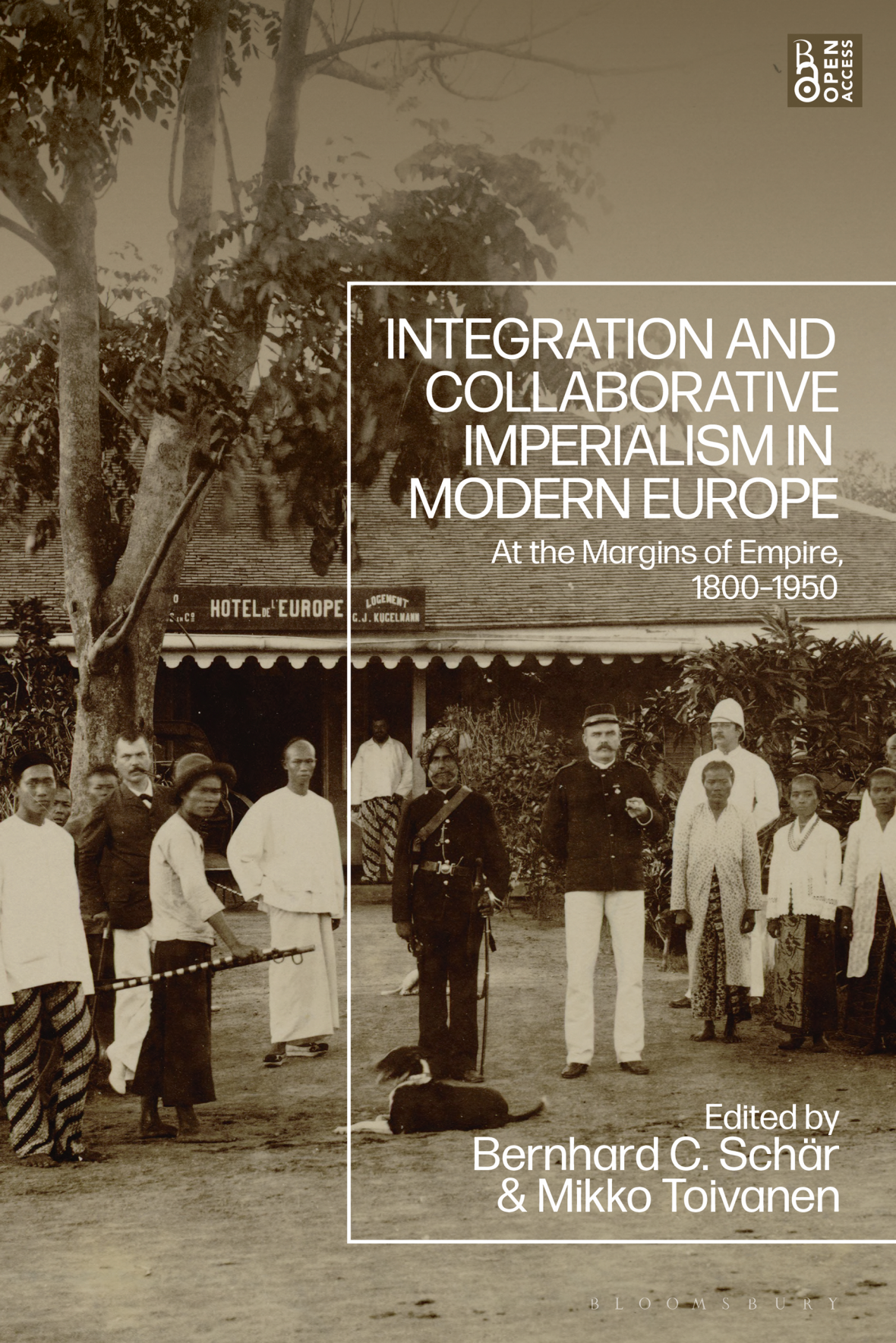

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INTEGRATION AND COLLABORATIVE IMPERIALISM IN MODERN EUROPE

At the Margins of Empire, 1800–1950

Edited by
Bernhard C. Schär
& Mikko Toivanen

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1

Expansion alongside integration: A new history of imperial Europe

Bernhard C. Schär and Mikko Toivanen

Introduction: Re-examining Project Europe

'Project Europe' has over the past decade run into significant headwinds. The idea of ever-tightening cooperation and integration between European countries as a path to a more peaceful future and greater wealth for all has taken heavy blows from several directions. On the one hand, the rise of populist nationalisms across the continent – most notably in the decision of the UK to leave the EU in 2016 – has challenged the very premise that integration remains a desirable end goal. On the other, the ever-hardening language and policies of 'fortress Europe' and their attendant, continually unfolding tragedy of immigrant deaths and destitution along Europe's borders from the Mediterranean through the Balkans to Eastern Europe have severely shaken the credibility of the EU as an internationalist project with humanitarian ideals. Integration itself seems to have stopped, with no new members admitted since Croatia in 2013. At the root of all these troubles lies the underexplored question of the coloniality of Europe as a concept: its internal imperial hierarchies as well as its continuously renegotiated relationship with the wider world, a double process of often-contested identity formation directed inwards as much as it is outwards. It is impossible to critically analyse Europe's seeming impasse in the 2020s or to understand the long-term trajectories of European integration without a reckoning with this imperial past.

This volume hopes to address the theme of Europe's colonial origins and to provide a thought-provoking new perspective on European imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It does so by inquiring how smaller European powers and regions at the supposed margins of the continent integrated into a globally interconnected world that was heavily shaped by their more powerful European neighbours. Case studies on Nordic, Eastern and Central European regions uncover how countries such as Sweden, Serbia or Switzerland became imperial despite having no or only short-lived overseas colonies of their own. More than that, by uncovering the structures and networks that enabled these regions to actively participate in and benefit from the imperial world around them, these case studies also reveal a crucial dynamic of European imperialism that has rarely been analysed in extant historiographies of Empire and Europe: the fact that the nineteenth-century European imperial subjugation of almost the entire

planet was not only driven by undeniable rivalry and competition among the greater European powers but also necessarily depended on collaboration and exchanges across national and imperial boundaries.[1] Moreover, these transimperial networks, mobilities and collaborations came to play a central role in the long historical process of European integration. In short, by examining the imperial histories of supposedly marginal European regions, this volume seeks to shed new light on the histories of Empire and European integration writ large.

In addressing these questions, this collection benefits from deep conceptual work by Gurminder Bhambra, Manuela Boatcă and other social and cultural theorists, who have been rethinking not only the notion of 'Europe' but also the body of implicit and explicit theories attached to this concept.[2] As a 'hyperreal' (Chakrabarty) term, 'Europe' still too often figures at the centre of historical narratives that assess how 'distant' or 'close' other (imaginary) spaces stand to the supposed core of history and modernity, which is rarely explicitly defined but mostly implicitly alludes to Britain, France or Germany. This hyperreal notion of Europe thereby not only creates hierarchies within Europe, as regions outside the imaginary core need to qualify themselves as Northern, Southern, Eastern or other supposedly 'lesser' Europes; moreover, 'Europe' as a supposedly fully modern, Christian and white space also separates itself from all (formerly) colonized regions that were heavily shaped by Europe but supposedly do not fully belong to modernity.

Realizing that European social and cultural theories are products of European imperialism that create mythologies of supposedly pristine European cores surrounded by 'lesser' European semi-peripheries in the continent's north, east and south, as well as vast non-European peripheries in the 'Global South', the strategy of decolonizing theory has been the following: to highlight how the category of Europe has been hybrid, pidginized or creolized all along.[3] In other words, there is no understanding of what Europe is without acknowledging the double process of massive and mostly violent incorporation of non-European and semi-peripheral European resources, labour and ideas on the one hand and the simultaneous exclusion of semi-peripheral and non-European regions on the other.

This retheorizing of 'Europe' has opened up vast new spaces for empirical historical research. This book contributes to two topical historiographies in particular. The first one can be aptly summarized under the label of 'colonialism without colonies', a term introduced by Barbara Lüthi, Francesca Falk and Patricia Purtschert. It addresses the following problem: If, according to the theories elaborated earlier, Europe as a category is fundamentally an outcome of its imperial past, then what does this mean for European nations or peoples who were not themselves major imperial powers and are conceived as 'blank spaces' in more conventional histories of empires?[4] Over the past decade, scholars have written extensively about the multifaceted colonial entanglements of countries such as Switzerland, Norway or Finland.[5] More recently, numerous studies have expanded such analyses also to Southern and East Central European countries, with Poland featuring in the literature especially prominently.[6]

This literature has been indispensable in proving the relevance of Europe's imperial histories to a series of national audiences that have conventionally tended to think of themselves as either separate from Western Europe's colonial trajectories or even,

as in the cases of Finland or Poland, semi-colonial victims of neighbouring imperial powers. Indeed, the question of guilt or, to follow Ulla Vuorela's work on Finland, 'colonial complicity' has loomed large in many of these debates, which have often focused on reassessing widely accepted national narratives and collective identities.[7] And as might be expected, such reassessments have not always gone unopposed, as the debate in many countries has become drawn into the orbit of twenty-first-century, US-style culture wars; simultaneously, the language of post- and decolonial approaches has been hijacked by right-wing populists as a weapon against the perceived intra-European hegemony of Brussels or a more generic 'West'.[8]

While this literature on 'colonialism without colonies' has therefore proved a highly valuable addition to a number of national historiographies, also giving rise to important national-level debates transcending the bounds of academia, this fundamental rootedness in national frameworks and discourses has simultaneously served to limit its impact on the general historiography of empire. Seen as addressing primarily national-level questions, historians of the major empires have at most tended to note this literature as an intriguing addition around the edges, a filling of the blanks rather than a development with the potential to transform our understanding of the fundamental workings of European empires. This in our opinion is to underestimate the true significance of these new perspectives.

Admittedly, recent years have increasingly seen a trend in recasting these rediscovered colonial histories as regional rather than national – notable in the many collections seeking to build Scandinavian/Nordic or Central/Eastern European supranational narratives out of national case studies.[9] Yet while these initiatives have opened up important dialogues between national historiographies, they have so far largely followed well-established disciplinary affinities as established in various area studies subfields, rather than seeking to truly reconceptualize empire on a European level. Learning from that work but seeking to transcend it, this volume brings the colonial histories of disparate parts of Northern, Central and Eastern Europe into a unified analytical framework. It thereby not only applies decolonial theories of Europe to particular national or regional cases but also seeks to reimagine the categories of 'empire' and 'Europe' per se.

In so doing it draws on another important strand of recent historiography, which has sought to rethink the history of empires from a different perspective, focusing on the 'transimperial'. This approach has perhaps been most succinctly defined in the programmatic essay by Daniel Hedinger and Nadine Hée, who see transimperial history as being 'about the movements of people, knowledge and goods across empires and about the formations of imperial alliances as well as anti-imperial networks and exchanges'.[10] Where the 'colonialism without colonies' body of work has sought to broaden the scope of who are understood to have been involved in Europe's imperial expansion, historians of science and knowledge have utilized the 'transimperial' to produce a rich body of scholarship emphasizing the connectedness of imperial knowledge systems, producing a common reservoir or 'imperial cloud' – to use the term of Christoph Kamissek and Jonas Kreienbaum – of information and best practices shared across borders.[11] And while historians have so far found it easier to systematically trace the transimperial movements of ideas rather than of individuals, there is also an

evident affinity between this work and the analysis of imperial 'careering' proposed by David Lambert and Alan Lester, looking at global mobilities within the British Empire and beyond it.[12] This connection draws attention to the significance of specific kinds of agents in how transimperial networks came to be, a theme picked up by several of the chapters that follow. Such an analysis of specific careers serves to highlight the permeability of imperial boundaries and the multitude of mobilities and exchanges across them, questioning the conventional understanding of empires as monolithic, self-contained units.

In working towards a reconceptualization of 'Europe' and 'empire' that is informed by both of these literatures, this volume makes use of the concept of 'marginalities' or 'margins' as a tool for thinking about how an imperial Pan-European identity was constructed over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries from its boundaries rather than its centres. This approach builds on Kristín Loftsdóttir's work on nineteenth-century Iceland's liminal position as not only a semi-colonial possession deemed racially and civilizationally inferior by its masters but also a nation in the process of constructing its own 'white' identity and position in a global colonial hierarchy. Similar local efforts to define Europe's limits in a world of empires took place around the continent, and as Loftsdóttir points out, such 'explorations of how coloniality was lived and executed at the margins of Europe' have value as they allow us not only 'to understand the construction of margins but also to deepen the understanding of the "project" of Europe'.[13]

Christof Dejung and Martin Lengwiler have similarly argued – in their effort to reconceptualize European history – that a focus on its margins or borders (*Ränder*) is essential in order to respond to the challenges recently posed to the historiography by the rise of global history. In particular, they make the case for understanding Europe less as a strictly delineated place and more as an argument for specific projects of modernization and reordering of society, one that could be fruitfully employed not only from the continent's Western metropoles but also from its diverse peripheries.[14] Moreover, as Kris Manjapra has argued, several agents – scientists, engineers and managers – from Europe's 'semi-peripheries', from Scotland to Ireland to Germanophone Central Europe, played an important role in the nineteenth century in constituting a global colonial middle class crucial to the functioning of multiple empires and spreading practices and know-how across imperial boundaries around the world.[15] As the contributions to this volume further underline, the continent's margins have long been central to defining both the internal order of the idea of Europe and its external relations.

Reinterpreting Europe's imperial past along these lines brings to view a series of continuities, some of them unexpected, from nineteenth-century empire-building to the much-trumpeted processes of European integration in the twentieth century and beyond. The most recent critical literature questioning the European project's image as a peace initiative first and foremost has already started to broach these questions. Kiran Patel, in his landmark history, has drawn attention to how the European Community in its early years 'represented a forum where the colonial powers could consider the future of their empires, and from the 1960s a tool for coping with the political and economic aftermath of decolonization'.[16] As Patel notes, this framing of

European integration as an evolution of imperial power politics stands in stark contrast to conventional interpretations that have tended to mark it as a break with the past, a drastically new and more equitable model for a postcolonial global reordering.

Along similar lines but pushing further back in time, Anne-Isabelle Richard has examined a number of interwar predecessors of European integration thinking. She argues that these projects betrayed a concern for Europe's loss of influence on the global stage and that a reorganization through integration of Europe's colonial possessions in Africa was seen as one possible solution to such perceived 'geopolitical, economic, civilizational and racial challenges from all corners of the world'.[17] Yet, while these important interventions have made the connection between empire and integration, the issue has so far not really been considered from the perspective of Europe's supposedly non-imperial margins; as the chapters collected here will show, such a change of perspective helps root the debate in longer-term continuities going back to the nineteenth century.

Building on these literatures, the essays in this volume when read together provide a model for centring transimperial experiences 'from the margins' as constitutive of a fragmented yet shared imperial European identity and a set of cross-border imperial networks and structures that facilitated European integration since *c.*1800. This volume therefore proposes a fresh, new interpretation of the global expansion of European imperialism that transcends national and imperial frameworks and makes an argument for empire as a transnational, Pan-European phenomenon while also expanding the geographical scope of conventional analyses of European empires by incorporating the experiences of countries and spaces that were not themselves major imperial powers. It is through these processes of transimperial integration that the emergence of hierarchies within and without Europe ought to be analysed: the intra-European division between (British, French, German) core Europe and supposedly lesser Europes in the north, east and south, as well as the imperial division between the 'west and the rest'.

Contributions and themes

The chapters in this volume, based on research in multiple archives both within Europe and beyond it, provide a range of concrete insights into how Europe's imperial expansion necessitated and facilitated various forms of structural European integration. All chapters speak to all three of the major themes in this volume: the structures and networks of transimperial collaboration across Europe; European integration through colonial entanglements; and the construction of European identities in a colonial world order. Yet among the whole, individual contributions set different priorities and adopt different approaches. On a general level, the ten chapters that follow can be divided into two broad categories. A first group of essays focus on economic and professional networks in particular, examining how these drew individuals and groups from Europe's margins into the orbit of overseas colonialism.

Tomasz Ewertowski examines Poland and Serbia as providers of services, expertise, mercenaries, sailors and missionaries for multiple European powers, namely Russia,

the Habsburg Empire, France and the Netherlands. As Ewertowski points out, by no means all of these services were voluntary. Especially among the mercenaries, there were many forced recruits, which points to the continuing feudal inequalities and newly emerging class hierarchies in nineteenth-century Europe. However, the better-educated men in particular used their multifaceted services in political, economic and religious projects in transimperial spaces to reflect on their experiences in colonial Central and Southeast Asia. This resulted in a continuous flow of published biographical and travel accounts tailored to educate and entertain Polish and Serbian reading audiences and thereby familiarize them with the imperial and often-racist worldviews of their time. Polish returnees, in particular, would go on to become major actors in Poland's struggle for national independence.

John L. Hennessey's chapter expands the theme of Europe's margins as a reservoir of imperial service providers by pointing out the continuous demand emanating from imperial centres for particular kinds of skills and expertise. Hennessey too cautions against seeing the massive presence of men from Europe's peripheries in all imperial spaces solely as a story of profit and benefit: given Europe's deep class and gender hierarchies, risks and opportunities for imperial service providers were highly unequally distributed. Following recent arguments on how imperialism shaped the emergence of a 'global bourgeoisie', Hennessey does show, however, how shared cultural understandings of bourgeois masculinity, civilization and shared professional identities among merchants or mercenaries enabled European men in the colonies to bond and overcome tensions or misunderstandings that arose from their multiple linguistic, religious or regional backgrounds. Importantly, Hennessey makes a global, meta-level argument, suggesting that transimperial and border-crossing careers like these were far from a rarity but in fact a common and fundamental feature of nineteenth- and twentieth-century empires, which should best be understood as arising from the emergence in this period of specific, specialist occupational groups that criss-crossed boundaries with ease, making one's national identity less relevant than the education and skills one could put at the service of empires.

André Nicacio Lima also focuses on economic networks in his programmatic plea for an entangled history between nineteenth-century Brazil, Africa and continental Europe. After independence in 1818, the new Brazilian elite depended on mass immigration of enslaved Africans and on white Europeans to simultaneously integrate Brazilian economy into world markets and 'whiten' its society. Examining the first national census of 1872, Nicacio shows how, in addition to Portuguese immigrants, large colonies of other Europeans had established themselves in the empire, the biggest groups being Germans, Italians, Swiss, French, Spanish and British. Using a list of all registered trading firms and merchants in Brazil's major ports between 1868 and 1888, Nicacio then highlights how even numerically small numbers of Europeans, for example, Danes or Greek, played a major role in Brazil's slavery-based export economy. Zooming in on the case of two Swiss traders, Nicacio shows how they completely integrated into Brazil's elite society, shaping policies, institutions and infrastructure in the service of slavery and exporting coffee and other cash crops while remaining connected to business partners and families in Europe's centres and peripheries alike.

Tellingly, this history has been almost completely erased from public consciousness and historiographies on both sides of the Atlantic.

Taking a more micro-scale approach and benefitting from access to private family archives from renowned Swiss watchmaker families, **Fabio Rossinelli** manages to uncover transimperial networks that are usually difficult to pinpoint in public archives. Using the Dubois family from the Swiss Jura Mountains, he highlights how this industry grew in the nineteenth century also through using colonial raw materials enabling wealthy watchmakers to diversify their investment portfolios. Using their widespread family and business networks in imperial France, Germany and other European metropoles, in addition to contacts with Swiss missionaries and merchants who had established themselves in colonial Southeast Africa, they invested in mining schemes. There they operated outside public purview and without any regulatory oversight, which served them in many ways. Unlike other Europeans operating in public environments, these capitalist investors never bothered to intellectualize their crude racism or legitimize their exploitative practices with religious, scientific or ethical discourse. Unrestrained, they enriched themselves by defrauding their clients and investors in Europe and moved on to another 'frontier economy' in the United States after their machinations were eventually uncovered. Rossinelli's micro-history of global capitalism therefore allows rare insights into a world of colonial finance, speculation and exploitation that knew neither geographic nor moral limitations and almost no legal ones.

Tonje Haugland Sørensen adopts yet another approach. She introduces a Norwegian chalet that was exhibited in Paris during the 1889 world fair as a boundary object of sorts. For a young nation seeking international recognition, it represented 'traditional' Norwegian culture on the one hand, but also represented Norway's modern export industry on the other. Norway at the time was a major exporter of not only lumber but also ready-made wooden houses that were in demand in many of Europe's newly growing settler colonies in Africa. One of Norway's main customers was the Belgian King Leopold II's colony in the Congo. Norway's colonial chalet export was embedded in wider diplomatic, professional and scientific networks that allowed Norwegians to serve as consuls, sailors or medical professionals in the Belgian Congo. Given this relatively strong Norwegian presence in the Belgian colony, it comes as no surprise that the Congo figured prominently in Norwegian publications, which, as Sørensen's analysis reveals, conveyed a crudely racist worldview that remained uncontested at the time.

While this first group of contributions analyse the construction of Europe from the outside in, as it were, using globe-spanning economic and professional networks as entry points into their analysis of European identity-building through transimperial collaboration, a second group takes the opposite approach. These chapters start from within, tracing the construction of identities along Europe's margins and negotiating their place in global racial or cultural hierarchies through localized case studies focusing on the networks and institutions that enabled such processes. Drawing on the Austro-Hungarian, Russian, French, Dutch and Swedish Empires, **Corinne Geering**'s chapter provides a fascinatingly wide-ranging study of how colonial ethnographical collecting practices learned overseas came to shape how Europe's imperial urban centres

understood their own rural hinterlands throughout Central and Eastern Europe. Through a careful institutional-level analysis of how specific museums – including the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro in Paris, the Náprstek Museum in Prague and the Weltmuseum in Vienna – incorporated both overseas collections and rural or 'folk' collections from Europe, Geering's chapter draws attention to the production of the rural as another kind of 'marginal position' within Europe that was co-constituted as a response to and in parallel with the colonial. Moreover, Geering reminds us to be mindful of how such materials and practices travelled across borders throughout the continent, allowing for the creation of a shared European imperial culture of collecting and presentation that also reached countries without any overseas possessions of their own and evolved over time to account for Europe's changing position in the world. Through her case studies, Geering highlights the importance of the construction and negotiation of imperial Europe's internal marginalities, which emerges as a prominent theme in several chapters.

In many cases, this process of internal boundary-drawing entailed encounters of an at least partly colonial character with Europe's many racialized 'others'. **Janne Lahti** examines in his chapter how Finnish settlers and travellers in the area of Petsamo by the Arctic Sea – gained for a brief period by newly independent Finland in 1920 – essentially acted as colonizers. They drew direct inspiration from overseas examples of settler colonialism, notably in North America. The accounts of these Finns combined a romantic yearning for the natural wilderness of the north with intricate racialized hierarchies that cast the civilized, imperial Finns as a vanguard of European modernity and progress in this supposedly primitive region with its multi-ethnic population, including the indigenous Sámi. Analysing a wealth of materials, including the contemporary press, tourist brochures and travel writing, Lahti shows how Petsamo in effect allowed the newly independent Finnish state to imagine itself as a colonial power standing between a civilized Europe and a primitive Asia. Nor was this a purely national effort for a domestic audience, as these materials were also published in several foreign languages to entice international tourism to the region, further underlining the connectedness of these colonial imageries. Even if only few Finns had the chance to travel to Petsamo, the imagery associated with this colonial fantasy reverberated deeply throughout the country and beyond and served to reinforce the ongoing two-pronged process of nation-building and Europeanizing in the interwar period.

In other cases, similar processes of colonial identity-building took place further afield and through different methods, including in the realm of science: as **Szabolcs László** shows in his insightful analysis, nineteenth-century Hungarian orientalists like Antal Reguly (1819–1858) engaged in similar hierarchy-building in their studies of the people of Inner Asia. These expeditions, backed by state scientific institutions like the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, sought to compensate for the nation's lack of colonial possessions through scholarly prowess and to emphasize Hungarians' own level of civilization relative to the peoples they studied. Much like how Finns in Petsamo encountered and came to position themselves relative to the linguistically and culturally related Karelians, László shows that Hungarian scholars engaged in what he calls 'fraternal Orientalism', buttressing their own position in the racial hierarchy

through the study and representation of related peoples in Inner Asia. Importantly, however, László argues that these scholars did not merely copy imperialist discourses imported from elsewhere but found ways to emphasize their own national distinctness through research that recast Hungarians' Eastern origins as a sign of unique strength and prestige rather than cultural inferiority. Therefore, both Finns and Hungarians, in different ways, employed the language and tools of the colonial powers to secure their own, somewhat fragile and vulnerable position on the margins of Europe.

Kristín Loftsdóttir looks at a similar moment of racialization of Europe's internal hierarchies in the mid-nineteenth century, but from a different perspective: her chapter analyses a series of plaster busts made by a French scientific expedition of individuals in Iceland in order to demonstrate specific racial types. Loftsdóttir's analysis situates the creation of these busts in an ambiguous moment where expeditions like this – not unlike Reguly's, as analysed by László – to Europe's 'margins' served the purpose of establishing a global, racialized hierarchy of peoples. However, Loftsdóttir's study reminds us that this was a two-directional process not controlled entirely from the imperial centres: simultaneously and in parallel to the designs of French scientists, Icelandic intellectuals were themselves seeking to climb up that very hierarchy through their cooperation with such imperialist projects. And importantly, in between these two positions were the Icelandic models themselves, eternalized in plaster and present in museum collections across Europe to this day as sculptures trailing their colonial legacies through re-emergent twenty-first-century debates.

What these multiple and parallel projects of boundary-drawing and hierarchy-making all amounted to was an envisioning of a Europe that was bound together by imperial endeavours and ideologies – one that actors on its margins were incentivized to contribute to and believe in as it furthered their own interests and provided opportunities for economic and political advancement. This link to longer-term institutional processes of European integration is most apparent in the contribution of **Lucile Dreidemy** and **Eric Burton**. They reinterpret the Pan-European Union project launched in the early 1920s by the Austrian nobleman Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi (1894–1972), often seen as a mere curiosity and a failed precursor to the European Union. Instead, Dreidemy and Burton convincingly argue that it ought to be seen as a substantive attempt to reimagine a Pan-European imperial formation on a supranational level to ensure the continuation of Austria's imperial prestige into the post-Habsburg era of the interwar period. Their analysis therefore highlights the significance of imperial legacies and motivations to the processes of European integration and underlines the importance of critical analysis of the EU as itself a kind of (post-)imperial formation, both in its internal structures and external relationships.

Finally, this line of argument on the coloniality of Europe's institutions and the roots of present-day political and cultural integration in the colonial networks and collaborations of previous centuries is picked up by **Manuela Boatcă** in her Afterword. Drawing on the chapters collected here alongside her own longstanding research on the topic, Boatcă addresses the question of how our understandings of contemporary Europe and the European project should be shaped by and reconsidered in the light of the complicated, entangled imperial legacies presented in this volume.

Conclusion

We hope the chapters collected here will provide new insights for three interconnected audiences interested in European histories: firstly, they will offer comprehensive explanations of how countries such as Poland, Norway or Switzerland that see themselves as uninvolved outsiders in colonial history, or as victims of inner European imperialism, were nevertheless shaped through their indirect colonial involvements. Secondly, the volume will also offer rich empirical arguments for seeing European integration as something that emerged not only as a peace-building project after the Second World War but which has an older, violent and racist prehistory in the period of European expansion. Last but not least, it will also offer readers from former imperial metropoles in Germany, France, Britain, the Netherlands or Russia a better understanding of how and why their supposedly national imperial projects were always, in many different ways, also European projects – long before anyone joined, never mind exited, the EU.

We hope that our theoretical model and empirically convincing case studies can serve as the basis for a new imperial history of Europe. At the same time, we do not want to neglect drawing attention to some limitations of our model and outlining areas that require further theoretical and empirical work. The main focus of this volume is to show the co-construction of intra-European hierarchies between an imagined core Europe and European peripheries on the one hand, and the construction of imperial hierarchies between Europe and the colonies, on the other. This concern however must remain incomplete as long as it does not build bridges to other critical historiographies, which are at least hinted at in individual contributions.

Specifically, the question of how European collaborative imperialism was linked to broader, not just regional, intra-European relations of domination needs deeper consideration. After all, the age of empires was also the age of European patriarchy, of culture wars between Catholics and Protestants, of radicalizing anti-Semitism, of criminalization and pathologization of homosexual relations and non-binary gender identities, of the emergence of class societies and the extinction or near extinction of numerous animal species and natural environments. These are just the most obvious themes. In different ways, they all both shaped and were in turn shaped by Europe's imperial encounters with societies in the Americas, Asia, Africa, Australia and the Pacific World.

What this volume gestures at is both a global story and a story of how Europe came to be, an entangled history that cannot be unpicked in all its complexity within the pages of a single book. And to truly understand the legacy that collaborative European imperialism has left for all involved, the very category of 'Europe' must be further pluralized as an object of research. Whether and how such a story can be concisely told only the future will show.

Notes

1. Here this volume builds especially on the work in Volker Barth and Roland Cvetkovski, eds, *Imperial Co-operation and Transfer, 1870–1930: Empires and*

Encounters (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015); and Maria Paula Diogo and Dirk van Laak, *Europeans Globalizing: Mapping, Exploiting, Exchanging* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

2. Gurminder K. Bhambra, 'A Decolonial Project for Europe', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 60, no. 2 (2022): 229–44; Manuela Boatcă, 'Thinking Europe Otherwise: Lessons from the Caribbean', *Current Sociology* 69, no. 3 (2021): 389–414; Dipesh Chakrabarty, 'Provincializing Europe: Postcoloniality and the Critique of History', *Cultural Studies* 6, no. 3 (1992): 337–57.
3. Manuela Boatcă and Anca Parvulescu, *Creolizing the Modern: Transylvania across Empires* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2022); Harald Fischer-Tiné, *Pidgin-Knowledge: Wissen Und Kolonialismus* (Zürich: Diaphanes, 2013); Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995); Gurminder K. Bhambra, *Rethinking Modernity: Postcolonialism and the Sociological Imagination* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
4. Barbara Lüthi, Francesca Falk and Patricia Purtschert, 'Colonialism without Colonies: Examining Blank Spaces in Colonial Studies', *National Identities* 18, no. 1 (2016): 1–9.
5. P. Purtschert and H. Fischer-Tiné, eds, *Colonial Switzerland: Rethinking Colonialism from the Margins* (Cham: Springer, 2015); Kirsten Alsaker Kjerland and Bjørn Enge Bertelsen, eds, *Navigating Colonial Orders: Norwegian Entrepreneurship in Africa and Oceania* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014); Raita Merivirta, Leila Koivunen and Timo Särkkä, eds, *Finnish Colonial Encounters: From Anti-imperialism to Cultural Colonialism and Complicity* (Cham: Springer Nature, 2022); Gunnel Cederlöf, ed., *The Imperial Underbelly: Workers, Contractors, and Entrepreneurs in Colonial India and Scandinavia* (London: Routledge, 2022).
6. Piotr Puchalski, *Poland in a Colonial World Order: Adjustments and Aspirations, 1918–1939* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021); Marta Grzechnik, ' "Ad Maiorem Poloniae Gloriam!" Polish Inter-colonial Encounters in Africa in the Interwar Period', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 48, no. 5 (2020): 826–45; Jan Mrázek, 'Returns to the Wide World: Errant Bohemian Images of Race and Colonialism', *Studies in Travel Writing* 21, no. 2 (2017): 135–55; Lucy Riall, 'Hidden Spaces of Empire: Italian Colonists in Nineteenth-Century Peru', *Past & Present* 254, no. 1 (2022): 193–233. See also the work of Zoltán Ginelli on Hungary, for example, here: https://zoltanginelli.com/2020/04/02/postcolonial-hungary-eastern-european-semiperipheral-positioning-in-global-colonialism/.
7. Ulla Vuorela, 'Colonial Complicity: The "Postcolonial" in a Nordic Context', in *Complying with Colonialism: Gender, Race and Ethnicity in the Nordic Region*, ed. Suvi Keskinen, Salla Tuori, Sara Irni and Diana Mulinari (London: Routledge, 2016), 19–33.
8. Siegfried Huigen and Dorota Kołodziejczyk, 'East Central Europe between the Colonial and the Postcolonial: A Critical Introduction', in *East Central Europe between the Colonial and the Postcolonial in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Siegfried Huigen and Dorota Kołodziejczyk (Cham: Springer Nature, 2023), 22.
9. Suvi Keskinen et al., eds, *Complying with Colonialism: Gender, Race and Ethnicity in the Nordic Region* (London: Routledge, 2016); Johan Höglund and Linda Andersson Burnett, 'Introduction: Nordic Colonialisms and Scandinavian Studies', *Scandinavian Studies* 91, nos. 1–2 (2019): 1–12; Markéta Křížová and Jitka Malečková, eds, *Central Europe and the Non-European World in the Long 19th Century* (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2022); Siegfried Huigen and Dorota Kołodziejczyk, eds, *East Central Europe between the Colonial and the Postcolonial in the Twentieth Century* (Cham: Springer

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11. Christoph Kamissek and Jonas Kreienbaum, 'An Imperial Cloud? Conceptualising Interimperial Connections and Transimperial Knowledge', *Journal of Modern European History* 14, no. 2 (2016): 164–82; see also the special issue 'Transimperial Webs of Knowledge at the Margins of Imperial Europe' edited by Claire Louise Blaser, Monique Ligtenberg and Josephine Selander, in *Comparativ* 31, nos. 5–6 (2022); Lea Pfäffli, *Helden und Handel. Eine transimperiale Geschichte arktischen Wissens (1908–1913)* (Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 2021); Ulrike Kirchberger, 'Between Transimperial Networking and National Antagonism: German Scientists in the British Empire during the Long Nineteenth Century', in *The Routledge Handbook of Science and Empire* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021); Tom Menger, ' "Press the Thumb onto the Eye": Moral Effect, Extreme Violence, and the Transimperial Notions of British, German, and Dutch Colonial Warfare, ca. 1890–1914', *Itinerario* 46, no. 1 (April 2022): 84–108; Bernhard C. Schär, 'From Batticaloa via Basel to Berlin. Transimperial Science in Ceylon and beyond around 1900', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 48, no. 2 (2020): 230–62; Bartoletti Tomás, 'Global Territorialization and Mining Frontiers in Nineteenth-Century Brazil: Capitalist Anxieties and the Circulation of Knowledge between British and Habsburgian Imperial Spaces, ca. 1820–1850', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 65, no. 1 (2023): 81–114; John Hennessey, *Rule by Association: Japan in the Global Trans-imperial Culture, 1868–1912* (Växjö: Linnaeus University Press, 2018).
12. David Lambert and Alan Lester, 'Introduction: Imperial Spaces, Imperial Subjects', in *Colonial Lives across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1–31; see also the contributions to that volume; for individual case studies with an explicitly transimperial focus, see Madalina Valeria Veres, 'Unravelling a Trans-imperial Career: Michel Angelo de Blasco's Mapmaking Abilities in the Service of Vienna and Lisbon', *Itinerario* 38, no. 2 (2014): 75–100; and Mikko Toivanen, 'A Nordic Colonial Career across Borders: Hjalmar Björling in the Dutch East Indies and China', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 51, no. 3 (2023): 421–41.
13. Kristín Loftsdóttir, *Crisis and Coloniality at Europe's Margins: Creating Exotic Iceland* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), 3–6; see also the forthcoming volume by Catherine Baker, Bogdan C. Iacob, Anikó Imre and James Mark (eds), *Off White: Central and Eastern Europe and the Global History of Race* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2024).
14. Christof Dejung and Martin Lengwiler, eds, *Ränder Der Moderne: Neue Perspektiven Auf Die Europäische Geschichte (1800–1930)* (Köln: Böhlau Köln, 2015), 26; see also David Motadel, 'Globaliser l'Europe', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 76, no. 4 (2021): 645–67.
15. Kris Manjapra, 'The Semiperipheral Hand: Middle-Class Service Professionals of Imperial Capitalism', in *The Global Bourgeoisie: The Rise of the Middle Classes in the Age of Empire*, ed. Christof Dejung, David Motadel and Jürgen Osterhammel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), 184–204.
16. Kiran Klaus Patel, *Project Europe: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 243–4.

17. Anne-Isabelle Richard, 'A Global Perspective on European Cooperation and Integration since 1918', in *The Cambridge History of the European Union: Volume 2: European Integration Inside-Out*, ed. Mathieu Segers and Steven Van Hecke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), 479–80.

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Part 1

European entanglements in overseas colonial networks across imperial borders

2

Preacher, trader, soldier, spy: Studying transimperial individuals through their occupational roles

John L. Hennessey

Introduction

During the second half of the nineteenth century, French-born soldier Charles LeGendre had a military career stretching halfway around the world, but not in the service of France. After his education at a French military school, LeGendre moved to the United States in time to see action as an officer in the American Civil War.[1] He subsequently moved to Japan as part of the American foreign service before switching allegiances yet again to work for the Japanese government as a military advisor. LeGendre was part of a Japanese diplomatic delegation to China and was intimately involved in planning a punitive expedition against an aboriginal group in southern Taiwan in 1874, which he hoped would allow Japan to annex part or all of the island. While not immediately accomplishing all of these goals, the expedition set an important precedent for Japan's subsequent aggressive expansionism, paving the way for the outright Japanese annexation of the Ryūkyū Kingdom in 1879 and Taiwan in 1895.[2] LeGendre continued his westward movement and ended his transimperial career as an advisor to the Korean government.[3]

How are we to best make sense of LeGendre's story and make it more broadly historically relevant? At first glance, LeGendre seems truly exceptional, but as this chapter and many others in this book demonstrate, modern colonial history is in fact filled with examples of individuals from across Europe and its settler colonies whose lives were marked by shifting loyalties and border-crossing careers. These figures have been difficult to place in larger historical narratives because of the national perspective that has long dominated the field. Is LeGendre best understood as 'French'? 'American'? 'Japanese'? As Amartya Sen has argued in a very different context, individuals always are characterized by a multiplicity of concurrent identities, but we have a tendency to view strangers through a simplifying lens that privileges one identity to the detriment of all of the others.[4] Sen is mainly interested in combatting racial or ethnic prejudice and violence that comes about from seeing individuals as only 'Black', 'Muslim' or some other single identity, but in the framework of traditional historiography that still

has much purchase today, it is individuals' national identity that is generally treated as paramount. The identities we ascribe historical subjects in many ways reflect our perspectives and the narratives we are trying to tell; in the context of national histories, individuals like LeGendre are exceptions that are at best treated as curious anecdotes and at worst ignored. But as already mentioned, recent research, including this volume, reveals that such border-crossing individuals were in fact quite common and important to the modern colonial project around the world.

As this chapter will argue, alternative histories emerge that better explain certain developments in modern colonial history when stories like LeGendre's are examined through the lens of a different facet of their protagonist's collected identities. A similar argument has recently been made in the pioneering volume *The Global Bourgeoisie* (2019).[5] Focusing on the many commonalities held by the modern bourgeoisie around the world, the anthology makes a strong case for using class, rather than nationality, to better understand global socioeconomic developments. Kris Manjapra's chapter on 'middle-class service professionals of imperial capitalism' focuses more specifically on 'a new kind of manpower' used by the expanding empires of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: 'the scientific advisor and the middle manager'.[6] Such professionals took on important roles in making colonial territories knowable and exploitable to imperial states and plugging them in to an increasingly uniform global capitalist network.[7] While Manjapra's and other chapters in the volume provide a wealth of new insights on the development of the modern world by switching from the lens of nationality to that of class, 'bourgeoisie' is still quite broad and (like all lenses) obscures other ways of viewing history.

Writing histories of complex phenomena such as colonialism is a delicate balancing act. At what level of analysis between micro- and macro-history can we best understand such processes? While the individual stories of figures like LeGendre who traversed and transgressed imperial borders add complexity to oversimplified national and imperial histories, this chapter argues that the significance of such lives to the modern colonial project (*c.*1850–1914) as a whole can be more usefully analysed by considering individuals of the same occupational category, in a broad sense. While many such categories belonged to the 'global bourgeoisie' described by Manjapra and his colleagues, not all did, and the closer level of analysis of the occupation reveals important differences within broader class categories.[8] As the following sections will demonstrate, the different occupations such as engineer, advisor or missionary that led individuals to other empires usually reflected common socioeconomic backgrounds, interests and worldviews that make it easier to understand their place in wider imperial history. At the same time, links within these occupational groups in colonial territories strengthened cooperation between citizens of different European countries and European settler colonies, while often reinforcing notions of common masculinity and 'whiteness'. As the following sections will demonstrate, whether homesteaders in the western United States or engineers in Africa, such transimperial individuals' common occupational role in another country's imperial project was arguably more significant to larger imperial history than their country of origin.

Transimperial history

In many ways, transimperial history, or the study of people, objects and ideas that crossed the borders between empires, is a natural extension of both transnational and new imperial history.[9] Transnational history has exposed the inadequacy of history-writing that is delimited by constructed national boundaries, missing border-crossing processes. New imperial history has worked to overcome the persistent dominance of national histories in former colonial powers by decentring imperial history from historical metropoles and showing the significance of their empires in co-constructing their modern history. One strand of the latter examines the circulation of information, ideologies and individuals between different territories within the British Empire, most notably the work of David Lambert and Alan Lester.[10] Lambert and Lester's important anthology *Colonial Lives across the British Empire* (2006) aimed to address the dearth of research on 'men and women who dwelt for extended periods in one colony before moving on to dwell in others', as opposed to short-staying imperial travel writers, who have received ample scholarly attention.[11] Lambert and Lester emphasize the multifaceted concept of 'imperial careers' as a tool for analysing this group: the term 'career' carries the double meaning of 'life course' and 'professional course', as well as capturing 'a sense of volition, agency and self-advancement, but also accident, chance encounter and the impact of factors beyond the control of the individual'.[12] Such a micro-level empirical focus can help to nuance macro-level generalizations, revealing the 'multiple subject positions' of individuals that undertook imperial (or anti-imperial) careers and thereby the 'multiple, and often contestatory "projects" of colonialism' that characterized all modern empires.[13]

Though their work is confined to the British Empire, Lambert and Lester call for research that transcends inter-imperial boundaries to complement single-empire studies.[14] Such approaches are common in early modern history, but far less so for the New Imperialism of *c.*1850–1950. This chapter contends that micro-historical approaches highlighting individual careers hold great potential to broaden our understanding of modern transimperial history. Individual transimperial lives can be used to reveal a complex patchwork of interests and ideologies that complicate macro-level grand narratives. Simon Potter and Jonathan Saha write that transimperial individual lives 'constituted new connections across empire and "facilitated the continual reformation of imperial discourses, practices and culture". These people were what Transnational historians would call "connectors" – "intermediaries, go-betweens and brokers" '.[15] Examining such individual life trajectories problematizes the ostensibly 'national' character of individual empires or nineteenth- and twentieth-century imperial projects and reveals imperial borders to be highly porous, at least to privileged, non-colonized subjects.

There are, however, as many different stories as there are individuals, and it becomes necessary to group or categorize these in some systematic way. Building on Lester and Lambert's emphasis on the 'career' as an important analytical tool, this chapter groups and analyses transimperial individuals according to their different professional roles. Besides having an appropriate double meaning in an imperial context, the term

'occupation' better captures collective similarities in groups of transimperial individuals, as opposed to the more individualistic focus of 'career'. Different occupational groups had widely diverging reasons for travelling in and between colonial territories, as well as different social statuses, resources and relationships with state authorities. Interests and outlooks of course varied within each group, but it is my contention that it is still useful to look at categories of individuals like missionaries, colonial administrators and colonists since each of these occupations was involved in the colonial project in common and distinct ways. Naturally, individuals could, and often did, play several such roles simultaneously. Nor are the categories below intended to be exhaustive, although they cover many of the most common transimperial occupations of the time. This occupational approach differs from Lambert's and Lester's in that its focus is primarily on context and identity rather than movement. Not all of the individual careers examined below brought transimperial individuals into more than one colonial territory, but they all involved a recontextualization of the actors to a new location where their identities and roles, as non-citizens of the empire in question, were more open to negotiation and manipulation.

Without taking a specific country, colony or empire as its starting point, this chapter will instead consider occupational categories present in virtually all modern empires, taking examples from a wide range of geographical locations. As individuals of a different nationality than the empire in which they lived and worked, transimperial individuals are interesting as a group of people that held a special, less self-evident place in colonial societies, regardless of *which* particular nationality they held. Though some formed communities with their compatriots, very often, they were mostly or totally alone. Nationality became but one facet of these individuals' identity, in contexts in which their occupational roles were often more significant. As such, imperial contexts frequently gave rise to close professional and social ties between individuals originating in different European countries or settler colonies. The demand for various types of colonial manpower also drew a large number of individuals from 'marginal' European countries that had small or no empires of their own, enmeshing them in the projects of 'great powers' like France and Britain. Treating one occupational category at a time, the following sections will analyse what members of these border-crossing occupational groups shared and how they strategically managed their national identity in foreign imperial spaces.

Mercenaries

Since the advent of modern nationalism and mass conscription in the nineteenth century, it has been common to project a view of 'national' armies as consisting of nationals of the belligerent country onto the more distant past. Early modern historians have contested this anachronism, pointing out, for example, the fact that the 'Swedish' army that was so effective during the Thirty Years' War was primarily composed of foreign mercenaries or the role of German 'Hessian' mercenaries in the American Revolutionary War.[16] Such work has importantly problematized the 'national' character generally attributed to such warfare. Nevertheless, while the role

of colonial armies composed of troops drawn from colonized populations in both modern colonial wars and the world wars has received a fair amount of scholarly attention,[17] the role of transimperial mercenaries during this period has until recently largely been overlooked.[18]

As the personal fief of Belgian King Leopold II rather than a colony of the state of Belgium, the Congo Free State (1885–1908) was especially noteworthy in this regard. In surveying and staking out his initial claims to the Congo, Leopold turned to the famed Anglo-American explorer Henry Morton Stanley. After securing his territorial claims with other European powers, Leopold created the *Force Publique* to 'pacify' the Congo and squeeze out its natural resources as cheaply as possible. The officers of this multifunction military/police force were recruited from across Europe. Belgium was insufficient as a recruiting ground given the number of men required and the high mortality rate from tropical diseases. A peaceful period in Europe encouraged adventure-seeking military men to look for combat elsewhere and leave was readily granted by national armies who saw the benefit in their soldiers gaining battle experience.[19] Moreover, there was a clear economic incentive for the soldiers, who were actively recruited with promises of a generous cut of the colonial booty. As Adam Hochschild has put it, 'To Europeans the Congo was a gold rush and the Foreign Legion combined.'[20]

Swedes, whose homeland gave up its only overseas colony in 1878, were the third most numerous nationality working for the Congo Free State,[21] and there is evidence that their countrymen who remained at home felt a kind of vicarious colonial pride in their work. Such sentiments extended to the highest levels of society. In a letter designed to flatter and win the support of Swedish King Oscar II for his manoeuvres in Berlin, Leopold strongly praised the quality of the Swedish officers who served in Congo. Oscar replied with obvious pride that 'in serving Your Majesty, [the officers] know they serve the cause of humankind'.[22] These feelings of pride seem to have persisted for decades. Another Swede, Eric von Otter, who had travelled to Kenya in the service of a Swedish trading firm but ended up fighting with the British during the First World War, was rewarded after the armistice by being placed in charge of an entire Kenyan province. Although he became increasingly sceptical of the colonial civilizing mission, he was praised on the cover of a biographical work published after his death with the revealing words 'gave the Swedish name a positive ring in distant lands'.[23] Clearly, those who arranged for its publication wanted Sweden to share in the glory of British colonialism, even if von Otter himself had had mixed feelings.

The French Foreign Legion is probably the best-known case in the often-overlooked history of transimperial mercenaries, but one that operated in a slightly different way than the *Force Publique*. Created in 1831 to assist in the French conquest of Algeria, the *Légion étrangère* was involved in colonial conquest and 'pacification' operations in nearly all segments of the French Empire, from the Middle East to Indochina to sub-Saharan Africa. A formidable tool for making use of diverse immigrants and demobilized soldiers who sought adventure or French citizenship, the Legion continued to play a major role in colonial warfare after the Second World War, when it was deeply involved in the wars of decolonization in Indochina and Algeria.[24] Today, the Legion continues to recruit men from around the world and has repeatedly been sent to former French

colonies in Africa, perpetuating colonial-era patterns of intervention. Interestingly, *légionnaires* serve under assumed names and, with French as the lingua franca in the corps, the original nationality of the soldiers is largely effaced. Unlike other examples of transimperial mercenaries, like those working in the Congo, the French Foreign Legion offers a kind of 'fresh start' for recruits rather than the promise of an episode of adventure and riches in an otherwise national military career.

In this case, transimperial individuals were (and still are) assimilated into a new, national fighting force, but as the earlier examples showed, many mercenaries retained feelings of loyalty towards or identification with their home country and merely served across imperial borders temporarily to gain experience, adventure and wealth during a time of European peace. Importantly, in all of these cases, soldiers from a variety of national backgrounds served together. Challenging oversimplified views of 'national' armies, such a view also raises important questions about European military cooperation and integration at an early phase. Susanne Kuss has pointed to the multinational force that invaded China in the Boxer War as a key example of European military collaboration,[25] but could the *Force Publique* also be seen as such an early example of European integration, foreshadowing transnational entities like Frontex? Common goals, aspirations to 'further civilization' and, to some extent, a common European identity among a transimperial soldiery certainly characterized many of these martial partnerships.

Engineers

During the second half of the long nineteenth century, as today, leading experts and researchers in various technical fields were in high demand globally, which often took their careers in transimperial directions. Infrastructure of various kinds was central to the modern colonial project almost everywhere, as large-scale resource extraction became an increasingly central strategic aim. As William Wheeler, a young American engineer who conducted surveys for roads and railways and designed an important bridge in the Japanese settler colony of Hokkaido, put it, 'railroads have proved to be … the true pioneers of colonization – the chief instrumentality in opening up vast territories in western America, South America, India and Australia'.[26] At this moment in time, the United States was world-leading in using railroads to facilitate settler colonialism, and many of its engineers applied their expertise in the service of other empires. This was not only the case of smaller or weaker empires like that of Japan but also the British Empire, which, among various professionals of many nationalities, employed a large number of American engineers in the construction of railroads such as the strategic Uganda Railway. In 1901, prefabricated bridge trusses, tools and rolling stock were shipped from the United States to Mombasa together with American engineers, who oversaw their assembly by workers both from the region and from British India.[27] British observers were often annoyed by this American 'invasion', but the massive consolidation of American heavy industry in the late nineteenth century and the United States' large domestic market made possible economies of scale with which British firms could scarcely compete. The Americans also described their activities

using the language of 'invasion' and 'conquest', but to demonstrate pride in their country's superior technical prowess and contribution to the spread of 'civilization'.[28]

This is not to say that the United States' own railroad network was only planned and operated by Americans. In another far-flung transimperial story recounted by Manjapra, several protégés of German forestry expert Dietrich Brandis, who worked for the British in Burma, later took important technical roles in American railway companies (forestry was strongly interlinked with railroad construction due to the need for vast numbers of wooden railroad ties).[29] As this example illustrates, transimperial careers should not be merely seen as examples of national comparative advantage, with experts from one country dominating a certain sector worldwide, but rather involved an inter-imperial competition for professionals drawn from a global pool of expertise.

Railroad construction was one of their most important activities, but transimperial engineers were also important in the establishment of colonial industries, such as German experts who built up a mechanized sugar industry in the Dutch East Indies.[30] As Stephen Tuffnell has shown, transimperial engineers were also major players in colonial mining operations. At this time, American mining engineers were recognized as the best in the world as a result of the emergence of a number of specialized mining colleges and the ample opportunities to gain varied mining experience in the American West.[31] Tuffnell also argues that white American engineers capitalized on the legacy of slavery and Jim Crow to sell themselves as 'experts' in managing reluctant non-white labour gangs, sometimes even influencing local colonial policy toward 'natives'.[32] Literally thousands of American mining engineers held key positions at British gold, coal and other mines in South Africa, and many subsequently went on to apply their expertise to joint Anglo-American mining ventures in Latin America. In such locations, they formed large expatriate 'colonies' where they celebrated holidays like Independence Day and Thanksgiving and arranged for the large-scale import of various American products.[33]

Sometimes engineers' careers spanned many colonial territories. In the 1870s, American engineer Benjamin Smith Lyman, trained in France and Germany, worked first for the British in the Punjab and subsequently as an engineering consultant for the Japanese colonial development authority in Hokkaido. In Hokkaido, he trained a number of Japanese assistants in Western engineering techniques and surveyed coal fields that would later fuel Japan's industrialization and further imperial expansion.[34] In the beginning of the twentieth century, Lyman worked for a New York company in the American-controlled Philippines, capping a long and extremely transimperial career.[35] Unlike some categories of transimperial actors, such engineers were not escaping failure, debt or lack of opportunity back home but belonged to a powerful elite, as evidenced by the presence of future American president Herbert Hoover among their ranks. Hoover's early career included stints in Australia, Africa and East Asia, and like other self-proclaimed 'experts' on non-white labour, he produced statistics about how many workers of different 'races' supposedly equalled one white worker in productivity.[36]

How did transimperial engineers perceive their role in other countries' colonial projects at the time? And how directly were they involved in the exploitation of local populations? The latter point varied. In certain colonial territories, like Hokkaido,

foreign engineers served mainly in an advisory role for the colonial government and the indigenous population did not provide a major source of manual labour, even though they were still adversely affected by the new infrastructure. Elsewhere, individual contractors worked autonomously on a project delegated to them by the colonial government, directly recruiting and overseeing colonized labour, whether paid or forced. Such was the case for the Scandinavian railroad contractor Joseph Stephens, who personally oversaw a large local labour force in British India in the 1860s, earning a sizeable fortune.[37]

As for their self-image and justifications, many transimperial engineers seem to have viewed and portrayed their activities as expanding the boundaries of civilization or improving humanity as a whole.[38] Wheeler certainly took this point of view, excusing his prolonged absence in letters to his family in Massachusetts with the unusual opportunity he had to advance human progress on Japan's distant colonial frontier.[39] This tendency for transimperial engineers to depict their work in other empires in either national or universal terms (or sometimes, paradoxically, both) seems to have been especially pronounced for elites from countries with few or no formal colonies of their own. As we have already seen for mercenaries, this fascinating blend of universalism and patriotism among individuals working in another country's empire reveals the complexity of identity formation in transimperial contexts, as well as the malleable meaning and function of nationality.

Merchants

Trade is perhaps the oldest and most common border-crossing enterprise. There is an enormous body of research on colonial trade during the early modern period, during which debates over mercantilism and free trade were among the most important fault lines in European politics. Scholarship on colonial trade during the era of the New Imperialism is unfortunately considerably smaller and less mainstream, but has the potential to tell us much about transimperial mobility.[40]

As with other transimperial individuals, merchants often capitalized on their nationality in business and politics, even though their objectives were of course usually more closely aligned with private enterprise than national interests. When only a few individuals or a small merchant community of a particular nationality existed in a given location, they could be called on to serve as translators or formal or informal links to their home country. As Aryo Makko has shown, it was common practice for Western countries during this period to designate prominent businessmen in various colonial locations as honorary, typically unpaid, consuls. Makko argues that such consuls played a central role in informal imperial expansion around the world, enabling even European countries with small or non-existent empires to share in the spoils of the Age of Empire.[41] Consuls during this period had wide-ranging powers and duties, including promoting trade and assisting nationals of the represented country abroad but even conducting diplomatic agreements and serving as magistrates, especially in countries where gunboat diplomacy had led to extraterritorial privileges. But as with other transimperial individuals, consuls' nationalities could be employed flexibly and,

like their commission itself, were no guarantee of political loyalty. Some consuls were content with the profit and prestige that derived from their official relationship with their home countries and their trading interests, while others abused their authority and distance from their home country or even directly defrauded it.[42] Interestingly, late nineteenth-century consuls were very frequently of another nationality than the country that they were commissioned to represent. Sweden-Norway engaged consuls from America, Germany, Great Britain, Belgium and other countries in the 1870s and 1880s, for example. In especially distant locations, it was not uncommon for one individual consul to represent multiple countries. Switzer George Henry Ruckert, operating out of Akyab, Burma, was at one point simultaneously the consul of France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Sweden-Norway, for example.[43]

The mercantile occupation was perhaps among the most porous of the categories examined in this chapter, and its ranks could easily be joined by enterprising individuals who first moved to another empire and worked in a different capacity and then spied a business opportunity. In a fascinating example, Per Högselius and Yunwei Song have scrutinized the career of Johan Gunnar Andersson, a Swedish geologist and advisor to the Chinese government in the early years of the twentieth century. Andersson, entranced by China's mineral wealth, capitalized on his nationality to argue for a strong partnership between China and Sweden, which he deliberately portrayed as a benign small power that could help China resist further imperial encroachment from Britain, France, the United States and Japan. In fact, Andersson secretly met with a group of Sweden's leading bankers and industrialists and plotted to secure control of mineral finds for his home country, also establishing contact with a Swedish trading firm in Japan that could be of assistance. Andersson seems to have had some success in convincing the fledgling Republican Chinese government of Sweden's ostensibly anti-imperialist, magnanimous intentions, but his schemes were ultimately derailed by complications arising from the First World War and the untimely death of Yuan Shikai, with whom he had nurtured strong connections.[44] Andersson's story reveals how transimperial individuals could easily draw on national networks to take advantage of business opportunities in remote locations. Even citizenship in a small and militarily weak European country could be turned to an advantage.

Expert advisors

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, colonial powers increasingly began to view colonization as an 'art' that required specialized theories and techniques. Specialty schools were set up in imperial metropoles to train functionaries for service in the empire and 'colonial studies' emerged as an academic field.[45] In this context, it should hardly be surprising that expert advisors on colonial matters were hired across imperial boundaries, just like engineers. These individuals' fields of expertise included everything from colonial and international law to tropical medicine to trade matters.

The most well-known employer of foreign advisors was Meiji Japan (1868–1912). There were more than 3,000 Western advisors in government service during the first part of this period, in addition to individuals hired by the private sector.[46] Advisors were

hired to Westernize almost every conceivable aspect of Japanese society and formed a diverse group, ranging from military experts to seismologists to dairy farmers. One of the most important kinds of foreign advisors were legal experts. As Alexis Dudden has shown, international law was a key discourse underpinning nineteenth- and twentieth-century imperialism. Although referred to in universal terms and as 'law', Dudden more accurately describes international law as a 'belief system' used by Western nations (and soon Japan) to subjugate and exploit other nations that lacked the military might necessary to contest this unscrupulous discursive system. According to international law, only 'civilized' countries had the right to act as full subjects of the law, with countries deemed 'uncivilized' unfit to represent themselves. The Japanese government quickly recognized that adroitness with international law was essential to maintaining Japan's nominal independence. In the decades following Japan's 'opening' to Western trade, Japanese leaders deftly used international law both to successfully call for the revision of unequal treaties between the West and Japan *and* to meddle in Korea's internal affairs and block Koreans' right to represent their country internationally.[47]

Hired foreigners were essential in Japan's quest to master the language of international law. Tellingly, many of the foremost foreign lawyers hired by the Meiji government both helped to reform domestic laws *and* served as colonial consultants. For example, celebrated French legal scholar Gustave Émile Boissonade de Fontarabie was employed by the Japanese Justice Ministry as a top government advisor from 1873 to 1895.[48] Besides advising the Japanese Cabinet and recruiting law instructors for Japanese universities, Boissonade was responsible for revising Japan's legal codes according to Western models (he unsurprisingly chose the Napoleonic Code as a model), earning him the epithet 'the father of modern Japanese law'.[49] These codes, along with his strong insistence that the Japanese legal system officially renounce torture, played a major role in Japan's eventual reversal of Western nations' extraterritoriality privileges.[50]

As Dudden has described, however, Boissonade also played a crucial, though far less well remembered, role in the gradual Japanese takeover of Korea. Japanese leaders felt threatened by Korea's centuries-long close tributary relationship to China and sought to sever that bond and increase their influence over the Korean government by means of international law. Boissonade was involved in Japan's 1875 attempt at gunboat diplomacy to 'open' Korea (imitating earlier American treatment of Japan). He also provided crucial advice on what demands to make of the Korean government in an unequal treaty of Japan's own.[51] Boissonade's teachings on the respective status of 'unequal states' according to international law also helped the Japanese to formulate a response to an 1882 uprising in Seoul against Japanese encroachment.[52]

Other advisors to the Japanese government, like American Durham Stevens, developed an unswerving loyalty to Japan and were used in a variety of roles. After several years of service, the Japanese government began to send Stevens on secret missions to lobby the American Congress on Japan's behalf and counter negative publicity in the American press. As a white American man, Stevens's glowing accounts of Japan's colonial endeavours in Korea were doubtless more credible to a white American public than those of more obviously nationally biased, and 'racially'

other, Japanese and Koreans. At the end of his career, Stevens was appointed as an advisor to the Korean foreign ministry, ostensibly without any connection to Japan, but in fact at the bidding and in the employ of the Japanese government. Taking advantage of the greater trust that many Koreans had for Americans, Japan used Stevens to spy on Korean diplomatic plans (mainly calls for aid from other powers against Japanese machinations) and exercise a measure of control over Korean foreign policy.[53]

Japan was not alone in employing such expert advisors, even if it probably did so to a greater extent than any other empire. Responding to similar external and internal pressures, the Ottoman Empire also engaged a number of European advisors in various fields starting in the Tanzimat era (1839–76). As in Japan, some of the most important of these were hired in order to modernize the Ottoman armed forces, with British advisors working with the navy, Germans with the army and French with the *gendarmerie*, based on perceptions of national aptitudes.[54] British experts were even entrusted with the post of inspector general at the Ottoman Ministry of Justice and Internal Affairs as well as with the reform of the important customs service in Istanbul.[55] In addition, foreign merchants were even appointed to a special civic council and granted sweeping powers to Westernize municipal services in the foreign quarter of Istanbul in the mid-nineteenth century.[56] Siam, the Qing Empire, Persia, Russia and various countries in South America similarly engaged foreign advisors during this period.[57]

Though in the employ of another empire, these transimperial experts varied in their degree of loyalty to their hosts. At one end of the spectrum were devoted 'converts' like Durham Stevens, while at the other were individuals who actively advanced the interests of their home country at the expense of their employer. In most cases, they had to strike a balance between their loyalties and could sometimes capitalize on their position to serve as useful intermediaries, like French businessman Antoine Alléon, who was close to the Ottoman sultan but also performed favours for the French Embassy in Istanbul.[58] Hired experts were also entrusted with various degrees of autonomy; some were appointed to government posts directly, while others were advisors in both name and actuality. Though paying its advisors handsomely, Japan was especially jealous of its sovereignty and developed elaborate contracts with which to keep its hired foreigners in a purely advisory role.[59] In almost all cases, the nationality of top-level advisors could become a thorny political issue. Both Japan and Ottoman Empire endeavoured to balance the nationality of their advisors so that no one country would gain too much influence and to avoid accusations of partiality by potentially hostile rival empires.[60] As a result, many of these transimperial individuals operated in a particularly cosmopolitan environment and worked and made close friends with experts of other nationalities. Such figures with a suitable professional background capitalized on their hosts' perceptions of the national strengths of their home countries (such as British naval expertise) and opportunities to serve as intermediaries with their countrymen in various situations, but nevertheless operated in a context in which cooperation across national lines in service of a common occupation was essential.

Colonists

The very term 'settler' implies *immobility*, but among colonists, too, there was a great deal of transimperial movement during the modern Age of Empire. After making one long move, colonists became more likely to engage in additional moves to other colonial territories. A significant proportion of the settlers in French Indochina came from France's Indian Ocean colonies of Réunion and French India, for example, despite their small size.[61] But far from all colonists remained within their own empire. In a common discourse among colonial elites at the time, settler colonies were viewed as an outlet for 'excess population' that was causing social problems in the metropole.[62] Simultaneously, the leaders of countries who lacked colonies of their own or whose colonies did not provide enough attraction to emigrants often fretted about this 'loss' of human resources to other countries or empires.[63] While considered burdensome at home, these individuals could spread their national culture and contribute to national development if provided with land and opportunities abroad. The increasing centrality of mass mobilization in the cataclysmic wars of the twentieth century only inflamed these sentiments. Despite great efforts on the part of the emigrants' home countries, the frequency with which fears of population 'loss' to other empires or countries continued to be voiced indicate that it was often difficult to keep members of the 'excess population' within one's own empire.

Such was the case for France's most (in)famous modern settler colony: Algeria. Starting shortly after the initial French conquest of 1830, large numbers of non-French European settlers poured into the territory, primarily from adjacent Mediterranean countries like Italy, Malta and Spain (in particular, the Balearic Islands).[64] In these early years, France and the French colonial state had an ambivalent relationship with these foreigners. French leaders had high hopes for Algeria as a model French colony, but were disappointed by the dearth of interest in emigration among their compatriots. In the colony, European Mediterranean migrants performed important, largely unskilled, labour (the Muslim population of Algeria was considered too unreliable according to widespread French prejudice), but were still only tolerated rather than welcomed into Algerian colonial society. Dreaming of hardworking yeomen farmers and influenced by the national stereotypes of the day, French officials tried to redirect northern European emigration to Algeria instead of America, actively recruiting Germans, Belgians and Swiss, but these never came close to the number of southern Europeans, whom they generally reviled for their destitution and supposed laziness.[65] In fact, non-French Europeans outnumbered French settlers throughout almost the entire first fifty years of the colony's existence, constituting just over half of the European population.[66] As the years went on and it became increasingly clear that French dreams of a colony predominantly populated by French and northern Europeans would never be realized, southern Europeans were increasingly accepted, until all of their children born in Algeria were automatically naturalized as French citizens in 1889. As a result of the concurrent advent of Jules Ferry's 'secular, free [of charge] and obligatory' public school system, by the 1920s the descendants of southern European immigrants were fully assimilated into colonial French society.[67]

Other settler colonies that pursued a less radical assimilatory programme achieved similar results through a more inclusive (for Europeans and their descendants) conception of 'whiteness'. As Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds have demonstrated, an increasingly hegemonic and highly simplified white–non-white binary developed transimperially around the turn of the twentieth century in South Africa, Australia, the western United States and elsewhere. Perhaps most spectacularly, this allowed for the rapid reconciliation and close cooperation of the Boers and the English in South Africa only a handful of years after they were bitterly at war. A common white identity was forged, pitting them against the Black majority population.[68]

In virtually every example of modern settler colonialism, settlers have unsurprisingly been the staunchest defenders of the unequal colonial order, whether in the form of segregation, harsh punitive laws or even genocidal militia warfare against colonized peoples.[69] Settler lobbies often fiercely resisted humanitarian reforms issued by the metropole and resented other metropolitan interference in colonial affairs.[70] This dynamic may have been exacerbated as transimperial settlers attempted to assimilate into the majority settler culture. As James McDougall writes of Algeria, 'As the divisions between communities and individuals of different European origins became blurred and tended to dissipate, so the line demarcating Europeans en bloc from [Muslim] Algerians … became harder, remaining as the primary focus of social and political antagonism.'[71] In this way, the most vulnerable segment of colonial societies, the indigenous population, could thus come to bear the brunt of transimperial settlers' desire for inclusion as they sought to differentiate themselves from such subalterns.

Missionaries

As members of a worldwide movement with universalist aspirations that in most cases was separate from the colonial state, Christian missionaries represent a special category of actors in the colonial situation. Unlike many other transimperial occupations, which were monopolized by white men and closely related to notions of masculinity, missionary work involved a great many women. Missionaries worked in nearly all of the world's colonial territories throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century, but had an ambiguous relationship with the colonial state and colonial settlers that has given rise to intense debate. 'Were missionaries colonizers?', asks Karen Vallgårda in an important article that summarizes the discussion. Vallgårda concludes that it oversimplifies the situation of missionaries in colonial territories to merely relegate them to one or the other of the simplistic binary categories of 'colonizer' and 'colonized', necessitating closer microstudies.[72]

On the one hand, missionaries were bearers of the same kinds of racist, exoticizing colonial discourses that underpinned state expansionism and often treated both actual and potential local converts accordingly. Missionaries also frequently worked together with the colonial state in various ways. On the other hand, missionaries could take the side of the colonized against other foreign actors in colonial territories. Saving souls was work that usually involved forging a closer relationship with colonized subjects than any of the interactions undertaken by the colonial state, and missionaries were

often far better versed in local languages and customs than any other outsiders, not infrequently leading to increased sympathy for colonized peoples. These sympathies could lead missionaries to clash with the colonial state and especially settlers, who generally were more inclined to view the colonized as a source of cheap labour or a security threat that needed to be brutally repressed than as individuals in need of spiritual salvation.[73] It was not uncommon for missionaries to criticize colonial governments on moral and humanitarian grounds, but as with nearly all other Western humanitarian critiques of colonialism at the time, these tended to advocate reform rather than challenging the legitimacy of colonialism itself.[74] In Vallgårda's words, 'The peculiar combination of Christian universalism and racialized thinking constituted one of the greatest paradoxes in colonial society.'[75]

In addition to these special attributes, a great many missionaries exemplified transimperial careers. An excellent example is the Swedish evangelical mission in Congo. Studying their letters and other writings, Simon Larsson argues that although Swedish missionaries were sometimes powerful critics of colonial violence in Leopold II's Congo Free State, they were also supportive of the state for strategic and ideological reasons.[76] Missionaries were practically dependent on the colonial state for protection in a region where many local residents believed (often correctly) that they had to fight for their lives against any arriving white people.

