnik* collapsed after barely two issues.<sup>29</sup> However, the Scientific and Literary Associations inspired by Jan Ludwik Popławski in Kraków and Lwów were attracting attention. Their open formula, without any party imprimatur, of social-cum-academic meetings ('Thursday evenings'), which were usually attended by the

---

27 *Wspomnienia Jana Załuski*, in M. Kułakowski, *Roman Dmowski...*, vol. 1, pp. 232–233.

28 Roman Dmowski to Zygmunt Miłkowski, Kraków 26 V 1905, in M. Kułakowski, *Roman Dmowski...*, vol. 1, p. 315.

29 On *Kwartalnik's* output see J. Myśliński, *Grupy polityczne...*, pp. 145–147 as well as id., 'Prasa Ligi Narodowej w Krakowie przed 1905 rokiem', *Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego*, 2, 1963, pp. 32–56; U. Jakubowska, *Prasa Narodowej Demokracji...*, p. 35 and note.

local intelligentsia, facilitated the integration of émigrés and, furthermore, the spread of the League's goals among local people with education. The exceptionally effective Publishing Association, and several lesser cultural initiatives, later grew from this 'union' formation.<sup>30</sup> However, this kind of work would take years.

The long march of Dmowski and his political friends towards a shift in the paradigm of Polishness began for practical reasons in Galicia. Apart from defining the new ideology's principles, which is the main subject of our discussion, the League's founders began to lay great emphasis on awakening, as Dmowski put it, national feelings and sentiment. The new approach quickly confirmed its effectiveness. This change was not some radical departure from the movement's strategy, since all these elements had earlier been in play, but rather a recognition of the prevailing state of affairs and of drawing practical consequences from it. The introduction to this refreshing and very key stage in the history of the new nationalist camp could have been the lecture series launched by the League's leaders. One of the first opportunities was a stay in Zakopane, at the time a popular holiday resort, by a great many groups of the intelligentsia from the Kingdom of Poland. In the summer of 1899, in August, two League leaders and ideologists – Jan Ludwik Popławski and Zygmunt Balicki – gave a lecture each, one after the other, on the Polish issue in the widest sense of the word.<sup>31</sup>

Popławski's address, being a compilation of *Przegląd Wszepolski* leaders, was purportedly rather poor. However, Balicki's lecture, characteristically entitled *O germanizacji i rusyfikacji duchowej* (*On Germanization and Spiritual Russification*), is worth mentioning. The speaker, conscious that opponents of the League might have been present in the hall, probably did not come out with all his views. He focused on a restrained discourse on the subject of the inferiority of Russian culture and civilization in comparison with Poland's, emphasizing the dreadful influence that then-fashionable 'Tolstoyism' was supposedly having on the younger Russian generation. The destructive spirit, lying at the heart of this popular ethical current, apparently also threatened Polish national life, which led Balicki to the conclusion on the need for the Poles to remain apart from the Russians.

---

30 See Z. Wasilewski, *Lwów przodujący. Szkice do dziejów kultury umysłowej w Polsce 1895–1914*, BJ Przyb. 180/78, esp. ch. 7: 'Związek Naukowo-Literacki', pp. 158–205; Z. Dębicki, *Iskry w popiołach...*, p. 272 and note; A. Wysocki, *Sprzed pół wieku*, Kraków 1956, p. 122 and note.

31 See W. Kiedrzyński, 'Z sali zebrań i odczytów', *Przegląd Zakopiański*, 31 VIII 1899, no. 5, pp. 10–11, from J. Myśliński, *Grupy polityczne...*, pp. 143–144.

An appeal issued a few months earlier by the SDN Committee, on the occasion of strikes at Russian universities, had a similar effect.<sup>32</sup> Provoked by a rise in fees and a series of administrative measures which the Tsarist authorities used with the aim of crushing radical attitudes, these protests were warmly received by Polish opinion. The strikes had a broad democratic accent and were not initially tied to any specific demands. However, the League, and with it the ZET at colleges which Polish students attended, called for a boycott of the Russian students' actions. The appeal was meant to justify this stance. Its anonymous authors presented their own dedication, courage, and also a deep sense of patriotism, as well as a sober appraisal of 'formulaic mumbo-jumbo', radical fantasies, sectarian virulence, and also youthful hysteria on the part of the protest's participants.

The document saw the use of characteristic rhetoric, which henceforth was continually and systematically exploited. Nationalist youth referred in it to the eloquent antinomy: unhealthy neurosis, the rotting and degeneration of political thinking opposed to healthy, 'organized' opinion. These metaphors of fortitude and strength, of liberation from moral decadence began to pervade the nationalist imagination with ever-growing strength.<sup>33</sup> In the opinion of the Committee, the student strike was meant to serve foreign aims and in fact help the Russian Empire, which predetermined its ineffectiveness. While the 'cosmopolitan/humanitarian' slogans, used by the protesting students, were, in the view of the appeal's authors, an expression either of their creators' naïveté, or their stupidity. The whole-hearted involvement in the issue of students of Jewish descent emphasised on the one hand the abstract overtones of the protest, detached from local conditions, and on the other it showed yet again this national group's unreliability at critical moments.

---

32 See *Odezwa wydana z powodu udziału studentów Polaków na Uniwersytecie Warszawskim w ogólnej manifestacji wyższych szkół rosyjskich na wiosnę 1899 r.*, from S. Kozicki, *Historia Ligi Narodowej (Okres 1887–1907)*, London 1964, p. 526.

33 See G.L. Mosse, *Masses and Man. Nationalist and Fascist Perceptions of Reality*, Detroit 1987, pp. 1–18, for the saturation of nationalist rhetoric with motifs and metaphors of strength and domination; id., *The Nationalization of the Masses. Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars Through the Third Reich*, New York 1975, esp. ch. 1, 'The New Politics', pp. 1–20, and ch. 2: 'The Aesthetics of Politics', pp. 21–46; id., *Nationalism and Sexuality. Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe*, New York 1985, esp. ch. 4: 'Friendship and Nationalism', pp. 66–89; id., *The Image of Man. The Creation of Modern Masculinity*, New York 1996, esp. ch. 7: 'Normal Society of Men', pp. 133–154.

This communiqué, boiling down to the organic difference between Polish and Russian interests, was noted by public opinion and gave the National Democrats, just as had the earlier rallying around Mickiewicz's statue, a pretext to bring the League into the open in the Kingdom of Poland. The nationalists' long march for control over souls also began in the Kingdom.

The first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century provided the nationalist élites with more opportunities to demonstrate their redefined patriotism. The idea of a Polish-Russian agreement, not bolstered by any even symbolic signs of a change of policy towards the Poles by the Russian Empire, was going through a serious crisis. For many observers the significance of a secret memorandum by Governor-General Alexander Imeretynsky, obtained and published by the PPS in May 1898, was growing to the stature of a symbol. This document, signed by a proponent of warmer relations with the Poles, was proof of the conciliatory current's weakness, while on the other hand it demonstrated the essential unwillingness of the Russian élite to make serious concessions in the running of the Kingdom. Imeretynsky's document, containing negative comments in the Tsar's own handwriting about the Poles, must have been a cold shower even for conciliatory circles. The machinery of the Russification of the Poles, set in motion half a century before and systematically applied from the 1880s, appeared to many people at the time to be going so fast that it could not be stopped.<sup>34</sup>

Despite every difference, the situation in the Prussian Partition was shaping up along similar lines. The return to power of a nationalist government under Chancellor Bernard Bülow appeared to be burying the dreams awakened by the interlude of the 'Caprivi era'. The Nationalist League, reviving in the provinces, was able to take advantage of growing feelings of disappointment felt most strongly in those circles that usually become politically radicalized the fastest: that is, among young people. At every occasion the League directly, or through affiliated

---

34 See *Memoriał general-gubernatora warszawskiego ks. Aleksandra Imeretyńskiego z 14 listopada 1897*, edited by L. Jaśkiewicz, Warsaw 1994. See too L. Jaśkiewicz, *Carat i sprawy polskie na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, Pułtusk 2001. The Warsaw columnist Bolesław Lutomski, also using the *nom de plume* Stanisław Troska, bolstering *Przegląd Wszepolski* with his articles, but remaining too a proponent of an agreement with Russia, wrote as follows in 1904: 'A tide of Russification is flooding the Polish lands ever more extensively, and the monarch who believed in the honesty of our feelings [Nicholas II] has not adorned his rule with a single significant act of law or justice; on the contrary, anarchy, lawlessness and rapine by the ruling class, in other words the administration, have reached their apogee during his time on the throne.' S. Troska, *Refleksje warszawskie na tle wojny rosyjsko-japońskiej*, Lwów 1904, p. 41.



organizations, presented a principled and intransigent front in nationalist matters, gaining above all young supporters.

The history of the ZET, under the umbrella of the League at this time, and the spontaneous momentum that this organization created in the first years of the new century, provides a good illustration of these processes. At the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the young nationalists ran things on their own in most of the secondary school self-study groups in the Prussian Partition.<sup>35</sup>

The radicalization of the young heralded a general change in attitude on the part of the whole of Polish society towards the authorities in the Prussian Partition. At the start of the century, its clear symbol were the trials of school pupils accused of conspiracy and above all the events in Września. The League adeptly publicized the case of the events in Września. In one of his articles in 1903 Dmowski came out and wrote: 'Last year began under the shadow of Września.'<sup>36</sup> Thanks to effective tactics and also a moderate social programme, the nationalist movement began to take the lead in the developing national revolt in the region.<sup>37</sup> As early as 1901 the League placed its first representative in the Reich parliament – Bernard Chrzanowski.

From this perspective, the situation of Poles in the Austrian Partition was different. The Galician variant of loyalism enjoyed success at the turn of the century. Poles actively participated in public life in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and at the highest levels. Polish officials played a significant role in Habsburg state institutions, which fact appeared to augur well for the future. A career as a Galician official, often derided by democratic and progressive circles, was a

---

35 See B. Halczak, *Towarzystwo Tomasza Zana w latach 1899–1914*, Zielona Góra 1996, p. 38.

36 [R. Dmowski], 'Zamknięcie rachunków', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, January 1903, no. 1, p. 2.

37 See R. Blanke, *Prussian Poland in the German Empire (1871–1900)*, New York 1981, esp. ch. 6: 'The Populist Revolt and the Failure of Loyalism', pp. 147–175, ch. 8: 'The Triumph of National Enmity', pp. 209–238. W.W. Hagen, in his monograph *German, Poles and Jews. The Nationality Conflict in the Prussian East 1872–1914*, Chicago 1980, discusses the issue in detail. See too H. Jabłoński, 'Konstrukcja tomu a całościowe ujęcie dziejów narodu polskiego. Liga Narodowa w zaborze pruskim', in 'Dyskusja nad próbnym wydaniem pierwszej części III tomu Historii Polski', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 68, 1961, no. 3, pp. 616–622; A. Galos, *Kierunek nacjonalistyczny w zaborze pruskim (odpowiedź H. Jabłońskiemu)*, in *Ibid.*, pp. 609–611; J. Marczewski, 'W sprawie oceny historii Narodowej Demokracji w zaborze pruskim w związku z recenzją M. Orzechowskiego', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 1969, no. 2, pp. 665–676; H. Lisiak, *Narodowa Demokracja w Wielkopolsce w latach 1918–1939*, Poznań 2006, pp. 15–34.

tempting prospect for the provincial intelligentsia. There was more: traditions of state adherence to the rule of law, embedded in local self-rule developed over years, and lacking that innate fear of police reaction which accompanied similar attitudes in the Prussian Partition, began to take firm root among the local Polish population. In contrast to the Prussian Partition, where a legalistic culture of daily life was underpinned by a strong fear of some recurrence of *furor teutonicus* with incalculable consequences, in Galicia loyalist Poles were seen as one of the pillars of the Habsburg monarchy.<sup>38</sup>

Thus it was difficult on the ground in Galicia for the League to develop its platform and everyday tactics, based on an attitude of declared hostility towards the state and its institutions. Admittedly, the rhetoric of youth groups close to the League was certainly not free of the motif of Habsburg statehood's anachronism and degeneracy, and its failure to adapt to the times. This could not, however, be a key element in its ideology, nor excessively exploited.<sup>39</sup>

The developing nationalist movement's ruling élite did not hesitate to turn its weakness into a powerful instrument of political combat. Taking advantage of the freedoms provided by the liberalizing Habsburg state, it decided to turn to what later proved to be the strongest weapon in its political armoury in the era of the masses, i.e., nationalist prejudice. All the more so, as the movement's ideologues – Balicki, Dmowski and Popławski – maintained, as an authentic love of one's country is tied to a fervent hatred of its enemies. A real community is, after all, created in battle and action. National struggle is thus modern man's destiny, argued Balicki in several articles preceding the appearance of his main work (*Egoizm narodowy wobec etyki*) calling for the education of the political warrior.

---

38 P. Wandycz, in *The Poles in the Habsburg Monarchy*, in *Nation-building and the Politics of Nationalism. Essays on Austrian Galicia*, A.S. Markovits and F.E. Sysyn (eds.), Cambridge 1982, pp. 68–93, has written succinctly and concisely on the evolution of Polish attitudes towards the Habsburg monarchy. H. Wereszycki, 'Wpływ zaboru austriackiego na świadomość społeczeństwa polskiego', *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 9, 1977, no. 1, pp. 87–101 continues to inspire.

39 See J. Gruchała, 'Stosunek Narodowej Demokracji do Austro-Węgier w końcu XIX i na początku XX wieku (do 1914 r.)', *Studia Historyczne*, 1981, vol. 1 (92), pp. 41–56; T. Kulak, *Między austriacką lojalnością a polską narodowością. Narodowa Demokracja przeciw mitologizowaniu politycznych i narodowych walorów autonomicznej Galicji na przełomie XIX i XX w.*, in *Galicja i jej dziedzictwo*, vol. 1, *Historia i polityka*, W. Bonusiak, J. Buszko (eds.), Rzeszów 1994, pp. 57–67. See too U. Jakubowska, *Prasa Narodowej Demokracji...*, pp. 285–308; A. Wątor, *Narodowa Demokracja...*, esp. sub-chapter: 'Udział narodowych demokratów w życiu politycznym i społecznym Galicji do 1905 r.', pp. 55–81; W. Potkański, *Ruch narodowo-niepodległościowy...*, pp. 84–87.

In the actual piece he expressed this forcefully: 'We need to inject into the younger generation's heart such a practical morality [...] of iron character, ruthless will, military steadfastness and national strength.'<sup>40</sup> Courageous and consistent action, as Dmowski had frequently been saying too, allowed the pent-up vital energy, both of the individual as well as of the whole community, to express itself. In the opinion of the ideologues, action seen this way was almost organically meant to create a new, regenerated 'spiritual whole'. Dmowski was later to argue no less suggestively: 'We are accused of intolerance towards other ways of thinking – to which I respond that only those who are indifferent towards their country's future could calmly tolerate what they believe to be harmful and fatal for it [...]. Above all one must love strongly and believe strongly, and then be tolerant, insofar as strong faith and love make this possible.'<sup>41</sup>

It is hard too not to agree with the League's leader when he claimed that the above 'causes were undoubtedly deeper' than simply a combative spirit, a specific mood, and this and not that positioning of the nationalists on the public stage, to which hostile critics attributed the behaviour and activities of the 'All-Poles'.<sup>42</sup>

At the start of the century these socio-Darwinian metaphors began to acquire real content. The heralds of this new attitude were somewhat moderate. Balicki and Dmowski were among those who participated in the Silesian rally which took place on the 28<sup>th</sup> of June 1901 in Zakopane. The demonstration, which was a type of patriotic-cum-national protest against Czech actions in the Ostrava-Karvina Basin, assembled a great many pro-Polish activists from the region. The pretext for organizing the rally was an excursion by some Silesians to Zakopane. The twenty-seven-strong delegation was greeted raucously and in a patriotic setting. A local mountain folk band played to welcome them, and at an evening concert that accompanied an official reception, a choir of fourteen singers was enthusiastically greeted, and there were performances by an amateur folk-theatre group. The whole outing ended with a banquet at which Balicki, as the *Kraków Nowa Reforma* reported, gave a 'splendid toast' to the 'success of Poland's oldest

---

40 Z. Balicki, *Egoizm narodowy wobec etyki*, Lwów 1902, pp. 62–63. See too W. Potkański, *Ruch narodowo-niepodległościowy...*, p. 32.

41 R. Dmowski, *Nasze dziesięciolecie*, in *Dziesięciolecie Przeglądu Wszepolskiego...*, p. 7.

42 B. czł. LN [L. Wasilewski], 'Rzecz o Narodowej Demokracji IV. Nacjonalizm narodowej demokracji', *Przedświt*, July 1902, no. 7, pp. 252–259; id., 'Rzecz o Narodowej Demokracji VIII. Zakończenie', *Przedświt*, November-December 1902, no. 11–12, pp. 419–423; Publicysta z Warszawy [L. Straszewicz], *Stare fałszy polityczne*, Kraków 1902; T. Romanowicz, 'Odpowiedź „starego” demokracji IV', *Nowa Reforma*, 30 VIII 1903, no. 197, p. 1.

region, which indeed could also be called the youngest, so late has national consciousness dawned there.<sup>43</sup>

Dmowski took part in the second day of the rally, held under Balicki's personal chairmanship. As the press reported, the leader of the 'All-Poles' cautioned the Czechs against having any designs on Polish laws and 'Polish property rights'. He admittedly emphasized that 'Polish nationalists' were on the side of the Czechs in their dispute with the Germans, he warned however against protectionism towards the Poles and against any designs on the entirety of the Polish lands. The rally's organizers passed a number of motions to set up a special fund for the defence of the Polish Silesian borderlands.<sup>44</sup>

For the National Democrats these celebrations were the continuation of a propaganda campaign on behalf of the 'new patriotism', which had been going on for some time. Already in the summer of that year League supporters had organized in Zakopane a series of lectures on various issues. Wincenty Lutosławski presented his "Filaret" ideas' in six talks, Władysław Studnicki described Polish institutions abroad, while Waław Tokarz took as many as ten lectures to present his views on selected problems of Polish history. This series of lectures was concluded by a presentation by Balicki on his idea of national egoism, on which he was working at the time.<sup>45</sup>

Balicki's participation in a similar such venture, also in the summer of 1901, resembled the Silesian rally. The issue was the ownership of the high-mountain lake Morskie Oko, which electrified just about the whole of Polish public opinion. This Polish-Hungarian dispute had been dragging on for years, but Count Władysław Zamoyski's purchase in 1889 of this strip of land greatly inflamed both sides.

The Government in Vienna, perturbed at the escalation of the conflict, even convened an international arbitration tribunal, which, however, worked slowly. At the end of June/beginning of July 1901 the Hungarians, wanting to present the new owner and the Poles with a *fait accompli*, began unilaterally to build paramilitary barracks in the disputed area, thus ignoring any future ruling by the arbitrators. Polish circles buzzed.<sup>46</sup> At one of the demonstrations called by the Tatra

---

43 'Wiec śląski, Zakopane 8 lipca', *Nowa Reforma*, 30 VII 1901, no. 17, p. 1.

44 Ibid. See too J. Myśliński, *Grupy polityczne...*, p. 157.

45 'Odczyty w sezonie', *Przegląd Zakopiański*, 1901, no. 36, p. 347, from J. Myśliński, *Grupy polityczne...*, p. 156.

46 For more on the whole issue see J.M. Roszkowski, *Towarzystwo Tatrzańskie wobec sporu o Morskie Oko w latach 1893–1902*, in *Spór o Morskie Oko. Materiały z sesji naukowej poświęconej 90 rocznicy procesu w Grazu, Zakopane 12–13 września 1992*,

Association, in addition to the numerous public figures – Kraków newspaper editors, elected members of the Galician Sejm and the Viennese State Council – Balicki also appeared. His speech was perhaps not the most representative among the many speeches, but it demonstrated well the National Democrats' non-traditional attitude towards this type of conflict. As a modern historian has written, Balicki presented for the first time his 'ethics of egoism'.<sup>47</sup>

This speaker – in contrast to the others – did not go on at length about the brutality of the Hungarians' actions, nor about the Poles' right to this piece of land, seeing the latter as obvious and non-negotiable. However, he called for revenge. He acknowledged that henceforth more broad-ranging methods would have to be used. 'There are insults,' he stated 'which can be answered only with actions. The Hungarians are acting brutally, so they have to be answered equally brutally. We have hitherto used the weapons that weak people use.' The obviously over-excited correspondent of the Kraków *Nowa Reforma* noted that only one of those present had not been convinced by the 'decisive and masculine tone of the discussion,' introduced by the nationalist orator.<sup>48</sup>

In Balicki's speech one other extract is worthy of note. The speaker saw himself as a representative of Polish public opinion, and that supposedly in its name he claimed the right to speak. This rhetorical stratagem, or rather propaganda ploy, depended on the nationalists' laying claim to the rights of exclusivity of national leadership as both the voice and the keeper of the national conscience and government (a *leitmotiv* on the pages of *Przegląd Wszechpolski*). Indeed, this became a staple, regularly-repeated element of the 'All-Polish' vocabulary. Already these two public speeches, not to mention numerous lesser statements, showed that the new movement was trying to take advantage of just about every opportunity

---

J.M. Roszkowski (ed.), Zakopane 1993, pp. 25–45; Z. Nowak, *Władysław hr. Zamoyski a spór o Morskie Oko*, in *Ibid.*, pp. 47–60. See too this writer's work, in which she includes a more extensive bibliography on the subject: *Władysław Zamoyski a spór o Morskie Oko w latach 1889–1909*, Kraków 1992.

47 See J. Myśliński, *Grupy polityczne...*, p. 157.

48 'Wiec w sprawie Morskiego Oka, Zakopane, 30 Lipca', *Nowa Reforma*, 1 VIII 1901, no. 174, p. 1. See too J. Myśliński, *Grupy polityczne...*, p. 157. Incidentally, the correspondent of conservative *Czas* saw the course of the rally a little differently '(Korespondencja „Czasu”. Zakopane 30 lipca (Wiec członków Towarzystwa Zakopiańskiego)', *Czas*, 31 VII 1901, no. 173, p. 2). Perhaps he was precisely the one person who had not been carried away by emotion. See too 'Korespondencja „Czasu”. Zakopane 6 sierpnia. Epizod z Towarzystwa Tatrzańskiego, *Czas*, 7 VIII 1901, No. 179, p. 1.

to show and broadcast its pioneering (for Polish conditions) approach to the national question.

The popularity of the nationalist ideas propagated by the League was greatly strengthened by its take-over in 1902 of *Słowo Polskie* in Lwów.<sup>49</sup> This largest daily in Galicia (print runs of over 10,000) had been going through a serious crisis after Stanisław Szczepanowski's death. Up to the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century it was, alongside the Kraków *Nowa Reforma*, the organ of the 'concentrated democracy', that is the Galician liberals. Szczepanowski's unfortunate twilight and his financial problems had also had an effect on the Lwów daily's position, but above all its circulation. The spectre of bankruptcy hung over the paper's shareholders, including the heirs of the prematurely-deceased Szczepanowski.

The League's purchase of *Słowo Polskie* was not its first attempt at publishing a daily in Galicia. Setting up its own independent paper, but one under unified ideological control, became one of the first needs emerging from the previously-mentioned shift of emphasis in National Democratic tactics. The ND's entry onto the stage in Galicia signified accepting old slogans and fundamentally redefining them. The new editor Zygmunt Wasilewski recalled: 'We evicted the Polish democrats (Romanowicz, Rutowski, et al.) from this post. On the face of it, a minor change: instead of Polish democrats there were now 'national' ones. And yet it was a radical breakthrough.'<sup>50</sup> Elsewhere he claimed that Galicia was the first arena which the nationalists entered with their heads held high.

In contrast to other radicals, the nationalists initially did not insist at all on an unambiguous emphasis on party, bringing into the paper even columnists who were ideologically indifferent to them. The National Democrats were the first to perceive the significance and impact of a modern daily newspaper addressed to

---

49 An extensive literature, both memoir-based as well as critical and academic, has developed around the behind-the-scenes activity surrounding the take-over of the Lwów *Słowo Polskie*. See *inter alia* U. Jakubowska, *Prasa Narodowej Demokracji...*, pp. 44–46; ead., *Udział Zygmunta Wasilewskiego w tworzeniu systemu prasowego Narodowej Demokracji*, in *Polska i Polacy. Studia z dziejów polskiej myśli i kultury politycznej XIX i XX wieku. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana Profesorowi Romanowi Wapińskiemu*, M. Mroczko (ed.), Gdańsk 2001, pp. 135–145; T. Kulak, *Jan Ludwik Popławski 1854–1908. Biografia polityczna*, vol. 1, Wrocław 1989, pp. 180–183; A. Wątor, '„Słowo Polskie” a powstanie Stronnictwa Demokratyczno-Narodowego w Galicji' *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski*, 1990, vol. 3, pp. 129–131; id., *Narodowa Demokracja...*, pp. 51–53. See too Z. Wasilewski, 'Lwów przodujący. Szkice do dziejów kultury umysłowej w Polsce 1895–1914', *BJ Przyb.* 180/78, ch. 3: *Słowo Polskie*, pp 30–66; A. Wysocki, *Sprzed półwieku...*, p. 25 and note.

50 Z. Wasilewski, 'Na widowni', *Mysł Narodowa*, 13 XII 1931, no. 58, p. 369.

a mass audience. *Naprzód*, which had been coming out in Kraków since 1900 as a socialist daily, did not possess such advantages. Edited under an unambiguous party masthead, with a clear subversive message, its style addressed to a proletarian reader, it could appeal only to a narrower circle of readers.

Thanks to its members' organizational cohesion, the League succeeded spontaneously in also dominating papers, which were operating independently in the marketplace. A year earlier the League had bought *Wiek XX*, a local daily competitor to *Słowo*. But this paper – with a circulation of about 2,000 – under the editorship of the experienced journalist, Jan Ludwik Popławski, was not successful, although the editor-in-chief assembled a team of talented young ZET-ites. He did not succeed in winning over those who had already left *Wiek XX* earlier. If the Galicia correspondent of *Prawda*, Emile Haecker, is to be believed, during Popławski's editorship the paper's circulation even dropped to as few as 500 copies.<sup>51</sup>

Popławski, together with his personally dedicated editorial team, and also with the help of Lwów students, energetically involved himself in the parliamentary campaign of Jakub Bojko to the National Sejm. Bojko won, and without too much exaggeration one can also put this success down to the Lwów daily's press campaign.<sup>52</sup> This was really the new editorial board's only success worthy of note. Once the League had taken on the influential *Słowo*, the paper was soon suspended. Popławski's plans for *Wiek XX* to become a supplement of the Lwów daily were also finally abandoned. It is hard in a few words to explain the reasons for this press defeat by the Galician National Democrats. However, it is worth noting that the more 'democratic' populist faction in the League, which the former editor of *Głos* had personified, suffered a symbolic defeat. The niche which Popławski had hoped to fill was already occupied by a real populist party.

The new *Słowo* started out under the able editorship of Zygmunt Wasilewski at the beginning of 1902. Putting at the head of its leading paper a 'nationalist' journalist, a 'Crownie' brought in specially from Warsaw, was already a significant step. Wasilewski, after selling Jan Władysław Dawid the rights to publish the Warsaw *Głos*, moved to the well-paid position of secretary to the editorial board

---

51 Daleki [E. Haecker], 'Listy galicyjskie', *Prawda*, 9 (22) III 1902, no. 12 (1108), p. 135. See too U. Jakubowska, *Prasa Narodowej Demokracji...*, pp. 42–43.

52 See Z. Ilski, 'Wybór Jakuba Bojki do Sejmu Galicyjskiego (1901)', *Rocznik Lwowski*, 1995–1996; A. Plutyński, 'Wiek XX i wybór Bojki we Lwowie', mps, BJ, sygn. Akc. 42/62; id., 'Pierwsze zwycięstwo nowego obozu. Wspomnienie o wyborze Bojki', *Kronika Polski i Świata*, 2 VII 1939, no. 27, p. 11. See too id., 'Dokoła Czytelnicy Akademickiej we Lwowie', *Wiadomości*, 1956, no. 29 (535), p. 5.

of *Kurier Warszawski*, working simultaneously with papers of various political persuasions. Progressive opinion was in agreement that just as earlier Władysław Rabski, previously a columnist on the progressive *Przegląd Poznański* and the author of the generational play *Zwyciężony* (dealing with the fate of radicals in the conservative provinces), the talented journalist had sold out to financial circles. Henceforth Wasilewski was held up in progressive circles as an example of an extreme opportunist and careerist. One acerbic critic, Andrzej Niemojewski, would even call him an ‘indefatigable pilgrim between papers and a real political butterfly.’<sup>53</sup>

However, in both cases this was an oversimplification. Both Wasilewski and Rabski, as earlier Ludwik Włodek, Bolesław Koszkowski, or Władysław Jabłonowski, as well as a whole constellation of lesser intellectuals linked to the League, were undergoing an evolution and a transformation from radical democrats to ‘new’ conservatives, so their attitudes should above all be analysed from that perspective. On the other hand, these evolutions often brought with them certain daily social consequences. In the case of Jabłonowski, whom his friend Władysław Reymont jokingly accused of being a ‘pretend democrat’, this change did not have such symbolic overtones.<sup>54</sup> Jabłonowski, of aristocratic roots, always moved in élite circles, like Jan Stecki or Marian Kiniorski, who both came from wealthy landowning stock.

However, the ideological evolution of Rabski, a democrat from *Głos* and the Poznań *Przegląd*, who became a cynical aesthete, ‘Kaprys’ in *Kurier Warszawski* and a regular in aristocratic Warsaw, could carry the marks of apostasy in the eyes of the progressives. That *Głos* itself under Wasilewski’s editorship recently began (i.e., specifically after 1898) to move to the right was another matter. His former colleague Jan Strożecki, at the time in exile in Siberia, wrote to his friend Marian Abramowicz: ‘How *Głos* has gone to the dogs. It’s a disgrace.’<sup>55</sup> Also Wasilewski’s family ties (his marriage to the daughter of a Łódź manufacturer of German descent and a local press baron) was a good illustration of these transformations. The League was becoming a movement, which began to unify supporters on the

---

53 A. Niemojewski, ‘Verbum Nobile. Po zdarciu obić’, *Prawda*, 28 XII 1902 (10 I 1903), no. 2, p. 17.

54 W. Reymont, *Korespondencja 1890–1925*, edited by B. Koc, Warsaw 2002, p. 802, letter to Stefan Żeromski, 5 XII 1898, 12, rue Rollin, Paris.

55 ‘Listy Jana Strożeckiego do Mariana Abramowicza’, edited by J. Durko, *Dzieje Najnowsze. Kwartalnik Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, April–June 1947, p. 238–270, p. 257, no. 1, Jan Strożecki to Marian Abramowicz.



social right. The change, which to a limited extent had appeared in the Kingdom, was meant to come to fruition in Galicia.

As experts on the subject emphasize, Wasilewski turned *Słowo* from the influential paper it had been into a still more powerful instrument for influencing public opinion.<sup>56</sup> He hired foreign correspondents, developed a city section, and opened up the paper to creative artists. He personally went out of his way to bring in famous writers (including Reymont), but also succeeded in attracting very promising young beginners, such as Kornel Makuszyński (earlier merely a school-boy attached to the youth publication *Teka*). On the other hand, it is hard not to mention here that other writers linked at the time with the broadly-understood left, such as Stefan Żeromski, were already refusing to work with the paper.

The editors skilfully used practices, introduced earlier by the Lwów tabloid *Wiek Nowy*, edited by Kazimierz Laskownicki, (including printing sensational and scandalous short stories). As well as technical innovations, the editor-in-chief effectively streamlined the news service and the speed of news gathering. Alfred Wysocki, at this time a journalist in Lwów and a careful observer of the new editorial team's efforts, recalled: 'What impressed Lwowians the most were the phoned-in articles. We could oftentimes read at three in the afternoon the speeches of our members of parliament, which had been made two hours earlier in Vienna [...]. More than one of us subscribed to *Słowo Polskie* simply for its rich news section and after a time he would begin to think like it. He had no idea when he had become a National Democrat.'<sup>57</sup> The team was quickly formed and was based on experienced journalists, supported by young practitioners, and it survived the departure of part of the old editorial team and parried the blow when they founded *Nowe Słowo Polskie*. *Nowe Słowo* folded after three months.

However, Wasilewski's team's greatest innovation was to turn *Słowo Polskie* into a flagship of the 'All-Poles' propaganda navy. Władysław Jabłonowski recalled: 'What *Przegląd Wszepolski* thought up *Słowo Polskie* daily stuffed into [...] the airhead brains of Galician citizens.'<sup>58</sup> The editor-in-chief recalled more cautiously that he wanted the nationalist ideas which he served to reach everyone.<sup>59</sup>

---

56 See U. Jakubowska, 'Lwowskie lata Zygmunta Wasilewskiego (1902–1915)', *Rocznik Lwowski*, 1992, no. 2, pp. 75–95; ead., *Prasa Narodowej Demokracji...*, p. 51 and note.

57 A. Wysocki, *Sprzed pół wieku...*, p. 229. See too U. Jakubowska, *Prasa Narodowej Demokracji...*, p. 51.

58 W. Jabłonowski, *Z biegiem lat. Wspomnienia 1886–1939*, vol. 1, BOSS, Mf 35800, p. 252. See too U. Jakubowska, *Prasa Narodowej Demokracji...*, p. 49.

59 Z. Wasilewski, *Mój życiorys 1865–1939*, APAN, sygn. 127, p. 133. See too U. Jakubowska, *Prasa Narodowej Demokracji...*, p. 49.

The creators of the Lwów daily put the greatest energy and effort into an aggressive anti-Ukrainian demagogic campaign sparing no resource and argument. It is hard not to get the impression that this socio-Darwinism, devised by 'Crownies' using a patriotic model, adapted itself remarkably quickly to the nationally-diverse Galician situation. In this context the development of Ukrainian nationalism, which was growing stronger at the turn of the century and which had a base among the young intelligentsia, was not without significance.<sup>60</sup> Obviously, movements like this, mutually rounding up supporters for themselves, released great bursts of social energy.<sup>61</sup> What could unite more or less the whole of Polish opinion, including the assimilated intelligentsia and bourgeoisie of Jewish descent, was fear of 'Ruthenians' flooding Galicia. A vision of peasant, barbarian riff-raff overwhelming cultural and civilized Lwów was one of the paper's leading motifs. The paper's first major success under new management was the publicity effort on behalf of Stanisław Głąbiński's campaign for parliament in Vienna. This promising economist (a professor at the University of Lwów), who had earlier been linked to the East Galician conservatives known as the 'Podolians', had not hitherto worked within the newly-formed nationalist movement. Furthermore, Głąbiński, later Railways Minister in the Austrian Government and at the same time leader of the SDN in Galicia, joined the LN only in 1916 in the face of the fall of the Habsburg Empire. Years later, he recalled that like many subjects of the Monarchy he nurtured fundamental doubts about getting mixed up in some secret operation.<sup>62</sup>

---

60 See J. Hrycak, *Historia Ukrainy 1772–1999. Narodziny nowoczesnego narodu*, trans. K. Kotyńska, Lublin 2000, esp. sub-chapter 'Galicyjski Piemont', pp. 90–100; T. Stryjek, 'Spór o Uniwersytet ukraiński we Lwowie do 1914 roku. Stanowisko i działalność strony ukraińskiej i żydowskiej', *Zeszyty Szkoły Nauk Społecznych*, no. 1, 'Społeczeństwo i kultura – rozprawy', 1996, no. 11, pp. 231–260; J.P. Himka, 'Dimensions of a Triangle, Polish-Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Austrian Galicia', *Polin*, vol. 12, *Focusing on Galicia: Jews, Poles and Ukrainians 1772–1918*, I. Bartal, A. Polonsky (eds.), 1999, pp. 25–48; A.J. Motyl, *The Turn to the Right: Ideological Origins and Development of Ukrainian Nationalism 1919–1929*, New York 1980, esp. ch. 1: 'The Pre-War background at the First World War', pp. 5–22.

61 S. Grabowski, *Deutscher und polnischer Nationalismus. Der Deutsche Ostmarken-Verein und die polnische Straž 1894–1914*, Marburg 1998, writes interestingly about this retroactive nationalist dynamic. See too A. Kappeler, *Voraussetzungen nationaler Mobilisierung*, in id., *Der schwierige Weg zur Nation. Beiträge zur neueren Geschichte der Ukraine*, Vienna–Cologne–Weimar 2003, pp. 77–88.

62 See S. Głąbiński, *Wspomnienia polityczne, Część pierwsza. Pod zaborem austriackim*, Pelpin 1939, pp. 46–49.

Głąbiński energetically got down to campaigning, publishing in *Ślowo* an anti-Ukrainian philippic, ostensibly based on factual arguments. Owing to a great deal of interest, the editors published Głąbiński's articles in the form of a pamphlet. It hit the bull's eye. Głąbiński turned a protest against the introduction of ultraquism into the University of Lwów into a leading theme of his campaign. He was the first ND representative in the Austrian Council of State. Later too, with the Lwów paper's energetic support, he climbed the successive rungs of a public career. One of his first speeches in Parliament, on the subject of Ukrainian agricultural strikes in the region, marked a further step in the development of the National Democrats in the province.

For progressives circles this was perhaps the final drop which caused the chalice of bitterness towards the League in the region to overflow. Emil Haecker, the correspondent of Warsaw's *Prawda*, reported: 'And so we listened to a Polish university professor speaking as fervently as the most ardent Prussian nationalist, moving on to a formal denunciation of the Ruthenians on the part of the Austrian dynasty. Such an openly ruthless nationalist speech has never yet been heard from the Polish benches in the Austrian Parliament, hence the effect was extraordinary. Even the extreme conservatives and the landowners from Eastern Galicia, in whose defence against the Ruthenian people Professor Głąbiński had spoken, were deeply embarrassed by his unique radicalism.'<sup>63</sup>

*Ślowo Polskie* published at its own expense Głąbiński's speech in parliament. Anti-Ukrainian demagoguery became one of the pillars of the platform created two years later by the SDN, which was the League's political representation in Galicia.<sup>64</sup> The antisemitism present in the League's writings, above all in *Przegląd*

---

63 Daleki [E. Haecker], 'Listy galicyjskie', *Prawda*, 9 (22) XI 1902, no. 47, p. 555.

64 In conclusion, Głąbiński established too: 'Summing up briefly, hatred towards the Poles and towards the Roman Catholic Church, social and national ruthlessness are the basic motifs of current Ruthenian literature and Ruthenian spiritual education', see *Mowa posła dr. Stanisława Głąbińskiego wypowiedziana na posiedzeniu Izby posłów w Wiedniu dnia 29 października 1902 r. podczas dyskusji na wnioskami nagłymi w sprawie strajków rolnych w Galicji*, Lwów 1902, p. 45. The League's Central Committee, later putting Głąbiński's speech at the head of the 'most important events, indicating our open political activity and consolidating our position in Polish society,' wrote in its report to the National Treasury Committee: 'Although the speech was not entirely an expression of our position on the Russian issue, it inaugurated a new way of approaching it, in line with our platform,' 'Sprawozdanie z działalności Ligi Narodowej od 1 lipca 1902 do 1 lipca 1903. Dokumenty do historii Ligi Narodowej. Komitet Centralny Ligi Narodowej do Komisji Nadzorczej Skarbu Narodowego w Raperswilu', W. Pobóg-Malinowski (ed.), *Niepodległość*, 9, January-June 1934, vol. 23, p. 443. As an expert on the issue

*Wszehpolski*, at this time faded somewhat into the background. There could have been a number of reasons for this.

Already when the League was taking over *Słowo* part of the more affluent Jewish circles symbolically supported the new editorial team. Influential advertisers did not withdraw from the paper, which was of enormous importance, especially in the paper's initial stages. After the departure of part of the old guard, a number of journalists still linked to Stanisław Szczepanowski remained on the editorial team. As Dmowski sneeringly wrote in a letter to Stefan Surzycki: 'The situation with *Słowo* [...] has become desperate. Three Jews have saved it: Bronsztajn, Biegeleisen, and Grosman, who betrayed the others and stayed on with our editorial team.'<sup>65</sup> What were the reasons for this confidence? Did some of those interested believe that the new editorial team would continue the paper's previous line? The paper's introductory article stated: '*Słowo* [...] will continue to develop and expand the same noble slogans of Polish democracy, and to work on bringing to life its political and social demands in a spirit of true progress and in accordance with the demands of the most vital national interest.'<sup>66</sup> The novelty in this piece was just the diligently repeated 'national interest'. However, as a modern scholar confirms, the shift in tone was substantial.<sup>67</sup>

In the National-Democratic Party's platform, which was drawn up by Jan Ludwik Popławski (significant in itself), definitely the broadest definition of Polishness was adopted of all those that had emerged in the movement. A record of the platform voted on in December 1905 recognized as Poles those inhabitants of Galicia ('without regard to ancestry or religion' – highlighted in the text), who had adopted Polish culture and who shared without any reservation Polish national aspirations.<sup>68</sup> This extract was similar to the one that had appeared in the Party's platform in the Kingdom of Poland, and did not include any separate (*de facto* exclusionary) clause referring to the Jewish population. Although during the platform discussions the demand to spread Polish culture among the Jews

---

has calculated, over 60% of the SDN leadership was recruited in Eastern Galicia. See A. Wątor, *Narodowa Demokracja...*, p. 105.

65 Roman Dmowski to Stefan Surzycki, February 1902, in M. Kułakowski, *Roman Dmowski...*, vol. 1, p. 242.

66 'Od wydawnictwa', *Słowo Polskie*, 2 III 1902, no. 102, quotation taken from: A. Wątor, *Narodowa Demokracja...*, p. 51.

67 *Ibid.*, p. 51.

68 'Program Polskiego Stronnictwa Demokratyczno-Narodowego w państwie austriackim', *Przegląd Wszehpolski*, November-December 1905, nos. 11-12, p. 741. Cf. too A. Wątor, *Narodowa Demokracja...*, pp. 96-98.

was eventually dropped, among the Party's organizers there were also few supporters of a firm 'difference in elements'.

On the ground in Galicia, which was an event in itself against the background of other Polish lands, organizations twinned with the movement (such as, the Lwów TSL circle named after Bernard Goldman) were also operating – although here it should be noted too that the TSL had not yet become a strictly ND organization – and in which representatives of the Jewish population were actively engaged. Politicians of Jewish descent also appeared from time to time within the movement's orbit. Although there was a lack of positive impetus from the Polish side, co-operation continued to be maintained at a great many levels. We can recognize that with respect to the Jewish problem, in Galicia – in contrast to the Kingdom of Poland – the whole gamut of views was evident in ND circles: from a still-strong assimilationist viewpoint, all the way to extreme antisemitism by way of electoral pragmatism.

In addition to ideological arguments, there were also practical considerations. The endlessly fuelled anti-Ukrainian antagonism forced the Party's leaders to seek alliances with other minority groups. That is how it was in Eastern Galicia, for example, where a considerable part of the Jewish population in successive elections usually took a pro-Polish position. Also one of the ND's standard slogans in the area – Galician independence – was based on a demographic argument, hence the number of Poles in the statistics was not unimportant. As one observer of the Galician scene sneeringly remarked, for the above reasons the Jewish population became of necessity a 'statistically Polish element'.<sup>69</sup>

A modern historian points out that the aggressive antisemitic tone, usually rearing its head during parliamentary elections (mainly in Eastern Galicia) was then carefully suppressed by the leadership group.<sup>70</sup> There continued to be a considerable gulf between words and action.

This pragmatic balance began to falter only after the parliamentary elections of 1907, when on the one hand part of the Jewish population supported with its votes the line of the new Viceroy Michał Bobrzyński, who was energetically heading for a show-down with the ND, and on the other hand, universal voting rights stimulated the Zionist grouping. Apart from endlessly attacking the Zionists for their supposed separatist tendencies, ND political work began ever more frequently to turn against circles that traditionally sought alliances with Polish

---

69 K. Srokowski, 'Geneza obecnej myśli politycznej w Galicji', *Mysł Polska*, 1916, vol. 1, quotation taken from A. Wątor, *Narodowa Demokracja...*, p. 98.

70 A. Wątor, *Narodowa Demokracja...*, p. 97.

parties, e.g., the assimilated Jewish intelligentsia. The most important breeding-ground for antisemitism remained Wasilewski's *Słowo Polskie*, and on an ideological level the nationalist periodicals in the Kingdom advocating an aggressive, no-holds-barred antisemitism.

It was precisely then that the most principled SDN critic in Galicia of 'bourgeoisification' ('narrow democratic doctrinarism'), Antoni Sadzewicz, revealed his versatile campaigning abilities; spotted by Dmowski he first of all became editor of *Gazeta Warszawska* (1909) – the ND's leading mouthpiece in the Kingdom – and then took over the position of manager of the Warsaw *Gazeta Poranna 2 Grosze* (1912).<sup>71</sup> However, throughout the first decade of the new century these ideological constructs continued not to find practical applications, while the harsh antisemitic rhetoric, reminiscent of an ideological war, continued to provoke opposition. The Party's leadership in the region was also not keen on opening up new battlegrounds.

The real breakthrough in the treatment of the Jewish problem in Galicia was eventually the SDN's direct approach to the rural voter. It was like breaching a dam. Antisemitism, exploited earlier by Father Stanisław Stojalowski and certain clerical circles, now began to flow in a rapid stream, while the new tactics adopted by the ND in the area began to resemble their counterpart in the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>72</sup>

Among some of the League's other spectacular successes at the start of the century we can also count Wojciech Korfanty's victory in the special election to the Prussian Parliament in the summer of 1903. The home-grown nationalists' success did not in this case depend merely on getting their candidate into the Prussian legislative chamber and gaining another representative (after Bernard Chrzanowski in Poznań) in the German Parliament, but on igniting an atmosphere of Polish-German antagonism. And this was a conflict which only one side

---

71 See A. Sadzewicz, 'Przegląd spraw polskich', *Przegląd Narodowy*, November 1908, no. 11, pp. 595–597; id., 'Przegląd spraw polskich', *Przegląd Narodowy*, October 1908, no. 10, p. 478; id., 'Przegląd spraw polskich', *Przegląd Narodowy*, August 1908, no. 8, pp. 231–237; id., 'Przegląd spraw polskich. Stronnictwo Demokratyczno-Narodowe w Galicji', *Przegląd Narodowy*, January 1909, no. 1, pp. 101–105; id., 'Przegląd spraw polskich', *Przegląd Narodowy*, March 1909, no. 3, pp. 355–358; id., 'Przegląd spraw polskich', *Przegląd Narodowy*, June 1909, no. 6, pp. 360–365; id., 'Dwa obozy', *Przegląd Narodowy*, March 1909, no. 3, pp. 257–266; U. Jakubowska, *Prasa Narodowej Demokracji...*, pp. 112–122. See too R. Dmowski, 'Dzieło i człowiek', *Gazeta Warszawska*, 26 VII 1913, no. 261, p. 1.

72 This evolution in the Galician approach to the Jewish question is described by M. Sobczak in *Narodowa Demokracja wobec kwestii żydowskiej na ziemiach polskich przed I wojną światową*, Wrocław 2007, pp. 233–258.

could win, as the 'All-Poles' pointed out. The dispute which had been smouldering in the area for years and had had many acts, was adroitly placed on a knife edge by aggressive nationalist campaigning and presented as a zero-sum game. 'Our ZET brother Korfanty rode into battle with full Prussian might,' one of the nationalists recalled, not without a certain emphasis.<sup>73</sup>

Moderate candidates, including the locally-influential Catholic bloc, were totally defeated. Even the pro-independence socialists, observing the growth of xenophobic attitudes among their own electorate, felt obliged to support Korfanty in the special election.<sup>74</sup> The League then triumphantly announced 'the tribal awakening of Prussian Silesia, [which] [...] is now consciously entering the realm of national rebirth.'<sup>75</sup> Wilhelm Feldman, a critical observer of the League's actions, wrote after those events: 'Today national democracy is a force in Galicia, Poznań, and Upper Silesia. Admittedly, eminent, active politicians see it as a woman to be exploited, and with whom one cannot be seen in public, yet thousands of people stand behind it, a broad and popular emotional current flows behind it, as indeed it does behind nationalism throughout Europe. In both these partitions the national democratic parliament reaches out not only to grasp 'moral leadership of souls,' but in fact to take society's helm, to take control of self-governing and representative institutions.'<sup>76</sup>

To what should we attribute these effective successes for the nascent nationalist movement? Apart from those already mentioned, what were the sources of this expansion by the National Democrats? At this time the League had barely a few hundred members, not all of whom were active. Undoubtedly the ND set off on all these campaigns very well prepared. In contrast to other political communities in Galicia or Silesia, ever since the Budapest congress of July 1896 up to

---

73 S. Zieliński, 'Ze wspomnień osobistych o Korfantym,' *Polonia*, 21 VIII 1930, quotation taken from M. Orzechowski, *Wojciech Korfanty. Biografia polityczna*, Wrocław 1975, p. 88.

74 M. Orzechowski, in *Narodowa Demokracja na Górnym Śląsku (do 1918 roku)*, Wrocław 1965, p. 163 and note, reconstructs in detail the League's involvement in the election. See too id., *Wojciech Korfanty...*, esp. ch. 3: 'Słowiański bożyc', pp. 56–90; S.A. Wisłocki, 'Wojciecha Korfantego droga do niepodległości,' *Niepodległość i Pamięć*, 10, 2003, no. 1 (19), p. 88.

75 See 'Sprawozdanie z działalności Ligi Narodowej od 1 lipca 1902 do 1 lipca 1903. Dokumenty do historii Ligi Narodowej. Komitet Centralny Ligi Narodowej do Komisji Nadzorczej Skarbu Narodowego w Raperswilu,' W. Pobóg-Malinowski (ed.), *Niepodległość*, 9, January-June 1934, vol. 23, p. 445.

76 f. [W. Feldman], 'Program nieszczerości,' *Krytyka*, 1, January 1904, vol. 1, p. 2.

1903 (in reality 1905), there existed in the LN a unified leadership in the form of a five-person Central Committee.

This ‘unlimited dictatorship’, as the Central Committee members described themselves, allowed them to draw up and systematically put into action long-range plans, but also to co-ordinate and conduct current organizational work, and, in case of need, to run an effective electoral campaign. A resolution passed as early as April 1893, creating the LN, had strongly centralized the organization and made it into a tool of the triumvirate: Balicki, Dmowski, Popławski.<sup>77</sup> The League’s subsequent evolution deepened this tendency. All League members were bound to ‘unconditional obedience’ to the LN Central Committee formed in Budapest (it contained, as well as the three already mentioned, two loyal, devoted activists focused on current organizational work: Karol Raczkowski and Teofil Waligórski). It should be noted that the leadership of the three first initial figures, strengthened by ideological individuality and charismatic authority, came through moments of crisis with flying colours. Ruled with an iron fist, the League was able to adapt with lightning speed to the changing political situation and operate flexibly. A young nationalist from Lwów recalled Dmowski’s involvement in these campaigns: ‘He treated every issue objectively as “good or bad work”. He was a typical chief of staff.’<sup>78</sup>

Similar changes were taking place in the ZET, which came under the League. A three-tier, democratic, but on the other hand less flexible organisational structure, dating from the end of the 80s, was changed into a two-level leadership union of ‘brothers and friends’. The intermediate rank of ‘comrade’ was scrapped. In truth, there was an internal tendency to retain intermediate levels, which emerged in the formation of so-called National Groups (in Poznań – National Gatherings), but the latter were more discussion clubs than effective tools of political work. The headquarters of the *Centralizacja*, i.e., the three-person group directing the [ZET] Union, was moved after 1894 from Warsaw to Galicia: initially to Lwów and later to Kraków.

Even if the organization retained a certain sovereignty, as later events would prove, the forceful influence of the ‘father and founder’ of the ZET (as he was described in memoirs), Zygmunt Balicki, living in Dębniaki in Kraków, was overwhelming.

---

77 See *Ustawa Ligi Narodowej z dnia 1 kwietnia 1893 r.*, in S. Kozicki, *Historia Ligi Narodowej...*, p. 516 and note.

78 A. Plutyński, *Wspomnienia o Panu Romanie...*, p. 2.



The LN also imposed on the Union, which retained its autonomy, a ‘more specific policy tinge.’<sup>79</sup> In the educational efforts, which occupied a specific place in the ZET’s practical activities, the patriot-Pole or the nationalist-Pole, rather than the democrat-Pole, was being developed. The socialist historian Adam Próchnik noted that in the ZET after a pro-independence/radical phase there came a nationalist time.<sup>80</sup> An analogous institutional/curricular evolution took place in underground school organizations supervised by the Union.<sup>81</sup> An example of these changes was the frequency of organized pupil congresses. If in the 1880s meetings of the leadership of the pupil underground movement met annually, a congress of the PET (an organization formed in 1902) coming under the ZET and indirectly the League too, took place only once, in 1910.

It is worth noting that the leadership of the PPS was also heading towards similar centralizing organizational changes, especially in the second half of the 1890s when Józef Piłsudski began to strengthen his position.

In patriotic circles not necessarily identifying with the movement’s specific ideological assumptions, there was a clear conviction that the LN was fulfilling the role of a kind of national government during the partitions. The League’s leaders evoked this motif and exploited it politically in their relations with émigré Poles, as well as with democratic circles, making themselves the ideological successors to the national government of 1863. Echoes of this could also be seen in organizational nomenclature and the phraseology of the movement’s initial statements.

A conviction that for the effectiveness of the pro-independence movement a single, well-organized centre of power was essential was almost an axiom in patriotic circles. The events of the first half of the 90s, whose symbolic end could be the Russians’ lightning crackdown on the 1894 demonstrations, were the best example of this. The Kiliński Revolt reinforced the conviction that a single decision-making body should run the pro-independence movement. The annuals of émigré publications (e.g., *Wolne Polskie Słowo*, or later *Głos Polski*, but also the Paris National-Socialist *Pobudka* – the ‘patriots’ standard-bearer), frequently

---

79 ‘Sprawozdanie KC LN... za rok 1897/1898’, *Niepodległość*, 7, 1933, vol. 3 (17), p. 426.

80 A. Próchnik, ‘Zet’, *Światło*, January 1937, no. 1, p. 12.

81 W. Potkański, ‘Zawiązanie, działalność oraz wystąpienie Związku Młodzieży Polskiej z Narodowej Demokracji w 1909 r. i utworzenie niezależnego ZET-u’, *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 30, 1998, no. 4, pp. 3–13. See too id., *Ruch narodowo-niepodległościowy...*, p. 50 and note; T.W. Nowacki, *Szkic do dziejów ZET-u*, in *ZET w walce o niepodległość i budowę państwa. Szkice i wspomnienia*, T.W. Nowacki [et al.] (eds.), Warsaw 1996, p. 51 and note.

tackled these issues and provide a great deal of documentary material on this. Without a uniform co-ordinating centre it would be hard to achieve Polish independence – this was a constant refrain.

It was precisely the lack of an organizational base that brought on the disaster of the venture by Józef Karol Potocki (the legendary Marian Bohusz). The leading publicist in ‘patriotic’ circles had not reconciled himself to the League’s political evolution. *Walka*, the paper he founded (‘the mouthpiece of all supporters of national independence’ – as the sub-heading announced), harking to the LP’s irredentist roots, did not, however, gain any recognition among the pro-independence left, let alone among the supporters of the nationalist movement. Following events from distant Yakutia, Jan Strożecki in a letter to Kazimierz Pietkiewicz reproached Potocki both for the ‘Lechitic turn’, and the vague formula. He wrote bluntly about *Walka*: ‘colourless, bland, anaemic.’<sup>82</sup> The circle of people associated with Potocki was quickly marginalized, while the leading personality’s suicide invested the venture with a symbolic dimension. The case of Bohusz proved that by now there was no longer any room in the Kingdom for such idealist personalities, linking political and cultural nationalism with elements of social radicalism in isolation from the larger groupings’ organizational resources.

If organizational loyalty were maintained, the actual formula of a nationalist movement was so broad and open that many supporters of nationalism could combine their ‘nationalist’ views with a strong social/radical attitude. We can see the rejection of materialist socialism, with class warfare in the lead, acknowledged in the budding organization as a sign of a doctrinaire attitude and as an importation of artificial cultural models, as a threshold of ideological tolerance. There were in principle no other ideological barriers. This ideological amorphousness on the part of the movement could serve as a kind of temptation for many an ambitious political operative. If only for this reason the evolution of Stanisław Grabski (a ZRP, and then a ZZSP operative, who became disillusioned with the dogmatism of socialist economism, and when joining the LN was no doubt thinking about the possibility of moving it to the left) appears easier to explain. After joining the Galician SDN, Grabski in no time at all became one of the pillars of the National Democrats in the provinces.

It is also possible on similar grounds to assess the links with the nationalist movement of Władysław Studnicki, a former socialist and then populist activist,

---

82 ‘Listy Jana Strożeckiego do Kazimierza Pietkiewicza’, J. Durko (ed.), ‘Dzieje Najnowsze’. *Kwartalnik Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, January-March 1947, vol. 1, p. 134.

who had popularized one of the League's basic slogans in the Austrian Partition – 'a separate deal for Galicia', meaning special status for the province within the framework of the Habsburg Empire, partly based on the well-known example of Hungary.

Studnicki found virgin soil to till among the Galician nationalists. His concept, enticingly similar to Franciszek Smolka's earlier ideas, was not, however, all that eccentric in nationalist movements in that part of Europe, proof of which was the popularity in Habsburg court circles of the Romanian ideologue Aurel C. Popovici's idea of national exclusivism.<sup>83</sup> As these two examples show, national exclusivism in no way excluded the idea of a multi-national state. Both Popovici's project, as well as Dmowski's activity in the Russian Duma on behalf of national autonomy within the framework of the Russian Empire, demonstrated that these, at first glance incompatible ideas could be fused. The representatives of less populous nations, faced with the supposed or real expansionist ambitions of great powers (e.g., Romania vis-à-vis Hungary or the Slavs, the Poles vis-à-vis German expansionism – one of the theses of Dmowski's 1908 work entitled *Niemcy, Rosja i kwestia polska* (*Germany, Russia and the Polish Question*)), had recourse to such an option.

For the Leaguers any kind of agreement with the partitioning power, especially the widely-hated Russians, was for a very long time politically unthinkable. For those LP, and in the initial phase LN members and supporters who still felt keenly the burden of the tradition of national uprisings, such an act of national apostasy was certainly quite out of the question. At this juncture, stepping out of the present work's chronological structure, we should recall that in rejecting in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century this intransigence in contacts with the partitioning power, the nationalist movement suffered perhaps its most painful losses in the form of various *frondes*, splits, and defections. Breaking this pro-independence doctrinal purity was one of Dmowski's greatest headaches. In one of his debates in 1905 with rebellious young people he had to declare that if the ideal of independence was betrayed, then 'they could trample all over him.'<sup>84</sup>

---

83 See M. Turda, 'The Magyars: A Ruling Race': The Idea of National Superiority in Fin de Siècle Hungary', *European Review of History*, vol. 10, spring 2003, no. 1, pp. 5–33; id., 'Aurel C. Popovici and the Symbolic Geography of the Romanians in the late Habsburg Empire', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, vol. 36, January–June 1997, nos. 1–2, pp. 97–121; V. Neumann, 'Federalism and Nationalism in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy: Aurel C. Popovici's Theory', *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 16, 2003, no. 3, pp. 864–897.

84 See too W. Potkański, *Ruch narodowo-niepodległościowy...*, p. 61.

And yet the demand for unity and recognition of the League's leadership in the pro-independence movement also had its limits. For the socialist Leon Wasilewski, who was one of the LN's first members (he had joined in 1893), such a line not to be crossed were antisemitism and the nationalist exclusivism of the 'All-Poles'. These threads, present in *Przegląd Wszechpolski's* columns, meant for many pro-independence activists, especially the more long-standing ones, a rejection of the Polish historical tradition. There is much to indicate that even in the mid-nineties these motives were tolerated as personal resentments or the antics of specific individuals.<sup>85</sup>

We should, perhaps, seek in this requirement for the existence of a single centre for decision-making and co-ordination of the patriotic movement the genesis of the complicated relations between personalities such as Stanisław Szczepanowski, or Karol Lewakowski and the League. And then of the even more multi-faceted relationship between Zygmunt Miłkowski, an 'old democrat' ('an exponent of national-democratic principles,' as he wrote about himself), and the 'new democrats' of the LN.<sup>86</sup> Miłkowski never abandoned his convictions going back to the traditions of the Democratic Society, but he cut himself off from the national democrats only after Dmowski's camp had come to an agreement with Russia.

References to the symbolism and actions of a national government (as formulated by the League and frequently underscored in various statements) had far-reaching consequences, given the accepted model of patriotism. The League, in the persons of its leaders, formulating a new take on the national interest based on national egoism and ethnocentrism, and setting itself up as the guardian of this interest, also gave itself the exclusive right to define enemies of the nation. This meant *de facto* excluding from the body politic all those who had not come to terms with this thinking – socialists, democrats, populists, liberals of various

---

85 See the typical statement by Witold Jodko-Narkiewicz, a leading columnist for the pro-independence/socialist *Przedświt*, and in SDKPiL publications the leading 'chauvinist' in the PPS, in a review of the extensive piece entitled *Ogólny rzut oka na sprawę polską w chwili obecnej*, which appeared in the pages of the *Kwartalnik Naukowo-Polityczny*. The *Przedświt* columnist wrote among other things: 'the writer of this pamphlet is the "evil spirit" of the nationalist movement, a person who more than any one else has caused the patriotic movement to get into a mess.' See A.W. [W. Jodko-Narkiewicz], 'Bibliografia', *Przedświt*, series III, first half-year, 1899, no. 1, p. 23. The author of the piece was Dmowski. Z. Miłkowski, *Listy do Henryka Bukowskiego z lat 1889–1900*, edited by D. Ossowska, Olsztyn 2001, esp. letters of 14 VIII 1899, 8 X 1899 and 19 I 1900.

86 See Roman Dmowski to Zygmunt Miłkowski, 27 I 1903, in M. Kułakowski, *Roman Dmowski...*, vol. 1, p. 247.

stripes, social radicals, conservatives or at the time conciliators, indeed just about the whole contemporary spectrum of opinion, not mentioning other races, with the Jews in first place. Let us recall that Dmowski in his polemical zeal used a blunt description of them: semi-Poles. It would be no exaggeration to recognize that this thinking suggested a single-party system as an idea and a moral principle, although at the time this did not necessarily allow itself to be applied to practical politics. In a both solemn and ominous warning that the 'race of semi-Poles must disappear,' Dmowski grasped the quintessence of this thinking.<sup>87</sup>

However, attributing to the national democrats the phrase 'the nation's objective interest' seems to be debatable.<sup>88</sup> What was this supposed to mean? Unlike the category of *raison d'état* based on the idea of the nation and of national sovereignty, here the national interest was defined by the role and place of an ethnic community, in continuous opposition to hostile international political surroundings. This relationship was antagonistic, for the world seen through the eyes of nationalist ideologues was a stage of struggle and survival. But already other 'realist' currents saw the world that way, beginning with the classic of Machiavelli's political thought, and with an eloquent representative of Polish political thought in the person of Maurycy Mochnecki.<sup>89</sup> But was the interest of the Polish nation as a whole 'the highest measure of political value,' as the SDN platform in the Russian Partition announced (1903), merely the projection on to its own reality of a highly ideological view of the world?

In this approach the idea of the national interest was permanently linked to the need for the existence of a custodian (a group or an individual) able to define this interest. For the French nationalist Maurice Barrès (a precursor figure for right-wing European radicalism) using the same concepts, the lawful interpreter of the national interest was the authoritarian leader, the *Chef d'Etat*. The 27 year-old

---

87 [R. Dmowski], 'Półpolacy,' *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, November 1902, no. 11. See too *Półpolacy*, in *Narodowa Demokracja. Antologia myśli politycznej „Przeglądu Wszechpolskiego”*, edited by B. Toruńczyk, London 1983, pp. 153–156.

88 A. Walicki, in *Trzy patriotyzmy*, in id., *Polskie zmagania z wolnością. Widziane z boku*, Kraków 2000, pp. 258–259, uses such a turn of phrase. Walicki goes on: 'Dmowski's words leave no doubt that it was not a question here of a "correct", "morally justified" or even "lawful" national interest, but only "any old kind" of interest.' See too id., 'Spuścizna Narodowej Demokracji i jej miejsce w dziejach ideologii narodowych w Polsce,' *Przegląd filozoficzno literacki*, 2008, nos. 2–3 (20), pp. 146–150.

89 M. Król, in *Polska myśl polityczna XIX w.*, in *Uniwersalizm i swojskość kultury polskiej*, J. Kłoczowski (ed.), vol. 2, Lublin 1990, pp. 178–179, makes an attempt at juxtaposing Mochnecki and Dmowski.

Barrès had already found such an eminent individual with the characteristics of a Spartan hero first of all in General Georges Boulanger, and then in several other individuals. Each time he experienced deep disappointment.

In Polish nationalist thinking this authoritarian transition was only just maturing, and at the turn of the century it was unthinkable that this could be spoken directly, without the need for various ‘crutches’. As Andrzej Walicki correctly points out, this custodian of the national interest did not have to take into account the capricious will of the majority, let alone any ethical imperatives, since he derived his support precisely from an exegesis of the national interest.<sup>90</sup> But he was leading it away from a ‘correct’ reading of such vague and impossible to verify ‘bases of national existence’ as the instinct of race (Dmowski, Popławski), or of tribe (Balicki). Furthermore, the national interest thus defined on principle, as it were, demanded fighting every threat to the ‘national well-being’, or ‘destructive factors’, somewhat loosely defined (in practice, according to tactical criteria).

The nationalist movement’s growth in numbers, evident in the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, bred new problems. In addition to the traditional groups among whom the League tried to recruit supporters, that is the intelligentsia and the wealthy peasantry, small groups of *petty bourgeois*, urban proletariat, and even the clergy began also to appear within the movement.

Young people in Galicia who had passed through the ZET and also through the pupil underground movement and had then ended up in the League, were no longer as socially radical as young people in the Kingdom had recently been. Their social composition was also different. Insofar as in the ‘Congress Kingdom’ the movement’s essential base was still composed of young people from the minor nobility and the bourgeoisie, individuals belonging to the conservative gentry and even the aristocracy began to appear in the Galician ZET. Just like the young ‘ZET-ists’ and conspirators from the self-study groups in the Prussian Partition, the new members had been brought up on a patriotic ‘syllabus’ approved by the ZET authorities.

The League reacted flexibly to this social shift. The generally democratic platform of 1897, often radical in its partial demands, went through a ‘softening’ in its new 1903 version. There was now a more frequent emphasis on the movement’s focus on solidarity. The League, tactically backing off from its elements of social demagoguery, directed its organizational energy to propagating ethnocentrism. In fact the movement’s whole ideological-cum-organizational drive took this path.

---

90 A. Walicki, *Trzy patriotyzmy*, in id., *Polskie zmagania...*, p. 259.

The American historian John W. Boyer, focusing on the Viennese Christian Social Party led by Karl Lueger, pointed out a number of constant elements appearing alongside the development of a modern mass party. In this context he listed inter alia a permanent organization running the party, a regular income from dues or continual financial support, a flexible line based on the idea of the general good, accompanied by effective communications with minority groups, new, often aggressive methods of electioneering, as well as rallying support for the party through a series of allied organizations. Boyer has also pointed out that despite the anti-establishment rhetoric, a mass party usually maintains some kind of contact with the ruling élite.<sup>91</sup> Despite all the differences, this comparison is worth recalling. The League, before it openly created mass parties, e.g., the SDN in Galicia in 1904, already possessed most of the marks of modernity mentioned here. The local successes that it achieved were thus not only an effective improvisation, the work of chance or an act of fate, but had been forged over years of preparatory and organizational effort.

However, the phenomenon of the growing popularity of nationalist views also had deeper, psycho-social roots. Another American scholar, Roger Chickering, working on the turn-of-the-century Pan-German League, analogous to the National Democrats in a great many ways, has underscored just how great an emphasis the German nationalists laid on turning a unified national grouping not just into a particular world-view construct, but also a realistic basis for social and daily life. Party meetings no longer ended with the leader's final speech and the audience scattering to their homes, but moved on to a beer hall, inn, or pub. There, after speeches and public disputes, issues of great political import were as enthusiastically debated as they had been before, and then everyone moved on to singing uplifting patriotic songs, to dancing, and more informal social entertainment.<sup>92</sup>

---

91 J.W. Boyer, *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna. Origins of the Christian Social Movement 1848–1897*, Chicago–London 1981, p. 369 and note. See too M. Janowski, *Inteligencja wobec wyzwań nowoczesności. Dylematy ideowe polskiej demokracji liberalnej w Galicji w latach 1889–1914*, Warsaw 1996, pp. 226–227.

92 R. Chickering, *We Men Who Feel Most German. A Cultural Study of the Pan-German League, 1886–1914*, Boston 1984, esp. ch. 8; M. Janowski, *Inteligencja wobec wyzwań...*, pp. 242–243. On the nationalist parties' new way of doing politics see too M.S. Coetzee, *The German Army League. Popular Nationalism in Germany*, New York–Oxford 1990; *Nationalist and Racialist Movements in Britain and Germany before 1914*, P.A. Kennedy and A. Nicholls (eds.), Oxford 1981, esp. ch. 5, pp. 40–67. See too D. Blackbourn, *Bourgeois Division and the Rise of Mass Politics; The Limits of Notable Politics*, in *The*

The case of Georg Schönerer is testimony to the fact that this new side of mass movements was playing an important role. He had based his public career as a Pan-German demagogue on his aggressive rhetoric directed at all German groups in Cisleithania. But Schönerer, a dyed-in-the-wool agitator, underestimated the positive and motivational dimension to modern politics without advancing a fixed reference point. Unlike Lueger (*der schöne Karl*), beloved of the Viennese, Schönerer in reality despised the people. As an expert on the subject points out, his policies were to remain purely negative.<sup>93</sup> His most famous political manifesto (the *Linzer Programm* of 1882) was in reality a juxtaposition of aggressive nationalist rhetoric with randomly formulated anti-liberal demagoguery. Schönerer rarely, if ever, presented even an outline of what he wished to achieve and thus he was comprehensively defeated, while his movement was absorbed by other nationalist groupings.

This new style of doing politics (*politics in a new key*, in the words of Carl Schorske) begun in Galicia by the democrats, for that reason sometimes called by their opponents 'Galician histrionics', picked up by Ignacy Daszyński, or the socialist and experienced demagogue Emil Breiter, famous in Lwów and independent, since he went his own way, was also deftly adapted by the ND. The nationalists' extraordinary dynamism in taking the initiative in all kinds of cultural undertakings contributed to this. On the ground in Lwów the 'All-Poles' quickly took over the TSL branches, which meant having an influence in schools designated for the lowest social classes, in youth clubs and libraries, and also in the organization of public reading-rooms and evening classes. The Lwów national democrats were energetically inspiring the creation of local literary societies. They began to have designs on the 'Sokół' Gymnastics Societies, turning them eventually into an All-Polish organization. Earlier attempts at such unification had misfired. In this last-mentioned organization the 'All-Poles' achieved to all intents and purposes hegemony.<sup>94</sup>

The movement's permeation into the provinces was not limited to gaining influence among educational or cultural organizations. In the multi-faceted palette

---

*Peculiarities of German History. Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany*, D. Blackbourn and G. Eley (eds.), Oxford–New York 1984, respectively pp. 261–276 and pp. 251–260.

93 A.G. Whiteside, *The Socialism of Fools. Georg Ritter von Schönerer and Austrian Pan-Germanism*, Berkeley 1975, esp. ch. 11: 'Rejected by the People', pp. 263–284, and also ch. 13: 'Conclusion. The Foundation of the Twentieth Century', pp. 301–325.

94 See J. Snopko, *Polskie Towarzystwo Gimnastyczne „Sokół” w Galicji w latach 1867–1914*, Białystok 1997, pp. 157–166.



of the Galician National Democrats' interests economic associations and self-help organizations soon appeared.<sup>95</sup>

It is noteworthy that like other nationalist groups in the Habsburg Empire the 'All-Poles' too hastened to take over all the public spaces that had earlier been acknowledged as the domain of the 'old democracy'. They gained new supporters among the local intelligentsia, among minor officials and craftsmen, as well as in those levels of society which it had become the custom to describe as semi-educated, or the intellectual proletariat. They also borrowed from the Galician democrats the idea of a separate identity for Galicia within the framework of the Habsburg Empire. Although this process of adopting older ideas and absorbing the electorate weakened, or at least became less visible than, for instance, in Czechoslovakia or in Austria itself, it was present in an embryonic stage in Galicia too.<sup>96</sup>

An expression of the versatility of the new movement's aspirations was the creation in 1902 in Lwów by the academic community, with the considerable assistance of the 'All-Poles', of the School of Political Science – which was meant to become the foundry of the new political thinking.<sup>97</sup>

In this efficiency on the part of the integral nationalists one could perceive solely the expansiveness of a certain ideological formula which not only had recourse to new, unconventional political instruments, breaking outdated principles, but – what is more – openly also saw such behaviour as called for and necessary. Under Polish conditions, circles linked to *Kraj* in St. Petersburg and *Czas* in Kraków began criticism of this approach – dear to the nationalist right's liberal and conservative opponents. In a trivial sense, this activity by the National Democrats could be seen as the efforts of a political sect, which, hiding its real intentions, was attempting to seize political power, all the while beguiling public opinion with hollow phrases. An 'old style' democrat, Tadeusz Romanowicz, as well as other critics of the movement, usually of a conservative persuasion, suspected the Galician national democrats of just such intentions.<sup>98</sup>

---

95 A. Wątor, in *Narodowa Demokracja...*, pp. 38–55, documents this activity in detail.

96 See M. Janowski, *Inteligencja wobec wyzwań...*, p. 242.

97 See S. Dobrowolski, 'Szkoła Nauk Politycznych we Lwowie w latach 1902–1906', *Studia Historyczne*, 41, 1998, vol. 3, pp. 349–363; W. Studnicki, 'Szkoła Nauk Politycznych', *Tydzień*, 23 III 1902, no. 13, pp. 200–203.

98 T. Romanowicz, 'Odpowiedź „starego demokraty” I', *Nowa Reforma*, 27 VIII 1903, no. 194, p. 1; id., 'Odpowiedź „starego demokraty” II', *Nowa Reforma*, 28 VIII 1903, no. 195, p. 1. M. Janowski, in *Inteligencja wobec wyzwań...*, p. 54 and W. Bernacki, in *Liberalizm polski 1815–1939. Studium doktryny politycznej*, Kraków 2004, p. 32, present a

However, both these approaches, in their own way justified and valid, avoided several key issues. Integral nationalism, as had socialism in an earlier day, offered a whole set of comprehensive responses to the real needs of large swathes of humankind. This new approach to public life, which found expression not only in mass political parties, but also in new architecture, painting, literature, and even interior design, gave aspirations to groups – to people for whom a rational way of thinking about public life was no longer adequate and in fact put off many of them.<sup>99</sup> Groups barely emerging onto the political stage, above all young people always leading the way in change, expressed their social rebellion and frustration using this new ideological formula.

In the literature on the turn of the century the concept of the new man emerging into the public domain sometimes appears. This new man, who had earlier been excluded from participation in politics, now, under the influence of democratizing processes and the popularizing of politics, became visible. He was more vulnerable to political radicalization and was more frequently led astray by aggressive political demagoguery than was a supporter of the ‘former’ liberals or the conservatives. The structural reasons for this phenomenon lay in the irreversible changes, which the development of industrial society was bringing in its wake. Fed on the anxieties and frustrations of the turn of the century, the new voter was seeking a political expression for his needs. Although for the most part he would gravitate to the new type of parties, i.e., to the socialists and the nationalist movements, the liberal and conservatives parties also had to take account of the arrival of this phenomenon.

Public opinion, adopting these new waves of people with their specific aspirations, began to give these ambitions the seal of social assent. Antisemitism, ethnic hostility in the widest sense of the word, or sharp class antagonism, continually dormant on the fringes of public life, began to be articulated directly and

---

summary of Romanowicz's argument. See too E. Piltz, *Nasze stronnictwa skrajne, przez Scriptora*, Kraków 1903; J. Kłaczko, ‘Konspiracje i jawne działanie’, *Przegląd Polski*, 144, April 1902, no. 430, vol. 10, pp. 10–15; M. Bobrzyński, ‘Rozmiary niebezpieczeństwa’, *Przegląd Polski*, February 1904, no. 4, vol. 8, pp. 213–228.

99 See P. Hanák, *The Garden and the Workshop. Essays on the Cultural History of Vienna and Budapest*, Princeton 1998, esp. ch. ‘The Garden and the Workshop: Reflections on Fin de Siècle Culture in Vienna and Budapest’, pp. 63–97. Also C.E. Schorske, *Generational Tension and Cultural Change* in id., *Thinking with History. Explorations in the Passage to Modernism*, Princeton 1998, pp. 141–156; E.R. Tannenbaum, *1900. Die Generation vor dem Grossen Krieg*, Berlin 1978, esp. ch. ‘Radikale Protestbewegungen’, p. 296 and note.

openly. In educated circles there was a growing doubt about the efficacy of human reason and the durability of the underpinnings of enlightened civilization.

Furthermore, at the very vanguard of progressive circles – in the academic world, among bohemian artists – elaborate rationalizations for these social resentments began to make an appearance. Building new social ties (a most rational, indeed well thought-out idea) was to be enriched by an appeal to mass sentiments and instincts on a hitherto-unheard-of scale.

It is worth recalling one more, ostensibly minor aspect of the nationalists' growth in popularity in Galicia. The appearance and strengthening of the new movement should be put down to this and not any other configuration of the social/political Galician scene of the day. In the eyes of some representatives of the wealthy classes, especially major landowners in Eastern Galicia, the National Democrats revealed themselves to be a pillar of strength for their collective, often narrowly perceived, interests. Some of the actions of the Przeworski brothers – the owners of great sugar refineries who suddenly began to fill the movement's local coffers – could be seen in this light, even reaching symbolic proportions. They did not do this disinterestedly. *Słowo Polskie* began an aggressive press campaign against the Przeworski's competitors, a Czech cartel that wanted to take over part of the Galician sugar market. In a trice the paper ran up the 'national interest' flag. Activists allied to the movement, but still in the local economic structure, were rallied to defend 'Polish holdings.' Antoni Plutyński, a leading figure in nationalist Lwów, but also secretary of the Galician Central Factory Association (the organization's chairman, Roger Battaglia, was a founding member of the SDN in the area) recalled a meeting with Dmowski: 'How glad I am,' he said sincerely, 'that you are bringing out the whole country over this sugar fight. This will help us to set up our political organization.'<sup>100</sup> In the eyes of progressive opinion Przeworski had only made sugar an opportunistic tactic of the nationalist camp and had, as it were, invalidated the meaning of its democratic genesis. Subsequent alliances between the national democrats and local business only confirmed this view.

*Liberum Veto* in Lwów reported on this in various ways. In the ten commandments of a perfect Pole (*Polaka doskonałego*), mentioned elsewhere – a satire on the nationalist movement's moves in Galicia – the three first commandments are striking: '1. If you want to scale the heights of nationalist enlightenment, take as your guide Messrs. Dmowski and Mrawinczyc (address: the oil/nationalist house in Lwów); 2. Buy pens only from Konrad Wasilewski's factory in Nuremburg;

---

100 A. Plutyński, *Wspomnienia o Panu Romanie...*, p. 4.

3. Buy sugar only from Prince Lubomirski's factory. Anyone buying cheaper sugar, is a traitor to the nation.<sup>101</sup>

The case of the evolution of the East-Galician 'Podolaks', one of the Galician conservative factions, also has some significance here. Among part of the otherwise experienced activists and politicians in this area there was certainly no lack of opportunism in these relations with the political *nouveaux riches*, as the newcomers from the Kingdom were seen. The idea was, to take refuge in a metaphor used by Wilhelm Feldman, to pull their chestnuts out of the fire with the help of the nationalists. This tactical manoeuvre by the 'Podolaks' first became evident during the 1902 peasant strikes, when the East-Galician conservatives used the help of the LN to put down the rebellions. The political expression of these alliances were the Polish National Organizations spontaneously created in the eastern districts, but also the career of Stanisław Głąbiński (earlier the editor of *Gazeta Narodowa*, which was linked to the 'Podolaks') in the SDN.<sup>102</sup>

On a more general level, however, this tactic failed. Right from the start the new movement's policies were accompanied by a planned dual political strategy: a desire to create a political mass movement and an attempt to win over part of the élite: in practice, this was tantamount to a dress rehearsal for taking over the entire conservative electorate. Within the framework of this strategy we should note the ostensibly exotic electoral alliances contracted by the League during the Galician election campaign. As the socialist Emil Haecker reported with indignation in Warsaw *Prawda*, a curious coalition of 'united reaction' – the remains of concentrated democracy (which included inter alia two former democratic campaigners, Tadeusz Dwernicki and Michał Grek, later both connected to the SDN for a short time), the local conservatives, 'Kahal' Jews, antisemites, representatives of the Catholic-Nationalist party, and even conservative Old Ruthenians – was ready to support Głąbiński's candidacy.<sup>103</sup>

One can assess similarly the secret ND alliances with members of the local 'establishment', the discreet conferences with representatives of the conservatives accompanied by a principled condemnation of their activities, as well as the attacks on Ukrainian voters, and shortly thereafter on Jewish ones too. Thanks

---

101 'Polak doskonały. Przykazań dziesięcioro', *Liberum Veto*, 1 IX 1903, no. 18, p. 2.

102 A. Wątor, *Narodowa Demokracja...*, p. 67. S. Hryniuk, in 'Polish Lords and Ukrainian Peasants. Deference and Accommodation in Eastern Galicia in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Austrian History Yearbook*, vol. 24, 1993, pp. 119–132, writes interestingly and in general terms about the development of the 'Podolaks' views on the Ukrainian question and their political attitudes.

103 Daleki [E. Haecker], 'Listy galicyjskie', *Prawda*, 25 V (7 VI) 1902, no. 23, p. 238.

to such flexible behaviour on the border of political opportunism, the League even gained the nickname of 'government National Democrats'.<sup>104</sup> As Michał Bobrzyński later claimed, during the period after the peasant strikes, the League received discreet, but helpful assistance from the Viceroy, Count Leon Piniński, who was close to the 'Podolaks'.<sup>105</sup>

However, a considerable section of public opinion reluctantly accepted the League's aggressive political line. In May of 1903, in Kraków the informal leader of the neo-conservatives, Władysław Jaworski, even organized a discussion on the subject of 'the spread of "All-Polish" campaigning'.<sup>106</sup> A summary of this internal debate in conservative circles is to be found in the famous article by Bobrzyński in 1904 entitled *Rozmiary niebezpieczeństwa*.<sup>107</sup> The writer took issue with the thesis, popular among conservatives, that the ND could become an antidote to the socialist movement. In his arguments the supposed medicine was more deadly than the disease. Apart from the criticism of *liberum conspiro* evoked by conservative critics, the historian saw the greatest danger to be the nationalists igniting enmity towards the Ukrainians – an antagonism threatening in the future to drag the Polish element of the region's population down to the 'level of a brutal tribal battle with the Ruthenians'. In the opinion of a subsequent viceroy of Galicia, a similar situation developed in Silesia.

Even among East-Galician conservatives the LN's predatory tactics towards opponents was beginning to raise serious doubts. The *Gazeta Narodowa*, which was close to the 'Podolaks', accused the National Democrats of a great deal: of a desire to impose hegemony and political leadership, of also applying the principle of a hard either/or towards potential allies, of exclusivism and monopolizing national politics, of 'the Moscow principle of power before law', as well as of radicalism in political battle and of 'political insobriety', which in the language of

---

104 -ski, 'Listy z Galicji, Kraków 23 lipca', *Ogniwo*, 19 VII (1 VIII) 1903, no. 32, p. 770. Another progressive columnist noticed the attitudes of 'black and yellow patriotism', which then were in evidence during tactical alliances during municipal elections. See Daleki, 'Listy galicyjskie', *Prawda*, 25 I (7 II) 1903, no. 6, pp. 64–65.

105 See M. Bobrzyński, 'Polityka Andrzeja Potockiego w Galicji (1903–1908)', *Niepodległość*, 1, 1930, vol. 2, p. 263. See too A. Wątor, *Narodowa Demokracja...*, p. 70.

106 A. Wątor, *Narodowa Demokracja...*, p. 69.

107 M. Bobrzyński, 'Rozmiary niebezpieczeństwa', *Czas*, 18 II 1904, no. 39, pp. 1–2. In an expanded version cf. too M. Bobrzyński, 'Rozmiary niebezpieczeństwa', *Przegląd Polski*, February 1904, no. 4, vol. 8, pp. 213–228. Bobrzyński's arguments are reported by A. Wątor, *Narodowa Demokracja...*, p. 67. See too J. Myśliński, *Grupy polityczne...*, p. 283; W. Łazuga, *Ostatni Stańczyk. Michał Bobrzyński – portret konserwatysty*, Poznań 1992, p. 90.

the day meant having recourse to demagogic nationalist slogans, glaringly visible especially in the writings of *Słowo Polskie*.<sup>108</sup>

The adoption of a quasi-conservative line also emerged from the collapse of the original concept of the League imposing hegemony over regional populist parties. This type of behaviour had long been embodied by Jan Ludwik Popławski himself. The League undertook these efforts from the start of its Galician life, trying to take control of the Populist Party, which was formed in 1895, as well as the circle of the *Kurier Lwowski*, and later of Karol Lewakowski himself. The culmination of these efforts was the support given by *Wiek XX* for the candidacy of Jakub Bojko in the elections to the National Sejm – a candidacy which could destroy the unity of the populist movement. However, Bojko quickly went his own way, and like other leaders of the populist movement definitively threw off ND tutelage.<sup>109</sup>

The symbolic seal on this defeat was the formation in 1903 of the independent Polish Populist Party\* with an agrarian platform, a party discredited by nationalist propaganda as ‘class demagoguery’. Although right up to Popławski’s death in 1908 the League in fact never irrevocably abandoned a pro-peasant strategy, it did not, however, develop an independent policy towards the Galician countryside.<sup>110</sup>

In political commentary, and also the memoirs of ND leaders, the motif of the local élites’ shabby scheming against the League keeps coming up. Dmowski’s growing obsession with the freemasons, i.e., a supposed plot by regional bigwigs, including the socialists and the radicals, against the Galician nationalists, dates from this time. It is hard to confirm, but we should definitely reject the assumption that their real plans were to get rid of the troublesome immigrants from Galicia. What we can state with certainty is the fact that ND publicists – seeing

---

108 G A. Wątor, in *Narodowa Demokracja...*, pp. 68–71, presents the voices of conservative critics of the ND, coming too from ‘Podolak’ circles.

109 See J. Bojko’s famous article ‘Naszym rekinom w odpowiedzi’, *Kurier Lwowski*, 21 VI 1903, no. 170, p. 1. The League’s leaders had to invoke the authority of Z. Miłkowski in order to head off this conflict. As it turned out, unsuccessfully. See A. Wątor, *Narodowa Demokracja...*, p. 66.

\* Sometimes known too as the Polish Peasant Party, or the Polish People’s Party. Translator’s note.

110 A. Wątor, in *Narodowa Demokracja...*, pp. 64–67, documents the efforts by the League in some detail, as well as the reaction of those involved. See too S.J. Pastuszka, *Karol Lewakowski. Poglądy i działalność społeczno-polityczna*, Warsaw 1980, esp. the chapter ‘Lewakowski a endecja’, pp. 126–136

themselves as the victims of this supposed plot – turned to an adroit persuasive tactic to show that conservative circles were also ready to combat unfavourable opinion by expelling its exponents from the district.<sup>111</sup> This tactic turned out in the long run to be effective. Furthermore, the movement was continuing to grow in importance. Wherever the Leaguers managed to take control of any initiative to which they turned their hands, they sooner or later tried to assume ideological control over it. As the afore-mentioned *Prawda* correspondent, who was ill-disposed to the League, described using the example of the Lwów TSL circle named for T.T. Jeż, there was ‘a lack of any kind of tolerance and a ruthlessness of behaviour’ in its activities, which enjoyed respect in democratic opinion.<sup>112</sup>

For a time these new tactics by the Galician ND were seen in progressive circles as the antics of the local leaders of a group ‘of National Democrats under the aegis of Mr. Jastrzębiec’. The measure of this confusion in progressive opinion about the nationalists is well conveyed in an editorial comment which preceded a report on Galician conditions in *Prawda*: ‘This tone must appear sharp or quite unjustified to readers who are less familiar with the real object of this attack. So we must point out that national democracy on the ground in Galicia has been distorted and has little if nothing in common with those noble feelings and aims, which its name elsewhere suggests, and which should not feel offended by this tone.’<sup>113</sup>

Wilhelm Feldman, in several articles which were later published in a separate pamphlet entitled *Rzecz o narodowej demokracji* (*Thoughts on National Democracy*), clearly differentiated attitudes towards the movement by region.<sup>114</sup> The editor of *Krytyka* accused the leadership of the League of opportunistic tactics, which he called ‘chameleon-like’: ‘they see [...] the whole nation as a great Academic

---

111 Some historians have in good faith accepted the view spread above all by *Słowo Polskie* and *Przegląd Wszechpolski* that behind-the-scenes efforts by Viennese government agents and some allied conservative circles were behind the negative reception of the League’s achievements. See T. Kulak, *Jan Ludwik Popławski 1854–1908...*, vol. 1, pp. 362–363. Without doing detailed research it is impossible to prove this view. However, a conspiratorial mindset is common among groups aiming for a radical change in the status quo through polarizing opinion. See L. Zdybel, *Idea spisku i teorie spiskowe w świetle analiz krytycznych i badań historycznych*, Lublin 2002, p. 237.

112 Daleki [E. Haecker], ‘Listy galicyjskie’, *Prawda*, 25 V (7 VI) 1903, no. 23, pp. 268–269.

113 Editorial comment to an article by Daleki, ‘Listy galicyjskie’, *Prawda*, 9 (22) XI 1902, no. 47, p. 555. Another ND critic wrote in similar terms: ‘In Galicia National Democracy has completely lost its way.’ See L. Kulczycki, *Narodowa Demokracja*, Warsaw 1907, p. 21.

114 f. [W. Feldman], *Rzecz o narodowej demokracji*, Kraków 1902.

Reading Room where every few weeks there is a curriculum meeting and a change of curriculum,' hence the 'double bookkeeping'. He also assessed critically the LN leadership's political pirouettes. Elsewhere he sneeringly added: 'sometimes they're not antisemites, but only when they take money for their own use from the Jews.'<sup>115</sup>

The accusation of a lack of policies hiding behind a radically pragmatic line of action, this had already come earlier from the conservatives. As Julian Klaczko remarked in a polemic with the 'extras and biologists on *Przegląd Wszechpolski*', the lack of a platform allowed for alliances with every player on the political stage.<sup>116</sup> As early as 1904 Leon Wasilewski had acknowledged that for this reason nationalism in Polish political life was to be found only in Galicia.<sup>117</sup> Some critics, for instance Andrzej Niemojewski, ascribed these ruthless attacks on opponents to a peculiar affirmation of illegal and underground activities by the ND, methods carried over from conspiratorial work to open public life: 'an atmosphere of attacks, accusations, explanations and self-promotion.'<sup>118</sup>

One of the more famous political satires accompanying the new ND line, written by Stanisław Brzozowski and entitled *System polityczny Teodora Grzechotki* (*Theodore Grzechotka's Political System*), could be seen as another illustration of this phenomenon, i.e., a recognition among progressives that nationalism was a specifically Galician phenomenon.<sup>119</sup> Jan Ludwik Popławski was depicted there as the café raconteur, Jan Grzechotka\*, who, looking for an idea (relating to an 1887 *Głos* article – *Wielkie i małe idee*) makes the discovery of a 'paper dragon'. This paper dragon is the nationalist idea, which comes down to oppressing weaker nations. Grzechotka convinces his café companions that when broken-down Europe comes to believe that the Poles are in a position to lord it over the Ruthenians, then it will also acknowledge the Poles' might, ('When we show that it

---

115 f. [W. Feldman], 'Program nieszczerości', *Krytyka*, 1, January 1904, vol. 1, pp. 1–11.

116 J. Klaczko, 'Liga Narodowa i jej organa', *Przegląd Polski*, 144, April 1902, no. 430, vol. 10, p. 5.

117 Informator [L. Wasilewski], *Stronnictwa polityczne w Królestwie Polskim*, Kraków 1904, p. 41.

118 [A. Niemojewski], 'Szkola niewoli', *Kuźnica*, July 1904, no. 5, pp. 33–34. See too J. Myśliński, *Grupy polityczne...*, p. 260.

119 A. Czepiel [S. Brzozowski], *System polityczny Teodora Grzechotki*, in S. Brzozowski, *Widma moich współczesnych (Fikcyjne portrety satyryczne)*, Kraków 2003 (a series printed in Warsaw in *Głos* at the end of 1903/start of 1904). Quotations are taken from this text.

\* Grzechotka is a child's rattle. Translator's note.



is a weaker tribe, thus lower in racial and cultural terms, when we oppress them, everyone will believe in us, for he who is not there cannot oppress'). After all, strength and power rule the world.

Grzechotka's idea is enthusiastically accepted by the café intellectuals. The movement's policies are copied out from German nationalist (Hakata) literature and heroic proclamations. Another one of Grzechotka's companions, a certain Harap Wrzeszczowicz\*\* (Dmowski was probably the model) makes a suggestion how to strengthen the new formation. He says: 'We ought to create the impression any way we can of our great numbers and strength. This is quite easily done. All we need to do is to add to every phrase, to every name the prefix "All-." This idea appealed to everyone there too. The café regulars' enthusiasm reached a peak when they began a bidding war over the new phrases. "I'm an All-Rattler,"\*\*\* cried out one. "We're All-Dragons," shouted others. "All-Bismarcks, All-Września, All-boxers, All-Hakata." Thus was born the all-rattling paper dragon party.'

In a broader context this intellectual confusion around the ideas 'democratic and national' showed, on the one hand, that in the enlightenment tradition itself there had been a strong intellectual current present since the French Revolution, and definitely since the events of 1849, in which the democratization of politics was understood as a desire to impose one's active will on the masses by rallying them. On the other hand though, this proved just how effective a socio-technical move in modern political tactics it had been to turn to democratic aesthetics and symbolism, but also to connect to the national patriotic tradition, irrespective of ideological formulations.<sup>120</sup>

The appearance on the ground in Galicia of a new ideological conception stirred up a new political dynamic, which in a very basic way was to change the shape of the political scene. This new nationalism, taking effective advantage of a conservative vocabulary, took over and absorbed the electorate, as well as the local influence of a considerable part of the reactionary community, meanwhile gaining social acceptance in democratic and bourgeois social circles. With the perspective of time it is worth noting, however, that it was Galician institutions that changed the local 'All-Poles,' and not the other way about, turning them eventually into an element of the Galician status quo and not its political and ideological alternative, as they themselves had initially assumed.

---

\*\* Wrzeszczyć means to yell. Translator's note.

\*\*\* Play on Grzechotka. Translator's note.

120 See G.L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses...*, esp. chapters 'The New Politics,' pp. 1–20 and 'The Aesthetics of Politics,' pp. 21–46.

Finally, it is hard to escape demographic issues. Galicia, like most of the Polish lands at the time, in short order changed its demographic profile. Starting at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the population grew in a lively, even abrupt, manner. This phenomenon was not lessened by the gigantic peasant emigration overseas, which increased in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Demographic processes began finally to affect society's political behaviour. 'Young people' were becoming heard, and they were the ones who were becoming ever more visible in public life. For the young, who were becoming radicalized, the confines of the democratizing Habsburg Empire were becoming too restrictive. Ideologies of a new sort knew how to exploit the aspirations and hopes of the younger elements in society. These phenomena affected not only Polish youth, but also young Ukrainians and Jews, and influenced politics in the region in a fundamental way.

Internal problems troubling the developing national movement can also be added to these dilemmas. One of the basic issues still remaining was to establish a long-term strategy for the movement. For quite some time it had been possible to observe the lack of uniform indicators of an All-Polish ideology. The appearance under the auspices of the League of new supporters and followers put the requirement for a deeper justification of prevailing activities on the agenda. There were also practical reasons for a need to formulate in a coherent way the fundamentals of an ideology. The League's popularity led to the appearance within the camp of groups or whole communities with differing experiences, with radically different aspirations, and eventually with divergent interests and expectations. Everyone accepted the general political framework that the LN had laid out, saw themselves as real patriots and believed in a vague 'national' policy for the movement, but could not always grasp the meaning of the League leadership's specific actions.

The need for clarification was most evident among the young. It was also from these circles, which after all represented the new movement's most extensive base in terms of intellect and numbers, that the loudest voices could be heard on the need for some radical and spectacular political action. Towards the end of the 90s, a new generation of militants appeared in the LN, and began demanding a voice. Similar processes were taking place in socialist circles (above all the PPS) where the rebellion of the 'youngsters' (for the most part activists at district level) against the 'dictatorship of the elders' began to come to the boil.<sup>121</sup> It is hard to overstate these events' generational dimension.

---

121 See A. Żarnowska, *Geneza rozłamu w Polskiej Partii Socjalistycznej 1904–1906*, Warsaw 1965, esp. ch. 2: 'Konflikty wewnętrzne w PPS w przeddzień rewolucji 1905 r.', pp. 55–95; ead., *Demokratyzacja życia politycznego w Królestwie Polskim na początku XX w.*, in *Polska i Polacy...*, pp. 544–563. See too R. Blobaum, 'Królestwo

It was hardest to keep a tight rein on rebellious attitudes among the young people. As events showed, it was precisely nationalist youth who also became the base of successive *frondes* and divisions in the camp. The case of a group of students from Warsaw, ZET members, the youngsters – Stefan Natanson, Ludwik Zieliński, and others – who at the League's 1899 Warsaw congress successfully forced through a motion on the LN coming into the open, must have provided much food for thought. The Warsaw ZET's initiative appeared right after Dmowski had published a series of articles in *Przegląd Wszechpolski* entitled *Młodzież polska pod zaborem rosyjskim* (*Polish Young People in the Russian Partition*). Apart from a theme of martyrdom and reminiscence it was an attack on the involvement of young people in current politics. This textbook publication came out in the form of a pamphlet with the organizational stamp of the Lwów *Teka* – a nationalist youth publication, as well as a semi-official ZET organ. In turn, Zieliński and Natanson, together with others from this group, became the founders of *Secesja*, one of several *frondes* that appeared in the ND movement in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The entry of the ND into Galician life, and their excessively aggressive activities in a host of areas, were seen by many at the time (above all critics) as nationalist irredentism, fracturing the prevailing framework of Galician politics. In the League itself this sudden increase in influence in the provinces was enough to make its militants' heads spin. Not just young people in the organization were now demanding deeper justifications for its actions. Its leaders were also coming round to the need for ideological justifications for their actions.

As early as 1899, the League's leadership called for the formulation of more clear-cut rules for the operation of the movement that they controlled. The demand for an ideological *credo* from which one could later draw one's own ethics, sociology, and perhaps even other fields of positive knowledge, required the initial construction of strong foundations.

The two younger leaders of the movement – Balicki and Dmowski – seemed to be the best suited to write such an ideological interpretation. Popławski, the third member of the triumvirate, heavily involved in the movement's organizational activities, especially in the co-ordination of its growing educational and publishing activities, was loaded down with daily work. He also never had any systematic ambitions. Even the activists who were most devoted to him noticed that Popławski found more fulfilment in current journalism, in short polemical

---

Polskie między rewolucją i wojną. A może nie było aż tak źle?, *Historyka*, 28, 1999, pp. 139–146.

bursts, than in theoretical works. Popławski also carried out a key function as mediator for the heterogeneous groups, and without a doubt he enjoyed the greatest organizational respect in the community at large in Lwów.

Władysław Studnicki, in his 1904 work *Od socjalizmu do nacjonalizmu* (*From Socialism to Nationalism*), definitely intended to present an ideological credo. The pamphlet's author went through an ideological evolution, similar to that of many supporters of the new movement, and the actual piece was published by the same firm that handled Dmowski's and Balicki's works, i.e., the Publishing Association (*Towarzystwo Wydawnicze*) – an unofficial undertaking by the ND in Lwów. Studnicki, however, parted company with the movement, without even earning himself a modest coterie of supporters. Shortly thereafter he joined forces politically with the activist element in the pro-independence movement, which Popławski reportedly acknowledged maliciously by suggesting that the pamphlet should definitely be reprinted under a new title: *Od socjalizmu do nacjonalizmu i z powrotem* (*From Socialism to Nationalism and Back Again*). One can assess in a similar vein *Idea polska* (*The Polish Idea*), a work by Tadeusz Grużewski (G. Topór), at the time secretary of *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, who later also left the League.

The first real attempt at drawing up a complete set of tactics for the movement was the series of twelve articles by Dmowski entitled *W naszym obozie. Listy do przyjaciół politycznych*, published in 1901 in *Przegląd Wszechpolski* at the moment when its author returned to the editorship. Dmowski made it clear in them that he was writing on his own behalf, and that his views were not always in line with League principles, furthermore, they could be something of a surprise for many of his political colleagues. *Listy* represented a new dimension, but the response to these articles by Dmowski was not unambiguous. The first reactions showed that the need for a manifesto of an ideological character was maturing among the Leaguers.

Taking the long view and juxtaposing it with the writer's earlier journalism a reading of *Listy* leads to the inevitable impression that Dmowski continually, and with methodical regularity, was returning almost obsessively to the same ideological themes which he had tackled earlier.

Over time this internal organizational discussion began to mature and head towards a definitive conclusion. In 1902, Balicki's work entitled *Egoizm narodo- wy wobec etyki* appeared firstly on the pages of *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, and then as a separate publication.<sup>122</sup> This pamphlet, with high theoretical ambitions, was

---

122 The most detailed description of Z. Balicki's ideas is by J. Kurczewska in *Moralność, polityka i naród w poglądach Bolesława Limanowskiego i Zygmunta Balickiego*, in

definitely the first such piece to appear under the aegis of Polish nationalism. Balicki's work was without a doubt, as a great many chroniclers confirm, carefully read in the movement, however, it was unable to compete with Dmowski's accessible journalism, which was written with passion and talent. Both writers' style differed too. Balicki's text, written in the hermetic, complex language of an academic sociologist, could not become the *credo* of the new ideology. The author argued lengthily, wandered into digressions which were vague, or not always clear to the reader. Dmowski, on the other hand, presented a perceptive report on the situation, supported by an analysis which logically led towards precise conclusions. Dmowski was writing *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka* at more or less the same time as Balicki was working on his pamphlet. The complementary nature of both works can be seen at once in their basic ideological quality. Whereas Balicki presented an exposé of a new view of social ethics, Dmowski wanted to present his thoughts on a wider political/historical scale. If the former was interested more in demonstrating certain universal principles governing modern societies, the latter presented a developed application of these principles for the here and now, for the needs of the domestic reader. Hence perhaps the fame of Dmowski's pamphlet also among readers unconnected to the movement. However, in retrospect we can see that both writers' comments were to a great extent a single philosophical declaration written in two keys.

### ***Thoughts of a Modern Pole seen by contemporaries***

In terms of its structure *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka* is divided into two parts.<sup>123</sup> The first one is a philosophical lecture on Polish history, or more precisely on the continuous crisis in which Polish society found itself. The second part was a recipe for the rebirth of the body politic written from the perspective of 'a creative individual'. The narrative's dual polarity is maintained throughout the whole work. The future arises from the past, as Dmowski frequently pointed out. Interestingly enough, the text's internal dynamic completely overlaps with

---

*Idee i koncepcje narodu w polskiej myśli politycznej czasów porozbiorowych*, J. Goćkowski, A. Walicki (eds.), Warsaw 1977, pp. 267–286; ead., 'Dwie postawy wobec kryzysu ethosu demokratyczno-patriotycznego; Bolesław Limanowski (1835–1935) i Zygmunt Balicki (1858–1916)', *Archiwum Historii Filozofii i Myśli Społecznej*, 21, 1975, pp. 189–210. See too A. Dawidowicz, *Zygmunt Balicki (1858–1916). Działacz i teoretyk polskiego nacjonalizmu*, Kraków 2006.

123 All quotations are taken from R. Dmowski, *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka*, Wrocław 1996.

the characteristic triad that was a feature of nationalist rhetoric. A mythical past wreathed in glory has been dimmed by the degrading present. By means of a correct identification of the reasons for the fall and a collective call to action, the community can regain a harmonious unity and its true destiny. Perhaps this does not mean that it must, but otherwise it will die.<sup>124</sup>

The first part of this treatise is shorter than the second, and in it the context, the historical framework for the writer's subsequent deliberations, has been defined. Setting the writer firmly in modern times is emphasized in the work's first, oft-quoted sentence ("Not seldom do we encounter the opinion that the modern Pole should be a Pole as little as possible").

The outline of Polish history that Dmowski presented is in principle a description of an illness. An illness that had begun in the distant past and was still paralyzing the country's population. In Dmowski's view, the high point in Polish history so far had been the noble Republic. In general it was the source of the vocabulary and the concepts used by modern man's imagination. With it began a world that had given the body politic the tools to understand and feel it. Although for the writer the *point de départ* was the Poland of the past, 'which,' as he wrote, 'half-way along her historical path had spread out greatly, threatening her neighbours with her power, and had moved smartly along the path of civilizational progress,' it was the utopian vision of Poland's future that lay behind these deliberations. The Poles remained an anachronistic society, a society with a bloated gentry, but all the other countries, to which our ideologue so lovingly referred, had gone through these stages. What then were the reasons for this, in his view, fundamental chaos?

Dmowski's exposition contained some objectivized reasoning, hewing scrupulously to the reality and state of knowledge of the day, however it also provided a release for the writer's own dislikes and emotions, contained in the form of a rational, almost scientific argument.

In Dmowski's opinion, the historical situation had contributed to the creation of an odd hybrid. At the head of the body politic stood the gentry class, which, obligated to defend and uphold the state, began to dominate other areas of public life. Dmowski did not explain why this had come about. Perhaps even, when writing these passages, he felt the roots of the gentry's hegemony over public life to be an incidental historical event. However, he stated from the outset that wherever the gentry were unable or unwilling to become involved in some aspect of public life, it used 'foreign elements' for its own ends.

---

124 M. Levinger, P.F. Lytle, 'Myth and mobilization: the triadic structure of nationalist rhetoric,' *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 7, April 2001, part 2, pp. 175–194.

In Dmowski's piece these foreign elements were invariably the Jews. Although the mental construct presented by the author could refer to other 'foreign elements', based on other 'racial types', which the state of historical research or even common knowledge could have justified, in the accepted approach only the 'Jewish race' fitted the bill. For the Jews were a social type based on other 'racial material'. Only a specific 'racial type' could emerge from this 'racial material'. In this view a specific racial type was, let me repeat, a spiritual, immaterial form of an ethnic group's physical characteristics. Here this deterministic element was strongly emphasized. The Jews were recognized to be substantially different.

The gentry's alliance with the Jews had set in motion a whole series of unforeseeable social processes. This curious symbiosis of anachronisms of the gentry, who would become civilizational ballast, and of the Jews, a foreign, racial, parasitical sect, had taken over the whole of public life, and had lasted for centuries leading eventually to the nation's downfall. It had not been a conspiracy of neighbours or the Poles' own political inability to adapt, Dmowski argued, but poorly-conceived natural selection, which had become the basic cause of Poland's downfall. This biologicistic approach of Dmowski's, polemical when compared to the dominating tone in patriotic-cum-nationalist trends, without a doubt made him stand out among the Polish nationalists. The writer summed up his piece succinctly: 'We have become an incomplete society.'

This modernizing approach, characteristic of Dmowski, is also well evident in comparison with other 'nationalist' and also conservative theoreticians of modernization in the region – for instance, when contrasted with Ukrainian thinking, which was so close in many respects. Although chronologically later, this thinking encountered basically analogous problems. For the historian Waław Lipiński (Vyacheslav Lypynsky, 1882–1931), a Polish nobleman and convert to Ukrainianism, without a doubt the most distinguished thinker among the local conservatives orientated towards modernity, the creation of a new élite, of a 'national aristocracy' was key. Lipiński saw the task of the 'aristocracy' as transforming the uneducated ethnic masses into a new nation conscious of its goals.

Although, as an expert on the matter points out, Lipiński's borrowings and inspiration taken from fashionable writers (for example, Gaetano Mosca, Vilfredo Pareto, or Ludwik Gumplowicz) were noticeable, the extent of such imitation had its limits.<sup>125</sup> The basis of the élite's existence was meant to be a commonality of tradition, national interest, and culture. Lipiński was able to identify this clearly

---

125 T. Stryjek, *Ukraińska idea narodowa okresu międzywojennego. Analiza wybranych koncepcji*, Wrocław 2000, p. 79.

in Ukrainian society, perceiving its characteristics among landowners, the local group of agricultural producers.<sup>126</sup> At this point Lipiński's proposition focused on modernization developed extremely reactionary traits. The Ukrainian historian, calling for the creation of a new élite, was trying to restore things as, in his opinion, they had been during Kievan Rus, and which in the 18<sup>th</sup> century had to all intents and purposes broken down. In Lipiński's reforming plans to 'build the nation', a great role was played by the modern state, which was for all the world a 'controller of the movement' (T. Stryjek) and which directed the process of an exchange of élites (an idea probably borrowed from G. Mosca); on the one hand controlling the entry into the machinery of state of the afore-mentioned ersatz gentry, while on the other the passive popular masses ('the only force capable of generating national progress').<sup>127</sup>

Lipiński's ideas reached their apogee in the ideology of monarchy, which in this approach was a reflection of the most effective model of regulating interpersonal relations. This plan of 'supplementing' history with its missing social classes can also be seen here in the work of one of the most eminent Czech historians of the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup>/20<sup>th</sup> centuries, Josef Pekař, for whom the presence of the gentry proved that the Czechs belonged to the broader European historical scheme of things.<sup>128</sup>

For yet another creator of Ukrainian national thinking, Dmytro Dontsov (1883–1973), the role of a national élite also emerged from a similar 'pessimistic' view of history.<sup>129</sup> The élite's key place in the nation's history could not, however, be reduced simply to the defence of an awareness of the national body politic, for the scope of the tasks that Dontsov (N.B. Ukrainian integral nationalism's chief ideologue) set it was broader. According to this ideologue, a healthy nation was a society focused on expansion. In this view the élite derived its legitimacy not

---

126 Ibid., p. 86.

127 W. Lipiński, *Lysty do bratw-chliborobiw. Pro ideju i orhanczaju ukrajniskoho monarchizma*, Vienna 1926, pp. 395–396, quotation taken from T. Stryjek, *Ukraińska idea narodowa...*, p. 88.

128 See Z. Kalista, *Josef Pekař*, Prague 1994, esp. ch. 5: 'Zákledni rysy Pekařovo pojeti českých dějin', pp. 213–227. See too M. Janowski, 'Three historians', *CEU History Department Yearbook*, 2001–2002, p. 214 and note.

129 See T. Stryjek, *Ukraińska idea narodowa...*, pp. 110–190. For Dontsov's place in a broader European context see id., *Europejskość Dmytra Doncowa, czyli o cechach szczególnych ideologii ukraińskiego nacjonalizmu*, in *Antypolska Akcja OUN-UPA 1943–1944. Fakty i interpretacje*, G. Motyka and D. Libionka (eds.), Warsaw 2002, pp. 19–32.



so much from its place in history, which is where Lipiński and conservatives in general put it, so much as from its ability to spot the 'national genius'.

The Ukrainian nationalist did not underestimate the role of tradition, which, as Tomasz Stryjek remarks, led him later to emphasize the 'ideal of manhood', which was supposedly perceived in the national tradition.<sup>130</sup> Dontsov, fascinated by authoritarian régimes, justified the role of the élite by referring to the personal attributes of the minority with initiative – an élite created on the basis of natural selection: imposing its opinion on others, a desire for power, fanaticism, leadership qualities and so on. As with the majority of national theoreticians from the region, the issue of national homogenization directed his thinking to the foreign nationalities question. It is worth pointing out this ideological moment, since it illustrates the broader issue of the relationship between integral nationalism and xenophobia, especially antisemitism.

Emerging from socio-Darwinian thinking Dontsov at a certain stage in the development of his thinking adopted racial concepts, too. Without going into this writer's complexly detailed deliberations, it should be noted that this thinking was based on recognizing Ukraine as a conglomerate of races. Using the research of home-grown anthropologists (including Vadim Shcherakivsky) and of foreign writers (including G. Vacher de Lapouge, H.F. Günther), Dontsov deduced that within the framework of the actual Ukrainian nation basically two races existed side-by-side. It appeared fundamental for this national theoretician to extract this racial element, which from the point of view of the body politic would have a leadership role.

As with most supporters of a racial theory of history, here too the positive dimension was supposed to lie in the so-called 'Nordic element'. Ukrainian lack of productivity, imitation of foreign models, lack of any clear 'direction' in its culture – just to mention the ills in public life – was in Dontsov's opinion the result of a deficit of this Nordic element. This nationalist theoretician saw the culmination of these afflictions in the domestic intelligentsia, practising an imitative 'Provençal' type of nationalism. The creative, active type of nationalism as a variant of national ideology could be adopted as an idea for the battle with others, who in principle were threatening the community.

And yet this biologicistic and determinist concept did not sit too well with a racist theory of history. The idea of mixing the races and associated gradual degeneration, as well as the struggle between races, appear to have been secondary issues in Dontsov's thinking. As Stryjek acerbically notes, Dontsov, despite a

---

130 T. Stryjek, *Ukraińska idea narodowa...*, p. 132.

great many efforts, was unable to identify an example of a purely 'Nordic' figure in Ukrainian history. On the other hand, however, the ideologist saw Bohdan Khmelnytsky as the greatest hero in Ukrainian history: a type of Nordic-Dinaric mix (the latter element – according to the anthropological formula accepted by the writer – dominant on Ukrainian lands). Although over time antisemitic rhetoric would appear in Dontsov with full force (the Jews as an international element – deprived of a state, of a land, of a language, and thus the values one acquires together with a history), yet this would not mean ascribing to the Jews the demonic role that they held in strictly racist concepts. According to this formula, the Jews were barely the tool of active forces in history, namely nations. Racial ideas were secondary here in terms of the national project, as was racism in terms of the proposed version of nationalism.

Unlike Dontsov, Dmowski's attitude towards the Jews (although in comparison with earlier publications, the one formulated in *Mysli* was moderate), remained central to his whole exposition. Dmowski admitted the Jews' difference, based on the foreignness of their race. While he did not always write about this in so many words, nevertheless he maintained this view throughout the whole work. Not without reason then would a young nationalist – a ZET, and later an LN activist – accuse the author of *Mysli* of a cult of race and professional antisemitism.<sup>131</sup>

The depiction of Jewish society that we find in this piece might appear trite, in places neutral and devoid of prejudice. But that was a façade. The writer's sociological imagination, without a doubt not run-of-the-mill, from its very inception had been feeding on an ominous phantasm – the Jews. Racism effectively rationalized this phantasmagoria and, moreover, appeared to provide a great many practical pointers for more general political activity.

Dmowski assumed that contemporary societies were a mix of 'racial material'. Each society or nation consisted of various racial elements. As a result of historical changes, various kinds of changes, migrations and moves the resultant nations thus created their individual social-cum-ethnic mixes.

The Poles, as an ethnic community, with their complicated history, were not in this regard an exception. Dmowski argued that in the contemporary world – just as in nature – natural selection was taking place on a massive scale. He wrote: 'In society, as in nature, there is selection emanating from various racial types' greater or lesser ability to survive.' Certain racial types came together, assimilating one another, creating common and healthy communities. Other interracial

---

131 B. Sęp [B. Bator], 'O patriotyzmie nowoczesnym (R. Dmowski, *Mysli* nowoczesnego Polaka, wyd. II)', *Teka*, August–September 1904, nos. 7–8, p. 421 and note.

alliances, on the contrary, as a result of the biological incompatibility of racial types created interracial monsters unsuited to survive. According to Dmowski, 'survival ability', the vitality of specific racial types, was evidence of the potential effectiveness of such selection.

Incomplete races, ones which were sick or disabled or degenerate, for all the world wounded animals, when they came into contact with healthy types would deform and distort them. Degenerate races would lead healthy ones to their decline and downfall. They would destroy whole communities, too. Hitherto the views of the writer of *Mysli* had not strayed from popular convictions, spread by anthropology. His own view emerged only when he produced examples.

In Dmowski's opinion, it was precisely the Jews who were always this degenerate race. Unable on their own to create a whole society, they were capable only of coming into contact with other societies. Possessing social structures formed over the centuries, they created closed enclaves within societies. These enclaves, representing organisms unsuited to their surroundings, slowly deformed all their external surroundings. These were oases, or rather, to use the writer's term, self-replicating parasitical colonies.

In this nationalist ideologue's opinion, Poland could provide a great deal of material illustrating this destructive process. Dmowski's argument began in the Jagiellonian era. The Jews, who at that time became the gentry's middlemen, established themselves and became an indispensable element, if not the backbone of the world of the gentry.

And what was happening with other ethnic groups living in what was then Poland? The writer did not develop this thread, perhaps letting the reader know that in line with the presented model of civilizational development they had become absorbed by the 'Polish racial type'. And the only 'racial material' that was adapted was one that was similar in its anthropologically convergent mass. The Jews could not assimilate, since they had 'too definite a personality [...] formed by tens of centuries of civilized life.' Not because they were just a different race from the Poles, for Dmowski also included the Russians and the Germans, who had settled on Polish land, into a racial type differing from the Poles, but on account of their organic racial difference. He wrote: 'In the character of this race, which has never had a social life like ours, so many separate features, which are foreign to our moral system and eventually harmful to our way of life, have accumulated and taken root that combining with a large amount of this element would doom us, replacing those young creative elements on which we are building our future with malign elements.' However, Jews in the pre-modern era had to a limited extent assimilated into Polish society, thereby not, in Dmowski's opinion, creating such a key threat.

Let us recall that already at the start of the 1890s Dmowski had written in *Głos* on the benefits of healthy civilizational communities absorbing weaker groups and societies, which were less well-endowed by nature. Not only members of these communities, but the whole of mankind, were supposed to derive such benefits. The 'Głos-ite' columnist argued then that everyone benefited from conditions of life in civilization. He presented an alternative scenario with regards to a situation when such diffusion would be achieved by mutual contact of 'racial types' which were different, and thus incompatible and unsuited to assimilation. In that case racial mixing was harmful and brought nothing but problems to every community. There was no doubt as to the conclusion: a wrongly applied selection of racial types would lead to degeneration and downfall.

Dmowski did not have to convince his readers that the Poles had been a cultural-civilizational power in Jagiellonian times. Thus the Poles could absorb and assimilate minority groups and societies. On the other hand, as he showed, this odd socio-political combination that had developed on Polish soil in the Jagiellonian era had created conditions, which not only had not forced this kind of real assimilation of minority groups, but on the contrary, had slowed it down.

In other words, the creation of such a unified, 'amalgamated' political community had been impossible in the past. In this view then racial issues were not just a key to the past, given that they showed a series of current and future problems.

The effects of this disastrous gentry/Jewish symbiosis were supposedly long-lasting and multi-faceted. The gentry, becoming in fact a political grouping, by virtue of its existence prevented the emancipation of other social classes. According to Dmowski, one of the first victims of this process had been the bourgeoisie, which in other countries was the foundation of a modern society, but here created an insignificant substitute for this group. The Jews, who in practice were running the economy, could not assume the duties of the third estate. As a 'separate element feeling no affinity for the nation' they could devote themselves solely to the 'material exploitation of the country and its people.' The Jews, both in the past and present had been a brake, a deadweight in fact preventing the home-grown community's development. But it was Józef Karol Potocki who had already presented such reasoning in *Głos*. However, in his own piece Dmowski went further.

The economic development of the 19<sup>th</sup> century had interrupted this gentry/Jewish symbiosis, although its consequences, in the opinion of the writer, continued to be felt. Not just the economy was subjected to analysis here. The whole of social life suffered on account of these by now passé processes and mechanisms, and especially on account of the role that the gentry played in social life. According to this line of reasoning, nothing good could ever be expected from the Jews. Dmowski, although the product of an impoverished family of gentry,

foretold the decline and fall of this class without scruple or sentiment. He wrote: 'The conditions in which the type of Polish squire grew up and psychologically finished himself off were so different from those elsewhere in the civilized world that his character had to become something enormously different from everything we find elsewhere. But the great mistake is to consider the signs of character, which have developed thanks to these special conditions, as basic features of our race. These conditions have disappeared, but in their stead the type created by them is also slowly disappearing: never will they be repeated in our country, so the type will never be reborn [...] the Polish character's basic features, which have been created in a sole social class, are, under the influence of special conditions, condemned to disappear rapidly.'

As has been mentioned, the gentry's place in the social structure and this class's method of influencing the life of the developing nation could not remain unimportant. Dmowski deduced the dominant trends in society from these influences. Hence he also brought out a set of national characteristics, which he labelled the Polish national character.

The critique of Polish national faults which Dmowski presented did not diverge from a certain model dominant among Polish radical intellectuals at the turn of the century. The voices of Waław Nałkowski and Cezary Jellenta, i.e., other committed thinkers, usually on the left of public opinion, sounded a similar note. Socialist critiques also developed from this current. Writing in a similar vein, Stanisław Brzozowski would shortly come out with his assessment of Polish attitudes. Michał Bobrzyński presented a critique of the gentry and its role in society in *Dzieje polskie w zarysie* (*An Outline of Polish History*). In fact every modernizing project sooner or later touched on this subject.

However, a mental and ideological abyss separated Dmowski from the conservatives. The issue of the ruling class, also being key for neoconservative thinkers, was in their view rooted in history and was linked to the existence of the specific social group that was the landed gentry. 'The leading class' (J. Szujski) had to have the virtue of 'linking with history'.<sup>132</sup> For the author of *Mysli* this connection with history was based more on a symbolic contract – an intuitive

---

132 M. Król, *Konserwatyści a niepodległość. Studia na polską myślą konserwatywną XIX wieku*, Warsaw 1985, pp. 246–247. In this sense Bobrzyński was quite clearly a neo-conservative. For many hard-line conservatives his 'experiments' in constructing a new élite was as revolutionary as any activities by the democrats. See too M. Król, *Szlachta jako warstwa historyczna w polskiej myśli konserwatywnej*, in *Tradycja szlachecka w kulturze polskiej*, J. Tazbir (ed.), Warsaw 1976, pp. 76–94. See too M. Janowski, *State School and Conservatism in East Central Europe*, in *States, Societies*,

reading of 'tribal instincts' by 'active individuals' coming from the community, and also on a similar conviction that the distant past was a positive heritage. It was the effectively 'organized' act of will that was eventually meant to decide about real power. Having roots in tradition was an important political argument (this motif would return later when proving the superiority of the Poles over 'un-historical' nations, e.g., the Czechs, or ethnic groups that had never achieved the status of nationhood, which included the Ukrainians), partly too a sentimental one, but this issue could not be of the first rank, let alone decisive. Maintaining loyalty to tradition did not decide the significance of a political project, and sometimes quite the opposite – breaking with it – did.

Dmowski's attitude towards national history was selective, although on the other hand it is hard to see this as a specific feature of his journalism. In his criticism of the gentry the ND ideologue also positioned himself outside the conservative camp in its broadest sense. In the ND the voice most critical of the national character rooted in the gentry tradition was that of the movement's elder statesman, Jan Ludwik Popławski, although a great many other columnists linked to the League were making similar statements.

A constant element of Dmowski's journalism from the start had been the polemic with Polish passivity, a peculiar apathy and indolence, which was how he described the state of the 'national spirit'. The writer was also short on populist sentiments, ones which Popławski in particular held strongly. Passivity, as he saw it, was the sum and expression of the Polish character of the day. Passivity dominated, since it was the gentry class, heading toward a downfall, which guarded it. Passivity had become the stable cultural capital endorsed by generations.

This apathy had been inherited by the new thinking class in developing modern society – the Polish intelligentsia. This state of moral indolence was enhanced by the existence in society of 'destructive elements', with the Jews in first place. Hence our nationalist ideologue held that so long as the intellectual élite came from the gentry, a class in fact riddled with a sense of decline, this state of widespread social indolence and meaningless impotence would continue endlessly.

Dmowski's observations took on a dramatic dimension when he compared Polish reality with his vision of politics. Societies which did not overcome a state of barrenness and powerlessness became, in the big scheme of things, barely substance, a half-product for other nations. Dmowski wrote: "The surface of the Earth is not a museum for preserving ethnographic specimens intact, whole and

---

*Cultures. East and West. Essays in Honor of Jaroslav Pelenski*, J. Duzinkiewicz (ed.), New York 2004, p. 418 and note.

each in its own place [...]. If there were some international laws protecting each tribe on the land it occupies, guaranteeing it the ability to arrange things as it wishes, without regard as to whether it is advancing, standing on the spot, or in fact regressing in cultural terms, we could reach a state of affairs at the centre of Europe with those semi-barbarous peoples, arrested in development, representing a barrier to civilization [...]. Nations, in their struggle to bring out the greatest energy from within themselves, to create the greatest amount of this new sort of life, encountering on the way tribes lacking in individuality and creative abilities, creative as a people and not as individuals, without the resources to take part on their own account in the life of history, absorb them, bring them into their sort of life, using them as material for their own creative energy [...]. Our racial material, if it is not used quickly by Polish civilization for the creation of a Polish national identity and Polish political power, will be swept up by neighbouring cultures and remade by them.'

In this scenario of an almost apocalyptic vision in which a great many contemporaries could see an apotheosis of struggle typical of the period, there was no place for weak, degenerate, and small-minded societies. 'Is this a national philosophy of struggle and oppression?' our writer asked rhetorically. 'Perhaps. But what if this struggle and this pressure are fact, while general peace and general freedom are fiction? [...]. One must have the courage to look truth in the eye.'

This recipe for modernity was contrasted with a running political-cum-social diagnosis. Dmowski tried to use it to illustrate how old, apparently no-longer active ideological currents leave an imprint on the contemporary world.

The general shape of the contemporary world presented by the ND leader was excessively gloomy: society was sick and unfit to live. The situation of the Polish population, with the exception of the Prussian Partition, where the Polish community, forced to struggle, had to produce 'active elements', appeared grim.

In Galicia, a 'humanitarian sale' of their cultural heritage was on the cards, the best illustration of which was supposedly the Polish élite's extremely relaxed attitude towards Ukrainian national aspirations. In the eastern borderlands a historical event that still resonated was the Union of Brest, which, according to Dmowski, was an example of a half-measure that had brought more harm than benefit. Throughout the whole territory of the Polish lands a spontaneous and uncontrolled influx of Jews was in the offing, in our ideologue's eyes something terrible in its consequences. The sickly bourgeoisie was unable to cope with this 'evident evil', this 'Jewish takeover.' Dmowski added with irony: 'we present our policy towards the Jews as one of the finest examples of our humanitarianism and tolerance.' He judged in similar terms a great many other indicators of social life, providing altogether a picture of a spiritually stagnant society, still in a state

of extended sickness and over which hung the spectre of downfall, of a society barren in spirit and character: 'a nation of rabbits.'

This state of growing crisis was most visible in the Kingdom of Poland. There one could diagnose a whole array of serious illnesses paralyzing Polish society. They affected the élite above all. Dmowski wrote: 'The greatest manifestations of the contemporary Polish soul [...] are intellectualism and aestheticism.' These two currents, and a full palette of other examples of 'spiritual mustiness, the marks of an over-civilized society', developed most vigorously in societies heading towards their downfall, drifting aimlessly in the modern world, and then entering the annals of history. In the Kingdom, which in the writer's opinion was developing intellectually the quickest, all these expressions of degeneration could be seen at first glance.

Other ideological currents, such as liberalism, socialism, ethical movements, or other 'odd philosophising' were subjected to similar criticism. Dmowski methodically demonstrated that these were sterile imitations of other people's intellectual work, products useless and harmful on home soil. Absorption of them would unfailingly lead to the domination of intellectual trash, and was already contributing to a dilution of domestic creativity in bourgeois European thought. This attempt, described still in rough form in the piece, to move away from the rationalist cultural model, would recur frequently. If someone were to recognize in this piece a principled break with the phantasm of 'senile Poland', using Stanisław Brzozowski's famous metaphor from the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century describing home-grown passivity, this would surely not be too reckless an analogy.<sup>133</sup>

In Dmowski's view, there were a number of reasons why the Kingdom of Poland had succumbed to these disastrous influences. Here Polish 'racial material', i.e., the peasantry, was the most obviously vulnerable to the spirit of decay. It was here too that the malign influence of the Jewish community – a factor which was always harmful for the development of the 'national spirit' – had made its greatest mark. However, Polish society as such, in comparison with other degenerate European nations, enigmatically mentioned in the text, societies which were going through the motions and were racially barren, had not, however, succumbed to complete

---

133 See Jan Baszkiewicz's statement in the survey: 'Ewolucja, rewolucja, rozkład. Czym jest i czym powinien być etos inteligencji w dzisiejszej Polsce? (Ankieta „Krytyki Politycznej”)', *Krytyka Polityczna*, Summer 2002, no. 1, p. 16. See too P. Wandycz, 'Wypisy z Dmowskiego', *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 26 V 2002, no. 21 (2759), p. 7; R. Wapiński, 'Krytyk narodowy. 60 lat temu zmarł Roman Dmowski', *Polityka*, 9 I 1999, no. 2.



exhaustion or civilizational overload, and had merely been derailed from its natural development.

This subtle, yet important distinction allowed a hope to be nurtured that a community, ably led by 'organized opinion', would be able to pull itself out of this morass, regain its strength and challenge for historical leadership. In what field? The economy, culture, or even more broadly intellectual life, as later readers of Dmowski would discover.<sup>134</sup> Our ideologue did not define this clearly, nevertheless the grandiloquence of the declaration on 'the massed millions called to rejuvenate Europe' testified to ambitions greatly exceeding the intellectual horizon of an average Leaguer.

In this ideological proposition, against the background of numerous cases of the intellectual and social élite's moral and physical decay, it fell to the people, as yet untouched by civilization, to play a significant part. The 'new people's army', as he called it, possessing the greatest supply of racial material, was free of urban society's pathology. And it was in this social class that Dmowski saw salvation. This tribal element, so strong in Popławski's work, leading the latter's entire thinking in the direction of a curiously understood democratism, was secondary with Dmowski. In Popławski the people were an ahistorical community, but it was an incidental and not innate ahistoricism resulting from this and not another course by the national historical process. In the statement that the people were the nation's potential there lay more than just a cold observation.

The founder of *Głos* gave his attitude towards the people a certain utopian and in its way sentimental flavour.<sup>135</sup> Remaining in the realm of these ideas turned

---

134 See M. Król, 'Nędza nacjonalizmu', *Polityka*, 15 VI 2002, no. 24, pp. 69–70. See too id., *Historia myśli politycznej od Machiavellego po czasy współczesne*, Gdańsk 1998, p. 156 and note; id., *Patriotyzm przyszłości*, Warsaw 2004, p. 30. For a different perspective see R. Matyja, 'Dmowski – niedokończona rozmowa o nowoczesności', *Nowe Państwo*, 5 II 1999, no. 6, p. 14.

135 Such a vision of reborn Polishness after extracting from it the 'spirit of the race' appeared most clearly in J.L. Popławski in an article 'Res Sacra (Artykuł pisany w dzień Wigilii Bożego Narodzenia w 1906 r.)', in id., *Szkice literackie i naukowe*, Warsaw 1910, pp. 358–363. T. Kizwalter presents the thing differently, undermining this utopian strain in Popławski, *O nowoczesności narodu. Przypadek Polski*, Warsaw 1999, p. 284 and note. See too T. Kulak, *Jan Ludwik Popławski 1854–1908...*, vol. 2, esp. ch. 'Pojmowanie ludu i jego narodowych zadań', pp. 434–522; N. Bończa-Tomaszewski, *Demokratyczna geneza nacjonalizmu. Intelktualne korzenie ruchu narodowo-demokratycznego*, Warsaw 2001, pp. 77–95; E. Maj, 'O niektórych problemach ideologii narodowej Jana Ludwika Popławskiego', *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, January–March 1987, no. 1, pp. 219–229.

Popławski into a populist democrat in the spirit of the age, but on the other hand made him immune over the long haul to the temptation of élitism, so strong in his protégé's thinking. It was for this reason that already by the end of the 1890s Dmowski in his private correspondence called Popławski *gauche*, which did not have positive connotations.