On a deeper ideological level, however, the goals of the Swedish mission in many ways required and were consistent with a strong colonial state. Larsson argues that Swedish missionaries aimed for nothing less than remaking Congolese society from the ground up, creating a European-style individualistic Christian nation with its basis in the nuclear family. The missionaries clearly understood that undertaking such changes would require a powerful state apparatus. On the other hand, the government of the Congo Free State was uninterested in implementing such sweeping changes to Congolese society, preferring to adopt the most straightforward approach to resource extraction. Missionaries complained at the state's unwillingness to shoulder the burden of educating the local population. By undertaking this task themselves, Swedish missionaries assisted the colonial state, but they resented the lack of state support and the diversion of their resources from proselytizing. In these ways, the colonial state and the Swedish mission had separate aims that sometimes converged and sometimes diverged, leading them to an uneasy partial cooperation. The fact that the Scandinavian missionaries were not Belgian or Catholic added a level of distrust and uncertainty that ironically tempered the Swedes' harshest criticism of colonial violence, for fear of expulsion.[77] Vallgårda describes the Danish mission in South India in comparable terms: 'A shifting mixture of mutual animosity and admiration, skepticism and support characterized their relationship with the British colonial government.'[78] As imperial 'careerists', missionaries were especially flexible and often overlapped with the other occupational categories described in this chapter.

Conclusion

He is an Englishman!
For he himself has said it,

And it's greatly to his credit,
That he is an Englishman!
…
For he might have been a Roosian,
A French, or Turk, or Proosian,
Or perhaps Italian!
…
But in spite of all temptations
To belong to other nations,
He remains an Englishman![79]

Ever the masters of political satire in Britain at the height of its empire, Gilbert and Sullivan point out the absurdity of nationalism in this bracing, celebratory song from their operetta HMS *Pinafore*. But in spite of our tendency to view modern imperialism through a national lens and take it for granted that one's nationality is not a choice, it was in fact far more common than has been generally recognized for individuals of all stripes 'to belong to other nations' or empires during this period, as this chapter has shown. Both globally valued professional skills and nationality were malleable resources that could be strategically deployed by transimperial individuals in a wide variety of geographical and occupational contexts. Taking up the call by historians like Potter and Saha to write modern 'connected histories of empire' using such transimperially active individuals, this chapter has presented a myriad of examples of how men and women in different occupational categories worked for other empires than those of their birth country and thereby forged important transimperial linkages during the modern Age of Empire, *c.*1850–1914.

While individual lives can reveal much about the diversity of motives or circumstances that drove people to cross imperial boundaries, this chapter has contended that occupational categories can serve as a useful analytical category midway between micro- and macro-history. Members of these different occupational groups often had much in common, whether in terms of political views, economic power, social status or attitudes towards race and the imperial project itself. These commonalities with others of the same occupation, broadly construed, were often far more significant in colonial contexts than the individuals' particular country of origin. They also permit a closer and more specific analysis than broader class categories, even though these can also be useful when telling larger stories of social and economic development.

Transimperial individuals occasionally outnumbered nationals of the colonizing country in imperial territories, as non-French European colonists in Algeria, but frequently, they were a small minority, exceptions to the rule. What, then, can we learn about modern imperialism from their stories, beyond their value as interesting anecdotes? A focus on individuals from comparatively small countries, or countries without empires, demonstrates the relevance of colonial history to all parts of Europe. Moreover, the stories of transimperial individuals reveal the complexity of the social hierarchy in nearly all colonial territories. Describing missionaries, Vallgårda writes that 'relations of power are rarely dichotomous, and certainly not in colonial

situations'.[80] Indeed, as the examples presented above reveal, colonial hierarchies were often less a sandwich than a *mille-feuille* pastry. Colonial Hokkaido saw the interaction of high Japanese officials, destitute Honshu colonists, dispossessed and forcibly relocated indigenous Ainu, American technical advisors and British missionaries. Nineteenth-century Algerians, themselves highly heterogeneous, were confronted with Swiss mercenary soldiers, Spanish, Italian and Maltese migrant labourers, German agricultural colonists and French land magnates. Indians had to contend with British administrators, Scandinavian railroad contractors, American engineers and Danish missionaries, while building their own transimperial anti-colonial networks overseas. These messy social amalgamations could both strengthen and undermine colonial rule and provided ample room for different groups to exert agency over their situation and jockey for power.

The stories of transimperial careerists also challenge the seemingly self-evident connections between nation and empire. Just how 'British' was India or how 'French' was Algeria? Many of the individuals described earlier reveal a high degree of European integration within various social classes or occupational groups overseas. The stories of transimperial individuals and groups complicate and challenge the use of national labels in imperial territories, but in some cases, paradoxically, 'the national was not undermined by transimperial connections but heightened by them', as Tuffnell argues with regard to American engineers in the British Empire.[81] As we have seen, such individuals could feel national pride in what they felt was their role in advancing 'civilization', in universal terms, rather than merely extending the reach of the empire for or in which they were working. In these ways, studying transimperial history through individual careers and occupational groups further complicates existing understandings of how national, imperial and universalist identities intersected in colonial contexts. Clearly, the examples above are only the tip of the proverbial iceberg, and future studies of transimperial careerists will help us to better understand our contemporary, hyper-globalized world, in which such connections are more the rule than the exception.

Notes

1. 'Gen. LeGendre Dead', *New York Times*, 3 September 1899.
2. Matthew Fraleigh, 'Japan's First War Reporter: Kishida Ginkō and the Taiwan Expedition', *Japanese Studies* 30, no. 1 (2010): 43–66; Sandra Caruthers, 'Charles LeGendre, American Diplomacy, and Expansionism in Meiji Japan' (PhD diss., University of Colorado, 1966), chapter 5.
3. 'Gen. LeGendre Dead'.
4. Amartya Sen, *Identity and Violence* (London: Penguin, 2015).
5. Christof Dejung, David Motadel and Jürgen Osthammel, eds, *The Global Bourgeoisie: The Rise of the Middle Classes in the Age of Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019).
6. Kris Manjapra, 'The Semiperipheral Hand: Middle-Class Service Professionals of Imperial Capitalism', in Dejung et al., *The Global Bourgeoisie*, 189.
7. Ibid.

8. Missionaries, for example, often came from more humble backgrounds than the colonial managers described by Manjapra, and settlers often came from the lower classes, to some extent explaining their frequent conflicts with colonial authorities.
9. For important theoretical texts in the subfield of transimperial history, see Volker Barth and Roland Cvetkovski, eds, *Imperial Cooperation and Transfer, 1870–1930* (Basingstoke: Bloomsbury, 2015); Simon Potter and Jonathan Saha, 'Global History, Imperial History and Connected Histories of Empire', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 16, no. 1 (2015): n.p.; John L. Hennessey, 'Rule by Association: Japan in the Global Trans-imperial Culture, 1868–1912' (PhD diss., Linnaeus University, 2018); Daniel Hedinger and Nadin Heé, 'Transimperial History: Connectivity, Cooperation and Competition', *Journal of Modern European History* 16, no. 4 (2018): 429–52; Bernhard Schär, 'From Batticaloa via Basel to Berlin: Transimperial Science in Ceylon and Beyond around 1900', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 48, no. 2 (2020): 230–62.
10. Alan Lester, 'British Settler Discourse and the Circuits of Empire', *History Workshop Journal* 54, no. 1 (2002): 24–48; David Lambert and Alan Lester, 'Introduction: Imperial Spaces, Imperial Subjects', in *Colonial Lives across the British Empire*, ed. Lambert and Lester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1–31. In both instances, Lester refers to this *intra*-imperial historiography as 'transimperial', but the term has since come to be used for the history of *inter*-imperial circulations. See Mizutani Satoshi, 'Introduction to "Beyond Comparison: Japanese Colonialism in Transimperial Relations" ', *Cross-Currents* 32 (2019): 7–8 for a discussion of terminology.
11. Lambert and Lester, 'Introduction', 1.
12. Ibid., 21–2.
13. Ibid., 2, 6. The latter position is inspired by Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
14. Lambert and Lester, 'Introduction', 31.
15. Potter and Saha, 'Global History', citing Lambert and Lester, 'Introduction', 2, and Pierre-Yves Saunier, *Transnational History* (Basingstoke: Bloomsbury, 2013), 36.
16. Geoff Mortimer, ed., 'War by Contract, Credit and Contribution: The Thirty Years War', in *Early Modern Military History, 1450–1815* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 102; Charles Ingrao, ' "Barbarous Strangers": Hessian State and Society during the American Revolution', *American Historical Review* 87, no. 4 (1982): 954–76.
17. See, e.g., Ronald Lamothe, *Slaves of Fortune: Sudanese Soldiers and the River War, 1896–1898* (London: Currey, 2011); Christian Koller, 'The Recruitment of Colonial Troops in Africa and Asia and Their Deployment in Europe during the First World War', *Immigrants & Minorities* 26, nos. 1–2 (2008): 111–33; Richard Fogarty, *Race and War in France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).
18. See, e.g., Bernhard Schär, 'Switzerland, Borneo and the Dutch Indies: Towards a New Imperial History of Europe, c.1770–1850', *Past & Present* 257, no. 1 (2022): 134–67; Peter Forsgren, 'I den europeiska civilisationens tjänst' (In the Service of European Civilization), *Historisk tidskrift* 140, no. 3 (2020): 444–75.
19. Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost* (New York: Mariner, 1999), 123–39.
20. Ibid., 138–9.
21. David Nilsson, *Sweden-Norway at the Berlin Conference 1884–85* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2013), 5.

22. Oskar II to Leopold II (draft), 1 April 1885, quoted and translated in Nilsson, *Sweden-Norway at the Berlin Conference*, 26.
23. Forsgren, 'I den europeiska civilisationens tjänst', 462–70, quote 464, my translation.
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28. Ibid., 58–60.
29. Manjapra, 'Semiperipheral Hand', 201–2.
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32. Ibid., 65, 76; Tuffnell, 'Crossing the Rift', 56.
33. Tuffnell, 'Engineering Inter-imperialism', 59, 70.
34. 'Benjamin Smith Lyman Papers: Finding Aid', University of Massachusetts, Amherst Special Collections and University Archives, accessed September 27, 2020, http://findingaids.library.umass.edu/ead/mums190; Michele Mason, *Dominant Narratives of Colonial Hokkaido and Imperial Japan* (New York: Springer, 2012), 129.
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39. Hennessey, 'Rule by Association', 89–91.
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49. Ibid., 8–9; Dudden, *Japan's Colonization*, 105–9.
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57. Suonpää, 'Foreign Advisers', 387; Jones, *Live Machines*, 27.
58. Rosenthal, 'Foreigners and Municipal Reform', 231–2.
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3

Small numbers – lasting impact: 'Marginal' Europeans in Brazil's slave-based economy, 1808–88

André Nicacio Lima

Nineteenth-century Brazil was continuously connected to most European regions and nations, from the great empires to more 'marginal' states. European influence in Brazil manifested itself both in migration and the establishment of large settlements and in economic activities of individuals and companies. In terms of population, the first national census of Brazil, in 1872, records the presence of 40,000 Germans, 8,200 Italians, 6,800 French, 4,000 Spaniards, 3,300 English, 2,400 Swiss, 814 Austrians, 569 Dutch, 486 Belgians, 223 Danes, 179 Swedes, 134 Greeks, 98 Russians and 24 Hungarians.[1] With regard to business, a list of merchants registered in various Brazilian ports between 1868 and 1888 includes individuals and firms of twelve European nationalities, who were active in the most diverse sectors.[2]

This extensive European presence in Brazil was a consequence of the Portuguese court moving to Rio de Janeiro in 1808. In previous centuries, Brazil's ports had been practically closed to non-Portuguese Europeans. The new Brazilian elite that established itself from 1808 onwards introduced new liberal policies: It allowed free trade and opened its markets for foreign trading companies. Furthermore, King João VI initiated a new immigration policy, authorizing the settlement of Europeans of various nationalities and creating immigrant colony initiatives organized and financed by the state. The first new settler colonies established under this theme in 1818 were the Swiss colony Nova Friburgo in Rio de Janeiro and the German-Swiss colony Leopoldina, in Bahia. Dom João VI's reforms also included the establishment of diplomatic relations. Consuls from various nations took up residency in Rio de Janeiro and other cities of the country, especially in its large ports and in the areas with the highest concentration of immigrants. Finally, rapid liberalization and transformation of Rio de Janeiro into the seat of the Portuguese monarchy also brought many European artists, naturalists and travellers to the country, who painted and observed the hitherto poorly known realities in this country.[3]

This massive influx of Europeans from multiple linguistic, religious, cultural and geographic provenances who interacted with the country's Portuguese literate and ruling elite, had decisive impacts on the national formation of Brazil, which became

an independent state in 1822. Hence, European authors of travel narratives were responsible for the beginning of higher education in the arts in Brazil, for the scientific cataloguing of animals and plants and for descriptions and visual representations that included portraits of powerful Brazilians, depictions of historical events, lush rainforest landscapes, everyday scenes of slavery in Rio de Janeiro and the dress and customs of indigenous peoples from the distant interior. There is a great tradition of studies in Brazil celebrating these non-Portuguese Europeans' contributions to architecture, urbanity, literature, the arts and the sciences and to daily lives among imperial elite in general.[4] However, critical studies examining the role of these Europeans in the expansion of slavery and linked to that, the modernization of capitalist society in Brazil, are still very rare.[5]

Although non-Portuguese Europeans were a tiny part of the population (0.67 per cent, according to the 1872 census), the position that some of them occupied in the circles of the imperial elite made them among the main inventors of a Brazilian nationality. One of them, the Frenchman Jean-Baptiste Debret, designed Brazil's first national flag in 1822, which will be presented later, as well as coats of arms, clothes, crown and other imperial trappings. He was also one of the main artists to portray the characters and events of Brazil's Independence. Another, the German Carl Friedrich Philipp von Martius, won a contest promoted by the empire's main cultural institution, the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute, in 1844 on the question 'How should the history of Brazil be written?'[6] The text of von Martius was the first proposal of writing a Brazilian national history and his narrative was so successful that it was still reproduced in a generalized way in the school education in Brazil until the end of the last military dictatorship (1964–88). In the text, the German naturalist proposed that, even though Brazil was formed by three different 'races' (whites, blacks and reds), the race of the European dominators tended to absorb, like a great river, its lesser inflows. Therefore, even if mestizo, Brazil's future horizon was white.

White immigration played a central role in this national fable, after all, the population residing in Brazil was mostly Afro-indigenous. Between 1550 and 1850, for every hundred individuals who entered Brazil, eighty-six were Africans and only fourteen Europeans.[7] If there was a racial 'great river', it was not white, but Black. In the first half of the nineteenth century alone, more than a million enslaved people trafficked from Africa landed in the port of Rio de Janeiro alone.

The place of the immigrant as a whitening agent was already formulated when the very first European settlement was established in 1818: the Nova Friburgo colony, founded by Swiss in the interior of Rio de Janeiro. On that occasion, one of the first Brazilian newspapers, the *Correio Braziliense*, celebrated the embarkation 'because there can be no measure that is more useful to them [the Brazilians] than the reception of these European emigrants, mainly from Switzerland'. The author offered two reasons for the importance of Swiss immigration to Brazil. The first was that 'the abolition of the slave trade will take place sooner or later, and the best preparation for this event is the introduction of labourers to replace the Africans'.[8] The second reason was:

> The difference of colour is an invincible obstacle to assimilating the negroes with the rest of the population; even if they were free. Europeans on the other

hand, once the first Brazilian born generation will have overcome the language differences, will integrate all different European cultures into a truly Brazilians people, in every sense of the word.[9]

Throughout the nineteenth century, this conception gave way to a growing racialization of the justifications, which besides speaking of 'whitening', began to speak in terms of 'improvement of the Brazilian race' through a double strategy of white immigration and miscegenation. Therefore, the persistence of exclusively white immigration policies in Brazil was based, at first, on the affirmation of the superiority of European civilization, shifting throughout the century to explanations of the so-called scientific racism.[10] In turn, the commitment of the political elites regarding immigration and the success of immigration policies are undoubtedly related to the history of slavery and the problem of labour for Brazilian plantation owners.

As we can see in Figure 3.1, European immigration had a significant increase both in 1850, when the African slave trade was abolished, and in 1888, when slavery itself was abolished. However, with its advances and setbacks, slavery was present in the concerns of farmers, diplomats and governments throughout the century. Its relative failure has various causes, which are not up for discussion here. It is important to mention that this failure lasted until the end of slavery and that it was supplied mainly by the internal trafficking of slaves from a plantation region in crisis (the northeast) to the new centre of the Brazilian slave plantation (the southeast).

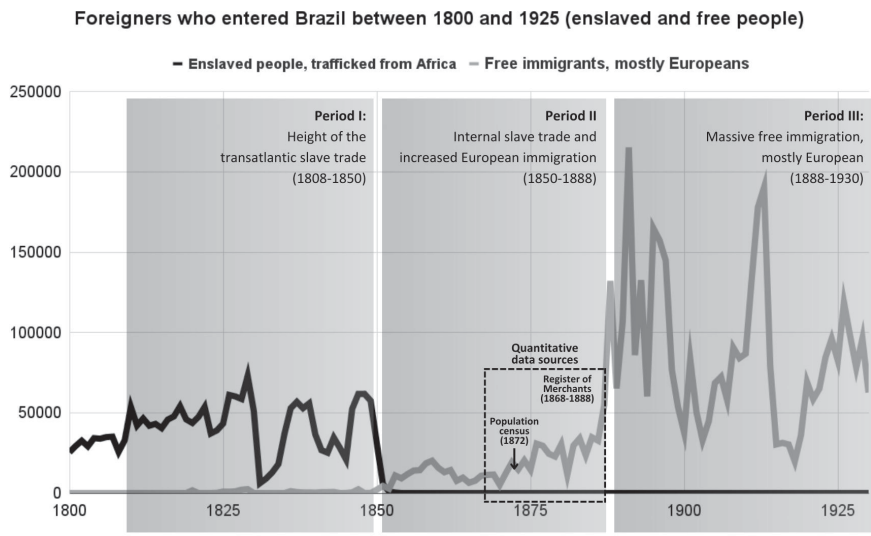

Figure 3.1 Foreigners who entered Brazil between 1800 and 1925.

Source: Slavevoyages: The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database. Available at www.slavevoyages.org/ (accessed 24 May 2023); Instituto Brasileiro De Geografia E Estatística, Estatísticas do povoamento – imigração total. Available at: https://brasil500anos.ibge.gov.br/estatisticas-do-povoamento/imigracao-total-periodos-anuais.html (accessed 24 May 2023).

Therefore, from Independence (1822) until Abolition (1888), Brazil was a country whose elites sought to build their export economy on the institution of slavery and to modernize their society through 'whitening' with European immigration. In Brazilian historiography, this story is usually told as one of replacement of an old labour regime by another, modern one. Only recently, have historians started to examine racialization in Brazilian history more critically and thereby also acknowledge the role of Black people in Brazilian Modernity.[11]

The European emigration to Brazil is the subject of numerous studies in the history of migration. Historians from Germany, Switzerland, Italy and other supposedly marginal European regions of the nineteenth century usually focus only on migrations form their own nation. Analytically they therefore remain within their own national, European perspective and empirically they rely heavily or often exclusively on European archives.[12] This produces two short comings. Firstly, slavery as a foundational institution of Brazilian history and interactions with enslaved people, but also with the Brazilian political and economic elite, remain mostly obscure in these narratives.[13] Secondly, one of the main themes among European migration studies, namely the poverty that caused European mass migration to the Americas and which they often struggled to overcome in the colonies, is also often portrayed one-sidedly, as recent studies from Brazilian historians have shown. This is best exemplified with the first new and much-discussed colony Swiss emigrants in Nova Friburgo.[14] As Rodriquo Maretto's empirically rich study makes clear, it is undeniable that the Swiss migrants' displacement was marked by precariousness and epidemics. Moreover, it is also the case that the best lands had already been occupied by Luso-Brazilians before the arrival of the Swiss. Yet, in the long run these Swiss – and other European settlers after them – received not only houses (built by exploited indigenous people in the case of Nova Friburgo), land and crops, but – as a nineteenth century French traveller observed – also 'a certain number of slaves of both sexes to be distributed among the Swiss families'.[15] In other words: newly arriving Europeans were white settlers who were desired by the local elites. They had a right to full Brazilian citizenship and could additionally count on support from consuls from their country as well as from charitable associations to keep them out of poverty. In such a context, it is not surprising that several Swiss immigrants became rich and influential in Brazilian society.

The role of non-Portuguese Europeans in the Brazilian national formation is well known when it comes to the classical themes of French cultural and political influence and British commercial predominance during the nineteenth century. Far less is known, however, when it comes to Europeans hailing from supposedly less powerful or more peripheral countries, namely from pre-unified Germany and Italy or from Switzerland, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Greece and Russia. In turn, the old competitors of the Portuguese in the colonization of Brazil in previous centuries, Spain and Holland, no longer feature in Brazil's nineteenth century national history. To better understand the role and the relationships established between 'marginal' Europeans and Brazilian nation-building and state formation, let us focus on the case of Switzerland, which in terms of immigrant population and the number of traders established in Brazil, occupies a position not much lower than that of the French and the English.

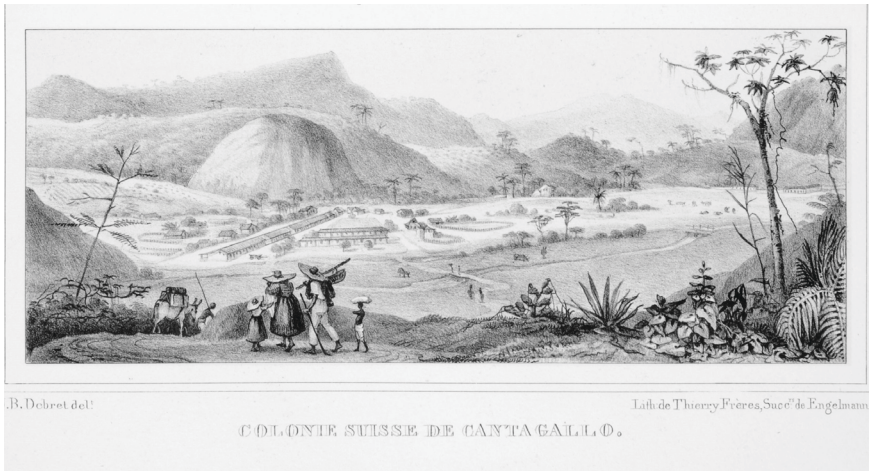

Figure 3.2 Jean-Baptiste Debret's painting 'Swiss Colony of Cantagalo', representing the landscape of the settlers' houses, lined up in a valley. The only family that appears is not Swiss, but Black and enslaved. At that time, Rio de Janeiro was the largest slave port in the world, having disembarked over 1 million enslaved Africans in the first half of the nineteenth century alone. Cantagalo was, as we shall see later, one of the main centres of expansion of the plantation economy that drove this colossal forced migration.

Credits: Jean-Baptiste Debret, *Colonie suisse de Cantagallo* (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1835). Biblioteca Brasiliana Guita e José Mindlin – PRCEU/USP.

'Marginal' Europeans in the Brazilian Empire: The case of Switzerland

To reconstruct the trajectories of the Swiss, in a first step, we organized the information about population and commerce in Brazil. The 1872 census allowed us to map this presence of foreign Europeans in each locality of the national territory.[16] As for the presence of foreign trading companies and merchants, the main source used was a list of individuals and companies registered in the main ports of Brazil, which we found in early 2023 in the Public Archive of the State of Bahia (APEB) in Salvador.[17] This documentation provided us not only with the number of merchants of each nationality, but also their names, the branches of trade in which they were active, the place where they were established and the ports in which they were registered.

In general terms, it can be said that the merchants registered in Brazilian ports between 1868 and 1888 were 47.2 per cent Portuguese, 46.3 per cent Brazilian and 6.6 per cent belonging to sixteen different origins, eleven of them being European nations, as shown in Table 3.1.

Regarding the branches of activity of foreign merchants, it is important to highlight that Europeans were mostly in foreign trade activities (import and export) and in the local marketing of imported products (especially manufactured goods from Europe).

Table 3.1 Registered Merchants by Nationality and Place of Registration, Except Portuguese and Brazilian (1868–88)

	Corte	Porto Alegre	Maranhão / São Luís	Pernambuco / Recife	Belém	Ceará / Fortaleza	Sem informação	Total
German	37	8					1	46
Spanish	22	3	3	4	2			34
Italian	26	3	2	1	1	1		34
English	28			3	1	1		33
French	28	2		1	1			32
Swiss	12		2	3	1			18
American	6	1	1	2				10
Argentine	3	1						4
Danish	1		1					2
Uruguayan	1	1						2
Belgian	1							1
Bolivian	1							1
Greek	1							1
Hungarian	1							1
African	1							1
Norwegian	1							1
Total	170	19	9	14	6	2	1	221

Source: Interpellation 21.3905 by Franzsika Ryser 'Bundesrätliche Rechtfertigung der Sklaverei (1864 und 2018)', submitted on 18 June 2021 to the National Council, www.parlament.ch/de/ratsbetrieb/suche-curia-vista/geschaeft?AffairId=20213905.

However, there are also several cases of pioneers in the creation of industries in Brazilian territory, such as the Swiss James-Ferdinand de Pury and Etienne Alexander de Pourtalés, with tobacco factories in Rio de Janeiro.[18]

Some nationalities appear only once or twice in the records and can be characterized as one-off cases in the Brazilian context. The only Belgian, Louis Loureys, registered his import/export business in Rio de Janeiro in 1873. According to the press of the time, he traded paper, cotton, fabrics, glassware, dentists' ware, printing ink, barley for beer brewing, among many other items.[19] The Hungarian Alberto Wellisch had a similar profile, although less varied, with trade in imported goods in the country's capital. The Norwegian Marcos Gorresen, enrolled in Rio de Janeiro in 1875, traded fabrics, ironware, drugs and other objects wholesale and retail in São Francisco do Sul, Santa Catarina. This was a region with a strong presence of immigrants from Europe, where the Gorresen family also came to own a soap factory.[20] A particular successful trader was the Greek Othon Leonardos. He registered in 1882 in Rio de Janeiro, where he traded in domestic and foreign goods.[21] He went on to become Greek consul in Brazil, accumulating large and profitable colonial businesses and integrating fully in the Brazilian elite of the late nineteenth century.[22]

Denmark had two merchants in this list, which can also be taken as isolated cases. One of them was Henry Gad, partner of André de Oliveira & Gad, who registered in 1882 a trade of drugs, clinical and pharmaceutical products and importation. The other Dane, John Frederico Hoyer, was registered in Maranhão in 1869, being thirty years old at the time. He was an owner of various businesses, established in Parnaíba, Piauí.[23] His brother was vice consul of Denmark, established in Maranhão and owned even bigger businesses: a partner of the Bank of Maranhão, a steam navigation company, an import trading house, a company linked to the mechanization of agriculture, among others.[24]

It goes without saying that contextualizing these European traders within their national immigrant communities, as well as following up on their relationships with both Brazilian elites and investors and trading partners in their countries of origin, would contribute substantially to the still unwritten entangled history of European democracies and Brazil's regime of slavery. For now, this ought to remain a desideratum for future research.

Here, the broad spectrum of European economic presence in Brazil serves to better understand the particularity of Swiss traders. Unlike Belgium, Hungary, Norway, Greece and Denmark, Switzerland cannot be characterized as an isolated case. In the list, seventeen Swiss merchants are listed as being registered in all the main ports of Brazil, a number inferior only to Germany, England, Italy, Spain and France and equal to the sum of all merchants from the Americas (ten from the United States, four from Argentina, two from Uruguay, one from Bolivia). This significant number of Swiss merchants is certainly related to the presence of thousands of immigrants in the country, since the foundation of the Nova Friburgo and Leopoldina colonies in 1818. Their businesses were varied, contemplating foreign trade and European goods, but also industry, printing, among other activities, as demonstrated in Table 3.2.

As we can see, the crossing of demographic and commercial sources with information taken from newspapers allows us to reconstruct trajectories and get to know better the Europeans, 'marginal' or not, who established their businesses in Brazil in the nineteenth century. The main archive for nineteenth century newspapers is available at the Hemeroteca Digital of the Biblioteca Nacional. Using these sources, a broad and complex picture of the ways in which the Swiss were present in the country since 1808 emerges. In quantitative terms it is interesting to observe how Brazilian newspapers mention Switzerland in increasing numbers throughout the decades: 278 in the 1820s, 1,102 in the 1830s, 3,250 in the 1840s, 4,992 in the 1850s and so on. This is due, in part, to the increase in the number of newspapers. But it also expresses the consolidation of Swiss immigration and a considerable increase of Swiss business in Brazil, since by the mid-nineteenth century most of the references concern business (buying and selling lists, commercial advertisements, lists of shareholders, etc.). In qualitative terms, a broad variety of themes emerge. For instance, in 1825, Regina Weterval, from Nova Friburgo, claimed to receive the subsidy promised by the government when the colony was founded; the following year, the widow Dorothea Klein, from the same colony, asked for resources so that her daughters could receive an education. At the same time, Switzerland was mentioned in the government's decision to fund the studies of a Brazilian in Europe, in order to

Table 3.2 Swiss Nationals Registered in the Commercial Ports of Brazil (1868–88)

Name	Port of registration	Place of establishment	Year of registration	Business sector
Alexandre Lopes de Médicio	Recife	Recife	1882	Wholesale and retail fabrics trade
Etienne Alexander de Pourtalés	Corte	Corte	1874	Snuff trade and factory
George Henrique Leuzinger	Corte	Corte	1878	Trade in printing, bookbinding and office supplies
George Jacob Brunnschweiler	Pernambuco	Aracaty, Ceará	1869/1870	Wholesale of fabrics
Gustavo Habisreutinger	Belém	Aracati, Ceará	1880	Import and export trade
Gustavo Habisreutinger	Maranhão	Parnaíba, Piauí	1872	Wholesale and retail trade in fabrics and imported goods
Gustavo Naeff	Maranhão	São Luiz	1872	Wholesale and retail trade in fabrics and imported goods
Henrique Porchat	Corte	Santos, São Paulo	1868	Trade and manufacture of leather and lime
J R Dietiker	Corte	Rio Grande, São Pedro do Sul	1873	Import trade by commission and on own account
J. J. Marti	Corte	Corte	1875	Trade in fabrics and foreign goods
James-Ferdinand de Pury	Corte	Corte	1874	Snuff trade and factory
João Edmund Leuzing	Corte	Corte	1888	Commerce of coffee by commission and other national products
João Eugênio Emílio Berla	Corte	Corte	1872	Import and export trade
Jorge Leuzinger	Corte	Corte	1868	Paper, books and typography commerce
José Adolfo de Oliveira Lima	Recife	Recife	1882	Wholesale of fabrics
Paulo Alphonse Leuzinger	Corte	Corte	1878	Commerce of typography, bookbinding and office objects
Rodolpho Wursten	Corte	Santos, São Paulo	1870	Commission commerce
Theodoro Josh Mattemann	Corte	Corte	1875	Import and export trade

Source: Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia (APEB) – Acervo Colonial/Provincial – Junta Comercial – Registro de Comércio (1868–1888) Livro 31. 80/43.

develop mineralogy, in a training circuit that includes visits not only to Switzerland, but also to France, Germany (Freiberg), Sweden, Austria and England.[25] It was also in this context that the newspapers reported the beginning of diplomatic relations between Switzerland and Brazil and the attempts to recruit Swiss mercenaries for the war started in 1825 against Buenos Aires.

Our next step was to search the newspapers for the names of the Swiss listed in the list of registered traders. In these searches, two of them, established in Santos, caught our attention by their importance and by the absence of studies about their trajectories. To obtain information about their activities as slave owners, we resorted to the 'Repertory of Documents for the History of Slavery in Santos',[26] which gathers the death registers of enslaved people, including those belonging to the Swiss owners. Finally, the reading of specific bibliography about the history of Santos and its elites in the nineteenth century[27] allowed us to contextualize the information found and to get new indications to understand the strategies, alliances and conflicts experienced by the foreigners who built big businesses in the city.

Swiss slave masters on the coffee plantations of the southeast

Three fundamental characteristics of the Brazilian imperial state can be observed in its flag (Figure 3.3). Firstly, the superimposition of Portuguese and Catholic symbols on the colours of the Braganza (green) and Habsburg (gold, later turned yellow) dynasties attests to the European and Christian character of the new South American nation. Secondly, the crown and the stars in a circle represent the political organization of the country, a constitutional monarchy made up of provinces, with a division of powers and representation in two legislative houses. Thirdly, the coffee and tobacco branches express, in the words of the author of the drawing, the 'commercial wealth of Brazil'. It ought to be added that this coffee and tobacco produced wealth was the engine of the largest slave economy in the world during the nineteenth century; an economy that Europeans from all national and regional backgrounds help build and benefitted from.

Hence, Tobacco – a cash crop the Portuguese had been exploiting since the sixteenth century – was key for industrialization and modernizing financing in the nineteenth century. Europeans played a crucial role. Export was dominated by German capital.[28] The participation of Swiss and Germans in the tobacco industry rose from 28.9 per cent in 1857 to 50 per cent in 1900 and 74.6 per cent shortly after 1910. Swiss and German Families such as Meuron, Borel, Poock, Dannemann and Suerdieck were at the head of these transformations, leading one of the branches of 'Brazil's commercial wealth' stamped on its national flag.[29]

The other branch, coffee, would eventually become a much bigger business. As Dale Tomich and Rafael Marquese have shown, the choice of coffee to represent the 'commercial wealth of Brazil' on the national flag symbolized, in 1822, 'a bet for the future' rather than a current reality. After all, at that time, sugar and cotton exports were still much more relevant.[30]

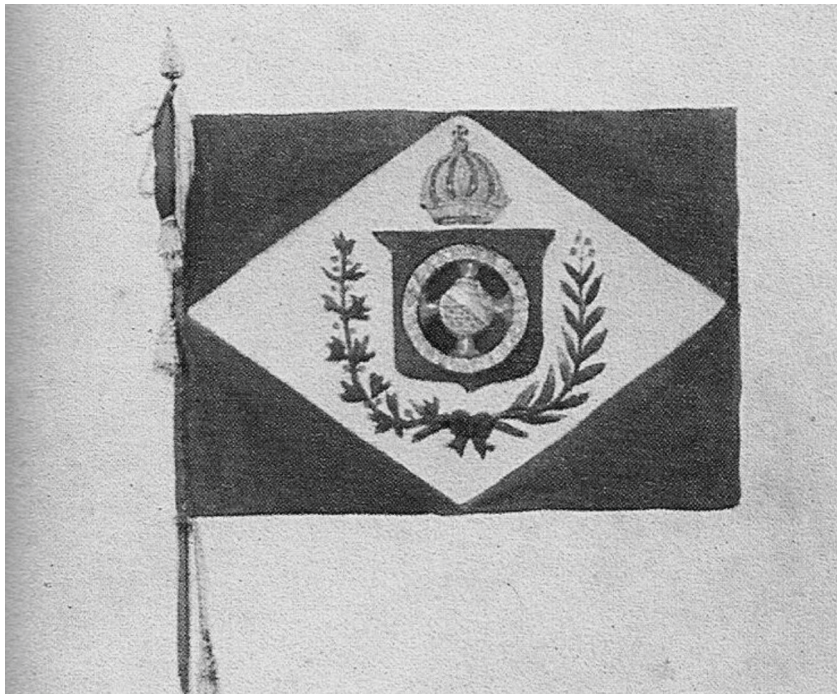

Figure 3.3 The flag of the Empire of Brazil. On the left a branch of coffee, whose exports in Santos in 1881 were being made mainly by Europeans of various nationalities, headed by the Swiss Rodolpho Wursten. On the right, a branch of tobacco, a business which from the middle of the nineteenth century until the twentieth century was dominated by Germans and Swiss.

Credits: Jean-Baptiste Debret, *Bandeira e pavilhão brasileiros*; Thierry Frères, *Drapeauetpavillonbresiliens* (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1839).

The bet was successful. In 1828, Brazil was already the world's largest coffee exporter and has remained so to this day. Between the second half of the nineteenth century and the world crisis of 1929, coffee was by far Brazil's greatest commercial wealth. Its southeastern noble elite – the coffee barons – and the traders, politicians, bureaucrats, journalists and intellectuals linked to them were the country's main political force. They were decisive, among other things, for the continuation of the slave regime until 1888 and for the organization of a policy of white immigration into the country based on eugenics, especially in the period of the First Republic (1889–1930). Coffee production consumed a substantial part of foreign labour on a large scale, first, by being the main buyer of the 1.2 million Africans trafficked and enslaved in Brazil in the thirty years following Independence (1822–52); second, by being the most important destination of the approximately 2.5 million Europeans who immigrated to Brazil between 1890 and 1914. The rhythms of immigration, whether forced or not, can be seen in Figure 3.1. The transatlantic slave trade (illegal in Brazil since 1831,

but continued until 1850) was guaranteed by coffee interests, as it was coffee profits that funded the travel of 1 million Europeans who had their tickets paid for by the Brazilian and São Paulo provincial governments. At the same time, another 1.5 million European immigrants came without government funding, most of them concentrated in the southeast of Brazil where the richness of coffee farming paved the way for a rapid process of urbanization and industrialization.[31]

The two slave-oriented plantation areas that became the most important coffee producers (valley of the Paraíba River and west of São Paulo) were precisely those that received the most Swiss immigrants in the nineteenth century. According to the 1872 census, 70 per cent of the 2,421 Swiss who lived in Brazil at that time were in Rio de Janeiro (1,098) or São Paulo (489). The municipalities in which they were concentrated were directly linked to the coffee boom. Cantagalo in Rio de Janeiro was an important hub of coffee expansion in the Paraíba Valley and alone concentrated 29 per cent of the Swiss living in Brazil (Figure 3.2). Meanwhile, the original nucleus of Nova Friburgo, which welcomed the first Swiss and prides itself to this day on being, supposedly, the 'Brazilian Switzerland' accounted for only 3 per cent of this total. The explanation for this is simple: Nova Friburgo, unlike Cantagalo, was not rich in land suitable for coffee growing.[32]

The involvement of the Swiss in the expansion of the slave coffee industry in the Paraíba Valley was rapid. Only eight years after the foundation of the first colony, a settler already described that half of his compatriots had become coffee lords. According to Rodrigo Marins Marretto, a specialist in the slave history of Swiss immigrants in Rio de Janeiro, 'from the 1830s, the settlers were fully integrated into imperial society, they sought land for coffee, used slave labour and held positions in the administration of the Vila'.[33] However, in terms of the scale of their business, the Swiss of the Paraíba Valley did not stand out among the large landowners or among the largest coffee exporters. Their Portuguese-Brazilian competitors, better integrated into colonial society, were more successful. In this context, the Swiss from the Paraíba Valley became small or medium-sized owners, in addition to integrating trade and investment practices linked to the export economy, mainly in the city of Rio de Janeiro.[34]

However, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the dynamic centre of coffee growing shifted to the west of São Paulo and was directed to export at the port of Santos. In this port city, which gradually overtook the port of Rio de Janeiro in coffee exports, two Swiss stood out among the richest and most prestigious beneficiaries of these transformations.

Rodolpho Wursten and Henri Porchat: Trajectories of two Swiss slave-holding entrepreneurs in the port of Santos

The port of Santos's rise began in the 1850s with the rapid growth of slave coffee plantations in western São Paulo. Santos grew into the second largest port in Brazil, behind Rio de Janeiro. This shift was also a reflection of the northeast's export economy

crisis and the concentration of the country's wealth in the southeast. All Brazilian ports showed great growth in the period, but none was as accentuated as Santos, which overtook Rio de Janeiro in coffee exports around 1890.[35]

In Santos there were two Swiss nationals listed in the merchants' register for the period 1868–88. The first of them, Henrique Porchat, was registered in 1868, in the commercial court of Rio de Janeiro, with 'trade and factory of leather and lime', being, therefore, not only a merchant, but also an industrialist. The second, Rodolpho Wursten, was registered in Rio de Janeiro in 1870 with 'commerce of commissions' located in Santos. His business was mainly coffee export.[36]

Both paths diverged greatly in terms of the relationships they cultivated in Santos, in the province of São Paulo and at court. The first, Porchat, led to the establishment of an extensive and influential Swiss-Spanish-Brazilian family, seamlessly incorporated into the upper echelons of Brazilian society. The second, on the other hand, seems to have left no descendants in Brazil and, by the mid-1880s, had inexplicably vanished from the pages of the Brazilian press, where he had previously been frequently mentioned.

However, some similarities between the trajectories of these entrepreneurs are quite significant. In the first place, both built large fortunes by investing in businesses directly related to the slave coffee plantations (transporting coffee to the port in Porchat's case, exporting coffee in Wursten's case, building railways to transport coffee in both cases). Secondly, both were shareholders in banking and insurance companies, linked to a new pattern of financialization of the economy. Thirdly, both were active in philanthropic institutions and charity work, especially those aimed at the relief of (white) foreigners in general or the Swiss in particular. In other words: The cases of Wursten and Porchat give us insight onto the eminent role such individuals played in building and modernizing Brazil's slave economy, shaping society through philanthropy and remaining connected to their countries of origin.

The first mention of Rodolpho Wursten in Brazil dates from 1853, and three years later he was mentioned as an employee of a German-Brazilian trading firm.[37] In 1857 Wursten was a board member and director of the Swiss Philanthropic Society in Rio de Janeiro.[38] In the following years he circulated around the coastal region of Angra, Jerumirim and Paraty, on the border between the provinces of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo and diversified his business portfolio. Thus from 1862 to 1866 he was also listed as a sugar and brandy farmer in Bananal-Novo, municipality of Paraty.[39]

Having climbed from simple employee to independent exporter and respected philanthropist in the Swiss community of Rio de Janeiro, his career becomes even more remarkable in the following two decades. In 1870, he plays a leading role in the construction of the commercial district in the growing port town of Santos.[40] In the same year, he opens another trading company, listed as Azevedo & C., in Rio de Janeiro, which also had a branch in Santos. With continuing success, he invests also in São Paulo and becomes a shareholder in the Companhia Sorocabana, which built an important railway that allowed for more efficient transportation of coffee from the hinterland to the port of Santos.[41] Wursten not only leaves his mark in modernizing infrastructure for the export of coffee from slave plantations. In 1872 he becomes director of a major insurance company in São Paulo, the Companhia de Seguros União Paulista. This company provides financial security for ever larger investments from the European

and Brazilian trading community in the region.[42] In the following years, Wursten takes on additional leading roles in commerce and finance to secure investments and defend investors' interests in Brazilian politics.[43] Ironically, this outstanding figure in Brazilian finance and business is accused, in 1877, of stealing revenue from Santos's customs office and convicted the following year.[44] It would take more research to understand the nature of this conflict. What is revealing, however, is that the case against this powerful business and charity figure seems to have been dropped soon after, allowing Wursten's business to grow even faster. Thus, by 1883 Wursten had become the largest exporter of Brazil's main cash crop, coffee, in the country's second largest port town of Santos.[45] The list of Wursten's achievements could continue. Here, it should suffice to illustrate how a member of a comparatively small, yet still large, colony of traders in Brazil, the Swiss, was not only detached visitor and marginal participator in Brazil's slave economy and society. On the contrary – as his career path indicates, figures like Wursten not only benefitted from slavery individually and economically. They also could play a crucial role in building transport, as well as finance, banking, insurance and other infrastructure that allowed Brazil to integrate into the structures of nineteenth century global capitalism. At the same time, seemingly cosmopolitan businessmen like Wursten remained very much Swiss. He was director of the Swiss Philanthropic Society, which had assembled not only other Swiss merchants, but also Swiss consuls and vice consuls among its members.

The second case, Henri Porchat, is even more revealing. Porchat arrived in Brazil before Wursten from Geneva. The first reference to him in the Brazilian press was a request he sent to the Provincial Legislative Assembly, on 16 February 1839, to obtain tax exemption for his leather factory in Santos. As this source indicates, Porchat already had been granted a previous tax exemption for a soap factory that he owned.[46] This makes Porchat one of the very early actors of industrialization in Brazil. From advertisements in Brazilian newspapers, we learn that Porchat lived in Santos but was also active in the court of Rio de Janeiro.[47] From 1871, he also advertised in Campinas, the centre of coffee expansion in the west of São Paulo.[48]

Porchat was, however, not only an important early industrialist. From 1862 onward, he also owned the first steamship in the port of Santos. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, he and his sons acquired two more steamships, which seem to have acted mainly in local transport in the port of Santos, taking cargoes of coffee and other exported goods to the ships that carried out foreign trade. In addition, the ships were used for trips along the region's beaches, for freights of all kinds and to rescue shipwrecked vessels. The steamer *Izaura* was also used to embark Brazilian troops for the War of the Triple Alliance against Paraguay (1864–70)[49] and to transport white settlers defeated in the US Civil War who came to settle and produce cotton in the Santos region.[50] The pioneering use of steam engines was remarkable in Porchat's trajectory. He introduced this new technology into his leather factory in 1863[51] and in his lime factory in 1865.[52] The industrialist also tried to open a steam sawmill, but apparently the business did not work out.[53] In addition to shipping, Porchat also invested in railways. He was a shareholder in Companhia Paulista de estradas de ferro d'Oeste, a railway built to transport the coffee production from the west of São Paulo to Santos.[54]

Like Wursten, Porchat, who made his fortune in industry and transport, also had an important career as philanthropist. His first donation, in gratitude for his care of the 'indigent foreigners', goes to Santa Casa de Misericórdia, a Catholic charity and health institution of great importance in the history of Brazil since the colonial period. In 1862 he was one of the Santos gentlemen to contribute to an 'auction for the freedom' of a slave girl whose mother had been freed in the will of a local merchant. In 1870 he was treasurer of a scientific association named 'Ensaio Scientifico'.[55] In 1884 he contributed to the 'Sociedade Auxiliadora da Instrução'. His descendants would become, at the end of the nineteenth century, the main leaders of Santa Casa de Misericórdia de Santos.

And again, like Wursten, Porchat's charity for impoverished white Europeans stands in stark contrast to his exploitation of enslaved people in his multiple business ventures. The sources indicate that Porchat owned slaves at least since 1857.[56] Although it is impossible to know how many slaves Porchat owned, the fact that so many of them appeared in the newspapers allows us to deduce that they were many and that they were crucial in his business.[57] In the death records of the Santos cemetery alone, forty enslaved people owned by Porchat between 1867 and 1886 were found. Another eight of Porchat's enslaved persons were named in escape records or in miscellaneous news in the press, making a total of forty-eight persons whose names are known, thirty-nine of whom were men and nine women. As far as origin is concerned, eighteen were born in Africa and twenty-two in Brazil, while eight have no known origin.[58] It is worth reiterating, in this context, that the transatlantic slave trade had been prohibited by law in Brazil since 1831, but was massively practiced by the elites of the southeast until 1850, which means that many of Porchat's slaves had been smuggled illegally.

The Porchat's family business exploited slaves until the last days of slavery in Santos. In this sense, it is important to note that Santos was one of the cities most agitated by the abolitionist movement in Brazil, since the immense *quilombo*[59] of Jabaquara was located there. In the 1880s, one of the strategies of the abolitionist groups in São Paulo was to promote escapes in the coffee plantation regions and send the fugitives to the coastal *quilombo*, where they could also be clandestinely shipped to other regions. The impact of these escapes is considered by historiography to be a relevant factor in the process of abolishing slavery in Brazil.[60] Unsurprisingly, slave resistance also affected the Porchat businesses. In 1883, newspapers report that an enslaved woman escaped in a daring armed action in São Paulo. The previous year, she had run away from a rural property of the Alfaya-Porchat family in the west of São Paulo to Santos. She stayed for eight months sheltered in the Santos region by an abolitionist priest, presenting herself after this period to the city authorities with enough money to buy her freedom. However, Porchat obstructed the attempt, arguing that the money used to buy her freedom was obtained illegally because she was on the run. He sent a foreman to Santos to rescue her, but when he was taking her back to the farm from which she had fled, he was attacked by a well-organized group of abolitionist militants, who freed her in the grandiose Luz station, symbol of the power of the coffee planters in the capital of São Paulo.[61] This escape infuriated the defenders of the continuation of slavery, who accused abolitionism of taking a criminal path.

The role of slavery in the Porchart and Wursten family histories is worth telling in some detail for three reasons. Firstly, it allows insight into how long and how vigorously Europeans, hailing from democratic and republican nations such as Switzerland, defended slavery. For them it was an indispensable part of their business model and they did not differ in any way from the other parts of the Luso-Brazilian elites in their racism towards enslaved labourers.

Secondly, the case of Porchat and Wursten also reveals how these business leaders could simultaneously integrate into Brazilian society and culture and at the same time remain patriotically attached to Switzerland. This concerns not only their engagement in charitable societies for impoverished Swiss in Brazil, but also in lobbying politics in their native Switzerland. Porchat, Wursten and the other Swiss trading elite were in constant exchange with the Swiss Federal Government through a wide net of consuls and vice consuls in Brazil. These consuls reported regularly to the Swiss government and parliament. Given that the Swiss trading community in Brazil were key for industrialists in Switzerland who exported textiles, watches and other goods to Brazil, the Swiss traders in Brazil had a lot of powerful friends in parliament and government. This became most visible in 1864, when parliament and government in Switzerland learned that their Swiss compatriots in Brazil owned a large number of slaves. This rose the question whether citizens of a republican nation that was founded out of the only successful liberal revolution in Europe in 1848 could own slaves without contradicting the fundamental human rights inscribed in their nation's own constitution. The Swiss trading community in Brazil managed to shape opinions in Switzerland's capital city of Berne very successfully through extensive reports from their consuls. Both parliament and government agreed, after some deliberation, that Swiss slave owners in Brazil ought to be able to keep their Swiss citizenship.[62]

The third and last reason why the Porchat and Wursten cases are worth contemplating leads us to historical memory making. Although members of the Porchat family participated in a slave owners' organization that financed the liberation of the last enslaved people in Santos,[63] this involvement is far less striking than their much longer lasting exploitation of slaves for their own benefit and their crucial role in building finance and export infrastructures to rationalize exploitation in Brazil. Ironically, however, the new republican leaders had 'forgotten' Porchat's slave history already in 1890, two years after abolition. They named a street in Santos in honour of Porchat, the 'slave free republican'. To this day, the Porchat family in Brazil are hailed as pioneers of republicanism and abolitionism. A similar amnesia can be observed on the other side of the Atlantic. The Porchat family are celebrated in the history of their native Geneva. However, the Brazilian branch of the Porchat family, is conveniently left out of this picture.[64] In a similar vein, several members of the Swiss Federal Government have claimed in recent years that current Switzerland is particularly suited to mediate between the interests of former European imperial countries and their former colonies, because Switzerland was never involved in slavery or colonialism.[65] When in 2018 and again in 2021, members of the Swiss parliament asked the Swiss Federal Government whether it distanced itself from the defence of slavery by its predecessor government in 1864, the answer was: the 1864 decision is regrettable, but it had been in accordance with the norms of the time.[66]

Concluding remarks

It is wrong to misunderstand Brazil's history as a purely national story. But it is also incomplete to understand it merely as a Luso-Portuguese history under the influence of informal imperialism of the British Empire, as conventional historiography does. Throughout the nineteenth century, Brazil's history was closely linked to the history of Africa and the Americas, but also to the history of Europe as a whole. The reason for this was that from 1818 onwards, the new Brazilian elite tried to integrate their country economically into global capitalism with African slave labour, but at the same time sought to 'civilize' and 'whiten' their society and culture through mass immigration from Europe. This led to the permanent settlement of Europeans from almost all parts of the continent – including many from supposedly peripheral or politically weak regions such as pre-unified Germany, Italy, from Hungary under Habsburg rule or from smaller countries such as Switzerland or Norway. Although numerically small, these seemingly marginal Europeans could have an enormous influence on the building of the Brazilian nation, as the case study of two Swiss traders showed. At the same time, these supposedly marginal Europeans linked the largest slave economy of the nineteenth century to the history of their nations of origin, which were transformed into democratic nation states. Nineteenth-century transatlantic slavery, Brazilian export economy and European democratization thus never developed in isolation, but in constant exchange with each other. Thus, the time seems ripe to start telling the stories of Europe, Africa and Brazil in conjunction with each other.

Notes

Research for this essay was done in following archives: Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia (APEB) – Acervo Colonial/Provincial – Junta Comercial – Registro de Comércio (1868–88) Livro 31.80/43; Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Estatísticas do povoamento – imigração total (https://brasil500anos.ibge.gov.br/estatisticas-do-povoamento/imigracao-total-periodos-anuais.html); *Recenseamento do Brazil em 1872* (Rio de Janeiro, Typ. G. Leuzinger, 1874), 12 vols (https://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/biblioteca-catalogo?id=225477&view=detalhes); Slavevoyages: The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database (www.slavevoyages.org); Brazilian newspapers of the nineteenth century, Hemeroteca Digital da Biblioteca Nacional (https://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital).

1. These numbers refer to the foreign population residing in Brazil, but do not include individuals who obtained Brazilian citizenship and their families, who in many cases maintained identities and ties with their nations of origin. The population data of the different nationalities allows only an approximate (and certainly underestimated) picture of each of them in terms of presence and influence in Brazil; *Recenseamento do Brazil em 1872*.
2. Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia (APEB) – Acervo Colonial/Provincial – Junta Comercial – Registro de Comércio (1868–1888) Livro 31.80/43. Information from this source will be discussed later.

3. I am referring to authors such as Jean-Baptiste Debret, Johan Moritz Rugendas, Johann E. Pohl, Maria Graham, Augiste de Saint-Hilaire, Johann Spix, Carl F. P. von Martius, Hercules Florence, John Armitage, among many others.
4. Classic studies include Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, *História geral da civilização brasileira, t. II: O Brasil Monárquico*, vol. 1 (São Paulo: Difel, 1985); Jurandir Malerba, *A corte no exílio: civilização e poder no Brasil às vésperas da Independência (1808 a 1821)* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000); Gilberto Freyre, *Ingleses no Brasil: aspectos da influência britânica na vida e na paisagem da cultura do Brasil*, 3rd ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 2000);; Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, *O sol do Brasil: Nicolas-Antoine Taunay e as desventuras dos artistas franceses na corte de d. João* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2008); Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, *As barbas do imperador: Dom Pedro II, um monarca nos trópicos* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1999).
5. Ground-breaking in this regard is Maria Helena P. T. Machado, *Raça, Ciência e Viagem no século XIX* (São Paulo: Intermeios, 2018).
6. Carl F. P. von Martius, 'Como se deve escrever a História do Brasil?' in *O Estado de Direito entre os autóctones do Brasil* (Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia/EDUSP, 1982), 381–403.
7. Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, 'África, números do tráfico atlântico', in *Dicionário da escravidão e liberdade: 50 textos críticos*, ed. Lilia Moritz Schwarcz and Flávio Gomes (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2018), 57.
8. *Correio Braziliense: Ou Armazem Literario* 22 (1819): 428–9.
9. Ibid.
10. Andreas Hofbauer, 'Branqueamento e democracia racial – sobre as entranhas do racismo no Brasil', in *Por que 'raça'? Breves reflexões sobre a questão racial no cinema e na antropologia* (Santa Maria: EDUFSM, 2007), 151–88.
11. Barbara Weinstein, *A cor da modernidade: a branquitude e a formação da identidade paulista* (São Paulo: Edusp, 2022); Salloma Jovino Salomão, *Pretos, prussianos, índios e caipiras: culturas e invisibilidades históricas nos arredores da cidade de São Paulo: séculos XVIII e XIX: biotrajetória* (Itapecerica da Serra: Ed. do Autor, 2021).
12. Some important titles that address the Swiss, Prussian and German immigration in Brazil: Jürg Müller, *Die Schweizersiedlung Helvetia im Staat São Paulo, Brasilien* (Zürich: Juris Druck, 1972); Martin Nicoulin, *La Genèse de Nova Friburgo: Émigration et Colonisation Suisse Au Brésil 1817–1827* (Fribourg: Études et Recherches D'histoire Contemporaine Série Historique-Éditions universitaires, 1973); B. Ziegler, *Schweizer statt Sklaven: Schweizerische Auswanderer in den Kaffee-Plantagen von São Paulo (1852–1866)* (Steiner-Verlag Wiesbaden, 1985); B. Ziegler, 'Schweizerische Kaufleute in Brasilien im 19. Jahrhundert', *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 167 (1988), https://doi.org/10.7767/jbla.1988.25.1.141; Thomas Davatz, *Memórias de um Colono no Brasil* (São Paulo: Martins, 1941 [1850]); C. H. Oberacker, *Jorge Antonio Von Schaeffer, criador da primeira corrente emigratória alemã para o Brasil* (Porto Alegre: Metrópole, 1975); C. H. Oberacker, 'A colônia Leopoldina-Frankental na Bahia meridional; uma colônia europeia de plantadores no Brasil', *Revista do IHGB – Rio de Janeiro* 148, nos. 354–357 (1987): 118–40; H. G. Penny, 'Latin America Connections: Recent Work on German Interactions with Latin America', *Central European History* 46, no. 2 (2013): 362–94; H. G. Penny, 'Historiographies in Dialog: Beyond the Categories of Germans and Brazilians', *German History* 33, no. 3 (2015): 347–66; H. G. Penny and S. Rinke, 'Germans Abroad', *Geschichte Und Gesellschaft* 41, no. 2 (2015): 173–96.

13. A new paradigm is offered by Tomás Bartoletti. 'Global Territorialization and Mining Frontiers in Nineteenth Century Brazil: Capitalist Anxieties and the Circulation of Knowledge between British and Habsburgian Imperial Spaces, ca. 1820–1850', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 65, no. 1 (2023): 81–114.
14. Rodrigo M. Marretto, 'A Escravidão Velada: a formação de Nova Friburgo na primeira metade do século XIX' (MA diss., Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói, 2014); João Raimundo de Araújo, 'Nova Friburgo: a construção do mito da suíça brasileira (1910–1964)' (PhD diss., Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói, 2003).
15. Marretto, 'A Escravidão Velada', 6.
16. *Recenseamento do Brazil em 1872*.
17. Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia (APEB) – Acervo Colonial/Provincial – Junta Comercial – Registro de Comércio (1868–1888) Livro 31.80/43. I am indebted to Osnan Silva da Souza for assistance with data collection, transcription and analysis.
18. Ibid.
19. *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* 46 (1865), 94 (1866), 200 (1870), 234 (1870); *Correio Mercantil, e Instructivo, Politico, Universal* 222 (1868); *Jornal do Commercio* 207 (1886); *O Cruzeiro* 347 (1888); *Gazeta de Notícias* 103 (1888), 145 (1888).
20. *Gazeta de Joinville: Orgam dos interesses Agricolas, Mercantis e Industriaes desta Provincia e especialmente da Comarca de S. Francisco (SC)* 5 (1879); *Babitonga (SC)* 3 (1885).
21. Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia (APEB) – Acervo Colonial/Provincial – Junta Comercial – Registro de Comércio (1868–1888) Livro 31.80/43.
22. *Jornal do Commercio* 349 (1883), 340 (1884), 87 (1885), 94 (1886), 279 (1886), 82 (1887), 88 (1888), 306 (1889); *O Paiz* 68 (1884), 170 (1885), 266 (1886), 923 (1887).
23. Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia (APEB) – Acervo Colonial/Provincial – Junta Comercial – Registro de Comércio (1868–1888) Livro 31.80/43.
24. *Almanak Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial (MA)* 3 (1860), 5 (1862), 7 (1864), 8 (1865), 9 (1866), 1 (1868); *Publicador Maranhense* 190 (1860), 27 (1861), 73 (1861), 90 (1861), 112 (1861), 116 (1861), 177 (1861), 196 (1870); *Diario de Pernambuco* 41 (1861), 45 (1865); *O Paiz (MA)* 115 (1866), 72 (1870); *Diario do Maranhão* 176 (1874), 194 (1874).
25. *Imperio do Brasil: Diario Fluminense (RJ)* 5 (1825), 7 (1826).
26. Ana Paula Chiapetta, Bruno Garcia Costa and Odair José Pereira, *Repertório de Documentos para a História da escravidão em Santos* (Santos: Fundação Arquivo Memória de Santos, 2015).
27. Bruno Bortoloto do Carmo, 'De "Deos Guarde" a "Saúde e Fraternidade": experiências e tensões cotidianas nas ruas de Santos (1883–1897)' (PhD diss., Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, 2022); Luiz Henrique Portela Faria, 'Advogados, engenheiros, médicos e professores: a formação de uma rede de intelectuais e o discurso da modernidade educacional na cidade de Santos (1908–1930)' (PhD diss., Universidade Católica de Santos, 2021).
28. Jean Baptiste Nardi, 'A (des)montagem da indústria brasileira do fumo: o caso da Bahia (1808–1913)', in *IV Congresso Brasileiro de História Econômica e 5ª Conferência internacional de História de Empresas* (São Paulo: FEA-USP/ABPHE, 2001), 1–19.
29. Ibid.; B. Veyrassat, *Réseaux d'affaires Internationaux, Émigrations et Exportations En Amérique Latine Au XIXe Siècle: Le Commerce Suisse Aux Amériques* (International Business Networks, Emigration and Exports to Latin America in the Nineteenth Century: Swiss Trade with the Americas) (Genève: Publications Du Centre d'histoire Economique Internationale de l'Université de Genève, 1994).

30. Rafael Marquese and Dale Tomich, 'O Vale do Paraíba escravista e a formação do mercado mundial do café no século XIX', in *O Brasil Imperial. Vol. II – 1831–1870*, ed. Keila Grinberg and Ricardo Salles (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2009), 339–84.
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41. *Diario de S. Paulo (SP)* 1762 (1871).
42. *Diário do Rio de Janeiro (RJ)* 189 (1872); *Correio Paulistano (SP)* 4819 (1872).
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53. *Revista Commercial (SP)* 33 (1865).
54. *Diario de S. Paulo (SP)* 715 (1868).
55. *Diario de S. Paulo (SP)* 1378 (1870).
56. *Correio Mercantil, e Instructivo, Politico, Universal (RJ)* 183 (1857).
57. *Jornal do Commercio (RJ)* 61 (1863), 64 (1867); *Revista Commercial (SP)* 77 (1863); *Diario de S. Paulo (SP)* 1445 (1870), 1451 (1870).
58. Ana Paula Chiapetta, Bruno Garcia Costa and Odair José Pereira, *Repertório de Documentos para a História da escravidão em Santos* (Santos: Fundação Arquivo Memória de Santos, 2015).
59. 'Societies characterized by slavery witnessed various forms of resistance, especially individual runaways and communities of fugitives. In urban areas, it was very difficult to capture captives, which is why newspapers were full of notices of runaways. It was even more difficult to capture the fugitives who formed quilombos/mocambos. Thus,

communities of fugitives evolved and received different names, such as cumbes in Venezuela and palenques in Colombia. In Jamaica, the rest of the English Caribbean and the Southern USA, they were called maroons. In Dutch Guiana and then Suriname, they were known as bush negroes. In Santo Domingo (Haiti) and other parts of the French Caribbean, the term used was marronage; in Cuba and Puerto Rico, cimarronaje. In Brazil, they were initially called "mocambos", later to be called "quilombos"'. Flávio Gomes, 'Quilombos/Remanecentes de Quilombos', in *Dicionário da escravidão e liberdade: 50 textos críticos*, ed. Lilia Moriz Schwarz and Flávio Gomes (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2018), 498–9.

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4

A villa for the world: Prefabricated houses, national romanticism and Norwegian colonial entanglements

Tonje Haugland Sørensen

At the 1889 *Exposition Universelle* a house was situated at the foot of the Eiffel Tower. It was called *Le chalet Norvégiene* and was a two-story wooden chalet with balconies, ornamented gables and a distinct half-moon-like ornamentation framing the upper storey window (Figure 4.1). While *Le chalet Norvégiene* would go on to function as a form of official headquarters for the Norwegian delegation during the exposition, it had originated as a private enterprise instigated by the Norwegian firm M. Thams & Co.[1] One of the company's major exports was lumber, which for the last few centuries had been one of Norway's most lucrative products for foreign trade. In the late 1880s M. Thams & Co were exploring the inherent possibilities in a novel trade commodity for the lumber exporters: prefabricated houses. Other Norwegian and Swedish firms were already hustling for the same market, and so the Thams family needed to make a statement. The wooden chalet or villa at the Eiffel Tower was part of the marketing strategy. Marentius Thams argued in a letter to a business partner that if they erected a prefabricated villa of excellent quality, they 'would be known all over the world'.[2] The design of the villa Maurentius was entrusted to his son Christian Thams, who at that time lived and worked in part as an architect in Paris and who was well acquainted with the exposition after offering to help a bewildered Norwegian delegation organize and plan the Norwegian pavilion. While the Thams family had to share exposition space with their rival firms, they nevertheless could ensure that their prefab houses would get the best position at what was arguably one of the biggest and most important trade and cultural fairs in the world.

Visitors to *Le chalet Norvégiene* would not only be treated to the building itself but could also take with them a catalogue containing illustrations of several of the prefabricated houses M. Thams & Co had to offer. There was a great variation of buildings: in addition to villas the firm also produced everything from small shacks to large infirmaries, as well as houses promoted as particularly well suited to more tropical climes. A competitor to M. Thams & Co would later describe their trade in prefabricated houses as part of a 'global export',[3] a description that seems quite fitting. The same competitor, Strømmen Trævarefabrikk, reported 'substantial export [which]

in addition to Europe … shipped houses to the West-Indies, South America and Africa.'[4] In later catalogues published by M. Thams & Co the firm boasted of a similar geographical range and listed export of their prefabricated houses to England, France, Spain, South America, Africa and India.[5]

Within Norwegian historical research the story of these prefabricated houses has primarily been explained as Norwegian lumber businesses selling houses to a European

Figure 4.1 The chalet Norvégiene at the 1889 Paris Exposition Universelle.

Photograph by Hippolyte Blancard, *c.*1889. Musée Carnavalet – Histoire de Paris, PH77527.

market that saw an increased desire for summer villas and leisure homes. Part of the export of prefabricated houses were certainly destined for European locations, yet the list provided by M. Thams & Co and Strømmen Trævare makes clear that this was an export with worldwide reach, and a promotional line in Strømmen Trævare's catalogue gives an indication of how the houses were used, when it argued that they were simple yet sturdy and so easy to construct that it could be done 'exclusively by the help of natives!'[6] To put it more precisely, the prefabricated houses were part of a colonial trade wherein Norwegian firms promoted and sold prefabs to Western colonial powers who sought to quickly establish a colonial infrastructure that would help subjugate the native population. In this manner the story of the prefabricated houses serves as another example of Norway's complicated, ambivalent history of and little explored participation in European colonialism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

There are difficulties in exploring the history of Norwegian colonial entanglements. One of them is the official stance found in publications like the *Parliamentary White Papers nr 15* (St. meld. nr. 15, 2008–9), which claims that Norway has 'no colonial history'. It is a statement partially founded on how Norway during the nineteenth century possessed no overseas colonies of their own, and that, due to its union with Sweden from 1814 to 1905, it could even be argued that Norway had languished under a form of subjugation, albeit not colonial in nature. In the last decade several scholars have started to challenge this narrative and sought to show how Norway has participated both in an internal, northern colonialism as well as a global, overseas colonialism.[7] The latter has often been considered as an example of 'colonialism without colonies', understood as countries that 'had an explicit self-understanding as being outside the realm of colonialism, but nevertheless engaged in colonial projects in a variety of ways and benefitted from these interactions'.[8]

Among those who benefitted from such interactions were the Thamses. During their participation at the World Exposition of 1889, Christian Thams made contacts with King Leopold II of Belgium, who ended up procuring several prefab buildings to what was called – with a certain awful irony – the Congo Free State. From 1885 to 1908 this colony was privately owned by and in a personal union with King Leopold II, and from Brussel the king oversaw a massive extractive colonial venture that relied on physical violence and enslavement of the local. Already criticized by contemporary sources, the problems of Leopold and Congo seem not to have bothered the Thamses, who instead profited handsomely on the connection. The Thamses' success was also a benefit for the official Norwegian delegation, who during the exposition of 1889 employed *Le chalet Norvégiene* as their official offices.[9] This governmental participation is significant as it displays how the enterprise of M. Thams & Co was considered part of the Norwegian establishment, and in the official report, Christian Thams is singled out and profusely thanked as a central force in organizing the Norwegian participation.[10]

In the following chapter I will use the story of the prefabricated houses to explore one aspect of such colonial interactions, while also focusing particularly on the concurrent relationships between Norway's colonial entanglements and its national romantic idealization of its medieval past. Such an approach builds on the concept Gunlög Fur has called reading for concurrences and which entails exploring 'the temporal property of two things happening at the same time'. However, more

than simultaneity the concept of concurrence also embraces 'both agreement and competition, entanglement and incompatibility'.[11] In a Norwegian context, Sigrid Lien and Hilde Nielsen have previously argued that such a methodological approach can be beneficial when dealing with facets of Norway's internal colonial history regarding the indigenous Sámi.[12] In the following, reading for concurrences will be applied to explore Norwegian interactions with overseas colonialism, particularly through the economical and aesthetical frameworks of the various world fairs held during the period 1880–1920, and ask whether national romanticism and the idealization of a Norse past in some ways hid or masked the extent to which Norway participated in colonial endeavours.