Dmowski's approach to the people was more realistic and also more instrumental. The people were the source of racial material, 'tribal raw material', but could not on their own become a political subject. Hipolit Korwin-Milewski, a conservative politician, who during the First World War often conferred with Dmowski about his attitude towards the peasantry, noted in his memoirs this approach as rather unceremonious – *Menschenmaterial*.<sup>136</sup> The peasants' own ambitions were not in the least taken into account in Dmowski's piece. The people were useful, when their biological, innate resources could be used on behalf of the whole community. The people were then treated as an object, but their significance was after all universal. Their natural vitality, contrasted with the broken down and degenerate élite, was meant to revive society. These arguments also showed that attachment to the democratization of public life had both mental and ideological limits, ones which Dmowski's subsequent evolution would clearly emphasize.

It was the author's intention that *Mysli* should above all be a manifesto of political belief and the start of a political programme. The leader of the ND mentioned several of these paths to the regeneration of the nation, 'fields of national action', as he called them. The key one seemed to be a widely-conceived plan of constant, 'national' expansion. This important issue of a general nature opened up a whole spectrum of specific problems. This conception had several levels and their representation could be but an indication of possible areas of development for domestic society. Not all concepts gave the impression of being equally realistic and easy to implement. On the face of it, a proposal to dominate or Polonize, or more precisely to re-Polonize a group of non-Polish peoples within the area of the old Commonwealth, the 'historical area of our national expansion', seemed the most modest.

From the vague paragraphs demanding the expansion of the area of national activity or the equally enigmatic desideratum for multiplying the nation's material and spiritual reservoir, there could also develop a demand for patriotic opposition to Germanization or Russification, as well as an encouragement to turn

---

136 H. Korwin-Milewski, *Siedemdziesiąt lat wspomnień (1855–1925)*, Poznań 1930, p. 434.

a group of foreigners into Poles. It emerged from the sequence of articles that it was above all a question of the latter. What is more, Dmowski saw simply focusing on the results and opposing nationalizing processes as national minimalism, pettiness, and national apostasy. For he who in a decisive and conclusive way did not support such focused expansion lost the right to full civil rights and abandoned his rights to a heroic and at the same time autocratic Polishness, one grounded in constant expansion. He became a 'half-Pole'.

It appears that in this apt and demagogic metaphor there was more at stake than just a certain agitational value common in this type of formulation, and also an attempt to count supporters and brand potential opponents. There lay behind it also a warning tossed out as if in monosyllables, and an announcement of a ruthless battle with political enemies, since an opponent of 'modern' identity conceived in this way immediately became an enemy. In the 'who did what to whom' battle, the winner took all, and also had the moral right to annihilate his enemy. Let us recall: 'The race of half-Poles must [my underlining. GK] die,' was how Dmowski ended one of his celebrated 1902 articles.

The Jews were on principle excluded from the Poles' assimilationist expansion towards other societies. In this case Dmowski argued perversely that it was more 'Jewish individuality', which could assimilate the Polish people. What was worse, this kind of mixing with the Jewish population would lead to the downfall and degeneration of the 'Polish tribal element', of which other racial types would be incapable, as the pamphlet's author argued elsewhere. The case of the Jews took on a special meaning in these pieces. The Jewish racial influence was fatal not only because of its constant expansiveness, but also on account of its organic 'spirit of decomposition'. The example which our ideologue kept using frequently – turn-of-the-century Spain – was convincing.<sup>137</sup>

In his view the Spanish became civilizationally disabled and no longer politically independent when they allowed the uncontrolled assimilation of Jews. The Spanish example illustrated convincingly the illusion of mixing racial types that were incompatible and alien. Furthermore, it showed that this kind of process inevitably led to the collapse of specific racial elements and eventually to the destruction of entire societies. Dmowski wrote: 'Today one hears among the Spanish the view that their indolence and poor organisation of public life have their root in the strong admixture of the Jewish element, which at the time of the terrible persecution of the Jews, who had a choice between death or conversion,

---

137 See J. Giertych, 'Wspomnienie o Romanie Dmowskim VIII', *Słowo Narodowe*, 26 I 1939, no. 26, p. 1.

chose the latter.' The assimilation of the Jews into the sphere of Spanish society was not the introduction of new biological material, to stick to this 'breeding' vocabulary, but on the contrary, represented an invasion of a sick, foreign body which would bring the whole of society to a state of degeneration.

For the sake of accuracy, Dmowski also in this work generously admitted that a small amount of 'the Jewish element' could be brought in as new Poles and that they could be accepted 'without great harm' [my underlining. GK].<sup>138</sup> It is hard to judge who would decide about such specific suitability and the actual natural selection of individual representatives of the 'separate element', also for the reason that the author of *Mysli* set the national bar high for Jews' usefulness, if one can put it that way. Let us repeat, if we should hold to other statements by Dmowski, such a test of suitability for assimilation for people of Jewish descent was open and unconditional opposition to the Jews.

The struggle with the Jews, with a society which, according to Dmowski, had come to dominate economic life, as well as a great many areas of public life, took on a new quality here. The elimination of the Jewish population from national economic life would lead to the rebirth of the home-grown bourgeoisie, in his opinion, one of the foundations of a modern society. That segment of Polish society, which would take part in a confrontation with the Jews, e.g., in the form of a boycott, would become regenerated by a general 'national act'. Let us repeat, the

---

138 This paragraph, which has been frequently quoted and analysed by scholars and commentators, reads in its entirety as follows: 'The Jews are not such an element. They have too distinct a personality, and one which has been shaped too clearly by tens of centuries of civilized life for them to be absorbed in large numbers by a young nation like ours still forming its character, and they would be more capable of assimilating our majority spiritually and in part physically. On the other hand, in the character of this race, which has never lived a social life like ours, so many separate features have accumulated and taken root, which are alien to our moral system, and which at the end of the day are harmful in our life, that combining with a sizeable amount of this element would doom us, replacing with destructive elements these young, creative seeds with which we are constructing our future. We should and can absorb a certain, small amount of the Jewish element and remake it without too much harm to ourselves, especially if taking a small number, we shall select from it that which is drawn to us more strongly, that which is the closest to us, the most similar.' This whole process of assimilation, recognized as per se harmful, was meant to be carried out in a very limited way for other reasons than what was objectively beneficial for a given society. Such circumstances might be, for instance, moral, or just opportunistic reasons. These exceptions to the rule did not, needless to say, mean bringing into question the actual racial understanding of social reality.

writer announced that active nations, ones capable of civilizational productivity, are born only out of struggle, conquest, and expansion. Rebirth had already affected the petty bourgeoisie in the Prussian Partition, which was toughening itself in its struggle with the German element – a petty bourgeoisie, whose honoured example the leader of the LN would often quote with great reverence.

However, one cannot claim on this basis that Dmowski had become the ideologue of or apologist for the bourgeoisie, as many critics, especially from the left, accused him. He invoked the axiom of constant expansion, of the ‘national struggle’ as a value in itself, being the indicator of a new morality, a new ethics, whose basis were will and a desire for power. A few years later the writer of *Mysli* did in fact soften this radical view, indicating that this oddly-understood philosophy as described above was supposed to refer only to international relations, while Christian ethics were supposed to dictate one’s behaviour in private life.

Thus in Dmowski’s approach eliminating the Jews from public life would mean removing the unchanging (for separate because of racial/anthropological and above all spiritual reasons) enemy of public order. In this sense conflict with the Jews was meant to lead to realizing more general, one might even say universal values. Getting rid of the Jewish population returned the ethical order in the usual sense of the word, which had been infringed by their presence. Ethical in the sense of the new morality, understood here as an expansion of the richness of life, of resilience and strength.

Civilizational progress, purportedly represented by the Polish element, was meant to stand in opposition to the condensed anachronism, the sect which was a parasite on every national community, in other words the Jewish population. This formulation and spread of the thesis on the organic Polish-Jewish opposition became on its own a gesture with a moral meaning. Dmowski wrote: ‘In the competition of nations every one of them should do as much as possible for progress, for civilization, for raising the value of man.’

For the above reasons the ND ideologue was morally ready to absolve combative enmity towards the Jewish population, and to treat the real battle with the Jews as nothing more nor less than a bath, a cleansing of public life. Eliminating the Jews from public life was meant to return the harmony of public order.<sup>139</sup>

---

139 It seems to me that the concept of the ‘moral economy’ is inspirational when analysing antisemitism as conceived here. The American historian W.W. Hagen, in *The Moral Economy of Popular Violence: The Pogrom in Lwów, November 1918*, in *Antisemitism and its opponents in modern Poland*, R. Blobaum (ed.), Ithaca and London 2005, pp. 124–170, has presented an attempt to employ this concept when analysing the mechanism of the 1918 Lwów pogrom. M. Pałciński, in *Judeofobia, antysemityzm*,

However, an internal contradiction lay in this thinking. Insofar as Dmowski was ready to accept Polonized Ukrainians (or also Lithuanians and members of other ethnic/nationalist groups) into the 'modern' community under certain conditions, in the case of the Jews he basically left them no way out. The Jewish population's frequently-emphasized fundamental foreignness excluded it from the operational dimension of every modern society, and somehow delegitimized its social existence. When Dmowski, despite the majority of Polish public opinion, supported the extermination of the Boers as a society by the 'civilized' British, he was reasoning along the same lines as had, for instance in his time, Ignaz Auer, a German social democrat, who had encouraged the Germanization of Polish workers precisely in the name of the slogans of progress and civilization. Other leading socialist theorists, such as Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx, thought along similar lines in relation to the 'unhistorical' Czechs. Whole numbers of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* were a sort of dispute on the subject of when the Czechs' 'destruction' and final defeat would come.<sup>140</sup> The attitude of both classics of scientific socialism towards the Polish question represented in this regard almost a case of Polonophilia.<sup>141</sup>

---

*ariocentryzm. Kryzys kultury chrześcijańskiej a retoryka tekstu*, in *Kwestia żydowska w XIX w. Spory o tożsamość Polaków*, G. Borkowska, M. Rudkowska (eds.), Warsaw 2004, pp. 405–422, has followed a similar thought process in the area of the history of ideas.

- 140 See R. Rosdolsky, 'Friedrich Engels über das Problem der „geschichtslosen“ Völker', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, vol. IV, 1964, p. 87 and note; id., *Engels and the 'Non-historic' Peoples. The National Question in the Revolution of 1848*, trans. J.P. Himka, Glasgow 1986. A paragraph from Engels's well-known article in *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in January 1849 describes this approach quite well: 'Among all the nations and little nations of Austria only three were carriers of progress and actively entered history and today are still able to survive: the Germans, the Poles and the Magyars. That is why they are nations of revolution today. The most immediate fate for all the other greater or lesser tribes and peoples is to be destroyed in the world revolutionary storm. That is why they are counter-revolutionary today [...]. The next world war will sweep from the face of the Earth not only the reactionary classes and dynasties, but also whole reactionary nations. And that too is progress.' F. Engels, *Walki na Węgrzech*, in K. Marks, F. Engels, *Dzieła*, vol. 6, Warsaw 1963, pp. 195, 204.
- 141 See Friedrich Engels's standard work, *Klasa robotnicza a kwestia polska*, in K. Marks, F. Engels, *Dzieła*, vol. 16, Warsaw 1969, p. 175 and note. See too an analysis of Marx's and Engels's view on the Polish question: A. Walicki, *Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism. The Case of Poland*, Oxford 1982, esp. ch. 'Marx, Engels and the Polish Question', pp. 358–391.

In relation to the Silesians Rosa Luxemburg presented an attitude towards the ‘unhistorical’ nations that was similar to the classics of socialism. A similar conviction motivated the Hungarian élite in its approach to the non-Magyar nationalities inhabiting the lands of the Crown of St. Stephen.

In all these cases – the Boers in South Africa, the Czechs as supposedly a nation without a state, or Polish workers in Silesia, but also Slavs and Romanians living in Hungary – members of communities should as individuals become participants in a higher, ‘progressive’ culture. Dmowski had a similar proposal, insisting on a project for the Polonization of the peoples inhabiting historic Polish lands. He wanted to make those who in his view were barbarians into participants in a higher civilization. Although this thinking was presented in a blunt manner, it can be seen as in line with the canons of the age and ‘modern’ in its own way.

The Jews, however, were essentially excluded from these sorts of projects on account of their racial foreignness. Individuals could become Poles, i.e., participants in civilization, only when they unconditionally accepted Polishness, which meant participating in the sworn battle against the Jews. This battle was the natural task of a new Pole. As one might imagine, it was also the destiny of every ‘civilized people’.

It was at that moment too that Dmowski was drawing near to antisemitic universalism. Perhaps it was because after the First World War the ND ideologue became personally involved in an international antisemitic campaign, like the one that was being conducted by the newspaper *The Dearborn Independent*, set up for that purpose with Henry Ford’s money, and famous for the publication, among other things, of the celebrated antisemitic philippic *The International Jew*. At the beginning of the 1920s the main ND ideologue wrote frequently that only ‘a basic overthrow of the correlation of political forces throughout the world’, i.e., ‘the Jews’ international scheme’ would make genuinely ‘national’ governments possible in Europe.<sup>142</sup> He came out and admitted to a friend: ‘I told myself that my most important task is to get to grips with this Jewish issue and to have the jews [sic] ceasing to rule the world. My ambition is, after doing what I am doing, still to do something really big for Poland and the world. But in order to do that “il faut reculer pour mieux sauter”. I have this ambition and I think it is good that everyone should recognize his *supériorité* and his *infériorité*. Of course, it would be pleasant to have one’s ministerial offices, one’s cars, one’s creature comforts.

---

142 J. Zdanowski, *Dziennik*, parts 3 and 4, 1921 and 1922, BPAN, Mf 1485, pp. 28–29, see notes dated 8 V 1921; 20 III 1921; 31 VII 1921; 10 III 1922; 4 IV 1922. See too K. Kawalec, *Roman Dmowski*, Wrocław 2002, p. 232.

But I have no time for any of that. For people like me the idea I was telling you about should be much more enticing than the idea of becoming a minister.<sup>143</sup>

By way of digression we may recall that Dmowski never openly, it would seem, admitted his own radical antisemitism. Even during the antisemitic campaign which he launched – over, it must be noted, the objections of the remaining leadership of the League – during the elections to the Fourth Duma in 1912, and to the accusations that he had started up anti-Jewish hysteria, he dissociated himself from the title of antisemite and from personal hatred of the Jews, claiming that it was enough for him to be a Pole.<sup>144</sup> Only that in this sense Polishness meant somewhat on principle a ruthless battle with the Jews.

However, Dmowski's assimilationist plan for 'alien' individuals should be treated as a figure of speech, a sort of perverse joke on the writer's part. Only the Jews, since the existence of Poles of Jewish origin was an impossibility, were meant to take up arms against other Jews in order to rid themselves of their Jewish stigma. And even then it would not be clear whether they would turn out to be full members of the reborn community: new Poles. A question mark over the value of such Poles continually crops up in Dmowski's writings at this time. Our ideologue did not set such conditions for any other ethnic group, including the despised Russians or the Germans. Nevertheless, this offer should be noted, particularly since its author later withdrew it.

This exceptional treatment of the Jews strayed beyond the intellectual model for minority groups designated for 'digestion' by ruling nations. It strayed too beyond the scenario for groups condemned to 'extermination' in the sense of Bismarckian *ausrotten*.<sup>145</sup> This famous metaphor was meant to signify radical assimilation, or in fact the integration of an alien ethnic element. It also exceeded the biological

---

143 W. Bartoszewicz, 'Z notatek', *Mysł Narodowa*, 29 I 1939, no. 5, pp. 72–73.

144 'Mowa p. Romana Dmowskiego wygłoszona na posiedzeniu prawyborców m. Warszawy w dniu 1 października w sali Resursy Obywatelskiej', *Gazeta Warszawska*, 3 X 1912, no. 95, p. 2; 'Mowa Romana Dmowskiego na zebraniu przedwyborczym w Warszawie 1912 r.', *Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy*, 16 XII 1938, no. 344, p. 1. See too 'Zebranie przedwyborcze w Filharmonii', *Gazeta Warszawska*, 7 X 1912, no. 99, p. 1. Of the numerous studies on those events one should mention an article by R. Blobaum, 'The Politics of Anti-Semitism in Fin-de-Siècle Warsaw', *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 73, June 2001, no. 2, pp. 274–306.

145 Thus, for instance, maintains A. Walicki, *Testament Dmowskiego*, in id., *Polskie zmagania...*, p. 325. For sake of accuracy, we should recall here that the author of the speech in the Prussian *Landtag*, where the famous 'ausrotten' was spoken was not Bismarck himself, but a Member of Parliament Edward Hartman – then a famous philosopher. Even at the time many commentators held that the speech was spoken in



understanding of man and society, which was so close to the whole generation and in particular the author of *Mysli*. It did not fit into the canons of the thinking of the day in which Dmowski expressed his plan. Exceeding the framework of this cultural model created a mental foretaste of completely new ways of solving 'the Jewish question'. Taking into account Dmowski's earlier publications, there is a great deal to indicate that on an intellectual level and, what is more, a moral one, it was then that the author of *Mysli* made his choice.

The lesson to be drawn from these writings was almost too obvious. Both on the basis of reading the pages of *Mysli*, as well as other writings by Dmowski at that time, once can reach the conclusion that it was only a matter of time before it came to a Jewish/Polish confrontation, the need for which the nationalist ideologue would vigorously promote.

Another proposal for national regeneration grew out of Polish colonial aspirations, which were popular at the turn of the century. The proposal to fund a New Poland overseas continually cropped up in public discourse, revealing in a telltale way the need for this kind of idea in progressive/radical circles. An expression of this view was a work entitled *Polacy w Brazylii* (*The Poles in Brazil*) (1893), by Antoni Hempel, who was connected with *Głos* and the pro-peasant current in the LN.

As early as the 1890s Stefan Żeromski, who knew the outline of the study from conversations with the author, wrote to a new lady friend, Oktawia Rodkiewicz: 'When Hempel's and Łązniewski's book comes out [the book came out without Kazimierz Łązniewski as a co-author, GK], there will be an uproar among our writers, and in our thinking, and throughout the press. These two prove, as plain as plain can be, that the colonization by our peasants in Brazil is a very positive phenomenon. Today there are about 50,000 peasants settled there, living all together and moving step by step into the interior towards the Cordillera. There are now as many as 7 Polish churches, over a dozen Polish schools, there are already Polish doctors and since there are no Jews, the peasants have become shopkeepers and merchants and are doing a fine job [...]. Travellers have reported that not a single peasant has hitherto even changed his accent, he builds a Polish hut, a Polish church, goes around in his coat. Within ten years they'll set up their own administrative district, their own parliament, they'll set up their own factories and they'll go on, they won't perish [...]. No German will venture there, the Portuguese don't set foot outside the towns, colonies, then there will be no

---

the idiom of the day and was not a signal of a new policy towards the Poles. However, Polish public opinion saw it differently.

chance of the colonies going native [...]. Our peasant perish! Nonsense! He will live together with neighbouring Poles, and will turn things Polish and will not go native. In twenty years' time these peasants, for whom we are weeping, will develop such a strong, such a powerful, such a self-sufficient branch of ours that we shall shed tears of joy.<sup>146</sup>

Ideas of colonization began to take on a realistic shape in the mid-nineties when successive waves of Polish peasant settlers began to head overseas.<sup>147</sup> Despite reasoned cautions and warnings, coming mainly from elite social circles, including the Church, emigration fever would return from time to time, filling the poorest segments of society with hope. However, while earlier it had mainly involved the population in the Prussian Partition, towards the end of the century it above all affected the Galician population. Then the idea of organizing these peasant pilgrimages in search of land caught the interest of the progressive Galician intelligentsia, not excluding some groups close to the Homeland Department. The best-known advocate of colonies at the turn of the century was an engineer in Lwów, Stanisław Kłobukowski. The result of all these efforts was, amongst other things, the creation of the Colonization Association with a publishing arm – the *Przegląd Emigracyjny* in Lwów – whose title was later changed to *Przegląd Wszechpolski*.

Dmowski's ideas on colonization of parts of South America were in no way unusual among Polish nationalists. These views were voiced most strongly in circles nurturing the myth of the Polish peasant's tribal resilience. As early as the 1890s, Jan Ludwik Popławski was expatiating on the Polish peasant's shining future on the banks of the Rio Grande or the Paraná.<sup>148</sup> Ideological patronage of this operation came into the hands of the editorial board of *Głos*, which had been revived after the

---

146 S. Żeromski, *Listy 1884–1892...*, pp. 278–279, Stefan Żeromski to Oktawia Rodkiewicz, Zakopane 16 V 1892.

147 See K. Groniowski, 'Gorączka brazylijska', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 74, 1967, no. 1, pp. 317–341. See too M. Kania, 'Nowa Polska – plany kolonizacji polskiej w Brazylii', *Przegląd Polonijny*, 2004, vol. 4, pp. 131–142; A. Mocyk, *Piekło czy raj? Obraz Brazylii w piśmiennictwie polskim w latach 1864–1939*, Kraków 2005.

148 Popławski's views on the subject evolved somewhat: from moderate support to enthusiastic encouragement for the future settlers. See inter alia J.L. Popławski, 'Emigracja z Galicji', *Głos*, 30 VII (11 VIII) 1888, no. 32, pp. 373–374; J. Nieborski [J.L. Popławski], 'Z kraju', *Głos*, 26 XI (8 XII) 1888, no. 49, pp. 577; J.L.P., 'Emigracja z Galicji', *Głos*, 2 (14) XII 1889, no. 50, pp. 625–626; J.L.P., 'Jeszcze o emigracji', *Głos*, 20 X (1 XI) 1890, no. 44, pp. 551–552; J.L. Popławski, *Emigracja brazylijska w rzeczywistości i poezji (Na złamanie karku. Powieść Adolfa Dygasińskiego, Nakład S. Lewenthala, Warszawa 1893 / Głos Listopad 1893)*, in id., *Szkice literackie...*, pp. 349–357; J.L. Popławski, 'Nasze siły. Cz. V, Kolonie', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, July 1902, no. 7.

Kiliński crack down under the leadership of Zygmunt Wasilewski, but the whole of Polish public opinion, from the conservatives and representatives of the Catholic Church to the intellectual left, was following these efforts. As an illustration, progressive *Ogniwo*, which had been founded in 1902 and was close to the PPS, regularly covered the fortunes of the Polish settlements in Brazil. Amongst others Adam Bujno, one of the leaders of PPS-Lewica, later left for Paran for good, while Wadysaw Godzikowski (a distinguished member of the socialist colony in Lwow) and Aleksy Kurcuz (a well-known progressive columnist) spent some time there.

*Gos* under Wasilewski recorded in detail the peasant emigrants' fortunes, trying to galvanize social support for this undertaking. Even in the 1890s, pilgrimages of Polish intellectuals had been going to Brazil. Among those who crossed the ocean were Adolf Dygasinski and Father Zygmunt Chelminski. They both returned somewhat sceptical of ideas of colonization. *Kurier Codzienny* – a paper close to bourgeois circles – paid for one of its correspondents, Stefan Nestorowicz, to stay in Paran. His series of stories/reports was more optimistic in tone. Maria Konopnicka dedicated *Pan Balcer w Brazylii (Mr. Balcer in Brazil)* to the fortunes of the peasant emigrants. During his trip to Brazil and other South American countries, Dmowski met the then-popular writer Artur Gruszecki. Other National Democrats also made the trip to Brazil. Later the LN tried to break these established contacts and politically dominate the Polish emigrants' efforts, with on the whole positive results.

If at the start of the 1890s social and economic arguments still predominated when proving the value of such initiatives, by the second half of the decade ones in which the rational strain was not necessarily the key idea began to come to the fore with greater intensity. The idea of a 'Nowa Polska' (New Poland) over the ocean, although never reaching the stage of a plan to be implemented, was one of many ideas to overcome Polish *fin de siecle* ills. For Dmowski, colonies were to be an excuse and the leaven for a new Polish civilization. Colonies were meant to be a down payment, a *sine qua non* for the creation of an empire.

Dmowski's interest in overseas emigration for a long time did not go beyond a common-sense conviction, which to this extent was shared by the domestic intelligentsia. In letters to Zygmunt Mikowski from the 90s, our ideologue even expressed himself with growing irritation about the daydreams, current in society, of colonies across the seas.<sup>149</sup> Mikowski saw the idea of settlements in South

---

149 See Roman Dmowski to Zygmunt Mikowski, 25 VII 1899, in M. Kuakowski, *Roman Dmowski...*, vol. 1, p. 228; J. agiewski [R. Dmowski], 'Z caej Polski (m.in.

America as fantasy, as he not infrequently made clear.<sup>150</sup> Dmowski, however, changed his mind.

Initially sceptical towards the idea, after his Brazilian sojourn he became an ardent proponent of a 'Polish Paraná'. It is hard to tell what finally convinced him: was it the 'resilience of the Polish racial element', which he encountered on more than one occasion across the ocean, or the opposite – the cold laws of demographics and social psychology, which he industriously explored in depth on the banks of the Thames?

The fruit of these voyages was one of Dmowski's few purely scientific works. Written in London at the British Museum and published in 1900, his monograph *Wychodźstwo i osadnictwo (Emigration and Colonization)* was to be an introduction to a practical treatise on the 'new field of national cultural expansion.'<sup>151</sup> Perhaps from the pamphlet it was not quite clear that the prospects for Polish colonies were realistic, however, many of the arguments resonated with his contemporaries. Bolesław Koskowski and Ludwik Włodek, both active in Popławski's circle, set sail later for Brazil to follow the fortunes of Polish 'civilization abroad.'<sup>152</sup>

Already in *Mysli* Dmowski had pointed to Paraná as one of the roads to Polish civilizational expansion, a way to transform 'national energy' that could regenerate Polish society. He wrote: 'In the situation of a nation, which has run out of space at home, which has so few opportunities to move around [...] this new field of endeavour, which could give an outlet to the most lavish characters, the freest spirits, condemned in present circumstances in Poland to inevitable decay and the saddest of perversions, such a new field would be a blessing for a nation capable of appreciating its significance. Even if the creation of a new Polish society, somewhere on the shores of the South Atlantic, in the jungles of Brazil eventually turned out to be an impractical dream, then just the very act of taking on such a task would give us new and broad practice fields for some of our atrophying energies, and would thus contribute splendidly to the rebirth of our stagnating spirit. And how incalculable overall would be the consequences for

---

Sprawa kolonizacyjna); *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 15 VII 1895, no. 13, pp. 202–203; see K. Kawalec, *Roman Dmowski...*, pp. 51–52.

150 See [Z. Miłkowski], 'Nieco polemiki?', *Wolne Polskie Słowo*, 20 III 1899, no. 277, pp. 1–2.

151 See M. Koreywo-Rybczyńska, 'Roman Dmowski o osadnictwie w Paranie', *Przegląd Polonijny*, 1984, vol. 31, pp. 56–66.

152 See B. Koskowski, *Wychodźstwo zarobkowe włościan w Królestwie Polskim*, Warsaw 1901; L. Włodek, *Polskie kolonie rolnicze w Paranie*, Warsaw 1911.

the expansion of Polish life of a successful outcome – namely the founding on a distant shore of a new society, speaking Polish, drawing its moral strength from the common treasure of national civilization, and strengthening it with fresh, and in terms of content, really new elements.<sup>153</sup>

On the other hand, Dmowski perceived in this civilizational project the possibility of accomplishing further tasks of a universalist character facing Polish society. Imperialist Poles, belonging to a higher cultural order ('the higher orders of races which create civilizations'), to people who were wasting away living on a densely-populated continent ('they cannot breathe in over-populated Europe') and were ailing, owing to a lack of living space (as a 'nation seriously ill for lack of air, for lack of space'), they were now meant to change the world order at the expense of indigenous populations, to enter the lists with the 'yellow peril', which was supposedly just lying in wait to destroy the 'European way of life'. The writer saw in this imperialist message real, long-term goals for regenerating Polishness.

The second part of *Wychodźstwo i osadnictwo*, announced as an ideological basis for dry demographic analyses, did not see the light of day. Dmowski worked at it industriously and its introduction was probably some lectures that he gave in Lwów at the School of Political Science, as well as talks that he announced during the National Rally in Lwów in 1903, but he eventually dropped the idea of publication. It appears that in 1905 he was still weighing up the idea of finishing the work, but the hurly-burly of current politics kept him fully occupied. Hence the shadow of Paraná was merely a passage in Dmowski's thought.

As many writers have pointed out, Dmowski presented in *Mysli* a new formula for the existence of a modern nation.<sup>154</sup> Popławski too had said this clearly, but earlier (writers from positivist circles were doing it intuitively), and he had distinguished modern polities from pre-national ethnic groups.

The modern nation was from this perspective seen as a society joined by new ties, different from dynastic or state ones, and being the result of political democratization and the extension of culture to all social classes. Demands for

---

153 R. Dmowski, *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka...*, p. 70.

154 Above all T. Kizwalter, *O nowoczesności narodu...*, p. 288 and note. See too A. Walicki, who frequently compares Dmowski's project with Gellner's model in *Nacjonalizm i społeczeństwo obywatelskie w teorii Gellnera*, in *Idee a urządzenie świata społecznego. Księga jubileuszowa dla Jerzego Szackiego*, E. Nowicka, M. Chałubiński (eds.), Warsaw 1999, p. 255; A. Walicki, *Testament Dmowskiego*, in id., *Polskie zmagania...*, p. 322; id., 'Niech zginą pół-Polacy', *Gazeta Wyborcza*, Saturday-Sunday 11–12 V 2002, pp. 22–23; id., 'Naród i terytorium. Obszar narodowy w myśli politycznej Romana Dmowskiego', *Dziś*, July 2002, no. 7, pp. 28–31.

the homogenization of national culture and the narrowing of the gap between groups, overcoming territorial and state idiosyncracies, as well as developing linguistic standards embracing the whole of society, were now seen as self-evident. But, let us repeat, the columnists in *Głos*, with Potocki and Popławski in the lead, had already been using such definitions.

To a certain extent Dmowski acknowledged the existence of the modern nation to be the natural result of modernizing processes, although this judgement was modified by real caveats. Not every pre-national community, he stated, automatically becomes a nation. As one critic remarked, the author of *Mysli* was not a supporter of nursing 'tribal living creatures'. On the contrary, he worked hard to prove that it was morally right for mankind that some ethnic groups be absorbed by others, since some of them would in any case disappear from the face of the Earth.

He saw national tradition, high intellectual culture, a literary national language and above all a race's biological potential as objective indicators of the development of a nation. He often mentioned among subjective factors an ethnic group's ability to survive in a brutal world, but this to a certain extent had to come from a tribal/racial type's vitality.

Thus Dmowski's thinking about a nation was seriously laden with biological determinism, for which he was already criticized by his initial readers (even those of them who on the whole agreed with him elsewhere), and of which his former supporter, a nationalist too, Zdzisław Stahl, would remind him in the clearest possible manner several dozen years later.<sup>155</sup> In a Polish context this approach represented a radical break with romantic visions of the nation and its past, and was usually treated as an expression of an individualistic concept of realism. Indeed this realism should be understood above all as an expression of an acceptance of a socio-Darwinian view of the world with all its consequences. In Dmowski's formulation, the modern nation was to be an integrated battle group.

The author of *Mysli* also came out in his work with several other statements, for whose fallout even the nationalists of the day turned out to be unprepared. The fields of national expansion defined by Dmowski created the basis of a 'modern' homeland, reinforcing, as one scholar has aptly remarked, 'the mythical reality of Polish nationalism'.<sup>156</sup> And it was precisely this constant expansion, understood thus, which was meant to draw the boundaries of this new Polish

---

155 Z. Stahl, *System Dmowskiego wczoraj i dziś*, London 1953, esp. the chapter 'Kierunek przyrodniczy', pp. 18–24.

156 J. Kurczewska, *Nacjonalizm i rzeczywistość mityczna*, in *O społeczeństwie i teorii społecznej. Księga poświęcona pamięci Stanisława Ossowskiego*, E. Mokrzycki [et al.] (eds.), Warsaw 1985, p. 496.

identity. However, this concept went beyond the definitions laid down for ethnic nationalism, but also for more broadly understood nationalism, in an ethnolinguistic sense. Clearly, the modern Pole had to be born in a defined ethnic area; there was no other way.

For Zygmunt Balicki this meant finally coming to the conclusion that a man without a sense of the 'modern' nation is *de facto* devoid of all morality. Bringing to life this extraction of its potential from Polish 'racial material, the race's physical reservoir' – the current most strongly present in Dmowski and Popławski – in line with the values of this sort of modern anthropology, could happen only within a specific reality. The factor of deep-rootedness was in this line of reasoning simply immovable.

If Maurice Barrès was calling on young French people to become involved in the issue of recovering Alsace and the Rhineland, he saw in this a new field for the development of moral life. The struggle with the Germanic element was to define a new nation, a community based on the cult of soul and strength, and to a certain extent too on an ethnic concept of race, although in the French ideologue's thinking this moment was not linked to a complex philosophy of the history of race.<sup>157</sup> These attributes were meant to transform the selfish citizen of the Third Republic destroyed by bourgeois life (described already by Barrès in his story *Le Culte du Moi*, which Polish radicals read too) into a new man.

As one of the most eminent experts on the turn of the century writes, this new nationalism was also meant to free the generation entering the world in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century from the burden of alienating freedom.<sup>158</sup> It was clear

---

157 See Z. Sternhell, *Maurice Barrès et le nationalisme français*, Paris 2000, esp. the part 'Le déterminisme physiologique', pp. 285–298. See too id., 'National Socialism and Antisemitism. The Case of Maurice Barrès', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 8, October 1973, no. 4, pp. 47–66; R. Soucy, *Fascism in France. The Case of Maurice Barrès*, Berkeley–Los Angeles 1972, esp. ch. 'Vitalism, Mass-democracy, and racism', pp. 116–156; S. Dunn, 'French Anti-Semitism and the Cult of the Soul', *Partisan Review*, vol. 66, fall 1994, no. 3, pp. 592–599; D. Carroll, *French Literary Fascism. Nationalism, Anti-Semitism and the Ideology of Culture*, Princeton 1995, pp. 20–41; E. Weber, *Inheritance, Dilettantism, and the Politics of Maurice Barrès*, in id., *My France. Politics, Culture, Myth*, Cambridge Massachusetts 1991, pp. 226–243. See too id., *Nationalism, Socialism, and National Socialism*, in *Ibid.*, pp. 261–284.

158 F. Stern, *Narodowy socjalizm jako pokusa*, in id., *Niemiecki świat Einsteina. Eseje o historii Niemiec XX wieku*, translated and selected by Ł. Galecki, Warsaw 2001, p. 163. In the literature on the subject, this generation of new right activists, who entered public life in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and which included Maurice Barrès, Enrico Corradini, Edouard Drumont, Julius Langbehn, Charles Maurras,

to Barrès that this new man was to be French. For Enrico Corradini, the founder of the *Associazione Nazionalista Italiana* (1910), the Italian version of integral nationalism, this new man was without any doubt whatsoever an Italian, who would be born during colonial conquest. There were similar overtones in paragraphs in Dmowski's work on the struggle against Germanization in the Poznań region, or passages on the 'humanitarian' sell-out to the Ukrainians of the national heritage that were the *Kresy*, i.e., the eastern borderlands. There were far more such analogies with Barrès. The prince of French youth (*le prince de la jeunesse*) had at the time many 'stepbrothers'.

Within the framework of this approach the moral community of mankind was in principle negated. Integral nationalists were not interested in such abstract connections and relations. This line of thinking inevitably led to some form of national autarky.

But Dmowski had in mind a much more long-term concept, which in terms of scale also went beyond the prevailing imagination of even the most extreme home-grown nationalists. His idea contained three uplifting visions – vision/myths in the Sorelian sense. Myths whose task it was to rouse to action, to regenerative deeds: the myth of the new man, the myth of empire and finally the most resonant myth of an enemy – the Jew. These three points anchored ND ideology on much broader ground than had Popławski's earlier journalism and *Głos's* legacy.

The ideas contained in *Mysli* did indeed go beyond nationalist ways of thinking. The concept of an expanding society, formulated on the basis of the assumption that Polishness and Poland as such were wherever the 'Polish spirit' took root and settled, gave a new dimension and a new meaning to the 'All-Polish' idea.

---

Georg Schönerer, is called the 'generation of 1890'. Of particular note are the many works and studies by the Israeli historian Zeev Sternhell. See, inter alia Z. Sternhell, M. Sznajder, M. Asheri, *The Birth of Fascist Ideology. From Cultural Rebellion to Political Revolution*, trans. D. Maisel, Princeton and New York 1994; id., 'Fascism: reflections on the fate of ideas in twentieth century history', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, vol. 5, June 2000, no. 5, pp. 139–162; id., 'Paul Déroulède and the origins of modern French nationalism', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 6, 1971, no. 4, pp. 46–71; id., *The Crisis of Fin de Siècle Thought*, in *International Fascism: Theories, Causes and the New Consensus*, R. Griffin (ed.), London 1998, pp. 169–174. See too F. Stern, *The Failure of Illiberalism: Essays on the Political Culture of Modern Germany*, New York 1988; id., *The Politics of Cultural Despair. A study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology*, Berkeley 1961; G.L. Mosse, *The Culture of Western Europe. The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. An Introduction*, Chicago 1961, esp. ch. 12: 'Change in the Public Spirit of Europe', pp. 213–230.



They also went beyond Popławski's idea, which turned the National Democrats' attention to the issue of access to the sea and the western border, or also drawing up natural borders for the nation's existence.<sup>159</sup> One of the nationalist right's basic dilemmas was whether to increase nationalist forces within the body politic or to expand this body's domestic territory by external expansion. Here it was solved in Solomonic fashion: both should be accomplished simultaneously.<sup>160</sup>

This thread of Dmowski's thinking was close to that of another apologist of imperialism, who was leading him away from the premises of extreme nationalism, Enrico Corradini, as well as a great many German ideologists of colonial expansion. The author of *Mysli* wrote: 'The nation does not suffer when it expands rapidly the field of its activities, but when thanks to this field contracting the mood for action vanishes within it [...]. The road to multiplying the nation's active forces does not run this way. Let us expand the horizons of our national thinking, let us cut broad paths for it through the frontiers between the partitions, let us take it wherever Polishness lives and wishes to live, let us rouse it where necessary from this state of somnolence, let us go out to battle in its defence to the furthest border lands, let us build a new Poland beyond the seas, let us make of all this a single, great modern national idea, and our forces will not sleep, society will not spend time thinking of new ways to kill time beyond those

---

159 See B.A. Porter, 'Who is a Pole and Where is Poland? Territory and Nation in the Rhetoric of Polish National Democracy before 1905', *Slavic Review*, vol. 51, Winter 1992, no. 4, p. 652; T. Kulak, 'Jan Ludwik Popławski w polskiej publicystyce sprzed I wojny światowej', *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis*, *Historia*, 36, 1981, no. 543, pp. 255–268; ead., 'O wpływie poglądów polityczno-społecznych Józefa Ignacego Kraszewskiego na kształtowanie się ideowych podstaw publicystyki Jan Ludwika Popławskiego', *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis*, r. 1135, *Historia. Studia z dziejów XIX i XX w.*, Wrocław 1991, p. 37 and note. See too T. Mistewicz, 'Zagadnienie rewindykacji terytorialnych w ideologii polskiego ruchu nacjonalistycznego do roku 1918', *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 18, 1986, no. 2, pp. 3–34; A. Walicki, *Naród i terytorium...*, pp. 22–41; id., 'Koncepcja tożsamości narodowej i terytorium narodowego w myśli politycznej czasów porozbiorowych', *Archiwum Historii Filozofii i i Myśli Społecznej*, 38, 1993, pp. 215–231; R. Wapiński, 'W kręgu wyobrażeń o polskim terytorium narodowym w końcu XIX i pierwszych dziesięcioleciach XX wieku', *Przegląd Zachodni*, 1986, nos. 5–6, pp. 305–323. For a general discussion of the concept of a national homeland in nationalist discourse see too J. Reurose, 'Nations, states and homelands: territory and territoriality in nationalist thought', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 8, July 2002, part 8, pp. 277–297.

160 See A.A. Kallis, 'To Expand or not to Expand? Territory, Generic Fascism and the Quest for an "Ideal Fatherland"', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 38, April 2003, no. 2, pp. 237–260.

we already have, such as idle chatter, card games and so on, today higher abilities will not turn away from what forms the most important subject of our national life and the basis of our future.’

The vision developed by Dmowski of an empire, of a new civilization created by voluntary acts of continual expansion that were meant to renew the morally decayed peoples of old Europe, was on the one hand striking by virtue of the scope of the writer’s imagination, but on the other it is hard to escape the layers of national megalomania contained within it.

The colonization of Paran, which had fired the imagination not only of the nationalist intelligentsia, was meant to serve as an introduction to the project, but of all Dmowski’s ideas it had from the start perhaps the least chance of success. Even the most extreme nationalist radicals of the 1930s, putting to one side the idea of Polish colonies in Africa, would barely give ideas of a ‘Slav Empire’ a glance.

Passages on the new man had an even smaller impact. After the pamphlet’s appearance, this issue was initially not noticed at all. Only an expert on Jean-Marie Guyau, Father Jan Pawelski, in the Jesuit *Przegld Powszechny* drew attention in a critical review to the ethical aspect of the nationalist ideologue’s reflections.<sup>161</sup> This must have dealt the author of *Mysli* perhaps the most painful blow. His piece, which was meant to explain how expansive individualism on the border of anarchy and a personal philosophy of life (‘a longing for the large-scale’) led to collectivism and extreme ethnic determinism, was collectively rejected. Here too we can discern the source of later personal resentments, which would grow over time. Already at the time of the second edition Dmowski expressed himself as follows about this critique: ‘I really can’t say that I have the same feeling of gratitude towards critics. Apart from one or two reports, from people who are close to me in spirit and for the most part share these views, apart from one, in places quite sharp but also quite impartial, review by a writer who is not close to me, my book has received nothing but attacks. Dislike of the political direction which I serve so dominates these writers that some have not wanted to, while others have been unable to see what the real heart of the book is. These gentlemen have treated this piece, which deals with general, for the most ethical issues, as if it were a satire: a profession of faith from someone who has, after all spent a

---

161 Ks. J. Pawelski, ‘Doktryna etyczna z obozu wszechpolskiego’, *Przegld Powszechny*, 20, 1903, no. 80, pp. 3–20.

great deal of time thinking about it and who has honestly said what he thinks has been treated like an act of vulgar political intrigue.<sup>162</sup>

Some years later he added: 'At the same time its [i.e., *Mysli*] publication personally clarified quite a number of things for me [...]. Namely the violent reaction with which a number of columnists greeted the book forced me seriously to examine the sources of their extremely hostile attitude towards my thinking, and what it was that connected them with one other. In one instance, two politicians belonging to opposing parties, ostensibly having nothing in common, clearly arrived at a division of labour between them when attacking my book. I came to the conclusion that there must be some secret links connecting them, and that some organization had arranged this division of labour. Thus, for the first time in my life and at the age of forty, I became interested in the freemasons. Better late than never. From that time I have made it my business to be interested, and I have come to understand a great many things in public life and in politics, which before had been unclear to me.'<sup>163</sup>

The greatest impact, although a drawn-out one, was made by the passages in the book on the Jewish question. What is perhaps surprising in view of the monograph's later wide reception, is that initial reactions to the work were restrained, as if potential readers had been struck dumb. On the pages of the opinion-forming Warsaw press, which was likely the most sensitive barometer of the intelligentsia of the day's opinions, apparently not a single piece critical of the work appeared. Perhaps few expected work of this sort from a writer as brilliant, but also as brutally blunt, as R. Skrzycki was seen to be. Dmowski, already a key figure in his movement, as far as the general public was concerned remained in the shadow of the other figures in the ND triumvirate. Much can be explained in terms of the censorship, but it was precisely with that in mind that the work had been carefully calibrated. More, however, was written about Dmowski's pieces in the Galician press.

Reviews started to come in later, and they were on the whole negative. Above all, most of the critical pieces linked Balicki's famous pamphlet with Dmowski's work, treating them as one. Perhaps this was not a fair assessment, although justified in the big scheme of things.

---

162 R. Dmowski, *Przedmowa do wydania drugiego, Kraków, 19 III 1904 r.*, in id., *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka...*, p. 9.

163 R. Dmowski, *Przedmowa do wydania czwartego, Warszawa, 8 II 1933*, in id., *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka...*, p. 16. See too 'Relacja Romana Dmowskiego o Lidze Narodowej', edited by A. Garlicki, *Przegląd Historyczny*, 57, 1966, vol. 3, p. 417 on the work's hostile reception.

Political opponents acknowledged both Balicki's scholastic sketches and Dmowski's essays as the essence of a Polish version of Hakatism.<sup>164</sup> Several reviewers, independently of one another, accused Dmowski of actually modelling himself on the hated Prussians. Years later, Emil Breiter would write that he had read Dmowski's work as an expression of national egoism in its purest Prussian form.<sup>165</sup> The socialist/pro-independence *Przedświt* recalled after the pogroms in Kishinev just what the 'ethics of national egoism' could lead to, and did not hesitate to reproach the leading ND ideologues for earlier stoking up an atmosphere of pogrom.<sup>166</sup>

Dmowski's arguments were compared to the ideas of the German chauvinists and the French nationalists. The writer was accused of Jew-hating, and of a paternalistic approach to historical minorities inhabiting the lands of the former Commonwealth. He was reproached for immorality and for breaking with Polish traditions. The issue of Polish expansionism frequently recurred in the progressive press. Wilhelm Feldman commented on this maliciously: 'The English and the Germans conquer foreign countries and Mr. Krupa wants to do the same.'<sup>167</sup> In similar vein Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz reacted negatively to the colonization of

---

164 Among the most important critical voices we should mention the following pieces: Flis [J. Kwiatek], 'Etyka hakatyzmu polskiego', *Przedświt*, January 1903, no. 1, pp. 5–9; [A. Warszawski-Warski], 'Socjalizm Narodowej Demokracji, czyli narodowa demokracja socjalizmu', *Przegląd Socjaldemokratyczny*, 12, 1902, nos. 60–63; [id.] J. Cz., 'Z kraju', *Przegląd Socjaldemokratyczny*, 2, 1904, nr 2, pp. 81–85; 'Demokracja Narodowa', *Przegląd Socjaldemokratyczny*, 12, 1902, in *Socjaldemokracja Królestwa Polskiego i Litwy. Materiały i dokumenty*, edited by F. Tych, vol. 2: 1902–1903, edited by B. Radlak, Warsaw 1962, pp. 175–180; 'Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka. Z ksiąg P. Romana Dmowskiego rytmem ułożył A. Lange', *Mysł Niepodległa*, 1906, no. 6, pp. 516–516; Ks. J. Pawelski, *Doktryna etyczna...*, pp. 3–20; J. Sierpiński, 'Egoizm a humanitaryzm I', *Krytyka*, 2, 1903, vol. 7, pp. 35–42; id., 'Egoizm a humanitaryzm II', *Krytyka*, 2, 1903, vol. 8–9, pp. 137–142; W. Spasowicz, *Etyka egoizmu*, in id., *Pisma*, vol. 9, Warsaw 1908; X. Dr. A.P., 'Kronika literacka (Zygmunt Balicki, Egoizm narodowy wobec etyki, Lwów 1902)', *Przegląd Polski*, 146, listopad 1902, vol. 5, pp. 347–350; NN, 'Nowoczesny Polak', *Odrodzenie*, August 1903, vol. 5, pp. 192–201; W. Feldman, *Stronictwa i programy polityczne w Galicji, 1846–1906*, vol. 2, Kraków 1907, pp. 108–114; L. Kulczycki, *Narodowa Demokracja...*, p. 21 and note. See too E. Orzeszkowa, *Listy zebrane*, vol. 8, E. Jankowski (ed.), Wrocław 1976, pp. 732–733, Eliza Orzeszkowa to Jan Gadomski, Grodno 11 V 1903.

165 E. Breiter, 'Literatura sumieniem narodu. Drogi Dmowskiego i Piłsudskiego', *Wiedomości*, 12, 2 II 1958, no. 5 (618), p. 2.

166 'Kiszyniew', *Przedświt*, June 1903, no. 6, p. 220.

167 f [W. Feldman], 'Program nieszczerości', *Krytyka*, 1, January 1904, vol. 1, p. 9.

the Paraná as an anachronistic illusion, comparing the idea to Zionist plans to settle in Uganda. Although it is hard to treat his comments as criticism of the relevant parts of Dmowski's work, this intervention should be noted. It accurately reflects the thinking of the socialist élites explaining to themselves the birth of modern nationalism as yet another stage in decaying bourgeois ideology: 'confirming these similarities, we do not need to break our brains over the issue of what "little channels" did Jewish psychology use to reach the native 'All-Poles', or the other way round, for we know that these are class phenomena, common to all nations.'<sup>168</sup>

Judgements of Balicki's work were similar. Andrzej Niemojewski admitted that the writer of *Etyka* had buffed up 'German/Lwów/narrow-minded Hakatism' with a scientific argument.<sup>169</sup> He wrote elsewhere: 'Bismarck at the head of the German government is severe, frightening, threatening, but Bismarck on the editorial boards of *Słowo Polskie*, *Przegląd Wszechpolski* or in the booklet *Egoizm narodowy* is just – dark, forbidding and almost tragically funny.'<sup>170</sup>

An anonymous columnist in the *Przegląd Socjaldemokratyczny* linked to the SDKPiL recalled the most significant stages in Balicki's work, reproaching him for being active in socialist circles and accusing him of opportunism and a betrayal of his ideals. 'It is hardly surprising that the "blue-eyed youngster" (which was how Feliks Daszyński had called Balicki in a famous pamphlet in 1889) has become something of a fuddy-duddy, followed by his chums [...]. Why the devil, Mr. Balicki, must you have become such a cynic? No, let us not be surprised: he who spits on his youthful ideals, inevitably becomes a cynic and a cretin; there is no other solution. So Mr. Balicki has had to construct a piggy philosophy.'<sup>171</sup> However, the definition of a new ethics introduced by the author of *Egoizm narodowy* met the sharpest criticism: 'Remember well, dear reader,' quipped the columnist, 'if you give a crust of bread to a hungry Russian peasant, if after a fire or a flood in Germany you give a few kopecks to the poor – you are behaving immorally! That is what the National Democrats' philosopher teaches.'

---

168 M. Luśnia [K. Kelles-Krauz], 'W kwestii narodowości żydowskiej,' *Krytyka*, vol. 2, February 1904, p. 123. See too id., *W kwestii narodowości żydowskiej*, in id., *Naród i historia. Wybór pism*, edited by S. Ciesielski, Warsaw 1989, pp. 321–322.

169 A. Niemojewski, 'Verbum Nobile. Po zdarciu obić,' *Prawda*, 28 XII 1902 (10 I 1903), no. 2, p. 17.

170 A. Niemojewski, 'Filozof nacjonalizmu,' *Prawda*, 16 XII 1902, no. 49, p. 9.

171 'Demokracja Narodowa,' *Przegląd Socjaldemokratyczny*, 12, 1902, in *Socjaldemokracja Królestwa Polskiego i Litwy...*, vol. 2, pp. 175–180.

Interestingly enough, newspaper editors began slowly to come to the realization that the League was not just the representative of the interests of the petty bourgeoisie, which had earlier been enough. It did not appear, however, that this general assertion demolished the conviction that the appearance of aggressive ethnocentrism could be explained in terms of Marxian paradigms, that is as the result of class contradictions. ‘This is why this “young” National Democracy is becoming so ghastly. Conditions, not people or leaders are the cause,’ the previously-mentioned social democrat ended his piece aphoristically.

This sarcastic/mocking tone also appeared in other publications, perhaps even dominated. Wilhelm Feldman reproached Dmowski, as well as the other leaders of the League, with political hypocrisy: ‘Colonizers – go on only about the defensive struggle; racial antisemites – about bringing in jew-Poles [sic]; the enemies of social emancipation – about the struggle on behalf of the workers; opportunists who in the only free place, Galicia, today offer for a good fee their love to Kraków conservatives, tomorrow to the Podolian gentry, the day after tomorrow to Lwów ‘kahal-ites’, then a little to the clericalists [...]. And the greatest danger posed by National Democracy in its current form is this insincerity. It poisons the nation’s mind with a flattery of ideas, and its soul with falsehood, hypocrisy, lies.’<sup>172</sup> The Lwów *Liberum Veto* sent Sherlock Holmes to track down the policies of the ‘All-Poles’. However, he couldn’t find the document. As a result of this, his first, failure as a detective, Holmes committed suicide, for from the start there had been no policies, while the League demanding the exclusive right to lead national opinion existed only on paper. The joke was exquisite, since it was an open secret that in private Dmowski was an admirer of Conan Doyle.<sup>173</sup> *Liberum Veto* had in any event gone along with the Galician ND from the very start. The leaders of the National Democrats (Dmowski as a promoter of colonialism, the leader of the nationalist movement and a future statesman, as well as the Junker Popławski) were regular heroes in these pieces.<sup>174</sup> Thus Andrzej Niemojewski, who was one of the ND’s most intransigent critics, ‘found’ the ND policies, which in his version were a pastiche of Dmowski’s works. Here are some of its headings:

---

172 f [W. Feldman], ‘Program nieszczerości’, *Krytyka*, 1, January 1904, vol. 1, p. 10.

173 Conan Doyle, ‘Zagubiony program (Romans kryminalny, nabyty na wyłączną własność przez „Słowo Polskie”)', *Liberum Veto*, 10 IX 1903, no. 19.

174 See ‘Po wyodrębnieniu Galicyi’, *Liberum Veto*, March 1903, no. 1, pp. 2–6; Sowizdrzał, ‘Czterdzieści cztery Junkra Jastrzębca’, *Liberum Veto*, 1 IV 1903, no. 3, pp. 1–3.

Brothers! Our policies go like this:\*  
 We are true-blooded 'All-Poles.  
 Brand-new people,  
 National Democrats  
 Demonstrate a critical attitude,  
 We want Poland to be a monarchy:  
 Freedom, equality, independence!!  
 Marvellous - but there are arrears...  
 We have Jews and Ruthenians,  
 Then we the Lithuanians too,  
 But let there be no 'buts' in our policies  
 We still have to go into the details:  
 Jews – to Palestine quick march!  
 Then the Lithuanians and the Russians,  
 They'll take on being Polish – but if  
 They don't want to  
 Only one course of action will remain  
 That course of action – extermination.  
 Poland from the ethnographic point of view  
 Is like a parish,  
 We need new land  
 For national creativity,  
 Movement for a great Polish wave,  
 Profit markets and so on:  
 But, even if this is barbarism,  
 Let us first create militarism!  
 A Polish uhlan, a decent sort,  
 Shedding his blood for the nation,  
 Will conquer many lands for us  
 From Warsaw to Shanghai.  
 A true democrat  
 Today he plans for the future!  
 We are true-blooded 'All-Poles,'  
 This is all we have for a policy,  
 Nothing will pull the wool over our eyes now:  
 He who is not with us is against us!<sup>175</sup>

---

\* This piece is written in rhyming couplets, which I have not attempted to reproduce as such. Translator's note.

175 Lambro [A. Niemojewski], 'Program Narodowych Demokratów', *Liberum Veto*, March 1903, no. 1, p. 2.

The young but upcoming playwright and literary critic Adolf Nowaczyński referred to Dmowski's work in Warsaw *Głos* in his *Skotopaski sowizdrzalskie* (*Mischievous Pastorals*), which came out then, as bluntly as he was malicious, in the style that in the not-too-distant future would become well-known: 'Some modern bastard of the tribal spirit [...] who has gone stupid in Europe admiring for too long Manchester shops, Prussian infantry, Parisian automobiles, and New York millionaires, wiping himself with the ermines of European bigwigs, has spit on this legend sneering at the "select public organizing collective sobbing". For all these schoolboy pranks the Modern "Pole" should be laid out on an ancient carpet and should get it with an ancient cane, which has been standing in water, with a copy of Pierpont Morgan's *Emporium commisso-voyagerum* bound in calfskin as consolation.'<sup>176</sup> He described Balicki's work in similarly unceremonious fashion ('The teeth and claws of the greedy progeny of a gentry backwater when it comes to ethics'). Antoni Lange also turned to this convention of mockery, although without the vitriol, and his paraphrase of *Mysli* written in verse referred frequently to the elements of philosophy of life in Dmowski's work. The already acknowledged poet and translator wrote:

Will the Polish soul regain its health?  
 And who are these Prussians? Look to ethnography.  
 They have Polish blood – they are the descendants of ancient Slavs.  
 The Pole can do what the Prussian can.  
 I pore over only Dmowski's tome.  
 Create a power, a power, a power!  
 Where you need defence – defence there is,  
 Where you need an attack – an attack there is:  
 And this is the crux of the matter,  
 Hence comes the leopard's strength.

Down with everything, which is not key for the nation!  
 Down with science, down with art.  
 Down with snivelling virtue!  
 It all disturbs the nation's unity:  
 Let any soul curl up into nothing before it,

---

176 A. Nowaczyński, *Małpie zwierciadło. Wybór pism satyrycznych*, vol. 1: 1897–1904, Kraków 1974, pp. 412–413. M. Domagalska's work, *Antysemityzm dla inteligencji? Kwestia żydowska w publicystyce Adolfa Nowaczyńskiego na łamach „Mysli Narodowej” (1921–1934) i „Prosto z Mostu” (1935–1939) (na tle porównawczym)*, Warsaw 2004, p. 133 and note, documents the evolution of Nowaczyński's views towards the ND.



Let it rid itself of all personal tissue:  
Thus speaks ceremoniously the Dobrzyńskis' backwater!  
Down with all infection:  
Also sprach Zarathustra – Gerwazy.<sup>177</sup>

We should recall that the writer of *Mysli* was addressing his piece above all to young people, to the nonconformist segment of the younger generation, which was coming onto the public stage. Dmowski wanted to be an educator of the young. But in this regard then the reception of his work was even more ambiguous.

The socialist/pro-independence *Promień* hardly mentioned the work. Appearing in the paper was just one notice on 'Mr. Dmowski's masterpiece of cynicism' by an eminent activist of the 'Promień' movement, also a popular author using the *nom de plume* Aryos, in other words Marian Kukiel. The reviewer compared *Mysli* with the journalism in a new publication called *Odrodzenie* (whose editors chose Stanisław Szcepanowski as the paper's patron), and this comparison, speaking diplomatically, was not particularly flattering to Dmowski.<sup>178</sup> The author of *Mysli* also failed to convince the home-gown Neitzschean Stanisław Brzozowski, who placed the works of Polish ideologues far behind those of the French nationalists, equally loudly criticising ND activities (as 'quixotic cynicism').<sup>179</sup>

The most interesting was the polemic on the pages of *Teka*, which was controlled by the ZET. This publication continued to come under the League's ideological patronage and thus its strongly critical tones towards Dmowski's work were, to a certain extent, surprising. And yet young nationalists, including *Teka's* editorial board, were at that time still riven by the conflict between the legacy of older patriotic thought, embodied in the person of Szcepanowski, and then also Szymon Askenazy, and the new approach proposed by Balicki and Dmowski. The statements that appeared in the young nationalists' paper perfectly reflected this tension. This debate must also have had a specific resonance, given that the leading nationalist youth columnists and activists were taking part in it.

The first critical review of Dmowski's work on the pages of *Teka* came out quite late, for only after the second edition in 1904. Immediately after the pamphlet's appearance in book form in 1903, an in-depth discussion of it was published on the pages of the monthly, but the value judgements were carefully nuanced.

---

177 'Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka. Z ksiąg P. Romana Dmowskiego rytmem ułożył A. Lange', *Myśl Niepodległa*, 1906, no. 6, pp. 512–513.

178 Aryos [M. Kukiel], 'Bibliografia, „Odrodzenie”, Lwów 1903', *Promień*, January 1903, no. 1, pp. 43–44.

179 S. Brzozowski, 'Odbywa się osobliwy sąd', *Krytyka*, 1, 1905, pp. 231–244, quotation taken from *Narodowa Demokracja. Antologia...*, p. 258.

Balicki's works also received restrained evaluations. A follower of Andrzej Towiański, a member of the first ZET group of comrades in Lwów, Kazimierz Jarecki, earlier one of the founders of *Teka* and chairman of the Academic Reading Room, placed Balicki's pieces among the works of national rebirth, emphasizing 'elevated ideals' and the 'noble atmosphere of the book', reflecting the 'strong beat of national life'.<sup>180</sup> However, the reviewer was bothered by the writer's many harsh judgements: 'Does not Mr. Balicki in this discussion present the individualist ethic in too black colours, and on the contrary does he not raise the social ethic too high?' Elsewhere he reproached the theoretician for a sharp contrast between the national type and that of a Wilno 'filareta'.\* It emerged from the review that the former appeared to be closer to the critic. Interestingly enough, in these public statements it seemed easier for the reviewers to accept Balicki's abstract formulae than Dmowski's clear and often brutal recommendations. The writer of the afore-mentioned review at the end advised potential readers of Balicki to distinguish the positive national interest (meaning the defence of national rights) from aggressive 'national egoism'.

Two critical voices appeared in turn in *Teka* at the beginning of 1904. An anonymous reviewer liked a great deal in Dmowski's book, especially if the reader 'closely' compared the ND leader's pamphlet with Szczepanowski's *Idea polska*.<sup>181</sup> Immediately afterwards, a commentator saw many 'signs of ambiguity' in Dmowski's works. His comparison of the efforts of the Polish nationalists with the Prussians encountered the greatest resistance. After a short comparison of the effects of Prussian policies he asked rhetorically: 'Is not this a picture of poverty and despair rather than one of power?'

Subsequent comments by Antoni Plutyński in the same issue of *Teka* were as perfunctory as they were symptomatic.<sup>182</sup> The publication's then editor remarked that views which were so 'extreme, visibly contradicting prevailing convictions and beliefs' had to create a sharp reaction and criticism, while he himself focused

---

180 K.J. [K. Jarecki], 'Z pism i książek (Z. Balicki, Egoizm narodowy wobec etyki, wyd. drugie uzupełnione, Lwów 1903)', *Teka*, January 1903, no. 1, pp. 40–47. In similar vein J. Elski, 'O „Egoizmie narodowym” Zygmunta Balickiego', *Teka*, October 1902, no. 10, pp. 430–437.

\* A filareta was a member of a secret Polish youth association operating in Wilno in 1820–1823. Translator's note.

181 Dr. K., 'W sprawie „Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka”', *Teka*, February 1904, no. 2, pp. 20–23.

182 S.E.P. [A. Plutyński], 'W sprawie „Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka” II', *Teka*, February 1904, no. 2, p. 81.

on the issue of Dmowski's 'flat-rate' rejection of the legacy of home-grown historical traditions and virtues, of the 'traditional national character'. He wrote: 'We should not start underestimating what represents an inseparable element of national culture and the safest assurance of national identity.' Years later he added that a considerable part of nationalist youth accepted *Mysli* 'not too enthusiastically', since 'it had too much of the Bismarck about it'.<sup>183</sup>

However, the culmination of this intra-nationalist debate came towards the end of 1904. Some very severe criticisms of Dmowski appeared in a joint review of Dmowski's and Studnicki's work by Bolesław Bator, at the time a member of the three-man ZET *Centralizacja*. The article's first passages already showed that Dmowski's works, and, to a lesser extent, Studnicki's, had caused in young ND circles far more controversy than the prevailing debate at the time suggested.<sup>184</sup> Bator wrote: 'The main thrust of *Mysli* was foreign to young people, although the book itself had been greeted with lively acknowledgement.'

The reviewer rejected Dmowski's dearly-held vision of history as a battle between antagonistic tribal elements, recalling that it had been precisely the tradition of Polish freedoms that had made the old multi-national Commonwealth a European power. Not ethnic-cum-racial conflict, but open patriotism, would lead to the greatness of the Polish ideal. More to the point, *Teka's* main columnist clearly compared the noble ideal of Polishness with the bourgeois ideals supposedly held by Dmowski. These would never lead to independence, he claimed.

The commentator also flatly rejected the concept of a nation based on the ideal of constant expansion as proposed by Dmowski. He wrote: 'Much water would have to flow down the Vistula before the Polish element succeeded not only in dealing with the partitioning powers, but in defeating completely the Lithuanians, the Ruthenians, the jews [sic] and perhaps some other "external enemy" that the nationalists in the meantime can drum up.' This forceful contrasting of 'patriotism' with a sarcastically depicted 'nationalism' recurred frequently throughout the text. Bator was after all repeating the arguments that other critics of Dmowski and Balicki had formulated earlier. He pointed out that Dmowski

---

183 A. Plutyński, 'Szymon Askenazy we Lwowie. Wspomnienia i impresje. 5', *Polska Zbrojna*, 2 VIII 1935, no. 210, p. 5.

184 B. Sęp [B. Bator], 'O patriotyzmie nowoczesnym (R. Dmowski, *Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka*, wyd. II; W. Studnicki, *Od socjalizmu do nacjonalizmu*, Lwów 1904)', *Teka*, August-September 1904, no. 7–8, pp. 412–425. All quotations are taken from this version. Bator also mentioned *Mysli* and press articles in correspondence with Kazimierz Woźnicki, an ND sympathizer, a member of the ZET and a frequent contributor to *Teka*.

by his aggressive rhetoric was renouncing historical nationalities, above all the Polish Jews, leaving them at the mercy of Zionist proselytizing [...], for fear that they might infect the purity of our race.’

Dmowski’s racial approach was in any event strongly reviled. A young writer wrote about this not unmaliciously: ‘This mystical cult of race always turns against the jews [sic] (as its corrupters, of course), even in those societies where they are an insignificant and completely assimilated group. One could seek in vain [...] something specific on the attributes of our ‘race’. He then immediately ridiculed the ‘racial tie’ with the Germans, which in Dmowski’s work was meant to prove that Polish racial material under the influence of the national school would create ‘as strong, vital and active a political nation’ as the Prussians. This racial contrast with the Prussians did not appeal to the editor of *Teka* brought up in the spirit of the age and, so it appears, bothered him more than Dmowski’s racial antisemitism: ‘This unexpected addition [of the Prussians] to the family had to fill us with great shame.’

A defence of Dmowski’s work by Stanisław Stroński, the president of the Lwów Academic Reading Room, which came out in the next number, was also unconvincing.<sup>185</sup> Stroński who had come to fame as a student leader during the famous demonstrations in front of the German consulate in Lwów in the Września protest in 1901, belonged undeniably to the greatest enthusiasts for the ‘new’ patriotism among nationalist young people.<sup>186</sup> Already in 1903 on the pages of *Teka* he had

---

185 S. Doński [S. Stroński], ‘Spór o nazwę i hasła’, *Teka*, October-November 1904, nos. 9–10, pp. 465–475. Quotations are taken from this article. A response by Bator in reply to this piece, and which somewhat toned down the accusatory tenor of the initial article, in principle shut down the debate on the work. See B. Sęp, ‘O polskiej idei państwowej’, *Teka*, December 1904, no. 12, pp. 546–559.