A dream of dragons: National romantic architecture and contemporary politics

Prior to engaging with such entanglements, it is necessary to provide some historical background for Norwegian participation, as well as outline what the Norwegian sections of 1889 consisted of. In addition to Thams's villa, there was a smaller 'Norwegian chalet' that displayed pasteurized milk products. There was also a large boat on the Seine, a section in the agriculture galleries on the Quai d'Orsay in the Beaux-Arts section and a large section in the 'Galeries des industries diverses'. These constructions were all, to some degree, designed in accordance with the ideas of what can be described as a national romantic architecture. Inspired by medieval stave churches, ideas of folk art and Viking revival decorated with zoomorphic ornamentation and gaping dragon heads, the result was a historicist style, perhaps best described as a form of Norse revival and which was proposed as a distinctly national aesthetics.[13] This focus on a distinct national style was partially due to a stipulation by the French Grand Committee, but was also evidence of the current exploration of what has been called dragon style or fornnordic architecture and crafts within the Nordic countries.

These sections shared an aesthetic unanimity of what Kjetil Fallan calls 'the onset of Norway's strategic application' of the dragon style as a form of national branding.[14] This focus on the national was not solely an idea on Norway's part, but was rather in the vein with how the 1889 exhibition had been 'the breakthrough of nationalism at the world fairs'.[15] However, such a national focus was far from unwelcome in Norway and in fact played into what several Norwegian politicians saw as a golden opportunity to promote the cause of Norwegian independence.

What gave such rhetoric particular potency in regard to 1889 was that the exposition was being promoted by the French as a celebration of the French Revolution.[16] This had led several monarchs, including the Swedish Norwegian King Oscar II, to interpret the exposition as distinctly anti-monarchical and therefore to proclaim that their countries would not officially participate. While a proclamation like this might hold sway for Sweden, quite a few Norwegians were of the opinion that it did not for Norway and that Norway could participate officially even without the king's blessing. This built on earlier grievances such as the dual participation of Sweden and

Norway in the exposition of 1867. Since, as Kjetil Fallan argues, 'The Norwegian and Swedish contributions [in 1867] were developed in close collaboration, this alleged "amalgamation" of national cultures caused heated debates at home [in Norway] between the Scandinavianists and the nationalists and was severely criticized by the latter as a damaging missed opportunity to showcase Norway's independent identity to an international audience.'[17]

The fear that the distinct Norwegian identity would not be properly displayed is also evident in the Norwegian petition for a special agreement, whereupon Norwegian products could be exhibited in a more nationally coherent manner consisting of fewer sections.[18] The initial plans of the French organizers had been that objects and trades should be exhibited according to category. This meant that for instance agricultural machines would be in one area, fishing equipment in another etc., with no regard to the country of origin. The Norwegian committee opposed this on the basis that not only would it be costly, but it would also be detrimental to smaller countries. They fought for the right to a more national pavilion and were given an exemption. It is no wonder, then, that much of Norwegian consideration about participation stressed the supposed Norwegian rather than Nordic – or even transnational – character of the pavilion.

The exposition of 1889 was pivotal also for other reasons. Paul Greenhalgh has argued that it was this exhibition which really put the new-fangled ideas of anthropology and scientific racism to the forefront.[19] The vast exposition grounds was a highly organized space, where the lines between Western industrialized nations and colonial exotic cultures were sharply delineated through the exhibition scenography. It was also the exposition that really brought to the fore the construction of human zoos, where colonized people were displayed alongside objects and houses. Combined with how the grand committee desired a particular focus on so-called national styles and aesthetics for each nation represented, the exposition can in hindsight be seen as emblematic for the form of taxonomic classification and racial segregation, which was becoming increasingly popular in the late nineteenth century. It also provided a way to divide the world into colonizing, progressive and industrial lands versus the colonized, backwards and developing countries. To some extent the exposition of 1889 in this way only clarified tendencies already noticeable in earlier exhibitions, yet as 1889 would be the first time Norway participated by hosting its own pavilion it was in some ways their first rodeo. Subsequently it was important for the Norwegian delegation to showcase Norway's independent culture and to do so in a manner that presented a desired image of Norway.

The seriousness this matter was afforded is exemplified in how participation at the exposition of 1889 was the subject of an extraordinary parliamentary debate in May 1888. On the surface the debate in Parliament concerned the amount of funds the Parliament should allot in support of participation in Paris. However, such a participation would go against the direct wishes of King Oscar and in a sense entrench upon the Swedish monopoly of foreign affairs. Debates about funding must therefore be seen as the tip of a much larger ideological iceberg deeply concerned with matters of Norwegian independence. This comes through in the debate when it frequently veers away from questions of budget and into what is referred to by several participants

as 'political matters' and a rather complex discussion about what actually constitutes Norwegian culture anyway.

A selection of politicians felt that the king's views should be taken into account, and that Norway should only participate with a small exhibition centred solely on fine arts and tourism. The opposition presented such a tourist-centred participation as synonymous with no exhibition worth mentioning. It was ridiculed, for instance by representative Konow (S.B.) who argued that displaying too much fine arts would be the same as 'in Norway's place [in the exhibition] see a grey cardboard, bearing the writing "The shop is closed"'.[20] Konow felt that Norway should fully embrace the possibility in displaying its industry and trade. It should, as he saw it, advertise. Underlying Konow's ironic turn of phrase was a deeply serious argument based on the assumption that a financially secure state with a flowering export trade could more easily make the transition to a fully independent state. Among the trades considered vital in such a presentation of a financially strong and independent Norway was the lumber industry, which alongside fishing ranked as one of Norway's main export trades.

Yet prior to considering the role of lumber export and its connection to prefabricated houses another of the arguments for a full-blown industrial exhibition should be explored, and that is the deeply ironic diatribe by the liberal representative Johan Casteberg. It is worth quoting parts of his speech at length:

> Dare I be so bold, honoured Speaker, as to ask what is actually meant in the recommendation, when, in the section of tourist objects, it is adduced that they will include 'older means of transportation'? Is it panniers and ladies' side-saddles we are talking about? Or do they mean the quaint and swan-necked cutter sleighs with carved dragon heads? Perhaps an old cariole with scarlet lilies and baby-blue roses? Why not throw in a cured leg of mutton, fermented fish, and rustic cheese – an unusually ripe one! Send that to the French and see what they will think of us! This reminds me of something a German told me years ago: in a market in Hamburg he once observed a man who, covered in feathers, ripped chickens and cockerels to shreds with his teeth, with blood flowing and feathers flying. And over the market stall, with capital letters: 'Ein Wilder von Norwegen' – a wild one from Norway, honoured Speaker! I honestly fear something similar will transpire if we shipped off to Paris the mutton, the fish, the cheese – and why not add a couple of reindeer pelts? God knows we can spare a few! It would be a sad thing, if any of us present here today should come to Paris, and find The Norwegian People registered in some catalogue as 'les Samojèdes de Norvège' – Samoyeds from Norway, honoured Speaker! That is how far these tourist objects can lead us.[21]

A driving concern in Casteberg's speech is that not only would the Norwegian shop appear to be closed, but that the country could potentially be presented as a backwards wilderness. In fact, with his reference to Samoyeds from Norway, Casteberg is partially referring to the practice of ethnographic exhibitions and human zoos which would reach a new zenith with the exposition of 1889. It is possible to detect a certain anxiety in Casteberg's ironic diatribe, wherein Norway *has* to present itself as industrialized and Western, lest we be taken for the natives!

What Casteberg's burlesque picture indicates is that the present politicians were well aware of how world fairs and expositions were central tools of imperialism and colonialism, particularly through how they divided the world into categories of colonizer and colonized. If the arguments of Casteberg and Konow are combined, it becomes possible to see the threat: that too placid a participation could easily land Norway into the colonial part of the exhibition rather than the desirable modern, European part. It is here, then, that we return to the story of prefabricated houses.

Le chalet Norvégiene, the prefabricated wooden villa designed and produced by Thams, was therefore a solution in more ways than one. It promoted Norwegian cultural history through its dragon-style aesthetics, and it also ensured that Norway could present itself as an industrialized nation and part of an international, colonial market that made products such as prefabricated houses which relied upon industrial labour and new technology such as steam-driven saws.

Norwegian participation at Paris 1889 therefore served various functions. It repeated to the Swedish king that Norway could and would run itself, and it presented to the European market a Norway that was a manufacturing economy which could be seen as an independent player not subject to Swedish rule. Moreover, through the implementation of the dragon style, the Norwegian buildings also engaged in a historical invocation. The historicist amalgamation of folk art, medieval stave churches and zoomorphic Viking patterns that constituted the dragon style spoke of a rich history and pointed back to a time prior to unions with Denmark and Sweden. However, the same buildings also carried a narrative about progress in the form of their manufacture. Architects like C. Thams and von Hanno were inspired by historical objects and edifices, but they did not copy them. Rather, the method of their production – their industrial prefabrication – was as vital to the buildings' rhetoric as the highly stylized dragon maws and ornaments that decorated their gables. The historical callbacks established a sense of origin and historical legitimacy, while the technological manufacture signalled development and progress – all of which carried the desired message that Norway was a place fully up to the standards of Western industrial might and not some peripheral outpost populated by so-called savages.

Prefabricated dragons: Pieces of a bigger picture

The dragon style has in most art historical literature been presented as a national romantic exploration of the past and a vital aesthetic tool in the drive towards Norwegian independence.[22] It was all that, but it was also an aesthetic tool that helped Norwegian companies and businessmen establish themselves on the international, colonial market. The story of *Le chalet Norvégiene* – or what Maurentius Thams saw as his villa for the world – makes that clear. Moreover, while prefabrication was used to construct some dragon-style buildings in Norway and parts of Europe, prefabrication as a technique was intimately tied to colonial expansion long before the dragon style was developed. There is no room here to engage with the full history of prefabrication, but a brief sketch can be instructive.

In his exploration of the international history of prefabrication, architectural historian Gilbert Herbert argues that up until the First World War prefabricated houses were never seen as anything but make-shift solutions.[23] The temporal and make-shift nature of prefabricated houses is by Herbet seen as encapsulated by how they were seldom – if ever – used in urban expansion in Europe. For him this is significant since places such as England, at the time, suffered from a severe housing shortage due to rapid industrialization and urbanization. An inventor and pioneer in the field of prefabrication was the English engineer William Manning with his 'Manning's Portable Colonial Cottage for Emigrants' from 1833. This was primarily exported to North America, Australia and South Africa.[24] It was promoted as being of the greatest use for settlers, who 'might land from a ship in a new country in the morning. And sleep in his own house on shore at night.'[25] The market for these prefabricated colonial cottages was soon thriving, and the Swedish company Siwers and Wennberg are described as 'building their houses based on Manning's concept'. Their main area of export was California in the 1849.[26] Another Swedish pioneer was the military technician and architect Fredrik Blom, an architect favoured by the Swedish Norwegian King Karl XIV Johan, who experimented with prefabrication. In 1840 Blom's prefabricated houses garnered international attention in the journal *Revue General de l'Architecture*. In 1841 the influential Austrian journal *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* presented one of Blom's houses under the heading 'Die hölzernen Gebäude der Kolonisten in Algier'.[27] The reader was here presented with a house intended for the colonialists in 'Metidscha (Algerian)' and given both a brief description and several illustrations, including the ground plan and the facade of the house. The latter depicted the house as a small villa with a porch that was picturesquely covered by foliage.[28] The house, located on the Metidscha plane outside of the city of Algiers, was described as being made entirely of wood and produced in Norway and 'they consist of ready-made pieces which only need to be reassembled at the place of destination'.[29] It also states that 'Sweden does a considerable trade with these houses, with several shiploads going to New Holland [Australia] in the English colonies annually'.[30] A brief overview of the construction method was given, including a reflection on how the walls were sturdy and isolated with 'a particularly strong paper, made stronger by having been drenched in cod liver oil'.[31] Other practical considerations are addressed in a closing statement, which relates that 'camels and other livestock are driven into the yard at night where, when closed, they spend the night in the open air'.[32]

Like Manning's Cottage, Blom's *Maison Mobiles* is directly connected to colonial expansion and marketed in a way that stresses the ease and comfort these structures can provide the new settler. The closing lines about the animals and camels give an almost idyllic impression that perhaps is strengthened by the foliage included in the illustration. It all depicts a cosy, small villa on the rural outskirts of Algier. It is also reminiscent of the qualities that Schirmer found in Thams' houses – ease of transport and a quick construction without the use of specialist skills. That prefabricated houses are intended for hotter, colonial climates is also indicated by the official report of the Norwegian committee of 1889, where some of the prefabricated houses are described as 'best suited for very hot climes, since by the help of the double walls there can be created a particularly lively circulation of air'.[33] Promotional statements such as this can be seen

as more than advertisement for relatively cool interiors. Mark Carey has shown how considerations of tropical climates and fear of diseases were a central preoccupation for Western colonizers. In fact, a popular theory of how to avoid disease was to have an abode where winds blew regularly. Winds were seen as having the ability to not only prevent illness but also 'to purify the spirit, rejuvenate the body'.[34] These concerns were also central in the development of colonial architecture and in particular the bungalow, a type of house with a wide roof that shades a wrap-around balcony and which seems to have been the inspiration of several of the prefabricated tropical/colonial houses. That these were houses not intended for the Scandinavian marked is indicated by how the same report by the committee of 1889 notes that isolating the houses and using them during cold winters is not recommended. Considering that the climate in Norway is mostly defined by cold and snow-heavy winters, this bit of information is indicative of an international market in temperate and tropical climes, rather than a national, cold and arctic one.

For the Thams family the exposition of 1889 was a great success, which they would repeat by being responsible for the Norwegian pavilion at the World Colombian Exhibition in Chicago in 1893. The family, and Christian Thams in particular, went on to cultivate a close, almost friendly connection with King Leopold II. From 1889 to 1899 Christian Thams was employed by the king to supply materials for the work on the cathedral church of our Lady of Laeken. This was the largest neogothic church in Belgium, and more importantly, it served as the burial place for the Belgian royal family. In 1901 Leopold was invited to visit and hunt at the Thams' residence in Trøndelag, Norway. The visit must have pleased the king, because on his return to Belgium he placed a large order with M. Thams & Co for a series of leisure facilities in Ostende. Inspired by the Thams' selection of hunting chalets and dragon-style villas, the facilities at the Belgian seaside would include a villa, a hunting lodge, a stable and an indoor riding arena. It was all made and delivered by M. Thams & Co by the early part of 1903.[35] Concurrent with this spout of seaside entertainment, the company continued to sell houses – including military barracks – to Congo.[36]

Christian Thams would also be proclaimed the consul of Belgium and Congo in Norway, and thus he was tasked with promoting the interest of King Leopold II and his possessions as well as facilitating cooperation between Norwegian businesses and individuals and the Congo Free State.[37] Thams appears to have taken pride in this assignment and would often wear the official uniform and decorations that the position entitled him. However, while Thams and the Belgian king seem to have developed a particularly amicable relationship, the involvement of Norwegian firms with European colonial powers was not unique. In fact several important Norwegian firms and business magnates were involved in some form of colonial trade, including other major actors in the historically important and lucrative Norwegian lumber export.[38] This has led historian Kirsti Kjerland and anthropologist Knut M. Rio to characterize Norwegian colonial entanglement as a succession of various entrepreneurial ventures that profited greatly within the frameworks of colonial subjugation and resource extraction established by the European nations.[39]

In addition to the different forms of colonial trade there were also several Norwegians, particularly young men, who travelled to various colonies and worked

for the colonial authorities.[40] There they worked as sailors, officers or doctors before returning home to Norway. This was true also for the Congo Free State, and Bjørn Godøy has documented how several young officers from the Scandinavian countries were recruited as part of the Belgian colonial force. In fact, one of Christian Thams's responsibilities as a consul was to facilitate just such arrangements. Together with the Swedish Norwegian Consul Baron von Schwerin, located in Lund in Sweden, Thams was responsible for regularly posting ads in major newspapers asking for volunteers to the Congo Free State.[41]

In the period 1885–1930, between 1,500 and 2,000 Scandinavians – among them approximately two hundred Norwegians – went to work for the Congo Free State. This was a not insignificant number. After sailors, officers were one of the largest groups; about a quarter – fifty-four – of the Norwegians going to the colony were military officers. One source for the community is the book *Skandinaver i Kongo* written by the Danish officer and engineer Harald Jenssen-Tusch. Published in 1903 in Copenhagen the book was lavishly illustrated with several photos and drawings. It related stories of some of the Scandinavians who had served and worked in the Congo Free State, and Jenssen-Tusch argued that 'it is the Swedish, Norwegian and Danish ship captains, helmsmen, machinists and ship craftsmen who, in reality, have primarily made possible the conquest of the Congo by the Belgians'.[42] This argument was based on the centrality of Scandinavian sailors in navigating and charting the Congo River, its tributaries and delta. Alongside arguments such as these the book also contained commemorative texts about the Scandinavians who had perished due to tropical disease or as a result of violence, often providing photographic portraits of the latter. All in all, the book presents Scandinavian participation in the Congo Free State in a decidedly positive light and describes any form of colonial violence towards the colonized peoples as acts that were either hard to verify or perpetrated by non-Scandinavians.

While not necessarily the most objective source *Skandinavier i Kongo* remains valuable as an example of what kinds of narratives and attitudes were visible in the public sphere. In his book about Norwegian officers in the Congo Free State Godøy gives examples of similar narratives. He shows how many of these officers regularly sent letters and reports back to Norway and how these letters were in turn published in leading, national newspapers. It is worth taking a closer look at one of these letters as it gives an indication of what kind of information about Congo and the colonial regime was available to the Norwegian public, while also giving an indication of the importance of infrastructure to the successful running of a colony. In 1894 the major newspaper *Morgenbladet* carried on its front page a letter written by Premierlieutenant H. F. Sundt, which described his experiences working in Congo and particularly in the port town of Boma.[43] Sundt gave a description of the infrastructure of Boma and it is clear from his letter that having a functional infrastructure and some of the comforts of home were seen as essential for the well-being of the colonizers. He particularly singles out the challenging climate of Boma as a great threat to the health of northerners like him and implies that well-developed infrastructure is necessary for survival. Sundt thereby inadvertently confirms the various promotions of prefabricated houses where

the insistence was on how it was valuable for the colonizers to quickly and securely establish proper lodgings.

Sundt's piece also gives a good example of how houses and infrastructure were intimately connected with power and acquiring a control of the land. This is evident with the military barracks in Boma. Sundt notes approvingly that these are situated at the highest point in the city, and a result provided 'a view over the whole location and the river, as far as the eye can see'.[44] While this might sound picturesque such a location of a military contingent would of course also make it easier to control the area. That such a control occurs and is decidedly brutal in nature is made clear shortly after when Sundt relates a scene that he describes as both 'unfamiliar' and 'comic'. It relates to the corporeal punishment of five people, whom Sundt describes as 'sinners' and 'naturally all black'.[45] These people are to be held down, prostrate on the ground, by black soldiers, to await a punishment of thirty lashes of the whip. The whipping commences to what Sundt describes as a 'terrible howling' and one of the soldiers holding the prisoners down begs the captain for mercy. The white captain responds by hitting this soldier several times on his backside with his cane, and the whipping continues. While Sundt notes that it would be difficult to describe the faces of the people awaiting their punishment, he offers no judgement on the scene itself. However, when he later in the same letter states that he will soon depart further inland to Bangula, he indicates that he is not averse to meting out punishment to the locals:

> The natives have become rebellious as of late and must be chastised. While the expedition seems like an interesting experience it will not be free from danger. I did a mistake by not acquiring a repeating carabine and a revolver while in Brussels; those provided are quite unmodern, though I expect they will manage the negro skin.[46]

A statement like this might of course just be Sundt trying to sound cavalier and capable to the folks back home, and some sources indicated that many of the Norwegian Congo veterans upon their return to Norway struggled both physically and mentally with what they had experienced.[47] However, the fact remains that Sundt's racist and violent opinions were printed on the front page of a respected, major newspaper without any condemning comments. Another example of a Norwegian connected with the colonial project of the Congo Free State, Johannes Scharffenberg, can further expand the different colonial links between Norwegians, the Norwegian government, Norwegian businesses and foreign colonial structures. Scharffenberg started working for *Société Anonyme Belge* in 1889.[48] In 1895 he returned to Norway and was interviewed by the national newspaper *Dagbladet*, where he spoke of what he called 'the friendly and devoted local black population' and delivered the following anecdote:

> An old friend of mine once gifted my wife with a quite young Negro girl, who had been captured by Arabs but reclaimed by the withes and taken to Kinshasa. Her name was Pileso, but we always called her Astrid. She was the most loyal, the most devoted servant, you could ever find.[49]

The Congolese girl Pileso is given the old Norse name Astrid, in what is surely a sad example of how Norwegians embraced colonial endeavours while concurrently developing an increasing pride in what they saw as their own national legacy.

However, Scharffenberg had not returned to Norway simply to relay anecdotes about colonial life. He was also there to gather interest in a colonial business venture. On 29 January 1896 he was invited to give a talk at the prestigious *Geografiske Selskab* (The Geographical Society) and here he described the historical, botanical and ethnographical situation in the Congo. In this talk he made his goal perfectly clear: 'The main reason for our work is to draw as many of the country's large riches over into Europe, and to gain for us whites as big a profit as possible.'[50]

On 18 March of the same year, he applied to Den Norske Handelstands forening and stressed the great possibilities regarding trade and resource extraction in Congo.[51] Scharffenberg would get his funds. Some months later, 8 July 1896, the newspaper *Morgenbladet* could report that Scharffenberg had returned to Congo. There he and his wife would that fall establish the trading house *La Société Norvegienne au Congo*.[52] They did so after having secured the interests of quite a few Norwegian companies who wanted to try to establishing trade and extraction with the Congo Free State. This included a wide selection of business involved with everything from liquor production, fruit preservation, canned milk and tableware and also 'Thams in Tronhjem (Wooden houses)'.[53] While Scharffenberg and Thams thereby can appear to share several interests there is an ambiguity in some of Scharffenberg's attitudes to colonialism that is not found in Thams. In his talk at the Geographical Society Scharffenberg had indeed expanded on the economic fortunes that could be made in colonial enterprises, yet he also relates how some of the locals had told him that they had been happy and content before the white man came.[54] Thereby Scharffenberg's talk about the possibilities of Colonial Congo also contained statements that could be read as criticisms of the colonial structures. Scharffenberg's possible ambivalence has led social anthropologist Espen Whæle to wonder if this was a reason for why Scharffenberg's trading house never became a success. Despite the backing of several formative Norwegian businesses and magnates *La Société Norvegienne au Congo* filed for bankruptcy in 1899.[55] By that time Scharffenberg was dead of malaria.

Congo in Norway and the question of the unthinkable Norwegian colonialism?

M. Thams & Co continued to sell prefabricated houses until the early 1910s. After that the increasing tension and outright war in Europe made trade difficult. However, there was also the fact that the result of decades of industrial forestry and clear cutting had become more and more evident. There was simply not enough well dimensioned lumber left.[56] An increased activity in workers' rights and union politics was also, at least for Christian Thams, an incentive to move on to different business ventures.[57] M. Thams & Co was therefore to foreclose. Assets were sold and the production of prefabricated houses stopped. Yet, while Christian Thams stopped selling prefabricated

houses, he did not quit his participation in colonial ventures. In fact, he increased his participation in precisely such businesses. Together with Prince Albert of Monaco he would be central in the company *Societé du Madal* in Mozambique.[58] He also invested in several plantations and ventures all over British East Africa, and particularly Kenya wherein he was part of the Norwegian plantation company Azania Ltd.[59]

The Norwegian connections to Congo might have altered after the closure of M. Thams & Co, but they did not end. In fact, the interlacing arguments of Norwegian independence and colonial connections can be said to have been given a further twist in 1914, when Norway celebrated the centenary of its constitution and subsequently its origin as a modern nation. This was an occasion that was celebrated all over the country, but one of the major sites of celebration was the large Jubilee Exhibition held at Frogner in Oslo. In what was then a fairly rural part of the capital a vast exhibition structure was erected, and which came to be known as the White City. The name was in reference both to the colour of the exhibition architecture and a reference to the world fair in Chicago in 1893. It is therefore possible to see the Jubilee Exhibition as a way to signal Norway's presence as a modern, industrial nation and so it is no surprise that a large amount of the exhibition site was given over to technical, industrial and economic displays. There was also a large section devoted to art, design and architecture, though by now the swirling dragons that Thams had employed so successfully in 1889 were few and far between. Instead, it was styles like Jugend and early modernism that were in vogue. Styles which to a much greater degree symbolized international connections and progressive modernity. However, the Norwegian exhibition had also acquired something else from abroad.

In the midst of all these odes to progress was the highly popular entertainment sector, and in that part of the exhibition visitors could watch, point and be entertained by what was known as the Congo village. It was a human zoo of the kind popularized by the international fairs and now available for a Norwegian audience. The people put on display seem to have been not from Congo but from Senegal and were part of troupe organized and orchestrated by Benno Singer, director for European Attractions Limited, London.[60] The Congo village in Oslo became a huge success with extensive coverage in all the major newspapers. It had only been a few decades since Casterberg and other politicians had sought to cajole the opposition with the terrible vision of Norwegians on display. Now Norway was celebrating its constitution and independence by deliberately displaying other people. In that way perhaps Norwegians had finally proved that they too were a part of the Western colonial forces?

Norwegian history in general has a strikingly ambivalent relationship with Norway's colonial past, often going as far as insisting it never happened.[61] This argument has been prevalent in the other Nordic countries as well, and Gunlög Fur has noted that the combination Nordic history and colonialism were, for a long period of time, 'unthinkable' for the historian.[62] The reason for such a stance is complex, and for Norway a recurring argument has been that it was not a colonial power since it did not have traditional colonies in the manner of Great Britain and France. The fallacy in that argument has been challenged in recent scholarship, such as by Kristin A. Kjerland and Knut M. Rio, who reflect that Norwegian colonizers are best described as 'little brothers' who 'eagerly followed in already established trails'.[63]

In this text I have sought to show how Norwegian art history – represented by the dragon style and exposition participation – formed part of this colonial network. That the dragon style is employed in this manner is interesting precisely because it has been so emblematic of the struggle for Norwegian identity and independence. In emphasizing what Gunlög Fur has described as reading for concurrence, it is possible to tell how the story of Norway as an independent nation runs parallel to and is entangled with Norwegian participation in colonial exploitation. How these entanglements consisted of private business interest and official organizations, art and aesthetics with industrial manufacture and export that together created a complex web of ideological and economic interests, buoyed up by racial ideas of white superiority. It tells the story of how colonialism was the landscape upon which the house of Norwegian independence was built.

Notes

1. *Beretninger om Norges Deltagelse i Verdensudstillingen i Paris 1889* (Christiania: W. C. Fabritius, 1891), xvi.
2. Letter from Maurentius Thams to Thorvald Tostrup, 22 May 1888, quoted in Reiersen, *Fenomenet Thams*, 152.
3. Strømmen Trævarefabrik, *Description of Strømmen Trævarefabriks Wooden Portable Buildings* (Lillestrøm: Strømmen Trævarefabrik, 1906), 11.
4. H. Sørby, *Klar – ferdig – hus: norske ferdighus gjennom tidene* (Oslo: Ad Notam Gyldendal, 1992), 29.
5. Ibid., 27.
6. Trævarefabrikk, *Description*, 20.
7. See, for instance, Kjerland and Rio, *Kolonitid.*
8. B. Lüthi, F. Falk and P. Purtschert, 'Colonialism without Colonies: Examining Blank Spaces in Colonial Studies', *National identities* 18, no. 1 (2016): 1.
9. Verdensutstillingen, *Beretninger om Norges Deltagelse*, xvi.
10. Ibid.
11. D. Brydon, P. Forsgren and G. Fur, *Concurrent Imaginaries, Postcolonial Worlds: Toward Revised Histories* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 40.
12. S. Lien and H. W. Nielssen, 'Undertrykkelsen har vært motbydelig for meg', *Kunst og kultur* 104 (2021): 41–56.
13. T. H. Sørensen, 'Proudly Peripheral', *Visual Resources* 35, nos. 3–4 (2019): 237–65.
14. K. Fallan, *Designing Modern Norway: A History of Design Discourse* (London: Routledge, 2017), 26.
15. Ibid.
16. B. Brenna, 'Utstillingsteknikk og representasjonspolitikk: på verdensutstilling i Paris i 1889', in *Tingenes Tale* (Bergen: Bergen Museum, 2002), 133–61.
17. Fallan, *Designing Modern Norway*, 26.
18. *Beretninger om Norges Deltagelse*, xvi.
19. P. Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 86.
20. Forhandlinger i Storthinget (nr. 129, nr. 130, nr. 131), 18/19 May 1888, *Ang. Bev. Til Deltagelse i Udstillingen i Paris*, 1041. The original reads: 'Samtidig med, at hele den

civilisered Verden paa en eller anden Maade er repræsenteret, paa Norges Plads at se et gråt Bret, påskrevet "Butikken er lukket".

21. Ibid., 1021–2. The original reads:

> Tør jeg således være fri at spørge den ærede Ordfører, hvad der egentlig mener i Indstillingen, naar der er anført, at hvad angår Turistgjenstande, skal de omfatte også ældre Befordringsmidler. Er det disse gamle Klævsadler og Fruentimmergjortsadler? Eller er der disse lyseblaa Smalslæder med Svanehals og udskaarne Dragehoveder? Er det disse gamle Karioler med høirøde Lilier og lyseblaa Roser? Ja, send disse Ting tilligmed en Bundt Spegelaar og Rakørret og Gammelost – en rigtig 'gjort' en! Sænd det til Franskmændene, og jeg gad vide, hvad de da vil tænke om os! Jeg kommer ved dette til at mindes, hvad en Tysker for mange Aar siden fortalte mig. Han fortalte, at han havde paa en Markedsplads i Hamburg seet en Mand, overklædt med Fjedre, sidde og sønderrive med Tænderne levende Høner og Haner, så Blodet flød, og Fjedrene føg om ham, og ovenover paa Forestillingsboden stod der skrevet med store Bogstaver: 'Ein Wilder von Norwegen' – en Vild fra Norge, hr. Præsident! Jeg er bange for, at der vilde kunde hænde os noget lignende, hvis vi indlod os paa at sende til Paris Spegelaarene og Gammelosten og Rakørreten – og hvorfor ikke tage med Skindfælden- Vi kan så godt undvære den; vi har nok tilbage. Det vilde dog i Sandhed være Trist, om nogen af os, som sidder her, skulde komme til Paris og finde norske Folk indregistreret i en eller annen Udstillingskatalog eller instruction som 'les Samojèdes de Norvège' – Samojeder fra Norge, Hr. Præsident! Ja, saavidt kan vi gaa med disse Turistgjenstande.

22. S. Tschudi-Madsen, 'Dragestilen: honnør til en hånet stil', in *Årbok (Vestlandske kunstindustrimuseum)* (Bergen: n.p., 1950), 19–59.
23. G. Herbert, *The Dream of the Factory-Made House: Walter Gropius and Konrad Wachsmann* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984), 82–94.
24. Sørby, *Klar – ferdig – hus*, 16.
25. Quoted in G. Herbert, 'The Portable Colonial Cottage', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 31, no. 4 (1972): 261.
26. Sørby, *Klar – ferdig – hus*, 16.
27. 'Die hölzernen Gebäude der Kolonisten in Algier', *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 6 (1841): 246–7.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid. The original reads: 'Dieselben bestehen aus fertige einzelnen Stücken, welche am Orte ihrer Bestimmung nur zusammengesesst zu werden brauchen.'
30. Ibid. The original reads: 'Schweden treibt mit diese Häusern einen beträchtlichen Handel, und es gehen jährlich mehrere Schiffsladungen davon nach Neuholland [Australia] in die englischen Kolonien.'
31. Ibid., 246.
32. Ibid. The original reads: 'Die Kamele und sonstigen Haustiere werden Nachts in den Hof getrieben, der dann verschlossen wird, und die Thiere übernachten unter freiem Himmel.'
33. *Beretninger om Norges Deltagelse*, 59.
34. M. Carey, 'Inventing Caribbean Climates: How Science, Medicine, and Tourism Changed Tropical Weather from Deadly to Healthy', *Osiris* 26, no. 1 (2011): 129–41.
35. E. Reiersen, *Fenomenet Thams* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 2006), 199.
36. Ibid., 201.

37. Ibid., 297. He was made consul of the Congo Free State in 1906 and consul of Belgium in 1907.
38. A. K. Bang and K. A. Kjerland, *Nordmenn i Afrika: afrikanere i Norge* (Bergen: Vigmostad & Bjørke, 2002).
39. K. A. Kjerland and K. M. Rio, *Kolonitid: nordmenn på eventyr og big business i Afrika og Stillehavet* (Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press, 2009), 8.
40. It must also be noted that due to the high number of immigrants leaving Norway, Norwegians played a significant role in the expansion of settler colonialism.
41. Reiersen, *Fenomenet Thams*, 297. Reiersen notes that the first advertisement about recruits to Congo was posted in the national newspaper *Aftenposten* in 1895. Thus, the practice of placing recruitment adverts had been established prior to Thams being made consul in 1906.
42. 'Det er de svenske, norske og danske Skipskaptajner, Styrmænd, Maskinister og Skibshaandværkere, der i Virkelighedem i føærste Række have muliggjort Congolandets Erobring af Belgierne.' H. Jenssen-Tusch, *Skandinaver i Congo: svenske, norske og danske mænds og kvinders virksomhed i den uafhængige Congostat* (Kjøbenhavn: Gyldendal, 1902), 4.
43. H. F. Sundt, 'Fra Congo, Af et Privatbrev fra Premiereløitnant H. F. Sundt. Boma, 6te Mai, 1894', *Morgenbladet* 375 (15 July 1894): 1.
44. Ibid., 1.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid. The original reads: 'De Infødte har nemlig vist sig noget rebelske i det sidste, og de skal tugtes. Expeditionen bliver visstnok interessant, om end ikke ganske farefri. Jeg har begaaet en Dumhed ved ikke i Brussel at kjøbe en Repeterkarabin og en Revolver; thi de udleverede er ikke ganske moderne, men de klarer vel Negerskindet, håber jeg.'
47. E. Wæhle, 'Historier bak Kongosamlingen', in *Årbok for Bergen Museum 2007–2008* (Bergen: Bergen Museum, 2008), 57.
48. B. A. Godøy, *Solskinn og død: nordmenn i kong Leopolds Kongo* (Oslo: Spartacus, 2010), 28.
49. 'Ingeniør Scharffenberg fortæller om Kongo', *Dagbladet* 291 (10 October 1895): 1. The original reads: 'Min Hustru fik i Foræring af en gammel Ven af mig en ganske ung Negerpige, som var røvet af Araberne, men som blev tat tilbage af de hvide og ført med til Kinchassa. Hendes navn var Pileso, men vi kaldte henne altid Astrid. Hun var den troeste, mest hengivne Tjener, man kunde finde.'
50. Quoted in Godøy, *Solskinn og død*, 28. The original reads: 'Hovedhensigten med vort arbeide er at trække så mange af landets store rigdomme over til Europa, for at skaffe os hvide så stor fortjeneste som mulig.'
51. Ibid.
52. Wæhle, 'Historier bak Kongosamlingen', 57.
53. 'Et Kongocompani', *Morgenbladet* 400 (8 July 1896): 2.
54. J. Scharffenberg, 'Congo. Foredrag den 29de januar og 5te februar 1896', in *Det Norske Geografiske Selkabs Aarbog 1895–96* (1896), 43–4.
55. Wæhle, 'Historier bak Kongosamlingen'.
56. Reiersen, *Fenomenet Thams*, 328.
57. Ibid., 329.
58. Ibid., 341.
59. Ibid., 343.

60. B. Brenna, 'Negere på Frogner', in *Nordmenn i Afrika: afrikanere i Norge*, ed. A. K. Bang and K. A. Kjerland (Bergen: Vigmostad & Bjørke, 2002), 246. Brenna notes that Singer appears to have toured with this group of Senegalese and that prior to Oslo they had been on display in Cologne and Breslau (present-day Wroclaw).
61. The best-known instance might be an interview with the Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg in 2016, when he stated that Norway was a good international peace broker because it had no colonial past.
62. Brydon et al., *Concurrent Imaginaries*, 17.
63. Kjerland and Rio, *Kolonitid*, 8.

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5

Swiss colonial business in the Transvaal: The involvement of the DuBois family, watchmakers in Neuchâtel (late nineteenth century)

Fabio Rossinelli

Introduction

In Switzerland, the DuBois family founded the first watchmaking factory in the country – DuBois & Fils (1785) – in the small town of Le Locle, located in the Jura Mountains in the canton of Neuchâtel.[1] In the United States, Cora DuBois – a descendant of this family – was a pioneer in the humanities and the first woman to teach anthropology at Harvard University.[2] The two stories have been told separately: no one has so far investigated the reasons that pushed Cora's father, Jean DuBois, to emigrate to the United States. This story represents a case study in global and colonial history. In fact, if Jean DuBois travelled to the United States in 1899, it was because he had fled the Transvaal – a country where he had been for eight years. And if he had fled from the Transvaal, it was not because the Second Anglo-Boer War had just broken out, as Cora DuBois's biographer said,[3] but because, together with his brother Philippe DuBois, he had criminally enriched himself by defrauding friends and clients. Jean DuBois had completely immersed himself in the dynamics of colonial speculation. He had become, like the rest of his companions and fellow adventurers, a sort of mastermind of financial crimes – and he could not abandon this behaviour. Moreover, he lost all the financial proceeds of his fraud. Under an arrest warrant by the Swiss Confederation, Jean DuBois went on the run[4]: destination United States, where his wife Mattie had family.[5]

The reconstruction of this unknown story, which seems anecdotal, is significant for at least two reasons. The first is historiographical. This case study sheds new light on geographical areas (the Jura Mountains) and economic actors (the watchmaking families of Neuchâtel) of a country outside the European powers (Switzerland). It shows their complete integration into the transimperial spaces, in the wake of what has already been done by authors who have been interested in the relationship between Switzerland and colonial history, such as Patricia Purtschert, Andreas Zangger and others.[6] It was from these spaces that watchmaking emerged, having to source precious metals such as gold and silver for the production of watches.[7] However, Swiss

watchmaking has so far rarely been examined in relation to imperial histories. Historian Pierre-Yves Donzé, for example, has demonstrated the mobility and global markets of watchmakers, but without allocating attention to colonial experiences and lands.[8] His colleague Beatrice Veyrassat, emphasizing the diversification of economic activities of Swiss watchmaking families or enterprises overseas, has mainly spoken of the import/export of watches against colonial products.[9] Hugues Scheurer, the only one who has written about the DuBoises in this context, did not attach too much importance to this case, believing that they were only interested in 'colonial products between 1765 and 1769 and in a very limited way'.[10] As this essay will show, a more holistic approach is needed to appreciate the different ways in which Neuchâtel watchmakers involved themselves in colonial business: here was not only product exchange, but also capital investment – an aspect that deserves more attention and will be at the heart of this essay.

Secondly, the examination of the DuBois' emigration and business in the Transvaal leads us not only to a new history of the watchmaking areas in Switzerland, but also to a new global micro-history[11] of capitalism in the transimperial spaces. The main sources on which we based our investigation are the private letters of Jean DuBois, conserved in the archives of his daughter Cora at the Tozzer Library in Cambridge.[12] By cross-referencing this data with the archives of the DuBois Family in Le Locle and others, we were able to reconstruct – based on private and confidential documents – the strategies of capitalist predation implemented in the colonial context that rarely transpire from 'classical' sources such as missionary archives or state archives. Although at first only the family microcosm in Switzerland was involved, the DuBois family's network of collaborations soon expanded to France, Germany and beyond, involving bankers, scientists, missionaries and politicians, often of high status – all men who met informally in geographic societies to conclude private agreements. In these circles, the cooperative and transnational dimension was as strong as national competitions or rivalries[13] – a reflection of the imperial tension theorized by Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler.[14] It was therefore through these environments that the DuBoises created their business in the Transvaal, based on transnational collaboration. In this context, this might be surprising if we refer to the value system of the global bourgeoisie thematized by Christof Dejung, David Motadel and Jürgen Osterhammel[15]; they demonstrated capitalist pragmatism, relegating to the background all those values not directly related to material profit.

For our demonstration, we will adopt the following structure. The first chapter will outline the origins of the DuBois' emigration to the Transvaal, as well as the end of the story: the fraud, the bankruptcy, the escape. This will provide the contextual elements that will allow us to enter the heart of our investigation. The second one will analyse Jean DuBois's individual journey from Europe to Africa, highlighting the multiple networks of collaboration he relied on to create and implement a successful salt exploitation. The third chapter will focus on the vast gold business that the DuBoises entered, analysing the financial strategies and global connections of their operations. A fourth and final chapter, before the conclusions, will analyse the colonial speculative fever that arose in the DuBois family and was motivated by their racist and classist worldview. We can thus ultimately take up the two arguments presented earlier and develop them in the light of the outcomes of our investigation.

Neuchâtel watchmaking, South African gold and the great swindle of Fehr & DuBois

We said it at the beginning: historical contributions that problematize the acquisition of raw materials for Swiss watchmaking are few. The literature on this subject tends to show that, from the eighteenth century, colonial trade helped develop this economic sector. Neuchâtel watchmakers found overseas sources for materials needed for the production of watches (gold, gemstones and other minerals), but they also identified outlets for sales.[16] During the nineteenth century, they penetrated several Latin American and Asian countries, such as Brazil and Japan.[17] How did the colonization of Africa influence the global markets for Neuchâtel watchmaking? Historiography is silent on this point, so it is this aspect that we shall attempt to clarify by discussing the origins of the DuBois' presence in Africa.

A geographical society of Neuchâtel (Société neuchâteloise de géographie) was set up in Le Locle at the time of the Berlin Conference of 1884–5, and a focus on the African continent quickly became evident in this circle, located not far from the Maison DuBois.[18] In this movement, one person seems to have indirectly initiated the event we are interested in: Paul Perrin. A businessman from Neuchâtel, he emigrated to the Transvaal together with his brother Jules (a photographer and jeweller) in 1872. Returning in 1885, Paul Perrin proposed to several geographical societies – including Neuchâtel – to set up an import/export company in the Transvaal that could conduct gold mining activities: the Swiss African Company (Compagnie Suisse Africaine). The project was too big for the newly founded association of Neuchâtel, but the geographical society of St. Gallen (Ostschweizerische geographisch-commercielle Gesellschaft) accepted the challenge. The Swiss African Company was thus founded in 1886.[19]

This project of Neuchâtel origin, but Swiss in scope, allows us to interrogate the relationship between watchmaking and the colonies. As historian Johann Boillat has shown, watchmakers were the main businessmen dealing in gold and precious metals in this canton. And if Switzerland adopted two items of legislation in 1880 and 1886 to control and guarantee the titles of gold and silver works, it was again thanks to one Federal Councillor from Neuchâtel.[20] This legislative process crystallized added value for the Swiss precious metals industry – a former ambition of other watchmaking places, such as Geneva, studied by Nadège Sougy.[21] It is therefore possible that the new legal framework stimulated watchmakers, increasing their international competitiveness and enabling them to source gold directly (without intermediaries) from producing countries.

Returning to our thread, the trading house Walter & DuBois in Le Locle was one of the first shareholders of the Swiss African Company. This house, active in the gold trade, was founded in 1885 and co-directed by Henri DuBois.[22] Walter & DuBois's ambition in buying shares in the Swiss African Company was not to take 10 per cent interest per share (as promised by Paul Perrin), but to acquire South African gold.[23] However, primarily due to insufficient funds, the Swiss African Company was forced to shut down by 1887. But Walter & DuBois's ambition was not forgotten by the

geographical society of St. Gallen. Following the company's dissolution, this society put them in contact with its two correspondents in the Transvaal: Carl Fehr and Franz Sitterding.[24] They were two emigrants from Zurich in Pretoria, founders of the import/export house Fehr & Sitterding, previously established in Verona, Italy.[25]

It is unclear what links existed between Henri DuBois (co-director of the Walter & DuBois house) and the brothers Philippe and Jean DuBois (descendants of the DuBois & Fils watchmaking factory) in Le Locle because archive documentation has not given us any answers. However, we have been able to reconstruct the fact that, between 1886 and 1887, Philippe DuBois emigrated to the Transvaal and founded, together with Carl Fehr, the company Fehr & DuBois, which replaced Fehr & Sitterding (Jean DuBois, Philippe's brother, joined them a few years later in 1891). Before continuing, here are a few details about those involved. Carl Fehr was a mining engineer and was appointed Swiss consul in the Transvaal in 1894.[26] Philippe DuBois (born in 1866) and his brother Jean (born in 1869) were the sons of Philippe Henri DuBois (1837–1923), who was a trader in the family watchmaking business and lived between Le Locle and Frankfurt.[27]

If these actors are totally unknown today, they certainly weren't at the time of the events. In fact, in the last decade of the nineteenth century, the Swiss press published several reports on Fehr & DuBois and the Transvaal, which were initially encouraging.[28] The establishment of their Swiss Mortgage Investment Syndicate (Caisse hypotécaire de Pretoria) in 1890 attracted a number of Swiss investors, particularly in Neuchâtel and the Jura mountains. In 1897, for example, the capital raised in Switzerland for this syndicate was SFr. 1.72 million, with an annual interest rate of 8 per cent.[29] The banks Berthoud & Cie in Neuchâtel and DuBois & L'Hardy in Le Locle (the latter managed by the uncles of Philippe and Jean DuBois) handled the buying and selling of shares.[30]

The business of the Swiss Mortgage Investment Syndicate went well until 1898. Then, a year later, an unexpected scandal arrived: as reported in the national press of that time,[31] Fehr & DuBois announced that all the money they raised in Switzerland (which amounted to SFr. 1.63 million in 1899) 'has been misappropriated by us and used for our own purposes; we have lost or sold everything we owned; we are absolutely without resources'.[32] While this admission of fraud, written before they fled the Transvaal, is incredibly transparent, the reasons for the financial collapse were not made explicit. Their explanation was: 'The businesses in which we were involved went wrong one after the other and gradually we lost them.'[33]

It was evident that the Swiss Mortgage Investment Syndicate was a screen for Fehr & DuBois to run other (and non-real estate) businesses. Which ones? The gold market, as we realized by recontextualizing the origins of the DuBois's migration to the Transvaal, was central – but it has to be proven. Furthermore, was it only gold for watchmaking that interested our actors? What were their objectives and how did they realize them (with what dynamics, what collaborations)? The letters that Jean DuBois wrote to his parents, who remained in Le Locle in the period 1891–4, which was the period of Fehr & DuBois's rise in the Transvaal, provided us with some research leads. Starting from this basis, from which we have indexed names and facts, we have reconstructed – relying essentially on other primary sources, given the lack of secondary literature on this micro event – the astonishingly complex plot of this affair.

The arrival of Jean DuBois in the Transvaal and the exploitation of the Salt Pan

Jean DuBois left Europe for Africa in November 1891, with the intention of joining his brother Philippe, who had emigrated five years earlier, in the Fehr & DuBois's business.[34] Perhaps on the advice of his paternal uncle Louis Ferdinand DuBois, the head of the DuBois & L'Hardy bank (which was managing the shares of the Swiss Mortgage Investment Syndicate) and a member of the geographical society of Neuchâtel in Le Locle, Jean DuBois stopped off in Paris, Brussels and London before embarking on a ship to southern Africa. In these cities, he was introduced – initially through the erudite traveller Fritz DuBois, living in Paris[35] – to the local geographical societies. It was an opportunity to forge links with important banking, political and intellectual personalities. These included the bankers Louis Berthoud and Alphonse Oltramare, both emigrants from Switzerland, Prince Roland Bonaparte, the geographer Charles Maunoir, the writer Robert Godet and others, who facilitated his stay in the Transvaal.[36] For example, when Jean DuBois landed at the Cape in December 1891, Cecil Rhodes himself received him in his villa, thanks to the recommendation of the British journalist William Thomas Stead, whom Jean had met in London.[37] This preparation for the journey allows us to emphasize two points. First, we are clearly confronted with both a family history and a European history – we will explore this entanglement later. Secondly, the importance of geographical societies in the nineteenth century was not in their intellectual production, but in their function of meeting and sociability – an aspect still neglected by historiography.[38]

From his arrival in southern Africa, Jean DuBois stayed in Durban until March 1892, where he gathered various items of economic information for Fehr & DuBois and tried to launch a sausage production operation – but unsuccessfully.[39] When he arrived in Pretoria in April 1892, he became part of a company already operating on several fronts. He commented: 'Philippe [DuBois] is highly regarded in Pretoria and his firm has a very good reputation; it is even believed to be stronger than it actually is. The Fehr & DuBois are engaged in a mass of businesses: gold mines, iron mines, salt, etc.'[40] The main occupation that was attributed to Jean DuBois within Fehr & DuBois was to implement the production and sale of salt. The central salt agency was in Pietersburg, while the salt extraction and processing sites were located in the Soutpansberg Mountains, where there was also a Swiss mission station called Valdezia.[41]

This gives us the opportunity to discuss the cooperation between business and mission. One of these salt sites owned by Fehr & DuBois was in fact managed by a Swiss missionary, Honoré Schlaefli, who also came – like the DuBoises – from the Jura Mountains of Neuchâtel. He was a corresponding member of the geographical society of Neuchâtel in Le Locle.[42] Jean DuBois ironically explained the ambiguous role of Honoré Schlaefli to his parents in a letter of April 1892 as someone who was 'sent by the Swiss Mission to convert the pagan Blacks and by Fehr & DuBois to keep them in this state by salting them'.[43] And again in October 1893, when Schlaefli was called by Fehr & DuBois to vaccinate their workers against the *variola minor*, Jean wrote about him: 'This earned him SFr. 500 for ten days of easy work.'[44] Just for comparison, the

maximum annual salary for watchmakers in Neuchâtel at this time was SFr. 2,000![45] Jean DuBois liked Honoré Schlaefli, perhaps because of his taste for money and business; by contrast, he despised the other Swiss missionaries in Valdezia.[46] This was even more so when the latter, after discovering that Schlaefli was working for Fehr & DuBois, forced Schlaefli out of the salt business. An official letter of protest from Jean DuBois arrived in Lausanne, at the headquarters of the Swiss mission, in which he accused the missionary founder Paul Berthoud of also being a businessman in Transvaal – and a bad speculator.[47] Based on our sources, we can see that this cooperation was not free of tensions arising from conflicting interests. Moreover, it was the result of national and linguistic (in this case Swiss and Francophone) networks that, once again through the channel of geographical societies (Neuchâtel), linked the European peripheries to the overseas colonies.

As regards cooperation and tension, the Salt Pan directed by Jean DuBois gives us an insight into the South African actors involved. The workers were Boers and native Blacks called 'Kaffirs'. The former settled there for the dry season, from April to October, because in the Salt Pan they could get paid work and feed their cattle in the mountain pastures. Jean DuBois reported that in 1893, there were more or less '150 Boer people to work, each with a minimum of 4–5 Kaffirs, for a total population of about 700 souls'.[48] When the Boers and their South African servants left because of the rainy season, Jean had to scramble to recruit new workers from neighbouring indigenous communities. He made agreements with local chiefs, for example Malaboek in Blouberg, to enlist his subjects in exchange for a certain amount of salt sacks; however, many of Jean DuBois's demands were refused by Malaboek.[49] These collaborations helped the prosperity of Fehr & DuBois's Salt Pan, and it is interesting for us to note the active role of the indigenous people through the local power structures. It was, however, an asymmetrical relationship, if not on a real level, in which Jean DuBois had to compromise with Malaboek, at least on an ideological level. The following example will clarify the concept. When the war broke out between the Boers and the 'rebellious' South African communities in the summer of 1894, leading to a direct confrontation between the general Joubert, commandant of the South African Republic, and the chief Malaboek,[50] Jean DuBois made arrangements with both sides for the protection of the Salt Pan. From Joubert he obtained the dispatch of a hundred armed men, from Malaboek the assurance of timely information in case the conflict threatened Fehr & DuBois's Salt Pan.[51] Despite an officially neutral role in the conflict and a sense of gratitude to both sides, Jean DuBois nevertheless took part in the war as a volunteer in the Boer army[52] – where he also found that other Swiss migrants had enlisted[53] – just to try to 'do some business'[54] and to 'have the pleasure of shooting down one of these black worms'.[55] This shows, as we shall also see later, his deeply racist roots.

We end this chapter with a few facts and figures – both for completeness of information and for a comparative perspective with what will follow in the next one. The Salt Pan's accounting year of 1892 generated a net profit of £1,700 (SFr. 42,500), while in 1893 it was exactly double (£3,400, equivalent to SFr. 85,000).[56] We don't know the numbers for the following years, but we know that a sale of the Salt Pan was planned by late 1894 to the Boer government.[57] The latter, in fact, took Fehr & DuBois to court because the exploitation of the Salt Pan did not fulfil the contractual conditions for the

territorial concession: however, Fehr & DuBois won the case because, according to the contract, there were no clauses in the event of non-commitment.[58]

Gold mines: A major transnational business that made Fehr & DuBois into millionaires

Although Jean DuBois was mainly involved with the Salt Pan, he often stayed in Pietersburg, Pretoria, Johannesburg and other locations, where his brother Philippe and Carl Fehr had set up gold mining operations. This economic sector was at the heart of Fehr & DuBois's business. In this part, we will take a closer look at two issues that have been glossed over previously. The first is that of the family and transnational relationships in business management in the Transvaal. The second is that of the financial strategies put in place to compete in the gold market – with the drift of uncontrolled speculation.

In April 1892, Jean DuBois informed his family in Le Locle that he and his associates would research the possibilities of exploiting the alluvial gold of the Klein Letaba (a tributary of the Letaba River in Limpopo).[59] A month later, he asked his parents to 'find the necessary funds' to set up a 'Central Battery' in Klein Letaba, specifying that he had already contacted 'Uncle Jules [DuBois]'; he also urged his parents to 'keep this in the family'.[60] Other gold-related businesses were launched at the same time, and some confusion emerged. In July 1892, Jean DuBois had to make it clear to his father that business outside Klein Letaba – such as the gold mines in Johannesburg – was negotiated with 'the houses of Rothschild, Lippert, etc.' and that it did not concern the family in Le Locle, but he reassured him that the 'Central Battery' enterprise, 'although modest, seems destined for a superb future'.[61] We do not know if by 'superb future' Jean was referring to the exploitation of gold, but the market value of the land soon paid off. In fact, in February 1893, Fehr & DuBois owned land in Klein Letaba for a total of '30,000 shares which are quoted today at £1.1' (SFr. 825,000).[62] The values on the stock exchange, however, did not correspond to the real economy. As specified in a letter of August 1893, Klein Letaba's 'Central Battery' was not yet operational[63] – although already listed on the stock exchange and with share benefits. The last news we have about Klein Letaba dates back to January 1894, when Jean DuBois informed his father in Le Locle that bad weather in the Transvaal had slowed down the work even further.[64]

Two months later, however, Jean wrote that 'the financial situation seems to be improving': 'We produced during the 28 days of February [1894], which is generally considered a bad month because of the rains and the rarity of Kaffirs, a quantity of gold representing a sum of about SFr. 13.5 millions' (£540,000).[65] It is unclear whether this sum, extremely higher than what was produced at the Salt Pan, referred to the gold mined by Klein Letaba. In fact, between late 1893 and early 1894, several new gold activities were started. Their analysis will show us how the family business network did not only originate from Le Locle, but also from Frankfurt in Germany – and how everything was closely connected and coordinated. Hugo Andreae, the maternal uncle of Philippe and Jean DuBois, arrived at this time in the Transvaal for a few weeks. 'He

has often been God in his dealings with some of the Rand's biggest houses', Jean wrote to his father, but then added: 'Regarding your speculations with Uncle Jean [Valentin Andreae], I would suggest you to be very careful', despite the advices of 'Uncle Hugo [Andreae].'[66] The Andreaes were a powerful banking family in Frankfurt and were linked by marriage strategies with the DuBoises of Le Locle, who had a watchmaking branch – and part of the family – in Frankfurt (Philippe and Jean DuBois's mother was herself an Andreae).[67] Hugo Andreae, in particular, was the head of the multinational German Gold and Silver Refinery (Deutsche Gold-und Silber-Scheideanstalt, today Degussa) in Frankfurt, which controlled similar companies abroad.[68] It should be noted, by the way, that this multinational company was headed from 1905 by Georges DuBois, younger brother of Philippe and Jean.[69]

In the Transvaal, this link between business and family was also realized in the gold market, with the participation of members from outside the family. Personalities such as Gustav Arthur Troye (the greatest cartographer of the South African Republic, published by Fehr & DuBois in 1892)[70] and Wilhelm Knappe (an important politician, ethnologist and collector of the German Empire, but also a director of the National Bank of the South African Republic in 1891–4 and associated with Fehr & DuBois)[71] contributed to the strategies of the family business. But what did these strategies consist of? On the one hand, it was to set up mining companies in the Transvaal, equipped with their own infrastructure and vehicles, to extract minerals and raw materials on South African soil. On the other, holding companies had to be set up to bear the enormous costs and risks of the former. In both cases, these companies speculated on stock market transactions to create profit, even buying each other's shares. We present below a single example of these entanglements that clarifies, on the practical side, how the strategies were implemented. The details given are necessary to understand the connections and figures at play, resituating the previously mentioned actors in the puzzle.

In 1893, Carl Fehr and Philippe DuBois co-founded Molyneux Mines Limited with a share capital of £10,000, which was increased to £50,000 in July 1894. In May 1895, the company was restructured and renamed Molyneux Mines Consolidated, with a share capital of £250,000 (SFr. 6.25 million). It mined gold in Botha's Kraal in the district of Heidelberg (south of Johannesburg) and had its commercial agencies in London and Berlin[72] – but also in Paris, via the Geneva banker Alphonse Oltramare, whom Jean DuBois had met in 1891 in the geographical society of this city, and from whom he had received addresses of 'influential people'.[73] During the period of the Molyneux Mines' expansion, which was in July 1894, Carl Fehr and Philippe DuBois, together with Wilhelm Knappe, co-founded the Gravelotte Gold Mining Company with share capital of £125,000 (SFr. 3.125 million) to mine the Murchison Range in the Soutpansberg district (east of Pietersburg), maintaining the same commercial set-up as in Europe.[74] Jean DuBois became general manager of the Gravelotte Gold Mining Company one month after its foundation.[75]

From July 1895, these two companies – Molyneux and Gravelotte – were largely supported by the newly founded African Metals Company, which bought their shares. The African Metals Company was a holding company with share capital of £400,000 (SFr. 10 million), chaired by Hugo Andreae, and of which Jean DuBois was himself

a shareholder.[76] It was in partnership with Troye's Exploration Company, another £400,000 holding company, which was co-founded and chaired by the cartographer of the same name, whom Fehr & DuBois had made famous in 1892.[77] Each organization had its own interests and independence, but the mutual financial participations created a certain interdependence, which allowed for the creation of 'virtual' market values without a 'real' production value behind it. It was a kind of closed-door circuit that allowed benefits to be created or crises to be cushioned, depending on the circumstances.

In November 1894, Jean DuBois explained very simply, with a brief example, how this speculative strategy – which was commonly used – worked: 'About the New Company founded by Philippe' (of which we don't know the name) 'we have made approximately £2,500–3,000 [equivalent to SFr. 625,000–750,000] net profit in shares since the foundation, that is to say for only two months. I am entitled to say that these profits are due to the information I have gathered from all sides on the state of the mines, their resources and the "schemes" which the directors are planning in order to raise or lower the shares.'[78]

In any case, the highly speculative mechanism within which Jean DuBois and his companions or family members had inserted themselves did not allow these activities to survive for long. The case of Molyneux Mines Consolidated – the only one we have been able to document – is representative. It was liquidated in 1898, despite promising prospects. Why? A report by the judicial liquidator explained that while more than half of the capital was invested in the purchase of the land, the rest and much more was placed on the financial market, keeping the company's resources afloat or increasing them; the problem was that 'the directors spent these sums before they had reached the period of production'.[79] The income, as long as the wind was blowing in their favour, was therefore linked to speculation – and not to production.

Speculation and speculative fever: A multitude of other projects reflecting an alleged omnipotence of race and class

We were surprised by the number of parallel projects in which the DuBois brothers and their associates and relatives launched themselves, playing more and more with the fire of speculation and setting themselves no limits. A few examples will make it clear that gold was ultimately only one activity among many, even if the main one, and that the initial links with watchmaking were slowly diluted in favour of capitalist predation in the colonial world.

In a letter of November 1894, for example, Jean DuBois wrote that one of his current concerns was to 'obtain that the State create a cyanide monopoly and only grant us the right to establish a factory'.[80] Jean's feelings about this massive project were positive, because the lobbying by Fehr & DuBois on the Boer government looked to have paid off – although things turned out differently.[81] The ultimate beneficiary of this 'state monopoly that is nothing more than a concession under another name' would be the

German Gold and Silver Refinery (Degussa) of Hugo Andreae in Frankfurt, for which Fehr & DuBois acted as intermediaries.[82] This Frankfurt-based multinational was also present in an advertising prospectus that circulated in Europe in August 1893, signed by Fehr & DuBois, for the foundation of a forestry company in the Transvaal.[83] Similar to the case of the Swiss Mortgage Investment Syndicate mentioned at the beginning of the essay, this prospectus presented a very lucrative project for the realization of which it was necessary to raise substantial funds from European investors. Also, like in the case of the Syndicate, everything seems to indicate that the ultimate aim was solely to increase the capital available to Fehr & DuBois, without, however, embarking on any forestry business. In fact, in October 1893, Jean DuBois advised his father against taking an interest in 'the tree business', so as not to fall victim to 'one of the most risky speculations that can be made'.[84]

The idea that there were no limits in colonial lands is confirmed by numerous other projects, even minor ones, such as the establishment of a brewery in January 1894 – 'My God! In this country you learn to make everything, including beer!'[85] – of which, moreover, the employees denounced the non-payment of wages by Fehr & DuBois.[86] In October 1894, Jean DuBois also spoke about other minor projects that he conducted with a confident and amused manner. Although he knew that his brother did not want it, he bought 'a house for Philippe' near Saxonwold – where the well-known gold and dynamite businessman Eduard Lippert,[87] already in dealings with Fehr & DuBois in 1892,[88] lived – simply because 'in a year or two the price of this house and the land around it will have doubled', and at worst 'I will easily rent it at £25 a month, which would represent 12.5 per cent interest on the capital'.[89] In the same paper, Jean DuBois again stated that 'business on the stock exchange has been very good recently' and that he had 'taken advantage of it to manipulate a few shares and reaped a very good benefit', citing £107 (SFr. 2.675) in one transaction.[90] He concluded his letter of October 1894 in a surprising way: 'I am usually very opposed to speculation in shares, but under such conditions it would be an act of folly to stick to one's principles.'[91] If we must believe this last assertion, it could represent Jean DuBois's turning point (and point of no return) in his speculative fever.

An attitude of this kind, so reckless and self-confident, with a sense of omnipotence in business, would probably never have developed outside the colonial context. This was due not only to the conditions of extreme economic exploitation in the colonies, but also to a worldview – based on race and class – that confirmed on an ideological level the existing domination on a material level.[92] Jean DuBois's correspondence shows us without filters his racist view, in which non-European races were not only inferior to 'white dignity', but also had a clear hierarchy within them.[93] The Boers, 'so narrow-minded', were not exempted from accusations of inferiority: they were also seen as the source of the birth of mixed-race people.[94] And on mixed-race people, Jean said, 'I almost hate them. There is something false, unnatural about their whole being.'[95] From a social class point of view, Jean DuBois always emphasized his privileged and innate position, mentioning, for example, the high cost of his travels and the fact that he travelled first class or like a prince.[96] On the other hand, his attitudes towards those whom he regarded as socially inferior – the sailors and waiters on the ships, the Boers working at Salt Pan, but also the missionaries in Valdezia – were always manifested

through fierce humour.[97] And again without filters, he wrote in April 1892 that he, his brother Philippe and Carl Fehr always went to eat in the Grand International Hotel in Pretoria without paying: 'We do what we want with the owner, who owes a lot of money to Fehr & DuBois.'[98] This racist and classist posture constituted the ideological substratum through which Jean DuBois and his comrades conducted their speculative business, probably believing themselves – wrongly – masters of their own destinies.

We don't know 'the rest' of the story, since, in contrast to the period 1891–4, Cora DuBois's archives in the United States don't contain her father Jean's correspondence for the period 1895–9. We only know 'the end' of the story, which was mentioned at the beginning of this essay: in 1899, there was the bankruptcy, the admission of fraud, the arrest warrant and Jean DuBois's escape to the United States. And what about Carl Fehr and Philippe DuBois? Carl Fehr, Swiss consul of the Transvaal from 1894 until the financial crash, mysteriously disappeared: a fact also confirmed by the Swiss federal authorities in their archives.[99] Concerning Philippe DuBois, the Swiss press reported at the time that he was in fact arrested in Pretoria by the Boer authorities, but then inexplicably released.[100] Cora DuBois's biographer claimed – unfortunately without revealing her sources – that following his life in the Transvaal, Philippe settled permanently in London.[101]

Conclusions

This essay has detailed a story of entanglements between countries, families, people and organizations. The DuBoises of Switzerland were linked to the Andreaes of Germany, their relatives and partners, and together they developed a colonial business in the Transvaal. With them were also people outside the family, such as the engineer Carl Fehr and the missionary Honoré Schlaefli, who played managerial roles in the land exploitation activities. But there were also other external actors who, in a more pointed way, gave important support, for example the Swiss banker Alphonse Oltramare in Paris and the English politician Cecil Rhodes at the Cape. It was a network of collaborations that transcended language barriers or national affiliations, although the DuBois' first moves in Africa were born from the latter. In this process, different spheres of activity were involved, from finance to mission, embracing a dimension of European unity in the transimperial spaces – even if not without conflicting interests. All these interconnections make it possible to emphasize the important, or even determinant, role of transnational collectivities in the trajectory of the individuals – an aspect often relegated to the background in sources or studies, the focus being placed on the actions of the protagonists that alone determined their success or failure.

A second aspect that this essay has emphasized is that these transnational networks of collaboration did not emerge within the European bourgeoisie by pure chance; they were canalized by institutions such as the geographical societies in Europe. These institutions were often indispensable for creating links between economic actors of colonization, especially if these actors came from countries without colonies, such as Switzerland. The study of these societies as meeting places of powerful people could therefore be fruitfully applied to the peripheral realities of Europe, given that, until

now, only the geographical societies of the great powers have been analysed with wide-ranging attention. This would make it possible to better appreciate the extroversion of colonial history. In fact, as we have seen, the gold or diamond discoveries in the Transvaal and the wars that followed did not only concern the Boers and the British or other colonial actors. There were also European peripheries providing men, capital, ideas and competition. Participation in these 'distant' events was in response to 'nearby' challenges and opportunities: in this sense, our study also invites us to re-evaluate the history of watchmaking in relation to colonial history, and more specifically the colonization of Africa.

A third aspect to be taken note of is the decentralization of the analytical perspective. In our case, the collaborations of Fehr & DuBois revealed by the sources were not only with people of European origin. The case of the recruitment of local labour for the Salt Pan in the Soutpansberg Mountains showed us an active participation by native communities or their chiefs, who exercised a certain territorial power that was defended by negotiation or arms in different areas of the country. Reconsidering the active role of colonized people (often forgotten in the dichotomy of colonial narratives, even though they were at the heart of events) is an important step through which to improve the global understanding of colonial dynamics. In the same way, it is important to reconsider other types of actors that perhaps, at first sight, we would not associate with colonization today. In this sense, the global micro-history of the DuBois family sheds new light on geographical areas (the Jura Mountains of Neuchâtel) and economic and social actors (the watchmaking families), whose role in colonialism has until now been studied too little.

Notes

My investigation is largely based on unpublished archival material kept in several countries between Europe and America. The archives consulted were: Archives Cantonales Vaudoises, Switzerland (Lausanne); Archives Nationales du Monde du Travail, France (Roubaix); Archives of Harvard University's Tozzer Library, United States (Cambridge); Archives of the St Gallen Historisches und Völkerkundemuseum, Switzerland (St Gallen); Maison DuBois Archives, Switzerland (Le Locle); Swiss Federal Archives, Switzerland (Berne); Swiss National Library Archives, Switzerland (Berne). In addition, primary sources published in the following journals and newspapers were used: *Bundesgerichtsentscheide*; *Der Bund*; *Feuille d'Avis de Neuchâtel*; *La Liberté*; *La Sentinelle*; *La Suisse Libérale*; *L'Impartial*; *Schweizerische Handelsamtsblatt*; *African Review*; *The Economist*.