186 See S. Doński, ‘Patryotyzm a nacjonalizm (Z powodu artykułu Ludwika Kulczyckiego pod tym samym tytułem, Krytyka 1902)’, *Teka*, June-July 1902, no. 6–7, pp. 331–338; id., ‘Jeszcze o obronie nacjonalizmu’, *Teka*, November 1902, no. 11, pp. 469–477. See too J. Faryś, *Stanisław Stroński. Biografia polityczna do 1939*, Szczecin 1990, pp. 14–16. Some years later Stroński recalled that Dmowski’s work had created a great deal of confusion among the younger generation of home-grown nationalists: id., ‘U trumny Romana Dmowskiego. My wszyscy z Niego...’, *Kronika Polski i Świata*, January 1939, no. 2, p. 1. See too the characteristic voice of the well-known ‘ZET-ist’ Stefan Dąbrowski: ‘During my last sojourn in Kraków I had a long and hard session with Dmowski about his *Mysli*, which had been heavily criticized in Lwów and at meetings too. Given the spirit now reigning in Kraków or Warsaw, in order that everything can be considered unshakeable dogma, all signs of ideological independence are called for.’ D. Płygawko, ‘Listy Stefana Dąbrowskiego do Kazimierza Woźnickiego w zbiorach

placed *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka* in the ranks of the most significant works of Polish political thought.

In fact Stroński accused Bator of kowtowing to the suggestions of Dmowski's critics and for accepting their criticisms as his own. Dmowski's defender argued too that Bator, himself a nationalist, was publicly repudiating this name. He wrote: 'This is an odd, sad and abnormal sight.'

Stroński went on at length that Studnicki's and Dmowski's publications, although important, should be read together with other works on the 'deepest bases of Polish nationalism', among which the columnist included the works of just about all the writers associated with the movement. He also acknowledged that Dmowski's proposed new definition of the nation was valuable, but it did not in any way emerge from this that he was rejecting the older generation's patriotism, as the author of *Mysli* was doing and recommending to others. Similarly, the vision of the nation's past and the views on the national character that Dmowski was deploying did not converge completely with those presented by his defender. For Stroński skirted the hardest arguments that Bator, and earlier Jarecki and Plutyński, had put forward. He treated as insinuation Bator's accusation that the political vision proposed by Dmowski could mean the elimination of political opponents, or that xenophobic rhetoric provoked negative reactions among ethnic minorities. It would appear that he ignored Bator's accusations on the Jewish question in *Mysli*, seeing this issue as Dmowski's personal views.

It emerges from these voices, and from a great many lesser statements too, that young nationalists continued to think in line with the conventions of the time, reading their ideologue's ideas through the prism of former concepts of the nation and their own history, and simply rejected a great many of Dmowski's propositions. Already in 1903 the author of *Mysli* was complaining in his correspondence about the rigidity of young people's thinking. His visionary project simply had to collide with the 'intellectual laziness of a great many young people, whose brains have seized up, and have all sorts of systems and doctrines blinkering them and preventing them seeing the facts.'<sup>187</sup>

---

Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu. Część I, 1901–1905', *Akta Towarzystwa Historyczno-Literackiego w Paryżu*, vol. 2, 1993, pp. 100–101, Lwów 15 IV 1903. Edward Dubanowicz, who was president of the Lwów 'Academic Reading Room' in 1902–1903, held similar views, 'Wspomnienie Edwarda Dubanowicza – przyczynek do biografii', edited by Z.R. Wójcik, *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 40, 2008, no. 4, p. 188.

187 Roman Dmowski to Zygmunt Miłkowski, 27 I 1903, in M. Kułakowski, *Roman Dmowski...*, vol. 1, p. 247.

It is hard to judge how things unfolded between supporters and opponents of Dmowski's views among young nationalists. It is possible to find in a great many memoirs laudatory comments on inspiration drawn from *Mysli*; however, on the whole these views tend not to survive a confrontation with texts written at the time of the monograph's first editions.<sup>188</sup>

Władysław Sikorski, a student at Lwów Polytechnic soon to be secretary of the TSL group at the Polytechnic and later president of Student Aid there) noted in a letter to his friend Franciszek Smolka that Dmowski's pieces had caused no little ferment, especially among the more ambitious young people. Not clarifying his own position towards the work, he remarked on the strong foreign influences in Dmowski: 'As usual, it seems that again these ideas run from us by way of Germany: for doesn't Nietzsche say the same thing?'<sup>189</sup>

The subsequent fate of these reviewers of Dmowski's work (Bator, Jarecki, Plutyński, and Stroński) is noteworthy. In 1905, this whole group showed up in the LN shortly to join the opposition to Dmowski. Bator supposedly encountered general ostracism on the part of certain League leaders for his criticism of the message in *Mysli*. However, Popławski himself came to the defence of the young columnist in internal debates.<sup>190</sup>

---

188 The view most commonly expressed in most memoirs was surprise, and in many cases opposition and rejection. See, for example, accounts by M. Browiński, '*Com widział i słyszał...*', vol. 1, BOSS, sygn. 13341 II, pp. 44–46; J. Kornecki, 'Wspomnienia i szkice. Moje życie i moja wieś rodzinna 1884–1944', BOSS, sygn. 13174 II, pp. 7, 34–35; W. Dajczak, 'Z dni wielkich przemian. Wspomnienia architekta, cz. 1: Pod austriackim zaborem', BOSS, sygn. 14093 II, pp. 163–164. All chroniclers agree in admitting that Dmowski's monograph was a shock for them and, as Browiński put it, represented a breakthrough in thinking about their country. These comments come from W. Potkański's work, *Ruch narodowo-niepodległościowy...*, p. 5. The aforementioned Bolesław Bator in correspondence with Kazimierz Woźnicki, an ND sympathizer, ZET member, and frequent contributor to *Teka*, recalled *Mysli* and the columns in *Przegląd Wszechpolski*: 'that fears of professional antisemitism are seeping out.' See B. Bator to K. Woźnicki, Lwów, 26 II 1902, in Archiwum K. Woźnickiego, BP Akc. 4354. I obtained this testimony thanks to the kind help of Mr. Arkadiusz Robaczewski from the Polish Library in Paris. Summing up, it is hard then to see Dmowski's work, as many scholars maintain, to be a general synthesis of 'national' thought of the day. See W. Potkański, *Ruch narodowo-niepodległościowy...*, p. 34.

189 W. Sikorski, 'Listy do Franciszka Smolki', *Ze skarbca kultury*, 1976, vol. 27, pp. 220–221, 2 X 1902.

190 See T. Kulak, *Jan Ludwik Popławski 1854–1908...*, vol. 2, p. 669.

In 1908, after Popławski's death, Stroński, Bator, Jarecki, and Plutyński, as well as quite a large group of ZET activists who had joined the League with them, were no longer in the Galician ND. They had all reacted negatively to Dmowski's policy towards Russia. Plutyński, a pupil of Szczepanowski and Askenazy, did not approve of his vision for the nation, whose sole repository was meant to be the LN; Stroński in turn also originally rejected Dmowski's conclusions on foreign policy, and also *de facto* the immorality of his comprehensive approach towards politics.

After the First World War, Stroński again drew close to the ND, becoming one of the most distinguished commentators in the nationalist camp, and even supported the Dmowski-inspired Greater Poland Party (*Obóz Wielkiej Polski*). However, he again later drew away from it, when the nationalist movement took as a key point of its political tactics an antagonistic view of internal relations in Poland, including the elimination of its political opponents (inter alia by rejecting parliamentary democracy). During one of the debates in the 1930s, Dmowski, who was supporting ever more radical extremists in the SN, reproached Stroński for the ideological foreignness that he had apparently shown as far back as... 1905.<sup>191</sup>

Dmowski confirmed the views contained in *Mysli* just two years after the work's first edition. He uncompromisingly defended the 'truths of faith' expressed in *Mysli* in columns entitled *Na niwach i ugorach* (*On Fields Rich and Fallow*) and signed Diego, published in 1903–1904 on the pages of the Lwów *Słowo Polskie*. After his voyage to Japan, he acknowledged, however, that national feelings were encoded in tribal instincts, and that they passively ruled individuals' souls. In any event, specific members of ethnic communities had no practical choice in the issue of ethnic identification, while free will to all intents and purposes did not exist in national relations.

Such an approach ruled out in principle any kind of assimilation of 'foreign elements', for that would have meant introducing into the 'national organism' elements which were essentially harmful to the community (which, it should be noted, Dmowski had already frequently pointed out before), and furthermore could not be controlled. The threats to the 'bases of national existence', about which our ideologue went on at such length, from this perspective appeared to intensify. This was an eloquent modification of earlier reflections by a strengthening of deterministic accents. The racial theme, although it had now intensively

---

191 See J.J. Terej, *Rzeczywistość i polityka. Z studiów nad dziejami najnowszymi Narodowej Demokracji*, Warsaw 1979, p. 28.

submerged itself into 'tribal instincts', into the 'nation's soul', had in fact strengthened. *Podstawy polityki polskiej* – an article written under the influence of the Japanese journey – was included in *Mysli* as a supplement, although it *de facto* questioned individualist threads.

This doctrinal shift was also reflected in politics. The National Democrats, from the anti-system movement that the SDN platform had made it in the Kingdom of Poland in 1897, was becoming, at least in terms of tactics, the party of order. The events of the 1905 Revolution turned it into a guarantor of internal relations in the Russian Partition. Conservative/solidaristic themes were now brought to the fore, but on the other hand the grouping began to lose its ideological cohesion, with bourgeois elements seeping in. What remained of the messages of *Mysli*, apart from a definition of the nation and a general vision of politics? Above all a *credo* for the movement, which was read afresh by successive generations of young nationalists.



## Conclusion

The case of Roman Dmowski as seen against the background of intellectual radicalism at the turn of the century is interesting for a number of reasons. Over the course of his life, Dmowski played a great many roles: a member of a secret schoolboy society and then a student activist; an active participant in the pro-independence movement, but also a deft cabinet politician, as well as a charismatic leader of an influential political movement, and finally an ideologue and political writer with aspirations to 'educate' his community and exercise over it a 'government of souls'. For many members of his cultural generation, which appeared at the turn of the 1880s/1890s, especially participation in school self-study groups had a great formative significance. This school experience should be seen as a point of departure for the fortunes of this whole group of involved activists and intellectuals, for whom it was only the turn-of-the-century crisis that became a real challenge. In a well-known conversation with the editor of the young conservatives' paper *Bunt Młodych* in the autumn of 1935, Dmowski supposedly said: 'Yes, I am ambitious [...] I have ambition [...]. I believe that I have ploughed furrows in Polish life which are deeper than many people even today realize.'<sup>1</sup>

From the point of view of the development of his ideas, every correction that Dmowski made to his most important work from the beginning of the century – *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka* – could appear to be a step backwards. If we recognize as the point of departure the heroic appeal directed to more or less the whole of public opinion by the Polish believer in the philosophy of life, then the destination turned out to be thinking in collectivist categories, according to which just about every individual act was meant to require the community's acceptance. One critic, confronting the, in his opinion, pro-modernizing message in this work with the reality of twentieth-century Poland wrote: 'Dmowski and his collaborators had no intention of stopping at an intellectual revolution, but wanted to expand their organization to the whole of society and take over its soul and its imagination. Thus they found themselves in a difficult situation: they wanted to destroy the trenches, bring out a strong, aggressive, and modern tone and at the same time win over a society, which for almost one hundred years had been living with ideas and delusions developed precisely in the trenches. At the moment

---

1 M.P. [M. Pruszyński], 'Rozmowa „Polityki” z R. Dmowskim. Z cyklu wywiadów tygodnika „Polityka”, *Polityka*, 6 VIII 1939, no. 24, p. 2.

of taking this decision the ND mentality was born – the result of matching the National-Democratic Party's ideas to the stereotype of Polishness.<sup>2</sup> This writer then added: 'The ND mentality modernized nothing in Poland, did not open people's eyes, did not teach people to think clearly. On the contrary, it raised the status of rural life, closed the gates to the outside world and taught hatred not of others, but of us. Earlier there had been superficial idealism, naïveté, and plain stupidity, now they were joined by xenophobia and hatred.' Elsewhere the writer summed this up more pithily: 'St. George was gobbled up by the dragon he was fighting.'

Was then Roman Dmowski's ideological project a modern concept, which became warped after coming into collision with domestic society's traditional mental construct? These ideas had as their aim to show that the project of the treatise's main protagonist was not only modernizing in nature, but also exceeded what could be defined as modernity at the time that the author was proclaiming his *credo*. Dmowski not only modernized the concept of the nation, but wanted to turn the reborn national body politic into a real factor in international relations, which in his opinion meant the realization of the idea of creating an imperial state. In the form in which it was presented this was a project as futuristic as it was utopian.

A great many elements, also recurring later, went into the creation of a political vision in this form. First of all, a confrontational vision of the world together with a developed political mythology (with antisemitic racism at its head) – a mythology that was meant to help with the social mobilization of the masses. The next element in this view of politics was the idea of a homogenous national identity, excluding in principle other levels of membership in the nation; and this identity was also meant to be shaped by an unceasing battle with the community's enemies ('life or death with no mercy, no surrender on favourable terms, [...] there would be only death or victory').<sup>3</sup> Thirdly, Dmowski's thinking was finally categorized by the integral linking of politics to a regenerative ethical message, as well as gathering the political arena within 'organized political opinion.'

The vision of a strong national state, which turns into an empire, absorbing lesser ethnic groups treated like ethnographic material did not have, as far as

---

2 M. Król, 'Patriotyczna myśl i patriotyczny stereotyp', *Znak*, November-December 1987, nos. 11–12, pp. 30–31.

3 R. Dmowski, 'Istota walki narodowej', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, February 1902, no. 2, p. 112. In the 1930s our ideologue added that this 'national battle' was a confrontation, which led eventually to an opponent's complete destruction. This idea was spelled out in detail in *Przewrót* in 1934.

we can tell from the material, too many equivalents in the Europe of the day, although for many readers of Dmowski's first works, specific elements did trigger such comparisons. The empire of Dmowski's dreams was neither Great Britain, nor even Wilhelmine Germany, and thus two models with which the author of *Mysli* wanted to compare his own society. The voluntarist and also immoralistic vision of politics professed by Dmowski also went beyond what is usually called the realistic current in politics (or also 'dynamic realism', in A. Hall's words),<sup>4</sup> and carried with it a message both of conserving a certain social order, as well as a detailed vision of its reconstruction. If this is considered conservatism, then it was a very specific conservatism.

It should also be noted here that Dmowski's worldview and style of thought was not necessarily completely reflected in the activities of the movement of which he was co-founder, i.e., the National Democrats. This movement – in contrast with other groups of the nationalist right – grew out of a certain splinter from the democratic pro-independence current, and references to an irredentist-cum-progressive tradition lasted a long while. This legacy was also one of the greatest obstacles facing the new movement's real founder. The new concept of politics did not, of course, mean rejecting the idea of political independence, as many a writer suggested, but was more of an attempt to place the problem of the state's independent existence within the framework of a broader philosophical plan. In this view the hero of these thoughts could even appear as a Faustian character (the *nomen omen* Faust was reportedly one of Dmowski's favourite literary models),<sup>5</sup> linking an educational passion for transforming society, re-defining its group identity, with a consequent desire to exercise spiritual government over it.

As we have frequently mentioned, the basic axis of this thinking was a perception of the world as an antagonistic arena of endless struggle in which might is right. This was a realistic approach, but it was realism of a very specific kind. In Dmowski's own approach the crowning achievement of this naturalistic thinking was racism, which does not mean that the whole movement embraced racism, nor that it became the dominant viewpoint among the movement's supporters

---

4 See A. Micewski, *Historia i realizm*, in id., *Polityka staje się historią*, Warsaw 1986, pp. 179–188; W. Łazuga, *Dwa przeciwstawne realizmy polityczne. Michał Bobrzyński i Roman Dmowski*, in id., *Rzeczy większe i mniejsze*, Poznań 2002, pp. 199–215; A. Hall, 'Dwa realizmy', *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 14 VII 1985, no. 28, p. 5; A. Walicki, *Trzy patriotyzmy*, in id., *Polskie zmagania z wolnością. Widziane z boku*, Kraków 2000, pp. 257–269.

5 See J. Giertych, 'Wspomnienie o Romanie Dmowskim XII', *Słowo Narodowe*, 5 II 1939, no. 36, p. 6.

right from the very beginning. Thinking in racist categories is usually linked with the idea of empire. For Poland's nationalist intellectuals, finding themselves in political imprisonment in their own country, such imperial ambitions must have looked rather odd. It was hardly surprising then that the reception of the most significant ideological manifestos by the hero of this thinking was not unambiguous. Once again, appealing to racist thinking usually brings with it expansionist and imperial aspirations.

This clearly does not change the fact that both the ND leader's journalism, as well as his actions, played the role of a catalyst for the whole movement. On numerous occasions his statements, having the character of acts of ideological expression, became the leaven for the polarization of the whole movement. From the perspective of time it is clear that usually the direction endorsed by Dmowski came out on top. As a colleague of his wrote: 'the history of the party to which Dmowski belongs [...] is the history of the growth of Dmowski's own individuality.'<sup>6</sup>

Despite all the clarifications and corrections, the core of Dmowski's thinking remained untouched. The ideologue hierarchized social reality from a racial point of view. His approach was directed not only against all strangers, but also against those who, while belonging in name to the community, did not adopt this model as their own, or rejected its dominant status. The 'modern Pole' was either meant to be an integral nationalist, or was meant to fall in line with this vision of the world. *Tertium non datur*. From the very beginning there lay in this thinking forceful ideas and lines of thought, which in the 20<sup>th</sup> century came to be called totalitarian, while the case of Roman Dmowski – a figure who was after all actively present in public life up to the second half of the 1930s – can be acknowledged here as more or less a model for the analysis of this type of new thinking and political activity.

One of the ND leader's close colleagues wrote many years later: 'Another feature of Dmowski's activities as a writer was iron consistency. If we take a closer look at Dmowski's actions over several decades, we can easily see that they represent an exceptionally compact, unified whole.'<sup>7</sup> For the writer of *Mysli* could claim in the foreword to the fourth (1933) edition of his most important piece of writing: 'on the most important issues, in my key views I maintain what I said

---

6 Z. Wasilewski, *Roman Dmowski*, in id., *Współcześni. Charakterystyka pisarzy i dzieł*, Warsaw 1923, p. 66.

7 T. Bielecki, *W szkole Dmowskiego. Szkice i wspomnienia*, Gdańsk 2000, p. 186.

then: *Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka* have not ceased to be a profession of my Polish faith.<sup>8</sup>

This theme of discipline, enriched by (above all, but not only, antisemitic) racism, gave this whole line of thinking a radical tone and paved the way for long-term 'universalist' goals. A certain nineteenth-century conservative liberal in correspondence with a certain exponent of racial ideas wrote: 'We differ only in that you are more ambitious than I am. I limit myself to drawing new conclusions where you have to uncover new principles. You wish to change the face of the world. Nothing less will do.'<sup>9</sup> A certain deeper truth lay in this intuition about racism's 'universalist' aims. For racism was revealing its dual nature. First of all, it had aspirations which extended beyond domestic society. Secondly, it was, in terms of the status quo, a radical and even revolutionary view. From this point of view Dmowski was of course no classic Polish nationalist.<sup>10</sup>

Right from the start, the attitude towards democracy as a form of government was in this new nationalism ambiguous and mistrustful. A tendency to limit its definition cropped up continually, and the democratic idea was endlessly discredited. 'Democracy – yes,' said exponents of this approach, 'but only if "national" laws were observed.' Democracy in its liberal version was by now something unnatural and thus unhealthy, and in the long run also dreadfully harmful. It is highly problematic whether this nationalist approach – even if expressed in a more moderate fashion – really did aim to tie the idea of the nation to modern democracy.<sup>11</sup> However, despite all these reservations, it should be added that such a nationalist view of the world also (and perhaps above all) in its extreme forms, often displaying features of utopian thinking, provided many attractive responses to the key questions that bothered many people at the time. What makes groups of people an authentic community? Of which elements should renewed communities consist? What is the basis of modern political legitimacy? What are the real motives for joint human action? What creates the conditions for societies' lasting development, modernization and democratization? And

---

8 R. Dmowski, *Przedmowa do wydania czwartego*, Warszawa, 8 II 1933, in id. *Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka*, Wrocław 1996, p. 15.

9 A. Tocqueville, *Listy*, Kraków 1999, p. 186, Alexis de Tocqueville to Arthur de Gobineau, 22 X 1843.

10 This is how A. Walicki puts it, see 'Rosja w upadku – rozmowa z Andrzejem Walickim', *Arcana*, 1999, no. 2, p. 44.

11 For instance A. Nowak, *Powrót do Polski. Szkice o patriotyzmie po „końcu historii” 1989–2005*, Kraków 2005, p. 112. See too T. Kizwalter, 'Idea demokracji w dziewiętnastowiecznej Polsce', *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, 2002, no. 5, p. 55.

perhaps most important of all: what gives individuals a sense of living with others in the modern world?

There remains the separate question of whether specific *residua* (or, if you prefer, relics) of this thinking are still key and thus relevant for today's political culture and the domestic community of the mind. A well-known controversial publicist, a colourful personality of the Second Republic, wrote in his time: 'R. Dmowski – the king of our thoughts.'<sup>12</sup> Is the Dmowski of the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup>/20<sup>th</sup> centuries also today a modern writer?

Without a doubt the main protagonist of these deliberations had the internal courage to take his thoughts to ruthless, final conclusions. Taking into account subsequent events it is hard to deny him consistency and persistence in putting his ideas into practice. Looking at the human resources he had at his disposal, we cannot say the same for his followers' consistency. Maybe there was a grain of truth in the well-known view of a political opponent of the National Democrats, the socialist Mieczysław Niedziałkowski, that nine-tenths of *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka's* message was not assimilated by the movement's supporters. Summing up this theme, we should state that Dmowski was a modern politician and ideologue, belonging to that strain of modernity which reached its apogee in the first half of the twentieth century.

As the most recent studies of the subject agree, the crowning intellectual achievement of nationalist views leading to totalitarian forms was some kind of new, secular religiousness, or what current scholars call the 'sacrilization' of social life. This intellectual development has, however, occurred in highly-developed, usually highly secularized, societies. In this regard some scholars tend to feel that an essential condition for the appearance of this type of right-wing thinking is a developed industrial society.<sup>13</sup>

In turn racism in its pure, quasi-religious form has remained in peripheral societies, unlike in Great Britain or Germany, something of an imaginary alternative, while its declared exponents have been faced with political and social marginalization, an example of which could be the history of the Polish-nativist group Zadruga.<sup>14</sup> Every consistent exponent of racist ideas sooner or later has had to come to terms with this statement, and such reservations should be specifically

---

12 S. Cat-Mackiewicz, *Historia Polski od 11 listopada 1918 r. do 17 września 1939 r.*, Warsaw 1989, p. 32.

13 See inter alia R.O. Paxton, 'The Five Stages of Fascism', *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 70, January 1998, no. 1, pp. 1–23. See too E. Weber, 'Fascism(s) and Some Harbiners', *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 54, December 1982, no. 4, pp. 746–763.

14 See B. Grott, *Religia. Cywilizacja. Rozwój. Wokół idei Jana Stachniuka*, Kraków 2003.

related to figures operating in the public domain, who link their convictions to political aspirations. According to a friend of his, Dmowski above all preferred being present in public life: 'Dmowski was always a politician, i.e., a man trying to see if could achieve something good for some higher goal, even where there was little chance of it.'<sup>15</sup> In line with the formula devised by another integral nationalist Charles Maurras, he tried to achieve the necessary with the possible. The main protagonist of this discussion wrote about himself in letters to Jabłonowski that he was an 'old political fox'.

And if only for this reason 'Polish gods' ('having nothing in common with the great Architect') and similar professions of 'national' faith, which can be found in private letters, have had to remain for ever nothing but epistolary jokes by the ND leader.<sup>16</sup>

In one of his essays Adam Michnik has written referring to that whole generation of turn-of-the century political activists: 'The society which the ideologues, Dmowski, Piłsudski, Abramowski, were addressing was Catholic. This means that in their lives [...] these people professed faith in the Catholic system of values, in the established church's mission to teach, in the integrationist function of the religious community, which in fact played the role of a bastion of national consciousness.'<sup>17</sup> If we add to this diagnosis that the Catholic mentality of the day was situated in the consciousness of a civilizationally backward, peripheral society, then a challenge defined in these terms was for the home-grown exponents of a life philosophy, warriors for the control of souls in their own society, no trivial matter. The ND leader supposedly stated in 1911: 'Poland is a Catholic country. This definition means a great deal more than people often imagine.'<sup>18</sup>

There eventually had to be a confrontation between these views with comprehensive aspirations: i.e., new nationalism and Catholicism. This is not the place for even an initial analysis of the convolutions involved in creating the intellectual tangle which developed between the native religious mentality and integral nationalism. However, we should be reminded that at the fault-line between

---

15 W. Jabłonowski, *Ze wspomnień Władysława Jabłonowskiego*, in M. Kułakowski [J. Zieliński], *Roman Dmowski w świetle listów i wspomnień*, London 1968, vol. 1, p. 149.

16 See Roman Dmowski to Zygmunt Wasilewski, Naples 4 VI 1913, in M. Kułakowski, *Roman Dmowski...*, vol. 1, p. 386.

17 A. Michnik, *Rozmowa w Cytadeli*, in id. *Szanse polskiej demokracji. Artykuły i szkice*, London 1984, p. 227.

18 Quotation taken from T. Místewicz, 'Stosunek Romana Dmowskiego do religii i Kościoła', *Studia Historyczne*, 1989, fol. 1 (124), p. 59.

these two intellectual currents (deepened by a whole chain of events of a socio-political nature) there appeared what, taking a cue from sociologists, we could call a national 'discourse community': a set of ideas which formed the language and mental imagination of a considerable part of politically-attuned groups in twentieth-century Polish society. The rise of such notional conglomerates was not just a Polish phenomenon. They arose in more or less the whole of East-Central Europe, and doubtless elsewhere.<sup>19</sup>

We must distinguish the practical sphere from issues of an abstract nature. As we know, theoretical consistency does not have to coincide with a unity of world-view, and one which does not necessarily have to reflect faithfully the practices of public life.

Despite all these terminological convolutions, it was in fact the ND which led to the introduction into public debate of exclusionary and racist practices (the latter for Jews and Poles of Jewish descent). It is worth adding at this juncture that the racist discourse, although at variance at a doctrinal level also with other ideological systems, could in public life link up effectively with them.<sup>20</sup> The events in Poland in 1968 are a good illustration of this phenomenon. In everyday thinking acknowledgement that this component of traditional mentality had a restraining influence on the brutality of previously-adopted naturalistic premises is still a humbling thought. As the experience not just of the last century shows, such links between modern nationalism and traditional ideas, including religious ones, led more to a brutalization of public life, and not the contrary.

---

19 See M. Turda, 'New Perspectives on Romanian Fascism: Themes and Options', *Totalitarian Movements & Political Religions*, vol. 6, June 2005, no. 1, pp. 143–150.

20 E. Weitz, 'Racial Politics without the Concept of Race: Re-evaluating Soviet Ethnic and National Purges', *Slavic Review*, vol. 61, Spring 2002, no. 1, pp 1–29.



# Chauvinism, Polish Style

## The Case of Roman Dmowski (Beginnings: 1886–1905)

### Abstract

The main focus of this book is the emergence of political radicalism at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and especially of one of its versions – right-wing radicalism, represented here by Roman Dmowski, co-founder and leader of the National Democrats. The main problem faced by the author has been that of attempting to reconstruct the ideological and also the socio-political origins of the Polish nationalist right. In one of its possible interpretations, this book could be regarded as a contextual biography devoted to the early period of political activity of this most important ideologue and leader of the nationalist movement in Poland at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup>/20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The book's chronological range spans the period from 1886 to the outbreak of the 1905 Revolution; a period that in the secondary sources on the subject is usually characterized as the time of the birth of mass political parties and the modern worldview. Although one of the book's main goals is to present the common dilemmas of the Polish intelligentsia under the rule of the three partitioning powers, nevertheless these discussions emphasize the dominant role and place of issues relating to the territories of the Kingdom of Poland or, more broadly, the whole area of the Russian Partition.

The author sets his work in context in the Introduction by presenting a discussion of the term radicalism and the difficulties resulting from the application of this term to Polish conditions. He has assumed that the most promising approach to the study of political radicalism at the turn of the century is research into its ideological origins within the tensions and antinomies of liberal society of the day; the crisis seen not so much from its institutional and political aspect, as from the aspect of its concepts and ideas, as well as from a peculiarly formulated post-Enlightenment mentality. These phenomena related to the climate of cultural pessimism, often accompanied by the conviction that industrial societies were corrupting and that the current forms of playing politics in the broad sense of the term had run their course. This approach to cultural attitudes towards the study of radicalism at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century seems attractive for several reasons. Firstly, it provides a broader background for trends of political movements and views emerging at that time, presenting both their comprehensive, and thus universalistic aspirations, and their dynamics in the fight against the

old order. The creation of a new man – a metaphor adopted by both extremely different socialist movements, the emerging feminist movement, or the naturally élitist eugenics movement, as well as by various trends of the new right – could be considered a symbol of that thinking. The German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche should be seen here as the patron of this new style in thinking and this new anthropology. This radical tension, seen in the context of the order of ideas, in the literature often associated with the ‘generation of the 1890s’, would find its ideological and social peak in the totalitarianisms of the twentieth century.

Secondly, such an approach allows us to look at the mass political movements emerging at that time, taking advantage of still valid and useful research categories, such as a cultural generation, placing it on the map of ideas of those times and thus facilitating the integration of research results from social studies, the study of literature, and historical research as such. Thirdly and finally such an approach opens the door to broad comparative studies and allows us to look at the ideological dilemmas of Polish élites and their views both against the broader European backdrop, or the narrower Central European one.

The starting point is an assumption that Polish proposals concerning world-views at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were the local – and hence enriched with indigenous socio-historical context – transmission of ideological tensions and conflicts plaguing the European intellectual classes at that time.

The book has a polemical character. It is a discussion with dominant approaches to the study of the emergence of Polish mass social movements in that narrow sphere, which is defined by the phenomenon of the intelligentsia’s radicalism, and at the same time is an attempt to present a new analytical approach for the study of the turn of the centuries.

The first chapter is devoted to social rebellion and the birth of the ‘disobedient’ (*niepokorni*) generation. This part of the book focuses on the social basis of the ideological breakthrough among Polish youth in the Russian Partition in the mid-1880s. It also includes a comparison of the educational systems of the partitioning powers, as well as a reconstruction of the mechanism responsible for the formation of self-study groups. This part of the book illustrates the thesis that it was contradictions and antinomies, rather than the uniform policy strategy of the partitioning powers that caused the emergence and development of those forms of resistance. The author also tries to demonstrate how the literature and political commentary of the period influenced the mentality of young people, and how the experience of generational revolt was becoming an important part of the radical intelligentsia’s attitudes.

Starting with the second chapter, attention is shifted from the socio-political background of the young intelligentsia to a reconstruction of the intellectual

climate of the period. The chapter entitled *Rewolta idealistyczna* (An Idealistic Revolt) expresses the conviction that the revolt against materialist trends in the culture of those days was one of the most fundamental factors influencing the worldview of the young radical intelligentsia. Marxism as a comprehensive ideological project of the mid-1880s became the subject of heated debates and polemics, and attempts to re-evaluate it led many of its former followers to a far-reaching evolution in their opinions. The revision of Marxism was also an important impulse in the formation of local integral nationalism. The chapter entitled *Rasizm po polsku* (Racism, Polish Style) is an attempt to look at the Polish reception of racist theories, with special emphasis laid on the foundations of racist antisemitism. The chapter *Wobec kryzysu cywilizacji* (In the Face of a Crisis of Civilization) reconstructs the debates on the idea of the decline of industrial society and discussions on the concept of the corruption and crisis of modernity, as seen in a local context.

From the second chapter, the book's main protagonist is Roman Dmowski, seen through the prism of his political activity and his early political commentary, especially in the Warsaw weekly *Głos* (*The Voice*); the book recalls a major part of these arguments.

The fifth chapter is devoted to academic youth and its political manifestations. This part of the book illustrates the political and ideological polarization of student bodies and presents the crisis and collapse of student activism from the turn of the 1880s/1890s in the Kingdom of Poland, the 'Kiliński Revolt' (*Kilińszczyzna*). This was a significant fact for the broad formation of radicalisms. The chapter gives pride of place to the radical youth of the twilight of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The sixth chapter presents a comprehensive picture of Dmowski's political commentary in *Przegląd Wszechpolski* (*The All-Polish Review*), at the time when he was becoming one of the leading figures in the emerging nationalist movement. While chapters two and three aim to demonstrate the dynamics of the formation of a new worldview, the second part of the book from chapter six onwards has the fundamental task of presenting its application within the Polish nationalist movement. This is done in three sub-chapters discussing the key elements of the National Democrats' political thought and rhetoric at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century such as: the problem of political realism; political works; the National Democratic idea of 'active politics'; a vision of modern patriotism, or categories of national self-interest. Separate sub-chapters deal with an analysis of the attitude of the nationalist leader towards Jews and the Jewish question, which was central to Dmowski's thinking, as well as his vision of general political order. In the parts dealing with the images of modern politics, chronological order has been abandoned in order to refer to texts from the

later period and to present a link between Dmowski, the radical student of the 1890s, and Dmowski – the main ideologue of the National Democrats and the central figure of the Polish right in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The last chapter is devoted to Roman Dmowski's most important manifesto – *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka* (*The Thoughts of a Modern Pole*). The chapter consists of two parts. The first one is an analysis of the arrival of the National Democrats on the political scene at the turn of the century in all three partitioned territories, with special emphasis on Galicia. The second part is an attempt at a new reading of the manifesto itself, and its reception both by his followers and the public at large. The first part presents the Polish nationalist movement against the backdrop of other right-wing radicalisms of those times, paying attention to the similarities between those types of political phenomena as well as to their differences.

In this part of the book the author proposes the thesis that, despite its many benefits for the Polish nationalist movement, the creed of *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka*, and at the same time Dmowski's comprehensive project itself, were not absorbed at that time by the Nationalist camp. This includes Dmowski's confrontational vision of the world together with his developed political mythology having racist antisemitism in the forefront, and the idea of a homogenous national identity excluding as a matter of principle other levels of nationality. This identity was to be determined by a ceaseless fight against the enemies of the community, the interrelationship of politics, a regenerative ethical message, and focusing of the political sphere within 'organized political opinion.'

# Glossary of Abbreviations

ABP m.st. Warszawy	The Archives of the Warsaw Public Library
AMKr	The Archives of the City of Kraków
APAN	The Archives of the Polish Academy of Sciences
AZHRL	The Archives of the Historical Institute of the People's Movement
BJ	The Jagiellonian Library
BN	The National Library
BOSS	The Ossolineum Library
BP	The Polish Library in Paris
BPAN	The Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kraków
BPAU	The Library of the Polish Academy of Learning
CKR PPS	The PPS Central Workers' Committee
IH PAN	The Historical Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences
KNP	The Polish National Committee
LN	The National League
LP	The Polish League
ND	The National Democrats/National Democracy
NZR	The National Working Men's Union
PPS	The Polish Socialist Party
PPSD	The Polish Social-Democratic Party
SDKP	The Social Democrats of the Kingdom of Poland
SDN	The National-Democratic Party
SN	The National Party
TON	The Association for National Education
TSL	The Association of Popular Schools
UL	The University of Lwów
WDN	The Warsaw National Daily
WTD	The Warsaw Benevolent Society
ZET	The Union of Polish Youth 'ZET'

ZRKP

The Association for Equality for Polish  
Women

ZRP

The Union of Polish Workers

ZZSP

The Overseas Union of Polish Socialists

ŻIH

The Jewish Historical Institute

# Bibliography and Index of Names

## I. SOURCES

### Manuscripts

- Archiwum Biblioteki Publicznej miasta stołecznego Warszawy  
Archiwum rodzinne i redakcyjne Adama Wiślickiego – Akc. 359.
- Archiwum i Biblioteka Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego w Lublinie  
Archiwum Jana Steckiego, sygn. 1207–1208.
- Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie  
Akta Stanisława Kozickiego. Materiały dotyczące Ligi Narodowej i innych organizacji politycznych – sygn. 30. Wasilewski Zygmunt, Mój życiorys 1865–1939 – sygn. 127.
- Biblioteka im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu  
Bobrowska Bronisława, Socjalista-romantyk Emil Bobrowski – rkps, sygn. 12003.  
Czekanowski Stanisław, Roczniki długiego Żywota mego t. 1–2 – mf 64679–64680.  
Jabłonowski Władysław, Z biegiem lat. Wspomnienia 1886–1939, cz. 1–6 – mf 35800.  
Papiery Władysława Jabłonowskiego z lat 1893–1946 – mf 44953.  
Kozicki Stanisław, Pół wieku polityki demokratyczno-narodowej (1887–1939) – mf 45192.  
Papiery Rozwadowskich, Jan Rozwadowski – mf 7997–8 II.  
Papiery Stefana Szwedowskiego dotyczące działalności ZMP „Zet” – mf 15954 II.  
Papiery Zygmunta Wasilewskiego – mf 5983.  
*Niepełny wykaz członków ZMP „Zet”* mf 15956 II.
- Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu  
Archiwum Kazimierza Woźnickiego, Akc. 4354.
- Biblioteka Jagiellońska  
Kozicki Stanisław, Papiery – Przyb. 25/62–32/62.  
Kozicki Stanisław, Pamiętniki (1876–1939), t. 1, cz. 1 (za lata 1886–1907) – 9783 III.  
Plutyński Antoni, Wspomnienia studenta. Adam Skałkowski wódz młodych – sygn. 35/62.  
Plutyński Antoni, Przejęcie w dzierzawę „Słowa Polskiego” – 35/62.  
Plutyński Antoni, Wiek XX i wybór Bojki we Lwowie – mps, sygn. Akc. 42/62.  
Plutyński Antoni, Wspomnienia studenta (1898–1904) – 35/62.  
Rymar Stanisław, Pamiętnik, t. 1, Moje młode lata – 9796 III.

Papiery po Stefanie Surzyckim – Przyb. 4/66.

Wasilewski Zygmunt, Lwów przodujący. Szkice do dziejów kultury umysłowej w Polsce 1895–1914 – Przyb. 180/78.

#### Biblioteka Narodowa

Bukowiecki Stanisław, Fragmenty wspomnień z końca XIX stulecia – mf 7960 III.

Grabski Stanisław, Wspomnienia t. 1–2 – sygn. 8468.

(Skrzetuski Mieczysław) Gordys Jan, Republika studencka. Opowieści studentów warszawskich z dawnych czasów 1890–1905 – mf. 83330.

Korotyński Wincenty Bruno, Notatki do pamiętnika z czasów dzieciństwa i młodości – sygn. II 7281–7281.

Naake-Nakęski Waclaw, Pamiętnik Warszawiaka. 1864–1894, t. 1, Warszawa 1930 – mf. 64420.

Popławska Felicja, O moim bracie – Akc. 6703.

Uziembło Adam, U progu XX wieku. Lwów 1899–1904 – sygn. 11810.

#### Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie

Kozicki Stanisław, Pół życia politycznego. Pamiętnik, t. 3 – sygn. 7849.

Kubala Wawrzyniec, Spis członków Zetu we Lwowie od początku XX w. do 1914 r., – sygn. 77785/t. 3.

Materiały do biografii członków Ligi Narodowej zebrane przez Józefa Zielińskiego, t. 1–8 – sygn. 7785.

Materiały do dziejów Związku Młodzieży Polskiej „ZET” w okręgu lwowskim – sygn. 7790.

Materiały do dziejów Związku Młodzieży Polskiej „ZET” w okręgu krakowskim – sygn. 7791.

Materiały do biografii członków Związku Młodzieży Polskiej „ZET”, t. 1–2 – sygn. 7794. Uhma Stefan, Materiały do życia młodzieży akademickiej we Lwowie do roku 1914 – sygn. 7858.

Juliusz Zdanowski, Dziennik, cz. 3, 4, Rok 1921 i 1922 – mf. 1485.

#### Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie

Szwedowski Stanisław, Dzieje ruchu zetowego w Polsce, t. 1–3 – mf 2474.

Szwedowski Stefan, Dzieje ruchu zetowego w Polsce (ZMP „Z”) na tle historycznym – mf. 1112.

#### Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu

Papiery Tadeusza i Adama Skałkowskich – 36 IV.

#### Instytut Historii PAN w Warszawie

Drobnik Jerzy, Diariusz, Poznań 1924–1931 – sygn. 70.



## Published sources and collections of documents

- Kółka socjalistyczne. Gminy socjalistyczne. Gminy i Wielki Proletariat. Procesy polityczne 1878–1888*, edited by Leon Baumgarten, Warsaw 1966.
- Memoriał generał-gubernatora warszawskiego do ks. Aleksandra Imeretyńskiego z 14 listopada 1897*, edited by Leszek Jaśkiewicz, Warsaw 1997.
- Narodowa Demokracja. Antologia myśli politycznej „Przeglądu Wszechpolskiego”* selected, introduced and edited by Barbara Toruńczyk, London 1983.
- ‘Pierwsi socjaliści polscy (Kółka socjalistyczne. Gminy. II Proletariat, oprac. A.J. Budzyński)’, *Z pola walki*, 1982, nos. 1–2, pp. 145–162.
- ‘Pierwsze dokumenty programowe młodzieżowego ruchu narodowego w Królestwie Polskim’, edited by Jerzy Targalski, *Pokolenia*, 1965, no. 3, pp. 113–124.
- Pierwsze pokolenie marksistów polskich. Wybór pism i materiałów źródłowych z lat 1878–1886*, vols. 1–2, edited by Alina Molska, Warsaw 1962.
- Polska poezja rewolucyjna 1875–1945*, edited by Stefan Klonowski, Warsaw 1977.
- Polskie programy socjalistyczne 1878–1918*, edited by Feliks Tych, Warsaw 1975.
- ‘Przyczynek do postawy prawicy przedrozłamowej PPS wobec współpracy młodzieży polskiej z rosyjskim ruchem rewolucyjnym w 1900 r.’, *Pokolenia*, 1966, no. 1, pp. 87–90.
- Radykalni demokraci polscy. Wybór pism i dokumentów 1863–1875*, selected and edited by Felicja Romaniukowa, Warsaw 1960.
- Raporty rosyjskich oberpolicmajstrów (1892–1913)*, Halina Kiepuska, Zbigniew Pustuła (eds.), Wrocław 1971.
- Socjaldemokracja Królestwa Polskiego i Litwy. Materiały i dokumenty*, Feliks Tych (ed.), vol. 1: 1893–1903, part 1: 1893–1897, Hanna Buczek, Feliks Tych (eds.), Warsaw 1957; vol. 1, part 2: 1899–1901, edited by Hanna Buczek, Warsaw 1962; vol. 2: 1902–1903, edited by Bronisław Radlak, Warsaw 1962.
- Sprawozdanie Czytelni Akademickiej im. Adama Mickiewicza w Krakowie*, Towarzystwo Ogólnoakademickie, 1904/1905.
- Sprawozdanie Czytelni Akademickiej we Lwowie za r. 1900/1901–1905/1906*, R. 35–40, Lwów 1901–1906.
- Sprawozdanie stowarzyszenia akademickiego „Ognisko” w Wiedniu (VI Rahlgasse) za rok akademicki 1889/1890*, Kraków 1891.
- Walka caratu ze szkołą polską w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1831–1870; materiały źródłowe*, selected by Karol Poznański, Warsaw 1993.
- Żbikowski Andrzej, *Dzieje Żydów w Polsce. Ideologia antysemicka 1848–1914. Wybór tekstów źródłowych*, Warsaw 1994.

## Letters, memoirs, journalism, reminiscences

- Abramowski Edward, *Pisma popularnonaukowe i propagandowe 1890–1895*, selected and introduced by Józef Kulasa, Warsaw 1979.
- Abramowski Edward, *Pisma. Pierwsze zbiorowe wydanie dzieł treści filozoficznej i społecznej*, edited by Konstanty Krzeczkowski, vols. 1–4, Warsaw 1924–1928.
- Abramowski Edward, *Rzeczpospolita przyjaciół. Wybór pism społecznych i politycznych*, edited by Damian Kalbarczyk, Warsaw 1986.
- Albin Jan, 'Listy Władysława Sikorskiego do Franciszka Smolki z lat 1902–1906', *Ze skarbca kultury*, 1972, vol. 23, pp. 203–229.
- Au Juliusz, *Socjalizm jako objaw choroby społecznej. Zarys ustroju społecznego i krytyczną odprawę skreślił*, Poznań 1878.
- B. [Motz Bolesław], *Nasi hakatyści*, Paryż 1900.
- B.F. [Bujak Franciszek], 'Drogi mojego rozwoju umysłowego', *Nauka Polska*, 6, 1927, pp. 77–136.
- B.K. Świda [Koskowski Bolesław], *Odrodzenie Śląska*, Cieszyn 1894.
- 'B.P. Prof. Szymon Askenazy', *Mysł Narodowa*, 30 VI 1935, no. 27, p. 410.
- Balicki Zygmunt, *Egoizm narodowy wobec etyki*, Lwów 1902.
- Balicki Zygmunt, *Hedonizm jako punkt wyjścia etyki*, Warsaw 1900.
- Balicki Zygmunt, *Parlamentaryzm. Zarys socjologiczny*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1900.
- Balicki Zygmunt, *Psychologia społeczna. Czynności poznawcze*, Warsaw 1912.
- Baranowski Władysław, *Rozmowy z Piłsudskim (1916–1931)*, Warsaw 1938.
- Bartoszewicz Włodzimierz, 'Z notatek', *Mysł Narodowa*, 29 I 1939, no. 5, pp. 72–73.
- Berent Waław, *Pisma rozproszone (Utwory. Proza. Utwory poetyckie. Szkice literackie i publicystyczne. Wywiady. Listy)*, introduced and edited by Ryszard Nycz; part of the introduction on *Ideje w ruchu rewolucyjnym* Włodzimierz Bolecki, Kraków 1992.
- Białobłocki Bronisław, *Szkice społeczne i literackie*, selected and introduced by Samuel Sandler, Warsaw 1954.
- Bielecki Tadeusz, *W szkole Dmowskiego. Szkice i wspomnienia*, Gdańsk 2000.
- Bobrzyński Michał, 'Rozmiary niebezpieczeństwa', *Czas*, 18 II 1904, no. 39, pp. 1–2.
- Bobrzyński Michał, 'Rozmiary niebezpieczeństwa', *Przegląd Polski*, February 1904, no. 4, vol. 8, pp. 213–228.
- Bobrzyński Michał, *Z moich pamiętników*, edited and introduced by Adam Galos, Wrocław 1957.
- Bojko Jakub, 'Naszym rekinom w odpowiedzi', *Kurier Lwowski*, 21 VI 1903, no. 170, p. 1.

- Bolcewicz Henryk Ks. [Father], 'Stosunki kościelne na Litwie. List otwarty księdza do księży', *Przegląd Wszehpolski*, Lwów 1900.
- Bornstein Maurycy, *Zwyrodnienie w świetle nauki współczesnej*, Warsaw 1904.
- Borzemski Waclaw, *Pamiętnik tajnych organizacji niepodległościowych na terenie byłej Galicji od roku 1880–1897*, Lwów 1930.
- Bouffał Bronisław, 'Walenty Dmowski', *Słowo Narodowe*, 22 I 1939, no. 22, p. 7.
- Breiter Emil, 'Literatura sumieniem narodu. Drogi Dmowskiego i Piłsudskiego', *Wiadomości*, 12, 2 II 1958, no. 5 (618), p. 2.
- Bukowiecki, 'Początki Zetu', *Naród i Państwo*, 6 XII 1936, no. 43, pp. 3–5.
- Bykowski-Jaxa Ludwik, 'Roman Dmowski jako „asystent” na Uniwersytecie Jana Kazimierza', *Słowo Narodowe*, 18 I 1939, no. 18, p. 6.
- Chamberlain Houston Stewart, *Die Grundlagen des Neuzehten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1–2, Munich 1899–1900.
- Chełmicki Zygmunt Ks. [Father], *W Brazylii. Notatki z podróży*, vols. 1–2, Warsaw 1892.
- Chmielewski Krzysztof, Wiśniewska Magda [Micewski Andrzej], 'Dwa oblicza Romana Dmowskiego', *Polskie Porozumienie Niepodległościowe*, text 23, October 1978, pp. 1–26.
- Chrzanowski Ignacy, 'Młodość Romana Dmowskiego. Odczyt wygłoszony dnia 20 lutego 1938 r. w auli Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego na Akademii Młodzieży Wszehpolskiej dla uczczenia jej piętnastu lat działalności', *Mysł Narodowa*, 29 V 1938, no. 23, p. 354.
- Czczott Witold, *Odpowiedź na broszurę o Obronie Czynnej i Skarbie Narodowym*, Kraków 1889.
- Człowiek Szczery [Kolasiński Michał], *Polityczne samobójstwo część I. Antysemityzm zgubą*, Kraków 1889.
- Ćwierćwiecze walki. *Księga pamiątkowa „Roli”*, Warsaw 1910.
- Daszyński Ignacy, 'Nasza walka z klerem', *Odbitka*, in March 1896, Kraków.
- Daszyński Ignacy, *Pamiętniki*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1957.
- Deryng Xavier, 'Mécislas Golberg – lettres inéditées à Stanislas Gierszyński', *Akta Towarzystwa Historyczno-Literackiego w Paryżu*, 2, 1993, pp. 237–265.
- Dębicki Zdzisław, *Grzechy młodości*, Warsaw 1923.
- Dębicki Zdzisław, *Iskry w popiołach. Wspomnienia lwowskie. „Grzechów młodości” część druga*, Poznań 1930.
- Dębicki Zdzisław, 'Jak uczyli się wybitni pisarze polscy?' (A survey), *Wiadomości Literackie*, 17 I 1926, no. 3 (107), p. 2.
- Dębicki Zdzisław, 'Rocznica majowa', *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, 29 IV 1916, no. 18, p. 209.

- [DJ], 'Na posterunku. Roman Dmowski', *Nowy Dziennik*, 3 I 1939, no. 3, p. 1.
- Dłuski Kazimierz, *Wspomnienia z Paryża od 4 I do VII 1919*, Warsaw 1920.
- Dmowski Roman, 'Dobra krew (Wspomnienie o śp. Władysławie Grabskim z Kurcewa) I', *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1 XI 1927, no. 300, p. 5.
- Dmowski Roman, 'Dzieło i człowiek', *Gazeta Warszawska*, 26 VII 1913, no. 261, p. 1.
- Dmowski Roman, 'Hitleryzm jako ruch narodowy I. Walka z kryzysem politycznym', *Gazeta Warszawska*, 7 VII 1932, no. 202, p. 3.
- Dmowski Roman, 'Hitleryzm jako ruch narodowy II. Wódz', *Gazeta Warszawska*, 8 VII 1932, no. 203, p. 3.
- Dmowski Roman, 'Jan Popławski, jego stanowisko w dziejach i rozwoju myśli politycznej', *Przegląd Wszehpolski*, 1, (series II), January 1922, no. 1, pp. 6–15.
- Dmowski Roman, *Koniec legendy. Uwagi o stanowisku „Stańczyków” i „Ugodowców”, wobec zadań dzisiejszej polityki narodowej*, Lwów 1905.
- Dmowski Roman, *Młodzież polska w zaborze rosyjskim*, Lwów 1896.
- Dmowski Roman, *Mowa wygłoszona na zebraniu prawyborców Warszawy dnia 1 października 1912 w sali Resursy Obywatelskiej*, Warsaw 1912.
- Dmowski Roman, *Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka*, Wrocław 1996.
- Dmowski Roman, 'Na granicy dwóch wieków. Wstęp', *Gazeta Warszawska*, 15 VIII 1928, no. 241, p. 5.
- [Dmowski Roman], *Nasz patriotyzm*, Berlin 1983.
- Dmowski Roman, 'Niepospolity człowiek (o T. Waligórskim)', *Gazeta Warszawska*, 18 VIII 1913, no. 225, p. 1.
- Dmowski Roman, 'O Księżu Kazimierzu', *Myśl Narodowa*, 26 II 1939, no. 10, pp. 133–134.
- Dmowski Roman, *Pisma*, vols. 1–9, Częstochowa 1937–1939.
- [Dmowski Roman], *Po manifestacji 17-go kwietnia. Z dzisiejszej doby X*, Kraków 1894.
- [Dmowski Roman], 'Początki nowoczesnego obozu narodowego w Polsce', *Myśl Narodowa* 1936, nos. 47–48.
- Dmowski Roman, *Polityka polska: odbudowanie państwa*, vols. 1–2, edited and introduced by Tomasz Wituch, Warsaw 1988.
- Dmowski Roman, 'Przed czterdziestu laty (wspomnienie z okazji jubileuszu Józefa Hłaski)', *Gazeta Warszawska*, 15 VII 1934, no. 212, p. 2.
- Dmowski Roman, Foreword in Aleksander Chechowski, *Historia wojny rosyjsko-japońskiej*, Warsaw 1905, pp. VII–XXIV.
- Dmowski Roman, *Przewrót*, Warsaw 1934.

- Dmowski Roman, 'Separatyzm Żydów i jego źródła', *Gazeta Warszawska*, Warsaw 1909.
- Dmowski Roman, 'Śp. Michał Bobrzyński', *Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy*, 6 VII 1935, no. 40, p. 3.
- Dmowski Roman, *Świat powojenny i Polska*, Warsaw 1931.
- Dmowski Roman, *Upadek myśli konserwatywnej w Polsce*, Wrocław 2004.
- [Dmowski Roman], *Walka czy ugoda*, Kraków 1894.
- Dmowski Roman, 'Wewnętrzna polityka narodowa I-II', *Przegląd Narodowy*, June 1919, no. 2, pp. 137–155; July 1919, no. 3, pp. 259–277.
- Dmowski Roman, 'Wspomnienie o Józefie Hłasce', *Gazeta Warszawska*, 15 VII 1934, no. 212, p. 3. Dmowski Roman, *Wychodźstwo i osadnictwo*, vol. 1, Lwów 1900.
- Dmowski Roman, *Ze studiów nad szkołą rosyjską w Polsce*, Lwów 1900.
- Doliwa Z. [Dłuski Kazimierz], *Szkice historyczno-społeczne*, Zurich 1898.
- Draper John William, *Historia umysłowego rozwoju Europy*, foreword by Tadeusz Korzon, Warsaw 1872–1873.
- Drobner Bolesław, *Bezustanna walka*, vol. 1: (*Wspomnienia 1883–1918*), Warsaw 1962.
- Dużyk Józef, 'Z listów Wincentego Lutosławskiego do rodziców z lat 1884–1886', *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej PAU i PAN w Krakowie*, 45, 2000, pp. 252–310.
- Dzierżyński Ignacy, 'Wspomnienia szkolne z czasów carskich', *Pamiętnikarstwo polskie*, 5, January–December 1975, nos. 1–4, pp. 219–226.
- Dziesięciolecie Przeglądu Wszepolskiego. Artykuły i rozprawy z zakresu polityki i pokrewnych dziedzin*, Roman Dmowski (ed.), Kraków 1905.
- (f) [Feldman Wilhelm], *Rzecz o Narodowej Demokracji*, Kraków 1902.
- Feldman Wilhelm, *Dzieje polskiej myśli politycznej w okresie porozbiorowym, 1864–1964*, foreword by Leon Wasilewski, edited by Józef Feldman Warsaw 1933.
- Feldman Wilhelm, *Na posterunku. (Szkice publicystyczne. Po wyborach. Nasi dekadenci. O złoty róg. Drogi duszy. Wybory galicyjskie. Dwie kultury. Walka światopoglądów. Assrnatisis. Rola i wnuki jego. Rusini i sprawa ruska)*, Lwów 1902.
- Feldman Wilhelm, *O Rosyi. Wrażenia z wycieczki*, Kraków 1905.
- Feldman Wilhelm, *Piśmiennictwo polskie ostatnich lat dwudziestu*, vols. 1–4, Lwów 1902.
- Feldman Wilhelm, *Stan ekonomiczny Galicji. Cyfry i fakta zestawione przez W. Feldmana*, Lwów 1900.

- Feldman Wilhelm, *Współczesna literatura polska 1864–1923*, 7<sup>th</sup> edition, H. Altenberg, Lwów [no date of publication].
- Feldman, Wilhelm, *Stronictwa i programy polityczne w Galicji, 1846–1906*, vols. 1–2, Kraków 1907.
- Fikus Feliks, *Roman Dmowski 1864–1939. Życiorys, wspomnienia, zbiór fotografii*, Poznań 1939.
- Filipowicz Tytus, *Zagadnienie postępu*, Kraków 1909.
- G. Topór [Grużewski Tadeusz], *Odbudowanie Polski. Trzy rozprawy polityczne*, Lwów 1904.
- Gierszyński Henryk, *Emigracya i Skarb Narodowy*, Kraków 1904.
- Gierszyński Henryk, *W sprawie Skarbu Narodowego*, Lwów 1903.
- Giertych Jędrzej, 'Wspomnienie o Romanie Dmowskim', *Słowo Narodowe*, 1939, nos. 15, 17, 26, 35, 36, 45, 47, 49, 56, 60, 69, 70–72, 80.
- Gizbert-Studnicki Waclaw (Kmicic), 'Poufna charakterystyka Józefa Piłsudskiego (z tajnych akt wileńskiego kuratorium szkolnego r. 1887)', *Legionista Wileński*, March 1930, no. 1, p. 4.
- Gizbert-Studnicki Waclaw, 'O Wilnie – gimnazjum', *Legionista Wileński*, March 1930, no. 2, pp. 4–6.
- Gizbert-Studnicki Waclaw, 'Tajne nauczanie na Litwie po roku 1863', *Sprawozdania Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności*, 39, 1934, no. 9, copy.
- Gizbert-Studnicki Waclaw, 'W 50-tą rocznicę „Spójni”. Pierwszego kółka uczniowskiego w Wilnie po powstaniu 1863', *Kurier Wileński*, 12 V 1932, no. 107, p. 2.
- Gluziński Tadeusz, 'Rozmowy z Dmowskim (Z moich wspomnień)', *Kronika Polski i Świata*, January 1939, no. 2, p. 1.
- Głąbiński Stanisław, *W cieniu ojca*, Warsaw 2001.
- Głąbiński Stanisław, *Wspomnienia polityczne. Część pierwsza. Pod zaborem austriackim*, Pelpin 1939.
- Głąbiński Stanisław, *Zamach na uniwersytet polski we Lwowie*, Lwów 1902.
- Górski Wojciech, *Wspomnienia. Sześćdziesiąt lat pracy na niwie pedagogicznej*, Warsaw 1937.
- Grabałowski Ryszard, 'Listy Stanisława Krusińskiego do Michała (Juniora) i Michała (Seniora) Łempickich z lat 1874–1885', *Ze skarbca kultury, Nadbitka*, 1964, vol. 17, pp. 51–99.
- Grabiec Józef [Dąbrowski Józef], *Czerwona Warszawa przed ćwierć wiekiem. Moje Wspomnienia*, Poznań 1925.
- Grabski Stanisław, *Pamiętniki*, vol. 1, edited and with an introduction by Witold Stankiewicz, Warsaw 1989.

- Grzybowski Konstanty, 'Roman Dmowski, czyli o polityce mitologii I. Wierny poddany Mikołaja II', *Życie Warszawy*, 8–9 II 1959, no. 34, p. 4.
- Grzybowski Konstanty, 'Roman Dmowski, czyli o polityce mitologii II. Wymoczek w nalewkach', *Życie Warszawy*, 11 II 1959, no. 36, p. 3.
- Grzymała-Siedlecki Adam, *Niepospolici ludzie w swoim dniu powszednim*, Kraków 1961.
- Gumplowicz Władysław, *Kwestya polska a socyalizm*, Kraków 1908.
- Guyau Jean-Marie, *Wychowanie i dziedziczność*, trans. Józef Karol Potocki, Warsaw 1891.
- Hartglas Apolinary, 'Zwycięzca', *Nowy Dziennik*, 6 I 1939, no. 6, pp. 5–6.
- Harusewicz Jan, *Za carskich czasów i po wyzwoleniu. Wspomnienia i dokumenty*, London 1975.
- Hertz Benedykt, *Na taśmie 70-lecia*, edited by Ludwik B. Grzeniewski, Warsaw 1962.
- Heydel Adam, 'Wspomnienia o Romanie Dmowskim', *Wieczór Warszawski*, 6 I 1939, no. 6, p. 5.
- Hłasko Józef, 'W redakcji „Głosu” (Wspomnienia z lat 1887–1895)', *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1932, nos. 265, 272–277, 281, 284–287, 289, 291–294.
- Hłasko Józef, 'Ze wspomnień o Popławskim i Głosie', *Gazeta Warszawska*, 18 X 1928, no. 309, p. 6.
- Hostowiec Paweł [Stempowski Jerzy], *Eseje dla Kassandry*, Paris 1961.
- Humnicki Antoni, *Wspomnienia z lat 1888–1892. Przyczynek do historii naszego ruchu socjalistycznego*, Warsaw 1907.
- Informator [Wasilewski Leon], 'Listy o Polsce Współczesnej', *Oswobodzenie* [Освобождение], Stuttgart 1903.
- Informator [Wasilewski Leon], *Stronnictwa polityczne w Królestwie Polskim*, Kraków 1904.
- Jabłonowski Władysław, 'Antagonizmy zaściankowe', *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, 4 (17) VII 1901, no. 38 (2182), p. 638.
- Jabłonowski Władysław, 'Krótki zyciorys', Jan Fijałek (ed.), *Rocznik Biblioteki PAN w Krakowie*, 78, 1961–1962/1963.
- Jabłonowski Władysław, *Z biegiem lat. Wspomnienia o Romanie Dmowskim*, Częstochowa 1939.
- [Jaworski Władysław Leopold], *Pan Dmowski o konserwatystach (Roman Dmowski, „Upadek myśli konserwatywnej w Polsce”*, Warszawa 1914), Kraków 1914.
- Jednodniówka zjazdu koleżeńskiego Radomiaków w dniach 6–8 maja 1925 r. w Radomiu*, Warsaw 1926.

- Jeleński Jan, *Co to jest antysemityzm i jak go chrześcijanin-katolik rozumieć powinien*, Warsaw 1910. Jeleński Jan, *Dworacy żydów. Przypisek do kwestyi żydowskiej przez J.J.*, Warsaw 1878.
- Jeleński Jan, *Nie bić żydów, ale im się nie dawać przez Jana Mrówkę*, Warsaw 1906.
- Jeleński Jan, *O samopomocy w kształceniu się przez Jana Mrówkę*, Warsaw 1873.
- Jeleński Jan, *O skierowaniu żydów ku pracy w rolnictwie*, Warsaw 1873.
- Jeleński Jan, *Żydzi na wsi*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Warsaw 1882.
- Jeleński Jan, *Żydzi, Niemcy i my*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, Warsaw 1880.
- Jellenta Cezary, 'Forpocztę', *Pion*, 27 VII 1935, no. 30 (95), pp. 3–4.
- Jellenta Cezary, *Ideał wszechludzki w poezji współczesnej*, Kraków 1894.
- Jellenta Cezary, 'Zapomniana awangarda', *Pion*, 20 VII 1935, no. 29 (94), p. 2.
- Jeske-Choiński Teodor, *Na schyłku wieku. Studium*, Warsaw 1894.
- Jeż Teodor Tomasz [Miłkowski Zygmunt], *Odpowiedź Zygmunta Miłkowskiego na adresy młodzieży polskiej*, Kraków 1883.
- Jeż Teodor Tomasz [Zygmunt Miłkowski], *Skarb Narodowy Polski. Nieco o Lidze Narodowej. Rozdział jeden z pamiętnika „Od kolebki przez życie”*, Lwów 1905.
- Jędrzejewicz Waław, 'Sprawa „Wieczoru” (Józef Piłsudski a wojna japońsko-rosyjska 1904–1905)', *Zeszyty Historyczne*, 1974, vol. 27, pp. 3–103.
- Kasznica Stanisław, *Autobiografia*, edited by Eleonora Kasznica and Zbigniew Janowicz, *Analecta*, 1995, vol. 1, pp. 185–24.
- Kelles-Krauz Kazimierz, *Listy*, vol. 1: 1890–1897, vol. 2: 1898–1905, edited and introduced by Feliks Tych, collected and edited by Wiesław Bienkowski (et al.), Wrocław 1984.
- Kelles-Krauz Kazimierz, *Naród i historia. Wybór pism*, selected, edited and introduced by Stanisław Ciesielski, Warsaw 1989.
- Kelles-Krauz Kazimierz, *Pisma wybrane*, vols. 1–2, Warsaw 1962.
- Kempner Stanisław S., *Zarys ekonomii społecznej*, Warsaw 1901.
- Kiniorski Marian (Rusticus), *W służbie ziemi. Refleksje rolnika na posterunkach publicznych*, Warsaw 1929.
- Kiniorski Marian, *Z czterdziestu pięciu lat wspomnień o Romanie Dmowskim*, Warsaw 1939.
- Kirkor-Kiedroniowa Zofia, *Wspomnienia*, parts 1–2, introduced by Henryk Wereszycki, edited by Alina Szklarska-Lohmannowa [et al.], Kraków 1986–1988.
- Klemesiewiczowa Jadwiga, *Przebojem ku wiedzy. Wspomnienia jednej z pierwszych studentek krakowskich z XIX wieku*, Wrocław 1961.
- Komarnicki Tytus, 'Askenazy jako dyplomata', *Wiadomości*, 30 IX 1956, no. 40 (548), p. 2.



- Kon Feliks, *Narodziny wieku. Wspomnienia*, trans. Zofia Korczak-Zawadzka, poeury trans. Włodzimierz Słobodzin, Warsaw 1969.
- Konopczyński Władysław, 'Jak zostałem historykiem', *Znak*, October 1958, no. 10 (58), pp. 1148–1163.
- Korwin-Milewski Hipolit, *Siedemdziesiąt lat wspomnień (1855–1925)*, Poznań 1930.
- Koskowski Bolesław, 'Przez granice. Fragment pamiętnika', *Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy*, 24 XII 1938, no. 352, p. 3.
- Koskowski Bolesław, *Wychodźstwo zarobkowe włościan w Królestwie Polskim*, Warsaw 1901.
- Koszutski Stanisław, *Walka młodzieży polskiej o wielkie ideały. Wspomnienia z czasów gimnazjalnych i uniwersyteckich – Siedlce, Warszawa, Kijów, Berlin, Paryż (1881–1900)*, Warsaw 1928.
- Kotowski Witold, 'Reymont a Dmowski', *Tygodnik Warszawski*, 20 I 1946, no. 3, p. 4.
- [Kozicki Stanisław], '1937', *Tygodnik Polityczny Warszawskiego Dziennika Narodowego*, 9 I 1938, no. 2, p. 1.
- Kozicki Stanisław, 'Charles Maurras i nacjonalizm francuski', *Przegląd Narodowy*, July 1914, no. 7, pp. 52–69.
- Kozicki Stanisław, *Historia Ligi Narodowej (Okres 1887–1907)*, London 1964.
- Kozicki Stanisław, 'Liga Narodowa i wolnomularstwo', *Zeszyty Historyczne*, 2002, nr 41, pp. 78–85.
- Kozicki Stanisław, 'Od indywidualizmu do nacjonalizmu', *Przegląd Narodowy*, November 1908, no. 11, pp. 556–573.
- Kozicki Stanisław, 'Roman Dmowski i przekształcenie Ligi Polskiej w Ligę Narodową', *Polityka Narodowa*, January-February 1939, nos. 1–2, pp. 27–36.
- Kozicki Stanisław, *Stanisław Chelchowski, niezastąpiony wzór pracy społecznej na wsi*, in *Księga pamiątkowa 75-lecia Gazety Rolniczej 1861–1935*, Dr. Jan Lutosławski (ed.), Warsaw 1938, pp. 304–314.
- Kozicki Stanisław, 'Teofil Waligórski', *Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy*, 12 VIII 1938, no. 220, p. 3. Kozicki Stanisław, 'Towarzystwo Oświaty Narodowej', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, February 1924, no. 2, pp. 116–127.
- [Kozicki Stanisław], *Żydzi na Madagaskar*, *Tygodnik Polityczny Warszawskiego Dziennika Narodowego*, 24 I 1937, no. 4, p. 1.
- Kozłowski Władysław Mieczysław, 'Manfred hr. Henryk i Płoszowski jako przedstawiciele trzech pokoleń XIX wieku', a copy from *Ateneum*, Warsaw 1895.
- Kólkowicz [Dąbrowski Józef], *Przyczynek do historii ruchu wśród młodzieży polskiej zaboru rosyjskiego*, Lwów 1902.

- Krajewski Władysław, Kancewicz Jan, Klonowicz Stanisław, Ludkiewicz Stanisław, *Ludzie bliscy*, Warsaw 1960.
- Krauze Leonard, 'Z warszawskich zapisków roku 1891', *Pamiętnikarstwo Polskie*, 5, January-December 1975, nos. 1-4, pp. 208-209.
- Krusiński Stanisław, *Pisma zebrane*, edited by Romualda Janiec, introduction by Tadeusz Kowalik, Warsaw 1958.
- Kruszewska Zofia, 'Wspomnienia I', edited by Dioniza Wawrzykowska-Wierciochowa, *Pamiętnikarstwo Polskie*, 1976, no. 1-4, pp. 161-177.
- Krzczkowski Konstanty, *Czytelnictwo wśród studentów Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. Przyczynek do charakterystyki życia umysłowego*, Warsaw 1905.
- Krzczkowski Konstanty, 'Pierwsza sprawa polityczna Romualda Mielczarskiego', *Spółdzielczy Przegląd Naukowy*, March 1936, vol. 3, pp. 12-17.
- Krzesański Jan, 'Spoliczkowanie Apuchtina (Z cyklu „Za Apuchtina i jego następców”) I-III, 1938-1939', *Kronika Ruchu Rewolucyjnego w Polsce*, July-August-September, no. 3, pp. 1-3.
- Krzywicki Ludwik, *Dzieła*, vols. 1-8, Warsaw 1957-1958, 1960, 1966, 1968, 1969, 1974.
- Krzywicki Ludwik, *Idea a życie. Z wczesnej publicystyki 1883-1892*, edited by Henryk Holland, Warsaw 1957.
- Krzywicki Ludwik, *W otchłani. Rozważania na tematy społeczne*, Warsaw 1909.
- Krzywicki Ludwik, *Wspomnienia*, vols. 1-3, Warsaw 1957-1959.
- Krzywicki Ludwik, *Za Atlantykiem. Wrażenia z podróży po Ameryce*, Warsaw 1895.
- Krzywoszewski Stefan, *Długie życie. Wspomnienia*, vols. 1-2, Warsaw 1947.
- Księga pamiątkowa I Liceum Ogólnokształcącego im. Stefana Żeromskiego w Kielcach, Wydana z okazji Jubileuszu 260 lecie Szkoły*, Adam Massalski, Stanisław Różański (eds.), Kielce 1985.
- Księga pamiątkowa PPS. W trzydziestą rocznicę*, Warsaw 1923.
- Ku czci Leona Wasilewskiego*, Warszawa 1937.
- Kukiel Marian, 'Trzy wspomnienia z Raperswilu', *Wiadomości*, 23 IX 1956, no. 39 (47), p. 1.
- Kulczycki Ludwik, *Bankructwo Narodowej Demokracji w Galicji na tle obecnej sytuacji politycznej*, Lwów 1911.
- Kulczycki Ludwik, *Narodowa Demokracja*, Warsaw 1907.
- Kulczycki Ludwik, *Rewolucja rosyjska*, vol. 1, *Od dekabrystów do wędrówki w lud*, 1825-1870, vol. 2: *Od wędrówki w lud do upadku „Narodowej Woli”, 1870-1886*, Lwów 1909, 1911.

- Kulczycki Ludwik, *Współczesne prądy umysłowe i polityczne. Szkice*, Kraków 1903.
- Kulczycki Ludwik, *Z powodu broszury „Rzecz o obronie czynnej” i Skarbie Narodowym*, Riga 1888. Kułakowski Mariusz [Józef Zieliński], *Roman Dmowski w świetle listów i wspomnień*, vols. 1–2, London 1968–1971.
- Kurnatowski Jerzy, *Nietzsche. Studya i tłumaczenia*, Łódź 1903.
- L. Płochocki (St. Os...arz) [Wasilewski Leon], *Polska zakordonowa*, London 1901.
- Lambro [Niemojewski Andrzej], *Z za kulis Warszawy*, Kraków 1901.
- Lange Antoni, ‘Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka. Z ksiąg P. Romana Dmowskiego’, *Myśl Niepodległa*, December 1906, no. 11, pp. 509–516.
- Lange Antoni, *Spółczeństwo i historia podług teorii G. Tarda skreślił A. Lange*, Warsaw 1901.
- Lange Antoni, *Studya i wrażenia*, Warsaw 1900.
- Lecky William Edward Hortyde Hartpole, *Dzieje wolnej myśli w Europie*, trans. Marya
- Feldman, Wilhelm Feldman (ed.), vols. 1–2, 18<sup>th</sup> edition, Łódź 1908–1909.
- Leder Witold, Leder Zdzisław, *Czerwona nić. Ze wspomnień i prac rodziny Lederów*, Warsaw 2005.
- Limanowski Bolesław, *Pamiętnik*, vol. 2: 1870–1907, edited by Janusz Durko, introduction by Henryk Jabłoński, Warsaw 1958.
- ‘List Konrada Prószyńskiego do Wandy Stempowskiej z 29–30 Marca 1903’, edited by Zenon Kmiecik, *Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego*, 1973, no. 2, pp. 247–255.
- ‘Listy Andrzeja Niemojewskiego do Ludwika Gumpłowicza z okresu „Legend” i przekładu „Życia Jezusa” Renana’, edited by Henryk Barycz, *Pamiętnik Literacki*, 1950, vol. 2, pp. 558–581.
- Listy do młodzieży o wyborze stanu przez dr. J. Tchórznickiego*, Warsaw 1890.
- Listy do Stefana Żeromskiego. Oktawia Żeromska*, edited and introduced by Zdzisław Jerzy Adamczyk, Łódź 1972.
- ‘Listy Jakuba Bojki z lat 1891–1916’, edited by Janusz Albin and Józef Ryszard Szaflik, *Ze skarbca kultury*, 1976, vol. 27, pp. 59–132.
- ‘Listy Jana Strożeckiego do Kazimierz Pietkiewicza’, edited and introduced by Janusz Durko, *Dzieje Najnowsze. Kwartalnik Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, January–March 1947, vol. 1, pp. 90–138.
- ‘Listy Jana Strożeckiego do Mariana Abramowicza’, edited and introduced by Janusz Durko, *Dzieje Najnowsze. Kwartalnik Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, April–June 1947, vol. 2, pp. 238–270. Lorentowicz Jan, *Spojrzenie wstecz*, Kraków 1957.

- Lubieńska-Górska Maria, *Gdybym mniej kochała. Dzienniki z lat 1896–1906*, Warsaw 1997.
- Luksemburg Róża, *Listy do Leona Jogichesa-Tyszki*, vol. 1: 1893–1899, vol. 2: 1900–1905, edited and introduced by Feliks Tylich, Warsaw 1968.
- Luksemburg Róża, *Wybór pism*, part 1: (1893–1904), part 2: (1904–1907), Roman Werfel (ed.), Warsaw 1959.
- Lutosławski Wincenty, *Iskierki warszawskie*, Warsaw 1911.
- Lutosławski Wincenty, *Jeden łatwy żywot*, Warsaw 1933.
- Łomżyński [Zaluska Jan], *Listy znad Narwi*, Lwów 1903.
- M.P. [Pruszyński Mieczysław], ‘Rozmowa „Polityki” z Romanem Dmowskim. Z cyklu wywiadów tygodnika „Polityka”’, *Polityka*, 6 VIII 1939, no. 24, p. 2.
- Mackiewicz Cat Stanisław, *Historia Polski od 11 listopada 1918 r. do 17 kwietnia 1939 r.*, Warsaw 1989.
- Marks Karol, Engels Fryderyk, *Dzieła*, vols. 1, 6, 16, Warsaw 1963, 1969, 1976.
- Matuszewski Ignacy, ‘Obchód stulecia Konstytucji 3 Maja w roku 1891 w Warszawie. Garść wspomnień naocznego świadka’, *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, 4 V 1907, no. 18 (2478), pp. 367–368.
- Maurras Charles, *L’Ordre et le désordre*, Paris 2007.
- Mazanowski Antoni, *Młoda Polska w powieści lirycznej i dramacie*, Kraków 1902.
- Mazowiecki Mieczysław [Kulczycki Ludwik], *Historia polskiego ruchu socjalistycznego w zaborze rosyjskim*, Kraków 1904.
- Méritele. Noworocznik literacki (Na pamiątkę jubileuszu Henryka Sienkiewicza zebrał Antoni Potocki)*, Kraków 1902.
- [Mendelson Stanisław], *Sto lat temu*, Kraków 1891.
- Michnik Adam, ‘Cienie zapomnianych przodków’, *Kultura* (Paris), 1975, no. 5, pp. 1–21.
- Michnik Adam, *Diabeł naszego czasu: publicystyka z lat 1985–1995*, selected and introduced by Andrzej Romanowski, Warsaw 1995.
- Michnik Adam, ‘Rozmowa z Cytadeli’, *Zeszyty Historyczne*, 376, 1983, no. 64, pp. 3–56.
- Michnik Adam, *Szanse polskiej demokracji*, Warsaw 2009.
- Michnik Adam, *Szanse polskiej demokracji. Artykuły i szkice*, London 1984.
- Mielczarski Romuald, *Pisma*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1936.
- ‘Między Niemcami a Rosją (Korespondencja między Romanem Dmowskim a Janem Zółtowskim, 1930)’, *Arcana*, 1996, no. 5 (11), pp. 51–63.
- Międzynarodowa solidarność proletariatu. Wydawnictwo poświęcone pamięci Janusza Tańskiego*, London 1902.

- Miłkowski Zygmunt, *Listy do Henryka Bukowskiego z lat 1889–1900*, edited by Danuta Ossowska, Olsztyn 2001.
- Młodzież społeczeństwu. Kilka uwag o szkole galicyjskiej*, Kraków 1906.
- Młynarski Feliks, *Wspomnienia*, Andrzej Garlicki (ed.), Warsaw 1971.
- Morawski Kajetan, *Tamten brzeg. Wspomnienia i szkice*, Paris 1992.
- Morawski Kajetan, 'Wakacyjne trzy po trzy', *Wiadomości*, 9 XI 1958, no. 45 (658), p. 1.
- Mortkowicz-Olczakowa Hanna, *O Stefanie Żeromskim. Ze wspomnień i dokumentów*, Warsaw 1964.
- Mortkowicz-Olczakowa Hanna, 'Wspomnienie o Szymonie Askenazym. W setną rocznicę urodzin', *Twórczość*, December 1967, vol. 12, pp. 81–88.
- Moszczeńska Izabela, *Nasza szkoła w Królestwie Polskim. Uwagi na czasie*, Lwów 1905.
- 'Mowa p. Romana Dmowskiego wygłoszona na zgromadzeniu prawyborców m. Warszawy w dniu 1 Października, w sali Resursy Obywatelskiej', *Gazeta Warszawska*, 3 X 1912, no. 95, pp. 1–2.
- Mowa posła dra St. Głabińskiego wypowiedziana na posiedzeniu Izby posłów w Wiedniu dnia 1902 podczas dyskusji nad wnioskami nagłymi w sprawie strajków rolnych w Galicji*, Lwów 1902.
- 'Mowa Romana Dmowskiego na zebraniu przedwyborczym w Warszawie 1912 r.', *Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy*, 16 XII 1938, no. 344, p. 1.
- Naake-Nakęski Waclaw, 'Lwów–Warszawa. Garść uwag porównawczych o gospodarce miejskiej', copy from *Słowo Polskie*, Lwów 1909.
- Naake-Nakęski Waclaw, *Saltomortale Wielkiego Pisarza. List otwarty do Stefana Żeromskiego z powodu „Przedwiośnia”*, Poznań 1925.
- Nałkowska Zofia, *Dzienniki 1899–1905*, edited, introduced and commented on by Hanna Kirchner, Warsaw 1975.
- Nałkowska Zofia, *Widzenia bliskie i dalekie*, Warsaw 1957.
- Nałkowski Waclaw, *Jednostka i ogół. Studia i krytyki psycho-społeczne*, Kraków 1904.
- Nałkowski Waclaw, Komornicka Maria, Jellenta Cezary, *Forpoczty. Książka zbiorowa*, Lwów 1895.
- Nałkowski Waclaw, *Listy do narzeczonej i żony, 1879–1894*, edited by Barbara Koc, Warsaw 1985.
- Narrans [Krzemiński Stanisław], *Listy z zaboru rosyjskiego*, Kraków 1898.
- Narrans [Krzemiński Stanisław], *Listy z zaboru rosyjskiego*, Kraków 1899–1901.
- Nasza młodzież w świetle krytyki. Z powodu broszury Scriptora*, Poznań 1903.

- Nasza walka o szkołę polską 1901–1917. Opracowania. Wspomnienia, dokumenty zebrała Komisja Historyczna pod przewodnictwem Prof. Dr. Bohdana Nawrocyńskiego*, vols. 1–2, Warsaw 1932–1934.
- Nestorowicz Stefan, ‘W Brazylii i Argentynie’, copy of *Kurier Codzienny*, Warsaw 1891.
- ‘Nie drukowane „Kroniki tygodniowe” Bolesława Prusa’, *Pamiętnik Literacki*, 67, 1976, vol. 1, pp. 181–205.
- Niedziałkowski M. [Mieczysław], ‘Zgon Romana Dmowskiego’, *Robotnik*, 3 I 1939, no. 3 (7636), p. 3.
- Niemojewski Andrzej, *Sprawa „Legend” i „Objaśnienie” katechizmu. Przyczynek do dziejów kultury w Polsce na początku XX stulecia*, Warsaw 1909.
- Niewiadomski Eligiusz, *Kartki z więzienia*, Poznań 1923.
- Niklewiczowa Maria, *Pan Roman: wspomnienie o Romanie Dmowskim*, edited by Tomasz Wituch, Warsaw 2001.
- Nowaczyński Adolf, ‘Gobineau w Polsce’, *ABC Literacko-Artystyczne*, 1 VII 1934, no. 27, p. 3. Nowaczyński Adolf, ‘Ich Parana’, *Kronika Polski i Świata*, 13 II 1938, no. 5, p. 7.
- Nowaczyński Adolf, *Małpie zwierciadło. Wybór pism satyrycznych*, vol. 1: 1897–1904, Kraków 1974.
- Nusbaum-Hilarowicz Józef, *Pamiętniki przyrodnika. Autobiografia*, Lwów 1922.
- ‘Obcy o Romanie Dmowskim’, *Mysł Polska*, 11 I 1949, no. 130, pp. 6–8.
- Offenberg Jan, *Stan umysłów wśród młodzieży akademickiej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego w latach 1885–1890. Ze wspomnień kresowca*, Warsaw 1929.
- Offenberg Jan, ‘Z dziejów Organizacji Polskiej Młodzieży Szkolnej na kresach (Wspomnienie z lat 1882–1885)’, copy of *Wschód Polski*, Wilno 1932.
- Ognisko. Książka zbiorowa wydana dla uczczenia pracy T.T. Jeża*, Warsaw 1882.
- Orkan Władysław, ‘Z listów do Marii Wysłouchowej. O listach Orkana do Marii Wysłouchowej’, *Pamiętnikarstwo Polskie*, 6, January–December 1976, nos. 1–4 (19–22), pp. 161–177.
- Orzeszkowa Eliza, *Listy zebrane*, vol. 8, Edmund Jankowski (ed.), Wrocław 1976.
- Os-arz St. [Wasilewski Leon], *Narodowa Demokracja a ruch rewolucyjny w zaborze rosyjskim*, Warsaw 1907.
- Ostromęcka Jadwiga, *Pamiętnik z lat 1862–1911*, edited by Anna Brus, Warsaw 2004. *Pamiętka Majowa*, London 1896.
- ‘Pamiętka uroczystości wręczenia Dyplomu Honorowego Romanowi Dmowskiemu przez Wszechnicę Poznańską dnia 11 czerwca 1923 r.’, copy of *Kurier Poznański*, Poznań 1923.

- ‘Pamiętnik dobrej, lecz bardzo próżnej osoby (Roman Dmowski, Upadek myśli konserwatywnej w Polsce, Warszawa 1914)’, *Rzeczpospolita*, 18 IV 1914, no. 118, pp. 105–112.
- Pamiętnik dr. Juliana Bańkowskiego*, Warsaw 1934.
- Paschalska Maria, ‘Na Bemoncie’, *Wiadomości*, 15 IV 1956, nr 16 (524), p. 5.
- Patrzac ku młodości. Wspomnienia wychowanków Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, Kazimierz Wyka (ed.), Kraków 1964.
- Pawelski Jan Ks. [Father], ‘Doktryna etyczna obozu wszechpolskiego’, *Przegląd Powszechny*, 20, 1903, no. 80, pp. 3–20.
- Pawlikowski Michał, *Pamiętnik*, Kraków 1997.
- Pawlikowski Michał, ‘Wspomnienie o Zygmuncie Wasilewskim’, *Mysł Polska*, December 1948, no. 129, pp. 11–12.
- Przyński Włodzimierz, *Z za kulis Warszawy*, Kraków 1901.
- Pieńkowski Stanisław, ‘In re II. Pro deo’, *Mysł Narodowa*, 18, 19 VI 1938, no. 27, pp. 421–424.
- Pieńkowski Stanisław, *W ogniu walk (Szkice w sprawie żydowskiej)*, Warsaw 1929.
- Pietkiewicz Kazimierz, ‘Marjan Abramowicz 1870–1925. Indywidualność, życie, czyny’, *Robotnik*, 1925, nos. 201–223.
- Pietkiewicz Zenon, *Siły i środki ludu naszego. Zarys warunków ekonomicznych ludu włościańskiego w Królestwie Polskim*, Warsaw 1905.
- Pietkiewicz Zenon, *Szkice społeczne*, Warsaw 1898.
- Pietkiewicz Zygmunt, ‘Na pierwszej fali. Kilka momentów z życia Jan Strożeckiego’, *Kronika Ruchu Rewolucyjnego w Polsce*, April-May-June 1938, no. 2 (14), pp. 84–99.
- Pigoń Stanisław, *Miłe życia drobiazgi. Pokłosie*, Warsaw 1964.
- Piltz Erazm, *Bismarck, Rosya i Polacy. Szkic polityczny*, St. Petersburg 1895.
- [Piltz Erazm], *Nasza młodzież przez Scriptorę. Materiały i Mysł Polityczna*, vol. 1: *Odpowiedź krytykom*, Kraków 1903.
- Piltz Erazm, *Nasze stronnictwa skrajne, przez Scriptorę*, Kraków 1903.
- Piltz Erazm, *Polityka rosyjska w Polsce. List otwarty do kierowników polityki polskiej*, Warsaw 1909.
- Piłsudski Józef, *Bibuła*, London 1986.
- Piłsudski Józef, ‘Listy’, *Zeszyty Historyczne, Biblioteka Kultury*, 80, 1962, vol. 2, pp. 155–229.
- Piłsudski Józef, *Pisma zbiorowe (wydanie prac drukiem ogłoszonych)*, vols. 1–2, edited by Leon Wasilewski, Warsaw 1937.

- Piłsudski Józef, *Pisma zbiorowe. Uzupełnienia*, Andrzej Garlicki, Ryszard Świątek (eds.), vol. 2: 1898–1914, Warsaw 1993.
- Piłsudski Józef, *Pisma, mowy, rozkazy*, vol. 1, Michał Sokolnicki, Juljan Stachiewicz (editorial committee), introduction and footnotes by Leon Wasilewski, Warsaw 1930.
- Piołun-Noyszewski Stanisław, *Zarys myśli polityczno-społecznej Stefana Żeromskiego*, Warsaw 1937.
- Plutyński Antoni, 'Borysławskie początki', *Wiadomości*, 1 VI 1958, no. 22 (635), p. 3.
- Plutyński Antoni, 'Dokoła Czytelni Akademickiej we Lwowie', *Wiadomości*, 1956, no. 29 (535), p. 5.
- Plutyński Antoni, 'Na Dębnikach u Zygmuntoństwa Balickich. Garść wspomnień', *Kronika Polski i Świata*, 25 VI 1939, no. 26, p. 12.
- Plutyński Antoni, 'Pierwsze zwycięstwo nowego obozu. Wspomnienie o wyborze Bojki', *Kronika Polski i Świata*, 2 VII 1939, no. 27, p. 11.
- Plutyński Antoni, 'Spadek po Stanisławie Szczepanowskim', *Kronika Polski i Świata*, 7 VII 1939, no. 28, p. 5.
- Plutyński Antoni, 'Szymon Askenazy we Lwowie', *Wiadomości*, 15 VII 1956, no. 29 (537), p. 2.
- Plutyński Antoni, 'Szymon Askenazy we Lwowie. Wspomnienia i impresje. 1–7', *Polska Zbrojna*, 1935, nos. 205–214.
- Plutyński Antoni, 'Wspomnienia o Panu Romanie', *Mysł Polska*, February 1947, no. 107, p. 2.
- Płygawko Danuta, 'Listy Stefana Dąbrowskiego do Kazimierza Woźnickiego w zbiorach Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu', part 1: '1901–1905', *Akta Towarzystwa Historyczno-Literackiego w Paryżu*, vol. 2, 1993, pp. 65–133.
- 'Pogrzeb śp dra Leona Rutkowskiego (sprawozdanie specjalnego delegata Gazety Porannej)', *Gazeta Poranna 2 Grosze*, 12 I 1917, no. 12 (1550), pp. 1–2.
- Popiel Paweł, *Choroba wieku*, Kraków 1880.
- Popławski Jan Ludwik, *Pisma polityczne*, foreword by Zygmunt Wasilewski, vols. 1–2, Warsaw–Kraków 1910.
- Popławski Jan Ludwik, *Szkice literackie i naukowe*, Warsaw 1910.
- Popławski Jan Ludwik, *Wybór pism*, introduced and edited by Teresa Kulak, Wrocław 1988.
- Popławski Jan Ludwik, *Życie i czyny pułkownika Zygmunta Miłkowskiego, T.T. Jeża*, Lwów 1902.
- Posner Stanisław, *Drogi samopomocy społecznej. Szkice i wrażenia*, Płock 1902.



- Posner Stanisław, *Stefan Żeromski w świetle wspomnień*, Warsaw 1926.
- Posner Stanisław, *Wspomnienia dzieciństwa*, Warsaw 1929.
- Potocki Antoni, *Listy z Brazylii przez wychodźców do rodzin pisane zebrał A.P.*, Warsaw 1891.
- Potocki Antoni, *Polska literatura współczesna*, part 2: *Kult jednostki, 1890–1910*, Warsaw 1912.
- Potocki Antoni, Wasilewski Zygmunt, *Kwestjonariusz w sprawie czytelnictwa ludowego napisali Antoni Potocki i Zygmunt Wasilewski*, Warsaw 1890.
- Potocki Józef Karol, *O energii społecznej. Rzecz z powodu „Logiki ekonomii” Herynga*, Warsaw 1900.
- Potocki Józef Karol, *Współzawodnictwo i współdziałanie. Społeczeństwo jako organizm. Geniusz i tłum. Dobór miłosny. Kobieta i mężczyzna oraz inne szkice*, Lwów 1900.
- Próchnik Adam, ‘Wierna służba’, *Sygnaty*, 1 II 1938, no. 38, p. 12.
- Próchnik Adam, ‘Zet’, *Światło*, January 1937, no. 1, pp. 9–14.
- Prus Bolesław, *Kroniki*, vols. 1–20, edited by Zygmunt Szweykowski, Warsaw 1956–1970.
- Pruszyński Ksawery, *Niezadowoleni i entuzjaści. Publicystyka I 1931–1939*, introduction Janusz Roszko, commentary Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, Warsaw 1990.
- Pruszyński Ksawery, ‘Trzy walki Romana Dmowskiego’, *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*, 4 I 1939, no. 5, pp. 632–636.
- Pruszyński Mieczysław, *Migawki wspomnień*, Warsaw 2002.
- Pruszyński Mieczysław, ‘Z cyklu wywiadów Buntu Młodych. Rozmowa historyczna ze Stanisławem Grabskim’, *Bunt Młodych*, 20 XI – 5 XII 1935, nos. 23–24 (88–89), pp. 2–3.
- Przybyszewski Stanisław, *Listy*, collected by Stanisław Hęlsztyński, vol. 1, Warsaw 1937.
- Publicysta z Warszawy [Straszewicz Ludwik], *Obrachunki polityczne I. Rosya wobec Polski*, Kraków 1895.
- R.T.J., ‘Sprawa 3-go Maja w roku 1891 (Proces polityczny w Warszawie w setną rocznicę konstytucji)’, *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, 29 IV 1916, no. 18, pp. 210–211.
- Rabska Zuzanna, *Moje życie z książką, Wspomnienia*, vols. 1–2, Wrocław 1959, 1964.
- Realista, ‘Uwodziciele zachowawców’, *Słowo*, 23 II (8 III) 1914, no. 66, s. 1.
- ‘Referat R. Dmowskiego „O nowopowstających zadaniach obozu narodowego”. Rada Naczelna Stronnictwa Narodowego. 15 Kwietnia 1934’, *Gazeta Warszawska*, 17 IV 1934, no. 111, p. 2.

- 'Relacja Romana Dmowskiego o Lidze Narodowej', edited by Andrzej Garlicki, *Przegląd Historyczny*, 57, 1966, vol. 3, pp. 415–443.
- Rembaliński Jan, 'Na widowni', *Myśl Narodowa*, 21 VII 1934, no. 31, pp. 454–455.
- Rembaliński Jan, 'Nauczyciel', *Kronika Polski i Świata*, January 1939, no. 2, p. 3.
- Res [Perl Feliks], 'Dzieje grzechu p. Zygmunta Balickiego', *Przedświt*, 28, June 1909, no. 6, pp. 331–338.
- Reymont Władysław St., *Korespondencja 1890–1925*, edited and introduced by Barbara Koc, Warsaw 2002.
- Reynolds Rothay, *My Slav Friends (With Sixteen Illustrations)*, London 1916.
- 'Roman Dmowski jako hitlerowiec', *Czas*, 27 IX 1933, no. 221, p. 1.
- 'Roman Dmowski', *Polityka*, 10 I 1939, no. 1 (175), p. 2.
- 'Rozbieżności programowo-taktyczne w kierownictwie PPS na przełomie 1899–1900 r. (w świetle listów Stanisława Wojciechowskiego i Bolesława A. Jędrzejowskiego)', edited by Jerzy Targalski, *Z pola walki*, 1972, vol. 3 (59), pp. 161–176.
- Rozenzweig Józef, „Bez Dogmatu”. *Studium literackie*, Kraków 1891.
- Ruśkiewicz Tomasz, *Tajny Związek Młodzieży Polskiej w latach 1887–1893. Na podstawie dokumentów urzędowych rosyjskich i własnych wspomnień*, Warsaw 1926.
- Rychliński Stanisław, *Wybór pism*, selected and introduced by Przemysław Wójcik, Warsaw 1976. Rzymowski Wincenty, *Roman Dmowski. Czciiciel Djabła*, Warsaw 1932.
- Sempołowska Stefania, *Niedola młodzieży w szkole galicyjskiej. Kilka słów o narodowej szkole w Galicji*, Kraków 1906.
- Sempołowska Stefania, *Pisma pedagogiczne i oświatowe*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, selected and introduced by Marian Falski, Warsaw 1962.
- Sempołowska Stefania, *Pisma*, Zofia Dębicka (editorial committee), vol. 1: *Życie i dzieło Stefani Sempołowskiej*, Natalia Gąsiorowska (ed.), vol. 2: *W więzieniach*, Aniela Steinsbergowa (ed.), vol. 3: *Pisma pedagogiczne i oświatowe*, Marian Falski (ed.), vol. 4: *Publicystyka społeczna*, Żanna Kormanowa (ed.), Warsaw 1960.
- Sempołowska Stefania, Unszticht Berenstein Julia, *Dla przyszłości. Czytelnia dla młodzieży i dla dorosłych*, part 1: *My ludzie, przyroda*, part 2: *Religia w życiu ludzkości*, part 3: *Człowiek i ludzie*, Warsaw 1907.
- Sempołowska Stefania, *Żydzi w Polsce*, Warsaw 1906.
- Senior Seyda Marian, *Polska na przełomie dziejów. Fakty i dokumenty*, vols. 1–2, Poznań 1927, 1931. Sienkiewicz Henryk, *Listy z Afryki. W dwóch tomach*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1893.

- Singer Bernard, *Od Witosa do Sławka*, Paris 1962.
- Skotnicki Jan, *Przy sztalugach i przy biurku. Wspomnienia*, Warsaw 1957.
- Smorodinov Vasilij G., *Moja służba w Warszawskim Okręgu Naukowym i zdarzenia ze szkolnego życia. Wspomnienia pedagoga*, edited by Wiesław Caban, trans. Beata Drozdowska, Kielce 2003.
- Sokolnicka Zofia, *O pracy tajnej Towarzystwa Tomasza Zana po jarzmie pruskim. Kilka wspomnień*, Warsaw 1921.
- Sokolnicki Michał, *Czternaście lat*, Warsaw 1936.
- Sokolnicki Michał, 'W kręgu Żeromskiego', *Wiadomości*, 8 VII 1956, no. 28 (536), p. 2.
- Sokołow Nachum, *Zadania inteligencji żydowskiej. Szkic programu*, Warsaw 1890.
- Spasowicz Włodzimierz, *Pisma*, vol. 9, Warsaw 1908.
- Stachniuk J. [Jan], 'U źródeł zaprzaństwa Dmowskiego', *Zadruga*, 1939, no. 3, pp. 11–16.
- Stahl Zdzisław, *System Dmowskiego wczoraj i dziś*, London 1953.
- Starynkiewicz Sokrates, 'Mój Dziennik', edited by René and Wiktoria Śliwowski, *Rocznik Warszawski*, 31, 2003, pp. 191–222.
- Starynkiewicz Sokrates, *Dziennik 1887–1897*, trans. René Śliwowski, foreword and choice of illustrations Stanisław Konarski, footnotes and index of people Anna Brus and Wiktoria Śliwowska, Warsaw 2005.
- Stecki Jan, 'Socjologia uduchowiona', copy from *Ateneum*, Warsaw 1901.
- Stecki Jan, *Zasady ogólne ekonomii społecznej*, Warsaw 1898.
- Stempowski Stanisław, *Pamiętnik (1870–1914)*, introduced by Maria Dąbrowska, Wrocław 1953. Sterzmiński Zygmunt, 'Czy Dmowski zarzucił pogląd na siłę narodu?', (rec. Z. Stahla, *System Dmowskiego wczoraj i dziś*), *Mysł Polska*, 15 III 1953, no. 6 (220), pp. 7–10.
- Sterzmiński Zygmunt, 'Sprawa rzekomego determinizmu Dmowskiego', *Mysł Polska*, 1 IV 1953, No. 221, pp. 7–10.
- Stróński Stanisław, 'Do Lwowa', *Mysł Polska*, December 1948, no. 12 (129), pp. 13–14.
- Stróński Stanisław, 'Liga we Lwowie i Krakowie', *Mysł Polska*, 15 X 1953, no. 19 (233), pp. 22–24.
- Stróński Stanisław, 'U trumny Romana Dmowskiego. My wszyscy z Niego...', *Kronika Polski i Świata*, January 1939, no. 2, p. 1.
- Stróński Stanisław, 'Wielki kanclerz zmartwychwstającej Polski', *Kurier Warszawski*, 2 I 1939, no. 2, pp. 1–2.
- Struve Henryk, *Anarchizm ducha u obcych i swoich. Studium krytyczne*, Warsaw 1899.

- Studnicka Stanisława, 'Dmowski w Mitawie', *Prosto z Mostu*, 5 II 1939, no. 6, p. 3.
- Studnicki Władysław, *Ludzie, idee i czyny*, edited and introduced by Jacek Gzella, Toruń 2001.
- Studnicki Władysław, *Od socjalizmu do nacyonalizmu*, Lwów 1904.
- Studnicki Władysław, *Polityka Rosyi względem szkolnictwa rosyjskiego. Studium politycznohistoryczne*, Kraków 1906.
- Studnicki Władysław, *Samodzielność Galicji*, Lwów 1903.
- Studnicki Władysław, *Z przeżyć i walk*, Warsaw 1928.
- Suryna-Wyczółkowska Janina, 'Warszawa państwa Wyczółkowskich. Nietzsche na salonach na Kruczej', *Wiadomości*, 30 III 1958, no. 13 (626), p. 2.
- Surzycki Stefan, 'Powstanie Obozu Narodowego oraz początkowa jego działalność w pierwszym 20-leciu (1886–1906)', *Głos*, 16 II 1936, no. 1, p. 2.
- Surzycki Stefan, 'Powstanie tajnego Związku Młodzieży Polskiej. W 40-letnią rocznicę wspomnienie', *Trybuna Narodu*, 1 I 1927, no. 3, pp. 5–8.
- Surzycki Stefan, 'Z dziejów pamiętnego „Zetu”', copy taken from *Mysł Narodowa*, Warsaw 1930.
- Szczepanowski Stanisław, *Idea polska. Wybór pism*, Warsaw 1988.
- Szczepanowski Stanisław, *Mysł o odrodzeniu narodowym*, edited by Helena Szczepanowa and Antoni Plutyński, *Pisma i przemówienia*, vol. 1, Lwów 1903.
- Szurkiewicz Tadeusz, *Rasa, środowisko, rodzina. Szkice socjologiczne*, Warsaw–Poznań 1938.
- Ś.P. Władysław Korotyński, *Kurier Warszawski*, 18 VI 1924, no. 170, pp. 5–6.
- Śláz [Daszyński Feliks], *Pod pręgierz. Szopka wigilii Bożego Narodzenia*, Paris 1889.
- Światłomir [Zalewski Stanisław], *Ciemnota Galicji w świetle cyfr i faktów*, Lwów 1902.
- Święto majowe 1 maja 1892 r. w Łodzi, [No place of publication] 1893.
- Święto majowe a partia robotnicza. *Głos z Galicji*, Kraków 1891.
- Świętochowski Aleksander, *Liberum Veto II*, selected and introduced by Samuel Sandler, edited by Maria Brykalska, Warsaw 1976.
- Tarnowski Stanisław, *Próby rozstroju*, Kraków 1889.
- Tchórznicki Józef, *W otchłani (Obrazek miejski ze wspomnień Experta)*, Warsaw 1902.
- Testis [Noskowski W.], *Pamiętnik dyrektora gimnazjum radomskiego*, in *Zwierciadło Polskie. Pismo zbiorowe*, Warsaw 1915, pp. 68–81.
- Thugutt Stanisław, *Autobiografia*, Warsaw 1984.

- Tocqueville Alexis, *Listy*, selected, introduced and edited by Irena Grudzińska-Gross, trans. Barbara Janicka, Kraków 1999.
- Toeplitz Krzysztof Teodor, *Rodzina Toeplitzów. Książka mojego ojca*, Warsaw 2004.
- Tokarz Waclaw, 'W rosyjskiej szkole', part 2, *Iskry*, March 1925, no. 10, p. 150.
- Towarzysz Józef. Wspomnienia o Feliksie Dzierżyńskim*, selected by Henryk Cimiek, Leonard Dubacki, Warsaw 1977.
- Troska Stanisław [Lutomski Bolesław], *Refleksje warszawskie na tle wojny rosyjsko-japońskiej*, Lwów 1904.
- Troska Stanisław [Lutomski Bolesław], *Refleksje warszawskie na tle wojny rosyjsko-japońskiej*, serya pierwsza [first series], Lwów 1954.
- Upominek. Książka zbiorowa na cześć Elizy Orzeszkowej*, Kraków–St. Petersburg 1893.
- Uziebło Adam, 'Wspomnienia lwowskie', edited by Dariusz Maciak, *Przegląd Wschodni*, 7, 2001, vol. 2 (26), pp. 429–516.
- W 50 rocznicę „Zetu”. Sprawozdanie ze zjazdu Uczestników Ruchu Niepodległościowego Związku Młodzieży Polskiej 28 i 29 Listopada 1936 w Warszawie*, edited by Tomasz Piskorski, Warsaw 1937.
- 'W poczuciu obowiązku obywatelskiego'. Interview with Senator Dr. Zofja Daszyńska-Golińska by Helena Ceysinger, *Kobieta Współczesna*, 17 VI 1928, no. 25, p. 4.
- W pracy i w walce. Wspomnienia robotników warszawskich z przelomu XIX i XX wieku*, edited by Janusz Durko, Warsaw 1970.
- W trzydziestą rocznicę. Księga pamiątkowa PPS*, Warsaw 1923.
- W.Z. [Wasilewski Zygmunt], 'Na widnokręgu. W obronie dzieci', *Świat*, 16 (29) XI 1901, no. 48, pp. 1314–1316.
- W.Z. [Wasilewski Zygmunt], 'Na widowni (Wspomnienie o Władysławie Rabskim)', *Mysł Narodowa*, 15, 25 VIII 1935, no. 35, pp. 534–535.
- W.Z. [Wasilewski Zygmunt], 'O jednym z żywiołów ginącej epoki', *Mysł Narodowa*, 15, 27 VII 1935, no. 28, pp. 413–415.
- W.Z. [Wasilewski Zygmunt], 'Śp. Tadeusz Kozerski', *Mysł Narodowa*, 14 VIII 1938, no. 35, p. 554.
- Walka o szkołę polską w 25-lecie strajku szkolnego*, Stefan Drzewiecki (ed.) [et al.] Warsaw 1930. Warchałowski Kazimierz, *Do Parany. Przewodnik dla podróżujących i wychodźców*, Kraków 1903. Wasilewski Leon, *Drogi porozumienia. Wybór pism*, edited by Barbara Stoczewska, Kraków 2001. Wasilewski Leon, *Józef Piłsudski jakim go znałem*, Warsaw 1935.

- [Wasilewski Leon], *Po obronę policyi carskiej (Przyczynek do charakterystyki Narodowej Demokracji)*, Kraków 1905.
- Wasilewski Leon, *Zarys dziejów Polskiej Partii Socjalistycznej w związku z historią socjalizmu polskiego w trzech zaborach i na emigracji*, Warsaw 1919.
- Wasilewski Leon, 'Ze wspomnień (1896–1899)', part 1, edited by Jerzy Myśliński and Wiesław Władysław, *Z pola walki*, 1973, no. 2–3 (62–63), pp. 177–228.
- Wasilewski Leon, 'Ze wspomnień (1899–1904)', part 2, ch. 8: 'Londyn 1899–1904', edited by Jerzy Myśliński, Wiesław Władysław, *Z pola walki*, 1974, vol. 4 (68), pp. 213–253.
- Wasilewski Zygmunt, 'Dzieje Romana Dmowskiego', *Myśl Narodowa*, 1939, nos. 2–5.
- Wasilewski Zygmunt, 'Kasprowicz i Popławski w r. 1887', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, r. I (serya druga) [year 1, second series], March 1922, no. 3, pp. 176–189.
- Wasilewski Zygmunt, 'Na widowni', *Myśl Narodowa*, 13 IX 1932, no. 44, pp. 161–162.
- Wasilewski Zygmunt, 'Na widowni', *Myśl Narodowa*, 13 XII 1931, no. 58, p. 369.
- Wasilewski Zygmunt, *Pokolenia w służbie narodu*, London 1962.
- Wasilewski Zygmunt, *Spór o Słowackiego jako zagadnienie sztuki i kultury*, Lwów 1905.
- Wasilewski Zygmunt, 'Ś.p. Bolesław Koskowski', *Myśl Narodowa*, 20 I 1938, no. 5, pp. 77–78.
- Wasilewski Zygmunt, 'Ś.p. Józef Hłasko', *Myśl Narodowa*, 21 VII 1934, no. 31, p. 455.
- Wasilewski Zygmunt, 'Współczesna umysłowość polska a literatura (Odpowiedź na ankietę literacką)', *Przegląd Narodowy*, February 1912, no. 2, pp. 156–187.
- Wasilewski Zygmunt, *Współcześni. Charakterystyka pisarzy i dzieł*, Warsaw 1923.
- Wasiutyński Wojciech, *Czwarte pokolenie. Szkice z dziejów nacjonalizmu polskiego*, London 1982. Wasiutyński Wojciech, 'Głosy. Nałogi niewolnictwa', *Myśl Narodowa*, 13 IX 1931, no. 44, pp. 162–163.
- Wasiutyński Wojciech, 'Najmłodsze pokolenie przez pryzmat „Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka”', *Myśl Narodowa*, 23 VIII 1931, no. 40, pp. 111–113.
- Wasiutyński Wojciech, *Prawą stroną labiryntu. Fragmenty wspomnień*, edited by Wojciech Turek, introduced by Wiesław Walendziak, Gdańsk 1996.
- Wasylewski Stanisław, *Życie polskie w XIX wieku*, edited by Zbigniew Jabłoński, Kraków 1957.
- Waydel-Dmochowska Janina, *Dawna Warszawa. Wspomnienia*, Warsaw 1958.
- Wierciński Henryk, *Pamiętnik*, edited by Andrzej Zajączkowski, Lublin 1974.

- Wierzbicki Andrzej, *Wspomnienia i dokumenty (1877–1920)*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1957.
- Wierzbicki Andrzej, *Żywy Lewiatan: wspomnienia*, introduced and edited by Piotr Wierzbicki, Warsaw 2001.
- Winiarski Bohdan, *Nad Pissą, Wissą i Narwią. Podróż sentymentalna*, Kraków 1966.
- Włodek Ludwik, *Polskie kolonie rolnicze w Paranie*, Warsaw 1911.
- Wojciechowski Stanisław, *Moje wspomnienia*, vol. 1, Lwów–Warsaw 1938.
- Wojciechowski Stanisław, *Ruch spółdzielczy i rozwój jego w Anglii*, Warsaw 1907.
- Wolikowska (z Lutosławskich) Izabela, *Roman Dmowski. Człowiek, przyjaciel, Polak*, introduced by Norbert Tomczyk, Wrocław 2007.
- Woźnicki Kazimierz, ‘Wspomnienia paryskie o Romanie Dmowskim’, *Polityka Narodowa*, January–February 1939, nos. 1–2, pp. 125–133.
- ‘Wspomnienia Edwarda Dubanowicza – przyczynek do biografii’, *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 40, 2008, no. 4, pp. 175–191.
- ‘Wspomnienia Jana Strożeckiego’, text edited by Jan Kancewicz (et al.), *Archiwum Ruchu Robotniczego*, vol. 4, Warsaw 1957, pp. 37–134.
- Wścieklica Władysław, *Czy się wyradzamy? Stan sił fizycznych i zdrowie ludności Galicji i Królestwa Polskiego w porównaniu z innymi krajami wschodnio i zachodnio-europejskimi, skreślony na podstawie cyfr poboru wojskowego*, Warsaw 1888.
- Wybór poezji dla robotników*, Warsaw 1891.
- Wybranowski Kazimierz [Dmowski Roman], *W połowie drogi. Powieść*, Warsaw 1930.
- Wysocki Alfred, *Sprzed pół wieku*, Kraków 1956.
- ‘Z cyklu wywiadów. Rozmowa Polityki z Romanem Dmowskim’, *Polityka*, 6 VIII 1939, no. 24 (196), pp. 2–3.
- ‘Z korespondencji Żeromskiego ze Świętochowskim’, edited by Władysław Słodkowski, *Pamiętnik Literacki*, 1965, vol. 1, pp. 237–238.
- Z.M.F. [Miłkowski Zygmunt], *Rzecz o Obronie Czynnej i Skarbie Narodowym*, Paris 1887.
- Zalewski Antoni, *Towarzystwo Warszawskie. Listy do przyjaciółki przez Baronową XYZ*, edited by Ryszard Kołodziejczyk, Warsaw 1971.
- Załużka Jan, ‘Ze wspomnień o Romanie Dmowski II’, *Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy*, 17 I 1939, no. 17, p. 1.
- Zapolska Gabriela, *Publicystyka*, parts 1–3, edited by Jadwiga Czachowska, Wrocław 1962.
- Zaremba Emil, ‘Jeszcze o „Syzyfowych pracach”’, *Mysł Narodowa*, 24 II 1934, no. 8, p. 127.

- Zborowicz [Grabski Stanisław], *Przyczynek do Programu Socjalnych Demokratów Polskich*, Berlin 1892.
- Zbyszewski Waław Alfred, *Gawędy o ludziach i czasach przedwojennych*, selected, introduced and edited by Andrzej Garlicki, Warsaw 2000.
- Zbyszewski Waław, *Zagubieni romantycy i inni*, Paris 1992.
- Zdziechowski Marian, *Wybór pism*, introduced and selected by Marian Zaczynski, Kraków 1993. Zdziechowski Marian, *Zygmunt Miłkowski T.T. Jeż a idea słowiańska w Polsce*, Petrograd 1915.
- ‘Ze wspomnień Ludwika Kulczyckiego’, edited by Jerzy Myśliński, *Z pola walki*, 1972, vol. 1 (57), pp. 159–205.
- ‘Zebranie przedwyborcze w Filharmonii’, *Gazeta Warszawska*, 7 X 1912, no. 99, p. 1.
- Zielińska Iza, ‘Kartki ze wspomnień’, *Robotnik*, 31 III 1934, no. 124 (5746), p. 1.
- Zieliński Józef, *Czy w Polsce anarchizm ma rację bytu?*, Paris 1906.
- Zieliński Józef, *Obłudny socjalizm*, Paris 1902.
- Ziemicki L. [Ludomił], ‘Zamach Zachrystii na Dmowskiego’, *Zadruga*, 1939, no. 3, pp. 7–11.
- Złotnicki Antoni, *Człowiek, istota jego i przyszłość. Studium psychologiczne*, Warsaw 1898.
- Żak Jan St. Ks. [Father], ‘Tajna organizacja księży. Collegium Secretum’, *Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy*, 8 III 1938, no. 66, p. 3.
- Żeromski Stefan, *Dziennik z wiosny 1891*, edited by Zdzisław Jerzy Adamczyk, Zbigniew Goliński, Kielce 2000.
- Żeromski Stefan, *Dzienniki*, vol. 1: 1882–1886, Warsaw 1953.
- Żeromski Stefan, *Dzienniki*, vol. 2: 1886–1887, Warsaw 1954.
- Żeromski Stefan, *Dzienniki*, vol. 3: 1888–1891, Warsaw 1954.
- Żeromski Stefan, *Dzienników tom odnaleziony*, edited by Jerzy Kądziela, Warsaw 1973.
- Żeromski Stefan, *Elegie i inne pisma literackie i społeczne*, edited by Waław Borowy, Warsaw 1928.
- Żeromski Stefan, *Listy 1884–1892*, edited by Zdzisław Jerzy Adamczyk, Warsaw 2001.
- Żeromski Stefan, *Listy 1893–1896*, edited by Zdzisław Jerzy Adamczyk, Warsaw 2001.
- Żeromski Stefan, *Listy 1897–1904*, edited by Zdzisław Jerzy Adamczyk, Warsaw 2003.
- Żeromski Stefan, *Listy do Henryka Bukowskiego*, edited, introduced and commented by Władysława Wasilewska, Warsaw 1975.



Żeromski Stefan, *Wspomnienia*, Warszawa 1950.

‘Życiorys Romana Dmowskiego’, *Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy*, 3 I 1939, no. 3, p. 3.

## **Belles lettres**

Bellamy Edward, *W roku 2000. Powieść*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, trans. Józef Karol Potocki, Warsaw 1890.

Belmont Leo, *Tamten człowiek. Z notatek wariata napisał*, Warsaw 1892.

Brzozowski Stanisław, ‘Mocarz. Sztuka w trzech aktach’, *Dialog*, 1976, no. 2, pp. 26–48.

Brzozowski Stanisław, *Widma moich współczesnych (Fikcyjne portrety satyryczne)*, Kraków 2003.

Chojnowski Piotr, *W młodych oczach. Powieść*, Warsaw 1933.

Feldman Wilhelm, *Ananke. Kartki chorej miłości*, Kraków 1898.

Feldman Wilhelm, *Nowi ludzie. Studium psychologiczno-społeczne*, vols. 1–2, Lwów 1894.

Gliszczynski Artur, *Wybór poezji dla robotników*, Warsaw 1891.

Grot-Bęczkowska Wanda [Korotyńska Wanda], *Bez woli. Powieść*, Warsaw 1896.

Gruszecki Artur, *Królewiacy. Powieść współczesna*, Kraków 1912.

Gruszecki Artur, *Słomiany ogień. Powieść współczesna*, Warsaw 1905.

Jellenta Cezary, *W przesileniu (Wykrawki z życia)*, Kraków 1894.

Jeske Choiński Teodor, *Nad Wartą. Powieść*, Warsaw 1889.

Jeske Choiński Teodor, *W pętach. Powieść współczesna*, Warsaw 1893.

Kondratowicz Sylwester, *Bez woli*, Warsaw 1895.

Kowalewska Zofia, *Nihilistka*, Kraków 1896.

Łętowski Julian [Książek Władysław], *Nowocześni bohaterowie. Nowele i opowiadania*, Warsaw 1888.

Mańkowski Aleksander, *Hrabia August, Notatki i wrażenia*, Warsaw 1890.

Paszkowski Edward, *Jasne wody*, Lwów 1924.

Paszkowski Edward, *Podniebie. Z kroniki czwartego piętra*, Lwów 1901.

Rabski Władysław, *Zwyciężony. Dramat w 4 aktach*, Poznań 1896.

Sienkiewicz Henryk, *Bez dogmatu*, edited by Tadeusz Bujnicki, Wrocław 2002.

Wiśniewska Maria, *Matka Polka. Dramat w 4 aktach*, Kraków 1901.

Wołowski Michał, *Koniec wieku. Powieść współczesna*, Warsaw 1895.

Wołowski Michał, *Z dogmatem. Powieść*, Warsaw 1894.

Załęga Jan [Bałucki Michał], *Kiliński. Obraz historyczny w pięciu aktach*, Kraków 1893.

Żeromski Stefan, *Wybór opowiadań*, edited by Artur Hutnikiewicz, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, amended, Wrocław 2003.

## Periodicals

*Ateneum* 1886–1901

*Biblioteka Warszawska* 1886–1905

*Czas* 1890–1905 (selected years)

*Dodatek Miesięczny do czasopisma Przegląd Tygodniowy życia społecznego, literackiego i sztuk pięknych* 1886–1903

*Figaro Warszawski* 1885–1886

*Głos* 1886–1894; 1895–1899; 1900–1905

*Kalendarz Słowa Polskiego* R. 5, 6, 7, 1904, 1905, 1906, Nakładem Słowa Polskiego

*Kraj* 1886–1905 (selected years)

*Kronika Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego* R. 1890/1891–1917/1918

*Krytyka* 1896–1905

*Kurier Warszawski* 1886–1905 (selected years)

*Kurierek Zakordonowy i Zagraniczny* 1901–1904

*Kuźnica* 1904

*Kwartalnik Naukowo-Polityczny i Społeczny* 1898

*Liberum Veto* 1903–1905

*Młodość* 1898–1899

*Muzeum* 1885–1914

*Naprzód* 1899–1905 (selected years) *Niepodległość* 1929–1939; 1948–2006

*Nowa Reforma* 1886–1905 (selected years)

*Odrodzenie* 1903–1905

*Ognisko* 1889–1890

*Ogniwo* 1903–1905

*Pobudka* 1889–1893

*Pochodnia* 1899–1903

*Polak* 1896–1904

*Prawda* 1886–1905

*Promień* 1898–1905

*Przedświt* 1886–1905

*Przegląd Europejski* 1889  
*Przegląd Narodowy* 1908–1916  
*Przegląd Polski* 1895–1905 (selected years)  
*Przegląd Poznański* 1894–1896  
*Przegląd Socjaldemokratyczny* 1902–1904  
*Przegląd Socjalistyczny* 1892–1893  
*Przegląd Tygodniowy* 1886–1904  
*Przegląd Wszechpolski* 1895–1905  
*Robotnik* 1895–1905  
*Słowo Polskie* 1902–1905  
*Teka* 1899–1905  
*Tygodnik Ilustrowany* 1886–1905 (selected years)  
*Tygodnik Polski* 1903  
*Tygodnik Powszechny* 1891  
*Walka* 1898  
*Wolne Polskie Słowo* 1887–1899  
*Życie* 1889–1890 (Warsaw), 1898–1899 (Kraków)

## II. Selection of the studies

- Aberbach David, 'The Poetry of Nationalism', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 9, April 2003, part 2, pp. 255–275.
- Adamson Walter L., 'Modernism and Fascism. The Politics of Culture in Italy, 1903–1922', *The American Historical Review*, vol. 95, July 1990, no. 2, pp. 359–390.
- Adelson Joseph, 'The Political Imagination of the Young Adolescent', *Daedalus*, Fall 1971, pp. 1013–1050.
- Allardyce Gilbert, 'What Fascism Is Not: Thoughts on the Deflation of a Concept', *The American Historical Review*, vol. 84, June 1979, no. 2, pp. 367–388.
- Anculewicz Zbigniew, *Świat i ziemia polskie w oczach redaktorów i współpracowników Kuriera Warszawskiego w latach 1868–1915*, Warsaw 2002.
- Anderson Benedict, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London-New York 1991.
- Anderson Harriet, *Utopian Feminist: Women's Movements in Fin de Siècle Vienna*, New Haven 1992.

- Antisemitism and its Opponents in Modern Poland*, Robert Blobaum (ed.), Ithaca and London 2005.
- Antisem Antypolska Akcja OUN-UPA 1943–1944. Fakty i interpretacje*, Grzegorz Motyka, Dariusz Libionka (eds.), Warsaw 2002.
- Arendt Hannah, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. New York 1959.
- Aschheim Steven E., *The East European Jew in German Jewish Consciousness 1800–1923*, Madison 1999.
- Aubery Pierre, 'Mécislas Golberg, anarchiste', *Le Mouvement Social*, July–September 1965, no. 52, pp. 97–109.
- Augustyniak Małgorzata, *Mysł społeczno-filozoficzna Edwarda Abramowskiego*, Olsztyn 2006.
- Bachórz Józef, 'Pan Łęcki czyta Supińskiego (Z cyklu kolejne zabawy Lalką)', *Przegląd Humani styczny*, 1984, nos. 7/8, pp. 85–96.
- Baczko Bronisław, *Les imginaires sociaux. Mémoires et espoirs collective*. Paris 1984.
- Barany George, "'Magyar Jew or Jewish Magyar?' To the Question of Jewish Assimilation in Hungary', *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, vol. 8, Spring 1974, no. 1, pp. 1–45. Wrocław 1977.
- Basara-Lipiec Eugenia, *Niepodległa myśl: Rzecz o Andrzeju Niemojewskim*, Rzeszów 1988.
- Bauman Zygmunt, *Modernity and Holocaust*, Ithaca, New York 1989.
- Bauman Zygmunt, 'On Immortal Reason and Illogical Morality', *Polin*, vol. 3, 1988, pp. 102–122.
- Bauman Zygmunt, *Modernity and Ambivalence*, Cambridge 1991.
- Baumgarten Leon, *Dzieje Wielkiego Proletariatu*, Warsaw 1965.
- Bazyłow Ludwik, *Działalność narodnictwa rosyjskiego w latach 1878–1881*, Wrocław 1960.
- Bazyłow Ludwik, *Polacy w Petersburgu*, Wrocław 1984.
- Beller Steven, *Vienna and the Jews 1867–1938. A Cultural History*, Cambridge 1989.
- Bergmann Olaf, *Narodowa Demokracja wobec problematyki żydowskiej w latach 1918–1929*, Poznań 1998.
- Bernacki Włodzimierz, *Liberalizm polski 1815–1939. Studium doktryny politycznej*, Kraków 2004.
- Betts Paul, 'New Fascination with Fascism: The Case of Nazi Modernism', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 37, October 2002, no. 4, pp. 541–558.

- Between Reform, Reaction, and Resistance. Studies in the History of German Conservatism from 1789 to 1945*, Larry Eugen Jones, James Retallack (eds.), Providence, Oxford 1993.
- Between Tsar and People: Educated Society and the Quest for Public Identity in Late Imperial Russia*, Edith W. Clowes (ed.) [et al.], Princeton 1991.
- Beylin Karolina, *Dni powszednie Warszawy w latach 1880–1900*, Warsaw 1967.
- Beylin Karolina, *W Warszawie w dni powszednie 1800–1914*, edited and introduced by Wiktor Gomulicki, Warsaw 1985.
- Beylin Karolina, *W Warszawie w latach 1900–1914*, Warsaw 1972.
- ‘Bibliografia zawartości „Przedświtu”, Seria geneńska 1881–1890’, *Ze skarbcza kultury*, 1971, vol. 22, pp. 165–222.
- Bieńkowski Wiesław, Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz. *Życie i dzieło*, Wrocław 1969.
- Biliński Piotr, *Władysław Konopczyński. Historyk i polityk II Rzeczypospolitej (1880–1952)*, Warsaw 1999.
- Binder Harald, *Galizien in Wien. Parteien, Wahlen, Fraktionen und Abgeordnete im Übergang zur Massenpolitik*, Vienna 2005.
- Bitter Egon, ‘Radicalism and the Organization of Radical Movements’, *American Sociological Review*, vol. 28, December 1963, no. 6, pp. 928–940.
- Blackbourn David, Eley Geoff, *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-century Germany*, Oxford, New York 1984.
- Blanke Richard, *Prussian Poland in the German Empire (1871–1900)*, New York 1981.
- Blejwas Stanislaus, “‘Patriotism Misunderstood’: Warsaw Positivism 1863–1890”, *The Polish Review*, vol. 27, 1982, nos. 1–2, pp. 47–54.
- Blejwas Stanislaus, ‘Polish Positivism and the Jews’, *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. 41, Winter 1981, no. 1, pp. 21–36.
- Blejwas Stanislaus, *Realism in Polish Politics: Warsaw Positivism and National Survival in Nineteenth Century Poland*, New Haven, Columbus (Ohio) 1984.
- Blinkhorn Martin, *Fascism and the Right in Europe, 1919–1945*, London 2000.
- Blit Lucjan, *The Origins of Polish Socialism. The history and Ideas of the first Polish Socialist Party 1878–1886*, Cambridge 1971.
- Blobaum Robert E., *Feliks Dzierżyński and the SDKPiL. A Study of the Origins of Polish Communism*, New York 1984.
- Blobaum Robert E., *Rewolucja. Russian Poland 1904–1907*, Ithaca and London 1995.
- Blobaum Robert, ‘The Politics of Anti-Semitism in Fin-de-Siècle Warsaw’, *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 73, June 2001, no. 2, pp. 275–306.

- "Blood and Homeland": *Eugenics and Racial Nationalism in Central and South-east Europe, 1900–1940*, Marius Turda and Paul J. Weindling (eds.), Budapest, New York 2007.
- Bogacz Marian, *Akademicy Warszawy. Z dziejów organizacji studenckich w XIX wieku*, Warsaw 1960.
- Bolesław Prus. *Pisarz, publicysta, myśliciel*, Maria Woźniakiewicz-Dziadosz, Stanisław Fita (eds.), Lublin 2003.
- Bończa-Tomaszewski Nikodem, *Demokratyczna geneza nacjonalizmu. Intelktualne korzenie ruchu narodowo-demokratycznego*, Warsaw 2001.
- Bończa-Tomaszewski Nikodem, *Źródła narodowości. Powstanie i rozwój polskiej świadomości w II połowie XIX wieku i na początku XX wieku*, Wrocław 2006.
- Borejsza Jerzy, *Piękny wiek XIX*, Warsaw 1984.
- Borejsza Jerzy, 'Powstanie II Proletariatu i początki jego działalności', *Z pola walki*, 1958, 2, pp. 21–56.
- Borkowska Grażyna, *Pozytywiści i inni*, Warsaw 1996.
- Borkowska Grażyna, 'Stanisław Czekanowski i „Roczniki długiego żywota mego”. Uwagi o autorze i tekście', *Prace Polonistyczne*, series LIV, 1999, pp. 133–148.
- Borkowski Andrzej, 'Drogi do niepodległości w myśli politycznej i działalności Romana Dmowskiego (Przed I wojną światową)', *Przegląd Zachodni*, 1988, 5–6, pp. 47–78.
- Borkowski Andrzej, 'Idea demokracji w myśli politycznej i działalności Obozu Narodowego, 1893–1939', *Przegląd Zachodni*, 1998, no. 4, pp. 73–108.
- Borzysławski Józef, *Inteligencja polska w Prusach Zachodnich 1848–1920*, Gdańsk 1986.
- Boyer John W., 'Karl Lueger and the Viennese Jews', *The Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*, vol. 26, 1981, pp. 124–144.
- Boyer John W., *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna. Origins of the Christian Social Movement 1848–1897*, Chicago, London 1981.
- Bradly Jospen, 'Subjects into Citizens: Societies, Civil Society, and Autocracy in Tsarist Russia', *The American Historical Review*, vol. 107, October 2002, no. 4, pp. 1094–1123.
- Braun Jerzy, 'Położenie i ruch organizacyjny młodzieży akademickiej na Uniwersytecie Warszawskim w latach 1890–1914', *Roczniki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego*, 1963, vol. 4, pp. 22–105.
- Brock Peter, *Nationalism and populism in partitioned Poland. Selected essays*, London 1973.
- Brock Peter, 'The Polish' Movement of the People. An Early Chapter in the History of East European Populism', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 40, December 1961, 4, pp. 99–122.

- Bromke Adam, *Poland's Politics. Idealism versus Realism*, Cambridge Massachusetts 1967.
- Bronner Stephen Eric, *A Rumor about Jews: Reflections on Antisemitism and the Protocols of The Learned Elders of Zion*, New York 2000.
- Brustein William I., *Roots of Hate: Anti-Semitism in Europe before the Holocaust*, New York 2003. Brykalska Maria, *Aleksander Świętochowski*, vols. 1–2, Warsaw 1987.
- Bułhak Władysław, *Dmowski – Rosja a kwestia polska. U źródeł orientacji rosyjskiej obozu narodowego 1886–1908*, Warsaw 2000.
- Bunzl John, *Klassenkampf in der Diaspora: zur Geschichte der jüdischen Arbeiterbewegung*, Vienna 1975.
- Burrow John W., *Evolution and the Society. A Study in Victorian Social Theory*, Cambridge 1966.
- Burrow John W., *The Crisis of Reason. European Thought, 1848–1914*, New Haven, London 2000.
- Burska Lidia, *Kłopotliwe dziedzictwo: szkice o literaturze i historii*, Warsaw 1998.
- Buszko Józef, *Ruch socjalistyczny w Krakowie 1890–1914*, Kraków 1961.
- Bystroń Jan Stanisław, *Megalomania narodowa*, Warsaw 1993.
- Bystroń Jan Stanisław, Tański Henryk, 'Młodzież z Królestwa a młodzież z Galicji', *Rok Polski*, March 1916, no. 2, pp. 22–34.
- Cała Alina, *Asymilacja Żydów w Królestwie Polskim (1864–1897). Postawy, konflikty, stereotypy*, Warsaw 1989.
- Cargo Laura, 'The Polishness of Production: Factory Politics and the Reinvention of Working-Class National and Political Identities in Russian Poland's Textile Industry 1880–1910', *Slavic Review*, vol. 59, Spring 2000, no. 1, pp. 16–41.
- Carroll David, *French Literary Fascism. Nationalism, Anti-Semitism and the Ideology of Culture*, Princeton 1995.
- Chadwick Owen, *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century*. The Gifford Lectures in the University of Edinburgh for 1973–1974, Cambridge 1975.
- Cheles Luciano, Ferguson Ronnie, Vaughan Michalina, *The Far Right in Western and Eastern Europe*, London 1995.
- Chętnik Andrzej, *Mieczysław Brzeziński. Jego życie i praca*, Warsaw 1930.
- Chevalier Yves, *L'Anti-Sémitisme. Le Juif comme bouc émissaire*, foreword by François Bourricaud, Paris 1988.
- Chickering Roger, *We Men Who Feel Most German. A Cultural Study of the Pan-German League, 1886–1914*, Boston 1984.