1. Philippe Blanchard, *L'établissage. Etude historique d'un système de production horloger en Suisse (1750–1950)* (Chézard-Saint-Martin: Chatière, 2011), 144–55; Alfred Chapuis, *DuBois 1785. Histoire de la plus ancienne fabrique suisse d'horlogerie* (Landau in der Pfalz: Kaussler, 1957); Pierre-Yves Donzé, 'Les industriels horlogers du Locle (1850–1920), un cas représentatif de la diversité du patronat de l'Arc jurassien', in *Les systèmes productifs dans l'Arc jurassien. Acteurs, pratiques et territoires (XIX^{e}-XX^{e} siècles)*, ed. Jean-Claude Daumas (Besançon: Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2004), 69–71.

2. Susan C. Seymour, *Cora Du Bois. Anthropologist, Diplomat, Agent* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015).
3. Ibid., 7.
4. Swiss Federal Archives (SFA): telegram (copy) from the Swiss government in Berne to the Boer government in Pretoria dated 5 August 1899, requesting arrest and confiscation of property of Jean DuBois, Philippe DuBois and Carl Fehr, E2001#1000/45#1368.
5. Seymour, *Cora Du Bois*, 11–13.
6. Patricia Purtschert and Harald Fischer-Tiné, eds, *Colonial Switzerland: Rethinking Colonialism from the Margins* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Patricia Purtschert, Barbara Lüthi and Francesca Falk, eds, *Postkoloniale Schweiz. Formen und Folgen eines Kolonialismus ohne Kolonien* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2012); Fabio Rossinelli, *Géographie et impérialisme. De la Suisse au Congo entre exploration géographique et conquête coloniale* (Neuchâtel: Alphil, 2022); Béatrice Veyrassat, *Histoire de la Suisse et des Suisses dans la marche du monde. XVII^e siècle: Première Guerre mondiale* (Neuchâtel: Alphil, 2018); Andreas Zangger, *Koloniale Schweiz. Ein Stück Globalgeschichte zwischen Europa und Südostasien (1860–1930*) (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2011).
7. Anthony Turner, James Nye and Jonathan Betts, eds, *A General History of Horology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), chapter 13 in particular.
8. Pierre-Yves Donzé, *Des nations, des firmes et des montres. Histoire globale de l'industrie horlogère de 1850 à nos jours* (Neuchâtel: Alphil, 2020), 17–35; Pierre-Yves Donzé, *Histoire de l'industrie horlogère suisse. De Jacques David à Nicolas Hayek (1850–2000)* (Neuchâtel: Alphil, 2009), 13–38.
9. Béatrice Veyrassat, *Réseaux d'affaires internationaux, émigrations et exportations en Amérique latine au XIX^e siècle. Le commerce suisse aux Amériques* (Genève: Droz, 1993).
10. Hugues Scheurer, 'Tissus relationnels et stratégies entrepreneuriales. Le commerce colonial a-t-il été un apport important pour les industries neuchâteloises de la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle et du début du XIX^e?' *Traverse* 5, no. 2 (1998): 35. 'Produits coloniaux qu'entre 1765 et 1769 et de manière fort réduite'.
11. John-Paul Ghobrial, ed., *Global History and Microhistory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).
12. Archives of Harvard University's Tozzer Library (AHUTL), Cora Alice DuBois Fund: Letters from Jean DuBois to his parents between November 1891 and December 1894, ETHG.D852c, Box 1, Folders 1–6. From here on, I will only give the archival signature and date(s) of the letter(s) in the references. Many thanks to Linda Karlsson Carter for her assistance in scanning Jean DuBois's letters during the Covid pandemic.
13. Rossinelli, *Géographie et impérialisme*, 75–103.
14. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds, *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 1–56 in particular.
15. Christof Dejung, David Motadel and Jürgen Osterhammel, eds, *The Global Bourgeoisie: The Rise of the Middle Classes in the Age of Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), 1–39 in particular.
16. Scheurer, 'Tissus relationnels', 33–8; Veyrassat, *Réseaux d'affaires*, 64–5 and 444.
17. Pierre-Yves Donzé, 'Le Japon et l'industrie horlogère suisse. Un cas de transfert de technologie durant les années 1880–1940', *Histoire, Economie & Société* 25, no. 4

(2006): 107–11; Béatrice Veyrassat, 'Présence du Jura horloger au Brésil pendant la première moitié du 19e siècle', *Musée Neuchâtelois* 23 (1986): 92–5.
18. Rossinelli, *Géographie et impérialisme*, 211–19.
19. Ibid., 151–6.
20. Johann Boillat, 'L'or des horlogers. L'industrie neuchâteloise des métaux précieux (1846–1998)', *Revue Historique Neuchâteloise* 153 (2016): 28.
21. Nadège Sougy, 'Liberté, légalité, qualité: le luxe des produits d'or et d'argent à Genève au XIXe siècle', *Entreprises et Histoire* 46 (2007): 71–84.
22. On Walter & DuBois's gold activities, see *Schweizerische Handelsamtsblatt* 5, no. 2 (1887): 14. They owned shares in the Swiss African Company worth CHF 2,000 in 1887 – see Archives of the St Gallen Historisches und Völkerkundemuseum (ASGHV), Ostschweizerische geographisch-commercielle Fund (OGCG Fund): List of shareholders drawn up on 16 January 1887 by Bernhard Scherrer-Engler (president of the St Gallen Geographical Society), Kopierbuch 1885–7, 214.
23. ASGHV, OGCG Fund: Walter & DuBois to the St Gallen Geographical Society of 3 March 1887, Korrespondenz von 1887, 114.
24. ASGHV, OGCG Fund: Bernhard Scherrer-Engler (president of the St Gallen Geographical Society) to Walter & DuBois without date, Kopierbuch 1885–7, 301.
25. ASGHV, OGCG Fund: see the letters sent by Carl Fehr, Franz Sitterding and Jakob Korrodi to the St Gallen Geographical Society between 1886 and 1889 ('Korrespondenzen' boxes), as well as the file 'Fehr & Sitterding' ('Berichte und Manuskripte' box).
26. SFA: see the file 'Pretoria (Transvaal) – Errichtung eines Konsulates 1886/1899', E2#1000/44#1438.
27. William Wavre and Philippe Wavre, *Notice généalogique de la famille Du Boz dit Du Bois* (Neuchâtel: Attinger, 1910), 84: see item no. 326 and references.
28. See, e.g., 'Coup d'œil sur le Transvaal', *La Suisse Libérale*, 9 November 1890; 'Une entreprise prospère', *Feuille d'Avis de Neuchâtel*, 8 June 1894, 4; 'La République Sud-Africaine', *L'Impartial*, 18 August 1894, 1.
29. 'Arrêt du 3 novembre 1900 dans la cause Lorimier contre Mayor'. *Bundesgerichtsentscheide* 26, no. 2 (1900): 724. This document (719–38) summarizes the ruling of the Federal Supreme Court of Switzerland in one of the cases centred on Fehr & DuBois and the Swiss Mortgage Investment Syndicate, with some interesting details.
30. Wavre and Wavre, *Notice généalogique*, 81: see items nos. 295, 297 and references.
31. See, e.g., 'Débâcle financière', *La Sentinelle*, 8 August 1899, 1–2; 'Consul prévaricateur', *La Liberté*, 9 August 1899, 2; 'Neuenburg', *Der Bund*, 16–17 August 1899, 2.
32. SFA: letter (copy) from Fehr & DuBois to Berthoud & Cie, dated 8 July 1899, sent by Jules Calame-Colin, Member of the National Parliament, to the President of the Swiss Confederation, Eduard Müller, on 6 August 1899, 2001#1000/45#1368. 'Tous les fonds appartenant à la Caisse hypothécaire ont été détournés par nous et employés pour notre propre usage; nous avons de notre côté perdu ou vendu tout ce que nous possédions; nous sommes absolument sans ressources.'
33. Ibid. 'Les affaires dans lesquelles nous nous sommes intéressés ont mal tourné l'une après l'autre et petit à petit nous les avons perdues.'
34. Maison DuBois Archives, Accounting Fund: in the book of 'Current Accounts 1886–1904' ('Comptes courants 1886–1904)', there is a 'deposit payment DuBois & L'Hardy for Pretoria' ('versement à dép[ôt] DuBois & L'Hardy p[ou]r Pretoria') of SFr. 1,266,

dated 14 August 1886 and made by Philippe DuBois in Le Locle, probably some time before he left Switzerland for the Transvaal, page 30, no signatures.

35. AHUTL: 20 November 1891, ETHG.D852c.
36. AHUTL: 20, 23 and 28 November 1891, ETHG.D852c.
37. AHUTL: 17 December 1891, ETHG.D852c.
38. Rossinelli, *Géographie et impérialisme*, 31–43.
39. AHUTL: 20 and 25 December 1891, 13 January 1892, ETHG.D852c.
40. AHUTL: 9 April 1892, ETHG.D852c. 'Philippe est très estimé à Pretoria et sa maison a un très bon renom; on la croit même plus solide qu'elle ne l'est en réalité. Les Fehr & DuBois sont engagés dans une masse d'affaires – mines d'or, mines de fer, sel, etc.'
41. Patrick Harries, *Butterflies & Barbarians: Swiss Missionaries & Systems of Knowledge in South-East Africa* (Oxford: Currey, 2007), 22.
42. Rossinelli, *Géographie et impérialisme*, 335–6.
43. AHUTL: 23 April 1892, ETHG.D852c. 'Envoyé par la Mission romande pour convertir les nègres païens et par Fehr & DuBois pour les conserver dans cet état en les salant.'
44. AHUTL: 14 October 1893, ETHG.D852c. 'Cela lui a rapporté 500 frs. pour 10 jours de facile travail.'
45. Estimate calculated on a minimum of three hundred working days per year and based on data reported by Stéphanie Lachat, *Les pionnières du temps. Vies professionnelles et familiales des ouvrières de l'industrie horlogère suisse (1870–1970)* (Neuchâtel: Alphil, 2014), 164–5.
46. AHUTL: 5 December 1892, ETHG.D852c.
47. Archives Cantonales Vaudoises: Fehr & DuBois (the handwriting is by Jean DuBois) to Paul Leresche, secretary of the Mission in Lausanne, 13 May 1893, PP 1002 B 08.51–08.07.
48. AHUTL: 13 June 1893, ETHG.D852c. '150 personnes [boères] pour travailler, chacun avec un minimum de 4–5 Cafres, ce qui donne une population d'environ 700 âmes.'
49. AHUTL: 26 October 1892, ETHG.D852c.
50. On this war and its repercussions in the future historical developments of the Transvaal, see Tlou John Makhura, 'Another Road to the Raid: The Neglected Role of the Boer-Bagananwa War as a Factor in the Coming of the Jameson Raid, 1894–1895', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 21, no. 2 (1995): 257–67.
51. AHUTL: 26 May 1894, ETHG.D852c.
52. AHUTL: 8 July 1894, ETHG.D852c.
53. AHUTL: 20 June 1894, ETHG.D852c.
54. Ibid. 'Faire quelques affaires.'
55. AHUTL: 17 August 1894, ETHG.D852c. 'Avoir le plaisir d'abattre une de ces vermines noires.'
56. AHUTL: 21 January and 9 December 1893, ETHG.D852c.
57. AHUTL: 3 December 1894, ETHG.D852c.
58. AHUTL: 11 February 1893, ETHG.D852c.
59. AHUTL: 23 April 1892, ETHG.D852c.
60. AHUTL: 11 May 1892, ETHG.D852c. 'Trouver les fonds nécessaires'; 'Central Battery'; 'oncle Jules'; 'conserver cela dans la famille'.
61. AHUTL: 31 July 1892, ETHG.D852c. 'Les maisons Rothschild, Lippert, etc.'; 'bien que modeste, n'en parait pas moins destinée à un superbe avenir'.
62. AHUTL: 11 February 1893, ETHG.D852c. '30,000 actions qui sont cotées aujourd'hui à £1,1'.

63. AHUTL: 9 August 1893, ETHG.D852c.
64. AHUTL: 27 January 1894, ETHG.D852c.
65. AHUTL: 17 March 1894, ETHG.D852c. 'La situation financière parait s'améliorer'; 'nous avons produit pendant les 28 jours du mois de février, qui en général est considéré comme un mauvais mois à cause des pluies et de la rareté des Kaffirs, une quantité d'or représentant une somme d'environ frs. 13,500,000'.
66. AHUTL: 24 February 1894, ETHG.D852c. 'Il a été souvent Dieu dans ses transactions avec quelques-unes des plus grandes maisons du Rand'; 'quant à tes spéculations avec oncle Jean, je me permets de te conseiller d'être très prudent'; 'oncle Hugo'.
67. Alexander Dietz, *Geschichte der Familie Andreae. Frankfurter Zweig* (Frankfurt: Osterrieth, 1923), 135–43.
68. Javier Loscertales, *Deutsche Investitionen in Spanien 1870–1920* (Stuttgard: Steinen, 2002), 101.
69. Seymour, *Cora Du Bois*, 10–11.
70. Cornelius Plug, 'Troye, Mr Gustav Arthur', *Biographical Database of Southern African Science*, 1 March 2021, www.s2a3.org.za/bio. To see Troye's map of the Transvaal in high definition (Fehr & DuBois, 1892), https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-32489.
71. On this actor, see Steffen Rassloff, *Wilhelm Knappe (1855–1910). Staatsmann und Völkerkundler im Blickpunkt deutscher Weltpolitik* (Jena: Glaux, 2005). On his collaboration with Fehr & DuBois, see AHUTL: 14 April 1894, ETHG.D852c.
72. Charles Sydney Goldmann, *South African Mines: Their Position, Results & Developments: Together with an Account of Diamond, Land, Finance, and Kindred Concerns*, vol. 1 (London: Wilson, 1895–6), 236–7. See also 'The Molyneux Line on Reef: A Talk with Mr. Carl Fehr', *African Review* 7 (20 June 1896): 1238; 'Molyneux Mines Consolidates', *African Review* 8 (11 July 1896): 106.
73. Archives Nationales du Monde du Travail (ANMT): see the four-page prospectus entitled 'Molyneux Mines Consolidated: Compagnie Aurifère', signed by Alphonse Oltramare and dated February 1896, 65 AQ L1622. See also AHUTL: 20 November 1891, ETHG.D852c. 'Personnes influentes'.
74. Goldmann, *South African Mines*, vol. 2, 25–7.
75. AHUTL: 17 August 1894, ETHG.D852c.
76. Goldman, *South African Mines*, vol. 2, 135; 'African Metals Company, Limited', *The Economist*, 5 December 1896, 1615.
77. Goldman, *South African Mines*, vol. 2, 157; 'Rand Southern', *African Review* 8 (11 July 1896), 106.
78. AHUTL: 17 November 1894, ETHG.D852c. 'A propos de la Nuovelle Société fondée par Philippe, nous avons fait environ £2,500 –3 000 de profit net en actions depuis la fondation, soit depuis deux moins à peine. J'ai le droit de dire que ces profits sont dus aux informations que j'ai recueillies de toutes parts sur l'état des mines, leurs ressources et les "schemes" que les directeurs projettent afin de faire monter ou descendre les actions.'
79. ANMT: press clipping from *Le Comptant*, 20 December 1898 (handwritten date), 65 AQ L1622. 'Les administrateurs ont dépensé ces sommes avant d'avoir atteint la période de production'.
80. AHUTL: 17 November 1894, ETHG.D852c. 'Obtenir que l'Etat fasse un monopole du cyanure et qu'il nous donne le seul droit d'établir une fabrique'.
81. James Gray and J. A. McLachlan, 'A History of the Introduction of the MacArthur-Forrest Cyanide Process to the Witwatersrand Goldfields', *Journal of the Chemical, Metallurgical and Mining Society of South Africa* 33 (1933): 385–8.

82. AHUTL: 17 November 1894, ETHG.D852c. 'Monopole d'Etat qui n'est qu'une concession sous un autre nom'.
83. Swiss National Library Archives: Flyer entitled 'Prospekt zur Gründung einer Gesellschaft für Forstanlagen im Transvaal', made in Frankfurt in August 1893 and signed 'Fehr & DuBois [from] Pretoria', V AUS 1503.
84. AHUTL: 14 October 1893, ETHG.D852c. 'L'affaire des arbres'; 'une des plus risquées spéculations que l'on puisse faire'.
85. AHUTL: 27 January 1894, ETHG.D852c. 'Mon Dieu! Dans ce pays on apprend à tout faire, même la bière!'
86. 'Le krach de Prétoria', *Feuille d'Avis de Neuchâtel*, 3 October 1899, 4.
87. On Eduard Lippert's family and business in Southern Africa in the nineteenth century, see Henning Albrecht, *Diamanten, Dynamit und Diplomatie: die Lipperts. Hamburger Kaufleute in imperialer Zeit* (Hamburg: Hamburg University Press, 2018), 30–50.
88. AHUTL: 31 July 1892, ETHG.D852c.
89. AHUTL: undated, but clearly datable to October 1894, ETHG.D852c. 'Une maison pour Philippe'; 'dans un an ou deux, cette maison et le terrain qui l'entoure auront doublé de prix'; 'je louerai facilement la maison à £25 par mois, ce qui représenterait un intérêt de 12,5% sur le capital'.
90. Ibid. 'Les affaires en bourse sont très bien allées ces derniers temps'; 'j'en ai profité pour manipuler quelques "shares" et en ai retiré un très bon bénéfice'.
91. Ibid. 'Je suis ordinairement très opposé à la spéculation en actions, mais dans de pareilles occasions ce serait acte de folie de monter à cheval sur ses principes.'
92. Francesco Surdich, 'Dal nostro agli altri mondi: immagini e stereotipi dell'alterità', *Archivio Storico Italiano* 151, no. 4 (1993): 912–15.
93. AHUTL: 6 January 1892, 3 February 1892 and 20 June 1894, ETHG.D852c. 'Dignité blanche' (20 June 1894).
94. AHUTL: 17 July 1892 and 4 November 1893, ETHG.D852c. 'Si bornés' (4 November 1893).
95. AHUTL: 17 December 1891, ETHG.D852c. 'Je les hais presque. Ils ont quelque chose de faux, de contre-nature dans tout leur être'.
96. AHUTL: 29 November 1891, 23 April 1892 and 27 January 1894, ETHG.D852c.
97. AHUTL: 1 and 20 December 1891, 17 July 1892 and 5 December 1892, ETHG. D852c.
98. AHUTL: 9 April 1892, ETHG.D852c. 'Nous faisons ce que nous voulons du propriétaire qui doit passablement d'argent à MM. Fehr & DuBois.'
99. SFA: Swiss Federal Councillor Eduard Müller, Head of the Military Department, to the Political Department for information on Carl Fehr, 20 November 1900, and reply confirming Carl Fehr's disappearance, 22 November 1900, E2001#1000/45#1368.
100. 'Débâcle financière', *Feuille d'Avis de Neuchâtel*, 15 August 1899, 4; 'Débâcle financière', *Feuille d'Avis de Neuchâtel*, 24 August 1899, 4.
101. Seymour, *Cora Du Bois*, 7.

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6

Imperial entanglements: Poles and Serbs in colonial East and Southeast Asia in the long nineteenth century

Tomasz Ewertowski

Introduction

Władysław Jagniątkowski (1856–1930), a Pole born as a subject of the Russian Empire, served in the ranks of the French Foreign Legion and later in the French regular army (in 1890 he became a French citizen) in Vietnam, Algeria, Senegal and participated in the expedition against the Yihetuan Movement (the so-called Boxer Uprising) in China.[1] The Eight-Nation Alliance's intervention in China in 1900 is often given as an example of imperial cooperation. Additionally, it revealed the transnational character of imperial armies. In his autobiographical novel, Jagniątkowski described with pleasure how in Beijing a Polish captain in the French army could talk in his native tongue with Polish officers in the Russian army.[2]

The fact that in East Asia, Poles in the ranks of one imperial army could talk in their native tongue with compatriots serving other empires introduces the main topic of this chapter: the entanglements of marginal Europeans in imperialism in the colonial East and Southeast Asia of the long nineteenth century. In the new imperial history, empires are seen as intertwined units, and so imperial comparisons are considered a helpful tool in a reflection on connections and distinctions between them. Likewise, histories of nineteenth-century East Central European nations can be understood better if a comparative framework and transnational flows are considered, so I use examples from two national cultures, Poles and Serbs. A juxtaposition of these two Slavic nations that experienced political subjugation and economic marginalization, one Catholic, the other Orthodox, yields valuable comparative results. Historical experiences of Poles and Serbs were not the same; however, paying attention to structural similarities may facilitate a better understanding of how marginal Europeans were involved in imperialism in general.

Despite the burgeoning development of a new historiography,[3] the mention of Polish and Serbian entanglement in European imperialism could arouse surprise outside scholarly circles. However, deliberations on issues like colonial complicity and involvement in foreign colonial empires appear in the context of other countries which

did not have formal colonies, for example, Nordic countries, Czechia or Switzerland. Scholars have analysed various dimensions of entanglement in imperialism, such as 'colonial fantasies', 'colonialism without colonies' or private initiatives. All those approaches can help one understand how Poles and Serbs still had their fair share in imperial history.

In the nineteenth century both nations were politically subjugated and belonged to the peripheries of European economy and culture. Poland did not exist as an independent state, its historical territory was ruled by Russia, Prussia (Germany) and Austria, and Poles considered themselves victims of imperial violence. The Principality of Serbia gained a partial autonomy from the Ottoman Empire after 1815, but there was a Turkish garrison stationed in Belgrade until 1867. 'The Turkish yoke' is seen as crucial for the Serbian national consciousness. The Kingdom of Serbia was internationally recognized only after 1878, but was largely an Austro-Hungarian satellite. Additionally, for the entire nineteenth century, a large Serbian population lived as Habsburg subjects. Politically and economically, Poles and Serbs were therefore on the margins of Europe; nonetheless, their perceptions of non-European lands were based on an outlook on the world that stemmed from trends dominant in Western Europe such as Darwinism, Hegelianism, Orientalism and racism. Outside Europe they often self-identified with Western Europeans.

It is a well-known phenomenon that political and economic circumstances turned thousands of Polish and Serbian speakers into emigrants to the Americas, but the same conditions also encouraged others to join European imperial institutions in Asia. Serving empires as military men and experts was an enticing career opportunity. Others went under coercion: for example, in the Russian Empire after the failure of the 1863 January Uprising, 20,000 Poles were deported to Siberia[4] and in the last decades of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, every year Polish conscripts were dispatched to the Russian Far East.[5] Therefore, although Poland and Serbia did not take part in imperial activities as states, Polish and Serbian individuals served in imperial armies, companies and organizations – not always willingly. The marginal position of Poles and Serbs in Europe enabled some individuals to sympathize with colonized peoples, whereas others felt compelled to manifest their 'Europeanness' through the adoption of a Eurocentric outlook on the world, underpinned by racism.

My arguments are based on a reading of travelogues written by more than a hundred authors, although due to spatial constraints I will refer here only to selected examples: the goal is not to give a comprehensive overview of the travellers' activities, but to examine their connections with imperialism.[6] A number of essential factors facilitated Polish and Serbian participation in imperial endeavours: the status of being an imperial subject; cultural affinity with imperial nations; the attractiveness of a mercenary career; common ideas about science, race and civilization; and a concept of a European identity and Christian affiliation, to name a few. The impact of these factors will be illustrated through travellers' literary works and biographies, providing an explanation for why so many Poles and Serbs took part in imperial activities, which will contribute to a better understanding of the particular role of Europe's peripheries in imperial expansion. Additionally, the fact that Poles and Serbs were entangled in such imperial endeavours adds one more argument for studying 'classic' British and

French Empires with a transnational focus and for paying equal attention to less widely scrutinized Russian, Dutch, Austrian and other imperial formations.

Involvement in foreign imperial projects in Asia also had an impact on events back in Poland and Serbia, which serves as a reminder to reformulate stereotypical approaches to national histories that focus exclusively on the struggles of a nation in its historical territory, even though many important actors engaged in activities far away from Europe. Finally, contemporary identity discourses of marginalized Eastern European nations, which often combine a feeling of inferiority towards Western Europe with self-victimization and a conviction of moral superiority, have their roots in the age of empires. In contacts with Asian cultures, this paradoxical mentality manifested itself even more acutely than in Europe, showing that the history of Polish and Serbian adventures in Asia is not just a footnote to the story of nation-building at home, but an important chapter in it.

Military entanglements

The realization of imperial goals required the mobilization of resources all over the empire by either incentives or coercion. Besides that, foreign mercenaries were used. From the perspective of marginal Europeans, it could open up new career prospects, but it could also mean being coerced into army ranks. Furthermore, it led to the violence that characterized the encounter with Asian cultures. A few examples of testimonies written by Polish and Serbian military men, examined in this section, show how complex these imperial entanglements were.

One of the figures that epitomizes Polish participation in Russian imperialism is Bronisław Grąbczewski (1855–1926). He was the son of a Polish nobleman who was exiled to the interior of Russia for his participation in the 1863 January Uprising. Despite such a family pedigree, Grąbczewski joined the Russian army. This demonstrates how attractive a career in the military was for descendants of large gentry families impoverished due to Russian policies after the failed uprising, also because of wider economic changes undermining the prosperity of landowning classes. In Grąbczewski's own words, he was afraid that in Warsaw he might be forced to fight against compatriots, so he asked for a transfer to Turkistan,[7] although his biographers have claimed this was impossible.[8] In the 1880s he explored remote regions of Central Asia during three expeditions and in diaries he identified himself as Russian.[9] When he published an article entitled 'Наши интересы на Памире' ('Our Interests in Pamir'), encouraging Russian expansion into border areas, the pronoun 'our' clearly did not mean just 'Polish'.[10] Later he played an important role in Russian expansion in Central Asia and Manchuria as a military commander and civil administrator, ultimately achieving the rank of lieutenant general.

Grąbczewski's biography and writings are, however, anything but simple. When the tsarist empire disappeared in the aftermath of the First World War, he returned to an independent Poland, having lost his savings and status. Grąbczewski's situation in the 1920s is a conundrum that demonstrates paradoxes of the Polish nationalist discourse. In the newly born Poland, an individual with a Russian imperial past could live in

an odium, yet the new state required resources, also in the field of culture. European powers had their explorers, so Poland needed them, too, and here Grąbczewski's exploits in Asia came in handy.[11] He joined the newly formed Polish Geographical Society and, encouraged by nationalist geographers, wrote five books about his expeditions in Central Asia and service in Russia. Contrary to his Russian writings from the 1880s and 1890s, he emphasized his Catholicism, claiming that he had rejected offers to convert to Orthodox Christianity and declared that he had always felt Polish, although he was still proud of his achievements in tsarist institutions.[12] Empire was both a chance and a burden. Imperial oppression impoverished Grąbczewski's family but also opened up a career path that he eagerly took. In the new Poland, his Russian legacy was a problem but his expeditions could be turned into national cultural capital, with a blind eye turned on their imperial dimensions.

In the traditional view of Polish history, Poles in the nineteenth century were relentless insurgents, however figures like Grąbczewski demonstrate that many Poles willingly served in militaries of partitioning powers, and of course he was not the only one. For instance, among officers fighting within the ranks of the Russian army in the Russo-Japanese War, more than eighty later became generals in the Polish army.[13] Similar examples can be found in Germany and Austria-Hungary: for instance, Bogumił Nowotny (1872–1960), an officer in the Austro-Hungarian navy who for two years served in Beijing as a commander of the Austro-Hungarian Consulate guards. In 1918 he moved to Poland and became the head of the navy section of the Ministry of Military Affairs of the newly formed nation. His is another example of how expertise gained in imperial campaigns in Asia was later used by the newly independent country. Curiously, Nowotny later left Poland and spent the last three decades of his life in Italy. In his autobiography he claimed that he was neither a real Pole nor a real Austrian, so he felt good everywhere,[14] revealing that in the age of empires national identity was not stable and essentialist, but rather hybrid and contingent.

Dejan Subotić (1852–1920) was Grąbczewski's colleague in Manchuria, but his case represents a different kind of imperial entanglement. Grąbczewski was born as a Russian subject, but empires also 'constantly depended on extra-imperial resources, labour, and expertise',[15] creating opportunities for foreigners like Subotić. Dejan's father, Jovan Subotić (1816–1886) was an important figure in the political and literary life of nineteenth-century Serbs; his son demonstrates how a person could acquire a different identity through education and military service. Born in Vienna, he studied in a military academy in Russia, took part in the Russian-Turkish War of 1877–8, was one of the military commanders fighting against the Yihetuan (Boxer) movement and became a governor general of Primorsky Krai and later of Turkestan.[16] His political articles about East Asia showed how he assumed a Russian identity. When he wrote a piece entitled 'Амурская железная дорога и наша политика на Дальнем Востоке' ('Amur Railway and Our Politics in the Far East'),[17] he clearly did not mean Serbian politics. On the other hand, there are testimonies indicating his Serbian national sentiments. Allegedly, while serving in Port Arthur in Manchuria's Liaodong Peninsula, he organized a dinner for officers from a visiting Austro-Hungarian navy squadron and found out that their commander was a Serb from Dalmatia, and thus this official event was transformed into a manifestation of national brotherhood.[18]

Subotić's access to Russian imperialism demonstrates the power of cultural affiliation. For the Orthodox southern Slavs, Russia was a traditional ally and protector, not an evil empire as it was for many Poles. Linguistic and cultural ties and a relatively high level of development in terms of science and education made the Eastern Slavic Empire an attractive place for studies, work and military service. Additionally, the Slavophile ideology popular among Serbs emphasized the kinship of all Slavs. Identifying with the Russian imperial cause did therefore not mean losing one's Serbian identity, and Subotić was not the only Serbian commander in the Russian army.[19] Additionally, the Subotić family illustrates how imperial entanglements could stem from family ties. Dejan also helped his younger brother Ozren (1873–1951) to move to East Asia,[20] where he became a student of the Far East Institute in Vladivostok and later a soldier in the Russian army in the Russo-Japanese War. In his writings, Asians are described with fondness while European imperialist policies are disparaged.[21] A soldier in the imperial army and a student of an institution that produced and propagated colonialist ideologies, he nonetheless showed himself capable of sympathy towards victims of imperialism. It is one of many examples of how 'marginal' Europeans could express warm feelings and understandings towards colonized peoples while ultimately remaining on the imperialist side.

East Central Europe was also a source of 'colonial mercenaries', 'men employed to fight in colonies that they viewed as belonging to foreign European powers'.[22] The transimperial career of Polish soldier Henryk Sienkiewicz (1852–1936, a relative of the famous writer by the same name) and the writings of the aforementioned Jagniątkowski demonstrate that their motives and attitude towards military service in the colonies were diverse and complicated.[23] Sienkiewicz came from the Russian partition and, as a young man, joined the French army during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1. Polish-French cultural and military ties were close in the nineteenth century: there were Polish formations already in the Napoleonic armies and the song that is now the Polish national anthem was written for Polish soldiers fighting for Napoleon. For Sienkiewicz, French affiliations and an interest in military affairs were a family tradition, too: his grandfather fought for Napoleon while his father participated in anti-Russian uprisings in 1830 and 1863.[24] Comparing Sienkiewicz with Serbs coming to Russia, it can be concluded that in both national cultures there were different hierarchies of empires, as Serbs were eager to serve in Russia while Poles looked favourably on France (although there were Serbs serving in the French Foreign Legion as well; see later).[25]

After the Franco-Prussian War, Sienkiewicz was for five years a soldier of the French Foreign Legion in North Africa and later enlisted in the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army. In the years 1876–82 he stayed mostly on Java, but also took part in the Aceh War. He did not clearly indicate his motivation but wrote about the 'wonderful lands of the Indian archipelago', expressed his desire for adventures (a common motive in legionaries' memoirs), praised the camaraderie among soldiers and more than once commented on good pay. The mercenary career in colonies satisfied his financial needs and psychological desire to be part of a group and seek exotic experiences. These 'soldiers of fortune' often had transimperial careers: Sienkiewicz joined the Dutch colonial army together with his two companions from the French Foreign Legion, a Belgian and a Pole, and their fates epitomize various possible outcomes: the Polish

friend died in Aceh (according to Sienkiewicz, half of the soldiers who embarked besides him on the ship from the Netherlands did not return to Europe[26]), the Belgian one left the military and settled in Java, whereas Sienkiewicz himself returned to Europe and started a family.

Jagniątkowski was also born in the Russian partition and, after a few years of service in the Russian army, joined the French Foreign Legion like Sienkiewicz. Apparently, family played a role in his career choices, too: Jagniątkowski's uncle, a former insurgent and exile, convinced him to abandon the Russian military to go to France.[27] Despite biographical similarities, Sienkiewicz and Jagniątkowski had very different attitudes towards colonialism and Asian peoples. Sienkiewicz completely identified with Dutch interests: he repeated stereotypical praises for Dutch colonialism and claimed that the Dutch did not want the war against Aceh. Jagniątkowski, contrary to his profession, expressed pacifist and anti-imperialist ideas. In his writings, the war against the Chinese was neither heroic nor civilized, cruelties on both sides were vividly described, and the intervention of the Eight-Nation Alliance was portrayed as an example of hypocrisy. Commanders of the allied forces did not cooperate because everyone wanted glory for himself, but ironically the siege of the international legations in Beijing was broken by Indians fighting in the British army, which undermined any conviction of European superiority.[28]

This negative attitude towards the military also had a private, spiritual dimension: the narrator of Jagniątkowski's autobiographical novel (who can be identified with Jagniątkowski) expressed tensions between his role as a soldier and his sentiments: 'He, who from the depths of his soul wanted to sustain the existence of others, chose a career, which has as specialty – the destruction of his neighbour.'[29] Furthermore, Jagniątkowski expressed a religious-moral system drawing on Buddhist ideas, showing how a soldier in a colonial army could be influenced by the culture of colonized peoples. Since the early nineteenth century there had been a growing interest in Europe in the spiritual ideas associated with 'the East', but Jagniątkowski directly attributed the origins of his religious thought to his own long stay 'in the Far East' and to Buddhist tales heard there.[30]

In Jagniątkowski's case, experience gathered through military service in the colonies directly contributed to the development of the Polish military forces. After retiring from the army in 1912, Jagniątkowski, then a French citizen, became active as an instructor in Polish paramilitary organizations in Paris. Before the First World War there was a significant Polish diaspora in the French capital whose members were interested in military training, hoping that soon they could take part in a fight for independence. There were, however, few instructors with real battlefield experience, so Jagniątkowski's expertise was crucial.[31] This was underlined by a visit from Józef Piłsudski (1867–1935), one of the most important leaders of the independence movement, who delivered a patriotic speech at Jagniątkowski's training. It shows that careers in a colonial military were inextricably linked with the Polish struggle in Europe. While a stateless nation did not have its own military structures, it turned out that service in foreign militaries could partly make up for this deficiency.[32] After independence in 1918, Jagniątkowski continued serving in the Polish army, although remaining a French citizen, allegedly to keep his pension. Nevertheless, he was

praised as an officer, instructor and military engineer. Thus the violent subduing of Vietnamese, Algerian and Chinese aspirations contributed to the creation of cadres supporting Polish aspirations in Europe. The motto 'for our freedom and yours', used by Polish soldiers fighting in various independence movements around Europe, in this case turned out to be 'for our freedom, not yours'.

Among Serbs serving in the French army, two high profile individuals can be pointed out. In the second half of the nineteenth century, members of the Karađorđević family, one of two competing dynastic houses in Serbia, lived in exile in France. Young Prince Petar (1844–1921), the future king of Serbia and of the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes fought in the French Foreign Legion in the Franco-Prussian War.[33] A real transimperial life was lived by his brother Arsen (1862–1908), who fought for the French in Vietnam and later became an officer in the Russian army, participating in the Russo-Japanese War. Later, he fought in the Serbian army in the Balkan wars and again for the Russian army in the First World War.[34] Obviously, princes were no typical colonial mercenaries, but their careers demonstrate that a service in an army of a European great power was a way to earn prestige and experience associated with a military career even for members of the highest nobility.

While for many, a career in imperial armies was thus a voluntary choice, others found themselves pressed into military service through coercion. The most telling example of this was the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5, when probably more than 40,000 Poles served as soldiers in the Russian army. Some of them were regular army officers, but the majority were reluctant soldiers mobilized as subjects of the Russian tsar.[35] Some of them wrote letters, memoirs, even books about their travel to East Asia.[36] Significantly, while the majority of the written sources on Polish and Serbian entanglements in Asian imperial campaigns came from the upper classes of society, the Russo-Japanese War brought to East Asia peasants and workers. Reading their testimonies, which are full of anxiety and fear, shows how imperial entanglement could result from the helplessness of individuals within the institutions of the modern state.[37] They did not identify with the imperial army and some of them expressed sympathy for East Asians, even drawing analogies between Poland and China. For example, the Polish peasant conscript Józef Szmigiel (1874–1955) described his interactions with the Chinese as follows: 'I felt sorry that I could not talk with them, I wanted to let them know that I was not a Russian whom they do not like, but a Pole who came from a country taken over by Russians, the same as their country.'[38] Despite being a subject of the Romanov dynasty, Szmigiel felt closer to the Chinese than to the empire he was fighting for.

Colonial experts

Empires were conquered and pacified by soldiers, but their functioning required experts – administrators, physicians, engineers, scientists – thereby creating a space in which individuals could advance their careers. Various incentives were used to attract professionals to colonies, and there were also situations in which victims of imperial policies were transported to Asia to exploit their skills there. As in the case of the

military, marginal Europeans served as experts both in the empires of which they were subjects and across imperial boundaries.

For seaborne European empires, shipping was of utmost importance, and experts from East Central Europe played a role in facilitating the imperial operations of steam shipping, as can be seen from the example of two Serbs from Austria-Hungary: Vlado Ivelić (1855–1940) and Milan Jovanović (1834–1896), who were employed by Austrian Lloyd (*Dampfschiffahrtsgesellschaft des Österreichischen Lloyd*). Austrian Lloyd demonstrates the transimperial realities of European colonial endeavours. Austria-Hungary was not considered a colonial power (even though its occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been described as an example of colonialism[39]), but the Austrian shipping company enabled other empires to transport labour and military resources for profit. Ivelić described how ships under his command were transporting Chinese migrant workers, Ottoman troops and Muslim pilgrims. This example allows for expanding Tony Ballantyne's metaphor of empire as 'a complex agglomeration of overlapping webs'.[40] Links between various nodes had a transimperial character and marginal populations were used as experts who facilitated smooth connections, as indicated by the fact that Chinese workers from British plantations in Southeast Asia were transported on an Austrian ship commanded by a Serbian captain.

Significantly, serving as an expert for European organizations in a colonial setting could contradict actors' explicitly expressed outlooks on the world, as illustrated by Milan Jovanović, who worked as a ship doctor in the years 1878–82. Jovanović had a deep familiarity with the European classical tradition and modern medical sciences, having received his education in Austria and Germany and simultaneously held on to the viewpoint of someone hailing from that 'small, other Europe'.[41] This background gave him a strong backbone of humanistic values, a perspective from which he condemned European colonialism: 'The so-called European civilization looks like another form of aboriginal African barbarism … It is interesting to observe the determination with which those European strangers rob each other of foreign countries and peoples.'[42] While observing drunk British sailors in Singapore he felt ashamed in front of the Chinese to have been a European.[43] On the one hand, Jovanović assumed the identity of a cultured European, while on the other he criticized contemporary European politics from the perspective of 'a marginal European', whose nation had to struggle for independence. Typical of many intellectuals, he perceived European society as immersed in a moral crisis that prompted him to idealize 'the other', especially the Chinese. Jovanović referred to the classical heritage, comparing European expansion with the Roman conquest of Greece, suggesting that in both situations a higher civilization was defeated by inferior, warlike adversaries. As the Roman conquerors were altered by a more civilized Greece, similarly Europe would be transformed through contacts with a more civilized Asia.

Jovanović's sympathies were on the Asian side and his philosophy of history was very far from Western triumphalism; however, his involvement in imperialism is visible at the level of both ideas and professional position. Jovanović often used categories such as race, progress or barbarism: for example, he wrote in an orientalist manner about Arabs disdaining hard work.[44] Using racial categories he wrote that Parsi women were more beautiful than Hindi or Muslim women because of, among other factors,

their whiteness.[45] And by working for Austrian Lloyd, Jovanović directly took part in sustaining European imperialism. For instance, the shipping company was involved in the opium trade in cooperation with a Parsi merchant from Bombay who hoped that the competition would force the British Peninsular and Oriental Company to reduce its charges.[46] Once, the ship on which Jovanović was serving transported opium from India to China, so he criticized the immorality of selling poison for profit and the wars fought by Britain against China.[47] But being a ship's doctor the Serbian traveller himself facilitated this immoral trade. Regardless of their personal convictions, experts were involved in the webs created by the expansion of colonial powers.[48]

Science, as an important field of cooperation among imperial powers and a method of translating colonial policies into 'the general language of progress',[49] created another area in which the interests of individuals and states might align: colonial powers needed research to better control and exploit their territorial possessions, whereas scientists hoped for career breakthroughs. The complexity of marginal Europeans' involvement in colonial science can be discussed with the example of Marian Raciborski (1863–1917) and Michał Siedlecki (1873–1940), two Polish biologists from Austria-Hungary who conducted research in the Dutch East Indies.[50] Working in the Dutch colony was a continuation of their international involvement: previously they had had internships in Germany, France and Italy. Raciborski, before his sojourn in Java, did not find any satisfying employment in Europe and was even considering abandoning a scientific career.[51] He attributed his problems to his Polish nationality, as there were not enough positions then in his native Galicia, while as a Pole he had difficulties obtaining an appointment in Germany.[52] When Melchior Treub (1851–1910), director of the Botanical Garden in Buitenzorg (now Bogor), was looking for a researcher, Raciborski was recommended by his professor, a famous German botanist Karl von Goebel (1855–1932). Thus, a 'marginal' European could be plugged into transimperial networks through the international practices of science.

The cooperation was mutually beneficial. In the Dutch East Indies, Raciborski stayed mostly in Buitenzorg and Tegal, where his tasks included cataloguing native flora and research on the cultivation of sugar cane and tobacco, activities supporting the exploitation of the resources of the colony. Simultaneously, he catapulted his career to a new level by publishing many studies on previously unknown plants and fungi. His letters and interviews also demonstrate that he found time to enjoy the comfortable life of a privileged European in a colonial setting and that thanks to his salary he could finally pay off his debts.[53] After four years under the equator, he returned to Austria-Hungary to become the director of the Farming Academy in Dublany; afterwards, he served at several important positions, including professorships in Lvov and Kraków. Being 'a colonial scientist' helped Raciborski to advance his career and develop skills used later for such projects as the foundation of the biological and botanical institutes in Lvov and Kraków, the modernization of the Botanical Garden in Kraków and the editing of the multivolume publication *Flora polska* (Polish flora). Again, colonial experience was translated to support the development of the homeland.

Siedlecki's stay in Java in 1907–8 was shorter, made possible by a subvention granted by the Ministry of Education of Austria-Hungary and inspired at least partially by Raciborski's stories.[54] Despite the relatively short duration of the stay, it led to an

important change in Siedlecki's research interest, for he started publishing about adaptations to the tropical conditions and marine biology. Siedlecki himself wrote: 'It is almost indispensable for a biologist to have a glance at the tropical world.'[55] In terms of his career's progress, the stay in Java was not as important for Siedlecki as for Raciborski, but still it helped him to reinforce his position in the scientific community, especially internationally. For example, it helped him to later become a member of the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea in Copenhagen.

Invitations to foreign scholars were an important part of Melchior Treub's strategy to craft an image of high achievements for colonial science on Java, thus legitimizing Dutch rule.[56] Siedlecki and Raciborski used Dutch colonial infrastructure both to expand knowledge on tropical biology and to advance their professional careers. Both biologists were satisfied to pay low wages for indispensable services provided by local helpers. Their stays in Java exemplified the transimperial nature of colonial knowledge production and the use of science to consolidate colonial rule, but they were more than just colonial opportunists. Similar to Jovanović, they exemplify the position of many 'marginal' Europeans who were sympathetic towards subjugated nations and critical towards colonialism but remained bound to a Eurocentric vision of the world. Siedlecki's book on Java, although in general favourable towards the Dutch, also contains a critique of the so-called cultivation system: 'The attitude of whites towards the indigenous peoples used to be downright appalling, especially when the whole island was under forced serfdom, sometimes for 2 to 3 days a week. Then people were being treated like slaves.'[57] Some of their views might be patronizing, and they used orientalist clichés ('like all people of the East … A Malay harbours a grudge, real or imagined injustice, for a very long time'[58]), but they also expressed the view that the Javanese are sophisticated and capable ('First of all, a Javanese has his own very old and excellent culture … Secondly, he is a talented person and very easily assimilates the achievements of European civilization'[59]). Siedlecki emphasized the botanical expertise of the local people, especially his servant Nong-Nong, although he still treated them in a paternalistic way.

Both Raciborski and Siedlecki respected traditional Javanese culture and later popularized it in Poland. Raciborski bought a collection of puppets used in traditional Javanese theatre and organized what was probably the first performance of Javanese art in Poland. It inspired one of the most important Polish artists of theatre during the first half of the twentieth century, Mieczysław Limanowski (1876–1948).[60] Siedlecki is also seen as a pioneer in the reception of Javanese music, art and theatre in Poland. An analogy with Jagniątkowski's religious ideas can be observed here: because of their colonial sojourn, two biologists were impacted by the colonized people's culture and they carried this influence to their homeland. Obviously, it cannot be called an equal cultural exchange, because both Siedlecki and Raciborski were privileged Europeans in the Dutch East Indies; nonetheless, in this way the involvement in colonial projects ultimately broadened Polish cultural horizons and contributed, in a small way, to a less Eurocentric view of the world's artistic traditions.

There is also an interesting patriotic moment. Thanks to Raciborski, among tropical Javanese fungi one can find names referring to the Polish poetry of the romantic period, like *Anhellia* (referring to Juliusz Słowacki's poem about Siberian exiles

entitled *Anhelli*) and *Ordonia* (referring to Konstanty Julian Ordon, a Polish artillery commander in the anti-Russian November Uprising of 1830–1, portrayed in Adam Mickiewicz's poem *Reduta Ordona*), which shows how in his research activity in a Dutch colony Raciborski still expressed patriotic sentiments. It is not simply a case of a scientist using characters from his favourite books in taxonomy: as with other politically subjugated nations, Poles in the nineteenth century paid great attention to culture. For the stateless nation, great romantic poems were seen as the equivalent of political achievements. As British explorers gave the name of Queen Victoria to countless places, so a Polish colonial scientist from Austria-Hungary working in the Dutch colony gave names of literary characters to fungi. In this way Poles had their share in the colonial bias of scientific taxonomy.

Finally, Raciborski's biography was used in the Polish nationalist discourse after the Second World War, when in a socialist Poland an anti-colonial ideology prevailed. In Bolesław Mrówczyński's 1958 novel *Datur z rajskiego ogrodu* (Datura from the Garden of Eden), Raciborski is presented not as a colonial scientist working for a Dutch institution, but as a teacher who sympathized with the Javanese and taught them how to oppose their colonizers, and a parallel is drawn between the fate of the Javanese and Poles.[61] It forms a contrastive analogy with Grąbczewski whose exploits in Asia were used to propagate the image of Poles as capable explorers in the interwar period. The historical involvement of 'marginal' Europeans in colonial activities was thus of a plastic nature and could serve as an argument in different discourses.

The Serbian painter from Banat in Austria-Hungary, Pavel Petrović (1818–1887), is one example of someone who explored possibilities created in a colonial and early postcolonial setting for another kind of expert: artists. Petrović received his education in one of the great European art centres, Vienna, but allegedly was disappointed with the living and professional conditions in Banat, a backwater of the Habsburg Empire, and also had a restless spirit. Moving outside Europe was a chance to experience an adventure and escape the misery of the peripheries. He spent four decades working in Asia, the Americas, Hawaii and Australia.[62]

Being a portrait painter, he capitalized on the demand of European-style portraits in areas where supply of high-quality artistic service in European style was not high. His skills were sought by people representing both indigenous and immigrant elites. He painted, inter alia, Dalip Singh (1838–1893), the youngest son of the Sikh Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780–1838); members of the Hawaiian royal family; and Roger Vaughan (1834–1883), the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Sydney. Colonialism led to a dissemination of European artistic forms, thus producing hybrid cultures that created new possibilities for artists. Petrović did not get the opportunity for a satisfying career in European cultural centres and he also did not want to live in provincial Banat; travelling in colonized lands, however, allowed this 'marginal' European to achieve a higher level of recognition, thanks to his painting skills, than he would have enjoyed in Austria-Hungary. Nonetheless, his frequent journeys stemmed not only from his adventurous spirit, but also from the fact that in the colonial environments the market for his paintings got saturated fairly quickly.

Additionally, his case shows an identity dilemma faced by many marginal Europeans. In letters he wrote from India, it can be seen how Petrović admired the British and was

extremely satisfied that he was well received within the colonial elites in India. However, in a letter he wrote from Hong Kong, he on the one hand expressed disappointment that for Englishmen, Serbs were like 'savages'; on the other hand, he proudly asserted that his compatriots should be proud of his achievements.[63] This is another example of how some travellers expressed their European identity while simultaneously being conscious of their peripheral status within Europe, because of which they had to make additional efforts in order to be accepted by Western Europeans. Marginality was such a burden for this itinerant artist that later in life Petrović often introduced himself as Hungarian or Spanish and also acquired US citizenship.

The doctors, scientists, artists characterized earlier were trained in their profession in Europe and travelled voluntarily, whereas among researchers and entrepreneurs in East Siberia were hundreds if not thousands of Poles who were exiled there for political reasons. For example, Benedykt Dybowski (1833–1930) investigated the zoology of Baikal; Jan Czerski (1845–1892) and Aleksander Czekanowski (1833–1876) studied the geology of East Siberia where mountain ranges were named after them. From the perspective of imperial formations, it demonstrates how empires were able to transfer resources, including people, between various regions. Troublemakers from one area, after being uprooted and moved to another area, could become an asset. Their research was published in Russian, expanding knowledge about geography, geology and ethnography, in this way supporting the exploitation of resources. For individual actors, conducting research was not only an opportunity to mentally escape from their hopeless condition and improve one's personal situation; it also offered a possibility to 'plug into' global networks, in this way offering a path, as it were, from the margin to the centre.

Among these troublemakers-turned-experts, two 'accidental' ethnographers are of extreme interest. Wacław Sieroszewski (1858–1945) was, before his exile, a railway worker and socialist activist (later, as it happens, he became a student of Jagniątkowski). His stay in Yakutia (northeast Siberia, modern Sakha Republic in the Russian Federation) turned him into a fiction writer and ethnographer. Bronisław Piłsudski (1866–1918) was sentenced to exile in Sakhalin, which transformed this would-be lawyer into an ethnographer who achieved fame for his research on the Ainu people. He was a brother of the future leader of the Polish independent state, Józef Piłsudski, who was also Sieroszewski's mentor and friend.[64] Sieroszewski and Bronisław Piłsudski cooperated during a research expedition organized by the Russian Imperial Geographical Society to East Asia (mostly Hokkaido) in 1903–4, which shows how travellers also functioned in a network of personal connections within a research field created and facilitated by imperial institutions. Interestingly, Piłsudski needed permission from Dejan Subotić, mentioned earlier, who was then governor-general of Priamurye.[65]

Sieroszewski described in detail the traditions and transformations of Yakut society, which earned him a membership in the Imperial Russian Geographical Society and, ultimately, freedom. His personal quest made him a useful imperial subject, since ethnography gave information about the structure of indigenous societies and their traditional economic activities, thus helping the imperial administration better control local populations.[66] However, his ethnographic writings are considered important

even by today's Sakha (Yakut) people.[67] In the second half of the nineteenth century Yakuts were mostly an oral society, and in the twentieth century their culture went through enormous transformations due to modernization, Russification and the Soviet terror. Sieroszewski's monograph, first published in Russian, remains a unique and comprehensive source describing Yakut traditions, which was reprinted in many copies in the 1990s. Paradoxically, for many contemporary Yakuts a book written by a Polish exile in Russian has become a source of information about their traditions.

Both Sieroszewski in Yakutia and Piłsudski in Sakhalin married local women, and it is important to note that their research was to a great extent supported by their indigenous female partners, with whom they also had children. Later, Piłsudski and Sieroszewski were both unable to bring their families back to Europe; biographers have emphasized that this was not a case of conveniently abandoning their local partners and children, but the consequence of the legal and political conditions of their status as exiles. The lives of Sieroszewski's and Piłsudski's children underline the complexities of hybrid identities in situations of imperial dominance. Sieroszewski's daughter Maria, who lived most of her life in Moscow, far away from the homelands of both her mother and father, was uprooted by a parent from the indigenous Yakut culture and, despite her father's encouragement, chose not to embrace Polish culture, eventually identifying as Russian instead.[68] Analogically, Piłsudski's descendants live in Japan, not in Sakhalin or Poland.

Missionary movement

Russian Orthodox Christians had been in China since the late seventeenth century, and the 1728 Treaty of Kyakhta formalized the establishment of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing to provide pastoral care for the local Orthodox population. This provision was negotiated with Qing officials by a Serb in the Russian imperial service, Sava Vladislavich (1668–1738),[69] demonstrating that Serbian entanglements in Russian imperial affairs have a long history. Nonetheless, the Orthodox presence in East and Southeast Asia cannot be compared with Protestants and Catholics, and the Catholic missionary movement was an important way through which Poles got involved in European imperialism. Since the second half of the nineteenth century, accounts written by Polish and other missionaries were published in popular Catholic periodicals. Letters and articles were written to promote missionary activity, so they propagate the stereotypical image of exotic non-European lands while endorsing Catholic and Eurocentric values. The missionary movement was presented in terms of a civilizing mission, along with activities like the spreading of European education, medicine and economic ties.[70] In this way, missionary publications promoted and justified colonialism to Polish audiences.

Numerous Polish missionaries went to Asia. In the nineteenth century, the most well-known among them was Władysław Michał Zaleski (1852–1925) who spent many years in India (1886–1916), serving as the Apostolic Delegate to the East Indies.[71] His writings demonstrate both how missionary activity was closely entangled with colonialism and how the universalist doctrine of the church sometimes clashed with its

racial hierarchies.[72] For example, Zaleski promoted the development of local clergy in India and rejected the racist idea of the 'yellow peril' from a religious perspective: 'For apostolic work all racial differences disappear: *non enim est distinctio Judaei et Graeci*.'[73] Yet Zaleski's outlook on the world was narrow-minded and Eurocentric: Asian non-monotheistic religions were described by him disdainfully as devil-worshipping[74] and he defended the Dutch cultivation system on Java, using typical arguments of a civilizing mission towards lazy, children-like natives.[75] Zaleski was neither a plantation owner nor Dutch, but missionary goals were aligned with colonial aims, because the spread of imperial networks created conditions for Catholic missionaries to advance their agenda.

The Catholic missionary outlook on the world, as propagated by the church and its publications, also influenced the way in which secular travellers perceived the process of European expansion in Asia. For example, in the 1880s and 1890s a few Polish visitors gladly observed a new cathedral in Guangzhou built by the French. 'The only Catholic cathedral dominates the whole city, God willing, soon it will be really like that in a moral sense',[76] wrote a Polish aristocratic traveller from Austria-Hungary. His Catholic faith led him to identify with the religious and imperial ventures of Western European empires in Asia. Eurocentrism, Catholicism and imperialism were thus tightly interconnected in Polish attitudes toward the wider world.

Final remarks

Two important issues should be addressed before proceeding to my conclusions: the question of gender and national differences. All individuals analysed in this essay were male. In the period in question, long journeys to East and Southeast Asia were much more common among Polish and Serbian men than women, although it was different for journeys in Europe and even West Asia. The most important fields of imperial involvement, such as the military, science, sailing and priesthood, were regarded as manly activities. Obviously, there were Polish and Serbian women in East and Southeast Asia in the nineteenth century, but they formed a minority and they did not generate a large corpus of writings. This changed in the first half of the twentieth century when such female travellers as the Serbian Jelena Dimitrijević (1862–1945) and Ljalja Velimirović (1912–1943) and the Polish Jadwiga Marcinowska (1877–1943), Ewa Dzieduszycka (1879–1963) and Jadwiga Mrozowska (1880–1966) wrote interesting travelogues.

As shown earlier, there are structural analogies between Polish and Serbian imperial entanglements, but the differences are also remarkable. Poles were Catholic, and the missionary movement influenced Polish thinking about non-European peoples significantly. For Serbs, Russia was a friendly Orthodox power, while among Poles it was often perceived as a historical enemy. On the other hand, many Poles were Russian subjects, so more Poles than Serbs were entangled in Russian imperialism in Asia. Additionally, although Poles lost their state at the end of the eighteenth century, just before Serbs started regaining their own in the century that followed, still there was a comparatively strong and numerous Polish landowning class and urban intelligentsia.

It made Polish links to Western Europe stronger, and hence Polish entanglements in colonialism were more intensive; however, Austro-Hungarian Serbs were also well connected to imperial networks.

Having clarified those two issues, we can now proceed to the crucial question: why did so many Poles and Serbs take part in imperial activities although their countries not only had no colonies, but were either weak (Serbia) or did not exist (Poland)? As a conclusion to the material discussed in this essay, I will offer some reflection on factors facilitating such participation in imperialism. One important reason is precisely the circumstance that Poles and many Serbs were not citizens of either a Polish or Serbian nation state but subjects of European empires. Accordingly, the fact that ethnic Poles took part in Russian imperial actions is no more surprising than ethnic Russians' involvement in such actions, as they were all subjects of the Romanov dynasty. Poles were either drafted into the army or deported to the eastern regions. For others, service in Asia was a way to realize their personal goals. Analogically, in Austria-Hungary, Serbs served in the army and companies such as Austrian Lloyd. This is an example of what Róisín Healy has called 'colonial ambivalence', comparing the Polish and Irish experience: a community could experience political subjugation while being implicated in colonialist practices elsewhere.[77] From this perspective, it is curious how travellers describe their multifarious identity and how such an identity was shifting throughout their lifetime.

Cultural affinity with a particular imperial nation is another important factor. Thanks to warm sentiments for France, Poles like Jagniątkowski or Sienkiewicz preferred to fight under a French banner rather than a Russian one, despite being born as Russian subjects, while Serbs were more eager to work in Russia. Jagniątkowski and Sienkiewicz also direct our attention to one more important factor: empires were manpower-hungry, so that when political and economic conditions in the homeland forced Poles and Serbs to look for opportunities abroad, a service in colonies became an attractive prospect. A combination of these two factors, being subjects of empires and volunteering as mercenaries, led to a number of interesting encounters. In the popular consciousness in both Poland and Serbia, the fact that during the First World War compatriots fought for foreign powers on two opposing sides is well remembered. However, the earlier transnational character of imperial military endeavours had already led to encounters between compatriots serving under different banners.

Barth and Cvetkovski point to shared 'concepts of science, race and civilization' as reasons for imperial cooperation.[78] This triad can also be given as factors that facilitated Polish and Serbian participation in the imperial endeavours of European powers. As we have seen, travellers visited East and Southeast Asia to conduct research activities. Others, who did not travel for the purpose of research, still shared assumptions about race and civilization. They perceived themselves as white Europeans, like the British and the French, even if sometimes they felt ashamed because of it or saw it as something they had to prove. This shared European identity was another key factor that facilitated Polish and Serbian participation in colonial endeavours. Very often, but not always, cultural bonds between Poles, Serbs and Western Europeans were stronger than any possible feeling of affinity towards non-European peoples who shared analogous experiences of subjugation.

Notes

1. On Jagniątkowski's, see Jolanta Załęczny, *Władysław Jagniątkowski (1856–1930). Biografia niebanalna*, ed. Zbigniew Judycki and Tadeusz Skoczek (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Muzeum Niepodległości w Warszawie, 2016).
2. Władysław Jagniątkowski, *W krainie bokserów* (Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1913), 157–8.
3. E.g., Lenny A. Ureña Valerio, *Colonial Fantasies, Imperial Realities, Race Science and the Making of Polishness on the Fringes of the German Empire, 1840–1920* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2019); Piotr Puchalski, *Poland in a Colonial World Order* (London: Routledge, 2021).
4. Andrew A. Gentes, *The Mass Deportation of Poles to Siberia, 1863–1880* (Cham: Springer, 2017).
5. Jacek Legieć, *Służba rekrutów z Królestwa Polskiego w armii rosyjskiej w latach 1874–1913* (Kielce: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jana Kochanowskiego, 2013), 91–2.
6. This chapter builds on my previous research on Polish and Serbian travel writings; see Tomasz Ewertowski, *Images of China in Polish and Serbian Travel Writings (1720–1949)* (Leiden: Brill, 2020).
7. Bronisław Grąbczewski, *Na służbie rosyjskiej* (Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1926), 18.
8. Mikhail Kezbekovich Baskhanov, 'K poslednemu perevalu: zhizn' i stranstviya Bronislava Grombchevskogo', in Bronislav Grombchevskiy, *Dervish Gindukusha. Putevye dnevniki tsentral'noaziatskikh ekspeditsy generala B.L. Grombchevskogo*, ed. Mikhail Kezbekovich Baskhanov, Aleksandr Antonovich Kolesnikov and Mariya Fedorovna Matveeva (Sankt-Peterburg: Nestor-Istoriya, 2015), 8.
9. Bronislav Grombchevskiy, *Dervish Gindukusha*, 106.
10. Bronislav Grombchevskiy, *Nashi interesy na Pamire* (Novyj Margelan: Tipogafiya ferganskogo oblastnogo pravleniya, 1891).
11. Max Cegielski, *Wielki gracz. Ze Żmudzi na Dach Świata* (Kraków: Karakter. Narodowe Centrum Kultury, 2015), chapter. 32. I use an e-book version, so page numbers are not given.
12. Bronisław Grąbczewski, *Podróże po Azji Środkowej*, 3rd ed. (Warszawa: PWN, [1958] 2010); Grąbczewski, *Na służbie rosyjskiej*; Bronisław Grąbczewski, *Wspomnienia myśliwskie* (Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1925).
13. Marek Bębenek, 'Udział Polaków w wojnie rosyjsko-japońskiej 1904–1905 r. i ich pobyt w obozach internowania w Japonii w świetle prasy polskiej' (PhD diss., Wydział Humanistyczny, Uniwersytet Zielonogórski, 2020), 367.
14. Bogumił Nowotny, *Wspomnienia*, ed. Sławomir Kudela, Walter Pater and Józef Wąsiewski (Gdańsk: Finna, 2006), 197–8.
15. Bernhard C. Schär, 'Introduction: The Dutch East Indies and Europe, ca. 1800–1930. An Empire of Demands and Opportunities', *Bijdragen En Mededelingen Betreffende de Geschiedenis Der Nederlanden* 134, no. 3 (2019): 4.
16. Dušan M. Babac, *Srbi – ruski vojni zapovednici. Od vremena Petra Velikog do Oktobarske Revolucije* (Beograd: Medija Centar 'Odbrana', 2016), 162–5.
17. Deyan Ivanovich Subotich, *Amurskaya zhel. doroga i nasha politika na Dal'nem Vostoke* (Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya Tovarishchestva hudozhestvennoy pechat, 1907), www.prlib.ru/item/316984.
18. Milorad Rajčević, *Na Dalekom Istoku* (Beograd: Štamparija 'Đura Jakšić', 1930), 95.

19. Đuro Batrićević, *Crnogorci u rusko-japanskom ratu* (Cetinje: Obod, 1996); Babac, *Srbi – ruski vojni zapovednici.*
20. Darijuš Samii, 'Ozren Subotić: novosadski istraživač Dalekog Istoka', *Sveske za istoriju Novog Sada* 17 (2016): 41–5.
21. Ozren Subotić, *Iz žutog carstva* (Novi Sad: Natošević, 1921).
22. Bernhard C Schär, 'Switzerland, Borneo and the Dutch Indies: Towards a New Imperial History of Europe, c. 1770–1850', *Past & Present* 257, no. 1 (2022): 6.
23. Henryk Sienkiewicz, *Wspomnienia sierżanta Legji Cudzoziemskiej* (Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1914).
24. Stanisław Aleksander Boleścic-Kozłowski, *Henryk Sienkiewicz i ród jego. Studjum heraldyczno-genealogiczne* (Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1917), 12–13, 19.
25. On Poles in the French Foreign Legion, see Robert Bielecki, *Polacy w Legii Cudzoziemskiej: 1831–1879* (Warszawa-Łódź: PWN, 1992). For memoirs, see, e.g., Józef Miłkowski, *Ze wspomnień legionisty, Wyprawa dahomejska* (Warszawa: Biblioteka Dzieł Wyborowych, 1910); Józef Tański, *Wspomnienia z wygnania* (Kraków: Czas, 1881); Bogumił Osiecki, *Od Warszawy do Maroko: opowiadania Bogumiła Osieckiego* (Kraków: Wł. L. Anczyc, 1888).
26. Sienkiewicz, *Wspomnienia sierżanta Legji Cudzoziemskiej*, 110.
27. Załęczny, *Władysław Jagniątkowski*, 18–20.
28. Jagniątkowski, *W krainie bokserów*, 168.
29. Ibid., 56. 'On, który z głębi duszy pragnął podtrzymać egzystencyę innych, wybrał karyerę, posiadającą jako specyalność – zagładę bliźniego.'
30. Ibid., 52. In a systematic way he expressed his religious ideas in Władysław Jagniątkowski, *Religia nowoczesna: podstawy ogólne* (Warszawa: Księgarnia Robotnicza, 1927). There he used only abstract terms, without a reference to his stay in East Asia.
31. Załęczny, *Władysław Jagniątkowski (1856–1930)*, 48.
32. See, e.g., memoirs of two officers from the tsarist army, veterans of the Russo-Japanese war, who later became generals in the new Polish army: Leon Berbecki, *Pamiętniki generała broni Leona Berbeckiego* (Katowice: Śląsk, 1959); Józef Dowbor-Muśnicki, *Moje wspomnienia* (Warszawa: [s.n.], 1935).
33. Stevan K. Pavlović, *Božiďart: istorije života, dela i okruženja Božidara Karađorđevića, pariskog umetnika i balkanskog kneza (1862–1908)*, trans. Ljiljana Mirković (Beograd: Clio, 2012), 73.
34. Biographical information about Arsen Karađorđević can be found in Siniša Ljepojević, *Knez Arsenije Karađorđević* (Beograd: Belmedia, 2018). However, this book contains mistakes and was not prepared according to scholarly standards.
35. Bębenek, 'Udział Polaków'; Mariusz Kulik and Jacek Legieć, 'O udziale Polaków w wojnie rosyjsko-japońskiej (wybrane problemy)', in *Mity i legendy w polskiej historii wojskowości*, ed. Wiesław Caban, Józef Smoliński and Jakub Żak (Kielce: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jana Kochanowskiego, 2014), 235–42.
36. E.g., Kazimierz Górski, *Wspomnienia z Mandżuryi* (Kraków: W.L. Anczyc i Sp., 1909); Mieczysław Jankowski, *Mandżurja. Wrażenia i wspomnienia* (Warszawa: Skł. gł. w 'Księgarni Polskiej', 1909); Zofia Boglewska-Hulanicka, *W drodze na wojnę rosyjsko-japońską (1904–1905)* (Warszawa: ASPRA-JR, 2012).
37. Władysław Wajs, 'Wojna rosyjsko-japońska. Listy do żony, 1–12', ed. Marek Matlak, https://klubzaglebiowski.wordpress.com/2015/01/15/listy-do-zony-1/ (accessed 15 February 2023); Jacek Legieć, 'Żołnierzy-Polaków wrażenia z podróży na front wojny

rosyjsko-japońskiej', *Studia z Historii Społeczno-Gospodarczej XIX i XX Wieku* 17 (2017): 113–25.

38. Józef Szmigiel, *Pamiętniki rodzinne i moja wyprawa na wojnę do Mandżurii*, ed. Stanisław M. Przybyszewski (Kazimierza Wielka: Nowa Nidzica, 2008), 361. 'Było mi bardzo przykro, że nie mogłem się z nimi rozmówić, chciałem dać im poznać, że nie jestem Rosjaninem, których oni nie lubią, lecz Polakiem, który pochodzi z kraju tak samo zabranego przez Rosjan, jak ich kraj.'
39. Clemens Ruthner, 'Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1878–1918: A Colony of a Multinational Empire', in *The Shadow of Colonialism on Europe's Modern Past*, ed. Róisín Healy and Enrico Dal Lago (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 156–69.
40. Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race Aryanism in the British Empire* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 15.
41. Nemanja Radulović, 'Slika Indije u srpskoj književnosti 19. veka', *Dositejev Vrt* 6 (2018): 65.
42. Milan Jovanović, *Tamo amo po istoku. Sveska druga* (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 1895), 113. 'Tako zvana evropska civilizacija izgleda kao da je drugi oblik iskonskoga varvarstva afričkoga … Zanimljivo je posmatrati revnost kojom ovi evropski došljaci otimlju jedan od drugoga *tuđe* zemlje i stanovnika.'
43. Jovanović, *Tamo amo po istoku*, 137.
44. Milan Jovanović, *Tamo amo po istoku. Sveska prva* (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 1894), 35.
45. Ibid., 139.
46. Freda Harcourt, 'Black Gold: P&O and the Opium Trade, 1847–1914', *International Journal of Maritime History* 6, no. 1 (1994): 54.
47. Jovanović, *Tamo amo po istoku*, 135.
48. Austrian Lloyd was involved not only in opium trade but also slave trade in the Mediterranean; see Alison Frank, 'The Children of the Desert and the Laws of the Sea: Austria, Great Britain, the Ottoman Empire, and the Mediterranean Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century', *American Historical Review* 117, no. 2 (2012): 410–44.
49. Barth and Cvetkovski, 'Encounters of Empires', 10.
50. Other Polish biologists who worked in Buitenzorg were Władysław Rothert (1863–1916) in 1909 (supported by the Russian Academy of Sciences) and Kazimierz Rouppert (1885–1963) in 1926.
51. On Raciborski, see Jan Kornaś, ed., *Marian Raciborski. Studia nad życiem i działalnością naukową* (Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński. PWN, 1987).
52. Stanisław Kulczyński, 'Korespondencja między Marianem Raciborskim a Władysławem Kulczyńskim z lat 1895–1917', *Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki Polskiej. Seria B* 27 (1977): 30.
53. Marjan Raciborski and Szary, 'Po powrocie z równika', *Życie i Sztuka. Ilustrowany Dodatek 'Kraju'* 39 (1901): 451–3. Jagiellonian Library in Kraków, Marian Raciborski. Letters to Alfred Albinowski, Przyb 810/76 (especially 15 Feb. 1897, 28 VII 1898); Kulczyński, 'Korespondencja', 36.
54. Zygmunt Fedorowicz, *Michał Siedlecki (1873–1940)* (Wrocław: Ossolineum; Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1966), 21.
55. Michał Siedlecki, *Na drodze życia i myśli*, ed. Zygmunt Fedorowicz (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1966), 68. 'jest biologowi niemal niezbędnie potrzebne rzucenie okiem na świat tropikalny.'
56. Andrew Goss, *The Floracrats: State-Sponsored Science and the Failure of the Englightenment in Indonesia* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2011),

59–75; Florian Wagner, *Colonial Internationalism and the Governmentality of Empire, 1893–1982* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 149–72.

57. Michał Siedlecki, *Jawa – przyroda i sztuka. Uwagi z podróży* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo J. Mortkowicza, 1913), 215. 'Stosunek białych do ludności tubylczej był dawniej wprost okropny, dopokąd na całej wyspie była przymusowa pańszczyzna, czasem przed 2 lub 3 dni w tygodniu. Wówczas ludność była po prostu traktowana jak niewolnicy.'
58. Ibid., 200–1. 'jak wszyscy ludzie Wschodu … Malaj pamięta urazę, lub rzeczywistą czy pozorną krzywdę, bardzo długo.'
59. Raciborski and Szary, 'Po powrocie z równika', 451. 'Jawajczyk posiada przedewszystkiem bardzo starą i świetną swoją kulturę … a powtóre jest człowiekiem uzdolnionym i niezmiernie łatwo przyswaja sobie nabytki cywilizacji europejskiej.'
60. Zbigniew Osiński, *Polskie kontakty teatralne z Orientem w XX wieku. Cześć pierwsza: kronika* (Gdańsk: Słowo/Obraz Terytoria, 2008), 12–13.
61. Bolesław Mrówczyński, *Datur z rajskiego ogrodu* (Warszawa: Nasza Księgarnia, 1958); Marianna Lis, 'The Polish Botanist Marian Raciborski and His 1901 Wayang Kulit Performance', in *Escaping Kakania: Eastern European Travels in Colonial Southeast Asia*, ed. Jan Mrázek (Vienna: Central European University Press, 2024), 193–214.
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72. Francisco Bethencourt, *Racisms: From the Crusades to the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 39.
73. Władysław Michał Zaleski, *Podroẑ po Indo-Chinach r. 1897 i 1898* (Kraków: Printed by author, 1898), 63. 'Missyonarz z innej strony spogląda na tę kwestyę; mniej go zajmuje strona polityczna lub ekonomiczna, bo wobec apostolstwa nikną wszelkie różnice rasowe: non enim est distinctio Judaei et Graeci.'
74. Władysław Michał Zaleski, 'Mahometanizm, buddyzm i pogaństwo w Indyach', *Misje Katolickie* 9, no. 7 (1890): 193.
75. Zaleski, *Podroẑ po Indo-Chinach*, 86–7.
76. Paweł Sapieha, *Podróż na wschód Azyi. 1888–1889* (Lwów: Księgarnia Gubrynowicza i Schmidta, 1899), 131. 'jedyna katedra katolicka dominuje nad całem miastem, daj Boże, by w istocie niebawem w moralnem sensie tak było!'
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Part 2

Constructing and negotiating European identities in a colonial world order

7

Three days from civilization: Transnational scientific imagination and nineteenth-century Iceland

Kristín Loftsdóttir

Introduction

An image in the journal *L'Illustration* from 1857 shows a display of artefacts at the Palais-Royal in Paris. The detailed drawing shows collected objects paraded in this distinguished setting on several tables, including rock samples, human skulls, plaster busts and plaster moulds of other body parts, in addition to different material objects usually embraced as ethnographic.[1] The artefacts come from an expedition to the Northern Sea the year before, headed by Prince Jérôme Napoléon, Napoléon Bonaparte's nephew. These objects can be seen as a part of defining the far North as an ideological and geographical space. In sharp contrast to the disembodied body parts, the image shows people who are seemingly moving between the different tables curiously observing the items; these are distinguished men with high hats and women in elegant dresses. These contrasting images of bodies moving and body parts on display clearly demonstrate visually the difference between those who are the objects of science and those who are not (Figure 7.1).

My chapter focuses on how marginal parts of nineteenth-century Europe were incorporated into racial science, as objects of scientific investigation, which was firmly interwoven with imperial desires of resource extraction and colonialism. I position Iceland simultaneously as a place of transnational encounters and of liminality and as such a site of extraction in multiple senses for their imperial European neighbours. I use the plaster busts in Iceland on display at the Palais-Royal as a way to ground my discussion, positioning them as contact points between different subjects in the mid-nineteenth century, which also reveals the different positionality of individual subjects in relation to nineteenth-century imperialism. My past analysis of Iceland within the world of colonialism and imperialism, has mainly focused on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when there were strong claims for independence from Denmark. I have more generally found it useful to think about Iceland's position in the world of colonialism as characterized by a 'dualistic position',[2] that is, a position of ambiguity and of belonging both with the centre and at the margins. I see marginality

as a relational position, and as such it can be shifting and contextual.[3] As explored in this chapter, Iceland was under Danish rule and been perceived as backward, traditional and peculiar by the wider European intellectual and elite communities.[4] In late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Iceland's dualistic position can be seen more clearly playing out in the attempts of intellectuals in Iceland to situate themselves as civilized and modern in opposition to racialized others in claims of full independence. Here the focus is more on the marginal position of Iceland and its perceptions by agents of imperial powers.

My articulation of the concept 'contact points' is based loosely on Jeffrey David Feldman's use of the term for objects in museums that gain meaning due to their contact with real bodies.[5] Plaster busts can be seen as particularly relevant as they were created through a very intimate process where the impression of someone's face becomes the basis for the object created. Feldman is under the influence of Mary Louise Pratt's 'contact zone',[6] where she seeks to capture social spaces where people meet, clash and engage within hierarchal relations of power. Similarly, as the conceptualization of contact zones,[7] contact points have to be seen as involving negotiations and different layers of resistance, while the concept seeks as well to emphasize power relations.

I see 'contact point' as a particularly useful tool of analysis as it can incorporate both mobilities and connections that can take place regardless of specific sites and historical

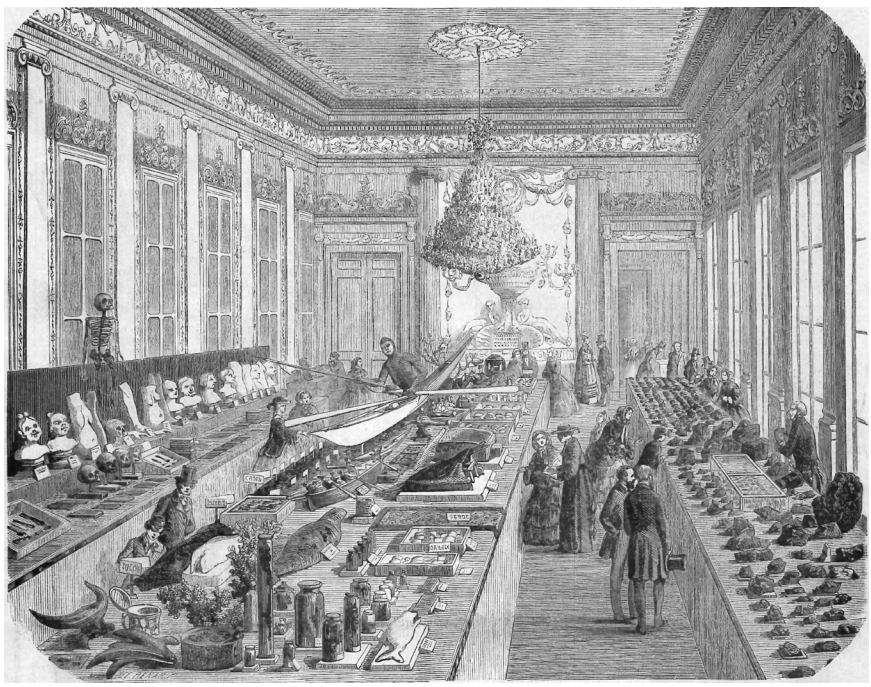

Figure 7.1 A display of artefacts at the Palais-Royal in Paris. From *L'Illustration*, vol. 29 (1857), p. 21.

times. The busts can be seen as contact points in multiple senses, capturing intersecting connections between different actors, but the most important for my discussion here, is how they constituted a part of gluing together a community of scientists through a shared dialogue of racial science, as well as incorporating marginal spaces within imperial and metropolitan Europe. As contact points, the busts can be used to reflect on hierarchical relationships between different Europeans and how European projects of imperialism involved European actors that were differently positioned.[8] Contact points – as I use the concept – can thus simultaneously be used to demonstrate interconnections that are not located in particular spaces but exist across geopolitical boundaries, as well as to tease out hierarchical relationships.

In the centring of nineteenth-century racism, I follow scholarly emphasis that sees racism not only as constituting one of the key legacies of colonialism and imperialism in the present, but as fundamental to the project of modernity.[9] Racism has been difficult analytically due to its historical mutations and how it works through the intersection of different categorizations such as sexuality, gender and class.[10] Discussions of racism too often assume that racial theories progressed in a teleological development, but in the nineteenth century there was no single debate regarding race – as phrased by Eigen and Larrimore[11] – with early nineteenth-century racial theories characterized by inconsistency, circling around a variety of subjects, including a sense of objective beauty. Phrenology prompted a massive production of busts and overlaps with the formulation of racial theories. Established as a scientific field in the late eighteenth century, phrenology's scientific popularity became considerably reduced in the mid-nineteenth century while remaining important in the popular imagination throughout the nineteenth century.[12]

Recent discussions on legacies of racism have emphasized the importance of various material objects in empire-making, where these objects have today often become sites of resistance to continued colonial legacies,[13] as well as critical questioning in regard to the acquisition and nature of these objects, and have led many museums to re-evaluate and attempt to decolonize their collections.[14] The most intense debates and criticism probably surround human remains and anatomical collections,[15] but other objects such as plaster or wax casts of human bodies can also be seen as involving intimacies and intersecting with questions of human dignity. I refer to these objects jointly as intimate objects. Different intimate objects, made meaningful within racial science of the time, were important in empire-making and creating different categories of people. Plaster busts within an ideology of racial science, were as skulls supposed to be objective items and not connected to individuals, but the allure of these objects can be seen as resting on how they are intimate objects of real people, as is reflected in plaster busts often serving as inspiration for artists and used to create monuments or realistic representations of racialized others.[16]

In the first part of the paper, I focus on how the bust making itself was entangled in Iceland's geopolitical position, reflected in France's imperial interest to increase its hold on Icelandic territories and gain better access to resources in Iceland, as well as the interest of collecting specimen of human diversity. I contextualize Napoléon's expedition within wider nineteenth-century interest in Iceland's natural resources, coupled with medieval manuscripts and romantic notions of Icelandic nature, where

Iceland was perceived as a frontier to be explored and exploited by greater European powers. The second part focuses on the experiences of the French expedition in Iceland and Iceland's position as space of scientific encounters for imperial parts of Europe. This positioned Iceland itself as a contact point where scholars from different parts of strong imperial countries engaged with each other, referred to each other's works, etc. The third part shows how the busts later constituted contact points for scholars in France and in Spain, another country that in spite of its imperial history was struggling to resurrect its position in a nineteenth-century European context. This part teases out how through circulation of intimate objects, contextualized in racial science, relations of friendship and senses of belonging in an academic community were created. My discussion uses the plaster busts made in 1856, not necessarily as an object of analysis in itself, but more to dwell upon different positionalities within the space of Europe in the mid-nineteenth century and on Iceland's position within these different imperial formations.

The use of the term racial science in this chapter is under the influence of Alice Conklin's distinction between scientific racism and racial science, where the latter designates 'the field of inquiry that developed around the study of race in the nineteenth century', while the former refers more to the efforts of publicizing 'the findings of their science for racist political ends'. Conklin shows that both are racist, but that it is important to distinguish between them to capture the different practices that characterized preoccupation with 'race' as an object of analysis, in addition to understanding why racial science became politicized at particular moments in history.[17] I understand this not as seeking to diminish that the understandings of race were always embedded in the political sphere, but as giving space for more nuances in the collecting and theorizing about perceived human differences.

Iceland: A transimperial site of extraction and contact zone

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the North Atlantic was positioned as a 'frontier' in the wider European imagination.[18] Countries inhabiting the far North such as Iceland and Greenland were partly considered interesting due to their perception as sites of adventure and risks and thus sites of exploration. Regardless, both countries were already in the early nineteenth century sites of extensive transnational connections.[19] Iceland became a target for scientific explorations in the eighteenth century, but the country was also earlier embedded in numerous transnational connections and shaped by events taking place elsewhere in Europe.[20] Iceland lost its full independence to Norway in 1260 and became a subject of the Danish crown in 1397 with the unification of the Danish and Norwegian Kingdoms. Iceland was a Danish dependency until 1944 and thus one part of the Danish Empire that at different times extended to the Caribbean, India and the African continent. Iceland's shores were visited by fishermen from different parts of Europe, such as England, at times so much so that for instance the period from 1400 to 1500 in Iceland is often called the 'English century'. During

that time around a hundred ships sailed to Iceland each year.[21] Additionally, Spanish fishermen from the northern part of Spain were fishing around Iceland and had diverse engagements with people living in Iceland.[22] France had number of vessels that fished in Icelandic waters in the nineteenth century, even though due to the trade monopoly established by the Danish government in 1602, the French were forbidden to work their catch on land and to trade with the Icelanders. In reality, however, the fishermen came ashore for their week off while a big ship sailed with the catch to France and were then able to wash laundry and replenish water supplies. Some business was conducted as well, such as exchange of spirits and mittens. Identification of a sexually transmitted disease with fishermen from France indicates some sexual interactions.[23] The activity of this fishing operation can be seen, among other things, in the number of shipwrecks, as thirty-three French ships were lost in Icelandic waters between 1836 and 1839.[24]

In addition to these various engagements, nineteenth-century Iceland can be positioned as a site of what Karen Oslund has referred to as 'scientific and literary European tourism'.[25] The renowned explorer Joseph Banks visited Iceland in 1772, incidentally at a similar time as a French expedition led by Jean-René Antoine, Marquis de Verdun de la Crenne, to the western part of Iceland (Patreksfjörður). Banks was followed by and gave advice to a succession of other explorers, that is, Sir John Thomas Stanley in 1789, William Jackson Hooker in 1809 and Sir George Stuart Mackenzie who came a year later in 1810. They were all inspired by the ongoing interest in botany, zoology and geology.[26] Various others followed, including the Austrian explorer Ida Pfeiffer.[27]

In some cases, this interest involved more directly the colonialization of Iceland or possession of its territory or natural resources. In the late 1760s, it had been suggested in France to exchange Iceland for the American colony of Louisiana, as a result of interest in Iceland serving as a naval station to facilitate a regaining of Canada.[28] Several high-ranking British gentlemen – including Joseph Banks – advocated, furthermore, for the annexation of Iceland in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[29] The French mineralogist Alfred Louis Legrand Des Cloiseaux made his first trip to Iceland in 1845, sent by the government of France, and again in 1846 due to a volcanic eruption in Hekla during the previous years, where he engaged with scientists from other imperial powers also exploring the eruption.[30] Icelandic crystals were extremely popular in scientific endeavours in Europe in the nineteenth century and were transported from Helgustaðanáma by trading ships, French fishing boats and travellers visiting Iceland. Their exports increased considerably after the mid-nineteenth century.[31]

While conducted under the premises of science, Prince Napoléon's expedition was seen as no accident as it coincided with France's attempts to establish a base in Iceland for their fisheries. The people living at the naval base were intended to be four times the population of Iceland at that time, but in Iceland there were suspicions that this would be the first step toward full colonialization of the country.[32] There were some negotiations of the French with the Danish government which accepted their proposal, according to news reports in France, Germany and Denmark.[33] These stories were not accurate, but they and the attempt itself, show Iceland as a site of prospecting and potential exploitation. This scientific attention to Iceland thus has to be seen, as elsewhere, as entangled with strong interests in resource extraction. Discussions around that time

in Iceland reflect, furthermore, strong anxieties about giving resources to imperial powers, leading to loss of sovereignty for people in Iceland and that these plans would lead to exploitation of other natural resources.[34]

From mid-nineteenth century onwards, travels to Iceland were partly motivated by an interest in the Icelandic sagas. The experience of visiting the sites of the sagas could, however, be disappointing as there were no visible physical remains such as buildings or ruins reflecting events from the Saga period.[35] This probably positioned Iceland even more firmly as a primitive location. The emphasis on Iceland's ancient history is clearly seen by the published account of Napoléon's trip where a long discussion is devoted to the early history of Iceland in the Saga period. In the nineteenth century, however, some foreign travellers even wondered how these primitive-like Icelanders could in the past have produced such culturally valuable medieval manuscripts.[36] Such speculations clearly indicate the marginality of Icelandic subjects and their dualistic position where they were seen as primitive and thus comparable to populations in more distant lands but at the same time a part of a more glorious history of ancient Europe.

The travels in Iceland and writings about travels to Iceland did not only shape how Iceland was perceived by the outside world but also involved negotiations between Icelandic actors and greater imperial powers. The French artist Auguste Mayers did some of the most famous illustrations of Iceland when accompanying the scientist Paul Gaimard in 1836 to Iceland. His paintings creatively emphasized the desolation and the wilderness of the mountains, which probably shaped, in combination with other imaginations of Iceland in textual works, how people living in Iceland perceived nature in their country.[37] Travel books exploring Iceland were read eagerly in Iceland and were reacted to in Iceland while simultaneously shaping how people saw nature and the meaning of being Icelandic.[38] In the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Icelandic medieval literature was a focal point of the nationalistic movement or, as phrased by Hálfdanarson and Rastrick, where 'the language and literary heritage became the cornerstones for the political "struggle for independence"'.[39]

Iceland in the context of imperialism and colonialism

The plaster busts produced during Napoléon's expedition in 1856 are one contact point between past and present. At the time of their making, they were most likely of little significance. They are hardly mentioned in the book that narrates the whole expedition, and the same is the case of an unpublished diary written during the expedition. The expedition travelled to the coast of Scotland, Iceland, Greenland, the Shetland Islands and then to Scandinavia. In addition to the six busts made of Icelandic people during the trip, other six were made of Greenlandic people, three of other Nordic populations and three of seamen from India, who were probably part of the working crew. No information exists so far on why the busts were made in these locations and how the people were selected. For the discussion here, the primary focus is on the busts made in Iceland, even though I make some reference to those made in Greenland.

The creation of the busts in Iceland was not the first inclusion of Iceland in bust making in relation to phrenology and race science. Two older busts made after

Icelandic people can be found today in *Musée de l'Homme*. One was made after Bjarni Johnsen, rector of the Learned School in Reykjavík, in Paris in 1855. Bjarni Johnsen held a special position, as he lived in Copenhagen for a large part of his life and was married to a Danish woman. He shaped education in Iceland by emphasizing classical education, which he saw as important for Iceland's identity, in order to position their ancient culture within classical culture.[40] In addition to living in Denmark for a long time, Bjarni also travelled more than most contemporary Icelanders. Bjarni made a total of three trips to France. In the first trip in 1845, he attended lectures at the Sorbonne in Paris. During his trip, he received practical help from Paul Gaimard. Gaimard was well connected in Paris and personally knew the leading scientists of the Museum of Natural History in Paris, in addition to being seen as exceptionally helpful to Icelandic travellers.[41]

The other bust in the museum has the inscription 'Gaimard 1839', which most likely is a reference to the naval surgeon and scientist Paul Gaimard. He was deeply interested in phrenology and possibly instrumental in bringing together the naval officer Dumont d'Urville and the phrenologist Pierre Marie Alexandre Dumoutier who went on expeditions to the Pacific and the South Pole and would later create one of the best-known collections of plaster busts.[42] Gaimard probably gave this nameless bust to the Natural History Museum in Paris from where it later found its way to the *Musée de l'Homme*. The busts made during the expeditions in 1856 were all made by Jean-Benjamin Stahl. Stahl worked in the Museum of National History in Paris, as a specialist in making moulds of animals and people. He was especially talented, having improved the standard methods used when making plaster casts.[43] Stahl had made the bust of Bjarni in the Museum of Natural History in Paris.

The expedition came to Iceland during the summer of 1856, which was then populated by around 65,000 people.[44] In Reykjavík, the capital, the expedition was greeted with honour by different Danish officials, as well as Icelandic people of authority, including Bjarni Johnsen. Bjarni's actual last name was Jónsson, but he used the name Johnsen,[45] possibly to align himself more strongly with European naming traditions. The Austrian explorer Ida Pfeiffer who had visited Iceland a few years earlier, explained that travellers to Iceland were either really rich or naturalists sent by the European courts to survey the potential of the country as sites of extraction, as well as collecting items to display in cabinets of curiosity.[46] Prince Napoléon could probably be categorized in both groups, with an impressive team of scientists accompanying him, geologists, photographer and other distinguished and well-known French intellectuals. These included for example, Louis Felicien de Saulzy, a famous archaeologist and the Polish bilingual writer and poet Karol Edmund Choiecki, who used the pseudonym Charles Edmund in France. Edmund has been seen as the most important Polish traveller in the nineteenth century[47] and was at the time well known by Paris's elites, becoming in 1856 Prince Napoléon's personal secretary. Edmund wrote the results of the expedition, *Voyage dans les mers du Nord à bord de la corvette La Reine Hortense*, which was well received in France.[48] Another esteemed person visiting Iceland at the same time was a British traveller, Lord Dufferin. There were speculations in Iceland that he had been sent by the British to spy on Napoléon's intentions.[49]

Even though much of the travel literature written during this time is not really concerned with the actual inhabitants of the country, they often include remarks on the poverty of the population, the inadequate housing and dullness or passivity of people – with the writings in relation to Napoléon's excursion being no exception. Napoléon's expedition was generally not deeply impressed with Iceland's inhabitants, as seen by their reflections on Reykjavík, described in bleak terms as existing outside history in the published book of the travels.[50] The prince's travel diary gives a similar impression of the country in general, describing it as an impoverished place. The diary remarks that Icelandic people know little about the outside world and expresses shock of Icelanders' low morals, in addition to mentioning that they had heard that in remote districts the locals offer their wives to foreigners.[51] Iceland is referred to in the diary as a 'primitive civilization' with the words that it is strange to see such a primitive civilization only three days away from the most civilized one. It is noted that Icelanders are not 'savages' and are similar to Europe five hundred years ago.[52] These observations further reveal Iceland's liminal position as 'in-between'. The comment that Iceland is 'similar to Europe' interestingly assumes that Iceland is not a part of Europe, but the statement that Iceland is not a savage country does still not place the country in the same category as many colonized people further away.[53] Here again it is useful to remember how conversations about 'race' and 'culture' in the early and mid-nineteenth century with various intersecting concerns – such as relations between beauty and intelligence, moral progress, degeneration, transmutation – were different from the more reified discourse about human's classification into different races at the end of the century. Even at the end of the nineteenth century, race was still not coherently conceptualized but intersected quite a lot with other delimitations, such as based on sexuality and class.[54]

Iceland and Greenland as places of the 'unknown' and as existing outside of Europe are also evident in written reflections when the ship is on its way back to France. The ship sails past the Shetland Islands where they see a lighthouse from a far. That sentiment is described in the following words:

> At 10 am, we see a lighthouse, the first for two months. This emblem of civilization gives us an impression that is difficult to describe: it seems that old Europe is represented as in a magic lantern. This light represents our friends, our parents, the homeland! Those who come from distant journeys, from serious dangers, are the only ones who can understand this impression.[55]

Napoléon travelled in style with a fourteen-person military band that played during meals on the ship and occasionally for the local populations. He held dances in some of the places he visited, including Reykjavík, and took a short tour travelling to the already famous sites Þingvellir and Geysir. A large crowd of people accompanied the prince to these sites, in all fifty officers and twelve servants, in addition to guides. Some of the elite in Iceland took part, including Reykjavík's mayor, the governor of Iceland Count Frederick Christopher Trampe and Bjarni Johnsen. Stahl remained, however, in Reykjavík, along with two officers and he probably made the plaster busts while he was there.[56]

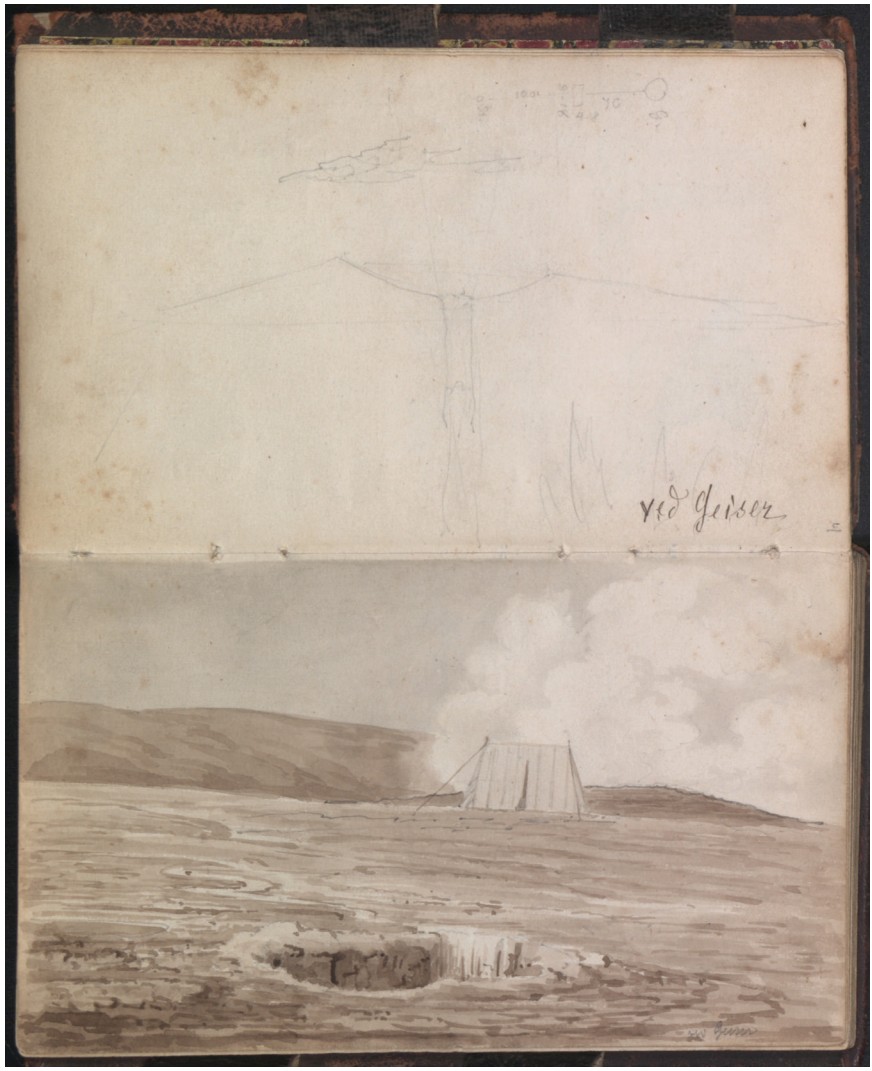

Figure 7.2 Gaimard's tent at Geysir. From Laurits Albert Winstrup's (1815–89) Iceland sketch book (1846). Det Kgl. Bibliotek – Kunstbiblioteket/The Royal Danish Library – Art Library.

Þingvellir and Geysir were a particularly popular destination for foreign tourists. The sites received a steady influx of tourists from the upper classes of Europe, as seen in Ida Pfeiffer's words, when saying that everyone travelling through the area owes a lot to Paul Gaimard because he left two tents, one at Þingvellir and one at Geysir. Pfeiffer explains that a farmer who refers travellers to the hot springs is responsible for setting up the tent for a small fee (Figure 7.2).[57]

The tents were extremely useful as the foreign travellers generally were unable to stay in the majority of the Icelandic houses. Lord Dufferin who was there at the same time as Napoléon's excursion wondered if it would not be more pleasant to stay in the cemetery rather than in the turf houses, as they were dark, damp and cold (Figure 7.3).[58] Many of those travelling in Iceland made a special reference to housing in Iceland, as they were different from housing in Europe.[59] Consequently, for the population living in Iceland, the turf house became a symbol of the country's poverty and humiliation, and as archaeologist Angelos Parigoris notes, the turf house was never emphasized in nationalistic discourse in Iceland which centred strongly on the Icelandic sagas.[60] The images of landscape and huts in the diary written during the expedition, clearly shows the admiration for the landscape while seeing the housing as inadequate:

> The country is very remarkable; beautiful mountains, fairly thick grass; in the midst of all this, we see these miserable Icelandic huts, similar to those of the Savages, dug into the earth.[61]

Napoléon's excursion stopped at Þingvellir and then continued to Geysir, sending tents ahead to make camp before the prince and his troop arrived. On arrival they learned that Lord Dufferin had arrived ahead of them 'with all the enormous baggage of an English tourist'.[62] Napoléon's excursion arrived there at 'full gallop' (Fr. *au grand galop*) with the trumpeter leading, who was one of the musicians from the yacht.[63] At Þingvellir, they met another traveller, a Prussian naturalist studying insects,[64] and then when coming back to Reykjavík, a new ship was in the bay from England that has come to buy horses from Iceland to sell for work in the mines.[65] This description of this short journey, reveals Iceland as a deeply transnational place – a contact point in itself for different scientists and elites from greater European powers and as stated earlier, as a site of exploration and extraction by different parties.

Extraction of some sort did not only include natural resources, but was also in regard to the literary culture in the form of acquiring historical manuscripts. Dufferin's statement that 'before coming to Iceland I had read every account that had been written of Thingvalla by any former traveller',[66] exemplifies, furthermore, how a European community of upper class travellers and scientists was also created through engagement with each other's literary works. This literary engagement also took place in relation to the desire to possess Icelandic manuscripts. When coming briefly to Iceland during the second time, that is, after the trip to Greenland, Prince Napoléon received books from Bjarni Johnsen[67] that the prince apparently asked Bjarni to collect for him. The text mentions that this was a collection of Bibles from different eras.[68] Lord Dufferin also indicates his interest in old books, and especially in the medieval manuscripts and how they were also seen as something that should be collected and appropriated. He was not able to acquire medieval manuscripts, however, but still some of the first printed books in Iceland, according to his own words:

> From the Rector of the cathedral church I have received some very curious books – almost the first printed in the island; I have been very anxious to obtain some

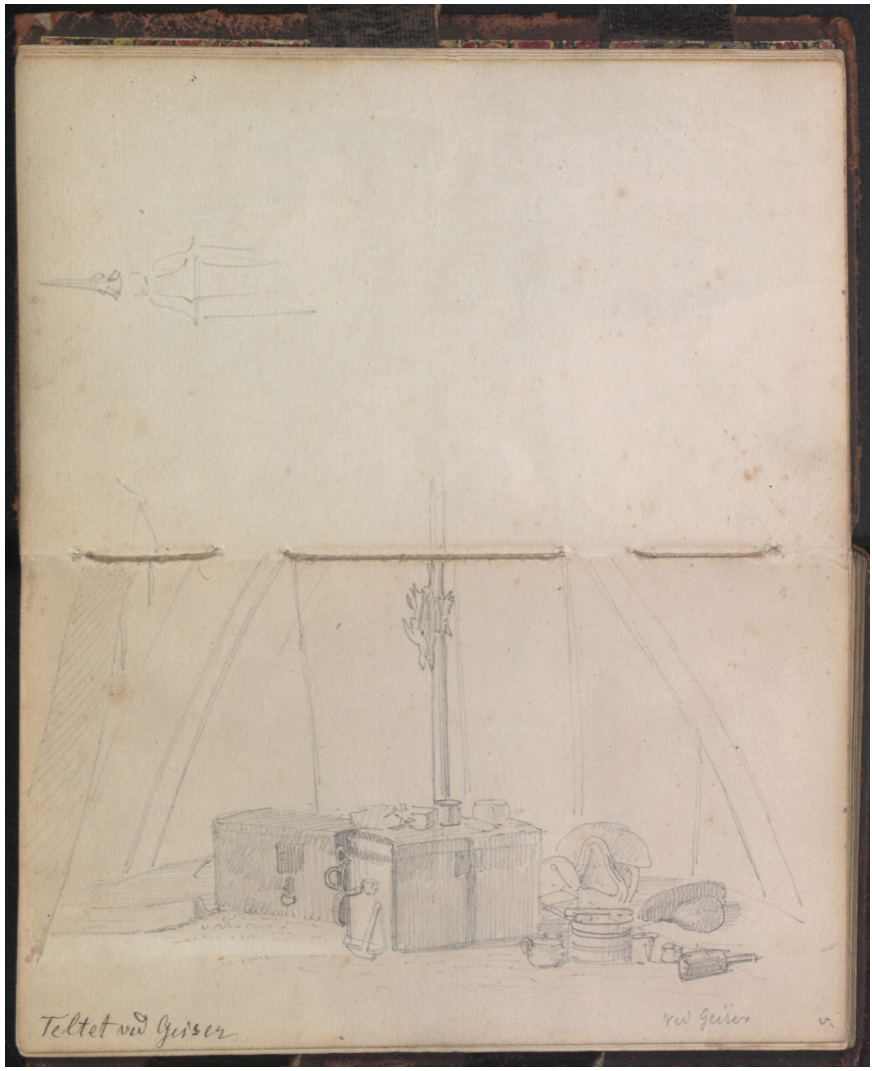

Figure 7.3 View inside the tent at Geysir. From Laurits Albert Winstrup's (1815–89) Iceland sketch book (1846). Det Kgl. Bibliotek – Kunstbiblioteket/The Royal Danish Library – Art Library.

> specimens of ancient Icelandic manuscripts, but the island has long since been ransacked of its literary treasures.[69]

Even though nothing is known regarding the making of the plaster busts in Iceland, the diary mentions that Stahl and two other officials decided to stay in Reykjavík, during the prince's trip to Þingvellir and Geysir. While it is difficult to know why

Figure 7.4 View of Reykjavik. From Charles Edmond Chojecki's (1822–99) *Voyage dans les mers du Nord à bord de la corvette la Reine Hortense* (Michel Lévy Frères, 1857), opposite p. 84. Gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France.

these individuals were selected, their personal histories show that Stahl was probably approaching those who were part in some sense of the circle of people they engaged with, still careful in having an equal distribution between men and women (Figure 7.4). The names are clearly marked on the busts, as well as identified on a handwritten inventory list kept today at *Musée de l'Homme*. The individuals that busts were made after were Björn Gunnlaugsson, Árni Magnússon, Skafti Skaftason, Ragnheiður Ólafsdóttir, Þóra Árnadóttir and Sigríður Bjarnadóttir.

Sigríður Bjarnadóttir was twenty-four years old and worked for Niels A. S. Randrup, pharmacist in Iceland who was made France's first consul in 1856[70] and was also one of those receiving gifts from Prince Napoléon,[71] which indicates his utility to the expedition. Þórunn Árnadóttir lived in Reykjavík as well and was also twenty-four. She was a hired hand in a turf-cottage on the outskirts of Reykjavík.[72] Ragnheiður Ólafsdóttir lived on a small farm (Icelandic: *hjáleiga*), not far from Reykjavík, and she was related to Bjarni Johnsen, as her mother was probably his sister. Her father, Ólafur Gíslason, had died in 1854 at sea, along with twenty-six other seamen due to adverse weather conditions,[73] making the remaining family precarious.

Björn Gunnlaugsson, born in 1788, was a teacher at Lærði skólinn, mathematician and cartographer, who had received an education in Denmark.[74] He was also a part of Bjarni Johnsen's family relations.[75] The two other men did not hold equal positions of privilege, but Árni Magnússon, born in 1804, had a farm and held at one time governmental position (is. *hreppstjóri*). He was actually not living in Reykjavík but one can imagine that he was there on a visit as he had family relations there. Skapti

Skaptason was a well-known healer living in Reykjavík, but also fished and worked as blacksmith.[76]

What characterized these individuals in a general sense is that the men are most older and all in position of some authority, while the women are much younger and all in relatively vulnerable positions. As Icelandic newspapers show, people in Iceland were quite impressed by Prince Napoléon's arrival so they felt possibly honoured or had difficulties saying no when asked to become models. The bust making was an especially uncomfortable process. For those who had not travelled outside of Iceland, it must have been hard to imagine the end result and how carefully the plaster copies their face and personal characteristics. We know from a brief description from the bust making in Greenland that Stahl used the stem of a feather to allow his subjects to breathe during the time that the plaster fully covered their face. During the stay, Stahl also made moulds in Iceland of hands, feet and chests, and for some reason he did not always use the same individuals as those who were the models for the busts.

The contact points in Napoléon's expedition were multiple as shown here, with the busts only constituting one part. Other contact points were created through engagement with literature of other travellers, through visits to popular sites such as Geysir and contact with elite members of Icelandic society.

The transnational collection

The busts constituted contact points between France and other parts of Europe as well. Two museums in Spain, one in Gran Canaria and the other in Madrid, bought in 1888 replicas of the busts, as a part of a larger collection of plaster busts from all over the world. The context of these two museums was quite different; one located in the capital of Spain and the other in its periphery. The purchase of the plaster busts clearly shows the imperial entanglement between different places in Europe, the role of intimate and scientific objects in cementing these relations, in addition to the hierarchical positioning of different European countries within Europe in the late nineteenth century.

These two museums selected the busts from Napoléon's excursion, in addition to Bjarni Johnsen's bust – excluding the nameless bust given by Gaimard – all becoming a part of a large collection of busts of people from different parts of the world that were supposed to show different types of races of mankind.[77] The initiator of these two purchases and the person who probably selected which ones to buy was Diego Ripoche y Torrens, a Canarian of French descent. His grandfather had been taken as a prisoner of war and sent to the Canary Islands, where he married and settled.[78] Leading French scholars engaging in racial science, such as Théodore Hamy and Paul Broca, had extensive interest in the Canary Islands after the discovery of Cro-Magnon remains in 1868 in France. This was due to similarities that they perceived between the Cro-Magnon skulls and the indigenous population of the Canary Islands. René Verneau, professor at the National Museum of Natural History, was commissioned to conduct an investigation in the Canary Islands and collect remains and artefacts of the indigenous population of the islands for comparison with the Cro-Magnon.[79] During

Verneau's first trip to the Canaries in 1876, Ripoche – who spoke French – assisted him in various ways, which was the beginning of a long-lasting relationship.[80] As the archaeologist Farrujia de la Rosa has discussed, the attempt to establish a link between prehistoric humans found in northern France with indigenous people the Canary Islands cannot be separated from French imperial interest at the time where claims that the ancestors of the so-called Gallic nation had inhabited large areas reaching far beyond present French territories worked toward 'defending French imperial interest in Africa'.[81] This close contact with French scholars, meant furthermore that in the Canary Islands racial science was adopted as a key frame of analysis.[82]

Another context of these purchases were the growing concerns in continental Spain and in the Canary Islands with plundering of archaeological artefacts and human remains within Spanish territories, in addition to historical artefacts taken out of Spain. These were exported by leading imperial powers such as Germany and France to be displayed in museums there.[83] As Guiral has discussed, this emphasis was interwoven with nationalistic sentiments characterizing Europe, while also revolving around membership in a wider creation of a European community of scholars exchanging ideas and artefacts.[84] Ripoche y Torrens was part of a group initiating the establishment of El Museo Canario in 1879, in Gran Canaria, under the leadership of Gregorio Chil y Naranjo. The establishment of the museum was in conjunction with various other advancements such as establishment of a periodical and library.[85] While the museum's establishment was important to avoid the exportation of indigenous artefacts – human remains were especially sought after – those who established the museum, had important connections to France. Chil y Naranjo was himself educated in Paris, being in contact with some of the leading French scholars in racial science.[86] Ripoche always referred to Verneau as his 'teacher',[87] which could be seen as one indication of the hierarchical relationship between the French and Spanish scholars.

The buying of the busts by these two museums represents the importance of mobility of racial objects – human remains, models and busts – for European racial science, through buying and gift giving, that took place across different national boundaries.[88] The idea of buying the busts for these two museums, seems to have come from Ripoche, who was living in France at the time. The busts, then owned by the Trocadéro museum in Paris, which was established as an ethnographic museum in 1882.[89] Ripoche proposed the acquisition of the busts to the museum's management. It seems to have been well received, however, the project soon found itself in financial difficulties as Ripoche felt that a considerable number of busts were necessary. He himself contributed money and also got Verneau to sponsor the project financially, as well as asking for funding from other sources. Among those from whom he asked for a donation was the musician Camille Saint-Saëns, during his stay in France.[90]

In Madrid, the busts were bought by *Museo Antropológico*, which later became *Museo Nacional de Antropología*. The museum was established in 1875 by Pedro Gonzáles Velasco, who was in charge of the anatomical museum in Universidad Central in Madrid. In the years before building the museum, Velasco had travelled around Europe, studying hospital layouts and wondered how he was going to set up his own museum. During these trips, he also met leading scientists who followed Broca's racial sciences, and he was possibly a participant in the first meeting of the French

Anthropological Society in Paris in 1859, again showing these strong interconnections across national boundaries. Velasco himself was also in contact with Broca in regard to skulls that the latter was hoping to get his hands on.[91] After Velasco's death in 1882, the museum was sold and became between 1890 and 1940 a section of the Museum of the Natural Science,[92] with Manuel Antón becoming the first director of the renovated museum. He had stayed in Paris as well and was familiar with theories there in terms of racial science.[93] The busts Antón bought for the museum from Ripoche most likely went straight into a warehouse, which is not surprising given that no one seemed to know what to do with most of the collectables already in the museum's possession.[94] During the time of Velasco, the museum became, in the words of Sánchez Gómez a kind of 'Noah's Ark'.[95] Prior to the purchase of busts from the Trocadéro museum, the Anthropological Museum in Madrid already owned some of the busts.[96]

The busts from Iceland did not necessarily hold a specific significance for these two museums but were rather positioned by Ripoche in his overview of the busts in the Canary Islands as interesting due to their placement as a part of the white race.[97] As such, they were a part of a collection he hoped would demonstrate different races of mankind, showing clearly the position of plaster busts as a part of racial science of the time, but also indicates a more privileged position of Icelandic people within more reified racist categories of people. During the first years of the Canary Museum, all the busts bought by Ripoche, probably eighty-four in total, were displayed in the museum, alongside skulls of the indigenous population, thus allowing for a particular framing of these human remains.

Concluding remarks

Using the idea of contact points – basing partly on Feldman's introduction of this term[98] – my discussion shows the various ways that Iceland was integrated into diverse imperial desires in the nineteenth century. The 1856 plaster busts of Icelandic people are one example of contact points, and as material objects they provide contact between past and present, as well as being created through contact between those Icelandic people who were casted and those who did the casting. The imagination and the physical location of Iceland can, furthermore, be seen as contact point between different larger empirical powers, through engagements of individuals in different contact zones.[99] The collections of busts served as a contact point between France and other European imperial powers, where museums and individuals associated with them bought and traded intimate objects which were perceived as parts of racial science. Certain scientists from strong imperial powers in Europe also visited the same places, engaged with each other there, thus creating a shared community of scholars and elites, which must have strengthened the sense of being part of greater European powers that other parts of Europe could aspire to. For whom was the display of Napoléon's troop arriving with a storm to Geysir intended?

However, Iceland as a contact point for greater European imperial powers was not only through physical meetings or engagements in Iceland, but also through reading

and analysing Iceland as an object of interest. Within such shared scientific discussions of greater imperial powers, revolving around the prospecting and gathering of disparate scientific information about other people and places, stronger European powers set the tone for other parts of Europe to aspire to. The writings published on the exploration of greater imperial powers, were read and reacted to in Iceland. This engagement can clearly be seen in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Iceland, when intellectual discourse there had become characterized by a strong desire to be acknowledged as belonging with those European powers seen as more significant,[100] but also through Iceland's positioning as belonging with a reified white race at the end of the nineteenth century. In the atmosphere of the mid-nineteenth century, however, Icelandic people were seen as primitive and a part of Europe's past, while simultaneously perceived as closer to the civilized part of Europe and thus ranked higher in some sense than people in more distant parts of the world were. Here again it is important to remember how different early and mid-nineteenth-century discourses of racial differences – the whole language of race – was from the more reified biological theories at the end of the century, even though race continued to converge with, draw meaning from and give meaning to discourses of class, gender and sexuality. Iceland in connection to imperial Europe was thus one place of collecting objects to further understanding of differences and the meaning of being European, which imperial powers like France saw themselves as the highest form of.

Acknowledgements

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83. Ortiz García, 'Localismo e Internacionalismo', 106–7; José L. Guiral, 'Dangerous Intruder or Beneficial Influence? The Role of the Institut de Paléontologie Humaine in the Development of Prehistoric Archaeology in Spain (1900–1936)', *Complutum* 24, no. 2 (2013): 33–42.
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8

Orientalist knowledge from the margins: The colonial entanglement of nineteenth-century Hungarian research on Inner Asia

Szabolcs László

'We do not have seas, nor colonies overseas where we could send scientific expeditions to expand the circle of universal science', admitted Ferenc Toldy, the secretary of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1842.[1] Yet he continued confidently, suggesting that Hungarians can compensate for their lack of overseas territories and trade networks because the 'only frontier where we, and we alone, can hope to make discoveries is the question of our origins and our linguistic kin. And instead of waiting – and waiting in vain – for foreigners, we must act ourselves.'[2] Using such rousing rhetoric, Toldy was petitioning the Academy to provide financial support for the travels of Antal Reguly, a young orientalist scholar residing in Saint Petersburg at that time, hoping to do fieldwork among the Finno-Ugric peoples beyond the Ural Mountains (see Figure 8.1).[3]

Toldy's argumentation illustrates how, due to the marginal and subordinate position of Hungarians in relation to imperial powers throughout the nineteenth century and beyond, the numerous Hungarian expeditions to the 'East' were conceived as being exceptional. Because these endeavours were regularly justified and funded as quests to find kin languages and the nation's prehistoric origins in Eurasia, orientalist projects were presented as national scientific missions with no colonial affiliations and no commercial interests attached. According to this position, still predominant today, Hungarian traveller-scholars engaged in a unique form of 'fraternal Orientalism'. This meant that they were not aiming to locate and rule over a radically different Asian 'Other', but to identify and celebrate peoples seen as constitutive parts of the national 'Self'. Moreover, Toldy's rhetoric also points to the emancipatory aspect of Hungarian orientalist projects that repeatedly aimed disprove the essentializing discourses and denigrating taxonomies emanating from Western centres towards the margins of Europe.

However, a closer look at the discourse and practice of Hungarian orientalist scholarship shows that – save, perhaps, for its self-perception and self-presentation – the field was neither fundamentally different, nor detached from the colonial world. Reguly, seen today as one of the forerunners of Hungarian ethnology and Finno-Ugric

linguistics, relied on the colonial infrastructure, administration, financial resources and knowledge of the Russian Empire during his fieldwork. Moreover, he significantly contributed to the strengthening of imperial power through the results of his research. Even though these imperial links were not emphasized in the national narrative, his example was far from rare. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Hungarian explorers of the 'East' were connected to European orientalist networks, benefited from the racial and cultural hierarchies sustained by the global colonial order and perpetuated Eurocentric systems of knowledge.

The overall aim of this chapter is to de-exceptionalize the Hungarian orientalist scholarly tradition within the European transimperial context. To deconstruct the 'colonial innocence' veiling this tradition and thereby reveal a significant dimension of how Hungarian culture and politics were entangled with European imperialism, the history of the field needs to be read against the grain. Going beyond a purely internalist perspective, Hungarian orientalist scholarship needs to be unwrapped from its own self-exonerating and particularistic narrative and examined within the context of global colonial practices and Eurocentric knowledge production that overwhelmingly defined the world in which Hungarian traveller-scholars operated in. Focusing on the structural and ideological embeddedness of this local tradition will reveal that both the emergence and the reproduction of nineteenth-century Hungarian oriental studies was done through transimperial dialogue and comparison. Nearly all of the foundational research expeditions that defined the field were carried out in collaboration with and through the financial and logistical assistance of the Russian and British Empires. Furthermore, through its scholarly output – the numerous philological treatises, dictionaries, grammars, ethnographic treatises and cartographic works – the field profusely contributed to the arsenal of Eurocentric 'colonial knowledge', enabling imperial centres to see, count, comprehend and thereby control non-European peoples.

To illustrate this entanglement, this chapter will focus on Reguly's one-man expedition beyond the Urals in the 1840s, and especially its interpretation and full-throated promotion by Hungarian nation-building liberal elites. A close analysis of his example brings insight onto how the national, the European and the colonial dimensions were entwined in the East Central European context. Carried out and celebrated as a national mission, Reguly's journey linked scholarly knowledge production about the 'East' to the political project of national identity construction and integration into a European paradigm. Hungarian study of Inner Asia might have been 'fraternal' on the surface, but it ultimately diminished the agency and contemporaneity of non-European peoples.[4] The resulting orientalist knowledge was instrumentalized in a manner described by Edward Said in relation to colonial centres.[5] By emphasizing 'civilizational' distance from and superiority to their 'prehistoric' and 'pristine' kin peoples located in Asia, Hungarian elites aimed to secure a legitimate place among the modern nations of Europe. Because of the geopolitical and cultural marginality of Hungarians on the continent, this integration was contentious and competitive, yet it was done by accepting and reproducing the Eurocentric paradigm of the age of empires.

Figure 8.1 Portrait of Antal Reguly. Lithograph based on a drawing by Miklós Barabás and featured in the Reguly Album that was published in 1850 in Pest. Wikimedia Commons.

Colonial complicity on the margins through the lens of orientalist scholarship

As national historiographies are re-examined through the perspective of transnational and global history, there is a growing understanding of how smaller European countries – traditionally depicted as having no relations to colonies and, occasionally, as victims of inner European imperialism – were nevertheless shaped through their entanglement with global colonialism.[6] In the case of the marginal regions, like East Central Europe, the underlying phenomenon of 'colonial complicity' was overshadowed by political narratives of 'colonial innocence' and imperial victimhood, important elements of national self-definition.[7] Yet many of the putative members of emerging national communities in the region were part of the imperial apparatus of the Habsburg Empire and the later Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.[8] Moreover, throughout the imperial age, East Central Europeans had been implicated in overseas colonial ventures and shared in the aspiration to rule over non-European peoples.[9] While resenting their subordinate status within a Europe ruled by great powers, their ambition in attaining a European identity was to be beneficiaries of the social, cultural and political hierarchy of the global colonial paradigm.

The particular status of the European semi-periphery – and especially of East Central Europe – within imperial history comes from the simultaneity of being in a subaltern position and yet contributing to the perpetuation of Eurocentric hegemony. According to a prevailing approach, the region was defined by its 'status in-between the colonial and anti-colonial worlds'.[10] The metaphor of 'in-betweenness' suggests that East Central Europe was a liminal space between the conceptually and materially distinguished worlds of the European colonizer and the colonized 'Other'. Yet this formulation fails to address the specific duality and synchronicity caused by close entanglement with colonial projects and the inherent exclusion experienced by those on the margins of Europe. More importantly, such a perspective suggests that the region's role was merely that of an appendix to and imitator of Western imperialism. Closer examination of the interconnections suggests, however, that East Central Europe was rather an active co-creator of global imperialism through intellectual, economic and military contributions. Moreover, as the analysis of the colonial ties of Hungarian orientalist scholarship will show, the margins could even have unique and niche contributions to the overall imperial constellation, expanding Eurocentric colonial knowledge and strengthening its hegemony.

In what follows, I will use the case study of Hungarian orientalist philology during the nineteenth century as a prism to explore the deep-seated imperial entanglements and 'colonial complicity' of the wider East Central European region. This scholarly field offers an optimal entryway to this question, because – as Said showed in his classic study – it was a prerequisite to and an enabler of European imperialism. Orientalist scholarship did not passively reflect power, but constituted itself a significant dimension of modern political-intellectual culture. It did this by distributing 'geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical, and philological texts' and by creating and perpetuating a 'whole series of "interests" '.[11] The discipline of philology – forerunner of linguistics – was illustrative of the knowledge–power relation within an imperial context. At the end of the eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century, the comparison of languages and the creation of linguistic taxonomies put forward forceful and long-lasting ideas about paradigmatic differences between peoples, cultures and, ultimately, races.[12] By producing such 'knowledge' about non-European regions and peoples, the field provided some of the basic conceptual tools for the imposition of imperial hegemony, thereby indirectly justifying oppressive and violent 'civilizing missions'.

However, as eye-opening as Said's study on the relationship between scholarship and imperialism was for understanding empire, his limited approach to the production of orientalist discourse obstructed the fruitful application of his insights to contexts other than the British, French and American ones. On the one hand, he claimed that his analysis was relevant only for colonial centres that had 'direct' and 'actual' relations with colonies, implying that orientalist knowledge production in other settings was merely derivative.[13] On the other hand, he envisioned only a binary positionality vis-à-vis the 'Orient', in which self-styled Western authors wrote about, categorized and spoke for Eastern 'Others'.[14]

In fact, orientalism – in scholarship, literature and art – was not a homogeneous and unilateral discourse, emanating from Western colonial centres to be emulated

in the rest of the continent and the world. For instance, the genealogy of philology reveals that it was a multi-pillared field that developed through transnational dialogue, with transformative contributions coming from the European margins as well.[15] Furthermore, this cross-European epistemic community contained significant internal differences depending on the position that scholars were articulating contributions from. Orientalist discourses from the European semi-periphery – like in the Hungarian, Finnish or Russian contexts – were specific because of the region's ambivalent relationship with European imperialism. Consequently, scholarly and popular narratives about the national 'Self' were built on the combination, and not mutual exclusion, of the categories of 'East' *and* 'West'.

By invoking such regional differences, orientalist scholarly traditions on the European margins were subsequently 'defended' against Said's main charge, namely that 'knowledge' about a putative East enabled and sustained European imperialism. According to this line of argument, Russian or Hungarian scholarship was qualitatively different, as scholars in these contexts had no 'close partnership' with colonizing states and in their works did not propose paradigmatic and unsurmountable divisions between East and West.[16] As Vera Tolz has argued, Russian orientalist scholars envisioned the Eurasian region as a *sui generis* political and cultural space, having 'no objectively identifiable boundary between Russia and Asia' and generating relationships between Christians, Muslims and Buddhists that were fundamentally different to those seen in European overseas empires.[17] Yet, the fascination of academics and artists with Russia's 'own' Orient was partly based on their reaction to Western civilizational or racial discourses that emphasized Russia's 'Asiatic backwardness'.[18] More importantly, their discourses were ultimately framed by political visions and hegemonic intentions, namely the aim to perpetuate Russian guardianship over all non-Russian peoples under the dominion of the Russian Empire and later, the Soviet Union.

Despite such local particularity and the positive framing of what the 'East' might signify, orientalist scholarship from the European margins unilaterally deployed ideas about a discursive 'Orient' in the service of various centralized and nationalist political projects. Scholars within these contexts still engaged in practices that aimed to create intellectual authority over non-European people, to speak on their behalf and thereby to contain them. Exclusive authority over representation was and is closely entangled with the intent to impose and maintain hegemony. The instrumentalization of 'knowledge' about non-European peoples and regions for national and colonial political agendas and the corresponding maintenance of a Eurocentric worldview and hierarchy reveal the common denominator that brings together the colonial centres and the margins of Europe within the interconnected field of imperial history.

Revisiting the history of Hungarian orientalist scholarship

Oriental studies in the Hungarian context had been a form of engaged scholarship since the beginnings of the field in the early nineteenth century. As the philological

search for ancient histories and national origins came to the European forefront during this period, nascent Hungarian orientalist scholarship – intertwined with poetry, ethnology and history writing – became one of the vehicles of elite-driven nation-building. The field played a significant role in national identity construction because of the widely held belief that knowledge about Inner Asia, its peoples and its languages, would explain the ethnogenesis of Hungarians and the particularities of their language.

Popular and scholarly interest was founded on an autochthonous tradition of ontological and mythical association with the 'East'.[19] This was expressed through narratives about the Hungarian 'conquest' of the Carpathian basin in the ninth-century and medieval chroniclers connecting the royal dynasty of the Hungarian Kingdom with the house of Attila the Hun. Although in frequent tension and dialogue with the equally strong and longstanding Hungarian identification with the putative 'West', the twin ideas of originating from a vague 'Urheimat' located in the 'East' and of being related to powerful nomadic warrior tribes became central motifs as Hungarian national culture was crystallizing.

Throughout the nineteenth century, philological research into finding kin languages and the overall representations of the abstract 'East' were closely tied to narratives on identity, ethnic kinship and Hungarians' place within Europe. As this was the main focus of orientalist scholars, the field was anointed as a 'national science', and studying the 'East' was equated with studying 'ourselves'. Consequently, oriental studies and the growing number of expeditions to Inner Asia were focused enterprises, framed by the national cause and funded by the various segments of nineteenth-century civil society, the newly established Hungarian Academy of Sciences (1825), aristocratic patrons and eventually the Hungarian state after the Compromise of 1867 resulted in the creation of the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary.

The particular identity of the field was determined by the ambivalent geopolitical context in which Hungarian nation-building occurred. Threatened by the imperial ambitions of the European great powers and opposing the exclusionary narratives of othering projected onto the European margins, Hungarian orientalist scholarship was built on a self-conscious differentiation from the orientalist studies and expeditions of imperial centres. As a result, the field was and is presented as 'fraternal', that is, meant to produce scholarship with a clear national purpose, without even the faintest commercial, geopolitical, missionary interests attached. This strategy of self-presentation is nicely illustrated by the petition submitted by Count Béla Széchenyi during his 1878–9 expedition to the Privy Council of the Chinese Empire, asking for permission to explore Chinese Central Asia, Mongolia and Tibet.

> I have neither missionary, political nor commercial intentions, but came to this land motivated solely by scientific and historical interest and respect. My burning desire is to travel in the provinces, in which we Hungarians suspect our roots to be, where once our ancestors lived.[20]

These assertions of colonial innocence, made in the context of rivalling European imperial designs targeting the Chinese Empire, were aimed to distinguish and exculpate the Hungarian project from other, colonially tainted, orientalist endeavours.

This rhetoric remained at the core of the field's identity all throughout the twentieth century as well. This self-presentation was reiterated at the 1997 keynote lecture of the thirty-fifth International Congress of Asian and North African Studies (formerly the International Congress of Orientalists) held in Budapest.[21] According to the speaker, Hungarian scholarly interest in the East was not linked to any colonial or commercial projects, as it was rooted in a wide-ranging popular preoccupation with 'Asian kinship', making the 'Orient and Oriental studies much more than abstract concepts for our people'.[22]

However, the narrative about the exceptionality of Hungarian orientalist scholarship also aimed to mask the field's significant interconnections and commonalities with European Orientalism in general. Read against the grain, the history of this scholarly tradition can reveal that Hungarian orientalists were entangled within the larger colonial world that informed and used orientalist knowledge production in Western European centres. This manifested in the cross-European education of Hungarian researchers, in the transimperial practices of gathering data and producing knowledge and, finally, in the politicized ways that the knowledge about the 'East' was instrumentalized in conjoined national and imperial contexts. Moreover, the field's relationship with colonial powers relied on complementarity. On the one hand, the 'national science' was built up through access to imperial spaces and assistance from colonial infrastructure. Thanks to this, throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Hungarian academics assembled a globally unique orientalist collection in Budapest and gained a reputation of having epistemic authority in the field.[23] On the other hand, because of these resources and expertise, the Hungarian field also contributed to the strengthening of colonial power and the perpetuation of Eurocentric hierarchies of knowledge. It is important to note that by pointing out the significance of such ties, I do not wish to flatten all manner of entanglements. Nor do I insist that this is the only relevant reading of this significant scholarly tradition – only that it is an interpretation that is largely missing.

From its early stages, Hungarian orientalist scholarship was built through international academic interactions with the university centres of the European great powers. Facilitated primarily by the Academy of Sciences, the international embeddedness of the field continued throughout the nineteenth century, the interwar years and was carried over into the post-1945 period when – excepting the isolation of the Stalinist years – it was even expanded in the 1970s and 1980s. Foremost among the academic connections of Hungarian scholars were their strong ties to the centres of oriental studies at German universities, especially in Göttingen. For instance, the well-known traveller-scholar Alexander Csoma de Kőrös (1784–1842) considered the founder of Tibetology, studied there under the guidance of Johann Gottfried Eichhorn. Moreover, the German-born linguist Josef Budenz (1836–1892) who served as the academic doyen of Finno-Ugric studies in Hungary, was a student of Theodor Benfey at Göttingen. Due to this influence, until the mid-twentieth century, most Hungarian orientalists published their work in German.[24]

In terms of orientalist fieldwork, the reliance of Reguly on imperial power structures was not an outlier, but conformed to a pattern established by Hungarian traveller-scholars before him and substantiated after him. Hungarian research within

Asia was inextricably tied to the colonial infrastructure, administration and financial resources of the British Empire. In the case of Csoma de Kőrös, there is an ongoing debate regarding the nature of his relations to colonial administration during his stay in British India.[25] Yet it would be hard to deny that his main orientalist project, the creation of an English–Tibetan dictionary and a description of Tibetan grammar was a substantial contribution to British orientalist knowledge.[26] On the other hand, in case of the famed traveller Ármin Vámbéry (1832–1913), there are no doubts about his service to the British Empire during and after his travels in Central Asia since he was employed by the British Foreign Office.[27]

Finally, most consequential for Hungarian orientalist scholarship was the continued access to Russian imperial spaces and the support received from its imperial framework. Likewise, the relations between the Hungarian and Russian orientalist community started in the early nineteenth century and manifested both through correspondence and active collaboration on the study of Finno-Ugric and Turkic peoples in Siberia.[28] The learning of the Russian language became and remains one of the primary expectations towards Hungarian academics interested in the topic.

Throughout the nineteenth century, several Hungarian scholars followed in Reguly's footsteps to do fieldwork beyond the Ural Mountains. Notable were the travels of Bernát Munkácsi (1860–1937) and Károly Pápai (1861–1893) in the 1880s, both aiming to illuminate Reguly's linguistic collections through on-site research.[29] Also of great significance was the participation of József Pápay (1873–1931) and János Jankó (1868–1902) in the third expedition to Siberia organized by Count Jenő Zichy in 1897–8.[30] During his fieldwork, Jankó, an acclaimed ethnologist and the director of the Ethnographic Department of the Hungarian National Museum, collected thirty skulls, two sets of full skeletons and the ceremonial clothing in which the bodies were laid to rest.[31] Copying the practice of Russian colonial administrators, Jankó distributed alcohol to the local population in order to circumvent their resistance towards the digging up of the burial mounds.

In order to better showcase the entanglement of Hungarian orientalist scholarship with imperial power structures – and especially with the framework of the Russian Empire – in the following I will analyse in detail the example of Antal Reguly, one of the foundational figures of this tradition.

The imperial, national and European contexts of Antal Reguly's expedition to Siberia

The future traveller-scholar was born in 1819, in the small town of Zirc, located in the Western part of Hungary today, into a prosperous bourgeois Catholic family. His father worked as a lawyer for the Order of Cistercians based in the town and Reguly was assisted financially throughout his life by the abbot of the order, Ferdinand Villax. Given Reguly's upbringing and education, no contradiction developed between his imperial identity, as a subject of the Habsburg Empire, and his Hungarian identity, shaped by the newly emerging national movement. Like many of the Hungarian elites

of the period, he conducted his correspondence and wrote his diaries in German, yet supported the use of Hungarian in administration, politics and scholarship. After finishing his studies of law in Budapest, the young Reguly set out on a tour of Europe in 1839, as was the custom for the youth of the aristocracy and the middle class. In the royal library of Stockholm, he met the Finnish Adolf Ivar Arvidsson. The exiled historian introduced Reguly to the idea of Finnish–Hungarian linguistic relationship, recommending that he read the works of Joannes Sajnovics and Sámuel Gyarmathi on the topic.[32] The encounter and the discovery of this nationally framed scholarly question proved so impactful as to provide a life-long purpose for the young man. It launched Reguly on a quest to prove, or disprove, the kinship relations of the Hungarian language.

Inspired, no doubt, by the newly emerging field of ethnology, Reguly intended to clarify this philological issue through on-site ethnographic research among the peoples speaking Finno-Ugric languages. His plan was to produce a definitive analysis of this data through a comparison with Hungarian materials. With this in mind, Reguly travelled to the Russian Empire: first, to the Grand Duchy of Finland and then moving on to Saint Petersburg. He learned the languages needed for his initial field research (Finnish, Saami, Estonian) and also those of the imperial elites (Swedish and Russian). In both places, he built good relationships with academic circles. After preparing for two years in the capital, Reguly set out on his one-man journey beyond the Ural Mountains in 1843. His travels took him from Kazan to Tobolsk, then to Verkhoturye, Beryozov, Salekhard, exploring the vast northern parts of the Urals, before returning to Kazan in 1845 and to Saint Petersburg the next year.

Altogether, Reguly's remarkable journey in Siberia was around 30,000 km long and covered 385,000 sq. km. He carried out fieldwork among nearly every Finno-Ugric group in the region, like the Mari, Mordvins, Udmurts, Komi and Nenets, yet focused most of his attention on the Mansi and Khanty.[33] Additionally, he collected ethnographic and linguistic data also from the Chuvash and the Tatars. Upon returning to the imperial capital, Reguly was commissioned by the Russian Academy to produce a detailed map of the Northern Ural region. He finally returned to Hungary in 1847, gifting his sizeable collection and numerous field notes to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.[34] Unfortunately, the hardships of his travels made him seriously ill, rendering it impossible for Reguly to analyse and publish the results of his research. He died in 1858, at the age of thirty-nine and subsequently acquired a tragic aura, as the 'martyr' of Hungarian scholarship.

In the nearly two centuries since his journey, Reguly's figure and story were framed as archetypical for both the orientalist field and the pantheon of national history.[35] His legacy was built around three interconnected roles, that of the daring scholar, the committed patriot and the European explorer of uncharted Asian regions. Although illness prevented him from doing the philological work he planned out, his unique collection became the foundation for Hungarian studies on Finno-Ugric peoples. The orientalist field considered him to be 'one of the greatest treasures of Hungarian comparative philology', inspiring the development of an autochthonous linguistic school that ultimately 'resolved the monumental question concerning the origins of the Hungarian language'.[36]

Reguly's expedition occurred in the context of the Hungarian 'age of reform', when orientalist philology and nation-building were intertwined.[37] The origins and the kinship of the national language represented a political question relevant for the competing historical narratives promoted by elites for the project of national emancipation within the Habsburg Empire and for Hungarian identity-building within a European framework. Discourses on national language were similarly politicized in the Finnish context in relation to the Russian Empire.[38] Consequently, supporting Reguly's travels became a national cause in the 1840s. Ferenc Toldy, the secretary of the Academy, set up a 'Reguly Society' and published a 'Reguly Album' that featured popular writers, like Sándor Petőfi and Mór Jókai, to help collect the necessary funds. At Reguly's commemoration, organized by the Academy in 1863, the influential national liberal statesman, Baron József Eötvös, called upon his audience to celebrate the traveller-scholar for more than just his scholarly achievements. According to him, Reguly must be remembered as a 'man who followed his love of country when choosing a path in life' and whose example will make the 'nation's future bright again'.[39]

A closer inspection of Reguly's extensive stay and journey in the Russian Empire sheds light on the multiple and ambiguous affiliations of his project. Besides the much-emphasized national rhetoric that framed his figure, his endeavour also enjoyed robust imperial support. In 1841, still in the initial stages of Reguly's preparation in Saint Petersburg, Toldy managed to secure a small grant of two hundred Forints from the Hungarian Academy for the young scholar. Receiving the Academy's letter, Reguly started to see and introduce himself as a delegate of the Hungarian scientific community. In the report he sent back to Pest, outlining his scholarly vision, he declared that his planned journey was done as a 'most happy service to my homeland'.[40]

However, Hungarian financial support remained slim throughout his travels, being present more in the form of repeated promises, rather than tangible resources. In fact, Reguly's prolonged stay in Saint Petersburg and later journey to Siberia were made possible through the financial and moral support of imperial dignitaries and the scholars of the Russian Academy. His most important patron was the influential state councillor Mikhail Balugianskii (Balugyánszky) (1769–1847), a truly transimperial figure.[41] Born as the son of a Greek Catholic priest in upper Hungary (Slovakia today), he studied law in Vienna and was invited to the Russian Empire in 1803 to eventually be named the first rector of the re-established Saint Petersburg University in 1819. Balugianskii attained political influence by serving as a tutor to the future tsar Nicholas I, later becoming a leading figure within the Second Section of the Imperial Chancellery in 1826. By the time he hosted Reguly, Balugianskii was a highly decorated statesman and a newly anointed member of the Russian nobility. Through his recommendations, the Hungarian traveller gained privileged access to the circles of the social and academic elites.