- Chimiak Lukasz, *Gubernatorzy w Królestwie Polskim. Szkic do portretu zbiorowego*, Wrocław 1999.
- Chlebowczyk Józef, *O prawie do bytu małych i młodych narodów. Kwestia narodowa i procesy narodotwórcze we wschodniej Europie Środkowej w dobie kapitalizmu*, Kraków 1983.
- Chmielowski Piotr, *Zarys najnowszej literatury polskiej (1864–1897)*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, amended, Kraków–St. Petersburg 1898.
- Chwalba Andrzej, *Imperium korupcji w Rosji i w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1861–1917*, afterword by Józef Smaga, Kraków 1995.
- Chwalba Andrzej, *Polacy w służbie Moskali*, Warsaw 1999.
- Chwalba Andrzej, *Sacrum i rewolucja. Socjaliści polscy wobec praktyk i symboli religijnych (1870–1918)*, Kraków 1992.
- Cichocki Marek, *Ciągłość i zmiana. Czy konserwatyzm może być rewolucyjny?*, Warsaw 1999.
- Ciołkosz Adam, *Róża Luksemburg a rewolucja rosyjska*, Paris 1961.
- Cistelean Al., 'Prowincja zmarnowanych szans', trans. Halina Mirska Lasota, *Literatura na świecie*, 1998, no. 9 (326), pp 120–131.
- Claussen Detlev, *Was heißt Rassismus?*, Darmstadt 1993.
- Coetzee Marvin C., *The German Army League. Popular Nationalism in Germany*, New York–Oxford 1992.
- Coffin Jean-Christophe, 'Le Thème de la Dégénérescence de la race autour de 1860', *History of European Ideas*, vol. 15, 1992, nos. 4–6, pp. 727–732.
- Cohen Gary B., *Education and Middle Class Society in Imperial Austria, 1848–1918*, West Lafayette (Indiana) 1999.
- Cohn Norman, *Warrant for Genocide. The Myth of the Jewish World Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, London 1996.
- Corrsin Stephen D., 'Polish-Jewish Relations before the First World War', *Gal-Ed: On the History of the Jews in Poland*, vol. 11, 1989, pp. 31–53.
- Corrsin Stephen D., 'The Jews and Left and the State Duma's Elections in Warsaw in 1912: Selected Sources', *Polin*, vol. 9, 1996, pp. 45–54.
- Corrsin Stephen, *Warsaw before the First World War: Poles and Jews in the Third City of the Russian Empire, 1880–1914*, Boulder 1989.
- Cultures and Nations of Central and Eastern Europe. Essays in honor of Roman Szporluk*, Zvi Gitelman (ed.), Cambridge 2000.
- Curp David T., 'Roman Dmowski Understood. Ethnic Cleansing as Permanent Revolution', *European History Quarterly*, 2005, no. 3, pp. 405–427.
- Cywiński Bohdan, *Rodowody niepokornych*, Warsaw 1996.



- Cywiński Bohdan, 'Romana Dmowskiego żywot i sprawy', *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 15 X 1972, no. 42, pp. 1, 4–5.
- Cywiński Bohdan, 'Żeromski i „Żeromszczyzna”', *Znak*, April 1964, no. 4 (118), pp. 450–463.
- Czapska Maria, 'Rozmowy', *Zeszyty Historyczne*, 1971, vol. 19, pp. 98–128.
- Czekanowski Jan, 'Główne kierunki antropologii polskiej', *Kosmos*, Tom Jubileuszowy, part 1, Warsaw 1928.
- Czepulis-Rastenis Ryszarda, *Ludzie nauki i talentu. Studia o świadomości społecznej inteligencji polskiej w zaborze rosyjskim*, Warsaw 1998.
- Czepulis-Rastenis Ryszarda, 'Wieś i miasto w oczach inteligenta', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 94, 1987, no. 3, pp. 59–76.
- Czubaj Mariusz, 'Żeromski a sprawy miejskie', *Twórczość*, April 2000, no. 4, pp. 46–70.
- Czytanie modernizmu*, Maria Olszewska, Grzegorz Bąbiak (eds.), Warsaw 2004.
- Dąbrowski Patrice M., 'Folk, Faith and Fatherland: Defining the Polish Nation 1883', *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 28, September 2000, no. 3, pp. 397–417.
- Datner Helena, *Ta i tamta strona. Żydowska inteligencja Warszawy drugiej połowy XIX w.*, Warsaw 2007.
- Davies Peter, *The Extreme-Right in France to Present. From de Maistre to Le Pen*, London 2002.
- Davis Peter, Lynch Derek, *The Routledge Companion to Fascism and the Far Right*, London 2002. Dawidowicz Aneta, *Zygmunt Balicki (1858–1916). Działacz i teoretyk polskiego nacjonalizmu*, Kraków 2006.
- De Grand Alexander, *The Italian Nationalist Association and the rise of fascism in Italy*, Lincoln 1978. Demel Maciej, *W służbie hygei i syreny. Życie i dzieło dr. Józefa Polaka*, Warsaw 1970.
- Detka Janusz, 'Narodowy aspekt kwestii żydowskiej u Elizy Orzeszkowej', *Biuletyn ŻIH*, 1962, nos. 43–44, pp. 50–65.
- Detwiler Bruce, *Nietzsche and the Politics of Aristocratic Radicalism*, Chicago–London 1990.
- Diane Paul, 'In the interest of civilization: Marxist, race and culture in the nineteenth century', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 42, January–March 1981, no. 1, pp. 113–138.
- Dikötter Frank, 'Race Culture: Recent Perspectives on the History of Eugenics', *The American Historical Review*, April 1998, no. 2, pp. 467–478.
- Do niepodległości 1918, 1944/1945–1989. Wizje – Drogi – Spełnienie. Księga jubileuszowa w osiemdziesiątą rocznicę odzyskania niepodległego bytu państwowego*, Wojciech Wrzesiński (ed.), Warsaw 1998.

- Dobroński Adam, 'Gimnazjum męskie w Łomży (1862–1914)', *Studia Łomżyńskie*, 1, 1989, pp. 181–206.
- Dobrowolski Henryk, Francić Mirosław, Konarski Stanisław, *Postępowe tradycje młodzieży akademickiej w Krakowie*, Kraków 1962.
- Dobrowolski Stanisław, 'Szkoła Nauk Politycznych we Lwowie w latach 1902–1906', *Studia Historyczne*, 41, 1998, vol. 3, pp. 349–363.
- Doktryna i ruch socjaldemokratyczny. Historia i współczesność*, Edward Olszewski (ed.), Puławy 2001.
- Domagalska Małgorzata, *Antysemityzm dla inteligencji? Kwestia żydowska w publicystyce Adolfa Nowaczyńskiego na łamach „Myśli Narodowej” (1921–1934) i „Prosto z Mostu” (1935–1939) (na tle porównawczym)*, Warsaw 2004.
- Dr. Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska, *Pionierka Wiedzy Gospodarczo-Społecznej w Polsce. Życiorysy zasłużonych kobiet*, Kraków 1932.
- Drobnomieszczaństwo XIX i XX wieku*, Stefania Kowalska-Glikman (ed.), Warsaw 1984.
- Drogi do niepodległości. Ziemia polskie w dobie odbudowy Państwa Polskiego*, Zbigniew Karpus, Mieczysław Wojciechowski (eds.), Toruń 2003.
- Drozdowski Marian Marek, *Władysław Grabski*, Rzeszów 2002.
- Dudek Tomasz, 'Pod znakiem polsko-ukraińskiej ugody. Kazimierz Badeni i galicyjscy konserwatyści wobec kwestii ukraińskiej w latach 1888–1895', *Studia Historyczne*, 46, 2003, vol. 2, pp. 19–32.
- Duffy Michael F., Mittelman Willard, 'Nietzsche's Attitudes Towards the Jews', *Journal of History of Ideas*, April–June 1988, no. 2, pp. 301–317.
- Dunin-Wąsowicz Krzysztof, *Dzieje Stronnictwa Ludowego w Galicji*, Warsaw 1956.
- Dunn Susan, 'French Anti-Semitism and the Cult of the Soul', *Partisan Review*, vol. 66, Fall 1994, no. 3, pp. 592–599.
- Dutka Czesław P., 'W stulecie „przełomu antypozytywistycznego” – kilka nieoczywistych przypomnień', *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, 1997, no. 3, pp. 33–39.
- Dutkiewicz Józef, *Szymon Askenazy i jego szkoła*, Warsaw 1958.
- Dyduch Jan, 'Stosunek „Przeglądu Wszechpolskiego” do Polskiej Partii Socjalistycznej zaboru rosyjskiego w latach 1895–1905 (Wybrane zagadnienia)', *Rocznik Naukowo-Dydaktyczny. Prace Ekonomiczno-Społeczne*, 1985, no. 4, vol. 99, pp. 43–77.
- 'Dyskusja na temat inteligencji polskiej', edited by Renata Szwarz, *Przegląd Socjologiczny*, 9, 1947, pp. 282–288.
- Dzieje inteligencji polskiej do roku 1918*, Jerzy Jedlicki (ed.), Warsaw 2008.

- Dzieje kultury politycznej w Polsce od schyłku XIX wieku do roku 1939. Materiały sympozjum zorganizowanego w dniach 3–4 kwietnia 1980 przez Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego*, Roman Wapiński (ed.), Gdańsk 1981.
- Dzieje Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1807–1915*, Stefan Kieniewicz (ed.), edited by Barbara Grochulska, Warsaw 1981.
- East Europe Reads Nietzsche*, Alice Freifeld (ed.) [et al.], Boulder–New York 1998.
- Eatwell Roger, 'On defining the 'the Fascist Minimum': the contrality of ideology', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, vol. 1, October 1996, no. 3, pp. 303–319.
- Eisenstadt Shmuel N., *From Generation to Generation. Age Groups and Social Structure*, New York 1956.
- Eisenstadt Shmuel N., 'Multiple Modernities', *Daedalus*, Winter 2000, no. 1, pp. 1–29.
- Elbe Stefan, 'European Nihilism and Annihilation in the Twentieth Century', *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, Winter 2000, no. 3, pp. 43–72.
- Elbe Stefan, "Labyrinths of the future": Nietzsche's genealogy of European nationalism', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, February 2002, no. 1, pp. 77–96.
- Eley Geoff, *Forging Democracy. The History of the Left in Europe, 1850–2000*, Oxford 2002.
- Eley Geoff, *Reshaping the German Right. Radical Nationalism and the Political Change after Bismarck*, Ann Arbor 1992.
- Elkof Ben, 'Worlds in Conflict: Patriarchal Authority, Disciple and the Russian School, 1861–1914', *Slavic Review*, Winter 1991, no. 4, pp. 792–806.
- Elwick James, 'Herbert Spencer and the Disunity of the Social Organism', *History of Science*, March 2003, no. 131, pp. 35–72.
- Etyka i literatura. Pisarze polscy lat 1863–1918 w poszukiwaniu wzorców życia i sztuki*, Ewa Ihnatowicz, Ewa Paczowska (eds.), Warsaw 2006.
- Etyka i polityka. Seminarium „Etyka i polityka: wybrane problemy”*, Kraków 16 I 1998, Ewa Nowicka-Włodarczyk (ed.), Kraków 1998.
- Europa nie-prowincjonalna. Przemiany na ziemiach wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej (Białoruś, Litwa, Łotwa, Ukraina, Wschodnie pogranicze III Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w latach 1772–1992)*, Krzysztof Jasiewicz (ed.), Warsaw 1999.
- Faryś Janusz, *Stanisław Stroński, Biografia polityczna do 1939*, Szczecin 1990.
- Faryś Janusz, Wątor Adam, *Edward Dubanowicz. Biografia polityczna do 1939*, Szczecin 1990.
- Fascism: A Reader's Guide Analyses, Interpretations, Bibliography*, Walter Laqueur (ed.), London 1979.
- Fascists and Conservatives*, Martin Blinkhorn (ed.), Boston, Sydney, Wellington 1990.

- Fenomen nowoczesnego nacjonalizmu w Europie Środkowej, Bernard Linek (ed.) [et al.], Opole 1997.
- Feuer Lewis S., *The Conflict of the Generations: The Character and Significance of Student Movements*, New York 1968.
- Field Geoffrey G., *Evangelist of Race. The Germanic Vision of Houston Stewart Chamberlain*, New York 1981.
- Filar Danuta, 'Wpływ sojuszu rosyjsko-francuskiego 1893/1894 r. na program polityczny Ligi Polskiej i Ligi Narodowej', *Zeszyty Historyczne Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego*, 3, 1963, pp. 123–154. Filipowicz Mirosław, *Wobec Rosji. Studia z dziejów historiografii polskiej od końca XIX wieku po II wojnę światową*, vol. 2, Lublin 2000.
- Fita Stanisław, *Pokolenie Szkoły Głównej*, Warsaw 1980.
- Fita Stanisław, 'Żeromski wśród Siłaczek i Judymów', *Zeszyty Naukowe KUL*, 1964, no. 4, pp. 33–42.
- 'Focusing on Galicia: Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians 1772–1918', Israel Bartal and Anthony Polonsky (eds.), *Polin*, vol. 20, 1999, pp. 3–176.
- Forbes Ian, *Marx and the New Individual*, London 1990.
- Fountain Alvin M., *Roman Dmowski. Party, Tactics, Ideology 1895–1907*, Boulder and New York 1970.
- Fredrickson George M., *Racism. A Short History*, Princeton 2002.
- Freedon Michael, 'Eugenics and Progressive Thought: A Study in Ideological Affinity', *The Historical Journal*, September 1979, no. 3, pp. 645–671.
- Freifeld Alice, *Nationalism and the Crowd in Liberal Hungary, 1848–1914*, Washington D.C. 2000.
- Frenkel Jonathan, *Prophecy and Politics. Socialism, Nationalism and the Russian Jews 1862–1917*, Cambridge 1981.
- Friedrich Agnieszka, 'Bolesław Prus wobec kwestii niemieckiej', *Morze zjawisk*, 2003, nos. 2–3, pp. 81–90.
- Friedrich Agnieszka, *Bolesław Prus wobec kwestii żydowskiej*, Gdańsk 2008.
- Fryderyk Nietzsche i pisarze polscy*, Wojciech Kunicki, Krzysztof Polechoński (eds.), Poznań 2002. Gajewski Stanisław, *Chrześcijańskie organizacje akademickie w Polsce (1889–1939)*, Rzeszów 1993.
- Gajewski Stanisław, *Izydor Kajetan Wysłouch (Antoni Szech), 1869–1937*, Lublin 1995.
- Galicja i jej dziedzictwo*, vol. 1: *Historia i polityka*, Włodzimierz Bonusiak, Józef Buszko (eds.), Rzeszów 1994.
- Gałuszko Marian, *Walka konserwatystów krakowskich z demokratami na łamach ich organów prasowych w okresie 1867–1895*, Toruń 2007.

- Garlicki Andrzej, *Józef Piłsudski 1867–1935*, Warsaw 1988.
- Gąsowski Tomasz, 'Emancypacja Żydów Polskich w XIX wieku', *Znak*, September–October 1985, nos. 9–10, pp. 245–249.
- Gąsowski Tomasz, *Między gettem a światem. Dylematy ideowe Żydów galicyjskich na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, Kraków 1997.
- Gawin Magdalena, *Rasa i nowoczesność. Historia polskiego ruchu eugenicznego*, Warsaw 2003.
- Gawor Leszek, *Idea spisku i teorie spiskowe w świetle analiz krytycznych i badań historycznych*, Lublin 2002.
- Gawor Leszek, Zdybel Lech, *Idea kryzysu europejskiej w polskiej filozofii społecznej. Analiza wybranych koncepcji pierwszej połowy XX wieku*, Lublin 1995.
- Gellner Ernest, *Nations and nationalism*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, Oxford 1988.
- Gentile Emilio, 'Political Religion: A Concept and its Critics – A Critical Survey', *Totalitarian Movements & Political Religions*, June 2005, no. 1, pp. 19–32.
- Gentile Emilio, *The Struggle for Modernity: Nationalism, Futurism, and Fascism*, foreword by Stanley G. Payne, Westport (Connecticut) 2003.
- Gëro Andreas, 'Liberals, Anti-Semites and Jews at the Birth of Modern Hungary', *CEU. History Department Yearbook*, 1993, s. 103–121.
- Gibson Mary, *Born to Crime: Cesare Lombroso and the Origins of Biological Criminology*, Westport (USA) 2002.
- Gillhan Nicolas W., *A life of Sir Francis Galton: From African Exploration to the Birth of Eugenics*, Oxford 2002.
- Gilman Sander L., *Die Schlaunen Juden. Über ein Dummes Vorurteil*, Hildesheim 1998, Girardet Raul, *Mythes et mythologies politiques*, Paris 1986.
- Glatzer Rosenthal Bernice, *New Myth, New World: From Nietzsche to Stalin*, University Park 2002.
- Gleason Abbot, *Young Russia: the Genesis of Russian Radicalism in the 1880*, New York 1980.
- Głębocki Henryk, *Fatalna sprawa: kwestia polska w rosyjskiej myśli politycznej (1856–1866)*, Kraków 2000.
- "Głos" 1886–1899. *Bibliografia zawartości*, editorial team led by Maria Stokowa, edited by Zofia Biłek [et al.], Wrocław 1955.
- "Głos" 1900–1905. *Bibliografia zawartości*, edited by Stefania Wojtasiewicz, Wrocław 1954.
- Głowacka-Sobiech Edyta, 'Andrzej Małkowski (1888–1919). Twórca i pionier polskiego skautingu', *Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy*, 2003, nos. 3–4, pp. 93–110.
- Głowiński Michał, *Ekspresja i empatia. Studia o młodopolskiej krytyce literackiej*, Kraków 1997.

- Głowiński Michał, *Skrzydła i pięta. Nowe szkice na tematy niemitologiczne*, Kraków 2004.
- Goćkowski Janusz, 'Kontrewolucyjne modele dziejów', *Historyka*, 28, 1999, pp. 29–59.
- Golczewski Frank, 'Antisemitic Literature in Poland before the First World War', *Polin*, vol. 4, 1989, pp. 87–101.
- Golczewski Frank, *Polnisch-Jüdische Beziehungen 1881–1922. Eine Studie zur Geschichte des Antisemitismus in Osteuropa*, Wiesbaden 1987.
- Gołębiowski Bronisław, 'Na marginesie „Dzienników” Żeromskiego', *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, 1959, no. 3, pp. 153–164.
- Gołota Janusz, *Jędrzej Moraczewski (1870–1944): pierwszy premier II Rzeczypospolitej*, Ostrołęka 2002.
- Goode Joshua, 'Corrupting a Good Mix: Race and Crime in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century Spain', *European History Quarterly*, April 2005, no. 2, pp. 241–265.
- Goyet Bruno, *Charles Murras*, Paris 2000.
- Grabowski Sabine, *Deutscher und polnischer Nationalismus. Der deutsche Ostmarken-Verein und die polnische Straß 1894–1914*, Marburg 1998.
- Grabski Andrzej Feliks, 'O Romanie Dmowskim – stare i nowe', *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 5, 1973, no. 2, pp. 123–132.
- Grabski Andrzej Feliks, 'Warszawscy entuzjaści H.T. Buckle. Z dziejów warszawskiego pozytywizmu', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 76, 1969, no. 3, pp. 853–864.
- Grana César, *Bohemian versus Bourgeois French Society and the French Man of Letters in the Nineteenth Century*, New York 1964.
- Greenfield Liah, *Nationalism. Five Roads to Modernity*, Cambridge 1992.
- Gregor James A., *The Faces of Janus: Marxism and Fascism in the Twentieth Century*, New Haven 2005.
- Greiffenhagen Martin, 'The Dilemma of Conservatism in Germany', *Journal of Contemporary History*, October 1979, no. 4, pp. 611–625.
- Greive Hermann, *Geschichte des modernen Antisemitismus in Deutschland*, Darmstadt 1983.
- Griffin Roger, 'The Revolt Against the Modern World', *Literature and History*, Spring 1985, no. 1, pp. 101–124.
- Groniowski Krzysztof, 'Gorączka brazylijska', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 74, 1967, no. 1, pp. 317–341.
- Grott Bogumił, 'Chrześcijańskie i świeckie inspiracje w doktrynach nacjonalizmu polskiego', *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, 1993, no. 4, pp. 79–91.

- Grott Bogumił, 'Filozofia kultury Jana Stachniuka', *Nomos*, 2002, nos. 37/38, pp. 147–157.
- Grott Bogumił, *Religia, kościół, etyka w ideach i koncepcja prawicy polskiej: Narodowa Demokracja: wybór tekstów z komentarzem*, Kraków 1993.
- Grott Bogumił, *Religia. Cywilizacja. Rozwój. Wokół idei Jana Stachniuka*, Kraków 2003.
- Grott Bogumił, 'Rola katolicyzmu w ideologii obozu narodowego w świetle pism jego krytyków katolickich', *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 12, 1980, no. 1, pp. 63–94.
- Grott Bogumił, *Zygmunt Balicki ideolog Narodowej Demokracji*, Kraków 1995.
- Gruchała Janusz, 'Stosunek Narodowej Demokracji do Austro-Węgier w końcu XIX i na początku XX wieku (do 1914 r.)', *Studia Historyczne*, 1981, vol. 1 (92), pp. 41–56.
- Grünberg Karol, *Polskie koncepcje federalistyczne 1864–1919*, Warsaw 1971.
- Grynberg Henryk, 'The Jewish Theme in Polish Positivism', *The Polish Review*, 1980, nos. 3–4, pp. 49–57.
- Grzybowski Konstanty, *Ojczyzna. Naród. Państwo*, Warsaw 1970.
- Grzybowski Konstanty, *Rzeczy odległe a bliskie. Rozmyślenia o historii Polski*, Warsaw 1969.
- Guesnet François, *Polnische Juden im 19. Jahrhundert. Lebensbedingungen, Rechtsnormen und Organisationen im Wandel*, Cologne, Weimar, Vienna 2001.
- Gwardiak Janusz, 'Niepodległościowo-rewolucyjna działalność młodzieży PPS-owskiej wśród żołnierzy rosyjskich na terenie guberni łomżyńskiej w trakcie rewolucji', *Studia Łomżyńskie*, 5, 1995, pp. 63–76.
- Habitzel Johann Herman, *Lebensphilosophie und Erziehung bei Jean-Marie Guyau (1854–1888). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Pädagogischen Soziologie*, Bonn 1988.
- Hagen William W., 'Before the "Final Solution": Toward a Comparative Analysis of Political – Antisemitism in Interwar Germany and Poland', *The Journal of Modern History*, June 1996, no. 2, pp. 351–381.
- Hagen William W., *Germans, Poles and Jews. The Nationality Conflict in the Prussian East 1772–1914*, Chicago 1980.
- Halczak Bohdan, *Towarzystwo Tomasz Zana w latach 1899–1914*, Zielona Góra 1996.
- Hall Aleksander, 'Dwa realizmy', *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 14 VII 1985, no. 28, p. 5.
- Hamann Brigitte, *Hitlers Wien. Lehrejahre eines Diktators*, München, Zürich 1997.
- Hanák Péter, *The Garden and the Workshop. Essays on the Cultural History of Vienna and Budapest*, Princeton 1998.

- Handler Andrew, *An Early Blueprint for Zionism: Gyoza Istoczy's Political Antisemitism*, Boulder, New York 1989.
- Hannaford Ivan, *The Race. The History of an Idea in the West*, introduced by Bernard Crick, Baltimore, London 1996.
- Hass Ludwik, *Inteligencji polskiej dole i niedole w XIX i XX wieku*, Łowicz 1999.
- Hass Ludwik, 'Pierwsze pokolenie aktywu socjalistycznego w Królestwie Polskim', *Z pola walki*, 1981, nos. 3–5, pp. 3–22.
- Hass Ludwik, 'Stosunki polsko-żydowskie. (Review article)', *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 17, 1985, no. 1, pp. 201–212.
- Haumann Heiko, *Historia Żydów w Europie Środkowej i Wschodniej*, trans. Cezary Jenne, Warsaw 2000.
- Hawkins Mike J., 'The Struggle for Existence in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Social History: Three Case Studies', *History of the Human Sciences*, 1995, no. 3, pp. 47–67.
- Hawkins Mike, *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought, 1860–1945. Nature as Model and Nature as Threat*, Cambridge 1997.
- Hecht Jennifer M., *The End of the Soul. Scientific Modernity, Atheism, and Anthropology in France*, New York 2003.
- Hedva Ben Israel, 'Zionism and European Nationalisms Comparative Aspects', *Israel Studies*, Spring 2001, no. 1, pp. 91–104.
- Hemmerling Zygmunt, 'Orientacje polityczne Ligi Narodowej w latach 1900–1906', *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, Historia*, 1958, no. 2, pp. 3–24.
- Hendrick Henry, *Image of Youth. Age, Class, and the Male Youth Problem, 1880–1920*, New York 1990.
- Hendzel Władysław, „Głos” (1886–1894). *Literatura. Krytyka. Teatr*, Opole 2000.
- Hendzel Władysław, *Z problemów czasopiśmiennictwa Młodej Polski (w kręgu krakowskiego „Życia”, „Krytyki” i „Chimery”)*, Opole 1988.
- Hertz Aleksander, *Szkice o totalitaryzmie*, introduced by Wojtek Lamentowicz, Warsaw 1994.
- Hertz Aleksander, 'The Case of an East European Intelligentsia', *Journal of Central European Affairs*, 1951, no. 1, pp. 10–26.
- Hertz Aleksander, *Żydzi w kulturze polskiej*, Paris 1988.
- Himka John Paul, *Socialism in Galicia. The Emergence of Polish Social Democracy and Ukrainian Radicalism*, Cambridge 1983.
- Himka John Paul, 'Young Radicals and Independent Statehood: The Idea of a Ukrainian Nation-State, 1890–1895', *Slavic Review*, Summer 1982, no. 2, pp. 219–235.



- Histoire des droites en France*, vol. 2, *Cultures*, vol. 3, *Sensibilités*, under the direction of Jean-François Sirinelli, Paris 1992.
- Historia i Kultura. Studia z dziejów polskiej myśli kulturalnej*, vol. 2, Andrzej Mencwel (ed.), Warsaw 1991.
- Historia polskiego ruchu robotniczego 1864–1964*, vol. 1: 1864–1939, edited by Tadeusz Daniszewski [et al.], Warsaw 1967.
- Hobsbawm Eric, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme. Myth. Reality*, Cambridge 1992.
- Holland Henryk, *Ludwik Krzywicki – nieznanym*, introduced by Tadeusz Kowalik, Warsaw 2007.
- Holland Henryk, 'W walce z pozytywizmem warszawskim. Z dziejów narodzin ideologii marksistowskiej w Polsce', *Mysł filozoficzna*, 1954, no. 1, pp. 100–139.
- Holmgren Beth, *Rewriting Capitalism: Literature and the Market in Late Tsarist Russia and The Kingdom of Poland*, Pittsburgh 1998.
- Holtz Klaus, *Nationaler Antisemitismus. Wissenssoziologie einer Weltanschauung*, Hamburg 2001.
- Homola Irena, „Kwiat społeczeństwa”. *Struktura społeczna i zarządy położenia inteligencji krakowskiej w latach 1860–1914*, Kraków, Wrocław 1984.
- Horowitz Irving L., *Radicalism and the Revolt against Reason; The Social Theories of Georges Sorel*, London 1961.
- Hrabyk Klaudiusz, *Ideologia „Przeglądu Wszechpolskiego”, 1895–1905*, Poznań 1937.
- Hrabyk Klaudiusz, 'Z przeszłości „Przeglądu Wszechpolskiego”', *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, January 1925, no. 1, pp. 31–49.
- Hryniuk Stella, 'Polish Lords and Ukrainian Peasants. Deference and Accommodation in Eastern Galicia in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Austrian History Yearbook*, vol. 24, 1993, pp. 119–132.
- Hughes Hugh Stewart, *Consciousness and Society. The Reorientation of European Social Thought 1890–1930*, New York 1958.
- Hulewicz Jan, 'Studia wyższe młodzieży z zaboru rosyjskiego na uczelniach galicyjskich w latach 1905–1914', parts 1/2, „*Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*”, nr 26, *Seria Nauk Społecznych*, 1958/1960, vol. 3/4.
- Hulewicz Jan, 'Źródła ideologii społeczno-politycznej Stefana Żeromskiego', *Pamiętnik Literacki*, 1930, no. 3, pp. 450–460.
- Hutnikiewicz Artur, *Stefan Żeromski*, Warsaw 1991.
- Hutton Patrick J., 'Popular Boulangism and the Advent of Mass Politics in France, 1886–1890', *Journal of Contemporary History*, January 1976, no. 1, pp. 85–106.

- Idealy nauki i konflikty wartości. Studia złożone Profesorowi Stefanowi Amsterdamskiemu*, Ewa Chmielewska (ed.) [et al.], Warsaw 2005.
- Ideas into Politics. Aspects of European History 1880–1950*, Roger J. Bullen (ed.) [et al.], London 1984.
- Idee a urządzenie świata społecznego. Księga jubileuszowa dla Jerzego Szackiego*, Ewa Nowicka, Mirosław Chałubiński (eds.), Warsaw 1999.
- Idee i koncepcje narodu w polskiej myśli politycznej czasów porozbiorowych*, Janusz Goćkowski, Andrzej Walicki (eds.), Warsaw 1977.
- Iłski Zdzisław, 'Wybór Jakuba Bojki do Sejmu Galicyjskiego (1901)', *Rocznik Lwowski*, 1995/1996, pp. 127–137.
- Imperial Russia 1700–1917: State, Society, Opposition. Essay in honor of Marc Raeff*, Ezra Mendelsohn, Marshall S. Shatz (eds.), De Kalb 1988.
- Inny Reymont*, Władysława Książek-Bryłowa (ed.), Lublin 2002.
- Inteligencja polska pod zaborami*, Ryszarda Czepulis-Rastenis (ed.), Warsaw 1978.
- Inteligencja polska XIX i XX wieku*. Study no. 6, Ryszarda Czepulis-Rastenis (ed.), Warsaw 1991.
- Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation*, Ronald Suny, Michael Kennedy (eds.), Ann Arbor 1999.
- International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 13, Daniel L. Sills (ed.), New York 1976.
- Iwańska Alicja, *Właśnie tu! Rzecz o dziewiętnastowiecznej Jean-Marie Guyau i dwudziestowiecznej sobie samej*, London 1992.
- Jabłoński Henryk, 'Dmowski w wynurzeniach prywatnych', *Przegląd Kulturalny*, 26 X 1961, no. 43, p. 5.
- Jabłoński Henryk, 'Jeszcze o Dmowskim w wynurzeniach prywatnych', *Przegląd Kulturalny*, 16 XI 1961, no. 46, p. 6.
- Jabłoński Henryk, 'Ze studiów nad początkami Narodowej Demokracji. Od „pracy organicznej” do „upolitycznienia”', *Przegląd Historyczny*, 44, 1953, vol. 3, pp. 481–536.
- Jacobson Jessica, 'Perceptions of Britishness', *Nations and Nationalism*, July 1997, part 3, s. 181–200. Jakóbczyk Witold, 'The First Decade of the Prussian Settlement Commission's Activities (1886–1897)', *The Polish Review*, 1972, no. 1, pp. 3–13.
- Jakubowska Urszula, 'Lwowskie lata Zygmunta Wasilewskiego (1902–1915)', *Rocznik Lwowski*, 1992, no. 2, pp. 75–95.
- Jakubowska Urszula, *Oblicze ideowo-polityczne „Gazety Warszawskiej”, i „Warszawskiego Dziennika Narodowego” w latach 1918–1939*, Warsaw, Łódź 1984.

- Jakubowska Urszula, *Prasa Narodowej Demokracji w dobie zaborów*, Warsaw 1988.
- Jakubowska Urszula, 'Z dziejów Narodowej Demokracji w parlamencie austriackim', *Studia Historyczne*, 1983, vol. 2, pp. 243–254.
- Jakubowski Dawid, *Julian Marchlewski – bohater i zdrajca?*, Warsaw 2007.
- Jakubowski Jan Zygmunt, 'Ludwik Krzywicki jako krytyk literacki', *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, 1959, no. 6, pp. 1–15.
- Jampolski Włodzimierz, *Stefan Żeromski. Duchowy wódz pokolenia*, Lwów 1930.
- Janaszek-Ivaničkova Halina, *Świat jako zadanie inteligencji. Studium o Stefanie Żeromskim*, Warsaw 1977.
- Janion Maria, *Pisma wybrane*, vol. 1, Kraków 2000.
- Janos Andrew C., *East Central Europe in The Modern World. The Politics of Borderlands From Pre to Postcommunism*, Stanford (California) 2000.
- Janowski Maciej, *Inteligencja wobec wyzwań nowoczesności. Dylematy ideowe polskiej demokracji liberalnej w Galicji w latach 1889–1914*, Warsaw 1996.
- Janowski Maciej, 'Kozy i jesiotry. Uwagi o specyfice liberalizmu w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej między rewolucją francuską a I wojną światową', *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych*, 56–57, 1996/1997, pp. 69–92.
- Janowski Maciej, 'Pitfalls and Opportunities. The Concept of East Central Europe as a Tool of Historical Analysis', *European Review of History*, 1997, no. 1, pp. 91–100.
- Janowski Maciej, *Polska myśl liberalna do 1918 roku*, Kraków 1998.
- Janowski Maciej, 'Three Historians', *CEU History Department Yearbook*, 2001–2002, pp. 199–232. Janowski Maciej, 'Wavering Friendship: Liberal and National Ideas in Nineteenth Century East Central Europe', *Ab Imperio*, 2000, nos. 3–4, pp. 69–90.
- Jarausch Konrad, *Students, Society, and Politics in Imperial Germany. The rise of academic illiberalism*, New Jersey 1982.
- Jaroniecki Jerzy, *Prasa lwowska w latach 1864–1918. Bibliografia*, Kraków 2002.
- Jaśkiewicz Leszek, *Carat i sprawy polskie na początku XX wieku*, Pułtusk 2001.
- Jaśkowski Michał, 'Konserwatyzm – nacjonalizm. Studia nad kontaktami ideowymi krakowskich konserwatystów i demokracji narodowej przed 1914', *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace z Nauk Politycznych*, 1989, vol. 36.
- Jaskułowski Krzysztof, 'Nacjonalizm jako ideologia', *Przegląd Politologiczny*, 2003, no. 2, pp. 37–49.
- Jaszczuk Andrzej, *Liberalizm contra liberalizm. Problem europejskiego przełomu wieków*, Lublin 1999.

- Jaszczuk Andrzej, *Liberalna Atlantyda: główne nurty liberalizmu polskiego 1870–1939*, Warsaw 1999.
- Jaszczuk Andrzej, *Spór pozytywistów z konserwatystami o przyszłość Polski, 1870–1903*, Warsaw 1986.
- Jaworski Rudolf, „Swój do swego”. *Studium o kształtowaniu się postaw zmysłu gospodarności Wielkopolan, 1871–1914*, edited and with a postscript by Witold Molik, Poznań 1998.
- Jedlicki Jerzy, *Jakiej cywilizacji Polacy potrzebują? Studia z dziejów wyobraźni XIX wieku*, Warsaw 1988.
- Jedlicki Jerzy, *Świat zwyrodniały. Lęki i wyroki krytyków nowoczesności*, Warsaw 2000.
- Jędrzejewicz Wacław, Cisek Janusz, *Kalendarium życia Józefa Piłsudskiego 1867–1935*, vol. 1: 1867–1918, Wrocław 1994. .
- Johnson William, *The Austrian mind. An intellectual and social history, 1848–1938*, Berkeley 1972.
- Judd Denis, *Radical Joe. A Life of Joseph Chamberlain*, London 1977.
- Judson Peter, *Exclusive Revolutionaries*, Ann Arbor 1996.
- Juryńska Julia [Toruńczyk Barbara], ‘Inteligencja w poglądach endecji do roku 1905’, *Roczniki Nauk Społecznych*, 1979, vol. 7, pp. 187–208.
- Kaczocha Włodzimerz, *Kultura: studia z historii myśli: Krzywicki. Abramowski, Czarniawski, Chwistek, Nawroczyński*, Poznań 2001.
- Kaczyńska Elżbieta, *Człowiek przed sądem. Społeczne aspekty przestępczości w Królestwie Polskim (1815–1914)*, Warsaw 1994.
- Kaczyńska Elżbieta, ‘Partie polityczne a masowy ruch robotniczy w Królestwie Polskim na przełomie XIX i XX wieku. Badania historyczne ich krytyka i propozycje’, *Przegląd Historyczny*, 81, 1990, vol. 2, pp. 123–138.
- Kądziela Jerzy, *Młodość Stefana Żeromskiego*, Łódź 1976.
- Kalbarczyk Damian, ‘Trzy koncepcje twórczości: Abramowski, Brzozowski, Lutosławski’, *Archiwum historii filozofii i myśli społecznej*, 27, 1977, pp. 315–350.
- Kalista Zdenek, *Josef Pekař*, Praha 1997.
- Kallis Aristotle A., *A Fascism. Reader*, New York 2003.
- Kallis Aristotle A., ‘To Expand or not to Expand? Territory, Generic Fascism and the Quest for an “Ideal Fatherland”’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 38, April 2003, no. 2, pp. 237–260.
- Kamiński Aleksander, *Analiza teoretyczna polskich związków młodzieży do połowy XIX wieku*, Warsaw 1971.

- Kamiński Antoni A., 'Socjalizm jako wymysł inteligencji. O życiu i poglądach Jana Wacława Machajskiego', *Prace Naukowe Akademii Ekonomicznej we Wrocławiu, Nauki Humanistyczne*, 2003, no. 8, pp. 48–71.
- Kamiński Antoni, 'Adam Sądziński i jego udział w początkach ruchu socjalistycznego w Polsce', *Ze skarbca kultury*, 1978, vol. 30, pp. 125–145.
- Kamusella Tomasz J., 'Language as an instrument of nationalism in Central Europe', *Nations and Nationalism*, April 2001, part 2, pp. 235–251.
- Kamusella Tomasz, 'Nacjonalizm i jego badacze (z perspektywy anglosaskiej. Przegląd literatury)', *Sprawy narodowościowe*, new series, 2001, 18, pp. 121–146.
- Kancewicz Jan, 'Esteria i Jan Strożeccy', *Rocznik Warszawski*, 9, 1969, pp. 194–231.
- Kancewicz Jan, 'Kwestia robotnicza i socjalizm na łamach legalnych tygodników zaboru rosyjskiego w końcu XIX wieku', *Kwartalnik Historii Prasy Polskiej*, 1981, no. 1, pp. 95–117.
- Kancewicz Jan, *Polska Partia Socjalistyczna w latach 1892–1896*, Warsaw 1984.
- Kancewicz Jan, *Rozłam w polskim ruchu robotniczym na początku lat dziewięćdziesiątych XIX wieku*, Warsaw 1961.
- Kancewicz Jan, 'U progu PPS. „Robotnik” – centralny organ partii 1894–1896', *Z pola walki*, 10, 1967, vol. 4 (40), pp. 3–24.
- Kancewicz Jan, 'Zjazd Paryski socjalistów polskich (17–23 XI 1892), jego geneza przebieg i znaczenie', *Z pola walki*, 1962, vol. 4, pp. 3–34.
- Kandiyati Deniz, 'Introduction: The Awkward Relationship: Gender and Nationalism', *Nations and Nationalism*, October 2000, part 2, pp. 491–494.
- Kania Marta, 'Nowa Polska – plany kolonizacji polskiej w Brazylii', *Przegląd Polonijny*, 2004, vol. 4, pp. 131–142.
- Kann Robert Adolf, *The Multinational Empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy 1848–1918*, vols. 1–2, Cambridge 1950.
- Kappeler Andreas, *Der schwierige Weg zur Nation. Beiträge zur neueren Geschichte der Ukraine*, Vienna–Cologne–Weimar 2003.
- Karbowiak Antoni, *Dzieje edukacyjne Polaków na obczyźnie*, Lwów 1919.
- Karbowiak Antoni, *Młodzież polska akademicka zagranicą, 1795–1910*, Kraków 1910.
- Karbowiak Antoni, 'Ruch pedagogiczny w królestwie Polskim w dobie bojkotu szkolnego', *Muzeum*, 1908, vol. 24, pp. 30–48, pp. 161–183.
- Karbowiak Antoni, 'Rusyfikacja i bojkot szkół w Królestwie Polskim', *Muzeum*, 1907, vol. 2, pp. 263–283.
- Kasperek Bogusław, *Jakub Bojko 1857–1943*, Lublin 1998.

- Kassow Samuel D., *Students, Professors and the State in Tsarist Russia. Studies on the History of Society and Culture*, Berkeley–Los Angeles 1999.
- Katz Jacob, *From Prejudice to Destruction. Anti-Semitism, 1700–1933*, Cambridge Mass. 1982.
- Kawalec Krzysztof, 'Myśl polityczna Romana Dmowskiego', *Przegląd Zachodni*, 55, July–September 1999, no. 3, pp. 41–58.
- Kawalec Krzysztof, *Roman Dmowski*, Wrocław 2002.
- 'Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz, (1872–1905)', edited by Anna Żarnowska, *Z pola walki*, 1958, no. 1, pp. 250–272.
- Keiling Jerzy, *Ignacy Chrzanowski: Historia. Naród. Kultura*, Gdańsk 1991.
- Kelly Donald R., 'The Science of Anthropology; An Essay on the Very Old Marx', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, April–June 1982, no. 2, pp. 245–262.
- Kendziorek Piotr, *Antysemityzm a społeczeństwo mieszczańskie. W kręgu interpretacji neomarksistowskich*, Warsaw 2005.
- Kidd Colin, 'Race, Empire and the Limits of Nineteenth-Century Scottish Nationhood', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 46, December 2003, no. 4, pp. 873–892.
- Kidzińska Agnieszka, '„Obrona bytu”. Wczesne poglądy polityczne ugodowców z Królestwa Polskiego w świetle petersburskiego „Kraju” 1882–1896', *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie Skłodowska*, 56, section F, 2001, pp. 55–82.
- Kielce w pamiętnikach i wspomnieniach z XIX w.*, edited by Adam Massalski and Marta Pawlina-Meducka, Kielce 1992.
- Kieniewicz Stefan, 'Polacy i Żydzi w XIX wieku', *Polityka*, 15 XII 1984, no. 50, p. 8.
- Kieniewicz Stefan, 'Wpływ zaboru rosyjskiego na świadomość społeczeństwa polskiego', *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 9, 1977, no. 4, pp. 105–115.
- Kier Wise Andrew, *Aleksander Lednicki. A Pole Among Russians. A Russian Among Poles. Polish-Russian Reconciliation in the Revolution 1905*, Boulder 2003.
- Kizwalter Tomasz, *Historia powszechna. Wiek XIX*, Warsaw 2003.
- Kizwalter Tomasz, 'Idea demokracji w dziewiętnastowiecznej Polsce', *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, 2002, no. 5, pp. 49–56.
- Kizwalter Tomasz, 'Nowoczesny Polak. Darwin i Nietzsche', *Przegląd Polityczny*, 2002, no. 56, pp. 104–109.
- Kizwalter Tomasz, *O nowoczesności narodu. Przypadek Polski*, Warsaw 1999.
- Klanowski Tadeusz, *Germanizacja gimnazjów w Wielkim Księstwie Poznańskim i opór młodzieży polskiej w latach 1870–1914 (Na przykładzie Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny w Poznaniu)*, Poznań 1962.
- Klier John Doyle, *Imperial Russia's Jewish Question*, Cambridge 1995.

- Kłosińska Krystyna, *Powieść o wieku nerwowym*, Katowice 1988.
- Klucze do Żeromskiego*, Krzysztof Stępnik (ed.), Lublin 2003.
- Kmieciak Zenon, 'Oblicze społeczno-polityczne „Głosu”, 1886–1899', *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, 1981, no. 10–12, pp. 39–51.
- Kmieciak Zenon, *Prasa polska 1864–1918*, Warsaw 1976.
- Kmieciak Zenon, *Prasa warszawska w latach 1886–1906*, Wrocław 1989.
- Kmieciak Zenon, *Program polityczny „Głosu Warszawskiego i „Gazety Warszawskiej”*, Warsaw–Łódź 1980.
- Koc Barbara, *O ziemi obiecanej Reymonta*, Warsaw, Wrocław, Kraków 1990.
- Kochański Aleksander, *Róża Luksemburg*, Warsaw 1976.
- Kołąkowski Leszek, *Główne nurty marksizmu. Powstanie – rozwój – rozkład*, London 1988.
- Konefał Jan, *Działalność społeczno-polityczna Aleksandra Zawadzkiego (Ojca Prokopa) w Królestwie Polskim 1876–1917*, Lublin 2000.
- Konieczny Władysław, 'Formowanie się i umacnianie świadomości narodowej jako elementarne zadanie polityczne Narodowej Demokracji na przełomie XIX i XX wieku', *Studia Historyczne*, 1989, vol. 4, pp. 545–559.
- Konieczny Władysław, 'Narodowa Demokracja wobec niepodległości i kształtu odrodzonego państwa', *Studia Historyczne*, 1989, vol. 3, pp. 403–415.
- Konserwatyzm. Historia i współczesność*, Stefan Stępień (ed.), Lublin 2003.
- Konstytucja 3 Maja w tradycji i kulturze polskiej*, edited by Alicja Barszczewska-Krupa, Łódź 1991.
- Kopij Marta, *Fryderyk Nietzsche w literaturze i publicystyce polskiej lat 1883–1918. Struktura recepcji*, Poznań 2005.
- Koreywo-Rybczyńska Maria, 'Roman Dmowski o osadnictwie w Paranie', *Przegląd Polonijny*, 1984, vol. 3, pp. 56–66.
- Kormanowa Żanna, *Materiały do bibliografii druków socjalistycznych na ziemiach polskich w latach 1865–1918*, introduced by Ludwik Krzywicki, Warsaw 1935.
- Korpalska Walentyna, *Władysław Eugeniusz Sikorski. Biografia polityczna*, Wrocław 1981.
- Korzeniowska Ewa, 'O „Dziennikach” Stefana Żeromskiego', *Pamiętnik Literacki*, 1954, vol. 3, pp. 1–43.
- Kosicka-Pajewska Aleksandra, *Zachowawcza myśl polityczna w Galicji w latach 1864–1914*, Poznań 2002.
- Kotowski Witold, 'Reymont a Dmowski', *Tygodnik Warszawski*, 20 I 1946, no. 3, p. 4.
- Kovács Mária, *Liberal Professions and Illiberal Politics. Hungary from the Habsburgs to the Holocaust*, New York, Oxford 1994.

- Kowalik Tadeusz, *Krzywicki*, Warszawa 1965.
- Kowalik Tadeusz, *Róża Luksemburg*, Wrocław 1971.
- Kowalski Witold, *Ognista kula. Obrazki z dzieciństwa Józefa Piłsudskiego*, Poznań 2002.
- Koza Stanisław, Kocój Henryk, 'Studenci krakowscy a święto 1 Maja w latach 1890–1939', *Pokolenia*, 1966, vol. 1 (13), pp. 21–36.
- Kozik Małgorzata, 'Przemiany galicyjskiej myśli konserwatywnej pod wpływem polemiki z Narodową Demokracją', *Archiwum Historii Filozofii i Myśli Społecznej*, 25, 1979, pp. 245–267.
- Krasnodębski Zdzisław, *Upadek idei postępu*, Warszawa 1992.
- Krawczyk Zbigniew, 'Edwarda Abramowskiego ideał socjalizmu bezpieczeństwa', *Archiwum Historii Filozofii i Myśli Społecznej*, 10, 1964, pp. 317–354.
- Krawczyk Zbigniew, 'Założenia filozoficzne socjologii Edwarda Abramowskiego', *Studia Filozoficzne*, 1964, no. 2, pp. 63–83.
- Król Marcin, *Konserwatyści a niepodległość. Studia nad polską myślą konserwatywną XIX wieku*, Warszawa 1985.
- Król Marcin, 'Osobowość radykalna (Józef Kalasanty Szaniawski: polski jakobin i konserwatysta)', *Fakt. Tygodnik Idei*, 8 VI 2005, no. 23 (62), pp. 8–9.
- Królikowska Maria, 'Ideologia historyczna „Przeglądu Wszechpolskiego”', *Przeгляд Humanistyczny*, 1987, no. 6, pp. 41–57.
- Krzesławski Jan, *Józef Kwiatek (1874–1910)*, Warszawa 1935.
- Krzywiak Grzegorz, 'Wokół genezy polskiego nacjonalizmu integralnego. Przypadek Romana Dmowskiego (1886–1904)', *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych*, 67, 2007, pp. 45–71.
- Krzywobłocka Bożena, 'Wokół Głosu. Na marginesie treści Głosu 1886–1894', *Kwartalnik Prasoznawczy*, 1957, vol. 1, pp. 9–30.
- Krzyżanowski Julian, 'Ruch polityczny młodzieży Gimnazjum w Sanoku przed rokiem 1914', *Przeгляд Oświatowo-Historyczny*, 1981, vol. 3, pp. 113–150.
- 'Księga pamiątkowa dla uczczenia 60 lat pracy naukowej Jana Czekanowskiego', *Materiały i Prace Antropologiczne*, no. 70, Wrocław 1964.
- Kuberski Leszek, *Stanisław Szczepanowski 1846–1900. Przemysłowiec. Polityk. Publicysta*, Uniwersytet Opolski. Studia i Monografie, no. 239, Opole 1997.
- Kucharski Jan, *Twórczość Stefana Żeromskiego w latach 1882–1895, Dzienniki, opowiadania, nowele*, Seria Monografie no. 49, Gdańsk 1974.
- Kucharzewski Jan, *Od białego do czerwonego caratu*, vol. 6, *Rządy Aleksandra III ku reakcji*, Warszawa 1933.
- Kucharzewski Jan, *Od białego do czerwonego caratu*, vol. 7, *Tryumf reakcji*, Warszawa 1935.



- Kuderowicz Zbigniew, *Artyści i historia. Koncepcje historiozoficzne polskiego modernizmu*, Wrocław 1980.
- Kuhn Elisabeth, *Friedrich Nietzsches Philosophie des europäischen Nihilismus*, Berlin, New York 1992.
- Kula Marcin, 'Niepokorni inteligenci', *Przegląd Historyczny*, 73, 1982, vols. 1–2, pp. 99–102.
- Kula Witold, *Historia, zacofanie i rozwój*, with the co-operation of Łukasz Kądziela, Warsaw 1983.
- Kulak Teresa, *Jan Ludwik Popławski 1854–1908. Biografia polityczna*, vols. 1–2, Wrocław 1989.
- Kulak Teresa, 'Jan Ludwik Popławski w polskiej publicystyce sprzed I wojny światowej', *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, Historia*, 36, 1981, no. 543, pp. 255–268.
- Kulczycka-Saloni Janina, *Pozytywizm i Żeromski*, Warsaw 1977.
- Kulczycki John J., *Strajki szkolne w zaborze pruskim 1901–1907. Walka o dwujęzyczną oświatę*, Poznań 1993.
- Kulczykowski Mariusz, Podraza Antoni, Tabaka Zbigniew, 'Struktura młodzieży Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w XIX i XX wieku', *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, 8, 1964, no. 2, pp. 99–115.
- Kupłowski Mikołaj, *Ideologia narodnictwa a literatura rosyjska w latach 1870–1890*, Warsaw 1986.
- Kuras Zbigniew, 'Lata gimnazjalne Władysława Grabskiego (1883–1892)', *Zeszyty Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Bydgoszczy, Studia Historyczne*, vol. 4, Bydgoszcz 1989.
- Kurczewska Joanna, *Naród w socjologii i ideologii polskiej: analiza porównawcza wybranych koncepcji z przełomu XIX i XX wieku*, Warsaw 1979.
- Kurczewska Joanna, 'Pierwsi nacjonaliści polscy i sprawy kobiet', *Archiwum Historii Filozofii i Myśli Społecznej*, 44, 1999, pp. 191–204.
- Kwestia żydowska w XIX wieku. Spory o tożsamość Polaków*, Grażyna Borkowska, Magdalena Rudkowska (eds.), Warsaw 2004.
- L'Allemagne nazi et le genocide juif*, Paris 1985.
- L'idée de race dans la pensée politique française contemporaine*, Pierre Guiral, Emile Temime (eds.), Paris 1977.
- Landau-Czajka Anna, 'Trudny wybór. Asymilowani Żydzi o problemie tożsamości narodowej w II Rzeczpospolitej', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 112, 2005, no. 2, pp. 49–72.
- Landgrebe Alex, „Wenn es Polen nicht gäbe, dann müsste es erfunden werden”. *Die Entwicklung des polnischen Nationalbewusstseins im europäischen Kontext*, Wiesbaden 2003.

- Lane David, *The Roots of Communism. A social and historical Study of Russian Social Democracy, 1898–1907*, New York 1975.
- Langewische Dieter, 'The Impact of the German Labor Movement on Workers Culture. The Review Article,' *The Journal of Modern History*, September 1987, no. 3, pp. 506–523.
- Langmuir Gavin J., *History, Religion and Antisemitism*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1990.
- Le Bon Gustave, *La Civilisation des Arabes*, Paris 1884.
- Le Bon Gustave, *Les Civilisations de l'Inde*, Paris 1887.
- Le Bon Gustave, *Les Premières Civilisations*, Paris 1889.
- Le Bon Gustave, *Psychologia tłumy*, trans. Bolesław Kaprocki, Warsaw 1994.
- Leczyk Marian, *Szkice historyczne*, Kutno 2000.
- Leder Zdzisław, 'Leon Logiches-Tyszka,' edited by Feliks Tych, *Archiwum Ruchu Robotniczego*, 3, 1976, pp. 193–239.
- Leskiewiczowa Janina, *Warszawa i jej inteligencja po powstaniu styczniowym 1864–1870*, Warsaw 1961.
- Leśniewski Michał, *Miejsce południowej Afryki w kształtowaniu koncepcji polityki imperialnej Wielkiej Brytanii, 1899–1914*, Warsaw 2001.
- Leśniewski Michał, *Wojna burska (1899–1902). Geneza, przebieg i uwarunkowania międzynarodowe*, Warsaw 1996.
- Leśnodorski Bogusław, *Polscy Jakobini. Karta z dziejów insurekcji 1794 roku*, Warsaw 1960.
- Levi Giovanni, Schmitt Jean Claude, *A History of Young People in the West*, vol. 2, *Stormy Evolution to Modern Times*, trans. Carol Vol, Cambridge Mass. 1997.
- Levinger Mark, Lytle Paula F., 'Myth and Mobilization: the Triadic Structure of Nationalist Rhetoric,' *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 7, April 2002, part 2, pp. 175–194.
- Levy Carl, 'Fascism, National Socialism and Conservatives in Europe, 1914–1945: Issues for Comparativists,' *Contemporary European History*, March 1999, no. 1, pp. 97–126.
- Levy Richard S., *The Downfall of the Anti-semitic Political Parties in Imperial Germany*, New Haven 1975.
- Lewalski Krzysztof, *Kościół chrześcijański w Królestwie Polskim wobec Żydów w latach 1855–1915*, Wrocław 2002.
- Lewandowski Tomasz, *Cezary Jellenta, estetyk i krytyk. Działalność w latach 1880–1914*, Wrocław 1975.
- Lidtke Vernon L., *The Alternative Culture: Socialist Labor in Imperial Germany*, New York, Oxford 1985.

- Lincoln Bruce W., *The Great Reforms: Autocracy, Bureaucracy and the Politics of Change in Imperial Russia*, Dekalb, Illinois 1990.
- Lindemann Albert, *Anti-Semitism before the Holocaust*, Harlow 2000.
- Lipset Seymour Martin, 'Students and Politics in Comparative Perspective', *Daedalus*, Winter 1968, no. 1, pp. 1–20.
- Lisowski Zbigniew, *Nowelistyka Stefana Żeromskiego*, Kielce 1998.
- Literatura Młodej Polski między XIX i XX wiekiem*, Ewa Paczowska and Jolanta Sztachelska (eds.), Białystok 1998.
- Loughlin Michael, 'Gustave Hervé's Transition from Socialism to National Socialism: Another Example of French Fascism?', *Journal of Contemporary History*, January 2001, no. 1, pp. 5–39.
- Loughlin Michael, 'Gustave Hervé's Transition from Socialism to National Socialism: Continuity and Ambivalence', *Journal of Contemporary History*, December 2003, no. 4, pp. 515–553.
- Löwe Heinz-Dietrich, *The Tsars and the Jews. Reform, Reaction and Anti-Semitism in Imperial Russia, 1772–1917*, Chur 1993.
- Ludwik Krzywicki. *Praca zbiorowa poświęcona jego życiu i twórczości*, Warsaw 1938.
- Ludwikowski Rett, *Główne nurty polskiej myśli politycznej 1815–1890*, Warsaw 1982.
- Ludwikowski Rett, *Polska kultura polityczna. Mity, tradycje i współczesność*, Wrocław, Warsaw 1980.
- Lübbe Herman, 'Religion and Politics in Processes of Modernization', *Totalitarian Movements & Political Religions*, June 2005, no. 1, pp. 53–70.
- Łagoda Maciej, *Dmowski, naród i państwo. Doktryna polityczna „Przeglądu Wszepolskiego” (1895–1905)*, Poznań 2002.
- Łazuga Waldemar, *Ostatni Stańczyk. Michał Bobrzyński – portret konserwatysty*, Poznań 1992.
- Łazuga Waldemar, *Rzeczy większe i mniejsze*, Poznań 2002.
- Łepkowski Tadeusz, 'Historyczne kryteria polskości', *Znak*, November-December 1987, nos. 11–12, pp. 5–14.
- Łepkowski Tadeusz, *Powstanie nowoczesnego narodu polskiego 1795–1864*, Warsaw 1967.
- Łukawski Zygmunt, 'Polacy w rosyjskim ruchu socjaldemokratycznym w latach 1883–1893', *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, no. 241, *Prace Historyczne*, vol. 31, Kraków 1970.
- MacCartney Donald, *W.E.H. Lecky, Historian and Politician 1838–1903*, Dublin 1994.

- McClelland, James, *Autocrats and Academics. Education, Culture, and Society in Tsarist Russia*, Chicago 1979.
- Mack Michael, *German Idealism and the Jew. The Inner Anti-Semitism of Philosophy and German Jewish Responses*, Chicago 2003.
- Mackiewicz Witold, *Nietzscheanizm i marksizm w literaturze i filozofii okresu Młodej Polski*, Warsaw 1989.
- Maj Ewa, 'Nowoczesny patriotyzm Jana Ludwika Popławskiego', *Studia Historyczne*, 34, 1991, vol. 3, pp. 403–414.
- Maj Ewa, 'Roman Dmowski i Związek Ludowo-Narodowy (1919–1928)', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 100, 1993, no. 2, pp. 37–54.
- Majchrowski Jacek M., 'Obóz demokratyczno-narodowy wobec katolicyzmu i Kościoła na przełomie wieków', *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Studia Religioznawcze*, 1984, vol. 12, pp. 109–130.
- Majewski Henryk, 'Działalność polityczna Witolda Staniszkisa w okręgu łomżyńskim', *Studia Łomżyńskie*, 4, 1994, pp. 117–124.
- Malkiewicz Andrzej, 'Młodość Dmowskiego', *Pokolenia*, 1973, vol. 4, pp. 133–136.
- Malkiewicz Andrzej, 'Program i organizacja Związku Młodzieży Polskiej „ZET” 1887–1904', part 1: '1887–1894', *Pokolenia*, 1974, vol. 4 (48), pp. 7–32.
- Mannheim Karl, *Essays on Sociology and Social Psychology*, London 1959.
- Manouelian Edward, 'Invented Traditions: Primitivist Narrative and Design in the Polish Fin de Siècle', *Slavic Review*, Summer 2000, no. 2, pp. 391–405.
- Marczewski Jerzy, *Narodowa Demokracja w Poznańskim 1900–1914*, Warsaw 1967.
- Marczewski Jerzy, 'W sprawie oceny historii Narodowej Demokracji w zaborze pruskim w związku z recenzją Mariana Orzechowskiego', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 76, 1969, no. 2, pp. 665–676.
- Markiewicz Grzegorz, 'Wizja moralnego porządku społecznego na łamach „Przeglądu Tygodniowego” i „Przeglądu Katolickiego” 1864–1880', *Acta Universitatis Lodzensis Folia Historica*, 1999, vol. 66, pp. 21–63.
- Markiewicz Henryk, *Literatura i historia*, Kraków 1994.
- Markiewicz Henryk, *Nowe przekroje i zbliżenia. Rozprawy i szkice z wiedzy o literaturze*, Warsaw 1974.
- Markiewicz Henryk, *Opowiadania Żeromskiego. Prus i Żeromski*, Warsaw 1964.
- Markiewicz Henryk, 'Zapomniane artykuły Żeromskiego', *Pamiętnik Literacki*, 1952, vol. 4, pp. 1157–1165.
- Marsella Mauro, 'Enrico Corradini's Italian Nationalism: the Right Wing of the Fascist Synthesis', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, June 2004, no. 2, pp. 203–224.

- Marsh P.T., *Joseph Chamberlain. Entrepreneur in politics*, New Haven, London 1994.
- Matyja Rafał, 'Czy Narodowa Demokracja była formacją konserwatywną', *Kwartalnik Konserwatywny*, Autumn-Winter 1998, no. 4, pp. 136–146.
- Matyja Rafał, 'Dmowski – niedokończona rozmowa o nowoczesności', *Nowe Państwo*, 5 II 1999, no. 6, pp. 5–6.
- Mazgaj Paul, 'The Origins of the French Radical Right', *French Historical Studies*, vol. 15, Fall 1987, no. 2, pp. 287–315.
- McReynolds Louise, *The News under Russia's Old Regime: The Development of a Mass-Circulation Press*, Princeton–New York 1991.
- Mędrzecki Włodzimierz, *Młodzież wiejska na ziemiach Polski centralnej 1864–1939. Procesy socjalizacji*, Warsaw 2002.
- Meinecke Friedrich, *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat. Studien zur Genesis des deutschen Nationalstaates*, Munich, Berlin 1908.
- Mencwel Andrzej, *Etos lewicy. Esej o narodzinach kulturalizmu polskiego*, Warsaw 1990.
- Mencwel Andrzej, *Przedwiośnie, czyli potop. Studium postaw polskich XX wieku*, Warsaw 1997.
- Mencwel Andrzej, *Stanisław Brzozowski kształtowanie myśli krytycznej*, Warsaw 1976.
- Mendelsohn Ezra, 'From Assimilation to Zionism in Lvov: The Case of Alfred Nossig', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 49, 1971, pp. 521–534.
- Mendelsohn Ezra, *Żydzi Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w okresie międzywojennym*, trans. Agata Tomaszewska, Warsaw 1992.
- Miąso Józef, 'Droga Mariana Falskiego do pedagogiki', *Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy*, October–December 1981, no. 4, pp. 473–484.
- Miąso Józef, 'Reformy oświatowe w Prusach, Austrii Rosji i ich wpływ na szkolnictwo na ziemiach polskich w drugiej połowie XIX wieku', *Kwartalnik Pedagogiczny*, 1995, vol. 3, pp. 123–139.
- Miąso Józef, 'Tajne nauczanie w Królestwie Polskim w świetle dokumentów władz rosyjskich', *Rozprawy z dziejów oświaty*, 33, 1990, pp. 47–82.
- Micewski Andrzej, 'Nacjonalizm w miejsce konserwatyizmu (Między liberalizmem a nacjonalizmem)', *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 21 IX 1975, no. 38, pp. 1–2.
- Micewski Andrzej, *Polityka staje się historią*, Warsaw 1986.
- Micewski Andrzej, *Roman Dmowski*, Warsaw 1971.
- Mich Włodzimierz, *Jan Stecki (1871–1954). Portret polityka ziemiańskiego*, Lublin 1990.

- Michalska-Bracha Lidia, *Powstanie styczniowe w pamięci zbiorowej społeczeństwa polskiego w okresie zaborów*, Kielce 2003.
- Michlic Joanna Beata, *Poland's Threatening Other. The Image of the Jew from 1880 to the Present*, London, Lincoln 2006.
- Micińska Magdalena, *Gołąb i Orzeł. Obchody rocznic kościuszkowskich w latach 1894 i 1917*, Warsaw 1995.
- Micińska Magdalena, *Między Królem Duchem a Mieszczaninem. Obraz bohatera narodowego w piśmiennictwie polskim przełomu XIX i XX w. (1890–1914)*, Wrocław 1995.
- Micińska Magdalena, *Zdrada, córka nocy. Pojęcie zdrady narodowej w świadomości Polaków w latach 1861–1914*, Warsaw 1998.
- Między feudalizmem a kapitalizmem. Studia z dziejów gospodarki i społeczeństwa. Prace ofiarowane Witoldowi Kuli*, Ryszarda Czepulis-Rastenis (ed.), Wrocław 1976.
- Między Odrą i Dnieprem. Wyznania i narody*, a collection of essays edited by Tadeusz Stegner, Gdańsk 1997.
- Mierzecka-Garlicka Aleksandra, 'Polska prasa informacyjno komunikacyjna a prasa agitacyjna na przełomie XIX i XX wieku', *Kwartalnik Prasoznawczy*, 1959, vol. 1, pp. 17–26.
- Mikołajko Zbigniew, 'Katolicka filozofia kultury w Polsce w okresie modernizmu 1895–1914', *Studia Religioznawcze*, 1987, vol. 21, pp. 45–73.
- Mikołajko Zbigniew, 'Katolicka refleksja nad kulturą w Polsce w okresie pozytywizmu, 1863–1895', *Studia Religioznawcze*, 1987, vol. 21, pp. 28–43.
- Miller Alexei, 'Shaping Russian and Ukrainian Identities in the Russian Empire During the Nineteenth Century. Some Methodological Remarks', *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 2001, part 2, pp. 253–263.
- Miller Alexei, *The Ukrainian Question: The Russian Empire and Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century*, Budapest, New York 2003.
- Millord Frances L., 'The Founding of Zet. A Chapter in the History of Polish Socialism', *The Polish Review*, Autumn 1972, no. 4, pp. 42–61.
- Miłosz Czesław, *Legends of modernity; essays on occupation. Lists, essays of Jerzy Andrzejewski and Czesław Miłosz*, foreword by Jan Błoński, Kraków 1996.
- Mistewicz Teodor, 'Narodowa Demokracja i Związek Katolicki w latach 1905–1908', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 95, 1989, no. 2, pp. 131–154.
- Mistewicz Teodor, 'Stosunek Romana Dmowskiego do religii i Kościoła', *Studia Historyczne*, 1989, vol. 1(124), pp. 57–72.
- Mistewicz Teodor, 'Uwagi na marginesie nowej biografii Romana Dmowskiego', *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 12, 1980, no. 4, pp. 169–189.