Moreover, Reguly developed especially close relationships with several 'Russian Germans' who served in key positions within the imperial bureaucracy and academia. Having complex biographies, as Catherine Gibson observed, these polyglot imperial subjects 'functioned as key conduits for the exchange of ideas' across empires, bringing Saint Petersburg 'into the fold of [the] German-language intellectual space' and seeing no contradiction in the process.[42] Being 'both agents and recipients' of

imperialism, these elites from the empire's border regions significantly contributed to the consolidation of imperial rule.[43]

Among the members of the Russian Academy, Reguly's strongest supporter was Karl Ernst Ritter von Baer (1792–1876), a Baltic German scientist and co-founder of the Russian Geographical Society.[44] Besides institutional and financial assistance, Baer shaped Reguly's mission by expanding his approach conceptually and methodologically beyond the realm of orientalist philology. Baer subscribed to Enlightenment ideas about racial classifications and hierarchies, being an adept of the (pseudo)science of craniometry. As such, he presumed a correlation between linguistic kinship and cranial size, training the Hungarian scholar in the practice of recording body measurements and producing face casts from plaster. During his Siberian fieldwork, Reguly took the measurements of at least eight subjects and produced the corresponding plaster casts.[45]

Besides Baer, Reguly established contacts with other academicians with transnational backgrounds, like the cartographer Peter von Köppen, the astronomer Friedrich Georg Wilhelm Struve or the orientalist historian Christian Martin Joachim von Frähn. Seeing Reguly's need of funding and aiming to profit from his linguistic skills, the Finnish historian and ethnologist Anders Johan Sjögren (1794–1855) invited him to join a planned large-scale ethnographic study of the Siberian peoples involving Sjögren and Matthias Castrén, by then a well-known scholar of Finno-Ugric peoples.[46]

Initially, such offers were declined, as both Reguly and his Hungarian supporters were keenly aware of the unfavourable optics if the research on the origins of Hungarians would be done with the help of 'foreign' money. The act of self-financing an orientalist project was considered as a step towards national emancipation for Hungarian elites. Upon receiving the promise of an additional thousand Forints from the Hungarian Academy in 1843, Reguly expressed his joy over 'being transformed from a Russian traveler into a Hungarian one', because he much rather 'worked for his homeland … than roam the highways as the lukewarm mercenary of foreigners'.[47] In reality, the money did not arrive on time and the young Hungarian could start his journey only through a loan from Baer.[48]

Reguly's fieldwork also relied heavily on the framework of the empire, both in terms of the colonial administration and the colonial knowledge collected on non-Russian peoples. His first stop was in Kazan, where the governor and the local academic community of Kazan University provided much-needed support, especially the exiled Polish orientalist scholar O. M. Kovalevsky (Józef Kowalewski) (1801–1878). The Hungarian scholar drew especially on the linguistic resources of the Kazan Theological Academy.[49] Founded in 1842 to increase missionary activity around the Volga region, the Academy taught several Finno-Ugric languages to future missionaries. Here Reguly collected several works on the lexicon and grammar of the Chuvash and Mari.[50] In Perm, he enjoyed similar hospitality, as the personal guest of the governor who provided Reguly with a full register of the native place names within the governorship and a detailed ethnographic map of the region. As was customary with foreign elite travellers in the Russian Empire, when the Hungarian scholar continued with his journey the governor arranged for a Cossack soldier to serve as his guardian.[51]

Because of such unambiguously militarized travel companions, Reguly's relationship with the non-Russian communities he studied was largely defined by

his close connection to the imperial authorities – but not entirely. For long stretches of his journey, he travelled by himself and was able to develop closer and less hierarchized interactions with locals.[52] This was helped significantly by his knowledge of their language, especially by Reguly's rare ability to learn it swiftly. Since Hungarian researchers doing fieldwork in Inner Asia often occupied such ambivalent positions, this liminality was codified as the inherent characteristic of Hungarian 'fraternal orientalism'. According to Mészáros et al., the position of Hungarian orientalist scholars was 'somewhere between colonizers and indigenous peoples', enabling them to 'maintain more or less equal standing among the indigenous peoples in Asiatic Russia'.[53]

Markedly, within Hungarian public discourse, it was the image of the humble, fraternal and non-colonial orientalist researcher that became dominant. As Baron Eötvös emphasized in his 1863 commemorative speech, because Reguly was not the 'emissary of the Russian government who enjoyed the comforts available to those favored by power', he was able to win the trust of local communities who then 'revealed to him all that they had carefully hidden away from the much-hated Russians and the even more despised missionaries'.[54] However, Mészáros et al. conceded that such situations of partnerships on equal footing were 'upheld temporarily and without permanent consequences'.[55] Most probably, the establishment of a unique rapport based on the supposition of linguistic kinship and of similarity in status was a tactical move, used as a potential instrument by Hungarian orientalists in order to enhance their fieldwork. Since we lack any first-hand accounts from the informants Reguly engaged with, it remains unclear if the members of local Finno-Ugric communities actually distinguished him from other outsiders in terms of kinship or linguistic affinity. Without such a local perspective, the exceptional – 'fraternal' – status of Reguly or other nineteenth-century Hungarian researchers doing fieldwork in Siberia should be treated as no more than an unverifiable claim.

Interestingly, Reguly's views on the non-Russian communities he encountered were complex and nuanced. His letters reveal a careful attention to local forms of agency, to ethnic and social diversity and to the dynamics of historical change. Importantly, he begins the description of the Mansi people by acknowledging their proactive agency, pointing out that it was the community that sent messengers to greet Reguly at the beginning of his journey, inviting him to learn their language and customs.[56] Due to this initial positive impression, Reguly turned the European preconception about 'passive natives' on its head and emphasized that the Mansi 'manifested such agility of spirit that belied all our fashionable notions about the peoples of the North'.[57] Moreover, he went on to fully reject the received (colonial) knowledge that attributed the 'backwardness' of non-European peoples to climactic conditions. Instead, Reguly declared that 'if we are to assign any meaning and content to our labeling of these people as uncultured and savage', then explanations should start by understanding the 'condition of their social life', because the 'psyche and cognition of individuals is not inherently savage'.[58]

Ironically, however, Reguly's defence of Siberian Finno-Ugric peoples against Eurocentric preconceptions made use of further European discourses of othering. Framed by Romantic ideas about an idealized primordial state of nature, Reguly

contrasted the pristine and authentic state of theses 'noble sons of nature' with the corruptions and distortions caused by modernization (or *embourgeoisement*, to stay closer to the original Hungarian).[59] Moreover, the Hungarian researcher incorporated the essentialized image of the local communities into a conservative cultural critique against the newly emergent bourgeois and industrial classes that were seen to threaten the position of the old elites across Europe. Adopting a sympathetic tone, Reguly explained the Northern Mansi's rejection of agricultural work by equating their 'pride' and 'conceptions about the chivalrous life' to that of ancient Germans and contemporary Russian nobles.

Finally, Reguly was sensitive to regional differences (e.g. between the Northern and Southern Mansi) as he travelled along the Ural Mountains. Specifically, he observed that Southern Mansi communities, living in areas more heavily penetrated by settler colonialism and missionary efforts, were in the midst of a grand and irreversible historical change. In terms of habits, ideas and food consumption, 'life is in transition', noted Reguly, adding that the 'quality of this transformation is, alas, not hard to fathom'.[60] He feared that, due to the campaigns of aggressive Christian conversion, the 'worldview of an entire people will be perturbed' and the Mansi culture will fall victim to assimilation.

Yet, despite Reguly's keen understanding of the imperial causes for the transformations affecting Finno-Ugric communities, he did not adopt a critical or anti-colonial position. He continued to rely on colonial power structures, engaged in colonial science on behalf of the Russian Academy, and was – on occasion – seen by the local communities as the personal incarnation of this imperial, outside power. In Sverdlovsk Oblast, Reguly was supplied with two Mansi informants, brought to him through the order of the colonial authorities.[61] One of the informants was a seventy-nine-year-old man, by the name of Pëtr Petrovič Jurkin, and the other was sixty years old, called Vasily Nikitič Baktiar.[62] Following the training received from Baer, Reguly made a face cast for Jurkin before allowing him to return to his community.

By the time Reguly returned to the same region on his way back, the community had already created a sinister narrative about him, springing from this 'scientific' practice that seemed incomprehensible, alien and, no doubt, frightening to them. Since this dark image of the foreign traveller had spread widely within the given region, in one of the Mansi villages the women received him with drawn knives. Coining a gruesome yet incisive allegory for orientalist ethnographic research, the villagers feared him as a mysterious and powerful man who 'cuts off the heads of people, wraps them in plaster, and collects them in boxes'.[63] This tense encounter reveals the perspectival nature of ethnographic interactions in a colonial context. Despite the self-exonerating narrative of 'fraternal Orientalism', in effect, Reguly's continued association with the imperial administration, his reliance on colonial knowledge production and his own unilateral interventions under the guise of 'scientific' inquiry overly determined the image of the Hungarian orientalist in the field.

Reguly's more significant contributions to the construction of colonial knowledge within imperial Russia came after he returned to Saint Petersburg in 1846. For one, acting on the request of Baer, he purchased a number of ethnographic items during his travels for the Saint Petersburg Kunstkamera, the imperial cabinet of curiosities,

established by Peter the Great in 1714.[64] More importantly, under the instruction of Peter von Köppen, the Russian Geographical Society commissioned the Hungarian traveller-scholar to produce a map of the Northern Ural region.[65] The Society, founded in 1845, was formally subordinated to the Ministry of Interior and – as an 'agency of imperial expansion' – was tasked with intelligence gathering and the improvement of colonial administration.[66] Although the Russian conquest of Siberia was started in the late sixteenth century and was mostly completed by the end of the eighteenth century, large parts of the territory covered by Reguly's journey were not yet comprehensively mapped out. At the time, the region of the Northern Urals was portrayed as 'empty' space in need of 'civilizing'.

Despite being ill due to the hardships of his travels, Reguly agreed to the task, because he felt 'beholden to the Russian government, institutions, and various individuals' that had given him aid.[67] When devising the map, the Hungarian scholar could rely only on his notes that were built on the local knowledge of his informants. He produced a work that showed not merely geographical information, but provided detailed ethnographic data on the peoples living in the territory.[68] The German-language press of Saint Petersburg celebrated the map within a distinctly Eurocentric frame, declaring that 'those familiar with the white areas on the map of the Urals have no doubts that, through his work, Reguly has become the first explorer of a large *terra incognita* in Russia's geography and ethnography'.[69] Despite the noted significance of the project, the Hungarian traveller was paid only for his lodgings as he worked on the map and remembered later with bitterness that the Geographical Society never official expressed its gratitude.[70]

For the imperial centre, Reguly's map was not only a major accomplishment, but a much-needed contribution to the limited knowledge about Siberia, and as such, it was immediately incorporated into larger scholarly projects targeting the region. The 1847–50 expedition of the Russian Geographical Society to the Urals, led by geographer Ernst Reinhold von Hofmann, relied substantially on Reguly's work.[71] Moreover, the first ethnographic atlas of the European part of Russia published by Köppen in 1851, reproduced Reguly's map for the territory North of Solikamsk, in Perm Krai.[72] Subsequently, within both the Russian and Hungarian contexts, Reguly's map was registered as the accomplishment of a European explorer who deserved more recognition. As a correcting gesture, in 1990 a joint committee of Hungarian and Soviet academics named one of the mountain peaks of the Northern Urals after him.[73] The celebratory tone papers over the fact that the Russian academic establishment at the time used Reguly's orientalist research to build up and strengthen the colonial gaze on and geopolitical awareness of Siberia. Reguly's mapmaking work contributed to imperial administrators' efforts to chart expanding frontiers, extract duties from populations and locate economic resources.[74] Trapped by his financial and professional dependency on the Saint Petersburg establishment, the Hungarian scholar's national mission enriched and empowered the orientalist arsenal of the Russian Empire, making the Finno-Ugric peoples visible and legible for the imperial state.

Yet, the academics of the Russian Empire were not the only figures of authority instrumentalizing Reguly's journey into Siberia. His fieldwork was used as ammunition by Hungarian nation-building elites in their discursive struggles for emancipation

and identity construction within an antagonistic European framework. For national movements in the nineteenth century, articulations of a putative nation's origins and ancient history were considered as a prerequisite to securing a legitimate place among the other modern nations of Europe. Reguly himself indicated in the report to the Hungarian Academy that his efforts to find a Finno-Ugric *ur-language* were meant to prepare the ground for a more substantial historical research that aimed to prove that Hungarians – linguistically insular among their neighbours – were descended from an ancient people who 'ruled the entire territory of today's Russia, from the Black Sea all the way to the northern seas of ice'.[75] The intent was to emphasize to a cross-European audience that the Hungarians – despite being subjected to Habsburg rule – also had ancestors capable of 'great and luminous deeds', because, according to Reguly, 'valor was not the property of only certain nations, every nation in the world can be valiant, if the times demand it'.[76] For Reguly, and especially the Hungarian elites promoting his travels, such a demonstration was crucial when justifying their nation's position within Europe.

Hungarian discourses that aimed to argue for the integration of their nation within the European context of great powers were necessarily contentious and agonistic. Already in the early nineteenth century, Hungarian nation-building elites – like most of their East Central European peers – found themselves in an uphill battle on the 'East–West slope', aiming to escape external descriptions of 'backwardness' and 'barbarism'.[77] Within the idiom of orientalist philology, this inter-European othering was expressed through the unfavourable categorization of the Hungarian language in the philological taxonomies emanating from colonial centres. Philology at the time was premised on the credo that 'language grew and took shape as an outward expression of the innate spirit of a people, nation, or race'.[78] As such, the various language families were associated with separate levels in a 'civilizational' hierarchy. Unsurprisingly, the Western European nations speaking Indo-European languages were declared to possess the attributes of authenticity, creativity, freedom and therefore the capacity for growth and expansion.[79] As this qualification formed the basis for (Western) European self-identification, nations speaking languages outside of the Indo-European group were relegated to inferior 'civilizational' and racial categories.

For instance, in one of the most influential philological taxonomies of the nineteenth century, formulated by Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900), the languages of the Indo-European (or, Aryan) group were classified as being 'state' or 'political' languages. In contrast, the Turanian group – that contained Hungarian along with 'all languages spoken in Asia or Europe not included under the Arian and Semitic families, with the exception perhaps of the Chinese and its dialects' – was defined as 'nomadic'.[80] According to Müller, among the people who spoke these latter languages no 'nucleus of a political, social, or literary character has ever been formed', leaving them with no history, since 'no laws, no songs, no stories outlived the age of their authors'.[81] While Müller's taxonomy projected 'merely' developmental differences between nations, other orientalists of the period conflated language groups with race, rendering the colonial hierarchies fixed.[82]

Faced with such hierarchizing and exclusionary discourses, Hungarian elites incorporated orientalist research into their counterhegemonic efforts to contradict

Western taxonomies. Accordingly, the purpose of studying the 'East', by Reguly and every other traveller-scholar, was to prove that Hungarians did have *laws and songs and stories* that shaped their political and social character and gave them a meaningful (European) history. Emphasizing a great past was also needed for projecting a great national future. Amidst the rising notions of Pan-German and Pan-Slavic unity in East Central Europe, warnings about the vulnerability, and even the disappearance, of the Hungarian language became a recurring trope for Hungarian elites in the early nineteenth century.[83] Such discussions would invoke the prediction of German philosopher and writer, Johann Gottfried von Herder, who wrote in 1791 that Hungarians would disappear in the 'sea of Slavs and Romanians'.[84] Yet, despite the contentious and emancipatory nature of the Hungarian effort to secure integration into the European fold, their political project was articulated according to a form adopted from colonial powers: highlighting one's advanced civilizational level in contradistinction to the 'inferior' status of non-European peoples – even if these peoples were claimed as linguistic relatives.

This Hungarian rhetoric is exemplified in Eötvös's 1863 commemorative speech. According to the future Hungarian Minister of Religion and Education, because the 'cultural and intellectual standing' of the Mansi people studied by Reguly in Siberia has 'hardly changed in the past thousand years', they represented the perfect 'torchlight' illuminating the prehistoric life of ninth-century nomadic Hungarians.[85] In fact, he emphasized just how unique the Finno-Ugric language family was in terms of civilizational hierarchy, because – unlike the Indo-European or African language groups – it contained peoples positioned on vastly different steps of development, from the primordial communities beyond the Urals all the way to the top of the hierarchy: the modern and 'cultured' Hungarians.[86] It bears noting that, as a national liberal, Eötvös conceived of this civilizational hierarchy in terms of social and cultural differences, and not biological and racial ones.

According to Eötvös, one of the primary ways that Hungarians have distinguished and 'elevated' themselves within their hierarchized language family was by reaching a stage where the examination of their common ancient past had become attainable for them. Within this perspective, Reguly's orientalist study of Finno-Ugric languages was seen as proof of modernity and European belonging.[87] Connecting to the exceptionalist discourse of 'fraternal orientalism', Eötvös emphasized that Hungarians had a distinctive advantage in comparison to other European orientalists. Having once been the 'children' of the ancient Finno-Ugric people themselves, they now had unmediated ties to non-European communities in the East. Eötvös summarized the simultaneous uniqueness and superiority of the Hungarian position by praising Reguly in the following way:

> Never before has a European been able to immerse himself so deeply in the customs of primitive people; never before could a man, standing on the very heights of culture, comprehend so wholly the concepts and the worldview of the children of nature.[88]

The framing of Reguly's figure and of his journey by Hungarian elites highlights the recurring role that Hungarian orientalist scholarship came to play in the process of

nation-building and European identity construction. A long line of Hungarian scholars embarked on tiring and perilous journeys to Inner Asia to collect linguistic and ethnographic materials with the aim of clarifying historical links to the 'East'. Their efforts were used to legitimize the origin myths that animated and reproduced the national discourse. Despite the supposedly 'fraternal' microcosmos of the fieldwork – where some of the traveller-scholars adopted temporary positions of equality and occasionally recognized the agency of the local communities, like Reguly had done – within the overall political reception of orientalist projects the contemporary lives and real concerns of non-European peoples were not acknowledged. On the contrary, the Inner Asian peoples under study were presented as passive repositories of data for scholarly hypotheses about proto-languages and used as representatives of the 'primitive' stage in the formation of the modern Hungarian nation. As such, Hungarian Orientalism shared the limitations that, according to Said, characterize all orientalist endeavours, namely the tendency to disregard and essentialize the 'humanity of another culture, people, or geographical region' and to view the 'Orient' as 'something whose existence is not only displayed but has remained fixed in time and place'.[89]

Conclusion

'As we anticipate the publication of Reguly's works', concluded Ferenc Toldy in 1850 on the pages of the album dedicated to the traveller-scholar, 'we can already declare that Hungarians are part of a people which occupies vast geographical areas … and which has, ever since the beginnings of time, featured gloriously in world history by shining a sword of light across half of the known world, shaking both Europe and Asia to their foundations.'[90] Instead of accepting the unflattening taxonomies of Western orientalists like Max Müller and downplaying the Asian origins of Hungarians, Toldy, like most national liberal Hungarian elites of the period, flipped the script of 'othering' emanating from imperial centres. They reacted to negative classifications by depicting their mythical ancestors as equal in strength, glory and civilization to the Indo-European people, bearers of the highest status in hegemonic narratives. Importantly, within this defiant Pan-European act of comparison, civilizational equivalence between the linguistic families was possible thanks to the achievements of the 'most noble branch of this ancient and great peoples' – the Hungarians.[91] Because, according to Toldy, they 'did not only destroy, but build, they did not only conquer, but retain', creating a 'thousand-years-old statehood among the civilized nations, gracing it with all the triumphs culture'.[92]

Throughout the colonial period, orientalist philology was a significant enabler and instrument of European imperialism because through hierarchical classificatory decrees it could serve as a marker of powerful inclusions and, especially, exclusions. Mounting unbridgeable cultural, civilizational and even racial differentiations upon the proposed linguistic categories, Western hegemonic centres intended to exclude from a putative imperial 'in-group' all the non-European world, but also those living on the margins of Europe, like the Hungarians or Finns and even Russians. However, the national elites on the European margins were able to challenge such narratives

of 'othering' because of their ambivalent position within imperial Europe. While subordinated or threatened by the great powers, regions like East Central Europe also shared in and co-produced colonial knowledge and practices. Since Hungarians were the co-creators of European orientalist philology, with a vested interest in studying Inner Asia, national liberal elites could counter exclusionary narratives by utilizing discourses similar to those of Western centres.

Granted, up until the end of the nineteenth century, Hungarian liberal elites deployed a nation-building discourse in which both the internal distinction within the Finno-Ugric language family and the external identification with other European nations was based squarely on civilizational and cultural arguments. Despite Reguly's immersion in the (pseudo)science of craniometry within the Russian Empire, national elites who celebrated his work, did not use a language informed by racialized biology or anthropometry. According to Toldy, the main contribution that distinguished Hungarians from 'all the branches of their kin peoples' and placed them on the 'highest level of humanity' was their act of making 'true freedom available to all who live within their borders regardless of status or class'.[93] Being a clear reference to the liberal political aims of the recently crushed 1848–9 Hungarian Revolution and subsequent War of Independence, Toldy claimed a place for Hungarians within 'civilized' Europe based on the – desired and nearly obtained – institutional and political maturity of his country.

As a 'national science', Hungarian orientalist scholarship was developed, funded and received within the context of the above-described political reaction against Western exclusionary narratives and an emancipatory thrust against the imperial designs of great powers subjugating Hungary. Because of this setting, the field claimed an exceptional position towards Western Orientalism and built its identity on a supposed 'fraternal' relation to the non-European peoples of Inner Asia. Yet, as the analysis of Reguly's journey showed, this self-presentation masked underlying similarities and entanglements with Western imperial centres in terms of how Hungarian orientalist scholarship was produced, expanded and instrumentalized. As demonstrated by Toldy's concluding words, for Hungarian nation-building elites the eventual results of the young traveller-scholar's Siberian research trip were secondary. Reguly's figure and orientalist expedition were put to symbolic use within the agonistic national narratives aiming to integrate Hungary into nineteenth-century Europe. The study of Finno-Ugric kin peoples was needed to prove that Hungarians *too* had a glorious ancient past and, more importantly, that they *too* could demonstrate civilizational distance from and superiority to non-Europeans, the 'noble sons of nature' in Siberia. Looking at Hungarian history through the prism of its orientalist scholarship ultimately shows that the age of empire and the age of liberal nationalism were intimately conjoined on the margins of Europe.

Notes

1. *Reguly-Album* (Pest: Emich Gusztáv Bizománya, 1850), 48. Ferenc Toldy (1805–1875) was a literary historian, dynamic organizer of Hungarian literary life and the secretary of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences from 1835 to 1861. Translations from Hungarian are by the author, unless otherwise indicated.

2. Ibid.
3. The Finno-Ugric languages are a group of languages within the Uralic language family, alongside the Samoyedic languages. The most spoken Finno-Ugric languages are Hungarian, Finnish and Estonian. See Denis Sinor, ed., *The Uralic Languages. Description, History and Foreign Influences*, Hadbuch der Orientalistik, 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1988).
4. Inner Asia, according to Denis Sinor, is the 'central part of the Eurasian continent'. Denis Sinor, ed., *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 2.
5. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003).
6. Kristín Loftsdóttir, 'Colonialism at the Margins: Politics of Difference in Europe as Seen through Two Icelandic Crises', *Identities* 19, no. 5 (2012): 597–617; Kirsten Alsaker Kjerland and Björn Enge Bertelsen, eds, *Navigating Colonial Orders: Norwegian Entrepreneurship in Africa and Oceania* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015); Barbara Lüthi, Francesca Falk and Patricia Purtschert, 'Colonialism without Colonies: Examining Blank Spaces in Colonial Studies', *National Identities* 18, no. 1 (2016): 1–9; Gunlög Fur, 'Colonial Fantasies American Indians, Indigenous Peoples, and a Swedish Discourse of Innocence', *National Identities* 18, no. 1 (2016): 11–33.
7. See Ulla Vuorela, 'Colonial Complicity: The "Postcolonial" in a Nordic Context', in *Complying with Colonialism: Gender, Race and Ethnicity in the Nordic Region*, ed. Suvi Keskinen, Salla Tuori, Sara Irni and Diana Mulinari (Abingdon: Ashgate, 2009), 48–74; Matthew Rampley, 'Decolonizing Central Europe: Czech Art and the Question of "Colonial Innocence"', *Visual Resources* 37, no. 1 (2021): 2–30.
8. On the Austro-Hungarian colonial rule in Bosnia and the Balkans, see Robin Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism: The Habsburg Civilizing Mission in Bosnia 1878–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Krisztián Csaplár-Degovics, *'Nekünk nincsenek gyarmataink és hódítási szándékaink'. Magyar részvétel a Monarchia gyarmatosítási törekvéseiben a Balkánon (1867–1914)* ('We Do Not Have Colonies nor Colonizing Intentions'. Hungarian Participation in the Colonial Efforts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in the Balkans, 1867–1914) (Budapest: Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, 2022).
9. There is a growing interest in this topic; e.g., Markéta Křížová and Jitka Malečková, eds, *Central Europe and the Non-European World in the Long 19th Century* (Berlin: Frank & Timme GmbH, 2022). On Poland, see Piotr Puchalski, *Poland in a Colonial World Order: Adjustments and Aspirations, 1918–1939* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022); Siegfried Huigen and Dorota Kołodziejczyk, eds, *East Central Europe between the Colonial and the Postcolonial in the Twentieth Century* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023).
10. James Mark and Paul Betts, 'Introduction', in *Socialism Goes Global: The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the Age of Decolonization*, ed. James Mark, Paul Betts, Alena Alamgir, Péter Apor, Eric Burton, Bogdan C. Iacob, Steffi Marung and Radina Vučetić (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 11.
11. Said, *Orientalism*, 12.
12. Ibid., 133.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., 22.
15. For example, the study of 'genetic relations' between grammatical systems emerged from the works of Hungarian and Finnish linguists aiming to demonstrate the underlying correspondences between Finno-Ugric languages. See Zsuzsa Vladár,

'Sajnovics's Demonstratio and Gyarmathi's Affinitas: Terminology and Methodology', *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 55, nos. 1–2 (2008): 145–81.

16. For the defense of Russian orientalist scholarship, see David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, *Russian Orientalism: Asia in the Russian Mind from Peter the Great to the Emigration* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010). For a more critical overview, see Artemy M. Kalinovsky and Michael Kemper, eds, *Reassessing Orientalism: Interlocking Orientologies during the Cold War* (London: Routledge, 2015).
17. Vera Tolz, 'The Eurasians and Liberal Scholarship of the Late Imperial Period: Continuity and Change across the 1917 Divide', in *Between Europe and Asia: The Origins, Theories, and Legacies of Russian Eurasianism*, ed. Marlene Laruelle, Sergey Glebov and Mark Bassin (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015), 46.
18. Olga Maiorova, 'A Revolutionary and the Empire: Alexander Herzen and Russian Discourse on Asia', in *Between Europe and Asia*, 13–26.
19. See László Kontler, 'The Lappon, the Scythian and the Hungarian, or Our (Former) Selves as "Others". Philosophical History in Eighteenth-Century Hungary', in *Encountering Otherness: Diversities and Transcultural Experiences in Early Modern European Culture*, ed. Guido Abbattista (Trieste: Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2011), 131–45.
20. Quoted in Lilla Russell-Smith, 'Hungarian Explorers in Dunhuang', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 10, no. 3 (2000): 350.
21. Marindella Filipcsei, 'A magyar orientalisztikáról' (On Hungarian Oriental Studies), *Ezredvég* 7, no 7. (1997): 45–53.
22. Ibid.
23. András Róna-Tas, 'Hungary and the Exploration of Central Asia', *New Hungarian Quarterly* 29, no. 111 (1988): 7.
24. See, e.g., Zoltán Gombocz's *Die bulgarisch-türkischen Lehnwörter in der ungarischen Sprache* (Helsinki: Société finno-ougrienne, 1912), or Gyula Németh's *Türkische Grammatik* (Berlin: G. J. Göschen, 1917).
25. On Kőrösi's ties to the British Empire, see Donald S. Lopez, Jr, *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism under Colonialism* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1995), esp. 256–9. For a 'defense' of Kőrösi, see Imre Bangha, 'British Agent? Unwashed Eccentric? The Hungarian Traveller in Bengal and the Postcolonial Image of Csoma in the West', in *Kőrösi Csoma Sándor: Jelek térben és időben* (Sándor Csoma Kőrösi: Signs in Space and Time), ed. József Gazda and Etelka Szabó (Kovászna: Kőrösi Csoma Sándor Közművelődési Egyesület, 2009), 25–35.
26. See his *Essay towards a Dictionary, Tibetan and English* (1834) and *A Grammar of the Tibetan Language in English* (1834).
27. See David Mandler, *Arminius Vambéry and the British Empire: Between East and West* (London: Lexington Books, 2016).
28. See László Rásonyi, *A magyar keletkutatás orosz kapcsolatai* (Russian Connections of Hungarian Oriental Studies) (Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtárának kiadványai 26, 1962).
29. On Munkácsi, see István Kozmács, *The Life of Bernát Munkácsi* (n.p.: Hungarian National Organization of the World Congress of Finno-Ugric Peoples, 2011). For Pápai, see his 'Jelentés észak-szibériai utamról' (Report on My Journey to North Siberia), *Földrajzi Közlemények* 17 (1889): 422–6.
30. On Zichy, see Balázs Bányai and Eleonóra Kovács, eds, *A 'Zichy-expedíció'* (The Zichy Expedition) (Székesfehérvár: Szent István Király Múzeum, 2013).

31. See János Jankó, *Utazás Osztjákföldre* (Journey to the Land of the Khanty) (Budapest: Budapest Néprajzi Múzeum, [1898] 2000).
32. See Joannes Sajnovics, *Demonstratio. Idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum Idem Esse* (1770), and Sámuel Gyarmathi, *Affinitas linguae Hungaricae cum linguis fennicae originis grammatica demonstrata* (1799).
33. See Eszter Ruttkay-Miklián, 'Antal Reguly's Data on the Ural Nenets', *Etnografia* 2 (2018): 84–108.
34. Reguly donated six boxes to the Academy, including his manuscripts and ethnographic collection. These are currently held in the Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books of the Library and Information Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. See Eszter Ruttkay-Miklián, 'A hét lakattal lezárt ládák. Miből is áll a Reguly-hagyaték?' (Crates with Seven Padlocks: Exploring the Reguly Collections), *Földrajzi Múzeumi Tanulmányok* 21 (2022): 88–98.
35. For scholarly discussion of Reguly's legacy, see Enikő Szíj, *Reguly és a tudomány 'zománcza'. Életrajzi és kortörténeti adalékok* (Reguly and the 'Glaze' of Scholarship: Contributions to His Biography and Historical Context) (Budapest: Finnugor Népek Világkongresszusa Magyar Nemzeti Szervezete, 2013).
36. Miklós Zsirai, *Finnugor rokonságunk* (Our Finno-Ugric Kinship) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1937), 520.
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38. See Sirkka Saarinen, 'The Myth of a Finno-Ugrian Community in Practice', *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity* 29, no. 1 (2001): 41–52.
39. József Eötvös, 'Reguly emlékezete' (Commemorating Reguly), *Budapesti Szemle* 18 (1863): 75. József Eötvös (1813–1871) was a writer and one of the leading national liberal statesmen of nineteenth-century Hungary. In 1866, he was elected president of the Hungarian Academy. After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, he became the minister of religion and education.
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50. *Reguly-Album*, 65–6.
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9

Collections of a rural empire: Museums, colonial ethnography and the European countryside

Corinne Geering

'Those who live in cultured centres … can easily arrive at forgetting that millions of women in Europe still lead their lives far away from all – or almost all – blessings of civilization, in primitive simplicity. One does not have to travel far to find them.'[1] These were the opening lines of an article published in the Austro-Hungarian women's magazine *Blatt der Hausfrau* in 1903. The text described the textile crafts performed by rural women in the eastern parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the southern Russian Empire. During the preceding decades, this region had been framed, repeatedly in the German-language press, as a place on the verge of Europeanness. The writer Karl Emil Franzos (1848–1904) referred to this region as 'Half-Asia' in the 1870s, in a travelogue describing his journey from Vienna, the capital of the Habsburg Empire, to the town of Chernivtsi/Czernowitz/Cernăuți in the crown land Bukovina.[2] The view of the Carpathian mountain huts, in the neighbouring crown land Galicia, reminded another traveller of the 'African Village' he had visited in 1896 at the German Colonial Exhibition in Berlin.[3] These are three examples, from the late imperial period, that highlight how the notion of civilization and the practice of the civilizing mission shaped the popular image of Europe's rural margins.[4]

Higher travel opportunities produced a large body of literature ranging from travelogues and press features to ethnographic accounts describing the natural environment, local social relations and the oral and material culture of Europe's margins. They show that the countryside was embedded in a history of imperial domination and colonialism extending beyond the European continent. As indicated by the three examples mentioned above, this also involved comparative perspectives and cross-regional transfers and exchanges of ideas portraying the countryside as the orientalist and colonial Other across the globe.[5] These transfers and exchanges also involved tangible objects that travellers brought back with them to Europe's metropolises. While some travelled overseas, other collectors rummaged households and markets in the European countryside for objects deemed representative of local traditions. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, together they acquired a large number of objects produced by the local population, sometimes through dubious methods and often by relying on intermediaries familiar with the rural surroundings. These objects were then donated or sold to one of the many museums in the imperial

metropolises. Here they were displayed for the public in a shared setting with objects from all over the world.

This chapter departs from these ethnographic collections that were formed by practices of exploration, conquest and colonial domination both in Europe and overseas. During the last decade, museum collections have been a major focus in debates on Europe's colonial past and the related efforts to decolonize educational and cultural institutions. This has led to an upsurge of provenance research in institutions, with colonial collections and curatorial projects, seeking to apply decolonial methods.[6] In many instances, these initiatives have been directed at collections whose layouts today differ substantially from those at the time of their acquisition. Many dedicated museums, for ethnographic objects from Asia, Africa, the Americas and Oceania, were established after 1900 or in the decades following the Second World War. These institutions complemented the metropolitan museum landscape that featured other collections dedicated to folklore from European regions, and thus cemented a clear distinction between the continent and its colonies. This historical trajectory is probably the reason why many discussions on the colonial history of ethnographic collections focus on Europe as the recipient of objects rather than as a site of acquisition. The European countryside often does not appear in the history of colonialism; it focuses on urban locations like ports, offices of state institutions and venues of congresses where the exploitative endeavour, taking place in environments outside Europe, was coordinated. Even studies on colonial history, with a focus on the European countryside, discuss, for instance, the local 'Black presence' linked to the history of slavery[7] and hardly touch the structural connections and intertwined processes of imperial practice directed towards Europe's rural margins.[8]

In the nineteenth century, many museum collections included objects from rural Europe and overseas colonial territories. This chapter seeks to bring together the practices of collecting in the rural margins within Europe with those in other regions of the world. By shedding light on the role of rural Europe, as the object of colonial ethnography, this discussion enquires into the structures and collaborations that constructed marginalities, within Europe, and thus reproduced the relationship between centre and colony on the continent. Based on correspondence, reports and exhibition catalogues, this chapter provides insight into the imperial history of ethnographic collections from different rural regions across Europe. It focuses on continental imperial states such as the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires, which are often – and misleadingly – considered a separate category from maritime empires with overseas colonial territories like the British, Dutch or French Empires.[9] The implied distinction between continental and maritime empires has obscured the way colonial ethnography shaped the perspectives of imperial elites about the rural margins ranging from the Celtic fringe to the Arctic, the Alps, the Carpathians and the Balkans. Against this background, and in order to emphasize the connections across the continent, the hinterlands in the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires are not framed here as distinct subregions. Instead, they are discussed as part of a rural space across the European empires that evoked orientalist and colonial imagery as illustrated by the examples cited in the beginning.

This co-production of the European countryside together with the colonial Other will be traced in this chapter in three parts. The first section outlines the emergence of ethnographic collections in Europe, since the sixteenth century, and discusses the role of public museums in the imperial state. It then turns to the fast-evolving global market for ethnographica and the sale of objects from rural Europe. It will become evident that they were integrated with the same museum institutions housing objects from overseas territories in cities across the continent ranging from Paris to Vienna, Prague, Stockholm and Moscow. Finally, the third section of this chapter turns to the imperial and colonial networks that collected rural material culture in Europe. The particular focus is on the role of intermediaries, employed by the imperial state, such as teachers, members of the army and traders who have received increasing attention in scholarship dealing with the history of colonial ethnography outside Europe. Thus, by bringing together approaches to ethnographic objects, from within the continental empires and the overseas colonies, this chapter argues for a recentring of the rural margins and, thus, a reconsideration of the place of Europe in ethnographic collections.

Ethnographic collections

Already in the sixteenth century, items of dress and other objects had been collected as visual evidence of the existence of 'exotic' peoples living outside Europe.[10] These practices fell into a general trend of acquiring so-called curiosities, including taxidermy animals, minerals, wet specimens, crafted objects and portraits of humans with injuries and disabilities. These selected and exceptional specimens were then displayed in dedicated cabinets in noble homes. One of the earliest collections of this kind was the Chamber of Art and Wonders (*Kunst- und Wunderkammer*) at Ambras Castle in Innsbruck set up by the princely sovereign of Tyrol as early as the 1570s. In the following years, the collection became a popular destination for those travelling through the county in the Alps. The arrangement of displays was characterized by opulence and the written accounts boasted about the size of the collections. They comprised wooden and stone specimens as well as animals that most visitors saw for the first time: among them were an aurochs, a crocodile, corals and even wondrous objects like 'rare horns of unicorns'.[11] A range of skilfully crafted objects complemented this natural history collection; among other things, the visitors were shown a clockwork in the shape of a Venetian gondola, with small moving figurines and ornamented muslin cloths from India, wrought with golden and silver embroidery.[12] The high value of these objects underlines their primary function as status symbols that were displayed in cabinets, in the early modern noble home, alongside portrait galleries and expensive fitments. The specimens were also used for study, but the collection lacked clear systematization. This reflected the early modern polymath's universal approach to the natural and cultural environments.

The display of collections assumed new functions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when public museum institutions were established. The museum emerged as an institution of power that was used, along with maps and census, by the European

colonial state to imagine and showcase its dominion. The transfer of objects, from private homes to public displays, inscribed new meanings into the items that were then visually conveyed to the local citizens visiting the museum.[13] Drawing on Michel Foucault's concept of discipline, the historian Graeme Davison likened the function of exhibitions to those of asylums, schools and prisons. While the panopticon ensured general surveillance, as Davison explains, the glass displays in exhibitions were 'designed so that everyone could see'.[14] This put the urban audience in the privileged position of observers whereas the producers of displayed specimens were rendered as passive objects of study. Further, the spatial organization of displays reflected the colonial state's classificatory grid, which could be applied to anything under the state's control in a particular territory.[15] Objects were, thus, rendered territorially bound and, in this context, ethnographic objects were presented as innate to particular places similar to fossils, minerals and other natural specimens. The territorial boundedness of culture was a central component of the knowledge, disseminated by the museum, through visual means at the intersection of new academic disciplines including anthropology, archaeology, statistics and linguistics.[16]

Museums were not disinterested repositories of cultural property but part of the colonial state's infrastructure. Until the nineteenth century, public museums had very restricted capacity and the intellectual elites, visiting museums, even had to submit a written application beforehand.[17] The target audience of museums in the European empires mainly comprised professionals, like diplomats, traders, administrators, members of the army and missionaries, who were trained by the state for service abroad. This function can be illustrated by one of the earliest ethnographic museums, the present-day National Museum of Ethnology (Museum Volkenkunde) in Leiden, which was established in 1837 based on collections obtained in Japan. Its founder, Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796–1862), had served there as a physician and a ship's surgeon for the Dutch East Indies Army. He returned to the Netherlands after he had been expelled from Japan for illicit trafficking in 1829. Back in Europe, he articulated his vision of ethnographic museums in the colonial state in a letter addressed to a colleague who acted as curator of the map collections at the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris.[18] Reflecting on recent European expeditions and the knowledge they generated, Siebold considered ethnographic collections to be the main educational facility for those preparing to depart to colonial territories or foreign countries with a mission to establish relations with the local population. In the museum, missionaries could learn about local customs, officers would acquire knowledge on the weapons used for defence by the indigenous population, and merchants were presented with an overview of local resources and industries. Given the economic interests underlying the state's ventures abroad, Siebold expressed the idea that ethnographic collections profited from resembling industrial exhibitions; new consumer goods would attract the public's attention and European factories would be provided with new inspiration for their production.[19]

The promotion of international trade relations was one of the main sources of the establishment of ethnographic collections across the European continent. In many cities, industrial exhibitions set the scene for trade organizations, industrialists, members of the nobility and learned voluntary societies to compile large displays

of objects that could then be transferred to newly established permanent museum institutions subsidized by the state. For instance, the Antwerp International Exhibition of 1885 led to the founding of a commercial, industrial and ethnographical museum in the city that exhibited Portuguese wines, fancy wares from Turkey and samples of natural products obtained from the Colonial Exhibition held in London in 1886.[20] More ethnographic museums were established during the 1890s in the aftermath of colonial exhibitions in Bremen, Berlin and Brussels, among others.[21] Industrial exhibitions were large-scale public events with their grounds designed in such a way that the visitors could *see* the production of the entire world. The bigger part of society encountered ethnographic displays on these exhibition grounds, rather than in the museums to which they would be transferred afterwards. Moreover, metropolitan nodes of global trade networks also provided access to the growing market of ethnographic objects for local trade institutions and merchants.[22] A spectacular mixture of national displays, artificial villages and performances connected places from the metropolitan hinterlands, the Celtic fringe, the Arctic, the Alps and the Balkans with the overseas colonies of the European empires.

Colonial ethnography in Europe

The presentation of ethnographic objects, in the European museum landscape today, is quite different from the imperial settings described so far. The current situation is characterized by a clear institutional separation of museums dedicated to ethnographic objects from Europe primarily from the respective state and its bordering regions and, on the other hand, to those from other world regions. For this reason, two separate ethnographic museums can be found in several cities across Europe: prominent examples are Prague's Ethnographic Museum of the National Museum and the Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures; Paris has been home to the Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires[23] and the Musée de l'Homme; Vienna boasts of the Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art and the Museum of Ethnology (Museum für Völkerkunde, known today as Weltmuseum); and finally, Stockholm's Nordic Museum and the Ethnographic Museum, which is part of the National Museums of World Culture. However, in contrast to what appears as clearly delineated spatial responsibilities, the histories of these institutions are much more interconnected. What later was to become dedicated but separated ethnographic museums of either Europe or overseas regions were built based on collections that had been kept in other types of institutions before. This included national and provincial museums and, in particular, museums of industry and trade and museums of natural history. Therefore, when these collections were established in the nineteenth century, their objects were either embedded in the context of the empire's economy or ordered along the nature–culture divide as per the colonial understanding of civilization.

The history of the museums in Prague and Paris reveals that ethnographic collections from Europe were often only separated from those outside Europe in the early twentieth century during institutional reorganization. The predecessor of today's Náprstek Museum, in Prague, was the Bohemian Museum of Industry, founded in 1874,

which displayed new technical tools from the world's fairs together with ethnographic objects from expeditions worldwide and a rural textiles collection titled 'Works of our mothers' (*Práce našich matek*). When the Czechoslovak Republic was established after the First World War, the collections of the Náprstek Museum were reorganized. The museum now housed only the ethnographic objects from outside Europe while its collections from rural Europe were transferred to the Ethnographic Museum in the city. This consolidation reflected the interwar nation-building efforts and, at the same time, the novel layout of the Náprstek Museum revealed the imperial ambitions, in their own right, enacted by the Czechoslovak state.[24] These changes formed part of an increasing European interest in 'folk art', which culminated in the organization of the Congress of Folk Arts and Folklore in Prague, in 1928, under the auspices of the League of Nations committee.

This overall trend could also be felt in the metropolis of Paris where the two ethnographic museums showed a similar trajectory to Prague. Both institutions go back to the Ethnographic Museum of Scientific Expeditions (usually known as Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro named after its location), which included ethnographic objects from France and overseas. It was established by the Ministry of Public Education after the Parisian world's fair in 1878. In the 1920s, the Trocadéro Museum was first associated with the city's Natural History Museum, and then it was divided into two institutions that separated the French folklore from the collection to devote more exhibition space to the French colonial territories.[25] This was deemed necessary because of the growing network of similar institutions in other European and North American cities from which the Parisian museum received an ever-increasing number of ethnographic objects. At the same time, they competed with them in showcasing the riches of the colonial empire, and the museum directors were eager to restore the place of their collections 'among the civilized peoples'.[26] Consequently, in 1937, two new museums were opened in the French capital, again in connection with the world's fair of that year. One museum showed exhibits from rural France and the other institution, the Musée de l'Homme, displayed those from other world regions.

The two 'world museums' in Stockholm and Vienna further underline the entangled history of ethnographic collections across the European continent. They were established as independent institutions in 1900 and 1928, respectively, based on collections that had been earlier accumulated by the imperial natural history museums in the two cities. Part of their collections even shared the same provenance history since ethnographic objects brought to Europe from expeditions were often dispersed in different museums across the continent. For instance, the collections from James Cook's expeditions to the Pacific were handed to the two natural history museums in Stockholm and Vienna and other museums in London, Dublin, Berne and Göttingen.[27] This kind of provenance complicates historiography that departs from the logic of individual museums instead of the global market that evolved for such objects in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. When the two dedicated ethnographic museums were established in Stockholm and Vienna after 1900, the objects from the natural history museums were transferred to these new institutions, thus dramatically changing the context of their display. In these new settings, they now provided a crucial counterpoint to 'folklore' from Europe displayed in separate institutions, even

though specimens from overseas and the continent's margins had been part of the same collections before.

The collections reveal that the practice of ethnography shared commonalities, across Europe, in empires both with and without overseas colonies. Therefore, what is here referred to as colonial ethnography can be equally observed in the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires in the colonial-style treatment of culture encountered in the imperial margins.[28] In recent decades, scholarship has shown the parallel development of public interest in Austria-Hungary, in the folk culture within the empire and folk culture in Africa, the Americas and Oceania. The residents of villages in Austria-Hungary, in remote locations far from the expanding railway networks and large industries, were perceived as an exotic 'other' that was depicted in images following orientalist models.[29] The practices of the Austro-Hungarian state have been described as 'internal colonialism' (*Binnenkolonialismus*), in particular, in its resource peripheries like Galicia, Bukovina and Transylvania or the annexed territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.[30] In this context, local landowners and travellers described the peasantry in terms used in other publications about indigenous people living in overseas colonial territories and anthropologists, practising the measuring of skulls, engaged in fieldwork in the European margins as well as in the South Pacific.[31] Due to its shared interest in documenting rural culture, some biographies even combined both emerging disciplines of *Volkskunde* (folklore studies) and *Völkerkunde* (ethnology). For example, the founding director of the Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art (Österreichisches Museum für Volkskunde), Michael Haberlandt (1860–1940), was a trained indologist. His biography exemplifies the entangled history of the Viennese ethnographic collections. Haberlandt had worked as a curator in the anthropological-ethnographic department of the Natural History Museum in Vienna before founding the ethnographic museum and dedicating himself to the promotion of folk culture from the rural regions within Austria-Hungary. Such overlaps raise the question of how the museum institutions framed the setting in which it integrated objects from the continent alongside those from colonized territories overseas.

These examples indicate that the museums did not operate within the clear-cut territorial notion of Europe. Rural regions, within the empire, could even appear to the imperial traveller as more distant than overseas territories. For instance, it was faster to travel by sea from London to the Arkhangelsk region, located on the banks of the White Sea, in comparison to taking the land route from Moscow, although the linear distance of the sea route was almost three times larger.[32] This experience of space also translated into what ethnographic divisions considered as belonging to the displays of the empire, and this could comprise vast spaces. For example, the Rumiantsev Museum in Moscow, a public display of Count Rumiantsev's collections, housed ethnographic artefacts from Alaska, Japan and the Pacific Ocean, which had been handed over to the museum by imperial expeditions. Among these objects were masks from the Tlingit, the indigenous peoples of the Pacific Northwest Coast of America, that had been a Russian colonial possession until 1867. Given the Russian colonial activities, a description of the museum collections later remarked that these objects, obtained from North America, were 'not foreign to Russia'.[33] This description reflected the understanding of colonized people forming part of the imperial dominion

although they were demarcated from the group of 'Europeans' in Russia through the legal term *inorodtsy* (literally: of different descent). This term had been introduced to refer to the indigenous people living in the colonized territories acquired during the eastward expansion since the sixteenth century.[34] Such examples underline the expansive nature of European states that conceived of themselves as global entities. In the case of the museum in Moscow as well as those in Leiden and Paris, mentioned earlier, the exhibitions showcased overseas colonial territories in the newly established museums not as a distinct space but as a part of the empire.

Collectors in the margins

The history of ethnographic museum collections marks these spaces as connected repositories across the European continent. Museums in diverse cities, until today, share objects of the same provenance, as travellers sold objects to various traders and institutions upon their return to the European metropolises. As a result, collections emerged as nodes in vast networks of people acquiring objects, in different locations throughout the world, both in and outside Europe. Accounts written by collectors reveal that the acquisition of objects, in the continental empires and the colonized territories overseas, was more than a coincidence but rather a reflection of imperial institutional structures and personal intentions. Some memoirs even attest to the deliberate search for commonalities between folk motifs in the empire's margins in Europe and those in other world regions to position one's own culture in a world dominated by imperial powers.[35] By focusing on collectors' networks, the intersection of ethnographic displays, stemming from both outside Europe and the empire's rural margins, becomes evident. This then connects institutional settings like an agricultural museum and a zoological garden – as the example from Warsaw in Russian Poland demonstrates below – although they are usually discussed in the research literature as part of the distinct realms of European history or global colonialism.

The Ethnographic Museum in Warsaw was founded after two like-minded men crossed paths in the early 1890s. 'One experienced the secrets of Black peoples in distant Africa, the other studied the history of the White people in his own country', a Polish-language illustrated journal described the encounter of the two collectors shortly after the opening of the new museum.[36] While this account stressed a racialized difference between Africa and Europe, the institutional setting it depicted brought together ethnographic objects from both continents. The latter of the two belonged to a group of Warsaw-based ethnographers who had organized an exhibition of rural folklore from the empire's margins in the Warsaw zoological garden.[37] This exhibit featured mannequins dressed in folk costumes, products made of wood and clay, toys, musical instruments and further objects from various regions around Warsaw (see Figure 9.1).[38]

Their collaborator, mentioned in the journal, was the traveller Leopold Janikowski (1855–1942) who later claimed in his memoirs that the objects he had collected in Africa indeed set the basis for the museum in Warsaw specializing in Polish folklore. He belonged to a group of young Polish-speaking men who took part in a research

Figure 9.1 Museum of Industry and Agriculture ethnographic exposition, 1905.

Source: National Museum in Warsaw.

expedition to Cameroon in 1882–6 where they cooperated with the British colonizers and fantasized about Polish colonies in Africa.[39] During the expedition, Janikowski started collecting ethnographic materials that he shipped in several boxes to Moscow. They were probably intended for the Rumiantsev Museum.[40] Funded with private means, he went back to the Western coast of Africa in 1887 to collect more ethnographic materials that he planned to contribute to the state museum in Warsaw. According to his own account, Janikowski's expedition was not well received by locals; he was robbed multiple times and his house burnt down, which he suspected to be the result of arson.[41] When he returned to Warsaw in December 1889, he brought with him around 1,300 items and gave public lectures on Africa. The objects, from his expedition, were combined with the rural folklore from the zoological garden to form a small permanent exhibition in the Museum of Industry and Agriculture (Muzeum Przemysłu i Rolnictwa) that was opened to the public in 1896 (see Figure 9.2). The further development of the collection resembled those in Prague, Vienna and Paris that were mentioned earlier in this chapter. Upon the establishment of the Second Polish Republic in 1918, the ethnographic objects were separated from the museum, which paved the way for what became the city's Ethnographic Museum.[42]

The public in Warsaw appeared to readily accept the combination of the two displays. The visitors of Janikowski's ethnographic exhibition perceived similarities between the

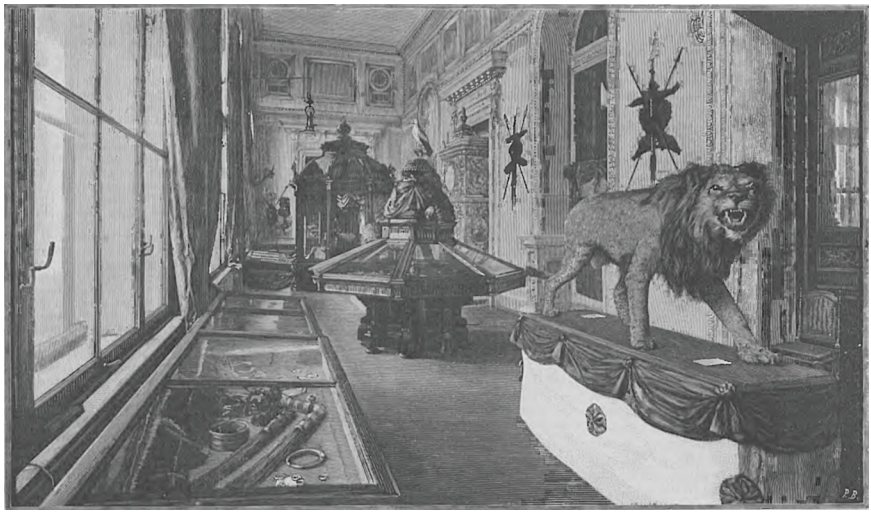

Figure 9.2 'Ethnographic exhibition of Leopold Janikowski's collections in the Museum of Industry and Agriculture'.

Source: Reproduced from Zygmunt Wasilewski, 'Wystawa etnograficzna środkowej Afryki. Ze zbiorów Leopolda Janikowskiego'. *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, 8 November 1890, 300.

objects he had brought from West Africa to those from the European rural margins. The event was discussed in the press and attracted the interest of imperial dignitaries including the governor of the Russian partition of Poland. When the governor's wife visited the museum, Janikowski engaged in a long conversation with her and she remarked on the resemblance of the African textile patterns to Ukrainian ones.[43] In an article on the exhibition, the author in the illustrated weekly magazine *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* shared this impression and noted that there was virtually no difference between the looms from Africa to those of 'our peasants' that could be seen in the ethnographic display in the zoological garden.[44] Such accounts underline the impressions of the European countryside as 'far away from civilization' and oscillating between Europe and Asia or Europe and Africa in the travelogues cited at the beginning of this chapter. Therefore, the comparison made between the objects of local peasants to those from other world regions can be considered as more than a spontaneous statement or a side note. They rather point to a shared understanding of rural material culture in what urban elites perceived as faraway places and 'exotic' people. On the other hand, this positioned the city of Warsaw as an imperial node from which the civilizing mission went out both to nearby rural locations and to other continents.

The discussion of colonial ethnography, in the second section of this chapter, has highlighted that museum institutions relied on a dense network of intermediaries that were often employed by the expanding imperial institutions such as the military, administration and trade. The collection of ethnographic objects in Europe was not different in this respect; it was the local elites and dispatched professionals who facilitated the process of locating suitable objects and finalizing their transactions.

Following the introduction of mandatory education for children and vocational education, the expanding school networks required an increasing number of teachers across the empires. In the various locations, teachers became part of a small rural intelligentsia that had hitherto comprised mainly of clerics and physicians. They were tasked by the state to educate people in the empire's margins, while at the same time transmitting ethnographic knowledge back to the centre. Therefore, in many places, teachers engaged as lay researchers in newly established public associations for natural sciences, archaeology, history or ethnography. They had usually arrived in the countryside, coming from the imperial urban centres, and since they were not well acquainted with the local environments, they entrusted local people with guiding them within their sphere of influence. The recollections of some ethnographers point to their awareness that this was indeed not an equal relationship. For example, a biology teacher in rural Moravia reflected, in his reminiscences, about his former students whom he had instructed to survey folk costumes in the rural vicinities according to a taxonomic outline he had provided. In the meantime, the students had grown up to become doctors and lawyers. If they were now presented with these drawings, the teacher mused, they would surely laugh at them, which contrasted the value these documents held for his research.[45]

Such self-reflexive passages reveal the different values that were ascribed to rural culture by the ethnographer and the local population. The perspectives of rural producers and owners often differed from those of collectors coming from the imperial metropolises. Thus, many reports describing the process of collecting ethnographic objects feature instances where tensions erupted over the interpretation and, ultimately, the use of objects. When Natalie Bruck-Auffenberg (1854–1918), a Vienna-based ethnographer, visited Dalmatia to collect specimens of laces and other textiles, she recorded several encounters with locals where her interpretation of objects differed from her interlocutor's perspective. When she requested to see local specimens from the island of Pago/Pag, she regularly received astonished answers that she would surely not be interested in the objects to be found there. She was assured by the priest, the mayor and the nuns of the local monastery that there were no laces to be found in the rural vicinities. Upon further enquiries by the ethnographer, it turned out that they did not deem the local specimens to be suitable for her acquisition.[46] Bruck-Auffenberg noted that the patterns were understood to possess magical powers with which the female owners and wearers of textiles could enamour a man or curse an enemy. Since the lace specimens were intimate objects, she regularly experienced suggestive laughter, shame and refusal to see the textiles. Moreover, many of the pieces that she did manage to acquire were covered with blood stains that were made to protect from misfortune and punishment that the person expected to receive for selling the item. It took Bruck-Auffenberg several weeks if not months and 'the counter-spell' of her photographic camera to convince some of the rural residents in Dalmatia to sell textiles to her.[47]

Such encounters contradict the often-cited purpose of ethnographic collections in what has been called 'rescue anthropology', aiming to document cultures before they were lost through assimilation to a dominant industrial society. Instead, the source material points toward a pattern of exploitation and extraction known from the collection practices in colonial settings overseas. Objects used by the rural population,

for private rituals, had assumed an increasing market value that rendered it an attractive commodity actively sought after by the ethnographers. For instance, the objective of Bruck-Auffenberg's ethnographic enquiries was indeed not preservation; they were directed towards processing and, ultimately, commodifying the rural designs. The textiles she had collected were later displayed at an ethnographic exhibition in Vienna where students from the imperial lace schools could copy and produce them for international sale.

Given this economic interest, the acquisition of objects for museums in the rural margins also entailed improper methods when producers of textiles refused to sell their items. Alois Riegl (1858–1905), director of the textile department at the Austrian Museum for Art and Industry, described the pressure he and other collectors exerted on producers of carpets and textiles in the crown land Bukovina. He cautioned that those carpets for sale at local markets were generally not obtained by the merchants in a voluntary transaction from the rural population. The producers were often forced and pressured into a sale, as the buyers took advantage of what Riegl called the rural population's naiveté and shiftlessness. Other traders exploited personal circumstances of financial hardship to convince the peasant artisan to sell a well-loved carpet or blouse for a knocked-down price.[48] Nevertheless, his awareness of these circumstances did not keep Riegl from acquiring several specimens for an exhibition of Bukovina home industries held in Vienna. To collectors, the reluctance of the rural population to sell items presented itself as a business disruption. Therefore, the many cases of ethnographic writings, describing exploitative methods in the acquisition of objects, point to a well-developed system catering to the demands of the imperial museums and exhibitions. They also reveal the violent history of ethnographic museum collections stemming from rural Europe that exhibited commonalities with those addressed in ongoing provenance research looking into Europe's overseas colonial history.

Conclusion

Ethnographic museums relied on an imperial network of collectors who acquired objects from the countryside across the world and brought them to the urban imperial centres in Europe. This chapter has discussed collections from institutions spanning the French, Dutch, Swedish and, in particular, the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires, where objects from colonial territories outside Europe were integrated within the same repositories alongside those from the rural continental margins. The history of these museum institutions highlights the role of the imperial infrastructure in shaping ethnographic collections both from colonies and the European countryside. Ethnographic objects were used for preparing colonial personnel for service abroad or for providing designs for new consumer goods that were produced by manufacturers based in the metropolises. The initiatives leading to the foundation of ethnographic museums in Antwerp, Berlin and Brussels in the late nineteenth century further underline the importance of industrial exhibitions and international trade relations. The global expeditions, supplying these new museum institutions in the Dutch, German and Belgian Empires, distributed objects to various museums at the same time

and, thus, connected collections in different cities across Europe. This also included institutions in the so-called continental empires like Austria-Hungary and Russia. The perceived lack of overseas colonial territories did not prevent them from participating in the colonial structures of trade, retrieval of resources and knowledge production shared by the European colonial empires.[49]

By building on cross-continental structures of colonialism, this chapter has revealed the production of the European countryside as a marginal space alongside the colonized Other represented by objects acquired in other world regions. The discussion focused on ethnographic approaches to territories located in the countryside on the European continent that spanned several empires. It showed the importance of zooming in on the processes of collection and transfer in marginal locations, instead of presuming the fixed institutional setting of the museum in the urban environment.[50] Such a shift in focus helps to understand how ethnographic objects were charged with new meanings in the context of imperial science, trade and entertainment and thus integrated into settings alongside collections from overseas. These processes aimed to frame these objects as part of the imperial culture, which took different forms across the continent. For one, the Rumiantsev Museum in Moscow showed how the Russian imperial expansion manifested similarities to other colonial empires in Europe. The museum appropriated objects made by Native Americans living on the Pacific Northwest Coast of America, a former Russian colony, as belonging to the empire. In Warsaw, the ethnographic exhibition in the Museum of Industry and Agriculture demonstrated the connection between Polish colonial expeditions, the local milieu of ethnographers and institutions like the zoological garden in staging materials from Africa in a similar fashion to those from peasants living close by. And finally, in the Austrian crown lands Dalmatia and Bukovina, the collection of textiles revealed the violence, pressure and destitution involved in the processes of acquiring ethnographic objects from rural Europe. All these examples point to the self-image of European empires, both maritime and continental, as expansive entities encompassing a global dimension. The imperial global perspective was first and foremost directed towards the empire's own colonies. This also impacted the appropriation of European rural cultures in the colonizing state that was intrinsically linked to the global imperial project.

The imperial mindset shaped the analytical framework of Europe as a perspective of domination, profit and exploitation based on cultural hierarchies reflected in the distinction between 'civilized' and 'primitive' peoples. The history of ethnographic collections shows that the differentiation between European folklore and overseas ethnology was connected to processes of institutional reorganization that established Europe as a distinct classificatory grid. Objects could assume new meanings depending on the classification that imperial institutions applied to them. This included both contexts of collection and display. For instance, when objects from rural Europe were kept in a collection of global dimensions, their inclusion in an exhibition focusing specifically on domestic ethnography changed their meaning dramatically. By leaving the context of their initial acquisition, these objects now emerged as 'folk art' positioned in a European framework and representing the peoples of the continental empire. This interpretation was further solidified through the reorganization of ethnographic institutions after 1900 which paved the way for the museum landscapes

of many European cities as we know them today. As the examples discussed in this chapter reveal, these institutional settings were the result of imperial competition and aspirations that sought to expand the state-owned collections obtained from overseas. In some cases, such as the ethnographic museums in Prague, this process unfolded even after the empire had ceased to exist.

The different meanings ascribed to ethnographic objects underscore the importance of location and perspective. The museum institutions in the metropolitan centres integrated these objects in an imperial framework projected to spectators comprising mainly of intellectual elites. When museum collections were reorganized in the twentieth century, thus separating Europe from other world regions, objects that did not comply with this new analytical framework would be caught between two stools. In particular, this applied to objects from the European margins that were neither considered representative of the colonies nor of the imperial and later the nation-state's 'folk culture'. These objects point to the blind spots in current debates on ethnographic museums that tend to depart from a distinction of Europe as the site of colonial power and other world regions as the site of acquisition and commodification.

This distinction is reflective of an urban bias in the discussion of Europe in postcolonial studies that reproduce the colonial production of the countryside notwithstanding the calls for 'provincializing Europe'.[51] This bias can be overcome by recentring the rural European margins in the historiography of global colonialism. Contrasting with the metropolitan perspective, the location of acquisition in the empire's rural margins complicates the interpretations of material culture that have been framed as 'European' and 'Western'; the encounters with people living in rural regions, described in this chapter, instead point to contestation, conflict and competing narratives. These encounters also showed that the interpretations by rural owners of sought-after specimens were often overridden by collectors. The latter group, instead, superimposed institutional perspectives from the imperial centres and objectified the producers alongside their crafted specimens for the exhibition display. In line with this approach, accounts from metropolitan travellers emphasized the cultural difference between the imperial centre and the rural peripheries, which moved them into the imagined proximity of colonial territories in Asia and Africa. As a result, ethnographic collections produced a rural empire from which they finally excluded Europe as a distinct category and moved it to other museum institutions. This established Europe as an epistemic framework, while it ceased to exist as a location exposed to the practices of appropriation and exploitation in colonial ethnography.

Notes

1. 'Wer in Kulturzentren lebt, … der kann leicht dahin kommen, ganz zu vergessen, daß in Europa noch Millionen von Frauen fern von allen oder doch fast allen Segnungen der Zivilisation in primitiver Schlichtheit ihr Leben führen. Man braucht gar nicht so weit zu gehen, um sie zu finden.' Rose Julien, 'Frauenfleiß im Osten', *Blatt der Hausfrau* 13, no. 10 (1903): 251. This and all following translations by the author.

2. Karl Emil Franzos, *Aus Halb-Asien. Culturbilder aus Galizien, der Bukowina, Südrußland und Rumänien* (Leipzig: Dunker & Humblot, 1876), 93.
3. Karl Kollbach, *Wanderungen durch die deutschen Gebirge. Von der Tatra bis zur Sächsischen Schweiz. Eine Wanderung durch die Karpathen, Beskiden, das Altvater-, Glatzer, Riesen-, Böhmische Mittelgebirge und die Sächsische Schweiz* (Köln: n.p. [1897]), 59; see also Corinne Geering, '"… wie die Hütten der Eingeborenen eines weltfernen Volkes": Koloniale Diskurse in Reiseberichten zu den Karpaten im späten 19. Jahrhundert', *Spiegelungen. Zeitschrift für deutsche Kultur und Geschichte Südosteuropas* 16, no. 2 (2021): 11–21.
4. For a discussion on the appropriation of the concept of 'civilizing mission' in East-Central Europe, see Elżbieta Kwiecińska, 'A Civilizing Relay: The Concept of the "Civilizing Mission" as Cultural Transfer in East-Central Europe, 1815–1919' (PhD diss., European University Institute, 2021).
5. See Elizabeth Buettner, 'Europe and Its Entangled Colonial Pasts: Europeanizing the "Imperial Turn"', in *Decolonizing Colonial Heritage. New Agendas, Actors and Practices in and beyond Europe*, ed. Britta Timm Knudsen, John Oldfield, Elizabeth Buettner and Elvan Zabunyan (London: Routledge, 2021), 25–43.
6. See, among others, for an overview of initiatives, Katrin Sieg, *Decolonizing German and European History at the Museum* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2021); Felicity Bodenstein and Camilla Pagani, 'Decolonising National Museums of Ethnography in Europe: Exposing and Reshaping Colonial Heritage (2000–2012)', in *The Post-colonial Museum: The Arts of Memory and the Pressures of History*, ed. Ian Chambers, Alessandra De Angelis, Celeste Ianniciello and Mariangela Orabona (London: Ashgate, 2014), 39–49; Csilla E. Ariese, Laura Pozzi and Joanna Wawrzyniak, 'Curating Colonial Heritage in Amsterdam, Warsaw and Shanghai's Museums. No Single Road to Decolonization', in *Decolonizing Colonial Heritage. New Agendas, Actors and Practices in and beyond Europe*, ed. Britta Timm Knudsen, John Oldfield, Elizabeth Buettner and Elvan Zabunyan (London: Routledge, 2021), 125–42.
7. Corinne Fowler, *Green Unpleasant Land: Creative Responses to Rural England's Colonial Connections* (Leeds: Peepal Tree, 2020), 11.
8. In recent years, scholars have applied theoretical frameworks from colonial territories overseas like 'creolization' to describe European regions at the intersection of several empires: Anca Parvalescu and Manuela Boatcă, *Creolizing the Modern: Transylvania across Empires* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2022).
9. See Dominic Lieven, 'Dilemmas of Empire 1850–1918. Power, Territory, Identity', *Journal of Contemporary History* 34, no. 2 (1999): 163–200.
10. Lou Taylor, *Establishing Dress History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 67.
11. Johann Primisser, *Kurze Nachricht von dem k. k. Raritätenkabinett zu Ambras in Tyrol mit 158 Lebensbeschreibungen, derjenigen Fürsten und Feldherren, deren Rüstungen und Waffen darinn aufbehalten werden, für die Neugierde der Liebhaber und Reisenden* (Innsbruck: Johann Nep. Wagner, 1777), 20.
12. For a description of the collection in the late nineteenth century, see Albert Ilg and Wendelin Boeheim, *Das k. k. Schloss Ambras in Tirol. Führer durch das Gebäude und die Sammlungen* (Vienna: Adolf Holzhausen, 1903), 67, 69.
13. Tony Bennett, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', *New Formations* 4 (1988): 74.
14. Graeme Davison, 'Exhibitions', *Australian Cultural History* 2 (1982/3): 7.
15. Benedict Anderson, 'Census, Map, Museum', in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 163–85.

16. For a discussion of how culture was conceived as a characteristic of local environments, similar to natural resources like rocks, plants and animals, see Corinne Geering, 'Managing Culture in the European Countryside: The Modern Roots of Rural Traditions', in *Living with the Land: Rural and Agricultural Actors in Twentieth-Century Europe: A Handbook*, ed. Liesbeth van de Grift, Dietmar Müller and Corinna R. Unger (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2023), 304.
17. See, e.g., the modus operandi of the British Museum before 1810 described in British Museum, *A Guide to the Exhibition Galleries of the British Museum, Bloomsbury* (London: Woodfall and Kinder, 1884), xii.
18. Philipp Franz von Siebold, *Lettre sur l'utilité des musées ethnographiques et sur l'importance de leur création dans les états européens qui possèdent des Colonies, ou qui entretiennent des rélations commerciales avec les autres parties du monde, à M. Edmé-François Jomard* (Paris: Benjamin Duprat, 1843).
19. Ibid., 17.
20. 'The Commercial Museum at Antwerp', *Morning Post*, 6 September 1888.
21. See Mary Bouquet, *Museums: A Visual Anthropology* (London: Berg, 2012), 74.
22. See 'Liverpool Ethnographical Exhibition. Address by Professor Mirvart', *Liverpool Mercury*, 26 May 1880.
23. The Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires in Paris was closed to the public in 2005 and the collections were moved to the Musée des Civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée in Marseille. The building in Paris was reopened as a centre for luxury crafts titled La Maison LVMH/Arts – Talents – Patrimoine.
24. See Pieter Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016), 448.
25. P. Rivet and G.-H. Tivière, 'La réorganisation du Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro', *Bulletin du Muséum national d'histoire naturelle* 2, no. 5 (1930): 479.
26. 'parmi les peuples civilisés'. Ibid., 478.
27. H. J. Braunholtz, 'History of Ethnography in the Museum after 1753', *British Museum Quarterly* 18, no. 3 (1953): 90.
28. See Barbara Larson, ed., *Constructing Race on the Borders of Europe. Ethnography, Anthropology, and Visual Culture, 1850–1930* (London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2021).
29. Ákos Moravánszky, 'Die Entdeckung des Nahen. Das Bauernhaus und die Architekten der frühen Moderne', in *Das entfernte Dorf. Moderne Kunst und ethnischer Artefakt*, ed. Ákos Moravánszky (Vienna: Böhlau, 2002), 95–123; see also Wolfgang Müller-Funk, Peter Plener and Clemens Ruthner, eds, *Kakanien revisited. Das Eigene und das Fremde (in) der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (Tübingen: Francke, 2002).
30. Klemens Kaps, 'Von der Erfindung des Binnenkolonialismus: Reformdiskurse der josefinischen Bürokratie im habsburgischen Galizien im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert', in *Konstruktionen Europas in der Frühen Neuzeit. Geographische und historische Imaginationen*, ed. Susan Richter, Michael Roth and Sebastian Meurer (Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Press, 2017), 117–30.
31. Róisín Healy, 'From Travel to Mobility: Perspectives on Journeys in the Russian, Central and East European Past', in *Mobility in the Russian, Central and East European Past*, ed. Róisín Healy (London: Routledge, 2019), 5–6.
32. Alexander Etkind, *Internal Colonization. Russia's Imperial Experience* (Cambridge, MA: Polity, 2011), 5.
33. Moskovskii publichnyi i Rumiantsevskii muzei, *Piatidesiatiletie Rumiantsevskogo muzeia v Moskve 1862–1912. Istoricheskii ocherk* (Moscow: A. A. Levenson, 1913), 165.

34. John W. Slocum. 'Who, and When, Were the *Inorodtsy*? The Evolution of the Category of "Aliens" in Imperial Russia', *Russian Review* 57, no. 2 (1998): 173–90.
35. See, e.g., the reminiscences of Hungarian architect Ödön Lechner's travels to London to study pottery, architecture and textiles from Asia. Anthony Alofsin, *When Buildings Speak: Architecture as Language in the Habsburg Empire and Its Aftermath, 1867–1933* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 132. See also the research by Fritz and Paul Sarasin that connected the Swiss Alps and Southeast Asia: Bernhard C. Schär, *Tropenliebe. Schweizer Naturforscher und niederländischer Imperialismus in Südostasien um 1900* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2015).
36. 'jeden zgłębiał tajemnice ludów czarnych w odległej Afryce, drugi badał historyą ludu białego w kraju własnym'. 'Muzeum etnograficzne w Warszawie', *Biesiada literacka* 35, no. 1 (1893): 5.
37. See 'Muzeum etnograficzne w Warszawie', *Kurjer Lwowski*, 14 September 1887, 4.
38. A description of the contents of this early exhibition can be found in 'Muzeum etnograficzne w Warszawskim ogrodzie zoologicznym', *Biesiada literacka* 26, no. 42 (1888): 248–50.
39. For more information on Polish ethnographers in Africa and their colonial projects, see Lenny A. Ureña Valerio, *Colonial Fantasies, Imperial Realities: Race Science and the Making of Polishness on the Fringes of the German Empire, 1840–1920* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2019).
40. Leopold Janikowski, 'Polnische Afrika-Expedition, Mandoley', *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 27 December 1883.
41. Leopold Janikowski, 'Wstęp', in *Katalog wystawy etnograficznej środkowej Afryki ze zbiorów Leopolda Janikowskiego, urządzonej w gmachu Muzeum przemysłu i rolnictwa w Warszawie 1890 r* (Warsaw: druk S. Orgelbranda synów, 1890), 3–4.
42. See Aldona Tołysz, 'Warszawa, zbiory etnograficzne przy Ogrodzie Zoologicznym (1888–1896/1939)', *Muzeum pamięci. Muzeum w polskiej kulturze pamięci (do 1918 r.)*, http://muzeumpamieci.umk.pl/?p=2258 (accessed 29 March 2023).
43. 'jest zupełnie podobny do deseni ukraińskich'. Leopold Janikowski, *W dżunglach Afryki. Wspomnienia z polskiej wyprawy afrykańskiej w latach 1882–1890* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Ligi Morskiej i Kolonjalnej, 1936), 203.
44. 'z krosnami naszych włościan'. Zygmunt Wasilewski, 'Wystawa etnograficzna środkowej Afryki. Ze zbiorów Leopolda Janikowskiego', *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, 8 November 1890, 301.
45. Josef Klvaňa, 'Ukázky z náčrtků vzpomínkových', *Moravská orlice* 46, no. 173 (2 August 1911): n.p. The author wishes to thank Marta Kondrová for sharing this reference.
46. Natalie Bruck-Auffenberg, 'Das dalmatinische Volk und seine Kunst', *Moderne illustrierte Zeitung für Reise und Sport* 13, no. 14/15 (1913): 71.
47. Ibid., 70.
48. Alois Riegl, 'Textiler Hausfleiß in der Bukowina', *Mittheilungen des k. k. Oesterreichischen Museums für Kunst und Industrie* 7, no. 79 (1892): 135–6.
49. For a recent discussion on the colonial history of museums in Austria, see Pia Schölnberger, ed., *Das Museum im kolonialen Kontext: Annäherungen aus Österreich* (Vienna: Czernin Verlag, 2021).
50. For a new understanding of museum collections that moves beyond current knowledge models, see Magdalena Buchczyk, *Weaving Europe, Crafting the Museum: Textiles, History and Ethnography at the Museum of European Cultures, Berlin* (London: Bloomsbury, 2023).

51. Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); on the colonial production of the countryside, see Neeladri Bhattacharya, *The Great Agrarian Conquest: The Colonial Reshaping of a Rural World* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2019).

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10

Travelling the Arctic margins: Promoting and experiencing Petsamo as a colonial frontier

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'The caravan was on the move, me limping behind the sled. This sled advanced as if amidst waves. There was no attempting to get on it … If a person suffered from slow digestion, traversing in this heath of rocks would cure it surely.'[1] This was how Ernst Lampén, a widely read Finnish author, used humour to describe his journey towards Petsamo during mid-summer 1921. Lampén's words appeared in his popular travel book, *Jäämeren hengessä* ('In the Spirit of the Arctic Ocean'), written to promote this new Finnish territorial acquisition gained in the Treaty of Tartu in 1920. Targeting potential travellers, Lampén wrote at a time when Petsamo was a relatively unknown and far-away place among Finns. Located hundreds of kilometres beyond the Arctic Circle and stretching all the way to the Arctic Ocean, reaching it was not easy. The roads ended well before Petsamo. Beyond that was a 'wilderness', Lampén professed. Assertively he pronounced that 'I had not come to be buried here … not to disappear' into the rough country.[2] No, Lampén had come to experience a new Finnish frontier. He had come to survive the frontier, assess and make claims for it and link it to the modern, to European civilization. And he had not come alone.

During the summer of 1921 it seemed that all Finns were heading north, united and sharing a common mission, or at least this is how Lampén painted the situation. Tempting his readers to take the trip, Lampén also pondered what it 'might look like in the coming summers' when there was such 'a flood' of traffic already during the first Finnish summer, practically a Finnish 'pilgrimage' destined for Petsamo. Depicting nation-building on the frontier as a sacred task, Lampén wrote how he witnessed Finnish families, prospectors, businessmen and government agents forging ahead, people coming from different walks of life and from all corners of Finland. He may have embellished the narrative a bit also when suggesting that these travellers blocked the arteries leading to the north, as they employed a mix of automobiles, boats, wagons and their own feet to reach it. But Lampén felt assured. He thought the travelling Finns were a natural thing, as only now, with the addition of Petsamo, Finland had reached its 'natural' boundaries, that it stood on par with Sweden, Norway and Russia as a northern power. Clearly Lampén was captivated by the new possibilities of travel in these Arctic margins of Europe.[3]

Importantly, Lampén's own party was sponsored by the Finnish Tourist Association (hereafter FTA), with Lampén being a board member. The travelling party also included Wolter Stenbäck, the secretary general of FTA. Stenbäck later recollected how as a result of this first trip the FTA made developing travel infrastructure, especially lodging, in Petsamo its top priority.[4] This association and others like it would play a key role in promoting Petsamo to domestic and foreign travellers during its Finnish period, before the Soviet Union conquered the area at the end of the Second World War. They made travel promotion a systematic enterprise, especially after the Arctic Highway, a motorway connecting Petsamo with the Finnish heartlands, reached the area in the early 1930s. Increasing number of bourgeois travellers, artists, authors, scientists and businessmen made Petsamo their travel destination during the interwar years. What they all had in common were the perceptions of the type of place they were about to enter: a Finnish frontier, a wild virgin land gradually penetrated by modernity. Those travelling went for different individual reasons, but more often than not, they, like Lampén did, came looking for a certain kind of an experience, something purer, rougher and wilder, in the process promoting the new territorial acquisition. They encountered a multi-ethnic borderland of Sámis, Norwegians, Russians, Karelians and Finns, a space they perceived as between Asia and Europe, where Finnish annexation would bring Western civilization. As Lampén put it, Petsamo 'represented the borders between two different cultural realms, European and Asian'.[5] It was a space where travellers like Lampén now had access to and where they could fulfil their quest for adventure and wild nature in an increasingly civilized setting.

The writings of individual travellers and official Finnish travel brochures printed in several European languages targeted both domestic and foreign audiences. They often uplifted nature as the key experience defining Petsamo.[6] Much as they did in the American West or in southern Africa, in Petsamo the colonial imagery depicted 'civilized' men encountering wild, untouched, nature. The narratives showcased a specific kind of experience, where travellers could confront and enjoy the land, a space that was both wild and civilized, a virgin land penetrated by modernity.[7]

This chapter looks at early twentieth century travel and Petsamo, examining it as a marginal space on the Arctic fringes of Europe that was nevertheless connected to the broader world of modernity. It asks questions about the meanings of marginal places in colonial histories and how they were experienced and promoted through the application of colonial imagery.[8] Using travel narratives, with an especial focus on Ernst Lampén's account, and travel brochures as principal sources, it tracks how travel created Petsamo as a progressing frontier and an outer edge of European civilization with grand Arctic scenery and legendary fishing. I will first take a brief look at the connotations associated with expansion and Petsamo in Finland, canvassing the context in which Petsamo was created for travellers. Next, I will look at how Ernst Lampén sought to attract potential travellers to Petsamo in the early 1920s, what kind of imagery he utilized in the process. Finally, I will turn to the coming of the modern in the form of the Arctic Highway in the 1930s and how this played out in literature funnelled through travel associations.

A Finnish colonial frontier

'We are venturing to Petsamo for great deeds, as if travelling abroad far away. We imagine heading to a distant colony … [and] this Petsamo awakens great hopes in us.'[9] This is how Sakari Pälsi wrote in this travel account published in 1931. Much like Ernst Lampén prophesized a decade earlier, Pälsi was promulgating Petsamo both as a Finnish settler destination and as wilderness adventure, a destination for fulfilling one's dreams.[10] And in many ways Pälsi wrote as was typical of Finnish travel writers to Petsamo. He was a learned man, a man of books and of many abilities and interests. He made his voice heard as a novelist, folklorist, archaeologist, ethnographer, journalist, photographer and documentary filmmaker. Besides, he was an active travel writer. Writing by the time when the Arctic Highway was nearly finished, there is a sense of a great awakening, of boundless hopes. 'Even if those dreams' of Petsamo 'should prove utterly implausible, we have no shame in having them, because all the other travellers to Petsamo have dreamt them too', he remarked, before adding that 'Petsamo is the great colony for Finnish hopes and dreams'.[11] Like so many others, Pälsi wrote of Petsamo very emotionally, yearning to make claims of Finland as an aspiring colonial power. Four years before visiting Petsamo, Pälsi had published a book of his journey across Canada. There he had shown a keen eye on majestic nature, to the open spaces of the prairies and sceneries of the Rockies at Banff National Park.[12] He had experienced a frontier in Western Canada, and he ventured to Petsamo to write about another frontier, a dynamic colonial zone he wanted to observe and endorse, capturing what he imagined were the virgin landscapes and the coming of Finnish settler civilization in this land of hope and dreams.

What exactly those Finnish hopes and dreams were remain less clear in Pälsi's account. But what is evident is that Finns were increasingly seeing Petsamo as their colony. This frontier stood on the northern margins of a marginal European power, a nation without any overseas colonies of its own. Petsamo proved that colonial frontiers resided within Europe too, not just in regions outside of it.[13] As a small recently independent (1917) country that gained its independence after a century of Russian rule, Finland was bitterly divided by a bloody Civil War fought in 1918 between two political and ideological factions, the working-class Reds and non-socialist, more conservative whites, who won. It was a poor war-torn society, with only around 3 million inhabitants. It did not draw any settlers from abroad. It did not usually register on the radar of big powers. Thus, it looked anything but a traditional colonial power. To measure up as a civilized nation Finland had much to prove. And it was fairly common to see Petsamo as just that, as a proving ground. Petsamo raised vivid expectations and was seen as a first step in territorial expansion among those Finns dreaming of what was perceived by contemporaries as a 'Greater Finland'.[14] By the time of the 1920 peace treaty negotiations in Tartu, many Finns had high hopes for even greater territorial expansions of the Finnish borders eastwards, which did not materialize despite several failed paramilitary expeditions on the Finnish borderlands.[15] Since Petsamo was the only new territorial acquisition granted to Finland at Tartu, 'it became subject of a

Figure 10.1 Map of Petsamo area in northern Finland/Soviet Union/Russia.

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self-projection of an expansive and vital young Finnish nation', as Peter Stadius writes (see Figure 10.1).[16] Indeed, Finland's claims for status as a civilized European nation increasingly rested on its capacity to colonize the north. For such a marginal country in Europe, any colonized territory would have just have to do. Reflecting this precarious position, there existed plenty of dark humour and irony in some Finnish writings assessing Finland's place in the colonial world. One common saying at the time went that while the British have India, the Finns at least have Petsamo.[17] But even with such a marginal colony as Petsamo, Finns could try to prove their colonial worth, that they

had what it took to colonize lands, meaning to administer, civilize, settle and capture and utilize natural resources.

Ultimately, Petsamo was a question of spatial integration of frontiers; if the Finns had what it took to pull it off. At the time the benchmark for efficient territorial incorporation, as Sven Beckert has written, had been set by the United States. This rising imperial colossus had spearheaded new forms of spatial integration – the size and speed of its expansion of peoples, administration and infrastructure and the settling and the acquisition of resources had been astonishing during the mid- to late 1800s. It had fronted new kind of connections between territory, state power and capital through its continental expansion – forcing all European powers to take notice. Actually, as Beckert points out, the US example of frontier expansion birthed real and imagined projects among European colonial powers seeking more effective territorial colonization of Africa, possibilities for European integration and violent territorial expansions within Europe.[18] While the United States was not a suitable comparison in size and volume, Finland also began to see the acquisition and incorporation of new lands as desirable. If all went smoothly in Petsamo, who knows, maybe the Finns were just getting started as colonial power. Certainly, many Finns dreamed of more living space on the Russian side of its eastern borders, while some entertained ideas of colonies in Africa too. At the time many Finns already operated in colonial settings in Africa, as missionaries in German Southwest Africa, as miners and settlers in South Africa and as workers in the Belgian Congo.[19] Maybe Finland would move from the margins of the colonial world towards its centre. Small powers could imagine playing with the big boys too, right?

Here the understandings of 'frontier' corresponded closely with what the American historian Frederick Jackson had propagated in his famous 1893 frontier thesis. Frontier epitomized both the notion and imagery of an advance of civilization into wilderness, involving a narrative and an experience where an ostensibly superior culture took over free land and settled it, reinvigorating and reinventing itself in the process.[20] On an individual level this is much of what travel was supposed to do for the civilized traveller advancing to pristine nature. Turner's ideas of frontier gained global resonance, among German thinkers of expansionism such as Friedrich Ratzel, who coined the term 'Lebensraum'. For Ratzel, frontiers signified places around the world where whites pushed aside indigenous peoples. Thinking that the American West represented the best example of this kind of frontier process in the world, Ratzel felt it could be replicated by Germans in their colonial projects in the European East.[21] In German expansionist minds the 'East' stood for barbaric people of nature, of lower cultures of Asiatic hordes. By the early 1900s the concept of the East developed into an existential question and calls for German cultural mission in the East, of defending and expanding European culture and civilization.[22] Finnish thinkers in turn looked up to the Germans.

In the case of Petsamo and in the idea of a 'Greater Finland' more broadly, the conceptualization of colonial expansion is particularly evident in the thinking of influential Finnish academics and politicians such as Väinö Voionmaa. Drawing from German expansionist thinking, Voionmaa pointed out in 1919 how Petsamo is a question of 'survival in northern Finland' and of 'living space', of 'opening up a

valuable production source and an important colony for our entire country. It is also independent Finland's first step out into the great free world. And it will be the first sign of an "expanding Finland". He also stressed the unifying impacts of colonial expansion to a people and nation torn apart by the recent Civil War: 'Our entire people, without distinction, all its layers, are in perfect agreement that now is the moment for Finland to go to the Arctic Ocean.'[23] Thus expansion was vital for the survival of the nation, for its vitality and unity. Finland's colonialist rhetoric aimed at curbing Russian influence in the north, as well as that of Norway and Sweden. It meant an aggressive settlement policy, the expansion of the national living space at the expense of the rest of the border region's population.[24] At the same time these new borders were perceived as vulnerable and uncertain, and they potentially needed defending.[25]

The travel imagery used to promote Petsamo utilized these notions of expansion. Petsamo was imagined as a new frontier that needed to be made known so that Finns everywhere would recognize it as a Finnish space. It is in this context of living space and national prestige that travel authors operated and travel brochures funnelled their messages of Petsamo to the receptive audiences. Travel was thus part of claiming the marginal, making it accessible and known. It was part of colonial expansion, of taking over the land.

'Nature-wonderful'

'Fisherman, if you are at the same time a loner by nature, row up this silent river untouched in the arms of the wilderness, pitch your tent on its banks and unleash your fishing passion. You will find satisfaction for your desire for loneliness and for your fishing. Or a scout group, whose members are fishermen! Go there, there you have it good.' In some parts of his description, Ernst Lampén seems practically overwhelmed and mesmerized by what he had experienced in Petsamo. Strongly emotional, he did not hold back in his rhetoric but continually stressed how this raw nature had a refreshing and reinvigorating influence on the traveller. Lampén maintained how he personally felt 'I was awakened by the yearning for the wilderness when on the banks of this quiet river. What birdlife there was on its upper reaches, what fishing on its banks! What unknown lakes and additional rivers [still loomed], perhaps still unnamed!'[26] Surely Petsamo was something of a paradise. Its rapids and fjords offered what Lampén dubs, by twisting the Finnish language, as a 'nature-wonderful' landscape, an experience unparalleled in civilized regions.[27]

Lampén made his journey a full decade before the Arctic Highway opened in 1931, travel lodges surfaced in numbers, railroad lines and flight routes were planned and developed (although they never materialized before war interrupted the plans) and a modern, functionalist hotel opened in Kolttaköngäs, serving travellers. Lampén implied that travel was sure to increase as Finland cemented its place on the Arctic shoreline. And he referred to different types of Finnish infiltration. He saw that Petsamo would be subjected to Finnish settler colonization, meaning permanent settlement, but that it would also simultaneously be made into a destination for an exotic wilderness adventure for domestic and foreign travellers on the Arctic margins of Europe. Both in

the 1920s and in the 1930s it was fishing through which travellers often accessed pure nature in the north. Sports fishing had taken off in Finland already in the mid-1850s, but during the Petsamo era it was no longer exclusively a pastime of the wealthy.[28]

In the text quoted above, Lampén not only endorses Petsamo as a superb fishing location, but he makes it an untamed and partially unknown wilderness adventure site, where possibilities awake the traveller looking for outdoors sports and personal solitude, ways to connect with nature. Thus, Petsamo here is not any ordinary site for tourist activity, fishing, but it comes with a promise for a more profound reinvention of the traveller's soul. Those who enter there can find solace, peace and true connection to the land, something the civilized travellers from urban and industrial background yearned for. Indeed, in the early 1900s many artists and other travellers felt estranged with their modern surroundings and went in search for something more authentic around the world. They ventured to the Rocky Mountains, the deserts of the American Southwest, or to the remote reaches of Africa and South America as Europe had become too modern. Its waters were polluted, short on fish and tamed for industrial gain; its plains and forests occupied, ploughed and cut. But at its margins there was still a frontier that promised release: Petsamo.

While there was plenty of 'natural' Finland well suited for fishing and other outdoors experiences, the northern environment of Petsamo had additional exotic value. Lampén elaborates on this as he raises the question of heretofore unnamed locations, empty spaces and the promise of naming those. Naming was one of the key tools in the arsenal of colonizers worldwide for making claims and taking control of areas. It signalled the transition of unknown wilderness places into the orbit of civilization.[29] Even the mere possibility of this positions Petsamo outside the modern realm. It contributes to a narrative of Petsamo as a marginal zone of the edge of the known, meaning civilized, world. But it also suggest the coming of civilization.

Advising travellers in a very concrete manner, Lampén also raises three practical attractions that make Petsamo an especially worthy destination. First, the many fjelds open opportunities for similar outdoor activities and trekking that is so very popular in the Alps of Central Europe, Lampén notes. He adds that those fjelds in Petsamo had the additional benefit of a 'softer outlook' and gentler slopes and thus were much easier to travel than their steeper and rockier counterparts in Norway or in the Rocky Mountains, for example.[30] The second component Lampén lured the potential travellers were the fjords. These 'natural wonder areas', as Lampén writes, were exceptionally fascinating. Here Lampén explicitly mentions the travel lodge at Kolttaköngäs and its surroundings, a destination that he again dubs as 'nature-wonderful'. On the way there, the travellers get to experience magnificent rapids and to immerse themselves in truly stunning nature, Lampén advances. Petsamo fjord in turn was surrounded by rougher rocks, which made it steep and majestic, while still easily available for visiting travellers as there too was a lodge awaiting them.[31] The third major component Lampén signals out is the Arctic Ocean. There is lot to see for the traveller: deep blue-green sea, interesting fishing, powerful waves and 'familiar' Finish settlements at Kalastajasaarento. All along Lampén laments that the highway does not yet reach Petsamo, as he sees it vital for the full potential of mass travel. But he nevertheless prophesizes that when the highway will be finished in the near

future, Petsamo and the whole Finnish Lapland will stand on par or perhaps even surpass, Swedish and Norwegian travel destinations, stressing the benefit of an Arctic coastline when compared with Sweden. Lampén continues his emotional promotion as he encourages his fellow Finns to venture to the Arctic Ocean, to boldly go to what he refers to as the 'newest Finland'. 'The spirit of the ocean is unknown to us Finns and strange. We have to travel there to find out for ourselves. We have now suddenly changed into residents of an ocean. In the summer there is a long day, and in a week or two there is ample time to see plenty', Lampén declares.[32]

Tourist frontier

'Board members will travel in June to Petsamo to see if it is possible for Petsamo to become a tourist country. Transportation to the area is of course in a very primitive condition, especially in the summer with a complete lack of roads.' This is how the FTA commented on Petsamo in its journal *Matkailulehti* ('travel paper') from May 1921.[33] It seems the association realized the potential of this newly acquired territory already by the time Lampén and his party made its way to Petsamo, but remained hesitant on whether something could actually come out of it. Yet gradually travel to Petsamo changed from the enterprise of a few individuals relating their experiences, like Lampén, into a systematic industry catering towards the masses, both in Finland and abroad. In this process, the FTA actively promoted Petsamo through its different publications. Some of these targeted international audiences, others were meant to entice Finnish travellers as, during the 1930s, Petsamo instigated the tourism and travel industry of modern Lapland.[34] In the process, Petsamo emerged as a potential stop in the imperial adventure circuit that covered plenty of ground from African Safaris and Egyptian pyramids to the grand vistas of the American West. Or at least it was promoted as such a destination, an Arctic getaway, an exotic, pristine, majestic and wild canvas on which the civilized European and Western travellers could live out their adventures, fulfil their fantasies. Here nature was untamed, large and powerful, but in an accessible manner for the traveller to gaze at, write about and experience. It epitomized the still untamed wilderness of frontiers worldwide and it was also a land of possibilities as frontiers tended to be imagined. It was both primitive and civilized.

One indication of this imperial travel circuit were the national parks established around the world. Yellowstone, Yosemite, Banff and others drew increasing, and increasingly international, crowds to marvel pristine nature and majestic landscapes in North America. Arguably these parks also constituted efforts to 'civilize, territorialize and categorize nature'. Around the world they were targeted as spaces where the experience and idea of civilization rested on a notion of a temporal and spatial divide between Western modernity and allegedly more primitive spaces.[35] As it did in Petsamo, where the Heinäsaari Islands, known for their abundant birdlife, in the extreme north of Petsamo were established as Finland's first national parks in 1938. Heinäsaari epitomized this process of civilizing nature. It promoted the wilderness imagery of Petsamo in the eyes of travellers, while at the same time conveying the coming of civilization into wilderness.[36]

The FTA was founded already in 1887, but it was in the 1920s and 1930s that the association was most active in creating modern Finnish travel imagery and industry. As Seppo Partanen has noted, the great boom in Finnish tourism took place in the end of the 1930s as Petsamo, and Lapland more general, was set up for international and national tourism. Besides the first national parks, hotels were built and tourist lodges, nature reserves were established, hiking routes were signposted, air, train and package travel began, and skiing and backpacking gained popularity.[37] In the Finnish context, it was Petsamo that was leading the way. Take, for example, the lodges. While in 1921, the FTA had no travel lodges, ten years later eight of its eleven lodges were on the road between Ivalo and Petsamo. In the 1930s the Finnish government build many more such guesthouses, renting them to the FTA for tourist accommodation, especially when the 1939 Summer Olympics in Finland were expected to bring increased numbers of visitors to the country. Petsamo and Lapland more generally were on the brink of new glorious tourist age.[38] Or so it seemed in early 1939. The coming war, of course, interrupted all these plans, permanently in Petsamo's case.

Fully opened in 1931, the Arctic Highway physically connected Petsamo to the Finnish heartlands. One could take a car from the capital, Helsinki, on the Gulf of Finland and in a matter of days drive some 1,500 km to Petsamo. This trip effectively symbolized a transition for the traveller from the core of civilization to the margins of it, as some travellers commented on it.[39] But the highway also signalled the coming of the modern to Petsamo. It was little surprise that the highway was actively utilized in different kinds of travel promotions, including film clips.[40] One brochure targeting international audiences marketed the ease that the highway had brought to travel in far-away plans when referring to a trip itinerary to Petsamo: 'On this tour we have ventured far beyond the Polar Circle and walked by the Arctic Ocean without any of the hardships the idea of such a journey might suggest.'[41]

Physical distance had been a key marker in defining Petsamo. It was located far away from southern Finland and the capital Helsinki, which in turn were far away from many key metropoles and population centres of Europe. Previously Petsamo had also been hard to reach. This both set it apart as a frontier, made it exotic and attractive, but it also reduced the number of potential visitors in practical terms. As the Finnish politician Uuno Brander reflected on the matter in the journal *Rajaseutu* ('borderland'), 'Petsamo is far away from the rest of Finland, especially southern Finland stands as one its key characteristics.' He continued, 'If it was even half as close, domestic tourism there would be much higher.' A highway meant bringing those most enticing things in the area within reach for travellers: 'Spectacular, ruggedly beautiful and grandiose nature, with fjelds, wilderness, with its glacial seas, river valleys and rapids pulls irresistibly and regardless of the length of the journey.'[42]

While Brander's list of things to experience closely corresponded with previous authors like Lampén, for him and to many others the Arctic Highway offered a solution to the problem of distance. It made this distant frontier more accessible, it made reaching and enjoying its wonders easier. Yet those wonders still reflected the wild and the pristine, not the modern. Nobody went to look at the road itself. Indeed, many felt the road was rather ugly and boring.[43] Thus, the highway was not only practical and more comfortable, it also functioned as an important symbol of civilization,

representing the arrival of the modern. But while the travellers utilized modern ways, the rhetoric of authenticity did not disappear. Dagmar Ruin Ramsay, who had seen much of Europe and some of America before heading to Petsamo, represented the trip to this wild frontier as reinvigorating, purifying rebirth for a civilized urban dweller.[44] Ramsay notes how his party's minds were overwhelmed by 'the immense, untouched beauty, the silence of the wilderness, wild nature, that ordinary people like us rarely get to see'.[45] He writes of how in the summer 'when the evening comes, everything around us is so bright and brilliant. And so quiet, so silent that it's like you would hear a big, strong heart beating. The greatness of the fjeld deserts overwhelms us completely, as if pushing us down towards the earth. And then the ordinary disappears from our souls, the bickering, everyday pettiness and everyday dust that comes from the areas where many people trample, from our domestic areas.'[46]

So, on the frontier of Petsamo the civilized traveller can escape from his busy petty bourgeois life. Even when he/she reaches it by car traversing on the modern highway.[47] Once the highway opened, Petsamo's possibilities seemed endless. It could continue to live as wild frontier while edging more deeply into the Finnish mindset. It was becoming a familiar frontier. Brander notes that 'through tourism, Petsamo is becoming better known among the rest of Finland year by year' and that even 'this relatively short experience already shows how valuable Petsamo is to both domestic and international travel'.[48]

It has been estimated that by the 1930s as much as half of the 20,000 travellers reaching Petsamo each year came from outside Finland.[49] Various travel narratives list British, Norwegian, Swedish, Austrian, German and Japanese tourists in Petsamo.[50] Indeed, the FTA set up a separate association to attract foreigners called 'Suomen-matkat' (Finland-Travel) in 1930. In its promotional materials, published not only in Finnish and Swedish, but also in English, German, French and even in Italian, the whole of Finland was described as both authentic and modern, real but also accessible and affordable. It combined virgin landscape and civilized comfort, like the association's *Finland for Holidays* travel book's 1934 edition stated.[51] This book series was the association's main publication, with a fresh, but only slightly revised, edition released each year. Petsamo epitomized this blending of the primitive and the modern, and it played an oversized role in this publication, even if we just count the times it was mentioned. In the 1934 volume, for example, Petsamo appeared forty-two times, while the 1933 edition mentions the word 'Petsamo' also over forty occasions. Other major Finnish tourist destinations, like Saimaa (a lake) and Koli (a fell) receive roughly the same number of mentions in these two volumes. Petsamo's villages, such as the coastal destination of Liinahamari gets forty mentions and rapids at Kolttaköngäs twenty-nine in 1934 (twenty-six and thirty-eight, respectively, in 1933). So, it is safe to say that Petsamo loomed big in these publications.[52]

A popular spot throughout the 1920s and the 1930s in Petsamo was Kolttaköngäs (see Figure 10.2). It nicely captures the intersections of the modern and the primitive in Petsamo's travel promotion. For one, there was present powerful nature in the form of rapids. 'Undoubtedly, the most beautiful region on the Finnish coast of the Arctic Ocean is Kolttaköngäs, a small Lapp village located on the edge of the rapid of the same name. The waters of Patsjoki [Paatsriver] flow here into the Arctic Ocean as the

last waterfall. High fjelds border the banks of the rapids, authentic Norwegian fjeld formations and an authentic Norwegian fjord receive the clear water of the river. The fall is very high, I don't dare to say with certainty how many metres it is, but I think about seven metres is about right.' It all adds to a place 'with unique beauty'.[53] But Kolttaköngäs was not a primitive wonderland. It was a lively tourist destination with a good quality hotel and many tourist lodges in the surrounding areas. It was connected and its activities regulated. A road led to it from Finland and connected it with Norway too. To fish there one needed to pay a fee to the FTA, in practice to the state.[54]

Kolttaköngäs was very much an international destination and a meeting place. At one time, the fishing rights at Kolttaköngäs were allotted entirely to English tourists.[55] There had also been a small tourist lodge built for the Russian and English upper-class fishermen already in the 1890s. As Finland took over Petsamo this building was handed over to the FTA and continued operations. A decade later in 1933, the association built a wooden hotel at the place, one part of which remained the old lodge (see Figure 10.3). This hotel was thoroughly destroyed in a fire on Midsummer Eve in 1937. A new attempt soon followed, and a large modern functionalist style hotel was completed in 1938 (see Figure 10.4). This further symbolized the arrival of the modern to Petsamo. Its architecture oozed modern order and power, and it stood out in relation to the 'pure nature surrounding it' or when compared to surrounding shallow cottages and church buildings. But soon it also partly burned down, before being fully destroyed, restored and again destroyed during the war.[56]

Then what kind of Petsamo does this book series *Finland for Holidays* offer for the potential foreign traveller? Besides stressing the highway, it plays to the familiar tropes, already apparent in Lampén's book published a decade earlier. The first pages of the 1934 volume promise the following when referring to Petsamo: 'the special thrills of shooting rapids, seeing the Midnight Sun and motoring through Lapland to the Arctic coast on a road unique in all the world'.[57] In later pages, this volume narrates Petsamo as a destination for an epic journey into a vast wilderness penetrated by civilization. 'Finnish Lapland, which we are now about to cross by the "Great Arctic Highway", the only motor road in the world to the shore of the Arctic Ocean, is an extensive, fascinating region of enormous forests, high naked fells, rushing streams and desolate swamps. A land of delight to those who love the vast open spaces and deep silence of the true wilderness.'[58] So it is the familiar tropes of open spaces and true wilderness that epitomizes Petsamo as a frontier among other global frontiers. The promise of space was key to promotional texts drawing settlers to the American West in the mid-1800s. And similar promises continued to feature actively in the promotion of settler spaces in Canada, Brazil and Australia. Take, for example, Canada, where from 1896 to 1906 the Canadian government and the transcontinental railroad spent four million dollars publicizing the opportunities for settlement in what was called the 'last, best West'. They promoted the Canadian West via a mass supporting literature on the Canadian West, pamphlets, books, maps and circulars. The titles of such publications included 'The Wondrous West' and 'Canada, the Land of Opportunity' and many others. The bestseller, and in the press year after year, however, was 'The Last Best West'. In short, Canada represented a fresh and dynamic West, the finest in what might prove a limited supply.[59] Petsamo did much the same.

Figure 10.2 Kolttaköngäs, 'the favourite place of the traveller and sports fisherman', oozes pristine, majestic, nature. This kind of wilderness symbolized the kind of travel destination Petsamo was perceived to be, even after the arrival of the Arctic Highway.

Source: Museovirasto, CC BY 4.0.

There were differences too. While North American frontiers promised farming possibilities, Petsamo did not. It remained the sports fisherman's and outdoorsman's paradise, not the farmer's. Indeed, farming was not in the cards at all when it came to promotion of Petsamo. Of course, travellers would not be interested in such a thing. They had not come to stay, but to gaze, consume and experience. And they devoured vast open spaces, and in this Petsamo promised to deliver. Indeed, the literature made it explicit that Petsamo was largely beyond a farmer's reach: 'We pass the corn line and the timber line and entering the reindeer country most beloved of the Lapps, see no vegetation other than Arctic until near the Arctic coast, where the influence of the Gulf Stream is felt and plant life grows rich again.'[60] Signs of civilization where still there. 'Even along this road, the only high-road in the world to the Arctic Ocean,

Figure 10.3 The 'tourist lodge', in its latest itineration from 1939. By this time what began as a more humble lodge had become a modern hotel at Kolttaköngäs. The modern and the pristine stand side by side, as the hotel sticks out from the Arctic landscape.

Source: Photo by Aarne Pietinen, 1939. Museovirasto. CC BY 4.0.

we are in touch with civilisation, and on the Arctic coast, at Liinahamari, there is a very comfortable hotel. The best salmon-fishing waters are in this area, and for the convenience of anglers the Finnish Tourist Association maintains good inns at the favourite sites.'[61] So here we again can see the intersections of wilderness and civilization in play in descriptions of Petsamo.

And then these romanticized messages were repeated in several European languages in *Finland for Holidays*, from one year to the next in the 1930s. The descriptive texts also stayed much the same from one year to the next, as this brief take from the 1934 and 1938 editions attests: 'The road ends at Liinahamari, the deep- sea harbour of the Petsamo district, where the brand new hotel receives us. The midnight sun shines in this area from May 22nd to July 23rd', reads the 1934 version, while four years later the imagery remained almost identical. Petsamo was now firmly a romantic frontier destination: 'At Liinahamari, the deep-sea harbour of the Petsamo district, the tourist hotel caters for our comfort. Here we are in the real Land of the Midnight Sun.'[62]

A frontier interrupted

They had stopped for a half an hour in the midst of an almost surreal, barren landscape. It was September 1982 when the first Finnish tourist bus with forty former Finnish

residents of Petsamo and their descendants returned. After being expelled by the Soviet invasion during the Second World War, the new border had cut off the former settlers. Living in exile across Finland, the Cold War tensions had kept from returning even temporarily. But now some of them came back as travellers on an organized and strictly supervised visit. Their journey first lead to Murmansk, Soviet Union, via the Raja-Jooseppi border-crossing (the former Arctic Highway). On their way towards Norway the route went through Petsamo. Excited to see Petsamo again, the reality was shocking. The unique Arctic landscapes of majestic wilderness had been replaced by a devastated landscape of barren soil and dead trees dotted with Soviet-style apartment blocks. Liinahamari harbour was a closed military zone, and the tourist hotel in the village was no longer there, as weren't the Finnish Norwegian villages in Kalastajasaarento. Kolttaköngäs was mauled. Only the profiles of the familiar fjelds told the Finnish sojourners where they were, so unreal the entire landscape seemed.[63] The former frontier was a wasteland. The realm of pristine nature had become an unforgiving and sad place.

Lost as a Finnish colony during the Second World War, Petsamo's era as a travel destination came to a sudden halt in 1944 as the area became part of the Soviet Union. For decades outsider access remained strictly controlled, and it was mostly closed off as a military region until 1990 and the collapse of the Soviet Union. During that time Petsamo practically vanished not only from Finnish travel brochures and travel writings, but also from public discussion. Heritage organizations of former Finnish settlers certainly kept the memory and the stories of Petsamo alive, but even most of their publications did not appear until the 1970s and 1980s.[64] It is through these heritage organizations that what little is left of Finnish travel to Petsamo takes place these days. This constitutes a form of nostalgia tourism, or what can be called 'homesicktourism' and 'personal memory tourism' focused on revisiting sites and places associated with person's or family's past life.[65] But there is little left of those inviting open spaces that had marked Petsamo as a destination for an exotic wilderness adventure on the margins of Europe.

In other words, there is little left of Ernst Lampén's Petsamo. That Petsamo was promulgated not only as a frontier on the margins of wilderness and civilization, but also between Europe and Asia. It was propagated using widespread colonial tropes, most visibly open spaces and pristine nature. It was both primitive but increasingly penetrated by civilization. In short, Petsamo allowed Finland an opportunity to reimage itself as a colonial power with a frontier. The way this was done, the way Petsamo was experienced and written about was the work of both individual travel writers and associations that created an imagery of Petsamo as a Finnish frontier. Before the Second World War, travel to Petsamo retained its bourgeois, even elitist, characteristics, although it gradually became more accessible with the Arctic Highway and hotels and lodges. Petsamo was still a playground that left out most of the Finns. Most never went there, but many could read the accounts of those who did. Many were also exposed to the promotional material produced by the different associations. People from Finland and across Europe could at least dream of going to this Arctic frontier.

Notes

1. Ernst Lampén, *Jäämeren hengessä* (Jyväskylä: Gummerus, 1921), 75. All translations from Finnish to English in this chapter by the author. 'Karavaani lähti liikkeelle, minä ontuen reen jälessä. Reki kulki kuin aallokossa, ei ollut yrittämistäkään päästä sen kyytiin … Joilla on hidas ruuansulatus, niiden pitäisi terveydekseen ajattaa itseään reellä pitkin kivikkokankaita.'
2. Ibid., 74. 'Mutta enhän ollut tullut korpeen kuopattavaksi, en suosulihin sortumaan, en häviämään heiluviin hetteisiin.'
3. Ibid., 58. 'Lapista ja Petsamosta näkyy tulleen pyhiinvaeltajien maa kesällä 1921 … Petsamo jo täynnä monenmoisia retkikuntia. Miltä täällä näyttää seuraavina kesinä, kun jo ensimäisenä kesänä, Petsamon saatuamme, on tällainen tulva.'
4. 'Kolme Helsingin herraa kävi v. 1921 tutkimassa voiko Petsamosta tulla matkailumaata', *Helsingin Sanomat*, 20 March 1937, 8.
5. Lampén, *Jäämeren hengessä*, 153. 'ne olivat samalla kahden erilaisen kulttuuripiirin rajoja, europalaisen ja aasialaisen'.
6. Of course, some travellers wrote about the Indigenous Skolt Sámi people they encountered, although many also stayed silent on the Sámi, making them invisible. This chapter focuses on representations of nature in the context of travel and does not tackle Sámi-Finnish relations. On Sámi histories, see Veli-Pekka Lehtola, *Entiset elävät meissä: Saamelaisten historiat ja Suomi* (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 2022); Otso Kortekangas, *Langauge, Citizenship, and Sámi Education in the Nordic North, 1900–1940* (Toronto: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2021); Kukka Ranta and Jaana Kanninen, *Vastatuuleen. Saamen kansan pakkosuomalaistamisesta* (Helsinki: Kustantamo S&S, 2019); Jukka Nyssönen, 'Sami Counter-narratives of Colonial Finland: Articulation, Reception and the Boundaries of the Politically Possible', *Acta Borealia* 30, no. 1 (2013): 101–21; Veli-Pekka Lehtola, 'Sámi Histories, Colonialism, and Finland', *Arctic Anthropology* 52, no. 2 (2015): 22–36.
7. On tourism and colonialism around the world, see, among many others, Shelley Baranowski, Christopher Endy, Waleed Hazbun, Stephanie Malia Hom, Gordon Pirie, Trevor Simmons and Eric G. E. Zuelow, 'Tourism and Empire', *Journal of Tourism History* 7 (2015): 100–30; Mikko Toivanen, 'Colonial Tours: The Leisure and Anxiety of Empire in Travel Writing from Java, Ceylon and the Straits Settlements' (PhD diss., EUI, 2019); Martin Anderson, 'The Development of British Tourism in Egypt, 1815 to 1850', *Journal of Tourism History* 4 (2012): 259–79.
8. For something similar examined in Icelandic context, see Kristín Loftsdóttir, *Crisis and Coloniality at Europe's Margins: Creating Exotic Iceland* (London: Routledge, 2019).
9. Sakari Pälsi, *Petsamoon kuin ulkomaille* (Helsinki: Otava, 1931), 9–11. 'Lähdemme Petsamoon suuriin puuhiin, ikäänkuin matkustaisimme kauas ulkomaille. Etäiseen siirtomaahan ainakin kuvittelemme olevamme menossa … Tämä Petsamo herättää meissä rikkaita toiveita.'
10. Travel writers created narratives of Petsamo also as a Finnish settler space, assessing and promoting its Finnish futures that way too. The Finns actually became a majority in Petsamo by the 1930s, subjecting the area's Skolts, Norwegians, Russians and Karelians to cultural colonization through schools and Finnish culture. Finnish settlers themselves also turned this multiethnic borderland into Finnish homeland in their minds, experiences and memoirs. On Finnish settler colonization of Petsamo, see Janne Lahti, 'Settler Colonial Eyes: Finnish Travel

Writers and the Colonization of Petsamo', in *Finnish Colonial Encounters: From Anti-imperialism to Cultural Colonialism and Complicity*, ed. Raita Merivirta, Leila Koivunen and Timo Särkkä (London: Palgrave, 2021), 95–120; Janne Lahti, 'Rajaseudusta kotiseuduksi: kuuluminen ja kaipuu Petsamon muisteluissa', in *Kolonialismi Suomen rajaseuduilla*, ed. Rinna Kullaa, Janne Lahti and Sami Lakomäki (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 2022), 206–26; Peter Stadius, 'Elintilaa, elinvoima ja eteenpäin: Suomi siirtomaavaltana Petsamossa', in Kullaa et al., *Kolonialismi Suomen rajaseuduilla*, 145–65.

11. Pälsi, *Petsamoon kuin ulkomaille*, 11. 'Ja vaikka ne toiveet olisivat aivan mahdottomia, emme häpeä toivoskella niitä, koska kaikki muut Petsamon kävijät ovat tehneet ihan samalla tavalla. Petsamo on suomalaisten toiveitten ja haaveitten suuri siirtomaa.'
12. Sakari Pälsi, *Suuri, kaunis ja ruma maa* (Helsinki: Otava, 1927), for example, 81–5 (on Banff), 120–36, 233–45.
13. On imperial and colonial spaces within Europe, see Vejas Gabriel Liulevicius, *The German Myth of the East: 1800 to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Janne Lahti, ed., *German and United States Colonialism in a Connected World: Entangled Empires* (London: Palgrave, 2021); Dörte Lerp, *Imperiale Grenzräume: Bevölkerungspolitiken in Deutsch-Südwestafrika und den östlichen Provinzen Preußens 1884–1914* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2016).
14. On the popularity of expansionist ideas in Finland in the early 1900s, see Sari Näre, and Jenni Kirves, eds, *Luvattu maa: Suur-Suomen unelma ja unohdus* (Helsinki: Johnny Kniga, 2014); Aapo Roselius and Oula Silvennoinen,*Villi itä: Suomen Heimosodat ja Itä-Euroopan murros, 1918–1921* (Helsinki: Tammi, 2019).
15. On the violent edge of these Finnish expansionist ideas, see Roselius and Silvennoinen, *Villi itä*; Jussi Niinistö, *Heimosotien historia 1918–1922* (Helsinki: SKS, 2005).
16. Peter Stadius, 'The Finnish Petsamo 1920–1940: Strategies and Rhetoric of Colonialism and Finnishness', *Journal of Finnish Studies* 24, nos. 1–2 (2021): 113.
17. Elina Arminen, 'Soutajia ja onkimiehiä: Petsamon kalastusmatkailu neuvotteluna valtiollisista ja kulttuurisista rajoista', in *Kolonialismi Suomen rajaseuduilla*, ed. Rinna Kullaa, Janne Lahti and Sami Lakomäki (Helsinki: Gaudemus, 2022), 170.
18. Sven Beckert, 'American Danger: United States Empire, Eurafrica, and the Territorialization of Industrial Capitalism, 1870–1950', *American Historical Review* 122, no. 4 (2017): esp. 1139–43, 1146.
19. See, e.g., Raita Merivirta, Leila Koivunen and Timo Särkkä, eds, *Finnish Colonial Encounters: From Anti-imperialism to Cultural Colonialism and Complicity* (London: Palgrave, 2021); Timo Särkkä, 'Imperialists without an Empire? Finnish Settlers in Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Rhodesia', *Journal of Migration History* 1, no. 1 (2015): 75–99; Jouko Aaltonen ja Seppo Sivonen, *Kongon Akseli: Suomalaiset ja skandinaavit kolonialismin rakentajina* (Helsinki: Into, 2022).
20. Turner's view of US Western history centred a west-bound process, existence of free land, its continuous recession and the advancing Anglo settlement. Frederick JacksonTurner, 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History', in *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Dover Publications, [1920] 1996), 1–38. For interpretations of Turner in global and US contexts, see Jens-Uwe Guettel, *German Expansionism, Imperial Liberalism and the United States, 1776–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Mark Bassin, 'Turner, Solov'ev, and the "Frontier Hypothesis": The Nationalist Significance of Open Spaces', *Journal of Modern History* 65, no. 3 (1993): 473–511; Frank Schumacher, 'Reclaiming

Territory: The Spatial Contours of Empire in US History', in *Spatial Formats under the Global Condition*, ed. Matthias Middell and Steffi Marung (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019), 124–5; William Cronon, 'Revisiting the Vanishing Frontier: The Legacy of Frederick Jackson Turner', *Western Historical Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (April 1987): 157–76.

21. Janne Lahti, *The American West and the World: Transnational and Comparative Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2019), 161–2.
22. On the German 'drang nach osten' during the *Kaiserreich* and later by the Nazis, see Liulevicius, *German Myth of the East*; Robert L. Nelson, 'The Fantasy of Open Space on the Frontier: Max Sering from the Great Plains to Eastern Europe', in Lahti, *German and United States Colonialism in a Connected World*, 41–62; Gregor Thum, ed., *Traumland Osten: Deutsche Bilder vom ostlichen Europa im 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprech, 2006); Christoph Kienemann, *Der Koloniale Blick Gen Osten: Osteuropa Im Diskurs Des Deutschen Kaiserreiches Von 1871* (Paderborn: Brill Schoningh, 2018); Kristin Kopp, *Germany's Wild East: Constructing Poland as Colonial Space* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011).
23. Väino Voionmaa, *Suomi Jäämerellä* (Helsinki: Edistysseurojen Kustannusosakeyhtiö, 1919), 7, see also 92–100, 132. 'Jäämeren avaaminen Suomelle ei merkitse ainoastaan vanhan vääryyden hyvittämistä ja pohjoisimman Suomen paikallisen elinkysymyksen ratkaisemista vaan myöskin suurenarvoisen tuotantolähteen ja tärkeän siirtola-alueen avaamista koko maallemme. Se on lisäksi oleva itsenäisen Suomen ensi askel ulos suureen vapaaseen maailmaan. Ja se on oleva ensimmäinen elonmerkki "suurenevasta Suomesta"'. More on Voionmaa's geopolitical thinking, see Maria Lähteenmäki, *Väinö Voionmaa. Puolue- ja geopoliitikko* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2014).
24. Stadius, 'Elintilaa, elinvoima ja eteenpäin', 150.
25. Harri Siiskonen, 'Matkaoppaiden Karjala maailmansotien välillä', in *Kahden Karjalan välillä, kahden Riikin riitamaalla*, ed. Tapio Hämynen (Joensuu: Joensuun yliopisto, 1999), 123–34; Arminen, 'Soutajia ja onkimiehiä', 171.
26. Lampén, *Jäämeren hengessä*, 81–2. 'Kalamies, jos samalla olet erakko luonteeltasi, souda ylös tätä hiljaista jokea koskemattoman erämaan syliin, pystytä telttasi rannalle ja laske kalastushimosi valloille. Saat tyydytyksen sekä yksinäisyydellesi että kalastushalullesi. Tai partiosakki, jonka jäsenet ovat kalamiehiä! Menkää sinne, siellä teillä on hyvä olla.' 'Erämaan herättämä kaiho valtasi minut tämän hiljaisen joen rannalla. Mikä lintumaailma siellä yläjuoksussa, mikä kalastus sen rannoilla! Mitkä tuntemattomat järvet ja lisäjoet, ehkä vielä nimettömätkin!'
27. The Finnish term Lampén uses is 'luonnonihana' which is not exactly a real word and which can be translated into 'nature-wonderful'. Lampén, *Jäämeren hengessä*, 236. A decade later Lampén wrote how Finland could use modern fishing methods to best utilize these rich waters. See Ernst Lampén, 'Kalastuksesta Petsamossa ja Jäämerellä', in *Suomen Matkailijayhdistyksen Vuosikirja 1932*, Taka-Lappi ja Petsamo (Helsinki: Mercatorin Kirjapaino Osakeyhtiö, 1932), 78–84.
28. Arminen, 'Soutajia ja onkimiehiä', 176.
29. For recent works on colonial power and naming practices, see Nacthee Blu Barnd, *Native Space: Geographic Strategies to Unsettle Settler Colonialism* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2017); Lauren Beck, 'Euro-Settler Place Naming Practices for North America through a Gendered and Racialized Lens', *Terra Incognitae* 53, no. 1 (2021): 5–25.
30. Lampén, *Jäämeren hengessä*, 234, 236.

31. Ibid., 236–7, see also 120.
32. Ibid., 238. 'Valtameren henki on meille suomalaisille tuntematon ja outo, meidän täytyy matkustaa sinne perehtyäksemme siihen. Mehän nyt olemme muuttuneet yhden äkin valtameren asukkaiksi. Kesällä siellä vallitsee pitkä päivä; viikossa, parissa siellä ehtii nähdä paljon.'
33. *Matkailulehti* 1 (May 1921), 14. 'Johtokunnan jäseniä matkustaa ensi kesäkuussa Petsamoon tutkimaan, voiko Petsamosta tulla matkailumaata. Liikeneuvot ovat tietysti alkeellisella kannalla, varsinkin kesällä, kun maanteitä puuttuu täydellisesti.'
34. On the invention of Lapland in tourism and in literature, see Piia Varanka, *Lappi matkailun näyttämöllä: saamelaiskulttuuri ja luonto matkailun kulisseina* (Rovaniemi: University of Lapland, 2001); Harri Hautajärvi, *Autiotuvista lomakaupunkeihin. Lapin matkailun arkkitehtuurihistoria* (Helsinki: Aalto-yliopisto, 2014); Veli-Pekka Lehtola, *Rajamaan identiteetti: Lappilaisuuden rakentuminen 1920- ja 1930-luvun kirjallisuudessa* (Helsinki: SKS, 1997).
35. Bernhard Gissibl, Sabine Höhler and Patrick Kupper, 'Introduction: Towards a Global History of National Parks', in *Civilizing Nature: National Parks in Global Historical Perspective* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), 2–3.
36. For a description, see Einari Merikallio, *Heinäsaarten Kansallispuisto ja Pummangin Luonnonpuisto* (Helsinki: Valtioneuvoston kirjapaino, 1939).
37. Seppo Partanen, 'Suomen matkailun perusta valettiin 1930-luvulla', 1, https://matkailijayhdistys.fi/application/files/1714/6035/2603/SMY_verkkosivut_pioneerityo_sep poj._muokattu2.pdf (accessed November 25, 2022).
38. Hautajärvi, *Autiotuvista lomakaupunkeihin*, 99.
39. J. E. Rosberg, 'Peräpohja, Kuusamo, Etelä-Lappi', in *Suomen Matkailijayhdistyksen Vuosikirja 1931* (Helsinki: Mercatorin Kirjapaino Osakeyhtiö, 1931), 12.
40. See, e.g., the news film at 'Lapin matkailu alkoi Jäämeren tieltä', https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-11417446 (accessed 15 November 2022).
41. Suomen-matkat, *Finland for Holidays 1938* (n.p.), 24.
42. Uuno Brander, 'Petsamo', *Rajaseutu* 7, no. 3 (1930): 142. 'Kaukaisuus muusta, erityisesti eteläisestä Suomesta on Petsamon erikoisia tunnusmerkkejä. Jos se olisi puoltakaan lähempänä, niin olisi kotimainen matkailu sinne monin verroin suurempi. Mahtava, jylhän kaunis ja suurpiirteinen luonto, tuntureineen, erämaineen, jäämerineen, jokilaaksoineen ja koskineen vetää vastustamattomasti ja matkan pituudesta huolimatta puoleensa.'
43. See Pälsi, *Petsamoon kuin ulkomaille*, 95–6; Agapetus, 'Aivan tavallinen maantie …', in *Suomen Matkailijayhdistyksen vuosikirja 1934* (Helsinki: Mercatorin Kirjapaino Osakeyhtiö, 1934), 60–8.
44. Here tourism imagery shares much ground with the developing tourism industry in the North American West, where wild nature in the form of national parks was increasingly accessible via modern roads. See David Wrobel and Patrick Long, eds, *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001); Hal K. Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000); Dominque Bregent-Heald, 'Landscapes, Wildlife, and Grey Owl: Settler Colonial Imaginaries and Tourist Spaces in William J. Oliver's Parks Branch Films, 1920s-1930s', in *Cinematic Settlers: The Settler Colonial World in Film*, ed. Janne Lahti and Rebecca Weaver-Hightower (London: Routledge, 2020), especially 167–8.

45. Dagmar Ruin Ramsay, 'Moottorimatka Jäämeren rannalle', in *Finlandia Vuosikirja 1930* (Helsinki: Matkailutoimisto Finlandia, 1930), 51. 'valtavaa, koskematonta kauneutta, erämaiden hiljaisuutta, jylhää luontoa, jollaista me, arkiset ihmiset aniharvoin saamme nähdä.'
46. Ramsay, 'Moottorimatka', 58. 'Illan tullen on kaikki ympärillämme niin kirkasta ja loistavaa. Ja niin hiljaista, niin äänetöntä, että on kuin kuulisi suuren, voimakkaan sydämen sykkivän. Tunturiaavikoiden mahtavuus valtaa meidät kokonaan, painaen meidät alas maan tasalle. Ja silloin sielustamme häviää arkinen kinastelu, arkinen pikkumaisuus, arkinen tomu, joka on peräisin ihmisten polkemilta, kotoisilta tanhuilta.'
47. Petsamo also attracted the cream of Finnish professional photographers. They went to capture the majestic nature, and some of these images were published in the book series 'Suomi kuvina' (Finland in Pictures). See, e.g., Felix Jonansson, ed., *Suomi kuvina, Finland i bilder, Finnland in Bildern, Finland Ilustrated, Finlande pittoresque* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1930).
48. Brander, 'Petsamo', 147–8. 'Matkailun välityksellä tulee Petsamo vuosi vuodelta yhä enemmän muun Suomen tietoisuuteen … lyhyt kokemus jo osoittaa, kuinka suuriarvoinen Petsamo on sekä kotimaiselle että kansainvälisellekin matkailulle.'
49. Heli Ilola, *Matkalla Petsamossa: katsaus 'toisen Käsivarren' matkailuun* (Rovaniemi: Lapin yliopisto, 1997), 51–2.
50. T. I. Itkonen, *Lapin-matkani* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1991), 258; P. Nilsson-Tánner, *Strandhugg vid Norra Ishavet* (Uppsala: J. A. Lindblads Förlag, 1931); Ilola, *Matkalla Petsamossa*, 30; Hans G. Westerlund, *Med indiankanot genom Finland: på vattenvägar från Norra ishavet till Finska viken* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1935).
51. Suomen-matkat, *Finland for Holidays 1934*, 3, 24.
52. Suomen-matkat, *Finland for Holidays 1933* and *1934*.
53. *Matkailulehti* 2 (December 1921), 6. 'Kieltämättä kaunein seutu Jäämeren suomalaisella rannikolla on Kolttaköngäs, pienoinen lappalaiskylä, joka sijaitsee samannimisen kosken partaalla. Patsjoen vedet valuvat tässä Jäämereen viimeisenä putouksena. Kosken rantoja reunustavat korkeat tunturit, aito norjalaiset tunturimuodostukset ja aito norjalainen vuono ottaa vastaan joen kirkkaan veden. Putous on hyvin korkea, en uskalla varmuudella ilmoittaa sen metrimäärää, mutta minusta tuntuisi noin seitsemän metrin mitta, olevan lähipitäen oikea … vesiväylä, mikä Könkään seutuun luo niin ainoalaatuisen kauneuden.'
54. Arminen, 'Soutajia ja onkimiehiä', 176.
55. Ibid., 178.
56. *Suomen Matkailu* 3A (1937), 6; Seppo Partanen, 'Petsamo-matkailumme alkukoti', https://seppojpartanen.com/petsamo-suomen-matkailun-alkukoti/ (accessed 30 November 2022).
57. Suomen-matkat, *Finland for Holidays 1934*, 3.
58. Ibid., 30.
59. Lahti, *The American West and the World*, 61–2.
60. Suomen-matkat, *Finland for Holidays 1934*, 27.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid., 31, and *Finland for Holidays 1938*, 24.
63. Maria Lähteenmäki and Alfred Colpaert, 'Memory Politics in Transition: Nostalgia Tours and Gilded Memories of Petsamo', *Finnish Journal of Tourism Research* 16, no. 1 (2020): 15–16; Unto Äärelä, 'Tämän päivän Petsamo', in *Petsamolaista 1982*, 20–3.

64. On Finnish settler memory, see Lahti, 'Rajaseudusta kotiseuduksi'; Lähteenmäki and Colpaert, *Memory Politics in Transition*.
65. Sabine Marschall, ' "Homesick Tourism": Memory, Identity and (Be)longing', *Current Issues in Tourism* 18, no. 9 (2015): 876–92.

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Suomen-matkat. *Finland for Holidays 1934–1938*. n.p.

11

Collective colonialism for European integration: The rise of Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's Pan-European movement in post-imperial Austria

Lucile Dreidemy and Eric Burton

The history of European integration is usually told with a focus on the big players – Germany and France. Yet one of the most important influences for the project of European integration did not come from these political heavyweights of Europe, but from interwar Vienna, a place and time associated more often with the competing ideologies of (Austro-)Marxism, (Austro-)fascism and neoliberalism. The country's peculiar position greatly influenced how this vision of European integration was formulated and received. Following the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the wake of the First World War, Austria was a post-imperial site; indeed, it was on the verge of becoming marginalized. As a result of rampant starvation in the wake of the First World War and economic crisis in the early 1920s, it became an object of international intervention and financial oversight (until 1926) for the League of Nations and other international bodies, putting in place practices of humanitarian intervention and international financial aid that are usually associated with forms of postcolonial governance along the North–South divide.[1] At the same time, interwar Austria was a breeding ground for both well-established and newly reconfigured imperial visions that were shaped by its particular trajectory from centrality to imminent marginality.

The reconfiguration of imperial visions becomes particularly clear in the colonial tenets of the Pan-European Union, founded in Austria in the early 1920s by former Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi (1894–1972). The movement, which still exists today, is known primarily as a peace movement and as the oldest European unification movement, sometimes seen as paving the way for the founding of the European Union. Austrian and Swiss media recently commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of Coudenhove-Kalergi's death by portraying him as 'mastermind of a united Europe' and 'visionary of his times'.[2] On the occasion of the celebrations of the hundredth anniversary of the Pan-European Union in December 2022, Austrian president Alexander van der Bellen sent his regards and called on the Pan-Europeans to work on a united Europe 'today as then with courage, ideas, vision, commitment and perseverance'.[3] In Vienna, a monument in honour of Coudenhove-Kalergi celebrates

the visionary 'standard bearer of the modern idea of Europe' and the fact that 'many of his ideas have now been implemented in the European Union'. In these and other examples of current public discourse, central dimensions of Coudenhove-Kalergi's interwar project have been absent or downplayed.[4] First, the Pan-European vision was based on retaining and expanding the colonial order, and white supremacist thought, particularly with regard to sub-Saharan Africa. Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi professed a white European race, regarded Africa as an ideal 'empire of the future' and promoted its integration into a Pan-European colonial empire. This chimed well with his elitist attitude, aristocratic origin and in many ways anti-democratic stance, all of which informed his vision of Pan-Europe. Secondly, with its headquarters in Vienna's Hofburg, the project's main architect consciously inscribed this vision in a longer imperialist tradition. Both for its contents and symbolism, Pan-Europe was therefore viewed with great suspicion in those successor states of the Habsburg Empire where fears of a reperipheralization through imperialism in a new disguise loomed large.

In the past two decades, scholars have reinterpreted Austrian history through the prism of empire, colonialism and racism, both in Europe and overseas. Against the view that Austria did not have colonies and thus was not involved in colonialism, a myth frequently exploited in establishing contacts with the Global South after 1955, they have pointed towards Austria's cultural, economic or military entanglements within the system of European imperialism – an argument that has been similarly made for Switzerland, for instance. They have also pointed out the failed or short-lived colonial projects overseas, as well as hierarchies within the Habsburg Empire on the continent, particularly the quasi-colonial conquest and annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.[5] Against narratives of a straight line from a world of empires to a world of nation-states, the time after the First World War has been reinterpreted as a time of overlapping processes of imperial decay and decolonization on the one hand and imperial reconfigurations on the other.[6] Colonial fantasies coexisted with fears of recolonization, particularly in Eastern Europe, where 'small nations that emerged from the dismantled Habsburg and Russian Empires after the end of World War I had a plausible claim as the first site of decolonization in the twentieth century'.[7] Notably, some groups in East Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe voiced calls for their own colonies to join the ranks of 'fully' European states – calls that Coudenhove amplified in his own vision of a collective European colonialism.[8]

In this context of imperial decay and reconfigurations of the colonial, the Pan-European movement was a lobby group that echoed the role of colonial societies in the Habsburg monarchy. It also reflected the political importance of non-state actors in the 1920s and 1930s. Non-state actors such as pressure groups and think tanks have received increasing attention in recent research, and their influence on interstate diplomacy is now considered as one of the key features in the growing field of transnational history. In her historiographical overview on European integration in the interwar period, Anne-Isabelle Richard looks 'beyond the ideological component of the "Federalist hurray historiography"' to uncover a 'transnational approach that has become more popular in the last 20 years which combines state/institutional archives with civil society sources examining activist networks across borders'.[9] This

approach is particularly useful to examine imperialisms 'from the margins' – such as the one promoted by the Pan-European movement.

While several recent scholarly accounts (especially in English) have placed Coudenhove-Kalergi in a larger framework of European imperialism,[10] this contribution re-embeds his project in the post-imperial context of Austria and former Habsburg territories – and explains how (Pan-)Europe was imagined from this vantage point. Coudenhove´s view that Europe could only be united through collective colonialism also sheds new light on the link between European imperialism and integration. Pan-Europe illustrates the legacy and continuity of colonial ambitions from the nineteenth century to the interwar period and the transnational and integrative turn that coined the evolution of European imperialism after the First World War: if Europe should become one, then all of its members had to have a piece of the colonial cake. In these debates, questions of centrality and marginality were key. As this contribution will show, the looming process of peripheralization often served as an argument for imperialist projects (especially in Austria, Hungary and the Czech Republic), while in the Balkans, the experience of peripherality fuelled fears of new imperialist threats.

Launching Pan-Europe: Habsburg Empire redux?

Coudenhove first launched the Pan-Europe idea in 1922 with the article 'Paneuropa – ein Vorschlag', which he published simultaneously in the *Neue Freie Presse* in Vienna and the *Vossische Zeitung* in Berlin. In October 1923, he published the book 'Paneuropa' with his newly founded publishing house bearing the same name. In 1924, a 'Pan-European Manifesto' followed, which received wide acclaim and was translated into at least nine languages (1926 into English, 1927 into French, 1928 into Czech, Croatian, Spanish, Hungarian, Latvian and Greek, later also in Japanese).[11] From 1924 onwards, Coudenhove published the monthly magazine *Paneuropa* as the official mouthpiece of the movement. Its second issue presented the 'Pan-European programme' through a number of political and economic tenets. The political dimension focused on the unification of Europe, with the notable exceptions of Great Britain and the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union was excluded because Bolshevism was seen as a direct threat of peace. Great Britain with its empire was seen as a separate 'political continent' (in contrast to Africa or Europe as 'geographical continents') that was already established, while the European 'political continent', with its African colonies, still had to be constituted.[12] On the economic level, the programme called for the successive dismantling of intra-European borders and the establishment of a European free trade system, but also for the 'planned development of the European economic colony of West Africa (French Africa, Libya, Congo, Angola) into a European source of raw materials'.[13]

As a next step to gain legitimacy and influence, Coudenhove tried to get a leading politician to act as a patron for his idea. Ideological criteria obviously did not play a major role in this process: First, he asked the liberal democratic intellectual and enthusiastically pro-European politician Tomáš G. Masaryk, who had been the first President of the Czechoslovak Republic since 1918. Starting in 1922, Masaryk initiated the creation of the 'small entente' under French patronage, to which Romania

and Yugoslavia also belonged. When Masaryk declined, Coudenhove turned to the Italian fascist leader Benito Mussolini, who also rejected the offer. Finally, the Austrian chancellor Ignaz Seipel, a Catholic prelate, theologian and leader of the conservative Christian Social Party, agreed and became honorary president of the Pan-European Central Office which opened in Austria's central edifice of political power, the Hofburg in Vienna, in April 1924.