- Mistewicz Teodor, 'Zagadnienie rewindykacji terytorialnych w ideologii polskiego ruchu nacjonalistycznego do roku 1918', *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 18, 1986, no. 2, pp. 3–34.
- Młoda Polska. *Legends and Worldviews*, Tadeusz Bujnicki i Jerzy Illga (eds.), Katowice 1983.
- Mocarska-Tycowa Zofia, *Działalność krytyczno-literacka Teodora Jeske-Choińskiego wobec przełomu antypozytywistycznego*, Poznań 1975.
- Moczek Agnieszka, *Piekło czy raj? Obraz Brazylii w piśmiennictwie polskim w latach 1864–1939*, Kraków 2005.
- Moczek Agnieszka, '„Za morzem ziemia i wolność”. Legenda o brazylijskim rajku w piśmiennictwie polski przełomu XIX i XX wieku, „Przegląd Polonijny”', 2001, vol. 2, pp. 81–98.
- Moczulska Agnieszka, 'Wizyta Aleksandra III w Warszawie w 1884r', *Rocznik Warszawski*, 24, 1994, pp. 255–270.
- Modzelewski Wojciech, *Naród i postęp. Problematyka narodowa w ideologii i myśli społecznej pozytywistów warszawskich*, Warszawa 1977.
- Molenda Jan, *Chłopi. Naród. Niepodległość. Kształtowanie się postaw narodowych i obywatelskich chłopów w Galicji i Królestwie Polskim w przededniu odrodzenia się Polski*, Warszawa 1999.
- Molenda Jan, 'Obraz własny Królewaków na tle trójzaborowego portretu Polaków', *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie*, 1984, vols. 1–2, pp. 133–146.
- Molik Witold, *Polskie peregrynacje uniwersyteckie do Niemiec 1871–1914*, Poznań 1989.
- Molik Witold, 'The Élites of the Polish National Movement in Prussian Poland in the Late 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century', *Polish Western Affairs*, 1993, no. 2, pp. 61–80.
- Morsley Susan K., *Heralds of Revolution: Russian Students and the Mythologies of Radicalism*, Oxford 1998.
- Mosse George L., *Confronting the Nation: Jewish and Western Nationalism*, Hanover 1993.
- Mosse George L., *Germans and Jews. The Right, the Left and the Search for the “Third Force” in Pre-Nazi Germany*, London 1971.
- Mosse George L., *The Crisis of German ideology: intellectual origins of the Third Reich*, London 1970.
- Mosse George L., *Masses and Man. Nationalist and Fascist Perceptions of Reality*, Detroit 1987.
- Mosse George L., *Nationalism and Sexuality. Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe*, New York 1985.

- Mosse George L., 'Racism and Nationalism', *Nations and Nationalism*, July 1995, part 2, pp. 163–173.
- Mosse George L., *The Culture of Western Europe. The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. An Introduction*, Chicago 1962.
- Mosse George L., 'The French Right and the Working Classes: Les Jaunes', *Journal of Contemporary History*, July–October 1972, nos. 3–4, pp. 185–208.
- Mosse George L., *The Image of Man. The Creation of Modern Masculinity*, New York 1996.
- Mosse George L., *The Nationalization of the Masses. Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars Through the Third Reich*, New York 1975.
- Mosse George L., *Toward the Final Solution. A History of European Racism*, Madison 1985.
- Motył Aleksander J., *The Turn to the Right: Ideological Origins and Development of Ukrainian Nationalism 1919–1929*, New York 1980.
- Mudde Cas, 'Racist Extremism in Central and Eastern Europe', *East European Politics and Societies*, May 2005, no. 2, pp. 161–184.
- Musialik Wanda, 'Dzieje badań nad historią „Zetu”', *Sobótka*, 1999, no. 2, pp. 241–250.
- Myślenie stereotypowe i uprzedzenia. Mechanizmy poznawcze i afektywne*, edited by Mirosław Kofta, Warsaw 2004.
- Myśliński Jerzy, 'Dzieje „Ojczyzny” w Krakowie w latach 1907–1914', *Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego*, 1969, vol. 2, pp. 207–213.
- Myśliński Jerzy, *Grupy polityczne Królestwa Polskiego w Zachodniej Galicji 1895–1904*, Warsaw 1967.
- Myśliński Jerzy, '„Ognisko” na tle losów krakowskiej Czytelni Akademickiej Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 1889–1891', *Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego*, 1, 1962, vol. 1, pp. 184–203.
- Myśliński Jerzy, 'Organizacje młodzieży polskiej w Galicji w dobie autonomicznej 1867–1918', *Pokolenia*, April–June 1972, vol. 2, pp. 7–36.
- Myśliński Jerzy, *Polska prasa socjalistyczna w okresie zaborów*, Warsaw 1982.
- Myśliński Jerzy, 'Prasa Ligi Narodowej przed 1905 rokiem', *Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego*, 2, 1963, vol. 2, pp. 32–56.
- Myśliński Jerzy, *Prasa Polskiej Partii Socjalistycznej 1893–1906*, *Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego*, 1974, vol. 1, pp. 13–59.
- Nacjonalizm a tożsamość narodowa w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w XIX i XX wieku*, Bernard Linek, Kai Struve (eds.), Opole, Marburg 2000.



- Naimark Norman M., 'Warsaw Positivism and the Origins of Polish Marxism', *Canadian American Slavic Studies*, Fall 1976, no. 3, pp. 328–350.
- Naimark Norman, *Fires of Hatred. Ethnic cleansing in twentieth-century Europe*, Cambridge Massachusetts–London 2001.
- Najdowski Zygmunt, 'Wokół pojęć komunizm, socjalizm, utopia', *Z pola walki*, 1986, vol. 3 (115), pp. 47–77.
- Najdus Walentyna, *Szkice z historii Galicji*, vol. 1: *Galicja w latach 1900–1904*, Warsaw 1958.
- Nałkowski Wacław. *W pięćdziesiątą rocznicę zgonu (1911–1961)*, Bolesław Olszewicz (ed.), Warsaw 1962.
- Narkiewicz Olga, *The Green Flag: Polish Populist Politics 1867–1970*, London, Totowa 1976.
- Naród i państwo. Prace ofiarowane Henrykowi Jabłońskiemu w 60 rocznicę urodzin*, editorial committee Tadeusz Cieślak [et al.], Warsaw 1969.
- Narody a religia. Materiały z sesji naukowej*, Tadeusz Stegner (ed.), Gdańsk 1994.
- Narody i historia*, Arkady Rzeczocki (ed.), Kraków 2000.
- Nathans Benjamin, *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia*, Berkley–Los Angeles–London 2002.
- Nation and Ideology. Essays in Honor of Wayne S. Vucinich*, Ivo Banac (ed.) [et al.], Boulder, New York 1981.
- Nationalist and Racialist Movements in Britain and Germany before 1914*, Paul A. Kennedy, Anthony Nicholls (eds.), Oxford 1981.
- Nation-Building and Contested Identities. Romanian & Hungarian Case Studies*, Balázs Trencsényi (ed.) [et al], Budapest, Iasi 2001.
- Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism. Essays on Austrian Galicia*, Andrei S. Markovits, Frank E. Sysyn (eds.), Cambridge 1982.
- Nazar Ryszard, *Z dziejów recepcji marksizmu w Polsce. Koncepcje materializmu historycznego w ujęciu Ludwika Krzywieckiego*, Warsaw, Poznań 1987.
- Nettle Peter, *Rosa Luxemburg*, vol. 1, New York, Toronto 1966.
- Nettle Peter, 'The German Social Democratic Party 1890–1914 As a Political Model', *Past & Present*, April 1965, no. 30, pp. 65–95.
- Neubauer John, *The Fin de Siècle of Adolescence*, New Haven, London 1991.
- Neumann Victor, 'Federalism and Nationalism in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy: Aurel C. Popovici's Theory', *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 16, 2003, no. 3, pp. 864–897.
- Nowak Joanna, 'Idea narodowa Wincentego Lutosławskiego. Epigonizm czy rozwinięcie romantycznej wspólnoty narodów', *Sprawy Narodowościowe*, new series, 2005, vol. 26, pp. 115–133.

- Nowak Zofia, *Władysław Zamoyski a spór o Morskie Oko w latach 1889–1909*, Kraków 1992.
- Nowoczyński Bohdan, 'Pedagogika narodowa w latach 1880–1925', *Kultura i Wychowanie*, 1937, vol. 1, pp. 1–15.
- Nycz Ryszard, *Język modernizmu. Prolegomena historycznoliterackie*, Kraków 1997.
- Nye Robert A., *The Origins of Crowd Psychology. Gustave Le Bon and the Crisis of Mass Democracy in the Third Republic*, London–Beverly Hills 1975.
- O'Boyle Lenore, 'The Problem of an Excess of Educated Men in Western Europe 1800–1850', *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 42, December 1970, no. 4, pp. 471–495.
- Oberlander Ludwik, 'Ewolucja poglądów Narodowej Demokracji w sprawie żydowskiej', *Miesięcznik Żydowski*, part 1: 1, January 1932, vol. 1, pp. 1–19; part 2: 1, April 1932, vol. 4, pp. 289–310.
- Oberlander Ludwik, *O sprawie żydowskiej*, Kraków 1925.
- Oberlander Ludwik, 'Współczesne ruchy nacjonalistyczne a antysemityzm', *Miesięcznik Żydowski*, July 1932, vol. 7, pp. 1–25.
- Ogniwo 1902–1905. Bibliografia zawartości*, edited by Maria Lipska and Roman Loth, Wrocław 1957. Olczak-Ronikier Joanna, *W ogrodzie pamięci*, Kraków 2001.
- Olson Jonathan, 'The European Radical Right Back to the Future', *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 15, Spring 2001, no. 1, pp. 195–200.
- Olszewski Daniel, 'Wokół kryzysu modernistycznego', *W drodze*, 7, 1979, no. 4, pp. 83–91.
- Opalski Magdalena, 'The Concept of Jewish Assimilation in Polish Literature of the Positivist Period', *The Polish Review*, vol. 32, 1987, no. 4, pp. 371–383.
- Orsza-Radlińska Helena, 'Program i metoda badania dziejów pracy oświatowej. Kongresówka w drugiej połowie XIX w.', copy from *Zagadnienia Pracy Kulturowej*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1934.
- Ory Pascal, *L'anarchisme de droite (ou du mépris considéré comme une morale, le tout assorti de réflexions plus générales)*, Paris 1985.
- Orzechowski Marian, *Narodowa Demokracja na Górnym Śląsku (do 1918 roku)*, Wrocław 1965. Orzechowski Marian, *Wojciech Korfanty. Biografia polityczna*, Wrocław 1975.
- Paczowska Ewa, 'Cienie i światła. Stereotypy polskich socjalistów w „Ćmach nocnych” Franciszka Rawity Gawrońskiego', *Pamiętnik Literacki*, 1987, vol. 3, pp. 77–99.
- Paczowska Ewa, *Lalka, czyli rozkład świata*, Białystok 1995.

- Paczowska Ewa, *Odkrywanie prowincji – w kręgu doświadczenia literatury postyczeniowej*, in *Doświadczenie prowincji w literaturze polskiej w II połowie XIX wieku*, Ewa Paczowska, Ryszard Chodźko (eds.), Białystok 1993, pp. 5–15.
- Pajewski Janusz, *Roman Dmowski i Bolesław Motz*, in *Polska między Niemcami a Rosją. Studia ofiarowane Marianowi Wojciechowskiemu w siedemdziesiąt rocznicę urodzin*, Włodzimierz
- Borodziej, Paweł Wieczorkiewicz (eds.), Warsaw 1997, pp. 173–176.
- Pajewski Janusz, *Rozprawy i studia z dziejów powszechnych i Polski*, Poznań 1997.
- Pąckiński Marek, *Konserwatyzm na rozdrożu. „Młodzi konserwatyści” warszawscy wobec dylematów ideowych schyłku wieku*, Warsaw 1994.
- Pąckiński Marek, *Maski Zaratustry. Motywy i wątki filozofii Nietzschego a kryzys nowoczesności*, Warsaw 2004.
- Paluszkiwicz Marian, Szews Jerzy, *Słownik biograficzny członków tajnych towarzystw gimnazjalnych w Wielkim Księstwie Poznańskim 1850–1918*, Poznań 2000.
- Pamięci Wilhelma Feldmana*, Jan Baudouin de Courtenay (ed.) [et al.], Kraków 1922.
- Paradowski Ryszard, *Światopogląd Edwarda Abramowskiego*, Warsaw 1996.
- Parsons Talcott, *Essays in Sociological Theory*, New York 1950.
- Paruzel Eugeniusz, ‘„Charakter narodowy” społeczeństwa polskiego według Romana Dmowskiego’, *Kultura i Edukacja*, 25, 1993, no. 2, pp. 113–125.
- Paruzel Eugeniusz, ‘Wzór osobowy Polaka w ujęciu Narodowej Demokracji na początku XX wieku’, *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 1993, vol. 3, pp. 1–11.
- Pastuszka Stefan Józef, *Karol Lewakowski. Poglądy i działalność społeczno-polityczna*, Warsaw 1980.
- Pater Mieczysław, *Historia Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego do roku 1918*, Wrocław 1997.
- Pater Mieczysław, *Polskie dążenia narodowe na Górnym Śląsku (1891–1914)*, Wrocław 1998.
- Pater Mieczysław, *Z dziejów Polonii uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu w XIX*, in *Studia nad przeszłością i dniem dzisiejszym Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego*, Teresa Kulak, Wojciech Wrześniński (eds.), Wrocław 1989, pp. 7–51.
- Paxton Robert O., ‘Radicals’, *The New York Review of Books*, vol. 49, 23 June 1994, no. 12, pp. 51–54.
- Paxton Robert O., ‘The Five Stages of Fascism’, *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 70, January 1998, no. 1, pp. 1–23.
- Payne Stanley G., *Fascism, Comparison and Definition*, Madison 1980.

- Payne Stanley G., 'Historical Fascism and the Radical Right. Review Article,' *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 35, January 2000, no. 1, pp. 109–118.
- Pels Dick, 'Hendrik de Man and the Ideology of Planism,' *International Review of Social History*, vol. 32, 1987, no. 3, pp. 206–229.
- Perl Feliks (Res), *Dzieje ruchu socjalistycznego w zaborze rosyjskim do powstania PPS*, Warsaw 1958.
- Perspectives on Nineteenth-Century Heroism: Essays from the 1981 Conference of the Southeastern Nineteenth-Century Studies Association*, Sara M. Putzell, David C. Leonard (eds.), Madrid 1982.
- Petrycki Józef, *Roman Dmowski*, Warsaw 1920.
- Phillips Ursula, 'The Jewish Question in the Novel and Short Stories of Eliza Orzeszkowa,' *East European Jewish Affairs*, vol. 25, Winter 1995, no. 2, pp. 69–90.
- Philosophers on Race. Critical essays*, Julie K. Ward, Tommy L. Latt (eds.), London 2002.
- Piasecki Henryk, 'Feliks Perl – historyk i działacz PPS,' *Biuletyn ŻIH*, 1974, no. 4 (92), pp. 59–70.
- Piasecki Henryk, 'Organizator demonstracji zbrojnej 1904 r. Józef Kwiatek,' *Biuletyn ŻIH*, April–June 1974, no. 2 (90), pp. 47–61.
- Piasecki Henryk, *Sekcja żydowska PPS i żydowska partia socjalno-demokratyczna, 1892–1919/1920*, Warsaw 1982.
- Piasecki Zdzisław, 'Z badań nad osobowością i dorobkiem pisarskim Józefa Karola Potockiego (Streszczenie),' *Sprawozdania. Opolskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, Wydział II, Języka i Literatury*, seria B [series B], no. 12, Opole 1990, pp. 9–16.
- Pick Daniel, *Faces of Degeneration, a European Disorder c. 1848–c. 1918*, Cambridge 1989.
- Pieścikowski Edward, 'Opowiadania Stefana Żeromskiego w „Przeglądzie Poznańskim”,' *Pamiętnik Literacki*, 1956, vol. 3, pp. 213–240.
- Pietrzak Jerzy, *Pozytywistyczna teoria nauki*, Częstochowa 1982.
- Pietrzak Józef, *Pozytywny program etyczny Fryderyka Nietzschego: idea nadczłowieka*, Warsaw 1989.
- Pincus Steven, "'Coffee Politicians Does Great". Coffee-houses and Restoration Political Culture,' *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 67, December 1995, no. 4, pp. 807–834.
- Pisulińska Joanna, *Żydzi w polskiej myśli historycznej doby porozbiorowej (1795–1914). (Syntezy, parasyntezy i podręczniki dziejów ojczystych)*, Rzeszów 2004.

- Pleskaczyńska Małgorzata, *Listy, pisma ulotne, broszury i inne materiały z akt żandarmerii rosyjskiej guberni warszawskiej 1872–1915. Katalog*, Warszawa 1996.
- Pobóg-Malinowski Władysław, *Józef Piłsudski 1867–1901. W podziemiach konspiracji*, Warszawa 1935.
- Pobóg-Malinowski Władysław, *Najnowsza Historia Polski. Okres 1864–1914*, vol. 1, Gdańsk 1991.
- Pobóg-Malinowski Władysław, *Narodowa Demokracja 1887–1918. Fakty i dokumenty*, London 1998.
- Pobóg-Malinowski Władysław, 'Nieznane listy Józefa Piłsudskiego', *Zeszyty Historyczne*, 80, 1962, vol. 2, pp. 143–153.
- Pobóg-Malinowski Władysław, 'Stanisław Przybyszewski w „Gazecie Robotniczej”', *Wiadomości Literackie*, 17 I 1932, no. 3 (420), p. 3.
- Pod sztandarem rewolucji*, April 1932.
- Podgórska Teresa, *Stowarzyszenie Patriotyczno-Religijne „Eleusis” w latach 1902–1914*, Lublin 1999.
- Podraza-Kwiatkowska Maria, *Wolność i transcendencja. Studia i eseje o Młodej Polsce*, Kraków 2001.
- Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern History*, John D. Klier, Shlomo Lambroza (eds.), Cambridge 1992.
- Poliakov Léon, *Le Mythe Aryen. Essai sur les sources du racisme et les nationalismes*, Paris 1987.
- Poliakov Léon, *The History of Anti-Semitism*, vol. IV, *Suicidal Europe, 1870–1933*, trans. George Klin, Oxford 1985.
- Polska – Polacy – mniejszości narodowe*, Ewa Grześkowiak-Łuczak (ed.), Wrocław 1992.
- Polska i Polacy w XIX i XX wieku. Studia ofiarowane profesorowi Mariuszowi Kulczykowskiemu*, Krzysztof Ślusarczyk (ed.), Kraków 2002.
- Polska i Polacy. Studia z dziejów polskiej myśli i kultury politycznej XIX i XX wieku. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana Profesorowi Romanowi Wapińskiemu*, Marian Mroczko (ed.), Gdańsk 2001.
- Polska i sąsiedzi – dystanse i mieszanie kultur. Zbiór studiów*, parts 1–3, Roman Wapiński (ed.), Ostarzewo–Gdańsk 1999–2002.
- Polska lewica w XX wieku. Historia – Ludzie – Idee*, Tadeusz Słęczak, Michał Śliwa (eds.), Kraków 2004.
- Polska myśl filozoficzna i społeczna*, vol. 3, Barbara Skarga (ed.), Warsaw 1987.
- Polska myśl polityczna XIX i XX wieku*, vols. 2–4, Henryk Zieliński (ed.), Wrocław 1978, 1980, 1983.

- Polskie mity polityczne XIX i XX wieku*, Wojciech Wrzesiński (ed.), Wrocław 1994.
- Polskie powstania narodowe na tle przemian europejskich w XIX wieku*, Anna Barańska (ed.) [et al.], Lublin 2001.
- Polskie spory polityczne XX wieku*, Jan Waskan (ed.), Bydgoszcz 2002.
- Pomian Krzysztof, 'Dwuznaczności radykalizmu', *Więź*, April 1972, no. 4 (168), pp. 37–48.
- Popiński Krzysztof, 'Studenci Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego w życiu społeczno-kulturalnym Wrocławia na przełomie XIX i XX wieku', Sobótka. *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 1999, no. 3, pp. 375–383.
- Porter Brian A., 'Democracy and Discipline in Late Nineteenth-Century Poland', *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 71, June 1999, no. 2, pp. 346–393.
- Porter Brian A., 'Making a Space for Antisemitism. The Catholic Hierarchy and the Jews in the Early Twentieth Century', *Polin*, vol. 16, 2003, pp. 415–429.
- Porter Brian A., 'Social Nation and Its Future. English Liberalism and Polish Nationalism in Late Nineteenth-Century Warsaw', *The American Historical Review*, vol. 104, December 1996, no. 5, pp. 1470–1490.
- Porter Brian A., *When Nationalism Began to Hate. Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth-Century Poland*, Oxford, New York 2000.
- Porter Brian A., 'Who is a Pole and where is Poland? Territory and Nation in the Rhetoric of Polish National Democracy before 1905', *Slavic Review*, vol. 51, Winter 2002, no. 4, pp. 639–653.
- Potkański Waldemar, *Ruch narodowo-niepodległościowy w Galicji przed 1914 rokiem*, Warsaw 2002. Potkański Waldemar, 'Spór o oblicze ideowe polskiego skautingu przed pierwszą wojną światową', *Przegląd Historyczny*, 94, 2003, vol. 3, pp. 398–410.
- Potkański Waldemar, 'Zawiązanie, działalność oraz wystąpienie Związku Młodzieży Polskiej z Narodowej Demokracji w 1909 r. i utworzenie niezależnego ZET-u', *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 30, 1998, no. 4, pp. 3–13.
- Potocki Antoni, *Polska literatura współczesna*, part 1: *Kult zbiorowości 1860–1890*, part 2: *Kult jednostki 1890–1910*, Warsaw 1911–1912.
- Pozytywizm. Język epoki*, Grażyna Borkowska, Janusz Maciejewski (eds.), Warsaw 2001.
- Prace historycznoliterackie. Księga zbiorowa ku czci Ignacego Chrzanowskiego*, Kraków 1936.
- Problemy życia literackiego w Królestwie Polskim drugiej połowy XIX wieku*, Stanisław Frybes (ed.), Wrocław 1988.
- Próchniak Adam, *Bunt łódzki w roku 1892. Studium historyczne*, Łódź 1932.

- Próchnik Adam, *Studia z dziejów polskiego ruchu robotniczego*, selected by Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz, foreword by Stanisław Płoski, Warsaw 1958.
- Próchnik Adam, 'Zet', *Światło*, 2, 1937, no. 1, pp. 9–14.
- Programy i dyskusje literackie okresu Młodej Polski*, edited by Maria Podraza-Kwiatkowska, Wrocław 2000.
- Prokop Jan, *Ethnos i Caritas. Idee – mity polityczne – literatura*, Kraków 2001.
- Prokop-Janiec Eugenia, *Literatura wobec nacjonalizmu. Twórczość krytyczna Zygmunta Wasilewskiego*, Kraków 2004.
- Prus i inni. *Prace ofiarowane Profesorowi Stanisławowi Ficie*, Jakub M. Malik, Ewa Paczoska (eds.), Lublin 2003.
- Pruss Witold, 'Społeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego na przełomie XIX i XX wieku (cz. 2 narodowości, wyznania, ich rozmieszczenie, struktura demograficzna i zawodowo-społeczna)', *Przegląd Historyczny*, 68, 1977, vol. 3, pp. 487–512.
- Przełom antytypozywistyczny w polskiej świadomości kulturalnej końca XIX wieku*, Tadeusz Bujnicki, Janusz Maciejewski (eds.), Wrocław 1986.
- Przemiany formuły polskości w drugiej połowie XIX wieku*, Janusz Maciejewski (eds.), Warsaw 1999. Przemski Leon, *Fin de siècle po polsku*, Warsaw 1966.
- Publiczność literacka*, Stefan Żółkiewski, Maryla Hopfinger (eds.), Wrocław 1982.
- Pugh Martin, *The Tories and the People, 1880–1935*, Oxford 1985.
- Pulzer Peter G.J., *Die Entstehung des politischen Antisemitismus in Deutschland und Österreich, 1867–1914*, Göttingen 2004.
- Pulzer Peter G.J., *Emancipation and its discontents: the German-Jewish dilemma*, Brighton 1997.
- Puschner Uwe, *Die völkischer Bewegung im Wilhelmischen Kaiserreich. Sprache – Rasse – Religion*, Darmstadt 2001.
- Quinlan Sean, 'The Racial Imaginary of Degeneration and Depopulation: Georges Vacher de Lapouge and "Anthroposociology" in Fin de Siècle France', *History of European Ideas*, 1992, no. 4, pp. 393–413.
- Radlak Bronisław, *Socjaldemokracja Królestwa Polskiego i Litwy w latach 1893–1904*, Warsaw 1979.
- Raeff Marc, 'The Bureaucratic Phenomena of Imperial Russia 1700–1905. Review Article', *The American History Review*, vol. 84, April 1979, no. 2, pp. 399–411.
- Rasse, Blut und Gene. Geschichte der Eugenik und Rassenhygiene in Deutschland*, Peter Weingart, Jürgen Kroll, Kurt Bayertz, Frankfurt am Main 1992.
- Rau Zbigniew, *Liberalizm: zarys myśli politycznej XIX i XX wieku*, Warsaw 2000.
- 'Recepcja Darwinizmu w drugiej połowie XIX wieku w Królestwie Polskim', edited by T. Długokęcka [et al.], *Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki Polskiej*, seria b [series b], *Historia Nauk Biologicznych i Medycznych*, 1961, vol. 5, pp. 67–125.

- Recepcja w Polsce nowych kierunków i teorii naukowych*, Andrzej Strzałkowski (ed.), PAU, Komisja Historii Nauki, Monografie no. 4, pp. 273–291.
- Rechtsextreme Ideologien in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, edited by Uwe Bäcker, Cologne 2003.
- Rees Philip, *Fascism and Pre-Fascism in Europe, 1890–1945. A Bibliography of the Extreme Right*, Sussex, New Jersey 1984.
- Rinterpreting Revolution in Twentieth Century Europe*, Maria Donal, Tom Rees (eds.), Basingstoke 2001.
- Religions and Secular Forces in Late Tsarist Russia in Honor of Donald W. Treadgold*, Charles E. Timberlake (ed.) [et al.], Seattle 1992.
- Rémond René, *Les Droites en France*, Paris 1982.
- Rémond René, *Religion and Society in Modern Europe*, trans. Antonia Neville, Oxford (UK), Malden (US) 1999.
- Repp Kevin, *Reformers, Critics and the Path of German Modernity: Anti-Politics and the Search for Alternatives*, Cambridge (Mass.) 2000.
- Reszler André, *Mythes politiques modernes*, Paris 1981.
- Rethinking Vienna 1900 (Austrian History, Culture and Society)*, vol. 3, Steven Beller (ed.), New York, Oxford 2002.
- Reurose Jan, 'Nations, states and homelands: territory and territoriality in nationalist thought', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 8, July 2002, part 8, pp. 277–297.
- Revolution in Perspective. Essays on the Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919*, Andrew C. Janos, William B. Slottman (eds.), Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1971.
- Reykowski Janusz, *Logika walki: szkice z psychologii konfliktu społecznego w Polsce*, Warsaw 1984.
- Reymont Stanisław F., *Życie i działalność Kazimierza Prószyńskiego. Promyka*, foreword by Helena Radlińska, Warsaw 1948.
- Reymont. Z dziejów recepcji twórczości*, selected by Barbara Koc, Warsaw 1975.
- Richards Richard J., *Darwin and the Emergence of Evolutionary Theories of Mind and Behavior*, Chicago 1997.
- Roberts David D., 'How to Think about Fascism Ideology: International Antecedents and Historical Meaning', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 35, April 2000, no. 2, pp. 185–211.
- Rodowód polityczny Polaków. (Materiały z sympozjum historyków, Kraków, 3 grudnia 2003)*, Tomasz Gąsowski, Andrzej Waśko (eds.), Kraków 2004.
- Rogalla von Biberstein Johannes, „Jüdischer Bolschewismus”. *Mythos und Realität*, Dresden 2002.



- Rogatto Bogdan, *Utopia Młodej Polski*, Łódź 1972.
- Rogger Hans, *Jewish Policies and Right-Wing Politics in Imperial Russia*, Berkeley, Los Angeles 1979.
- Rohkrämer Thomas, 'Antimodernism, Reactionary Modernism and National Socialism. Technocratic Tendencies in Germany, 1890–1945', *Contemporary European History*, March 1999, no. 1, pp. 117–139.
- Roman Dmowski 1864–1939. *Katalog wystawy (W 150 rocznicę urodzin)*, exhibition at the Muzeum Niepodległości, October 2004 – February 2005, Andrzej Stawarz (ed.), introduction to the catalogue by Prof. Krzysztof Kawalec, Warsaw 2004.
- Roman Dmowski 1864–1939. *W pięćdziesięciolecie śmierci*, London 1988.
- Roman Dmowski i jego współpracownicy, Marek Białokur (ed) [et al.], Toruń 2008.
- Roman Dmowski. *Wybór pism*, edited by Roman Wapiński, Warsaw 1990.
- Romanowski Andrzej, *Młoda Polska wileńska*, Kraków 1999.
- Romanowski Andrzej, *Pozytywizm na Litwie. Polskie życie kulturalne na ziemiach litewsko-białorusko-inflanckich w latach 1894–1904*, Kraków 2003.
- Romanowski Andrzej, 'Socjalista wszystkich Polaków', *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 14–15 V 2005, pp. 28–29.
- Rosdolsky Roman, *Engels and the "Nonhistoric" Peoples. The National Question in the Revolution of 1848*, trans., edited and with an introduction John Paul Himka, Glasgow 1986.
- 'Rosja w upadku – rozmowa z Andrzejem Walickim', *Arcana*, 1999, nr 2 (26), pp. 33–51.
- Rudnicki Szymon, 'Lwowska grupa Ligi Narodowej w świetle własnych protokołów z lat 1918–1919', *Przegląd Historyczny*, 68, 1977, vol. 4, pp. 711–732.
- Ryszka Franciszek, *Historia – polityka – państwo. Wybór studiów I*, Toruń 2002.
- Sadowski Lesław, *Polska inteligencja prowincjonalna i jej ideowe dylematy na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, Warsaw 1988.
- Salwiński Jacek, 'Krakowscy anarchosyndykaliści Augustyna Wróblewskiego', *Studia Historyczne*, 30, 1991, vol. 2, pp. 248–260.
- Samuś Paweł, *Walery Sławek. Droga do niepodległości Polski*, Płock 2002.
- Schildt Axel, 'Radikale Antworten von rechts auf die Kulturkrise der Jahrhundertwende', *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung*, 1995, no. 4, pp. 87–93.
- Schorske Carl E., *Fin de Siècle Vienna. Politics and Culture*, New York 1980.
- Schorske Carl E., *Thinking with History. Explorations in the Passage to Modernism*, Princeton 1999.

- Shannon Richard, *The Crisis of Imperialism 1865–1915*, St. Albans 1974.
- Shaping the Superman. Fascist Body as political Icon–Aryan Fascism*, J.A. Mangan (ed.), London 1999.
- Sheehan James, 'Liberalism and the City in Nineteenth-Century Germany', *Past and Present*, May 1971, no. 51, pp. 116–137.
- Siekierski Stanisław, *Czytania Polaków w XX wieku*, Warsaw 2000.
- Silberner Edmund, *Was Marx an Anti-Semite?*, in *Essential Papers on Jews and the Left*, Ezra Mendelsohn (ed.), New York 1997.
- Skarga Barbara, *Kłopoty intelektu. Między Comte'em a Bergsonem*, Warsaw 1975.
- Skarżyński Ryszard, *Od liberalizmu do totalitaryzmu. Z dziejów myśli politycznej w XX wieku*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1998.
- Skrażyński Ryszard, *Konserwatyzm. Zarys dziejów filozofii i polityki*, Warsaw 1998.
- Sluga Glenda, *Nation, Psychology and International Politics, 1870–1919*, London 2006.
- Sluga Glenda, 'What is National Self-determination? Nationality and Psychology during the Apogee of Nationalism', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 11, January 2005, no. 1, pp. 1–20.
- Słomkowska Alina, *Dziennikarze warszawscy. Szkice XIX wieczne*, Warsaw 1974.
- Słownik biograficzny działaczy polskiego ruchu robotniczego*, vols. 1–3, principal editor Feliks Tych, Warsaw 1985, 1987, 1992.
- Słownik biograficzny Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej XX wieku*, Wojciech Roszkowski, Jan Kofman (eds.), Warsaw 2004.
- Słownik literatury polskiej XIX wieku*, Józef Bachórz (ed.) [et al.], Wrocław–Warsaw–Kraków 1994.
- SM [Michalski Stanisław], *Czytelnictwo Warszawy*, Warsaw 1903.
- Smith Anthony, *National Identity*, London 1991.
- Smith D. Woodruff, *Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany 1840–1920*, New York 1991.
- Smith Roger, 'Biology and Values in Interwar Britain. C.S. Sherrigton, Julian Huxley and the Vision of Progress', *Past and Present*, February 2003, no. 178, pp. 210–242.
- Smyk Grzegorz, 'Rusyfikacja obsady personalnej organów zarządu gubernialnego Królestwa Polskiego w latach 1867–1915', *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne*, 51, 1999, pp. 239–263.
- Snopko Jan, *Polskie Towarzystwo Gimnastyczne „Sokół” w Galicji 1867–1914*, Białystok 1997.

- Snyder Timothy, 'Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz (1872–1905). A pioneering scholar of modern nationalism', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 3, July 1997, part 2, pp. 231–250.
- Snyder Timothy, *Nationalism, Marxism, and Modern Central Europe. A biography of Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz, (1872–1905)*, Cambridge Massachusetts 1997.
- Snyder Timothy, *Reconstruction of Nations. Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569–1999*, New Haven, London 2001.
- Sobczak Jan, *Cesarz Mikołaj II. Liberal z usposobienia. Autokrata na tronie*, Toruń 2003.
- Sobczak Jan, *O Rosji nieco inaczej. Szkice i eseje z dziejów politycznych Rosji XVIII–XX wieku*, Olsztyn 2001.
- Sobczak Jan, *Współpraca SDKPiL z SDPRR 1893–1907. Geneza zjednoczenia i stanowisko SDKPiL wewnątrz SDPRR*, Warsaw 1980.
- Sobczak Mieczysław, *Narodowa Demokracja wobec kwestii żydowskiej na ziemiach polskich przed I wojną światową*, Wrocław 2007.
- Sobieraj Tomasz, 'Motyw następstwa i konfliktu pokoleń w polskiej prozie XIX wieku', *Pamiętnik Literacki*, 2003, vol. 2, pp. 93–105.
- Social Change in Romania 1860–1940. A Debate on Development in a European Nation*, Kenneth Jowitt (ed.), Berkeley 1978.
- Soucy Robert J., *Fascism in France. The Case of Maurice Barrès*, Berkeley–Los Angeles 1972.
- Soucy Robert J., 'The Nature of Fascism in France', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 1, January 1966, no. 1, pp. 27–55.
- Soucy Robert, *French Intellectual: Drieu La Rochelle*, Berkeley 1979.
- 'Special Issue "Students and Politics"', *Daedalus*, vol. 97, Winter 1968, no. 1, pp. 1–344.
- 'Special Issue on: Gender and Nationalism', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 6, October 2000, part 2, pp. 491–610.
- Spór o Morskie Oko. Materiały z sesji naukowej poświęconej 90 rocznicy procesu w Grazu, Zakopane 12–13 września 1992*, Jerzy M. Roszkowski (ed.), Zakopane 1993.
- Stachowiak Paweł, *Korzenie „katolicyzmu endeckiego”. Nacjonalistyczne wizje religii i kościoła w Polsce w latach 1887–1927*, Wrocław 1999.
- Stala Marian, *Pejzaż człowieka. Młodopolskie myśli i wyobrażenia o duszy, duchu i ciele*, Kraków 1994.
- Stan i potrzeby badań nad oświatą i wychowaniem w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1815–1915*, Ryszard Kucha, Karol Poznański (eds.), Warsaw 1989.

- States, Societies, Cultures. East and West. Essays in Honor of Jaroslav Pelenski, Janusz Duzinkiewicz (ed.), New York 2004.
- Stauter-Halsted Keely, *The Nation in the Village. The Genesis of Peasant National Identity in Austrian Poland, 1848–1914*, Ithaca, London 2001.
- Stefan Żeromski. *Kalendarz twórczości*, edited by Stanisław Kasztelowicz and Stanisław Eile, Kraków 1961.
- Stegner Tadeusz, *Liberałowie Królestwa Polskiego 1904–1915*, Gdańsk 1990.
- Stepan Nancy, “*The Hour of Eugenics*”: *Race Gender and Nation in Latin America*, Ithaca 1992.
- Stępień Marian, ‘Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz o sztuce i literaturze’, *Pamiętnik Literacki*, 1967, no. 1–2, pp. 67–97.
- Stern Fritz, *Niemiecki świat Einsteina. Eseje o historii Niemiec w XX wieku*, trans. and selected by Łukasz Gałęcki, Warsaw 2001.
- Stern Fritz, *The Failure of Liberalism: Essays on the Political Culture of Modern Germany*, New York 1992.
- Stern Fritz, *The Politics of Cultural Despair. A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology*, Berkeley 1961.
- Sternhell Zeev with Sznajder Mario, and Asheri Maia, *The Birth of Fascist Ideology. From Cultural Rebellion to Political Revolution*, trans. David Maisel, Princeton and New York 1994.
- Sternhell Zeev, ‘Fascism: Reflections on the Fate of Ideas in Twentieth-Century History’, *Journal of Political Ideologies*, vol. 5, June 2000, no. 5, pp. 139–162.
- Sternhell Zeev, *Les anti-Lumières*, Paris 2006.
- Sternhell Zeev, *Maurice Barrès et le nationalisme français*, Paris 2000.
- Sternhell Zeev, ‘National Socialism and Antisemitism. The Case of Maurice Barrès’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 8, October 1973, no. 4, pp. 47–66.
- Sternhell Zeev, *Neither Right nor Left. Fascist Ideology in France*, trans. David Maisel, New Jersey 1996.
- Sternhell Zeev, *Ni droite ni gauche. L'idéologie fasciste en France*, Brussels 2000.
- Sternhell Zeev, ‘Paul Déroulède and the Origins of Modern French Nationalism’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 6, October 1971, no. 4, pp. 46–71.
- Sternhell Zeev, ‘The “Anti-materialist” Revision of Marxism as an Aspect of the Rise of Fascist Ideology’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 22, October 1987, no. 4, pp. 379–400.
- Stinia Maria, *Państwowe szkolnictwo gimnazjalne w Krakowie o w okresie autonomii galicyjskiej*, Kraków 2004.
- Sto lat socjologii polskiej*, Jerzy Szacki (ed.), Warsaw 1999.

- Stone Dan, 'An "Entirely Tactless Nietzschean Jew": Oscar Levy's Critique of Western Civilization', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 36, April 2001, no. 2, pp. 271–292.
- Stone Dan, *Breeding Superman: Nietzsche, Race and Eugenics in Edwardian and Interwar Britain*, Liverpool 2002.
- Stone Dan, 'The Extremes of Englishness: The "The Exceptional" Ideology of Anthony Mario Ludovici', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, March 1999, no. 2, pp. 191–218.
- Stone Norman, *Europe Transformed 1878–1919*, Cambridge (Massachusetts) 1984.
- Storm Eric, 'The Rise of the Intellectual Around 1900: Spain and France', *European History Quarterly*, April 2002, no. 2, pp. 139–160.
- Strong Tracy, *Friedrich Nietzsche and the Politics of Transfiguration*, Berkeley 1985.
- Stryjczyk Joanna, *Idee emancypacyjne w „Krytyce” Wilhelma Feldmana*, Instytut Kultury Polskiej. Wydział Polonistyki, Warsaw 2003 (Doctoral thesis in manuscript form).
- Stryjek Tomasz, 'Spór o uniwersytet ukraiński we Lwowie do 1914 roku. Stanowisko i działalność strony ukraińskiej i żydowskiej', *Zeszyty Szkoły Nauk Społecznych*, no. 1, *Społeczeństwo i kultura – rozprawy*, 1996, nr 11, pp. 231–260.
- Stryjek Tomasz, *Ukraińska idea narodowa okresu międzywojennego. Analiza wybranych koncepcji*, Wrocław 2000.
- Student Politics*, Seymour Martin Lipset (ed.), New York 1967.
- Studia o twórczości Elizy Orzeszkowej*, Jerzy Paszek (ed.), Katowice 1989.
- Studia z dziejów kultury polskiej. Książka zbiorowa*, Henryk Barycz, Jan Hulewicz (eds.), Warsaw 1949.
- Studia z dziejów młodzieży Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego od Oświecenia do połowy XX wieku*, vol. 1, Celina Bobińska (ed.), Kraków 1964.
- Studia z dziejów myśli społecznej i kwestii robotniczej w XIX wieku*, vol. 1, Marian Żychowski (ed.), Warsaw 1964.
- Studia z dziejów oświaty i kultury umysłowej w Polsce XVIII i XX wieku, Księga dedykowana Janowi Hulewiczowi*, Renata Dudtkowa (ed.) [et al.], Wrocław 1977.
- Studia z dziejów polskiej myśli politycznej*, t. 5: *Dążenia do niepodległości Polski a ocena rządów zaborczych w XIX wieku*, Sławomir Kalembka (ed.), Toruń 1989.
- Studia z polskiej myśli filozoficznej 1900–1939*, Leszek Gawor (ed.), Lublin 1997.

- Studia z zakresu socjologii, etnografii i historii ofiarowane Kazimierzowi Dobrowolskiemu*, Kraków 1972.
- Stulecie Młodej Polski. Studia*, Maria Podraza-Kwiatkowska (ed.), Kraków 1993.
- Sujecka-Wojnar Janina, 'Istota i misja inteligencji w refleksji Stanisława Brzozowskiego', *Studia Socjologiczne*, 1967, no. 2, pp. 252–279.
- Suleja Włodzimierz, 'Plany rozwiązania austro-węgierskiego w latach 1866–1913', *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis*, no. 1135, *Historia. Studia z dziejów XIX i XX wieku*, Wrocław 1991, pp. 3–35.
- Surzycki Stefan, 'Stanisław Chełchowski', *Roczniki Nauk Rolniczych*, 1909, no. 1, pp. I–XXII.
- Sutton Michael, 'Conservatives and Conservatism: Early Catholic Controversy about the Politics of Charles Maurras', *Journal of Contemporary History*, October 1979, no. 4, pp. 649–676.
- Swjoscność i cudzoziemszczyzna w dziejach kultury polskiej*, Zofia Stefanowska (ed.), Warsaw 1973. 'Symposium: Is There a Cure for Anti-semitism', *Partisan Review*, Fall 1994, no. 3, pp. 365–445.
- Szacki Jerzy, *Dylematy historiografii idei oraz studia i szkice*, Warsaw 1991.
- Szacki Jerzy, *Historia myśli socjologicznej*, Warsaw 2003.
- Szacki Jerzy, *Ojczyzna, Naród, Rewolucja. Problematyka narodowa w polskiej myśli szlachecko-rewolucyjnej*, Warsaw 1962.
- Szacki Jerzy, 'Socjologia Spencera', *Archiwum Historii Filozofii i Myśl Społecznej*, 23, 1977, pp. 59–81.
- Szacki Jerzy, *Spotkania z utopią*, Warsaw 1980.
- Szacki Jerzy, *Tradycja. Przegląd problematyki*, Warsaw 1971.
- Szczurkiewicz Tadeusz, *Studia socjologiczne*, Warsaw 1970.
- Szkolnictwo i oświata w Warszawie*, Józef Kazimierski (ed.) [et al.], Warsaw 1982.
- Szlachta Bohdan, *Z dziejów polskiego konserwatyzmu*, Kraków 2000.
- Szuman Stefan, Peter Józef, Weryński Henryk Ks. [Father], *Psychologia i światopogląd młodzieży. Idealizm. Światopogląd, religia. Opracowano na podstawie dzienników młodzieży*, Kraków 1933.
- Szwarc Andrzej, *Od Wielopolskiego do Stronnictwa Polityki Realnej*, Warsaw 1996.
- Szymańska Beata, *Mistycy i pesymiści. Przeżycia i uczucia jako wartości w filozofii polskiego modernizmu*, Wrocław 1991.
- Szymańska Beata, *Poeta i nieznanne. Poglądy filozoficzne Antoniego Langego*, Wrocław 1979.

- Szymański Leonard, *Zarys polityki caratu wobec szkolnictwa ogólnokształcącego w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1815–1915*, Studia i Monografie. Akademia Wychowania Fizycznego we Wrocławiu, vol. 4, Wrocław 1983.
- Śladkowski Wiesław, *Wyspa polska we Francji. U Marii i Henryka Gierszyńskich w Ouarville, 1878–1930*, Lublin 2005.
- Śliwa Michał, *Feliks Perl*, Warsaw 1988.
- Śliwa Michał, 'Ludwik Gumplowicz i socjalizm', *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, 1995, 6, pp. 77–86.
- Śliwa Michał, *Obcy czy swoi. Z dziejów poglądów na kwestię żydowską w Polsce w XIX i XX wieku*, Kraków 1997.
- Śliwa Michał, *Polska myśl polityczna w I połowie XX wieku*, Wrocław 1993.
- Śliwa Michał, 'Syndykalizm i anarchizm Augustyna Wróblewskiego', *Rocznik Naukowo-Dydaktyczny. Prace Ekonomiczno-Społeczne*, 4, 1985, vol. 99, pp. 27–42.
- Śliwowska Wiktoria, *Udział Polaków w rewolucyjnym ruchu narodniackim lat siedemdziesiątych XIX wieku w Rosji*, in *Z dziejów współpracy rewolucyjnej Polaków i Rosjan w drugiej połowie XIX wieku*, Wrocław 1956, pp. 225–250.
- Ślusarek Krzysztof, *Narodziny nowoczesnego nacjonalizmu polskiego i konflikty narodowościowe na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, in *Fenomen nowoczesnego nacjonalizmu w Europie Środkowej*, Bernard Linek (ed.) [et al.], Opole 1997, pp. 40–51.
- Świat nie pożegnany (Żydzi na ziemiach wschodnich Rzeczypospolitej w XVIII–XX wieku.)*, Krzysztof Jasiewicz (ed.), Warsaw, London 2004.
- Świeboda Józef, 'Problemy narodowościowe w szkolnictwie galicyjskim (1772–1918)', *Analecta. Studia i materiały z dziejów nauki*, 1995, no. 2, pp. 97–144.
- Świercz Piotr, *Narodowa Demokracja na Górnym Śląsku w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, Kraków 1999.
- Tabaka Zbigniew, 'Pochodzenie studentów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego pod względem geograficznym latach 1850–1918', *Małopolskie Studia Historyczne*, 1964, nos. 3–4, pp. 99–118.
- Taborski Roman, '„Strumień” W. Gąsiorowskiego i „Ateneum” C. Jellenty. Zapomniane czasopisma warszawskiego modernizmu', *Kronika Warszawy*, 1973, no. 3 (15), pp. 405–412.
- Taborski Roman, *Walka o nowy repertuar w teatrach młodopolskiej Warszawy*, Warsaw 1999.
- Taguieff Pierre-André, *La couleur et le sang. Doctrines racistes à la française*, Paris 2002.

- Talmon Jacob L., *The Myth of the Nation and the Vision of Revolution. The Origins of Ideological Polarization in the Twentieth Century*, London–Berkeley 1980.
- Talmon Jacob L., *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy*, New York 1961.
- Tannenbaum Edward R., 1900. *Die Generation vor dem Großen Krieg*, Berlin 1978.
- Targalski Jerzy, 'Apuchtinada. Tło i przebieg wydarzeń', *Pokolenia*, 1962, no. 6, pp. 54–66.
- Taylor Michael, *Men versus the State. Herbert Spencer and late Victorian Individualism*, Oxford 1992.
- Tazbir Janusz, 'Marzenia o „Nowej Polsce”', *Nauka*, 2005, no. 1, pp. 25–34.
- Tematy żydowskie; historia, literatura, edukacja*, Elżbieta Traba, Robert Traba (eds.), Olsztyn 1999.
- Terej Jerzy Janusz, *Idee, mity, realia. Szkice do dziejów Narodowej Demokracji*, Warsaw 1971.
- Terej Jerzy Janusz, *Rzeczywistość i polityka. Z studiów nad dziejami najnowszymi Narodowej Demokracji*, Warsaw 1979.
- The Emergence of Modern Jewish Politics. Bundism and Zionism Europe*, Zvi Gitelman (ed.), Pittsburgh 2003.
- The European Right. A Profile*, Hans Rogger, Eugen Weber (eds.), Berkeley, Los Angeles 1965.
- The Garden and the Workshop. Disseminating Cultural History in East, Central Europe. In Memoriam Peter Hának*, Marius Turda (ed.), Budapest 1998.
- The Jews in Poland*, Chimen Abramsky (ed.) [et al], Oxford, New York 1986.
- The Jews in Poland*, vol. 2, Sławomir Kaprański (ed.), Kraków 1999.
- The Making of Modern Body: Sexuality and Society in the Nineteenth Century*, Catherine Gallagher, Thomas Laqueur, (eds.) Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1987.
- The Nation Idea as A Research Problem*, Jolanta Sujecka (ed.), Warsaw 2002.
- The Peculiarities of German History. Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany*, David Blackbourn, Geoff Eley (eds.), Oxford–New York 1984.
- The Persisting Question. Sociological Perspectives and Social Contexts of Modern Antisemitism*, Helen Fein (ed.) [et al], vol. 1, Berlin–New York 1987.
- The Place of Fascism in European History*, Gilbert Allardyce (ed.), Prentice-Hall, New York 1971.
- The Radical Right in Eastern Europe Since 1985*, Sabrina R. Ramet (ed.), with an afterword by Roger Griffin, University Park 1999.



- The Radical Right*, Daniel Bell (ed.), Garden City and New York 1955.
- The Revolution of 1905 and Russia's Jews*, Stefani Hoffman, Ezra Mendelsohn (eds.), Philadelphia 2008.
- Theweleit Klaus, *Männerphantasien. 1 Frauen, Fluten, Körper, Geschichte, 2, Männerkörper, zur Psychoanalyse des weißen Terrors*, Basel 1986.
- Thurlow Richard, *Fascism in Britain. A History 1918–1985*, London 1987.
- Toczek Alfred, 'Związki historyków lwowskich z prasą (1860–1918)', *Roczniki Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego*, 4, 2001, vol. 7, pp. 7–28.
- Todorova Maria, 'The Trap of Backwardness: Modernity, Temporality, and the Study of Eastern European Nationalism', *Slavic Review*, vol. 64, Spring 2005, no. 1, pp. 140–164.
- Tomaszewska Danuta, *Drogi wyboru, konspiracyjny ruch samokształceniowy na ziemiach polskich końca XIX i XX wieku*, Łódź 1987.
- Tomaszewska Danuta, *Koncepcja człowieka w polskiej myśli socjalistycznej (1878–1939)*, Łódź 1986.
- Tradycja i nowoczesność*, Joanna Kurczewska, Jerzy Szacki (eds.), Warsaw 1984.
- Tradycje szlacheckie w kulturze polskiej*, Janusz Tazbir (ed.), Warsaw 1976.
- Trzeciakowski Lech, 'Roman Szymański. Poglądy i praktyka polityczna', *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, Historia* 36, 1981, 543, pp. 421–432.
- Trzeciakowski Lech, 'Wpływ zaboru pruskiego na świadomość społeczeństwa polskiego', *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 9, 1977, no. 4, pp. 117–127.
- Tucker C. Robert, 'The Theory of Charismatic Leadership', *Daedalus*, vol. 97, Summer 1968, no. 3, pp. 731–756.
- Tudor Henry, *Political Myth*, London 1972.
- Tulli Magdalena, Kowalski Sergiusz, *Zamiast procesu. Raport o mowie nienawiści*, Warsaw 2003.
- Turda Marius, 'Aurel C. Popovici and the Symbolic Geography of the Romanians in the Late Habsburg Empire', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, vol. 36, January–June 1997, nos. 1–2, pp. 97–121.
- Turda Marius, 'New Perspectives on Romanian Fascism: Themes and Options', *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 6, June 2005, no. 1, pp. 143–150.
- Turda Marius, *The Idea of National Superiority in Central Europe, 1880–1918*, London 2005.
- Turda Marius, "'The Magyars: A Ruling Race": The Idea of National Superiority in Fin de Siècle Hungary', *European Review of History*, vol. 10, Spring 2003, no. 1, pp. 5–33.

- Tuszyńska Agata, 'Rosjanie w Warszawie', *Biblioteka „Kultury”*, vol. 464, Paris 1990.
- Twórczość Elizy Orzeszkowej, Krzysztof Stępnik (ed.), Lublin 2001.
- Tyburski Włodzimierz, *Filozofia polska przełomu XIX wieku*, Toruń 1997.
- Tych Feliks, *Związek Robotników Polskich, 1889–1892. Anatomia wczesnej organizacji robotniczej*, Warsaw 1974.
- Tynecki Jerzy, *Inspiracje neoromantyczne w literaturze i historiografii polskiej*, Łódź 1979.
- Tynecki Jerzy, *Światopogląd pozytywizmu. Wybór pism*, Łódź 1996.
- U progu współczesności. Z dziejów doktryn antypozytywistycznych*, red. Barbara Skarga (ed.), Wrocław 1978.
- Umińska Bożena, *Postać z cieniem. Portrety Żydówek w polskiej literaturze od końca XIX wieku do 1939 roku*, Warsaw 2001.
- Unifikacja za wszelką cenę. Sprawy polskie w polityce rosyjskiej na przełomie XIX i XX wieku. Studia i materiały*, Andrzej Szwarc, Paweł Wiczorkiewicz (eds.), Warsaw 2002.
- Uniwersalizm i swojskość kultury polskiej*, vol. 2, Jerzy Kłoczowski (ed.), Lublin 1990.
- Urban Otto, *Česka společnost 1848–1918*, Prague 1982.
- Venturi Franco, *Studies in Free Russia*, trans. Faustol Serge Walsby and Margret O'Dell, Chicago–London 1982.
- Vivarelli Roberto, 'Interpretations of the Origins of Fascism', *The Journal of the Modern History*, March 1991, no. 1, pp. 29–43.
- Volkov Shulamit, *Germans, Jews and Antisemitites. Trials in Emancipation*, Cambridge 2006.
- Volkov Shulamit, *The rise of Popular Antimodernism in Germany. The Urban Master Artisans, 1873–1896*, Princeton–New York 1978.
- Volovici Leon, *Nationalist Ideology and Antisemitism. The Case of Romanian Intellectuals in the 1930s*, trans. Charles Kormos, Oxford 1991.
- Vyleta Daniel, 'Jewish Crimes and Misdemeanors: In Search of Jewish Criminality (Germany and Austria, 1890–1914)', *European History Quarterly*, vol. 35, April 2005, no. 2, pp. 299–325.
- W „Naprzodowym” stylu. Materiały z sympozjum w 110 rocznicę ukazania się krakowskiego „Naprzodu”, Halina Kosętko, Alfred Toczek (eds.), Kraków 2004.
- W kręgu historii i politologii. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Profesorowi Stanisławowi Dąbrowskiemu*, Wrocław 2002.
- W kręgu Młodej Polski. Prace ofiarowane Marii Podrazie-Kwiatkowskiej*, Marian Stala (ed.) [et al.], Kraków 2001.
- W kręgu Młodej Polski. Studia i szkice*, Jolanta Sztachelska (ed.), Białystok 1998.

- W literackim kręgu pozytywizmu i Młodej Polski. *Studia i szkice*, Władysław Hendzel and Zdzisław Piasecki (eds.), Opole 1999.
- Wahrhahn Johann, „Die Junge Ukraine”. Nationalismus und Sozialismus als Aspekte eines Generationskonflikts im politischen Leben Ostgaliziens (1899–1903)’, *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Ost-europas*, b. 49, 2001, h. 2, pp. 212–229.
- Waingarterer Przemysław, ‘Zet wobec Narodowej Demokracji w przededniu I wojny światowej’, *Acta Universitatis Lodzensis, Folia Historica*, 66, 1999, pp. 161–173.
- Walas Teresa, *Ku otchłani (dekadentyzm w literaturze polskiej 1890–1905)*, Kraków 1986.
- Walasek Stefania, *Polska oświata w guberni wileńskiej w latach 1864–1915*, Kraków 2002.
- Walaszek Adam, ‘Politycy, agenci i chłopci polscy w Kanadzie przed rokiem 1914’, *Przegląd Polonijny*, 2002, vol. 4 (106), pp. 41–60.
- Walenberg Marek, *Kwestie narodowe w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej*, Warsaw 1992.
- Walicka Małgorzata, ‘Światopogląd Wacława Nałkowskiego’, *Archiwum Historii Filozofii i Myśli Społecznej*, 28, 1982, pp. 175–217.
- Walicki Andrzej, ‘Spuścizna Narodowej Demokracji i jej miejsce w dziejach ideologii narodowych w Polsce’, *Przegląd filozoficzno-literacki*, 2008, nos. 2–3 (20), pp. 145–166.
- Walicki Andrzej, *Filozofia a mesjanizm. Studia z dziejów filozofii i myśli społeczno-religijnej romantyzmu polskiego*, Warsaw 1970.
- Walicki Andrzej, *Idea narodu w polskiej myśli oświeceniowej*, Warsaw 2000.
- Walicki Andrzej, ‘Koncepcja tożsamości narodowej i terytorium narodowego w myśli politycznej czasów porozbiorowych’, *Archiwum Historii Filozofii i Myśli Społecznej*, 38, 1993, pp. 215–231.
- Walicki Andrzej, ‘Liberalism in Poland’, *Critical Review*, vol. 2, 1988, no. 1, pp. 8–38.
- Walicki Andrzej, *Marksizm i skok do królestwa wolności. Dzieje komunistycznej utopii*, Warsaw 1999.
- Walicki Andrzej, ‘Naród i terytorium. Obszar narodowy w myśli politycznej Romana Dmowskiego’, *Dziś*, July 2007, no. 7, pp. 22–41.
- Walicki Andrzej, *Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism. The Case of Poland*, Oxford 1982.
- Walicki Andrzej, *Poland Between East and West. The Controversies over Self-Definition and Modernization in Partitioned Poland*. The August Zaleski Lectures Harvard University, 18–22 April 1994, Cambridge Massachusetts 1994.

- Walicki Andrzej, *Polska, Rosja, marksizm: studia z dziejów marksizmu i jego recepcji*, Warsaw 1983.
- Walicki Andrzej, *Polskie zmagania z wolnością. Widziane z boku*, Kraków 2000.
- Walicki Andrzej, 'Rosa Luxemburg and the Question of Nationalism in Polish Marxism (1893–1914)', *Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 61, October 1983, no. 4, pp. 565–582.
- Walicki Andrzej, *Rosja, katolicyzm i sprawa polska*, Warsaw 2002.
- Wandycz Piotr, 'Wypisy z Dmowskiego', *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 26 V 2002, no. 21 (2759), p. 7.
- Wapiński Roman, 'Dmowski i odbudowa Polski (W 60-ecie śmierci Romana Dmowskiego)', *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 10 I 1999, no. 2 (2583), pp. 1, 5.
- Wapiński Roman, *Historia polskiej myśli politycznej XIX i XX wieku*, Gdańsk 1997.
- Wapiński Roman, 'Krytyk narodowy. 60 lat temu zmarł Roman Dmowski', *Polityka*, 9 I 1999, no. 2, p. 1.
- Wapiński Roman, *Narodowa Demokracja 1893–1939. Ze studiów nad dziejami myśli nacjonalistycznej*, Wrocław 1980.
- Wapiński Roman, *Pokolenia Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, Wrocław 1991.
- Wapiński Roman, *Polska i małe ojczyzny Polaków. Z dziejów kształtowania się świadomości narodowej w XIX i XX wieku*, Wrocław 1994.
- Wapiński Roman, *Polska na styku narodów i kultur. W kręgu przeobrażeń narodowościowych i cywilizacyjnych w XIX i XX wieku*, Gdańsk 2002.
- Wapiński Roman, *Roman Dmowski*, Lublin 1988.
- Wapiński Roman, 'W kręgu wyobrażeń o polskim terytorium narodowym w końcu XIX i pierwszych dziesięcioleciach XX wieku', *Przegląd Zachodni*, 1986, nos. 5–6, pp. 305–323.
- Wapiński Roman, *Władysław Sikorski*, Warsaw 1978.
- Wapiński Roman, 'Z dziejów tendencji nacjonalistycznych. O stosunku Narodowej Demokracji wobec kwestii narodowych w latach 1893–1939', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 80, 1973, no. 4, pp. 817–844.
- Warszawa powojeniowa 1864–1918*, Stanisław Kalabiński, Ryszard Kołodziejczyk (ed.), vols. 1–2, Warsaw 1968–1969.
- Warzenica Ewa, *Pozytywistyczny obóz młodych wobec tradycji wielkiej polskiej poezji romantycznej, w latach 1866–1881*, Warsaw 1968.
- Wątor Adam, *Chrześcijańsko-narodowi. Z dziejów nurtu politycznego do 1928 roku*, Szczecin 1999.

- Wątor Adam, 'Działalność polityczna Edwarda Dubanowicza w Galicji (do 1914 roku)', *Studia Historyczne*, 1992, no. 2, pp. 173–188.
- Wątor Adam, *Narodowa Demokracja w Galicji do 1918 roku*, Szczecin 2002.
- Wątor Adam, '„Słowo Polskie” a powstanie Stronnictwa Demokratyczno-Narodowego w Galicji', *Przegląd Zachodni*, 1990, vol. 3, pp. 129–139.
- Wątor Adam, *Ziemiańin. Tadeusz Cieński 1856–1925. Z dziejów konserwatyizmu wschodniogalicyskiego*, Szczecin 1997.
- Weber Eugen, *Action Française. Royalism and reaction in twentieth-century France*, Stanford 1962.
- Weber Eugen, 'Fascism(s) and Some Harbingers', *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 54, December 1982, no. 4, pp. 746–763.
- Weber Eugen, *Fin de Siècle France*, Cambridge 1988.
- Weber Eugen, *My France. Politics, Culture, Myth*, Cambridge Massachusetts 1991.
- Weber Eugen, *Peasants into Frenchmen. The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914*, London 1979.
- Weber Eugen, *The National Revival in France 1905–1914*, Berkeley 1968.
- Weber Eugen, *The Varieties of Fascism: Doctrines of Revolution in the Twentieth Century*, Malabar 1982.
- Weeks Theodore R., 'Defending Our Own: Government and the Russian Minority in the Kingdom of Poland, 1905–1914', *The Russian Review*, vol. 54, October 1995, no. 4, pp. 539–551.
- Weeks Theodore R., 'Defining Us and Them: Poles and Russians in the “Western Provinces”, 1863–1914', *Slavic Review*, vol. 53, Spring 1994, no. 1, pp. 26–40.
- Weeks Theodore R., *From Assimilation to Antisemitism. The 'Jewish Question' in Poland, 1850–1914*, Illinois 2006.
- Weeks Theodore R., 'Nationality and Municipality: Reforming City Government in the Kingdom of Poland, 1904–1915', *Russian History*, vol. 21, Spring 1994, no. 1, pp. 23–47.
- Weeks Theodore R., 'The Best of Both Words: Creating the Żyd-Polak', *East European Jewish Affairs*, vol. 34, Winter 2004, no. 2, pp. 1–20.
- Weeks Theodore R., 'The International Jewish Conspiracy Reaches Poland. Teodor Jeske-Choiński and his Works', *East European Quarterly*, vol. 31, March 1997, no. 1, pp. 21–41.
- Weindling Paul, *Health, Race and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism 1870–1947*, Cambridge 1989.

- Weiss John, *The Politics of Hate: Anti-Semitism, History and the Holocaust in Modern Europe*, Ivan R. Dee, Chicago 2003.
- Weiss Tomasz, *Cyganeria Młodej Polski*, Kraków 1970.
- Weiss Tomasz, *Fryderyk Nietzsche w piśmiennictwie polskim lat 1890–1914*, Wrocław 1961.
- Weiss Tomasz, *Legenda i prawda Zielonego Balonika*, Kraków 1976.
- Weiss Tomasz, 'Przełom antypozytywistyczny w Polsce w latach 1880–1890. Przemiany postaw światopoglądowych i teorii artystycznych', *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczno-Literackie*, vol. 10, Kraków 1966.
- Weitz Eric D., *A Century of Genocide. Utopias of Race and Nation*, Princeton, Oxford 2003.
- Wells George A., 'The Critics of Buckle', *Past and Present*, April 1956, no. 9, pp. 75–89.
- Wende Peter, *Radicalismus*, w: *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, Otto Brunner (ed.) [et al.], vol. 5, Stuttgart 1985, pp. 113–133.
- Wereszycki Henryk, *Historia polityczna Polski 1864–1918*, Wrocław 1990.
- Wereszycki Henryk, 'Dzieje Galicji jako problem historyczny', *Małopolskie Studia Historyczne*, 1, 1958, no. 1, pp. 4–16.
- Wereszycki Henryk, *Koniec sojuszu trzech cesarzy*, Warsaw 1977.
- Wereszycki Henryk, *Niewygasta przeszłość. Refleksje i polemiki*, edited by Waław Felczak, Kraków 1987.
- Wereszycki Henryk, 'Wpływ zaboru austriackiego na świadomość społeczeństwa polskiego', *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 9, 1977, no. 1, pp. 87–101.
- Wertheimer Jack, *Unwelcome Strangers. East European Jews in Imperial Germany*, New York, Oxford 1997.
- What History Tells: George L. Mosse and the Culture of Modern Europe*, Stanley Payne (ed.) [et al.], Madison 2004.
- Whiteside Andrew Gladding, *Austrian National Socialism before 1918*, The Hague 1962.
- Whiteside Andrew Gladding, *The Socialism of Fools. Georg Ritter von Schönerer and Austrian Pan-Germanism*, Berkeley 1975.
- Who Were the Fascists? Social Roots of European Fascism*, Stein U. Larsen (ed.) [et al.], Bergen–Oslo–Tromsø 1980.
- Wic Władysław, 'Federalizm i autonomia w poglądach Ludwika Kulczyckiego', *Studia Historyczne*, 30, 1987, vol. 4, pp. 589–605.

- Wic Władysław, 'Zagadnienie świadomości narodowej i ideologii narodowych w polskiej myśli politycznej przełomu XIX i XX wieku (Zarys problemu)', *Rocznik Naukowo-Dydaktyczny. Prace Ekonomiczno-Społeczne* 4, 1985, vol. 99, pp. 1–26.
- Wiech Stanisław, *Społeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego w oczach carskiej policji politycznej (1866–1896)*, Kielce 2002.
- Wieczorkiewicz Paweł, 'Dmowski', *Kultura*, 25 I 1989, no. 4 (189), p. 7.
- Wielki Proletariat i jego dziedzictwo. Materiały z sesji naukowej zorganizowanej z okazji 90 rocznicy utworzenia Międzynarodowej Socjalno-Rewolucyjnej Partii „Proletariat”*, Warsaw 1974.
- Wierzbicki Edward, 'Z działalności parlamentarnej Stanisława Szczepanowskiego w latach 1880–1900', *Studia Historyczne*, 30, 1987, vol. 1 (116), pp. 55–71.
- Wilson Andrew, *Ukraińcy*, trans. Marek Urbański, Warsaw 2002.
- Winiarski Bohdan, *Ustrój polityczny ziem polskich w XIX wieku*, Poznań–Warsaw 1923.
- Winnock Michel, *Nationalism, Anti-Semitism, and Fascism in France*, trans. Jane Manetodd, Stanford (California) 1998.
- Wiślocki Stanisław A., 'Wojciecha Korfanteo droga do niepodległości', *Niepodległości i pamięć*, 10, 2003, no. 1 (19), pp. 83–94.
- Wistrich Robert S., 'The Jews and Nationality Conflicts in the Habsburg Lands', *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 22, Spring 1994, no. 1, pp. 119–139.
- Wistrich Robert S., 'Was Nietzsche a Fascist Thinker?', *Partisan Review*, vol. 68, Spring 2001, no. 2, pp. 201–217.
- Wistrich Robert, *Between Redemption and Perdition. Modern Anti-Semitism and Jewish Identity*, London, New York 1986.
- Wistrich S. Robert, *Anti-Semitism. The Longest Hatred*, London 1991.
- Wohl Robert, 'French Fascism Both Right and Left: Reflections on the Sternhell Controversy', *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 63, March 1991, no. 2, pp. 91–98.
- Wohl Robert, 'Heart of Darkness; Modernism and Its Historians. Review Article', *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 74, September 2002, no. 3, pp. 573–621.
- Wohl Robert, *The Generation of 1914*, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1979.
- Wojdyło Witold, *Stanisław Grabski (1871–1949). Biografia polityczna*, Toruń 2004.
- Wojtasik Janusz, *Idea walki zbrojnej o niepodległość Polski 1864–1907. Koncepcje i próby ich realizacji*, Warsaw 1987.
- Wojtaszek Andrzej, *Idee narodowe w myśli politycznej socjalistów w okresie walki o niepodległość Polski (1892–1921)*, Szczecin 1997.
- Wokół „Syzyfowych prac” (*Problemy edukacji wiejskiej w Polsce w XIX i XX wieku*), Marta Meducka (ed.), Kielce 1999.

- ‘Wokół biografii i spuścizny Kazimierza Kelles-Krauza’, *Z pola walki*, 1974, no. 3 (67), pp. 49–68.
- Wokół myśli Stanisława Brzowskiego*, Andrzej Walicki (ed.) [et al.], Kraków 1974.
- Wokół twórczości drugiego pokolenia pozytywistów polskich*, edited by Aneta Mazur, Opole 2004.
- Wolff Larry, ‘Dynastic Conservatism and Poetic Violence in Fin de Siècle Cracow: The Habsburg Matrix of Polish Modernism’, *The American Historical Review*, vol. 106, June 2001, no. 3, pp. 735–764.
- Wolff-Powęska Anna, *A bliźniego swego... Kościoły w Niemczech wobec „problemu żydowskiego”*, Poznań 2004.
- Woliński Janusz, ‘Warszawskie lata uniwersyteckie Szymona Askenazego’, *Rocznik Warszawski*, 10, 1971, vol. 2, pp. 143–158.
- Wołkiewicz Leonid J., ‘Z dziejów II Proletariatu (1889–1890)’, *Z pola walki*, 1975, no. 7 (72), pp. 89–116.
- Wolsza Tadeusz, *Narodowa Demokracja wobec chłopów w latach 1887–1914. Programy, polityka, działalność*, Warsaw 1992.
- Wolsza Tadeusz, ‘Stowarzyszenie „Łączność” (1888–1893). U źródeł Ligi Narodowej’, *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 19, 1987, vol. 2, pp. 3–35.
- Wolsza Tadeusz, ‘Towarzystwo Oświaty Narodowej’, *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 94, 1987, no. 2, pp. 71–95.
- Wood Nathaniel D., ‘Ways of Looking at Nationalism. A Limited Historiographical Essay and Demonstrative Exegesis’, *Historyka*, 30, 2000, pp. 5–16.
- Woysław Krystyna, ‘Wanda – polskie miasto nad brzegiem rzeki Parana’, *Rocznik Historyczny Muzeum Historii Polskiego Ruchu Ludowego*, 2002, no. 18, pp. 249–266.
- Wróbel Piotr, ‘The Jews of Galicia under Austrian-Polish Rule, 1869–1918’, *Austrian History Yearbook*, vol. 25, 1994, pp. 97–138.
- Wśród tułaczy i wędrowców. Studia młodopolskie*, Stanisław Fita, Jakub A. Malik, (es.) Lublin 2001.
- Wybory wartości. Inteligencja polska u schyłku XIX i na początku XX wieku*, Elżbieta Reklajtis (ed.), Lublin 1998.
- Wyka Kazimierz, *Młoda Polska*, vol. 1: *Modernizm Polski. Struktura i rozwój*, Kraków 1977.
- Wyka Kazimierz, *Młoda Polska*, vol. 2: *Szkice z problematyki epoki*, Kraków 2003.
- Wyka Kazimierz, *Pokolenia literackie*, Kraków 1989.
- Wyka Kazimierz, *Stara szuflada i inne szkice z lat 1932–1939*, edited by Maciej Urbanowski, Kraków 2000.



- Yack Bernard, *The Longing for Total Revolution. Philosophic Sources of Social Discontent from Rousseau to Marx and Nietzsche*, Princeton 1986.
- Z domu niewoli. Sytuacja polityczna a kultura literacka w drugiej połowie XIX wieku, Janusz Maciejewski (ed.), Wrocław 1988.
- Z dziejów Towarzystw Gimnastycznych „Sokół”, Zdzisław Pawluczuk (ed.), Gdańsk 1996.
- Z dziejów współpracy rewolucyjnej Polaków i Rosjan w drugiej połowie XIX wieku, Wrocław 1956.
- Z filozofii pozytywistycznej w Polsce. Ciągłość i przemiany, Anna Hochfeldowa, Barbara Skarga (eds.), Wrocław 1972.
- Zaretsky Robert D., ‘Review Article. Neither Left, nor Right, nor Straight Ahead: Recent Books on Fascism in France’, *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 73, March 2001, no. 1, pp. 118–132.
- Zawadzki Paul, ‘Protokoły Mędrców Syjonu w polskie myśli antysemitycznej’, *Biuletyn ŻIH*, July–December 1993, nos. 3–4, pp. 62–82.
- Zdanowicz Anna, *Metafizyka i życie społeczne. Stefan Żeromski wobec problemów współczesności*, Warsaw 2005.
- Zdybel Lech, *Idea spisku i teorie spiskowe w świetle analiz krytycznych i badań historycznych*, Lublin 2002.
- ZET w walce o niepodległość i budowę państwa. Szkice i wspomnienia, editorial committee Tadeusz W. Nowacki [et al.], Warsaw 1996.
- Ziege Eva Maria, *Mythische Kohärenz. Diskursanalyse des völkischen Antisemitismus*, Konstanz 2002. Ziejka Franciszek, *Nasza rodzina w Europie. Studia i szkice*, Kraków 1995.
- Ziejka Franciszek, *W kręgu mitów polskich*, Kraków 1977.
- Ziemiaństwo a ruchy niepodległościowe w Polsce XIX i XX wieku, Wiesław Caban, Mieczysław B. Markowski (eds.), Kielce 1994.
- Ziemnicki Janusz Antoni, ‘Warunki bytowe nauczycieli warszawskich na przełomie XIX i XX wieku’, *Przegląd Historyczny*, 68, 1977, no. 3, pp. 555–565.
- Zimand Roman, *„Dekadentyzm” warszawski*, Warsaw 1964.
- Zimand Roman, *Diarysta Stefan Ż.*, Wrocław 1990.
- Zimand Roman, *Porównania. Studia o kulturze modernizmu*, Warsaw 1983.
- Zimand Roman, ‘Uwagi o teorii narodu na marginesie analizy nacjonalistycznej teorii narodu’, *Studia Filozoficzne*, 1967, no. 4, pp. 1–39.
- Zimmerman Andrew, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany*, Chicago, London 2001.

- Zimmerman Joshua D., *Poles, Jews, and the Politics of Nationality. The Bund and the Polish Socialist Party in Tsarist Russia, 1892–1914*, Madison 2004.
- Zimmerman Joshua D., ‘Józef Piłsudski and the “Jewish Question”, 1892–1905’ *East European Jewish Affairs*, vol. 28, Summer 1998, no. 1, pp. 69–86.
- Zimmerman Moshe, *Wilhelm Marr. The Patriarch of Antisemitism*, Oxford 1986.
- Zmierzch kultury staropolskiej. *Ciągłość i kryzysy (wieki XVII–XX)*, Urszula Augustyniak, Andrzej Karpiński (eds.), Warsaw 1997.
- Znaniński Florian, ‘Bunt młodzieży’, *Kultura i Wychowanie*, 1937, no. 3, pp. 173–195.
- Znaniński Florian, *Ludzie terażniejsi a cywilizacja przyszłości*, Warsaw 2001.
- Znaniński Florian, *Socjologia wychowania. Wychowujące społeczeństwo* (vol. 1) *Urabianie osoby wychowanka* (vol. 2), Warsaw 2001.
- Znaniński Florian, *Spółeczna funkcja studenta uniwersytetu*, foreword by Jan Szczepański, introduced by Helena Znanińska-Łopata, Poznań 1997.
- Zrozumieć płęć. Studia interdyscyplinarne*, vol. 2, Alicja Kuczyńska, Elżbieta K. Dzikowska (eds.), Wrocław 2004.
- Zubrzycki Geneviève, ‘The Classical Opposition Between Civic and Ethnic Models of Nationhood: Ideology, Empirical Reality and Social Scientific Analysis’, *Polish Sociological Review*, 2002, no. 3, pp. 275–295.
- Zygmunt Wasilewski. Polityk, krytyk, regionalista*, edited by Marty Meduckiej, Kielce 2002.
- Zygo Aleksander, ‘Program ideowo-artystyczny „Życia” za redakcji Ludwika Szczepańskiego’, *Ruch Literacki*, 1972, vol. 3 (72), pp. 132–152.
- Żarnowska Anna, *Geneza rozłamu w Polskiej Partii Socjalistycznej 1904–1906*, Warsaw 1965.
- Żarnowska Anna, ‘Klasa robotnicza a procesy ruchliwość społecznej na przełomie XIX i XX wieku (Z badań nad robotnikami Warszawy i innych ośrodków przemysłowych Królestwa Polskiego)’, *Z pola walki*, 1972, no. 1 (57), pp. 29–75.
- Żbikowski Andrzej, ‘Rozwój ideologii antysemitkiej w Galicji w II połowie XIX wieku. Teofila Merunowicza atak na żydowskie kahały. Przegląd piśmiennictwa’, part 1, *Biuletyn ŻIH*, July–December 1993, nos. 3–4 (167–168), pp. 53–62; part 2, January–September 1994, nos. 1–3 (169–171), pp. 21–39.
- Żeromski. *Z dziejów recepcji twórczości, 1895–1964*, selected and introduced by Zdzisław Jerzy Adamczyk, Warsaw 1975.
- Żmudzki Jacek, ‘Powstanie i działalność Towarzystwa Gimnastycznego „Sokół” w Łańcucie (1890–1939)’, *Rocznik Historyczno-Archiwalny*, 16, Przemysł 2002, pp. 23–43.

- Żukowski Tomasz, 'Antysemityzm jako modyfikator znaczeń', *Teksty drugie*, 2002, nos. 1–2, pp. 254–258.
- Żurawicka Janina, 'Czy Żeromski był „Głosowiczem”', *Przegląd Literacki*, 1965, no. 1, pp. 68–71. Żurawicka Janina, *Inteligencja warszawska w końcu XIX wieku*, Warsaw 1978.
- Żurawicka Janina, 'Józef Karol Potocki – redaktor „Głosu”', *Kronika*, 10, 1966, nos. 42–43, p. 9.
- Żurawicka Janina, 'Lud w ideologii „Głosu”, 1886–1894', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 63, 1956, nos. 4–5, pp. 316–340.
- Żurawicka Janina, 'Związki publicystyki polskiej z myślą narodniacką XIX wieku', *Z polskich studiów slawistycznych*, seria 3 [series 3], *Historia*, Warsaw 1968, pp. 179–197.
- Żychowski Marian, *Bolesław Limanowski 1835–1935*, Warsaw 1971.
- Żydzi bojownicy o niepodległość Polski. *Ilustrowana monografia w opracowaniu zbiorowym*, Norbert Gelller (ed.) [et al.], Lwów 1939.
- Żydzi i judaizm we współczesnych badaniach polskich, vol. 3, Krzysztof Pilarczyk (ed.), Kraków 2003.
- Żydzi w Polsce. *Dzieje i kultura. Leksykon*, Jerzy Tomaszewski and Andrzej Żbikowski (eds.), Warsaw 2001.
- Żyndul Jolanta, *Państwo w państwie? Anatomia narodowo-kulturalna w Europie Środkowowschodniej*, Warsaw 2000.



# Index

## A

Abramowicz Marian 197, 284, 398, 497, 501  
Abramowski Edward 15, 16, 26, 56, 57, 109, 169, 190, 192, 241, 373, 477, 488, 514, 530, 534, 545  
*Adamczyk Zdzisław Jerzy* 56, 68, 78, 143, 284, 377, 497, 510, 568  
*Adamson Walter L.* 21, 513  
*Ajnenkiel Andrzej* 334  
Alexander III Russian Tsar 57, 158, 212, 217, 253  
Alexander the Great 159  
*Altenberg Herman* 43, 492  
*Amsterdamski Stefan* 27, 528  
*Anderson Benedict* 94, 513  
Apollinaire Guillaume 239  
Apuchtin Aleksander Lwowicz 496, 558  
*Arendt Hannah* 94, 514  
*Arni Caroline* 241  
*Aschheim Steven E.* 167, 273, 514  
*Asheri Maia* 109, 110, 324, 454, 554  
Askenazy Szymon 103, 166, 335, 367–371, 380, 463, 465, 469, 488, 494, 499, 502, 520  
*Aubery Pierre* 239, 514  
Auer Ignaz 444  
*Augustyniak Małgorzata* 241, 514

## B

*Baczko Bronisław* 210, 514  
Balickis family 226, 233  
Balicki Tadeusz 197  
Balicki Zygmunt 26, 30, 162, 174, 175, 185–187, 198, 232, 274, 299, 314, 316, 322, 323, 324, 378, 382, 383, 388, 392–395, 406, 412,

425–427, 453, 457–459, 462–465, 488, 502, 504, 519, 525  
Balzer Oswald 380  
Bałucki Michał 218, 512  
*Barany George* 135, 514  
Barański Stanisław 162  
Barrès Maurice 117, 239, 324, 411, 412, 453, 454, 553, 554  
*Bartal Israel* 336, 400, 522  
Bartoszewicz Joachim 179  
Bartoszewicz Włodzimierz 179, 446, 488  
*Barycz Henryk* 347, 497, 555  
*Baszkiewicz Jan* 438  
Bator Bolesław 432, 465–469  
Battaglia Roger 417  
*Bayertz Kurt* 95, 549  
Bebel August 301  
Bein Leon 200  
Bellamy Edward 50, 511  
Bellangé Charles 122  
*Beller Steven* 94, 514, 550  
Belmont Leo see Blumenthal Leopold  
Benni Karol 196, 223  
Berent Waclaw 164, 488  
*Bergman Peter* 166  
*Bergmann Olaf* 24, 514  
*Bernacki Włodzimierz* 354, 415, 514  
Białobłocki Bronisław 45, 46, 488  
*Białota Marek* 54  
Biegeleisen Henryk 402  
*Bielecki Tadeusz* 207, 474, 488  
Biełanowski Paweł 196  
*Bieńkowski Wiesław* 131, 316, 323, 324, 494, 515  
*Bilewicz Michał* 131, 316, 323, 324, 494, 515

- Bilek Zofia* 14, 523  
*Bismarck Otto von* 20, 38, 244, 313, 423, 446, 459, 465, 501, 521  
*Bitter Egon* 19, 515  
*Blackbourn David* 413, 415, 515, 558  
*Blanke Richard* 391, 515  
*Blinkhorn Martin* 237, 515, 521  
*Blobaum Robert* 163, 294, 302, 424, 443, 446, 514, 515  
*Blumenthal Leopold*  
 (Leo Belmont) 78, 164, 190, 511  
*Błoch Bogusława* 126  
*Bobrowska Bronisława* 381, 485  
*Bobrzyński Michał* 249, 377, 403, 416, 419, 435, 473, 488, 491, 537  
*Bocșan Nicolae* 82  
*Bogacz Marian* 142, 196, 197, 205, 209, 516  
*Bohusz Marian* see *Potocki Józef Karol* 45, 50, 184, 185, 190, 273, 284, 408  
*Bojko Jakub* 12, 397, 420, 488, 531  
*Bona Queen* 215  
*Bonusiak Włodzimierz* 392, 522  
*Bończa-Tomaszewski Nikodem* 25, 27, 61, 66, 108, 201, 230, 439, 516  
*Borkowska Grażyna* 31, 45, 264, 289, 444, 516, 535, 548  
*Borkowski Andrzej* 24, 252, 516  
*Borzemski Wacław* 377, 489  
*Boufał Stanisław* 197  
*Boulanger Georges* 412  
*Boutry Philippe* 117  
*Boyer John W.* 18–20, 136, 413, 516  
*Braun Jerzy* 205, 206, 312, 516  
*Breiter Emil* 414, 458, 489  
*Bronsztajn* 402  
*Browiński Michał* 468  
*Bruno Giordano* 349, 486, 524  
*Brykalska Maria* 170, 506, 517  
*Brzeziński Mieczysław* 50, 59, 64, 65, 162, 517  
*Brzęk Gabriel* 99  
*Brzozowski Stanisław* 13, 15, 422, 435, 438, 463, 511, 530, 539, 556  
*Buckle Henry Thomas* 37, 116, 118, 524, 564  
*Bucur Maria* 140  
*Buczek Hanna* 172, 487  
*Budrewicz Tadeusz* 45  
*Bujak Franciszek* 381, 382, 488  
*Bujnicki Tadeusz* 144, 148, 511, 541, 549  
*Bukowiecki Stanisław* 39, 284, 298, 368, 486, 489  
*Bukowiński Władysław* 213  
*Bukowski Henryk* 314, 410, 448, 499, 510  
*Bullen Roger J.* 265, 528  
*Bülow Bernard* 390  
*Bulhak Władysław* 24, 27, 244, 248, 314, 517  
*Bunzl John* 136, 301, 517  
*Burdziej Bogdan* 79, 138  
*Burrow John W.* 21, 43, 109, 166, 167, 517  
*Buryła Sławomir* 332  
*Buszko Józef* 392, 517, 522  
*Buxhoeveden Rudolf Otto Wilhelm von* 214

## C

- Caban Wiesław* 214, 505, 567  
*Cała Alina* 20, 30, 100, 106–108, 121, 163, 294, 517  
*Caprivi Leo von* 390  
*Carlyle Tomasz* 166  
*Carroll David* 453, 517  
*Cat-Mackiewicz Stanisław* 476  
*Ceysinger Helena* 241, 507  
*Chałubiński Mirosław* 451, 528  
*Chamberlain Houston Stewart* 95, 259–262, 489, 522

Chamberlain Joseph 247–250, 530, 539  
Charles the Bewitched, Spanish monarch 133  
Chełchowski Kazimierz 65  
Chełchowski Stanisław 59, 65, 495, 556  
Chełmiński Zygmunt 449  
*Chickering Roger* 18, 19, 413, 517  
Chlebowski Bronisław 50  
*Chmielewski Krzysztof* see *Micewski Andrzej*  
Chmielowski Piotr 99, 170, 518  
Chodecki Władysław 44  
Chrzanowski Bernard 391, 404  
Chrzanowski Ignacy 35, 53, 104, 171, 198, 489, 532, 548  
*Chwedoruk Rafał* 27  
Ciąglińska Aniela 211  
*Ciesielski Stanisław* 313, 336, 459, 494  
*Cistelean Alexandru* 343, 518  
*Coetzee Marvin S.* 413, 518  
*Coffin Jean-Christophe* 113, 518  
Conan Doyle Arthur 460  
Corradini Enrico 453, 454, 455, 538  
*Corrsin Stephen D.* 302, 518  
*Crick Bernard* 95, 526  
Cygar Maurycy 132, 133, 136, 137  
*Cywiński Bohdan* 17, 18, 31, 209, 212, 218, 219, 230, 344, 518, 519  
Czapliński Waclaw 212  
*Czapska Maria* 284, 519  
Czarnocki Napoleon 60  
Czekanowski Stanisław 31, 34–36, 99, 149, 485, 516, 519, 534  
Czepiel A. see Brzozowski Stanisław  
*Czepulis-Rastenis Ryszarda* 154, 224, 519, 528, 540  
*Czubaj Mariusz* 16, 519

**D**  
*D'Agostino Peter* 96, 243  
Dajczak Wawrzyniec 468  
Daniłowski Gustaw 37  
Darwin Charles 37, 48, 89, 90, 93, 95, 162, 171, 242, 532, 550  
*Daszyk Krzysztof Karol* 166  
Daszyńska-Golińska Zofia 26, 55, 168, 169, 210, 211, 241, 507, 520  
Daszyński Feliks 168, 210, 459, 506  
Daszyński Ignacy 146, 147, 300, 321, 414, 489  
*Datner-Śpiewak Helena* 121  
David 123  
Dawid Jan Władysław 15, 55, 397  
*Dawidowicz Aneta* 323, 427, 519  
Dąbrowski Ignacy 164  
Dąbrowski Józef 312, 213, 492, 495  
Dąbrowski Jarosław 12  
Dąbrowski Stefan 466, 502  
*Detka Janusz* 289, 519  
Dębicki Zdzisław 207, 209, 217, 231, 232, 246, 249, 351, 365, 379, 388, 489  
Dębiński Bolesław (Dembiński) 188, 200  
Dilthey Wilhelm 18  
*Długokęcka T.* 98, 549  
Dłuski Kazimierz 316, 371, 490, 491  
Dmowska Józefa née Lenarska 33, 104  
Dmowski Roman passim  
Dmowski Walenty 33, 489  
*Dobrowolski Henryk* 381, 382, 520  
*Dobrowolski Stanisław* 312, 415  
Doncow Dmytr 30, 430  
Doński S. see Stroński Stanisław  
Draper John W. 37, 119, 120, 491  
Dreyfus Alfred 11, 239  
Drobnik Jerzy 180, 253, 486  
*Drozdowska Beata* 214, 505  
Drumont Edouard 66, 114, 136, 453

Drut Jan see Dębiński Bolesław  
Drzewiecki Józef 271, 507  
Dubanowicz Edward 367, 384, 467,  
509, 521, 563  
*Dunin-Wąsowicz Krzysztof* 12, 520,  
549  
*Dunn Susan* 453, 520  
*Durko Janusz* 398, 408, 497, 507  
*Dutkiewicz Józef* 166, 520  
*Duzinkiewicz Janusz* 436, 554  
Dwernicki Tadeusz 418  
*Dyduch Jan* 327, 520  
Dygański Adolf 448, 449  
Dzierżyński Feliks 33, 373, 491, 507,  
515  
*Dzikowska Elżbieta K.* 150, 568

## E

Edward IV the King of England 309  
Ehrenberg Kazimierz 275  
*Eley Geoff* 20, 21, 237, 414, 515, 521,  
558  
Elski J. see Warski-Warszawski Adolf  
Engels Fryderyk 236, 319, 444, 498,  
551

## F

*Faryś Janusz* 384, 466, 521  
Feldman Wilhelm 43, 146, 147, 188,  
229, 230, 405, 418, 421, 422, 458,  
460, 491, 492, 497, 511, 545, 555  
*Field Geoffrey G.* 260, 469, 522  
*Fijałek Jan* 60, 149, 493  
*Filar Danuta* 217, 522  
Filipowicz Tytus 341, 492, 522  
*Fita Stanisław* 121, 516, 522, 566  
Fouillée Alfred 170, 171  
*Fountain Alvin M.* 24, 245, 281, 286,  
522  
*Francić Mirosław* 381, 382, 520  
*Freifeld Alice* 166, 521, 522  
*Frenkel Jonathan* 102, 522

*Friedrich Agnieszka* 62, 121, 275,  
289, 294, 522

## G

Gadomski Jan 458  
*Galos Adam* 391, 488  
Galton Francis 97, 523  
*Gałecki Łukasz* 453, 554  
Gałęzowski Józef 314  
*Garlicki Andrzej* 68, 179, 216, 221,  
230, 307, 319, 320, 457, 499, 502,  
504, 510, 523  
*Gawin Magdalena* 95, 97, 99, 140,  
170, 523  
*Gellner Ernest* 24, 451, 523  
*Gentile Emilio* 21, 22, 523  
*Gibson Mary* 69, 523  
Gierszyński Henryk 314, 492, 557  
Giertych Jędrzej 104, 105, 308, 441,  
473, 492  
*Gillhan Nicolas W.* 97, 523  
*Gilman Sander L.* 96, 523  
*Glatzer Rosenthal Bernice* 166, 523  
Gliszczyński Adolf 73, 511  
*Gloger Maciej* 170  
Głąbiński Stanisław 357, 400, 401,  
418, 492, 499  
Gmachowski Antoni 180  
*Gniazdowski Andrzej* 115  
Gobineau Artur de 115, 260, 475, 500  
*Goćkowski Janusz* 231, 427, 524, 528  
Golberg Mieczysław see Goldberg  
Mieczysław  
Golberg Maurycy 26  
*Golczewski Frank* 20, 524  
Goldberg (Golberg)  
Mieczysław 239, 240  
Goldsteyn Maria 72, 99, 147, 153,  
241, 242  
*Goliński Zbigniew* 68, 510  
Goździkowski Władysław 72, 323,  
449



- Grabiec J. see Dąbrowski Józef  
 Grabowski Julian 210, 318, 400  
 Grabowski Sabine 524  
 Grabski Andrzej Feliks 23, 524  
 Grabski Stanisław 33, 37, 72, 77, 171,  
 184, 224, 230, 238, 239, 268, 310,  
 331, 408, 486, 492, 503, 510, 565  
 Grabski Władysław 33, 37, 155, 179,  
 224, 490, 520, 535  
 Gregory VII Pope 241  
 Grek Michał 418  
 Griffin Roger 21, 315, 454, 524, 558  
 Grochowski Wojciech see Dmowski  
 Roman  
 Groniowski Krzysztof 448, 524  
 Grosman 402  
 Grott Bogumił 24, 120, 323, 476,  
 524, 525  
 Gruchała Janusz 392, 525  
 Gruszecki Artur 449, 511  
 Gruzewski Tadeusz 30, 357,  
 380–382, 426, 492  
 Gryf W. see Jabłonowski  
 Władysław  
 Grzelak Agnieszka 190  
 Grzeniewski Ludwik B. 208, 493  
 Grześkowiak-Luczak Ewa 269, 547  
 Guesnet François 273, 302, 525  
 Gui Liana 82  
 Guiral Pierre 113, 535  
 Gumpłowicz Ludwik 346, 347, 429,  
 497, 557  
 Gumpłowicz Władysław 242, 493  
 Günther Hans F. 431  
 Guyau Jean-Marie 88, 120, 170, 171,  
 173–178, 183, 189, 226, 239, 456,  
 493, 525, 528  
 Gzella Jacek 202, 506
- H**  
 Habitzel Johann Herman 171, 525  
 Haeckel Ernest 37  
 Haecker Emil 397, 401, 418, 421  
 Hagen William W. 391, 443, 525  
 Halczak Bohdan 391, 525  
 Hall Aleksander 473, 525  
 Hanák Péter 135, 416, 525, 558  
 Handler Andrew 135, 526  
 Hannaford Ivan 95, 113, 526  
 Hartman Edward 446  
 Harusewicz Jan 307, 310, 493  
 Hass Ludwik 18, 526  
 Hauke-Bossak Józef 12  
 Havet Eugène Auguste Ernest 122  
 Hawkins Mike 95, 163, 526  
 Hecht Jennifer 95, 526  
 Heflich Aleksander 344  
 Hempel Antoni 447  
 Hendzel Władysław 54, 138, 143,  
 152, 154, 156, 526, 561  
 Hertz Benedykt 208, 210, 217, 493,  
 526  
 Heryng Zygmunt 60, 503  
 Herzl Teodor 300, 301  
 Heydel Adam 367, 493  
 Himka John Paul 400, 444, 526,  
 551  
 Hirsch Maurice de 121  
 Hirsband Napoleon see Jellenta  
 Cezary  
 Hirszfeld Bolesław 196, 223,  
 283–285, 297–299  
 Hitchins Keith 82  
 Hitler Adolf 180, 525  
 Hłasko Józef 60, 63–66, 71, 114,  
 228, 284, 493, 508  
 Hochfeldowa Anna 148, 567  
 Holland Henryk 68, 110, 496, 527  
 Holmgren Beth 152, 527  
 Holz Klaus 275  
 Horwitz Maksymilian 172  
 Hrycak Jarosław 400  
 Hryniuk Stella 418, 527  
 Hughes Hugh Stewart 50, 109, 527

Hurko (Gurko) Józef 164, 217  
*Hutnikiewicz Artur* 79, 80, 156, 512,  
527

## I

Idzikowski Józef 205, 210  
Iguenaz Diego see Dmowski Roman  
*Ihnatowicz Ewa* 45, 170, 191, 521  
*Ilski Zdzisław* 397, 528  
Imeretyński Aleksander 390, 487  
Istoczy Gyözo 135, 526

## J

Jabłonowski Władysław 26, 57, 60,  
65, 67, 87, 88, 119, 149, 157, 162,  
171, 181, 196, 198, 223, 280, 285,  
299, 316, 317, 398, 399, 477, 485,  
493  
*Jabłoński Henryk* 14, 38, 391, 497,  
508, 528, 543  
Jagodziński Teofil 77  
*Jakubowska Urszula* 24, 308, 335,  
385, 387, 392, 396, 397, 399, 404,  
528, 529  
*Jakubowski Jan Zygmunt* 193, 529  
*Janaszek-Ivaničkova Halina* 154, 529  
*Jankowski Edmund* 458, 500  
*Janos Andrew C.* 135, 529, 550  
*Janowski Maciej* 20, 27, 94, 235, 289,  
354, 413, 415, 430, 435, 529  
Jarecki Kazimierz 367, 464, 467–469  
Jarry Alfred 239  
*Jaskólski Michał* 24, 258, 529  
*Jaskułowski Krzysztof* 150, 529  
Jastrzębiec J.P. see Popławski Jan  
Ludwik  
*Jaszczuk Andrzej* 19, 20, 152, 163,  
529, 530  
Jászi Oszkar 135  
*Jaśkiewicz Leszek* 390, 487, 529  
Jaworski Władysław L. 258, 419,  
493, 530

*Jedlicki Jerzy* 20, 27, 63, 96, 97, 114,  
154, 161, 163, 343, 520, 530  
Jeleński Jan 11, 20, 77, 78, 81, 101,  
125, 136, 139, 163, 271, 272, 275,  
290, 344, 494  
Jellenta Cezary (Napoleon  
Hirszband) 44, 55, 146, 152, 190,  
193, 239, 435, 494, 499, 511, 536  
Jeske-Choiński Teodor 47, 81, 136,  
165, 188, 275, 276, 494, 563  
Jeż Teodor Tomasz see Miłkowski  
Zygmunt  
*Jędrzejewicz Waclaw* 331, 336, 341,  
494, 530  
Jodko-Narkiewicz Witold 410  
*Jones Larry Eugen* 21, 515  
Józefowicz family 78  
*Judd Denis* 247, 530  
*Judycka Agata* 313  
*Juryńska Julia* see *Toruńczyk*  
Barbara

## K

*Kalabiński Stanisław* 24, 317, 562  
*Kalista Zdeněk* 430, 530  
*Kallis Aristotle A.* 455, 530  
*Kamiński Aleksander* 32, 35, 86,  
530  
*Kamiński Antoni A.* 243, 531  
*Kancewicz Jan* 147, 201, 213, 317,  
318, 323, 334, 496, 509, 531  
*Kania Marta* 448, 531  
Kant Immanuel 260  
*Kappeler Andreas* 400, 531  
*Kapralski Sławomir* 20, 558  
*Karpiński Wojciech* 238, 568  
Karwasiński Walery 156  
Kasprowicz Jan 60, 369, 508  
Kasprzak Marcin 172  
Kasznica Stanisław 367, 494  
*Katz Jacob* 135, 532  
*Kauffmann Grégoire* 66

- Kawalec Krzysztof* 28, 24, 104, 120, 180, 253, 258, 269, 334, 364, 445, 450, 532, 551
- Kawyn Stefan 192
- Kądziała Jerzy* 138, 510, 530, 535
- Kedward Rod H.* 265
- Kelles-Krauz Kazimierz 15, 26, 33, 72, 99, 147, 152, 153, 156, 184, 213, 241, 245, 312, 313, 316, 317, 322–324, 336, 337, 458, 459, 494, 515, 532, 553, 554, 566
- Kendziorek Piotr* 27, 106, 532
- Kennedy Paul A.* 247, 413, 543
- Key Ellen 146, 241
- Khmelnitsky Bohdan 432
- Kidd Colin* 94, 532
- Kiedrzyński Władysław 388
- Kierst Władysław 197
- Kiliński Jan 53, 168, 169, 180, 181, 189, 192, 195, 198, 200, 203, 207–212, 215–220, 231, 237, 239, 240, 243, 313, 318, 375, 380, 381, 407, 449, 481, 512
- Kiniorski Marian 247, 252, 281, 398, 494
- Kirkor Cecylia 210
- Kirkor Dymitr 210
- Kirkor Michał 210
- Kirkor-Kiedroniowa Zofia 224, 225, 381, 494
- Kizwalter Tomasz* 24, 25, 27, 48, 95, 99, 100, 163, 174, 175, 302, 303, 343, 439, 451, 475, 532
- Klaczko Julian 231, 416, 422
- Klejgels Mikołaj 327
- Klemesiewicz Jadwiga* 381, 494
- Klimaszewski Bolesław* 313
- Kłobukowski Stanisław 448
- Kłoczowski Jerzy* 411, 560
- Kłosińska Krystyna* 148, 165, 533
- Kmiećnik Zenon* 152, 497, 533
- Koc Barbara* 398, 499, 504, 533, 550
- Kochański Aleksander* 213, 533
- Kociuba Maciej* 172
- Kofta Mirosław* 126, 542
- Kolasiński Michał 121, 489
- Kołaczkowski Stefan* 53
- Kołakowski Leszek* 110, 533
- Kołodziejczyk Ryszard* 317, 509, 562
- Komornicka Maria 44, 499
- Konarski Stanisław* 381, 382, 505, 520
- Konopczyński Władysław 173, 495, 515
- Konopnicka Maria 449
- Kopczyński Michał* 269
- Kopij Marta* 166, 533
- Koreywo-Rybczyńska Maria* 450, 533
- Korfanty Wojciech 404, 405, 455
- Kormos Charles* 135, 560
- Kornecki Jan 468
- Korotyński Wincenty 32, 486
- Korotyński Władysław 32, 34, 35, 506
- Korwin-Milewski Hipolit 440, 495
- Korzon Tadeusz 120, 491
- Koskowski Bolesław 65, 280, 321, 450, 488, 495, 508
- Kossobudzki Szymon 215
- Kossowski Zbigniew* 125
- Koszutski Stanisław 55, 203, 205–207, 209, 211, 212, 313, 495
- Koszycka Maria* 273
- Kościuszek Tadeusz 195, 218, 244, 379
- Kotyńska Katarzyna* 400
- Kovács Mária* 140, 533
- Kowal Grzegorz* 166
- Kozicki Stanisław 141, 180, 233, 234, 258, 266, 278, 284, 298, 307, 308, 310, 312, 325, 368, 284, 289, 406, 485, 486, 495
- Kozik Małgorzata* 258, 534

- Kożuchowski Adam* 27  
*Krakowiak Józef L.* 174  
*Kraushar Aleksander* 294  
*Krauz Kazimierz* see *Kelles-Krauz Kazimierz*  
*Krauze Leonard* 142, 496  
*Krejtz Izabela* 126  
*Krejtz Krzysztof* 126  
*Kroll Jürgen* 95, 549  
*Król Marcin* 238, 360, 411, 435, 439, 472  
*Krusiński Stanisław* 46, 47, 63, 492, 496  
*Kruszewska Zofia* 326, 327, 496  
*Krypski Wiktor* 313  
*Krzeczkowski Konstanty* 192, 488, 496  
*Krzemiński Stanisław* 30, 248, 499  
*Krzywicki Ludwik* 15, 17, 26, 47, 50, 60, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 98, 100, 109, 110, 114, 120, 121, 131, 137, 152, 166–168, 175, 176, 192, 193, 272, 277, 284, 314, 315, 337, 496, 527, 529, 530, 533, 534, 537  
*Krzywiec Grzegorz* 9, 534  
*Krzywobłocka Bożena* 14, 534  
*Kucharski Jan* 156, 534  
*Kuczyńska Alicja* 150, 568  
*Kukiel Marian* 463, 496  
*Kukulska Maria* 14  
*Kulak Teresa* 24, 174, 269, 303, 313, 327, 329, 392, 396, 421, 439, 455, 468, 502, 535, 545  
*Kulczycka-Saloni Janina* 174, 535  
*Kulczycki Ludwik* 120, 137, 201, 268, 421, 458, 466, 496–498, 510, 535, 564  
*Kulinowska Karolina* 215  
*Kułakowski Mariusz (Józef Zieliński)* 33, 35, 40, 88, 104, 119, 141, 157, 196, 198, 221, 223, 232, 258, 266, 310, 321, 340, 346, 349, 366, 368, 386, 387, 402, 410, 449, 467, 477, 497  
*Kunicki Wojciech* 166, 522  
*Kurcysz Aleksy* 449  
*Kurczewska Joanna* 30, 150, 151, 426, 452, 535, 559  
*Kwiatek Józef* 458, 534, 546
- L**  
*Laqueur Walter* 21, 237, 521, 558  
*Landau-Czajka Anna* 371, 535  
*Langbehn Julius* 453  
*Lange Antoni* 55, 239, 289–294, 458, 462, 463, 497, 536, 556  
*Laskownicki Kazimierz* 399  
*Lasota S.* see *Balicki Zygmunt*  
*Lassalle Ferdinand* 146, 332  
*Le Bon Gustaw* 66, 113–120, 122, 243, 536, 544  
*Le Rider Jacques* 167  
*Lecky William* 116, 497, 537  
*Lesisz Ewelina* 45  
*Leszczyński Jan* 380  
*Leśniewski Michał* 248, 353, 536  
*Leśnodorski Bogusław* 12, 23, 536  
*Levinger Mark* 428, 536  
*Lewakowski Karol* 248, 410, 420, 545  
*Lewalski Krzysztof* 332, 536  
*Lewes Henry* 186  
*Libicki Stanisław* 38  
*Libionka Dariusz* 430, 514  
*Lilienstern Beniamin* 78  
*Limanowski Bolesław* 316, 317, 321, 322, 426, 427, 497, 569  
*Lindemann Albert S.* 273, 276, 537  
*Lipiński Wacław (Lypynsky Vyacheslav)* 429–431  
*Lipski Jan Józef* 24, 162  
*Lipski W.* see *Jabłonowski Władysław*

*Lisiak Henryk* 391  
*Lisowski Zbigniew* 156, 537  
*Lombroso Cesare* 74, 77, 96, 98,  
100, 338, 523  
*Lorenc Włodzimierz* 174  
*Lorentowicz Jan* 49, 316, 497  
*Loth Roman* 14, 544  
*Loughlin Michael B.* 324, 537  
*Löwe Heinz-Dietrich* 102, 537  
*Lubbock John* 118, 171  
*Lubomirski Prince* 418  
*Lueger Karl* 11, 18, 21, 136, 301,  
413, 414, 516  
*Luksemburg Róża* 498, 518, 533,  
534  
*Luśnia M.* see *Kelles-Krauz*  
*Kazimierz*  
*Lutomski Bolesław* 229, 357, 390,  
507  
*Lutosławska Izabela* see *Wolikowska*  
*Izabela*  
*Lutosławska Maria* see  
*Niklewiczowa Maria*  
*Lutosławski Wincenty* 193,  
226–228, 231, 232, 240, 394,  
491, 495, 498, 509, 530, 543  
*Lytle Paula F.* 428, 536  
*Łapicki Julian* 81  
*Łazuga Waldemar* 419, 473, 537  
*Łązniewski Kazimierz* 447  
*Łucyk Szymon* 152

## **M**

*Machajski Jan Waław* 12, 15, 179,  
200, 242, 243, 373, 531  
*Machiavelli Niccolo* 289, 411  
*Maciejewski Janusz* 45, 148, 548,  
549, 567  
*Maciesza Aleksander* 278  
*Maisel David* 21, 109, 324, 454, 554  
*Maj Ewa* 14, 24, 174, 439, 538  
*Majchrowski Jacek M.* 24, 106, 538

*Maccabeus Judas* 123  
*Makuszyński Kornel* 399  
*Malinowski Feliks* 205  
*Malthus Thomas* 97  
*Małkiewicz Andrzej* 39, 538  
*Mannheim Karl* 86, 538  
*Mańkowski Aleksander* 164, 511  
*Marchlewski Julian* 55, 172, 529  
*Marczewski Jerzy* 24, 391, 538  
*Markiewicz Henryk* 148, 174, 538  
*Markovits Andrei S.* 392, 543  
*Marsh Peter T.* 247, 528, 539  
*Marx Karl* 10, 12, 63, 69, 107, 177,  
185, 236, 315, 318, 320, 332, 444,  
522, 532, 552, 567  
*Masłowski Ludwik* 342  
*Matyja Rafał* 237, 258, 439  
*Maurras Charles* 265, 453, 477, 495,  
498, 556  
*Mączak Antoni* 269  
*Mc Reynolds Louise* 52, 539  
*Meducka Marta* 65, 532  
*Mencwel Andrzej* 15, 16, 273, 527,  
539  
*Mendelsohn Ezra* 107, 135, 528, 539,  
552, 559  
*Mendelson Stanisław* 74, 317, 498  
*Merunowicz Teofil* 275, 276, 568  
*Męczkowski Waław* 299  
*Micewski Andrzej* 23, 35, 104, 155,  
253, 334, 360, 473, 489, 539  
*Michel Alain-René* 117  
*Michnik Adam* 24, 88, 198, 371, 477,  
498  
*Micińska Magdalena* 166, 167, 209,  
218, 540  
*Miciński Tadeusz* 37  
*Mickiewicz Adam* 103, 211, 321,  
325, 326, 379, 390, 487, 526  
*Nicholas II Tsar* 224, 390  
*Milkowski Zygmunt* (alias *Teodor*  
*Tomasz Jeż*) 38, 39, 58, 86, 199,

- 232, 285, 334, 340, 346, 348,  
349, 368, 369, 386, 387, 410,  
420, 449, 450, 467, 494, 499,  
502, 509, 510
- Mistewicz Teodor* 24, 67, 262, 316,  
334, 360, 455, 477, 540, 541
- Miszewski Jan* 206, 207
- Miś Andrzej* 174
- Mizińska Jadwiga* 172
- Młynarski Feliks* 383, 499
- Mocarska-Tycowa Zofia* 165, 541
- Mochnacki Maurycy* 411
- Mock William* 247
- Mocyk Agnieszka* 448, 541
- Mokrzycki Edmund* 452
- Molenda Jan* 24, 541
- Molska Alina* 12, 487
- Morawski Kajetan* 335, 371, 499
- Morgan Lewis Henry* 171
- Morgan John Pierpont* 462
- Mortkowicz-Olczakowa Hanna* 103,  
499
- Mosca Gaetano* 429, 430
- Mosse George L.* 109, 115, 151, 260,  
261, 266, 310, 389, 423, 454, 541,  
542, 564
- Mostowicz Arnold* 371
- Moszczeńska Izabella* 241, 499
- Motyka Grzegorz* 430, 514
- Motyl Aleksander J.* 400, 542
- Motz Bolesław* 312, 313, 316, 317,  
488, 545
- Mrawinczyc* 417
- Mroczo Marian* 396, 547
- Mysłiński Jerzy* 24, 267, 316, 353,  
377, 378, 381, 383, 387, 388, 394,  
395, 419, 422, 508, 510, 542
- N**
- Naake-Nakęski Waclaw* 141, 142,  
308–310, 486, 499
- Najdowski Zygmunt* 13, 543
- Nałkowski Waclaw* 15, 26, 44, 60,  
190, 191, 193, 435, 499, 543, 561
- Narkiewicz Olga* 301
- Narutowicz Gabriel* 273, 307
- Natanson Bronisław* 298, 299
- Natanson Stefan* 298, 299, 425
- Nathans Benjamin* 102, 543
- Nawroczyński Bogdan* 312, 500,  
530
- Nestorowicz Stefan* 449, 500
- Neumann Victor* 82, 94, 409, 543
- Nicholls Anthony* 247, 413, 543
- Nieborski J.* see *Popławski Jan*  
*Ludwik*
- Niedziałkowski Mieczysław* 366,  
476, 500
- Niemojewski Andrzej* 84, 314, 341,  
344, 346, 347, 349, 398, 422, 459,  
460, 461, 497, 500, 514
- Nietzsche Friedrich* 99, 120, 163,  
164, 166–171, 173, 176–179, 181,  
183, 186, 189, 192, 211, 219, 239,  
240, 468, 480, 497, 506, 519–523,  
532, 533, 535, 538, 545, 546, 555,  
564, 565, 567
- Niewiadomski Eligiusz* 180, 273,  
274, 500
- Niklewicz Maria* 226–228, 500
- Nolte Ernst* 103
- Nossig Alfred* 301, 539
- Nowacki Tadeusz W.* 40, 216, 407,  
567
- Nowaczyński Adolf* 462, 500, 520
- Nowak Andrzej* 475
- Nowak Joanna* 193, 543
- Nowak Zofia* 395, 544
- Nowicka Ewa* 81, 451, 521, 528
- Nowicka-Włodarczyk Ewa* 81, 521
- Nowicki Franciszek* 84, 85
- Nowiński Jan* 78
- Nusbaum Henryk* 62, 294, 500
- Nye Robert A.* 113, 115, 544

**O**

*O'Boyle Lenore* 155, 544  
*Oberlander Ludwik* 137, 544  
*Ochorowicz Julian* 114, 160  
*Offenberg Jan* 41, 500  
*Okoński* see *Świętochowski Aleksander*  
*Okrzeja Stefan* 172  
*Oksza-Grabowski Ignacy* 139  
*Olczak-Ronikier Joanna* 272, 544  
*Olechnicki Krzysztof* 130  
*Olszewska Małgorzata J.* 81, 519  
*Orzechowski Marian* 24, 391, 405, 538, 544  
*Orzeszkowa Eliza* 148, 164, 184, 289, 292, 294, 458, 500, 546  
*Ossowska Danuta* 410, 499  
*Ostoja B.* see *Balicki Zygmunt*

**P**

*Paczoska Ewa* 549  
*Paderewski Ignacy* 366  
*Pajewski Janusz* 334, 545  
*Paradowski Ryszard* 241, 545  
*Pareto Vilfredo* 429  
*Parus-Jaskułowska Magdalena* 150  
*Pastuszka Stefan Józef* 420, 545  
*Paszek Jerzy* 148, 555  
*Paszkowski Edward* 100, 154, 318, 511  
*Pawelski Jan* 456, 458, 501  
*Paxton Robert O.* 315, 476, 545  
*Payne Stanley G.* 22, 237, 523, 545, 546, 564  
*Payot Julian* 172, 173  
*Pąkciński Marek* 47, 81, 152, 165, 264, 443, 545  
*Pekař Josef* 430, 530  
*Pels Dick* 324, 546  
*Perl Feliks* 33, 58, 72–74, 146, 272, 316, 373, 374, 504, 546, 557  
*Phillips Ursula* 289, 546

*Piekosiński Franciszek* 380  
*Pietkiewicz Kazimierz* 318, 320, 408, 497, 501  
*Pietkiewicz Zygmunt* 131, 501  
*Pilarczyk Krzysztof* 275, 569  
*Piltz Erazm* 11, 198, 231, 338, 358, 385, 416, 501  
*Piłsudski Józef* 33, 78, 172, 241, 272, 273, 284, 307, 318–320, 326, 327, 331, 334–335, 338, 339, 341, 373, 374, 376, 377, 407, 458, 477, 488, 489, 492, 494, 501, 502, 507, 523, 530, 534, 547, 568  
*Piniński Leon* 419  
*Plato* 193  
*Plutyński Antoni* 226, 247, 314, 334, 335, 342, 367, 369, 370, 371, 380, 382, 384, 397, 406, 417, 464–469, 485, 502, 506  
*Plygawko Danuta* 466, 502  
*Pobóg-Malinowski Władysław* 24, 198, 268, 273, 315, 326, 377, 385, 401, 405, 547  
*Pogge von Strandmann Hartmut* 265  
*Polechoński Krzysztof* 522  
*Poliakov Leon* 260, 547  
*Polonsky Anthony B.* 265, 336, 400, 522  
*Pomian Krzysztof* 13, 548  
*Pompeyo Gener* 132  
*Popiel Paweł* 257, 502  
*Popiel Wincenty* 212  
*Popławski Jan Ludwik* 14, 16, 26, 30, 47–54, 60–67, 70, 71, 82, 100, 101, 106, 108, 114, 121, 134, 171, 174, 175, 179, 190, 197, 216, 235, 236, 238, 244, 246, 267, 274, 275, 293, 302, 303, 304, 307, 314, 316, 321, 325, 327–330, 333, 334, 344, 369, 375, 382, 384, 387, 388, 392, 396, 397, 402, 406, 412, 420–422, 425, 426, 436, 439, 440, 448, 450–455,

- 460, 468, 469, 490, 493, 502, 508, 535, 538
- Popovici C. Aurel 82, 94, 409, 543, 559
- Porter Brian A. 25, 29, 86, 107, 110, 151, 161, 163, 177, 238, 243, 252, 269, 277, 306, 332, 358, 455, 548
- Posner Stanisław 15, 43, 46, 191, 192, 502, 503
- Potkański Waldemar 29, 39, 383, 392, 393, 407, 409, 468, 548
- Potocki Antoni 54, 147, 155, 164, 498, 511, 546, 548
- Potocki August „Gucio” 87
- Potocki Józef Karol 15, 26, 45, 50, 55, 60, 61, 63, 65, 67, 68, 71, 106, 107, 108, 171, 172, 175, 176, 184–186, 190, 193, 210, 216, 229, 273, 278, 284, 291, 325, 387, 408, 434, 452, 493, 569
- Poznańska Zofia see Daszyńska-Golińska Zofia
- Poznański Zygmunt 114
- Prokop-Janiec Eugenia 280, 549
- Proudhon Pierre Joseph 372
- Próchnicki Zdzisław 367, 384,
- Próchnik Adam 39, 216, 407, 503, 548, 549
- Prószyński Konrad 38, 497
- Prus Bolesław (Aleksander Głowacki)
- Pruszyński Mieczysław 237, 471, 498, 503
- Przeworski brothers 417
- Przewóski Edward 48
- Przybyszewski Stanisław 170, 503, 547
- Pulzer Peter G.J. 19, 94, 300, 549
- R**
- Rabski Władysław 154, 398, 507, 511
- Raczkowski Karol 139, 406
- Radlak Bronisław 458, 487, 549
- Rawita-Gawroński Franciszek 232
- Reclus Elisée 242
- Reiff Adolf 103
- Reinschmitt-Kuczalska Paulina 211
- Renan Joseph-Ernest 122, 347, 497
- Retallack James 21, 515
- Reurose Jan 455, 550
- Reymont Władysław 60, 179, 221, 281–283, 398, 399, 495, 504, 528, 533, 550
- Ribot Theodor 172
- Robaczewski Arkadiusz 468
- Rodkiewicz Oktawia 78, 143, 377, 379, 447, 448
- Rogalla von Bieberstein Johannes 103, 550
- Rogger Hans 102, 551, 558
- Romaniukowa Felicja 12, 487
- Romanowicz Tadeusz 354, 357, 393, 396, 415, 416
- Rosdolsky Roman 444, 551
- Roszkowski Jerzy M. 394, 395, 552, 553
- Roterski 212
- Rozenzweig Józef 165, 504
- Ruchniewicz Krzysztof 313
- Rudkowska Magdalena 264, 444, 535
- Rudnicki Szymon 24, 269, 551
- Ruśkiewicz Tomasz 169, 223, 284, 504
- Rutkowski Leon 277, 278, 502
- Rutowski Tadeusz 396
- Ryszka Franciszek 551
- Rzewuski Henryk 77
- S**
- Sadowski Lesław 302, 551
- Sadzewicz Antoni 179, 404
- Salwiński Jacek 240, 551



- Sandler Samuel* 46, 170, 488, 506  
*Sąsiedzki Adam* 63, 64, 531  
*Sąsiedzki Kazimierz* 64, 68  
*Schneider* 369  
*Schönerer Georg von* 11, 19, 251, 301, 414, 454, 564  
*Schorke Carl A.* 19–21, 414, 416, 551  
*Schumacher Horst* 172  
*Seton-Watson Robert* 135  
*Sęp B.* see *Bator Bolesław*  
*Shanes Joshua* 300  
*Shannon Richard* 247, 552  
*Shcheklov Ivan* 204, 206, 207  
*Shcherakivsky Vadim* 431  
*Siemieniecki J.H.* see *Hłasko Józef*  
*Siengalewicz Sergiusz* 206  
*Sienkiewicz Henryk* 143–148, 155, 160, 164–166, 322, 498, 504, 511  
*Sieroszewski Waław* 60  
*Sierpiński J.* see *Krzywicki Ludwik*  
*Sikorski Władysław* 384, 468, 488, 533, 562  
*Silberner Edmund* 107, 552  
*Silberstein (Zylbersztajn)* 203, 206, 207, 212  
*Sills Daniel L.* 19, 528  
*Singer Bernard* 252, 505  
*Sirinelli Jean-François* 117, 527  
*Skalkowski Adam* 367, 380, 384, 485, 486  
*Skarga Barbara* 81, 148, 171, 547, 552, 560, 567  
*Skotnicki Jan* 225, 505  
*Skrzycki R.* see *Dmowski Roman*  
*Slottman William B.* 135, 550  
*Sluga Glenda* 120, 552  
*Sławek Walery* 320, 551  
*Słoński Edward* 210  
*Smolka Franciszek* 409, 468  
*Smorodinow Wasilij Grigoriewicz* 214  
*Snopko Jan* 414, 552  
*Snyder Timothy* 245, 323, 324, 336, 553  
*Sobczak Jan* 224, 553  
*Sobczak Mieczysław* 24, 274, 275, 287, 300, 302, 306, 404, 553  
*Sobieski Waław* 381, 382  
*Sokolnicki Michał* 320, 325, 326, 502, 505  
*Sokołow Nachum* 505  
*Soucy Robert J.* 453, 553  
*Spasowicz Włodzimierz* 458, 505  
*Spencer Herbert* 106, 117, 171, 292, 521, 556, 558  
*Srokowski Konstanty* 403  
*Stachiewicz Julian* 326, 502  
*Stahl Zdzisław* 452, 505  
*Stanisławska Romana* 147  
*Stankiewicz Witold* 37, 72, 171, 239, 492  
*Stapiński Jan* 146  
*Stauter-Halsted Keely* 218, 301, 554  
*Stecki Jan* 65, 184, 195, 278–280, 398, 485, 505, 539  
*Stefanowska Zofia* 81, 556  
*Stempowski Stanisław* 15, 273, 298, 299, 505  
*Sterling Seweryn* 43  
*Stern Fritz* 21, 109, 453, 454, 554  
*Sternhell Zeev* 21, 109, 110, 113, 117, 237, 310, 315, 324, 453, 454, 554, 565  
*Stevenson John* 250  
*Stępień Stefan* 265, 533, 554  
*StępniaK Krzysztof* 54, 138, 533  
*Stöcker Adolf* 11, 276  
*Stojałowski Stanisław* 12, 136, 301, 404  
*Stokowa Maria* 14, 523  
*Stone Dan* 167, 555  
*Straszewicz Ludwik* 393, 503

- Stroński Stanisław 329, 367, 384,  
 385, 466–469, 505, 521  
 Strożecki Jan 68, 147, 318, 398, 408,  
 497, 501, 509  
 Struve Henryk 170, 505, 542  
 Stryjek Tomasz 400, 429–431, 555  
 Strzałkowski Andrzej 99, 550  
 Studnicka Stanisława 181, 223, 506  
 Studnicki Władysław 394, 408, 409,  
 415, 426, 465, 467, 506  
 Surzycki Stefan 39, 197, 234, 244,  
 368, 402, 486, 506, 556  
 Sysyn Frank E. 392, 543  
 Szacki Jerzy 40, 130, 171, 451, 528,  
 554, 556, 559  
 Szapiro Bernard 195  
 Szczepanowski Stanisław 335, 342,  
 369, 380, 385, 396, 402, 410, 463,  
 464, 469, 502, 506, 534, 565  
 Szczyrkiewicz Tadeusz 97, 556  
 Szelągowski Adam 367, 369  
 Szklarska-Lohmann Alina 225, 281,  
 494  
 Szmurło Jan 216  
 Sznajder Mario 109, 110, 324, 454,  
 554  
 Szujski Józef 435  
 Szwajcer Dorota 65  
 Szwarc Andrzej 224, 520, 556, 560  
 Szweykowski Zygmunt 121, 503  
 Śladkowski Wiesław 313, 557  
 Śliwa Michał 20, 165, 240, 547, 557  
 Śliwiński Artur 319  
 Świętek Ryszard 319, 502  
 Świętochowski Aleksander 46, 109,  
 170, 282, 346–349, 506, 509, 517
- T**
- Taguieff Pierre-André 113–115, 557  
 Talmon Jacob L. 310, 558  
 Tannenbaum Edward R. 109, 416,  
 558
- Tarde Gabriel de 160  
 Tazbir Janusz 435, 558, 559  
 Temime Emile 113, 535  
 Terej Jerzy Janusz 24, 139, 469,  
 558  
 Tetmajer Kazimierz Przerwa 60  
 Teulon Giraud 171  
 Thurlow Richard 247, 559  
 Tocqueville Charles Alexis de 475,  
 507  
 Toeplitz Krzysztof Teodor 272, 507  
 Toeplitz Teodor 272  
 Tokarz Waclaw 367, 381, 394, 507  
 Tokarzewicz Józef 81  
 Tomaszewski Tadeusz 312, 569  
 Topór G. see Gruzewski Tadeusz  
 Toruńczyk Barbara 24, 230, 235,  
 236, 288, 310, 328, 333, 351, 411,  
 487, 530  
 Traba Elżbieta 273, 558  
 Traba Robert 273, 558  
 Treitschke Heinrich von 276  
 Troska Stanisław see Lutomski  
 Bolesław  
 Tuiller M. 113  
 Turda Marius 82, 94, 95, 107, 409,  
 478, 516, 558, 559  
 Turek Wojciech 253, 508  
 Turzyna Maria see Wiśniewska  
 Maria  
 Tych Feliks 72, 99, 147, 172, 239,  
 241, 313, 458, 487, 494, 498, 536,  
 552, 560  
 Tyszka Leon (Jogiches Leon) 373,  
 536  
 Tyszkiewicz Adrian 234  
 Tyszkiewicz Jakub 313
- U**
- Umińska Bożena 283, 560  
 Ungier Wiktor 229  
 Uziembło Adam 320, 486

**V**

Vacher de Lapouge Georges 113,  
431, 549  
Viator S. see Seton-Watson  
Robert 135  
Vogelsang Karl von 136  
Volovici Leon 135, 560  
Vyleta Daniel 96, 560

**W**

Walas Teresa 43, 561  
Walewska Cecylia 168, 211  
Walicka Małgorzata 44, 190, 561  
Walicki Andrzej 24, 25, 166, 174,  
198, 231, 233, 235, 334, 352, 411,  
412, 427, 444, 446, 451, 455, 473,  
475, 528, 551, 561, 562, 566  
Waligórski Teofil 139, 179, 335, 406,  
490, 495  
Wandycz Piotr 392, 438, 562  
Wapiński Roman 18, 24, 27, 32, 36,  
104, 105, 155, 175, 202, 225, 229,  
230, 269, 281, 316, 334, 341, 371,  
396, 438, 455, 521, 547, 551, 562  
Warchocki Jan 196, 197, 284  
Warski-Warszawski Adolf 184, 458  
Wasilewski Konrad 417  
Wasilewski Leon 55, 57, 198, 201, 234,  
273, 312, 318–320, 326, 338, 377,  
387, 388, 393, 410, 422, 491, 493,  
496, 497, 500–502, 507, 508  
Wasilewski Zygmunt 65, 132, 133,  
137, 155, 156, 180, 280, 283, 285,  
286, 291, 299, 312, 345, 357, 367,  
396–399, 404, 449, 474, 477, 485,  
486, 501, 503, 507, 508, 528, 549,  
568  
Wasilkowski Leon 110, 111, 191  
Wasiutyński Wojciech 33, 228, 253,  
508  
Wawrzykowska-Wierciochowa  
Dionizya 215, 327, 496

Wątor Adam 20, 24, 354, 377, 384,  
392, 396, 402, 403, 415, 418–420,  
521, 562, 563  
Weber Eugen 237, 315, 324, 453,  
476, 558, 563  
Weeks Theodore R. 163, 165, 276,  
294, 302, 563  
Weindling Paul 95, 516, 563  
Weingart Peter 95, 549  
Weiss Tomasz 43, 50, 108, 110, 166,  
170, 564  
Weitz Eric D. 94, 95, 115, 478, 564  
Wereszycki Henryk 225, 381, 392,  
494, 564  
Wertheimer Jack 273, 564  
Whiteside Andrew G. 19, 251, 301,  
414, 564  
Wiącek Wojciech z Machowa 329  
Wiech Stanisław 196, 565  
Wielomski Adam 265  
Wierszyłowska Beata 45  
Wierzejski Kazimierz W. 341  
Wiesner Julius 260  
Więckowska Helena 126  
Więckowska Joanna 312  
Więckowski Aleksander 60, 65,  
70–72  
Winiarski Leon 26, 48, 49, 50, 62,  
130, 131, 134, 169, 170, 509, 565  
Wisłocki Stanisław A. 405, 656  
Wiślicki Adam 46, 109, 240, 485  
Wiśniewska Magda see Micewski  
Andrzej  
Wiśniewska Maria 23, 240, 489, 511  
Wiśniewski Antoni 216  
Witkowska Alina 18  
Wituch Tomasz 226, 490, 500  
Włodek Ludwik 398, 450, 509  
Wojciechowski Stanisław 184, 195,  
200, 205, 272, 317, 319, 320, 504,  
509  
Wojciechowski Tadeusz 380

- Wojdyło Witold* 268, 565  
*Wojnar Kacper* 321  
*Wolff-Powęska Anna* 566  
*Wolikowska Izabela (née Lutoslawska)* 226–228, 509  
*Woliński Janusz* 103, 566  
*Wolsza Tadeusz* 24, 154, 376, 566  
*Wołowski Michał* 164, 511  
*Woźniakiewicz-Dziadosz Maria* 121, 516  
*Woźnicki Kazimierz* 465, 466, 468, 485, 502, 509  
*Wójcik Zbigniew R.* 467, 504  
*Wróbel Piotr* 274, 566  
*Wróblewska Ewelina* 211  
*Wróblewski Augustyn* 12, 240, 551, 557  
*Wróblewski Walery* 12  
*Wrześniński Wojciech* 313, 334, 519, 545, 548  
*Wrześniowski August* 99, 277  
*Wyka Kazimierz* 18, 501, 566  
*Wysłouch Bolesław* 12, 179, 385, 500, 522  
*Wysocki Alfred* 30, 388, 396, 399, 509
- Z**  
*Zahorska Marta* 243  
*Zakrzewski Adam* 38, 60, 62, 63, 210, 381, 382  
*Zakrzewski Stanisław* 37  
*Zalewski Antoni* 11, 506, 509  
*Zaliwski Kazimierz* 164  
*Załęga Jan* see *Bałucki Michał*  
*Załęski Paweł* 130  
*Załuska Jan* 278, 353, 386, 387, 498, 509
- Zamoyski Władysław* 394, 395, 544  
*Zawadzka Maria* 383, 495  
*Zdanowicz Anna* 56, 567  
*Zdanowski Juliusz* 445, 486  
*Zdybel Lech* 421, 523, 567  
*Zieliński Józef* see *Kułakowski Mariusz*  
*Zieliński Ludwik* 425, 547  
*Zieliński Stanisław* 405  
*Ziemiński Witold* 41, 106, 107, 121–134, 136–138, 261, 262, 292, 293, 294, 303, 304  
*Zilov Pyotr* 204, 205  
*Zimand Roman* 43, 45, 49, 50, 53, 151, 152, 174, 277, 567  
*Zimmerman Andrew* 95, 567  
*Zimmerman Joshua D.* 273, 302, 568  
*Złotnicki Antoni* 26, 269, 510  
*Znаниеcki Florian* 31, 371–373, 568  
*Zóltowski Jan* 257, 258, 266, 498  
*Żabicki Zbigniew* 174  
*Żagiewski J.* see *Dmowski Roman*  
*Żarnowska Anna* 322, 424, 532, 568  
*Żbikowski Andrzej* 276, 487, 568, 569  
*Żeromski Stefan* 15–18, 43, 46, 54–57, 60, 68, 69, 77–80, 110, 111, 137, 138, 141–143, 147, 154, 156, 159, 164, 184, 191, 192, 200, 217, 242, 284, 309, 377–379, 398, 399, 447, 448, 496, 497, 499, 502, 503, 505, 509–512, 519, 522, 524, 527, 529, 530, 533–535, 537, 538, 546, 554, 567–569  
*Żuk Anna* 172, 569  
*Żurawicka Janina* 14, 154, 569  
*Żychowski Marian* 14, 316, 555, 569  
*Żywicki K.R.* see *Krzywicki Ludwik*