Vienna also came to host the First Pan-European Congress in 1926. Among the two thousand guests who attended the event (five hundred of whom came from abroad)[14] there were a few pacifist intellectuals such as Albert Einstein, but otherwise mostly politicians, many of whom had already left office, and former ambassadors. The German writer Siegfried von Vegesack, whose *Poem to Europe* was read at the congress, mocked the fact that 'all too many retired ministers, washed-up politicians and divested excellencies had seized the fashionable movement in order to "somehow" be active once more'.[15] Coudenhove-Kalergi knew that the movement still had some way to go. In his final statement, he did not shy away from radical words: in order to realize the Pan-European ideals, the movement had 'to win over the leaders in the European states – there were at most 500 people in all – or, if they could not be convinced, to overthrow them and put new men in their place who would realize the Paneuropean idea'. He described the First Congress as 'a great historical event, in a sense the laying of the foundation stone of a coming empire [*ein kommendes Reich*] and the beginning of a new chapter in world history'.[16] The congress was generally received favourably in Austria. Despite the imperialist traits already indicated in Coudenhove's final statement, even the social democratic *Arbeiter-Zeitung* described the event as an 'impressive assembly of delegates gathered around the champion of this special idea of modern pacifism Coudenhove-Kalergi'.[17]

The movement's headquarters remained in the Vienna Hofburg until 1938. The choice of the former principal imperial palace of the Austrian dynasty is already a sign that Coudenhove-Kalergi very consciously inscribed the movement in a continuity with the Habsburg period.[18] The symbolic significance of the Habsburg heritage became conspicuous again as Coudenhove-Kalergi recommended that the envisaged Pan-European confederation of states (already called 'European Union') should have its headquarters in Vienna's Schönbrunn Palace, the traditional summer residence of the Habsburg rulers.

The support of chancellor Seipel as well as the later chancellor and Austrofascist dictator Engelbert Dollfuss (1892–1934) proves the resonance of the 'Central Europe' discourse among Austria's bourgeois elite in the 1920s and 1930s. As Seipel's biographer Klemens von Klemperer has shown, in his mind the idea of an 'all-Central European policy' went hand in hand with the hope of a resurrection of the monarchy or the creation of a Central European surrogate empire.[19] In foreign policy, Seipel therefore strategically balanced the plan for a Central European economic and political union (the so-called Danube Confederation), with which he sought to compensate for his Habsburg nostalgia and the connection to the League of Nations. It so happened that he became one of the six vice presidents of the League of Nations in September 1928 while barely a year earlier, he had opposed moving the League's headquarters to Vienna because he saw this move as an obstacle to other kinds of large-scale projects that could have Vienna as their capital.

This decision also reflects Seipel's efforts to unify the Austrian bourgeoisie that was increasingly divided between the advocates of a 'Greater German' union (the so-called Pan-Germanists) and the supporters of a Central European Union without Prussian-German supremacy. In 1927, for example, the Christian Socialists had joined forces with the Greater German People's Party and a National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) group for the National Council and Vienna City Council elections. This balancing act is well reflected in a letter from Seipel to the Pan-Germanist diplomat Egon Pflügl in December 1927, in which he justified his choice against Vienna as the capital of the League of Nations:

> The definitive seat of the League of Nations could never be … a city belonging to the German Empire and could never be the capital of a re-established Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, of a Central European Empire. Therefore, any action to transfer the League of Nations to Vienna implies the decision that Austria renounce either of the two aforementioned possibilities.[20]

Even though Pan-Europe is not mentioned in this letter, Seipel's refusal to 'subordinate' Vienna to the League of Nations and his support for the Pan-European movement both reflect his belief in a 'bigger' historical Austrian mission. In sharp contrast to Seipel's hopes and Coudenhove's optimism, the project of a 'new empire' based in the Vienna Hofburg immediately met with broad criticism in former Habsburg territories in the Balkans.

Post-imperialism: Hopes and fears in former Habsburg territories

One of the most controversial aspects of the reception of the Pan-European movement in the former k.u.k. member states concerned Pan-Europe's positioning regarding the peace treaties and the new states' borders. Both aspects were connected to the future influence of Vienna and Austria in Central Europe. Austrian diplomats thus eagerly documented reactions in the former member states of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy when the establishment of further Pan-European branches was discussed and the first Pan-European Congress took place in Vienna in October 1926. In former k.u.k. counterpart Hungary, the Pan-European project fuelled the hopes of revisionist elites. The Treaty of Trianon concluded between Hungary and the Allied Powers in 1920 had reduced the country to two-thirds of its former size and dealt a 'blow to expansive imperialist and ethnic assimilationist visions'.[21] This influenced what lobbyists saw as the potential of Pan-Europe for the country. The Hungarian section of the Pan-European movement was founded in June 1926. It was led by the intellectual and former minister Georg Lukacs and liberal opposition MP Antal Rainprecht and found support mainly in business and financial circles. According to the report of the Austrian Embassy, Lukacs emphasized in his first speech that 'Paneurope would reduce the importance of the borders established by the peace treaties and thus pave the way for a revision

of the treaties in the sense of uniting the Hungarians with their brothers. Therefore, it would be the duty of the Hungarians to support the Paneuropean movement.'[22] In Rainprecht's view, the fact that 'outstanding Hungarian revisionists and pillars of the former Austro-Hungarian regime' were at the head of the Hungarian Section was a clear sign that *Paneuropa* would actively work for the abolition of Trianon.[23]

In other successor states of the Habsburg Empire, nationalists were deeply irritated by the Pan-European project. Many of the negative reactions in public discourse and media were fed by various forms of resentment and sometimes couched in anti-Semitic, anti-Masonic and nationalistic terms. Yet these concerns and protests also constituted a fundamentally anti-imperialist response to the Pan-European vision. The arguments put forward by these critics therefore offer an important counter-perspective to the structures and visions of the Pan-European movement and, beyond that, on the power relations between the Central European states. In the Serbian press, for instance, critics warned that 'the initiators of the Paneuropean movement, under the cover of "Paneurope", as even a blind man could see, [are] striving for nothing more and nothing less than the restoration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire'. The critics called for 'all peoples and their states liberated by the disintegration of the Habsburg monarchy … to reject Paneurope and the Paneuropean movement a priori as a revanchist, revisionist and destructive movement'.[24] The same fear of a resurgence of Habsburg imperialism and of the loss of economic and political sovereignty was also reflected in the criticism of Polish nationalists. Immediately after the start of the First Pan-European Congress in Vienna, the Lviv paper *Słowo Polskie* warned of 'Pan-European blackmailing':

> There are … still naive and decent people who are fooled by nice phrases about humanitarianism, absolute justice and pacifism. But anyone with a bit of political sense knows very well that this is only poor stuff, which liberalism uses … [so that] the great economic-political imperialism can let its expansionist activity take full effect over the weaker ones.[25]

Should Pan-Europe become reality, the author warned, then the nation-states of Central Europe 'would definitely sink to economic colonies, created to be exploited by the great and well-functioning trusts of the rest of the imperialists'.[26] There were thus fears that the newly won sovereignty was threatened. These concerns reflect looming processes of reperipheralization in a world order that was as imperial as ever, even as some empires had disintegrated.

Coloniality informed how Viennese elites interpreted these concerns. The diplomatic correspondences document a clear continuity in the Austrians' disparaging perception of the Serbs. After the First Pan-European Congress in Vienna had received a lot of criticism from the Serbian public, the Austrian legation in Belgrade interpreted the Serbs' distrust of Pan-Europe through an othering, orientalist gaze that highlighted 'predominantly psychological moments':

> First of all, the Serb is by nature xenophobic and, like any peasant people – and especially an oriental one – distrustful. In his heart of hearts, every Serb wishes

> that he could build a Chinese wall around the country and operate without any influence from, and without any consideration for, foreigners.[27]

The report went on to reiterate that the 'whole [Serbian] mentality is too primitive' to allow thoughts beyond one's own country and Yugoslavia. This blunt description culminated in the parable of the scavenging birds, evoking a continuity of power relations despite the disintegration of the Habsburg Empire:

> The crows that have pecked the moribund double-headed eagle [of Austria-Hungary] to death know that they have not thereby become eagles themselves, and when the wind of new ideas blows, they still believe they can hear the rustling of its wings above them.[28]

These interpretive patterns echoed hateful tropes such as those of 'uncultured louse people' that characterized anti-Serb racist discourse in Austria in the late phase of the monarchy, especially after Peter Karageorgevic took power in 1903 and claimed to liberate Serbia from political and economic dependence on the Habsburg monarchy. This Serbian agitation was massively fomented by the Austrian Foreign Office and through the German-Austrian press and was subsequently used to legitimize so-called punitive expeditions against Serb residents of the Monarchy in 1914. These 'punitive expeditions' led to massacres that killed some 30,000 Serbian civilians in the summer and autumn of that year.[29] Serbians' distrust and even fear of the Pan-European project needs to be seen against the background of these historical experiences with Austrian imperialism.

Coudenhove's writings on Pan-Europe do not explicitly suggest any (re)colonization efforts in the Balkans. The fears in some of the newly independent states, however, were likely due to the fact that, in addition to the symbolic continuity with Habsburg imperialism, colonialism was from the outset a constitutive element of Coudenhove-Kalergi's project of continental unification, as illustrated already in the economic part of the 'Pan-European programme' published in 1924. This colonial vision became even more clear in his well-known 1929 treatise *Afrika*, published in the movement's mouthpiece *Paneuropa*.

Colonialism and racism at the core of the Pan-European project

In many ways, the motives in favour of colonialism which Coudenhove-Kalergi brought forward in his writings reproduced established colonial and racist tropes that were a staple of European discourse since the second half of the nineteenth century. From the mid-nineteenth century onward, some members of the elite had advocated for a stronger Austrian participation in overseas colonial ventures. Lacking capital and careful not to provoke other powers, Austrian politicians shunned large-scale territorial overseas acquisitions and settled for the Balkans as the country's main 'sphere of

influence', a focus that also led to the conquest and annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a 'surrogate colony'.[30] Still, fantasies to acquire overseas colonies persisted in some groups and were revived in the wake of the First World War. In 1917, two lobbying organizations, the *Kolonialverein* (a colonial association) and the *Flottenverein* (a maritime society) led a campaign for Austro-Hungary to acquire overseas colonies, arguing that access to 'tropical raw materials' was essential to maintain the status of 'a political and economic great power' (*Großmacht*).[31] While Coudenhove-Kalergi did not refer directly to these overseas aspirations and practices of the Habsburg Empire, his envisioned collective imperialism cannot be detached from this Viennese heritage: Austria, as well as Eastern European nations, were to co-rule colonies, particularly on the African continent.

Coudenhove-Kalergi conceived of Africa as a source of cheap raw materials, a market for European industrial products and an outlet for emigrants to solve the problem of European 'overpopulation'. He framed the project *Eurafrika*, as he also called it, in terms of the civilizing mission of the white race. He paid lip service to welfare objectives that had also made it into the League of Nations' standards of governing mandate territories and suggested that Africa's future without Europe looked bleak. There would either be 'chaos, anarchy, disease, tribes fighting each other;' or a Bolshevik revolution that would be as fatal as the Haitian revolution in the aftermath of the French revolution.[32] Bolshevik and Black revolutions were both anathema to Coudenhove-Kalergi. In 1924, he provocatively asked French politicians if they 'put more trust in her [France's] black subjects – or in her white brothers', warning that the former would lead to an armed uprising akin to the historical mutiny of soldiers in Carthage as evoked in Gustave Flaubert's novel *Salammbô* (1862).[33]

Coudenhove justified colonialism by portraying the relationship between Europe and Africa as mutually beneficial, in a complementary yet strictly hierarchical way. The metaphors he used all transmitted this sense of asymmetrical unity: Europe was *Eurafrika*'s 'head', Africa its 'body;' Europe a 'house with many flats', Africa its 'garden' or 'plantation'.[34] While advocating for a gigantic common market and European emigration to Africa, he strongly warned against the immigration of black Africans to Europe, mentioning both soldiers and workers, perhaps under the impression of France's African troops. He explicitly rejected the applicability of the principle of self-determination for Africans, justifying this with the supposed inequality between races, seeing the white and black races as opposite ends (*Rassepole*, 'race poles') of a racial spectrum. For Coudenhove-Kalergi, it was important to maintain the Mediterranean, 'brown North Africa' and the Sahara as a racial cordon sanitaire between 'white' Europe and 'black' sub-Saharan Africa to avoid the emergence of the 'negro question' as he saw it in the United States.[35] Racism was thus constitutive of *Eurafrika* in several ways: it meant separating populations and their political and social rights along imagined racial lines and thereby upholding white supremacy. He considered the 'European race' to be 'a spiritual fact' as 'this race has created our culture and, beyond that, world culture; it has colonised America, opened up Asia, conquered Africa'.[36] In this white supremacist logic, the Pan-European project was about the future and salvation of the 'European race' and, by extension, humanity: 'On the future of the white race depends, for the most part, the future of humanity', he stated in 1934.[37]

With the rise of National Socialism, Coudenhove did not abandon racist and white supremacist thought, but rather integrated it in his argument against Hitler. His radical critique of anti-Semitism, for instance, was based on an equally problematic racial theory. He considered Jews, together with the 'blood nobility' (*Blutadel*), as one of the two 'quality races' or 'preferential races' (*Qualitätsrassen* or *Vorzugsrassen*) destined to lead Europe's future.[38] This racial logic – often incoherent in its terminology, but consistent in its white supremacist content[39] – was replete with anti-Semitic stereotypes, for example when he postulated that the core of the future European nobility would lie 'in the feudal blood nobility, insofar as it did not allow itself to be corrupted by the court, [and] in the Jewish brain nobility, insofar as it did not allow itself to be corrupted by capital'.[40]

His main argument against Hitler Germany was therefore that the 'arbitrary theories' of the National Socialists would 'divide' and 'poison' the white race. Rather, he said, everything should be done to 'unite this white race into greater power and community'.[41] 'Neither the Germanic, nor the Latin, nor the Slavic race [carry] the future of Europe', he asserted, 'but the eternal chain of geniuses and heroes of the white race: with their blond and dark hair; with their Germanic, Slavic or Latin language'.[42] Coudenhove's colonial plan also included the idea of founding a 'Jewish state'. Here, Coudenhove adopted the French government's plan to use the high plateau of Madagascar as land for Jewish settlement and expanded this plan to include Uganda, Rhodesia, Kenya and Nyasaland (now Malawi). To coordinate the project, he planned to establish a Jewish African Colonization Society in cooperation with Great Britain, the United States and France.[43]

In his colonial and explicitly racist attitude, Coudenhove-Kalergi was not just a 'child of his times'. He actively and strategically chose the pro-colonial discourse just when it was challenged by leftist anti-colonial voices that had gained some credence since the early 1920s. The short-lived International Working Committee of Socialist Parties for instance, which was founded in February 1921 under the leadership of Friedrich Adler in Vienna (and was therefore also known as Vienna International or Vienna Union), proclaimed the right of self-determination for all peoples and called on all European socialists to join the international struggle against capitalism and colonialism. But as early as 1923, the Vienna Union, mocked by the Comintern as the 'Two and a Half International', reverted to the Second International, and its anti-colonial programme was sidelined by the latter's colonial reformist course of the Second International.[44] Still, several socialist and communist anti-colonial forces crystallized in the League of Anti-Imperialism and the Congress against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism in Brussels in 1927.[45]

Against these currents, Coudenhove-Kalergi was an advocate of colonialism in principle. He railed against Moscow's rejection of colonialism and saw a global struggle of adherents of misguided 'race democracy' (*Rassendemokratie*) against proper 'race aristocracy' (*Rassenaristokratie*) – another aspect that has long been neglected in the discussion of his thought.[46] While, in his view, the Anglo-Saxons wanted a 'white world oligarchy' and the League of Nations was 'a coalition to safeguard the predominance of the white race over the coloured', the Soviets fought for the 'liberation of African and Asian colonial peoples', which is why two-thirds

of humanity sympathized with Moscow and the Third International', a 'counter-League of Nations' (*Gegenvölkerbund*).[47] In this global stand-off, other Western Europeans could only maintain colonial rule within the framework of the Anglo-Saxon programme – and Germans and Eastern Europeans had to be prevented from joining the Soviet camp. In this situation, he offered *Eurafrika* as a political entity that would not undermine the global supremacy of whites, saying that the 'solidarity of race precedes the solidarity of citizenship'.[48]

In Austria and Germany, this orientation did not necessarily lead to an estrangement of leftists from the Pan-European movement. The Eurocentric orientation of the Second International resulted in quite a few Social Democrats becoming members of Paneuropa. In Austria, Karl Renner was vice president of the Austria Committee until 1931. The German Social Democratic Party (SPD) even included Pan-European goals in its 1925 party programme.[49] Nevertheless, a few leftists held on to anti-colonial attitudes and their vision of an anti-imperialist Europe. In 1930, the German pacifist Carl von Ossietzky, for instance, criticized the aristocratic understanding of politics and Europe that Coudenhove-Kalergi – whom he ironically referred to as 'a good European, and an even better Austrian' – embodied, charging him to ignore the populations in the colonized territories and the 'movement Africa to the Africans': 'Being European used to mean being anti-imperialist, it meant renouncing the exploitation of other, more primitive races' and fighting 'colonial atrocities'.[50] In a similar vein, the German leftist Catholic publicist Werner Thormann, both an admirer and critic of Austrian conservative chancellor Ignaz Seipel, denounced the political danger of Seipel's balancing act between the League of Nations and his neo-imperialist plans in Central Europe: 'The restoration of a Danubian confederation with the help of Western European imperialism, tolerated by German reaction and Italian fascism – that would be the consummation of that white Paneurope that is haunting so many minds today.'[51]

Colonialism as a means of European integration

Bringing white Europeans together was precisely the point. As Peo Hansen and Stefan Jonsson have shown, 'colonialism after World War I emerged as an argument for European integration and, indeed, as a way of salvaging – not Africa, but Europe'.[52] It was proposed as a strategy against threats of being crushed by the rise of Soviet Bolshevism or American economic power.[53] In this vein, Coudenhove-Kalergi conceived of the colonial project as an integrative endeavour: 'The colonies of European powers can either become a bone of contention that divides Europe – or a common field of work that unites it', Coudenhove wrote in one of his first programmatic works. Following this logic, he demanded 'economic equality for all Europeans in the colonies of European states' and emphasized that this collective imperialism would benefit all involved: 'The colonial powers will have the greatest advantage from this joint development, because the value and wealth of their colonies will increase many times over. But the other peoples of Europe will also find unlimited opportunities to gain on European colonial soil all that their native climates deny them.'[54]

To be sure, inter-imperial cooperation was far from unprecedented, as shown most clearly in the Congo Conference in Berlin in 1884/5 (which Coudenhove-Kalergi affirmingly referred to[55]) or the violent suppression of the Boxer Rebellion which had involved many imperial powers, including a willing Austria-Hungary.[56] The mandates system of the League of Nations was also based on a vision of inter-imperial agreement to secure the colonial status quo rather than speed up the dismantling of empires.[57] Already by the early 1920s, however, Coudenhove-Kalergi had come to criticize the incapacity (*Unfähigkeit*) of the League of Nations and its nation-based set-up which contrasted his vision of larger geopolitical blocs.[58] These novel thoughts and remaining contradictions also informed the visualization of his imperial vision in a world map that showed Pan-Europe stretching from Scandinavia to Angola and from Suriname to Papua (Figure 11.1).

The question marks in Abyssinia (Ethiopia), Siam (Thailand) and Turkey indicate imperial rather than national futures: neither state was recognized as a sovereign entity. Presenting major geopolitical blocs, the map showed Pan-Europe as including territories that had just broken free from the Habsburg Empire.

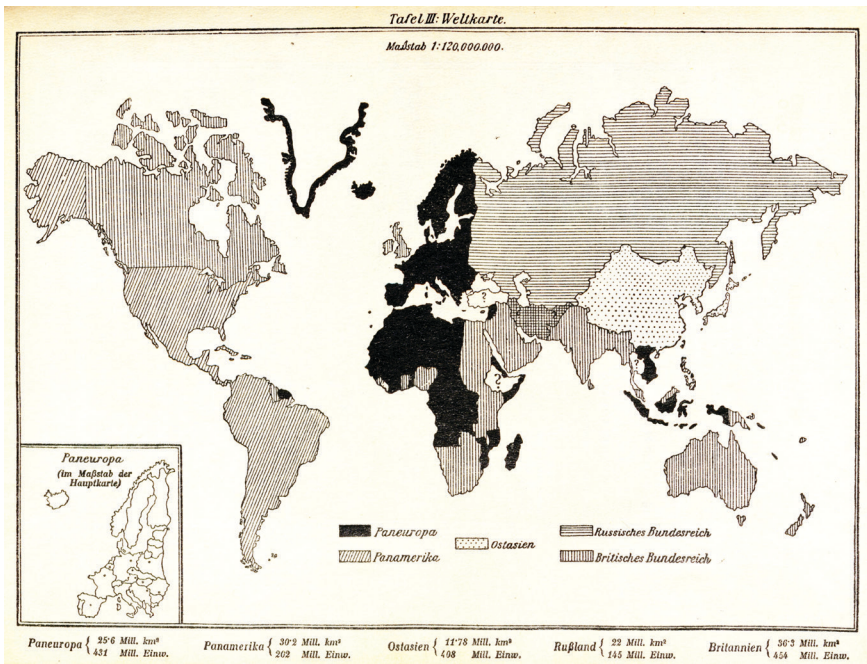

Figure 11.1 The world according to Coudenhove-Kalergi: 'Weltkarte', 1929. This map was first published in the 1924 manifesto and then reproduced on the last page of most issues of the *Paneuropa* magazine into the 1930s. In the 1930s, some issues did not end with the map, but with the list of the nine main goals of the organization. Goal 5 reads: 'Joint exploitation (Erschließung) of European colonies.' See, for instance, *Paneuropa* 3 (1938).

The plan to divide the colonies among the Pan-European member states met with sharp criticism from French politicians who saw colonial internationalization as an infringement of their colonial hegemony. Shortly after a French version of the Pan-European programme (including this idea) was circulated, the Austrian legation in Paris reported a certain resentment against the Pan-European movement at the Quai d'Orsay. Paris did not only suggest to Coudenhove that such politically sensitive interference was in no way likely to strengthen sympathy for the movement in authoritative circles. According to the Austrian delegate in Paris, he was even urged to promise to put the 'incriminating topic' aside and focus on economic questions in future.[59] But the concerns of the French did not persuade Coudenhove to reconsider his plans. Internationalization was an essential part of the zeitgeist and Coudenhove's plans far from unusual. The idea of an internationalization and supranationalization of colonialism in Africa was, according to Peo Hansen and Stefan Jonsson, 'one of the least controversial and most popular foreign policy ideas of the interwar period', 'and proposals for its practical execution were developed by a wide range of European writers, academics, social planners, politicians and institutions'.[60] Yet in addition to this broader European context, Coudenhove-Kalergi's political project also needs to be placed in Austria's specific post-imperial history. The collapse of the Habsburg Empire had destroyed Europe's largest integrated market – this might have spurred Coudenhove-Kalergi's thinking for a joint market that included both the European and African territories of *Eurafrika*.

In Coudenhove-Kalergi's view, the 'colonial question' threatened to tear Europe apart as its Eastern states were still deprived of colonial possessions and their riches. Withholding Eastern Europe from participation in colonialism would lead these states into 'Russia's arms' and ultimately cause a Civil War in Europe.[61] Thus, the Pan-European idea became a means to challenge the existing colonial and imperial map of the world, to make the empire project profitable for the European margins, to foster European integration and at the same time also to fight 'the Bolshevik threat'.

Eastern European participation in colonialism was not solely Coudenhove-Kalergi's brainchild: While some Central Eastern Europeans affirmingly identified with anti-colonial struggles beyond Europe and were eager to 'construct a viable nation state that … could no longer easily be rendered a European periphery vulnerable to colonization', others 'came to participate in, and identify with, the continent's expansionist colonialism of the nineteenth century – albeit at the margins'.[62] This included calls by Polish and Czechoslovak lobbyists since 1919, arguing that colonial possessions, including a possible 'miniature United States' in Africa, were a fair recompensation for previous imperial oppression through Germans and Austrians and would help their countries to 'become part of the centre of the world, whereas now we find ourselves on the margins'.[63] Various projects ensued during the 1920s and 1930s.[64]

Coudenhove's calls for colonies for Eastern Europe thus tapped into a certain potential, even if this was usually in national (rather than collective) terms – and also did not apply across the board. In contrast to colonial fantasies and initiatives in Poland, Czechoslovakia or Hungary, there were no colonial lobbies from the Balkans after the First World War. This was not only because the states of Romania, Bulgaria or Serbia 'were already being consolidated from 1878', but also because 'national movements

were well aware of the parallel cultural and political processes that rendered both Africa and the Balkans colonizable; after all, the Congress of Berlin had simultaneously divided up Africa and given Vienna the right to administer … Bosnia-Herzegovina.'[65] Pan-Europe's colonial register thus resonated differently, depending on contingent experiences of imperial rule and subjection and how various actors tried to come to terms with the process of empires collapsing, but also being reconfigured.

Given that Pan-Europe was a transnational political project that sought to attract as large a following as possible, Coudenhove-Kalergi spoke to many audiences at once. In his home country for instance, the project met with broad approval from the far-right fringes of the bourgeois camp to Social Democrats, including Karl Renner and the young Bruno Kreisky. Austria was indeed destined to play a central role in the Pan-European future envisaged by Coudenhove-Kalergi. Parallel to the plan aimed at integrating the Western colonies into a European-led Eurafrica, Coudenhove-Kalergi pursued a similar integration logic in Central Europe: Here, too, his vision was to integrate all successor states of the k.u.k. monarchy into a Pan-European federation of states – led by Austria.

Austrian-led European imperialism?

In Austria, the Pan-European project had prominent patrons. The country's former chancellor and conservative politician Seipel remained honorary president of Pan-Europe until his death in 1932. He was succeeded in November 1933 by the Christian Social dictator Dollfuss and after Dollfuss's death in 1934 by his successor, Kurt Schuschnigg. Dollfuss and the Austrofascist regime had a more ambivalent relationship to the Habsburg period than Seipel. Monarchists like the nominal heir to the throne Otto Habsburg (who was from 1958 to 1972 vice president and from 1973 to 2004 president of the Pan-European Union) were among the most steadfast supporters of the Austrofascist regime, but even under Kurt Schuschnigg, who came from a family of Austrian officers, the regime thwarted efforts to return to the monarchy.[66] The regime rather supported the idea of an economically united 'Danube Confederation', the initial aim of which was to build solid partnerships that put a halt to Germany's expansionism. At the same time, however, they also conceived the Danube Confederation as a means of restoring Austria's historical supremacy in Central Europe.

Coudenhove-Kalergi surfed this very discursive wave. His radio address 'Paneurope creates: peace-work-bread!' (*Paneuropa schafft: Friede-Arbeit-Brot!*), broadcast on Austrian radio on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of the First World War on July 11, 1934, is a telling example. In the speech, he highlighted once again the colonialist dimension of the Pan-European project – but also added that it was Austria's historic mission to lead the future Pan-European confederation of states:

> Austria's great mission lies in this decisive struggle for political and economic renewal. It is no coincidence that the Paneuropean movement started from Vienna; that its first great congress took place in Vienna in 1926 … It is no coincidence that all leaders of Austria, regardless of their internal political attitude, declared

> their support for Paneuropa … Because Austria is not only geographically and strategically – but also politically, economically and culturally in the centre of Europe.[67]

According to Coudenhove-Kalergi, it was this 'European core landscape' that shaped the 'Austrian man' into an epitome of goodness, cultural greatness and political power: 'free of national hatred and national one-sidedness; a German European open to all great cultural currents'. Austria itself was presented as 'the former centre of the largest European state of nations' and 'the only supranational great power'. 'This great tradition', Coudenhove-Kalergi concluded, 'this proud past commits Austria to the European mission!' This also implied a 'global political future' for Vienna as Europe's federal capital. At the end of the speech, he called on all Austrians to join and lead the movement: 'Close the ranks of the European Front: Austria ahead in Europe!' Among Austrian elites, Coudenhove's patriotism fell on fertile ground. In the 1930s, high-ranking conservative politicians repeatedly lobbied for him to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Dollfuss, Schuschnigg and the Federal President Wilhelm Miklas even supported the application on the grounds that Coudenhove was an Austrian – which (in terms of citizenship) was not the case.[68]

Austria also proved to be a fertile breeding ground for Coudenhove's colonial programme. During the World Economic Conference in London in 1933, the Dollfuss government had entered secret negotiations with conference participants in the hope of obtaining one of the former colonies that Germany was reclaiming for itself.[69] The idea of Austrian colonies was also supported by entrepreneurs, diplomats and merchants, who subsequently founded an Austrian Colonial Association. Their effort to obtain a mandate territory failed, but the invasion of Abyssinia by Mussolini's Italy opened the door to a revival of Austrian indirect colonialism. The Austrian participation in Italian colonialism in Abyssinia took the form of joint ventures such as the 'Austro-Italian Society for Trade with Italian East Africa' that was created as soon as November 1936 by the Austrian Foreign Office and the Societa Coloniale Italiana of the Italian Ministry of Colonial Affairs.[70]

Support for the Italian invasion in Abyssinia was another common point with Coudenhove who approved of Mussolini's colonialism and the League of Nation's decision to refrain from imposing sanctions on Italy for attacking a fellow member from 1935 onwards.[71] Coudenhove's opinion on Italy was – like many of his views – inherently contradictory: he wanted Mussolini to act as honorary president of the movement but also saw him as 'exponent of Italian imperialism' who posed a threat to Europe. According to his logic that only common colonies could unite Europe and preserve peace, he had proposed to hand over France's mandate for Syria to Italy as early as 1927. He was convinced that the danger of imperialism from Mussolini's Italy 'would only be finally averted when the colonial powers came to realize that the personal and economic equality of all Europeans in the European colonies should be valued more highly than the question of colonial ownership'.[72] In other words: For the preservation of peace in Europe, Coudenhove was ready to sacrifice non-white peoples and support a war of conquest as 'a natural outlet for Italian expansion, which otherwise threatens

to bring about European disasters': 'It would be a crime to let Europe go up in flames just to extinguish the Abyssinian fire.'[73]

Once again, it would be too simplistic to see Coudenhove, in terms of his support for Italy's aggression, simply as a child of his times. His preference to imagine the 1935 Italian invasion in Abyssinia as a 'local' conflict in order to avoid a spillover towards Europe was a political decision which provoked staunch criticism. The Austrian businessman Julius Meinl, temporarily a financial supporter of the Pan-European project, told Coudenhove-Kalergi in no uncertain terms that the failure to sanction Italy through the League of Nations rendered such invasions increasingly acceptable and paved the way for Pan-Europe's transformation into a 'Europe of bandits' (*Banditeneuropa*).[74] Just as the relation to Meinl apparently broke down over this disagreement, there was also dismay in Czechoslovakia: Václav Schuster, the Secretary General of the national branch of the Pan-European movement, was infuriated and resigned from his post.[75] Apart from these two splits – with Meinl and the Pan-European leaders in Prague – the available sources suggest that the question of the colonization of Africa did not lead to controversies within the movement. This is another sign that Coudenhove's Eurafrica idea was in line with the trend towards collective imperialism that was widespread in capitalist Europe in the interwar period.

Despite Coudenhove-Kalergi's efforts, Pan-Europe did not morph into a tangible political project as the world entered the maelstrom of the Second World War. The concept was embraced, however, by leading politicians such as Winston Churchill and Konrad Adenauer after the Second World War. The idea of Eurafrica also experienced a renaissance in the late 1950s, when the process of decolonization in Africa picked up speed – and West European powers with and without colonies started thinking about ways to reconfigure that process in a way that would jointly benefit them. The genesis of the European Economic Community in the late colonial era was built on premises of the 1920s.[76] Once more, the crumbling of empires gave way to thoughts how relations could be reconfigured without sacrificing (neo-)imperial interests; once more, an objectified Africa was a building stone of European integration.

Conclusion

Interwar Vienna, emerging from the remains of the Habsburg Empire and the First World War, was home to neo-imperial ambitions. Subjected to international oversight and object of international interventions in the early 1920s, it was here that Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi formulated his Pan-European project. He affirmed Europe's colonial mission and the supremacy of the white race on a global scale and even planned to include Eastern European states in the rule of Africa. Colonialism was thus an essential device for European integration, which Coudenhove saw as a necessary matter of defence against both the economic powerhouse America and revolutionary Bolshevism.

The Pan-European project was thus shaped by imperial legacies and fears about Austria's (and continental Europe's) peripheralization in the face of growing US and

Soviet influence. In response to this, it also foresaw imperial futures, making Vienna central again. In some successor states of the Habsburg Empire, this provoked concerns over a renewed Austrian predominance in the region – concerns to which Austrian observers reacted with the very sense of superiority that fuelled these fears. Read through the prism of empire and post-imperialism, the Pan-European vision can be seen as a telling example of the new form of collective and integrative imperialism that framed the history of European integration and more generally of international order post-First World War. This perspective on the history of Pan-European thought and reactions to this project challenges self-congratulatory tales of the Pan-European movement in particular and narratives of European integration (e.g. the Nobel Peace Prize award ceremony EU) at large in which histories of empire and racism have been silenced.[77]

Notes

1. Patricia Clavin, 'The Austrian Hunger Crisis and the Genesis of International Organization after the First World War', *International Affairs* 90, no. 2 (2014): 265–78; Patricia Clavin, *Securing the World Economy: The Reinvention of the League of Nations, 1920–1946* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 25–30; Peter Becker and Natasha Wheatley, eds, *Remaking Central Europe: The League of Nations and the Former Habsburg Lands* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021).
2. Jürg Schoch,'Dieser Graf ist ausweisungsreif', *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 20 June 2022, www.nzz.ch/schweiz/graf-coudenhove-kalergi-eu-vordenker-in-der-schweiz-ld.1689507; Anita Ziegerhofer, 'Vordenker eines vereinten Europas', Wiener Zeitung, 24 July 2022, www.wienerzeitung.at/nachrichten/wissen/geschichte/2155391-Vordenker-eines-vereinten-Europas.html. See also, as a case in point, the article in the online encyclopedia of the House of Austrian History, www.hdgoe.at/paneuropa.
3. Reinhard Kloucek, '100 Jahre Paneuropa', press release, OTS/APA, 14 November 2022, www.ots.at/presseaussendung/OTS_20221114_OTS0102/100-jahre-paneuropa.
4. This particularly applies to accounts in German, but see also Martyn Bond, *Hitler's Cosmopolitan Bastard: Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi and His Vision of Europe* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2021). For a more critical view in Czech, for instance, see František Stellner, 'Richard hrabě von Coudenhove-Kalergi: Otec myšlenky vzniku Spojených států evropských', *100+1*, 17 August 2022, www.stoplusjednicka.cz/richard-hrabe-von-coudenhove-kalergi-otec-myslenky-vzniku-spojenych-statu-evropskych. For the substantial body of critical scholarly accounts in English, see the references below.
5. Walter Sauer, ed., *K.u.k. kolonial-Habsburgermonarchie und europäische Herrschaft in Afrika* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2002); Werner Telesko, 'Colonialism without Colonies: The Civilizing Missions in the Habsburg Empire', in *Cultural Heritage as Civilizing Mission: From Decay to Recovery*, ed. Michael Falser (New York: Springer, 2015), 35–48; Ulrich E. Bach, *Tropics of Vienna: Austrian Colonial Utopias, 1870–1900* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016). On efforts to grasp the 'quasi-colonial' position of Bosnia-Herzegovina, see Clemens Ruthner and Tamara Scheer, eds, *Bosnien-Herzegowina und Österreich-Ungarn, 1878–1918. Annäherung an eine Kolonie* (Tübingen: Ranck, 2018).

6. On this point, see also more generally Frederick Cooper, 'Decolonizations, Colonizations, and More Decolonizations: The End of Empire in Time and Space', *Journal of World History* 33, no. 3 (2022): 491–526.
7. James Mark and Quinn Slobodian, 'Eastern Europe in the Global History of Decolonization', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Ends of Empire*, ed. Martin Thomas and Andrew S. Thompson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 352.
8. See, for instance, Sarah Lemmen, 'Beyond the League of Nations: Public Debates on International Relations in Czechoslovakia during the Interwar Period', in *Remaking Central Europe*, 343–61; Marta Grzechnik, 'The Missing Second World: On Poland and Postcolonial Studies', *Interventions* 21, no. 7 (2019): 998–1014.
9. Anne-Isabelle Richard, 'A Global Perspective on European Cooperation and Integration since 1918', in *The Cambridge History of the European Union*, ed. Mathieu Segers and Steven Van Hecke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), 459–80.
10. See ibid. and the references below.
11. Anita Ziegerhofer-Prettenthaler, *Botschafter Europas: Richard Nikolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi und die Paneuropa-Bewegung in den zwanziger und dreißiger Jahren* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2004), 85.
12. Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, 'Genf 1925', *Paneuropa* 2, no. 4 (1925–6): 19.
13. Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, 'Das Pan-Europa-Programm', *Paneuropa* 2 (1924): 4.
14. On 13 September 1926, the Viennese daily *Neue Freie Presse* announced: 'The congress will become the focal point of the European unification movements in the fields of politics, economy and ideas. Outstanding personalities from all parts of Europe have already announced their participation.' 'Tagungsprogramm des Ersten Paneuropakongresses', *Neue Freie Presse*, 13 September 1936, 5.
15. 'allzu viele Minister a. D., abgewirtschaftete Politiker und abgetakelte Exzellenzen sich der modischen Bewegung bemächtigt hätten, um sich noch einmal "irgendwie" zu betätigen.' Siegfried von Vegesack, 'Paneuropäischer Kongreß', *Weltbühne* 22, no. 2 (1926): 630, quoted in Ziegerhofer-Prettenthaler, *Botschafter Europas*, 144.
16. Polizeidirektion Wien to BKA, 'Bericht über den Ersten Paneuropa-Kongress', 11 October 1926, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (Austrian State Archive, Vienna; henceforth ÖStA), AdR, NPA, box 276, 15/54 Paneuropa 1924–9, Bündel 1924–7.
17. 'Der Paneuropakongreß', *Arbeiter Zeitung*, 4 October 1926.
18. Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi to Chancellor Johann Schober, 29 January 1930, ÖStA, AdR, NPA, 277, 15/54 Paneuropa 1924–9, Bündel 1930.
19. Klemens von Klemperer, *Ignaz Seipel, Staatsmann einer Krisenzeit* (Graz, 1976), 246, quoted in Ziegerhofer-Prettenthaler, *Botschafter Europas*, 171.
20. Seipel to legate Pflügl, Vienna, 26 December 1927, ADÖ 6/894, 26 December 1927, 205–7: 205–6: 'Der definitive Sitz des Völkerbundes dürfte aber niemals eine … zum Deutschen Reich gehörende Stadt und niemals die Hauptstadt einer wiedererstandenen österr.-ungarischen Monarchie, eines mitteleuropäischen Kaiserreiches sein können. Daher bedeutet jede Aktion zur Verlegung des Völkerbundes nach Wien den Entschluss, dass Oesterreich auf jede der beiden vorgenannten Möglichkeiten verzichtet.' Many thanks to Peter Becker for bringing this letter to our attention.
21. Zoltán Ginelli, 'Hungarian Indians: Racial and Anti-colonial Solidarity in Post-Trianon Hungary', *Critical Geographies Blog*, 18 March 2019, https://kritikaifoldrajz.hu/2019/03/18/hungarian-indians-racial-and-anti-colonial-solidarity-in-post-trianon-hungary.

22. Letter from the Austrian legation in Belgrade to the Austrian federal chancellor, 18 August 1926, signed Hill, ÖStA, NPA, 276, 15/54 Paneuropa 1924–9, Bündel 1924–7.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. 'Die Paneuropäische Erpressung', *Słowo Polskie*, 8 October 1926, quoted in a letter from the Austrian legation in Belgrade to the Austrian federal chancellor, 26 October 1926, signed Hoffinger, ÖStA, NPA, 276, 15/54 Paneuropa 1924–9, Bündel 1924–7. Original: 'Paneuropejski Skantaz', *Słowo Polskie*, 8 October 1926, 5, https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/publication/219222/edition/207784.
26. 'Die Paneuropäische Erpressung', *Słowo Polskie*, 8 October 1926.
27. Letter from the Austrian legation in Belgrade to the Austrian Federal chancellor, 26 October 1926, signed Hoffinger, ÖStA, NPA, 276, 15/54 Paneuropa 1924–9, Bündel 1924–7.
28. 'Die Krähen, die den zu Tode getroffenen Doppelaar zerhackt haben, fühlen selber, daß sie deshalb noch keine Adler geworden sind, und glauben beim Brausen des Windes neuer Ideen noch immer das Rauschen seiner Schwingen über sich zu hören.' Letter from the Austrian legation in Belgrade to the Austrian federal chancellor, 26 December 1926, signed Hoffinger, ÖStA, NPA, 276, 15/54 Paneuropa 1924–9, Bündel 1924–7.
29. On anti-Serb racism in the Habsburg monarchy, see Mark Mazower, *The Balkans: From the End of Byzantium to the Present Day* (London: Phoenix, 2000).
30. See the contributions by Clemens Ruthner ('Bosnien-Herzegowina als k.u.k. Kolonie. Eine Einführung') and Tamara Scheer (' "Kolonie" – "Neu-Österreich" – "Reichsland(e)". Zu begrifflichen Zuschreibungen Bosnien-Herzegowinas im österreichisch-ungarischen Staatsverband, 1878–1918'), in Ruthner and Scheer, *Bosnien-Herzegowina und Österreich-Ungarn*.
31. 'Oesterreichisch-ungarische Kolonialpläne', *Germania*, 24 October 1917, quoted in Kriegspressequartier, *Auszug aus der Tagespresse*, 28 October 1917, 8.
32. Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, 'Afrika', *Paneuropa* 5, no. 2 (1929): 6.
33. Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, 'Offener Brief an die Französische Kammer', *Paneuropa* 1, no. 3 (June 1924): 5.
34. Coudenhove-Kalergi, 'Afrika', 3, 17.
35. Ibid., 4.
36. Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, 'Europäische Rasse', *Paneuropa* 5 (1934): 100–1.
37. Ibid.
38. Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Praktischer Idealismus: Adel, Technik, Pazifismus* (Vienna: Paneuropa-Verlag, 1925), 44–5.
39. Moritz Oberhollenzer, 'Paneuropa oder Eurafrika? Richard Nikolaus Coudenhove-Kalergis koloniale Ambitionen in der Zwischenkriegszeit', *historia.scribere* 14 (2022): 135–60.
40. Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Praktischer Idealismus*, 45: 'im feudalen Blutadel, soweit er sich nicht vom Hofe, im jüdischen Hirnadel, soweit er sich nicht vom Kapital korrumpieren ließ'. In view of the strong anti-communist dimension of his programme, one might be surprised that he included 'the small fighting group of revolutionary intelligentsia' and especially Lenin and Trotsky in his 'Jewish brain nobility' (*jüdischer Hirnadel*) category. This passage is a good example of the strong contradictions in his thought.
41. Coudenhove-Kalergi, 'Europäische Rasse', 101.
42. Ibid.

43. See Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, 'Der Judenstaat', *Paneuropa* 13, no. 7 (1937): 201.
44. Cf. 'Principes: L´impérialisme et la question sociale', in André Donneur, 'Histoire de l'union des partis socialistes pour l'action internationale (1920–1923)' (PhD thesis, Université Laurentienne, Geneva, 1967), 399–402; Talbot C. Imlay, *The Practice of Socialist Internationalism: European Socialists and International Politics, 1914–1960* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018), 79–81.
45. On this event and its participants, see Jürgen Dinkel, *The Non-aligned Movement: Genesis, Organization and Politics (1927–1992)* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), chapter 1.
46. Coudenhove-Kalergi, 'Afrika', 9. Ziegerhofer does not take these elements into account in her analysis of Coudenhove's positioning towards democracy and aristocracy: Ziegerhofer-Prettenthaler, *Botschafter Europas*, 426–51.
47. Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, 'Weltherrschaft', *Paneuropa* 3, no. 2 (1927): 3–7.
48. Coudenhove-Kalergi, 'Afrika', 5.
49. Ziegerhofer-Prettenthaler, *Botschafter Europas*, 174.
50. Ulrich Wyrwa, 'Richard Nikolaus Graf Coudenhove-Kalergi (1894–1972) und die Paneuropa-Bewegung in den zwanziger Jahren 2006', *Historische Zeitschrift* 283, no. 1 (2006): 119; Carlvon Ossietzky, 'Coudenhove und Briand', *Die Weltbühne* 26, no. 22 (1930): 783–5.
51. Werner Thormann, *Ignaz Seipel: Der europäische Staatsmann* (Frankfurt/Main: Carolus, 1932), 59.
52. Peo Hansen and Stefan Jonsson, *Eurafrica: The Untold History of European Integration and Colonialism*. (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015), 41.
53. Sven Beckert, 'American Danger: United States Empire, Eurafrica, and the Territorialization of Industrial Capitalism, 1870–1950', *American Historical Review* 122, no. 4 (2017): 1137–70.
54. Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Paneuropa-ABC* (Vienna: Paneuropa, 1931), 22–3: 'Die Kolonialmächte werden von dieser gemeinsamen Erschließung den größten Vorteil haben, weil der Wert und Reichtum ihrer Kolonien um ein Vielfaches steigen wird. Aber auch die übrigen Völker Europas werden hier unbegrenzte Möglichkeiten finden, auf europäischem Kolonialboden all das zu erringen, was ihnen ihr heimisches Klima versagt.'
55. Coudenhove-Kalergi, 'Afrika', 17.
56. More generally on inter-imperial cooperation, see Ulrike Lindner, *Koloniale Begegnungen: Deutschland und Großbritannien als Imperialmächte in Afrika 1880–1914* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2011); Florian Wagner, *Colonial Internationalism and the Governmentality of Empire, 1893–1982* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2022).
57. Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 11.
58. Ziegerhofer-Prettenthaler, *Botschafter Europas*, 81, 93.
59. Letter from the Austrian legation in Paris to the federal chancellor, Paris, 5 May 1927, ÖStA, AdR, NPA, 276, 15/54 Paneuropa 1924–9, Bündel 1924–7.
60. Hansen and Jonsson, *Eurafrica*, 32.
61. Coudenhove-Kalergi, 'Afrika', 9–10. See also Benjamin J. Thorpe, 'Eurafrica: A Pan-European Vehicle for Central European Colonialism (1923–1939)', *European Review* 26, no. 3 (2018): 503–13.
62. James Mark and Steffi Marung, 'Origins', in *Socialism Goes Global: The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the Age of Decolonisation*, ed. James Mark and Paul Betts

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 28–29; Marta Grzechnik, ' "Ad Maiorem Poloniae Gloriam!" Polish Inter-colonial Encounters in Africa in the Interwar Period', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 48, no. 5 (2020): 827.

63. Dr V. Forster, 'Je nám třeba koloniálního území?' *Národní listy*, 29 January and 5 February 1919, quoted in Mark and Marung, 'Origins', 28.
64. Piotr Puchalski, *Poland in a Colonial World Order: Adjustments and Aspirations, 1918–1939* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022).
65. Mark and Marung, 'Origins', 34.
66. Cf. Johannes Thaler, 'Legitimismus – ein unterschätzter Baustein des autoritären Österreich', in *Das Dollfuß/Schuschnigg-Regime 1933–1938. Vermessung eines Forschungsfeldes*, ed. Florian Wenninger and Lucile Dreidemy (Vienna: Böhlau, 2013), 69–85.
67. All quotes from Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, 'Paneuropa schafft: Friede-Arbeit-Brot!', radio speech for the Austrian RAVAG, 11 July 1934, ÖStA, NPA, 278, 15/54, Paneuropa 1930–4.
68. Ziegerhofer-Prettenthaler, *Botschafter Europas*, 65–6.
69. See Walter Goldinger, *Protokolle des Klubvorstandes der Christlichsozialen Partei: 1932–1934* (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1980), 254.
70. ÖStA, AdR/AA, Handelspolitik, Wirtschaftspolitik, Abt 14, Gesellschaften und Vereine, box 426, Konvolut Gesellschaften und Vereine 1936.
71. On Coudenhove-Kalergi's relations to Fascist Italy, see Michael Thöndl, Richard Nikolaus Graf Coudenhove-Kalergi, die „Paneuropa-Union" und der Faschismus 1923–1944 (Leipzig: Universitätsverlag, 2024).
72. 'dass die Gefahr erst dann endgültig gebannt sein würde, wenn die Kolonialmächte zur Einsicht kämen, dass die persönliche und wirtschaftliche Gleichstellung aller Europäer in den europäischen Kolonien höher zu bewerten sei als die Frage des Kolonialbesitzes.' Ziegerhofer-Prettenthaler, *Botschafter Europas*, 148.
73. Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, 'Der abessinische Konflikt', *Paneuropa* 7 (1935): 277–8.
74. Meinl to Coudenhove-Kalergi, Vienna, 10 April 1936, cited in Ziegerhofer-Prettenthaler, *Botschafter Europas*, 242.
75. Ziegerhofer-Prettenthaler, *Botschafter Europas*, 243.
76. Hansen and Jonsson, *Eurafrica*; Daniel Maul and Martin Rempe, 'Wandel durch Integration. Afrikanische Dekolonisierung und Internationale Organisationen', *Zeitgeschichte-online*, December 2010, https://zeitgeschichte-online.de/themen/wandel-durch-integration.
77. On this point see Paul Betts, *Ruin and Renewal: Civilising Europe after World War II* (London: Profile Books, 2020), 225.

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12

Afterword

Manuela Boatcă

To a sociologist like myself, writing an afterword to a book that provides rich material for a long-overdue reconceptualization of the place of imperial structures and transimperial agency in Europe is first and foremost good news. It means that the book undertaking the task of gathering and analysing such material and reading it against the background of reigning narratives of Europe has already been written. It is even better news that the book, as signalled in its title, should address integration and imperialism in *modern Europe*. Ever since sociology's emergence in the nineteenth century, modern Europe was the geohistorical location – and modern European society the corresponding sociopolitical and economic structure – that sociology claimed to be uniquely equipped to study. The academic division of labour relegating the study of non-modern societies to anthropology or Orientalism while conceiving of them as non-European thus appeared justified. The Gulbenkian Commission's report *Open the Social Sciences* pointed this out decades ago,[1] when stressing that 'disciplinary boundaries are historical as well as political constructions, and that the emergence of the social sciences, as well as the intellectual division of labour between sociology, anthropology, political science, economics and history, was concomitant as well as complicit with empire'.[2]

By showcasing the role of scholars, scientists, travel writers, intellectual elites, service providers and other labourers and their transimperial trajectories in the production of knowledge about what would eventually count as modern Europe, this edited volume takes this division of labour to task in at least two respects: On the one hand, it shows that this intellectual origin story obscures the colonial and imperial context out of which the disciplinary divides within the social sciences and between the humanities and the natural sciences were carved out. This is something that a growing literature has already been addressing for different national European contexts and for several disciplines for some time now, but which nevertheless remains an open task.[3] On the other hand, the volume demonstrates how the non-modern that the colonial and imperial mindset gradually identified, that is, projected onto the remote, the indigenous, the pristine or the rural located at Europe's geographical margins was itself a reflection of colonial ethnography. Whether it was Petsamo heralding 'the newest Finland' for the Finnish imaginary or the rural peripheries of Austria-Hungary likened to colonial territories overseas – at least for a significant part of Europe's colonial

history, the 'New World' was located within. Constructing these margins as others to be defined out of Europe and Europeanness first allowed them to be subsequently racialized as backward, primitive and non-white. In the process, a sublimated, urban, modern and civilized Europe was produced as an epistemic location which could not be subjected to colonial ethnographies and which constituted Europe 'proper'– the European norm and the centre of theorizing from and about a coherent Europe, one that Dipesh Chakrabarty labelled 'hyperreal'.[4]

Importantly, by laying bare several instances in the construction and contestation of what the editors call Europe's 'internal marginalities', leading up to what ultimately crystallized as Europe, the volume reveals how small the coherent Europe is that we have been accustomed to discussing. I have called this a 'sanitized notion of Europe',[5] one from whose self-definition the continent's imperial and colonial history are missing and one that largely excludes the historical experience and current realities of its internal Others – the South and East of the continent, as well as its remaining colonial possessions in the Caribbean, the Atlantic, the Indian and the Pacific Oceans. Yet pointing to omissions of different parts of Europe in this context also entails the risk of creating new subdivisions of responsibility for colonialism and imperialism between regions. Indeed, among the oversimplifications that many chapters in this volume convincingly dismantle is the binary between European powers with and those without colonies, as well as the one between colonizer and colonized. The accounts of colonial-racist attitudes, imaginaries and actions hailing from Hungary to Switzerland and from Serbia to Iceland defy easy categorizations of Western European perpetrators and non-Western victims for the former divide. The wealth of examples of mercenaries, sailors, engineers, traders and spies as providers of imperial service, though not always voluntarily, and of these transimperial service workers, who more often were imperial subjects than citizens of republican nations, as originating from all parts of Europe, complicates both national and class divides. At the same time, their transimperial circulation mirrors the earlier trans-colonial movement of colonial elites as well as of lower-status colonial subjects and thus implicitly gestures towards the longue durée of coloniality. As Rochelle Pinto pointed out for the Portuguese colonization of Goa, the circulation of Goan colonial subjects in different colonies since the sixteenth century ensured that one could be anything from 'a slave owner in Goa, an administrator in Africa, a bank clerk in Brazil or a cook aboard British ships sailing across the world. This subject was eventually assimilated into a national category that has disallowed the admission of a diffuse mental geography enabled by an earlier form of colonialism.' For Pinto, this juncture of trans-colonial and transimperial movement makes the former Portuguese colony in today's India 'the terrain on which the uncomfortable juxtaposition of an early modern coloniality and nineteenth century governmentality converged'.[6]

Rather than singular, individual exploits, such examples of trans-colonial movement, very much like the numerous cases of the (voluntary or coerced) transimperial circulation of imperial subjects discussed in this volume, paint an overall picture of systematic, long-term entanglements of knowledge production, identity formation and discursive hierarchization out of which more than one Europe emerged. In the process, the margins of Europe were negotiated – both in positive terms as European

and in negative terms as marginal, while the borders to the non-European Other(s) were established. This double move paradoxically left 'the margins of the margins'[7] – that is, those territories still colonized by European states in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries – outside of the definition of both Europe and its margins. Such apparent anomalies as Algeria's protracted membership in the European Economic Community well past its independence from France,[8] Mayotte becoming an outermost region of the EU in 2014 and British, Dutch and French non-sovereign territories in the Caribbean today were the result of this coloniality of memory. In this context, what can integration mean and which is the modern Europe at which it aims?

In order to adequately address these questions, I suggest that it is helpful to replace the notion of Eurocentrism, with which most of the literature on colonialism, postcoloniality and imperialism operates, with the one of Occidentalism, coined by Venezuelan anthropologist Fernando Coronil.[9] In Coronil's definition, Occidentalism is 'the expression of a constitutive relationship between Western representations of cultural difference and worldwide Western dominance' and 'a style of representation that produces polarized and hierarchical conceptions of the West and its Others and makes them central figures in accounts of global and local histories'.[10] This focus on the West rather than on Europe in distilling the epistemic location from which both a general framework of knowledge and a particular conception of modernity were gradually imposed onto the non-Western world is illuminating in at least two ways: First, it helps us disentangle the long-standing contribution that Western European hegemony had in the emergence of Occidentalist discourse since the sixteenth century from twentieth-century US-American hegemony, which was often conflated with the former in a metaphorical use of Eurocentrism. Second, and even more importantly when the analysis is centred on Europe, as in this case, distinguishing Occidentalism from Eurocentrism allows us to see how negotiations of cultural and racial identities within Europe have historically been premised on a will to 'Westernize' and as such framed in terms of social groups, countries or regions repudiating an 'Oriental' past, stressing their contribution to European civilization and, more recently, mapping their integration into European economic and political structures – from the European Economic Community to today's EU.

As Coronil put it, the Occidentalism emerging in the sixteenth century as a discourse *from* and *about* the West set the stage for discourses about the West's Other(s). It therefore does not represent the counterpart of what Said analysed as the Orientalism originating in the eighteenth century, but its precondition – the construction of the West's sense of a unitary self out of the existing, fragmented and often conflicting regional, cultural and religious identities of the premodern era and the subsequent manufacture of this abstract Self as superior to the 'rest' or the West's Other(s)[11] – both within and outside Europe. Occidentalism was thus never a discourse about an overarching European self, but started out as one about the Western European colonial powers that conquered and raided the Americas and trafficked Africans into slavery for the plantation economy. By the time France and England, the rising colonial powers of the eighteenth century, were competing for hegemony in the world-economy, the Occidentalist narrative highlighted their role as producers of modernity's main revolutions – the French Revolution and the industrial revolution, creating the aura

of what I termed a 'heroic Europe' that projected itself outward as the norm. In time, this self-serving account relegated the early colonial powers, Spain and Portugal, to a lesser, 'decadent' Europe, while large parts of the European East, including parts of the empires which had lost out of colonial possessions overseas, became the 'epigonal Europe' perpetually trying to catch up.[12]

What informed the reigning notion of 'Europe' at different times since the colonial expansion, and what went into its corresponding claims to civilization, modernity and development, was therefore defined one-sidedly from positions of power mainly associated with colonial and imperial rule. The imperial conflicts and the colonial competition among unequal Europes served to positively sanction the hegemony of 'heroic Europe': France, England and, later, Germany, as epitomes of what Hegel had called 'the heart of Europe', monopolized the definition of Europe, modernity – and eventually modern Europe *tout court* – even as they deployed imperial projects in the remaining Europes or through them. Indeed, the very fact that we are accustomed to reference 'Europe' in the singular is Occidentalism at work today, in that the language of singularity and unity obscures the multiplicity of unequal Europes resulting from the different roles that regions of Europe played in the global colonial enterprise as well as their unequal roles in shaping the definition of modernity and its propagation. As I pointed out in previous analyses of unequal Europes, and as this volume amply demonstrates, this dynamic does not absolve either 'decadent Europe' in the South or 'epigonal Europe' in the East from imperial ambitions, active colonial exploits or from partaking in the benefits of colonialism from within a subordinate imperial position. Sharing an economically and politically semi-peripheral position in the capitalist world-economy and oscillating between imperial nostalgia and the aspiration to Europeanness on Occidentalist terms, decadent and epigonal Europes played joint, yet distinct roles as accomplices of coloniality.[13] Scholars, travellers and entrepreneurs from these 'other' Europes advanced orientalist projects, migrated in high numbers to Europe's overseas colonies and, tellingly, upheld notions of European whiteness and perpetuated racial colonial tropes even while being periodically defined out of whiteness themselves. As Tara Zahra showed, the period of massive migration from Russia and Austria-Hungary to the United States at the turn of the twentieth century created widespread anxiety that 'East European men and women would be treated like nonwhite colonial labour, Chinese "coolies", or enslaved Africans',[14] so local immigration advocates insisted on the whiteness of peasants in order to minimize the possibility that Eastern European migrants would become a racialized labour force on US southern plantations. At the same time, the Brazilian government was actively recruiting European settlers with a view to 'whitening' its predominantly black and mestizo population. Its offer of free transportation to Brazil for Eastern and Southern European immigrants was met with an overwhelming response and millions of settlers from both regions. This unprecedented surge in the number of (potential) settlers led the Hungarian government to ban immigration to Brazil altogether at the end of 1900 and the Spanish government to temporarily prohibit Brazilian subsidies for settlers in the early 1910s.[15] Unsubsidized migration to both North and South America, especially to the United States and Argentina, was even more significant during the same time and for different reasons.

This is where the notion of 'colonial complicity', which this volume mobilizes with respect to both the Nordic and Eastern margins of Europe, proves particularly productive. By disentangling the colonial complicity of East Central Europe from the widespread self-perception as and claim to a history and present of colonial innocence, the role of the European semi-periphery as an active co-creator of global imperialism through intellectual, economic and military contributions becomes particularly apparent in the example of Hungarian Orientalism. At the same time, the Hungarian scholars' 'fraternal Orientalism' towards peoples of Inner Asia discussed in Chapter 8 is intricately linked to what Zoltán Ginelli has identified as Hungarian Balkanism towards the southeast of Europe[16] and thus adds an important piece to the still under-researched puzzle of semi-peripheral imperialism. This dynamic echoes the logic behind what Anca Parvulescu and I analysed as the negotiation of languages that counted versus languages that were discounted in the first Comparative Literature journal worldwide, the *Acta Comparationis Litterarum Universarum* (*ACLU*).[17] Edited by Brassai Sámuel and Meltzl Hugó between 1877 and 1888, the journal was published in Cluj/Kolozsvár/Klausenburg, the capital of Transylvania, incorporated into Hungary and thus part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire since 1867. Meltzl, an ardent advocate for the study of small European languages and literatures, made a case for alternative literary journals (like *ACLU*) in a modern literary world dominated, in his view, by populism, mercantilism and nationalism. He nonetheless proposed that, for the time being, global polyglottism be supplemented by the principle of decaglottism – the ten European languages considered to have made important contributions to world literature and to have achieved a certain classicism. His list included German, French, English, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, Swedish, Icelandic and Hungarian. Meltzl emphasized that he invoked decaglottism in the interest of economy and with reservations and named the minor folk traditions (including those of Transylvania, that is Romani, Jewish, Armenian) as in need of asylum against what he perceived as the racial hatred displayed by major European cultures. But in 1870s and 1880s post-Compromise Austro-Hungary, the very terms of the debate, *Kunstlitteraturen* and *Volksliederlitteraturen*, which *ACLU* tried to rewrite – but nonetheless reproduced – were intimately imbricated with inter-imperial politics. Although based in Transylvania and surrounded by a large Romanian-speaking population calling for linguistic rights within the empire as he was writing, Meltzl did not include Romanian on the list of languages of *ACLU*, nor did he address the debate on the Romanian language. While interested in the literatures of Transylvania, in the plural, when it came to Romanian-language literature, Meltzl relegated it to the weak side of the colonial distinction between literature and folklore, which, when adapted to an inter-imperial context, reproduced and cemented existing hierarchies. Thus, his inclusion of Hungarian in decaglottism resonated locally as an ideological position – a language more 'developed' than the other languages of the empire, a claim that found resonances in the political sphere in support of its ascendancy to the status of imperial language. In the midst of a heated Transylvanian debate on polyglottism, Meltzl's notion of decaglottism promoted Hungarian as a classical language and Hungarian literature as world literature. A 'small literature' whose language functions as a minority language in other contexts, Hungarian literature in this space and time was written

in an aspiring imperial language that sustained a semi-peripheral empire attempting to extend its sphere of influence over an orientalized Balkan region. Tellingly for the discussion of Iceland's liminal position in Chapter 7 of this book as a as racially and civilizationally inferior country, yet simultaneously one that was about to construct its own 'white' identity in a global colonial hierarchy, Icelandic was represented on Meltzl's 'top ten' list by medieval epics and buttressed by the mention of prominent nineteenth century Icelandic translator Steingrímur Thorsteinsson, Meltzl's partner in comparatist dialogue. Meltzl's *ACLU* obliquely, if ambivalently, participated in this project as an accomplice of coloniality in an inter-imperial setting.

These examples make a powerful case for the need to complement our analyses of coloniality with an understanding of the partly overlapping and often conflicting workings of inter-imperiality in large parts of Europe as well as Asia. The crucial conceptual change operated by the notion of coloniality was that, while colonialism as a formal administrative status had come to an end, the political, economic, cultural and epistemic hierarchies between Europeans and non-Europeans – the coloniality of power – had not. Significant dimensions of the process of decolonization thus remained pending.[18] At the same time, the centrality of the Americas in the creation of coloniality made the concept an awkward fit for world regions, including those within Europe, that had neither had Atlantic colonies nor had been formally colonized, but had exercised or been subjected to imperial domination in the past and had recognizable postcolonial traits in the present. Calls for complementary comparative work in postcolonial studies on non-European empires and, importantly, the spaces *between* various European and non-European empires – the Mughal Empire, the Ottoman Empire, the Russian Empire, Japan and China – that scholars like Laura Doyle[19] and Shu-mei Shih[20] have made in the past decade thus allow for an important shift in attention and historical scale. While André Gunder Frank also asked world systems analysis to 'ReOrient'[21] itself away from a Europe-centred economy and towards a consideration of Asian economic dominance in the longue durée, which echoed earlier critiques of world systems analysis such as Abu-Lughod's *Before European Hegemony*,[22] both Frank and Abu-Lughod still glossed over East Central Europe as a structural link between world regions before the European colonial expansion. In turn, Doyle's and Shih's call to take into account the durability of imperial claims, conflicts, negotiations and impositions on various, unequal Europes as a matrix of power that coexisted with coloniality and vied with it, and labelling it inter-imperiality, operates two significant moves in the direction of closing this gap. First, it renders various parts of Europe, in particular the European East, recognizable as inter-imperial spaces, and, second, it makes anti-imperial themes and structures legible in relation to not one, but to multiple, conflicting empires as well as 'to the multiple subject positions lived within, between, and against empires'.[23] The constant tension between Habsburg, Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian and Russian imperial formations and their afterlives in the European East can thus be understood as inter-imperial tensions and rivalries in competition with and sometimes preceding the modern nation-state, while transimperial communication, resistance and negotiation by imperial subjects that eschewed, undermined or, on the contrary, instrumentalized existing state structures made both European transimperial agency and structure highly modern at the same time.

That European inter-imperiality radiated outwards beyond the continental confines of Europe while at the same time enlisting colonialism becomes apparent in the extent to which the Eurafrican project as a precursor of today's EU attempted to reimagine a Pan-European imperial formation that would ensure the continuation of Austria's imperial stature into the post-Habsburg era. The analysis of the Pan-European movement with Africa as an ideal 'empire of the future' as a form of collective colonialism with the aim of European integration in the closing chapter of this volume undergirds two complementary arguments that have so far not been discussed together: On the one hand, it reinforces Hansen and Jonsson's argument that Eurafrican integration served as a mediator ensuring the long-term maintenance of power relations and inequalities inherited from colonialism through official integration and association of Europe's African colonies in the 1950s (and in the form of continued political and economic dependency structures after most African states gained independence on unfavourable terms in the 1960s). The EU, Hansen and Jonsson emphasize, 'would not have come into existence at this point in time had it not been conceived as a Eurafrican enterprise in which colonialism was Europeanized'.[24] Rather than regarding Eurafrica as a short-lived project, they reveal that the unequal Eurafrican complementarity conceived and exploited by Europeans was more than a rarely considered footnote in the early process usually referred to as European integration. On the other hand, the analysis of the Pan-European movement in Austria underscores Natasha Wheatley's thesis that, while the decolonization of Asia and Africa after the Second World War was crucial for the worldwide demise of formal empire and the rise of the nation-state, significant steps in that direction had been taken at the end of the previous World War. Wheatley shows how the dissolution of Habsburg rule in Central Europe posed legal questions about the nature of post-imperial sovereignty and the creation of new states – among them, issues of discontinuous sovereignty, the succession of rights, obligations and territories – that would remain persistent features of the subsequent global history of decolonization. At the crossroads of coloniality and inter-imperiality, 'Habsburg lands … became a laboratory for postimperial sovereignty and a new international order, and the results would echo through global debates about decolonization for decades to come'.[25] Such research underscores the need to *unlearn* the one-sided trajectory from empire to nation-state delineated by the bulk of EU research, with critical foci shifting towards the temporal and geopolitical overlap of European integration and colonialism – especially, but not only on the African continent.

From the point of view of sociology, with which I started my comments, the only potential piece of bad news that this volume might bear is that it was neither meant as a contribution to sociology nor does it include authors who identify as sociologists – but for this afterword. Although conceived as interdisciplinary, its contributions mostly come from different branches of history as well as the corresponding historically minded literary scholar and anthropologist. Given the colonially erected and imperially consolidated walls between our disciplines, the chances of its insights translating into a global sociology of Europe, which is only slowly emerging in the past decade, therefore appear as slim. My own hope for a transdisciplinary, common research enterprise on the coloniality and inter-imperiality of modern Europe(s) had already been formulated by Immanuel Wallerstein in advance of his presiding the Gulbenkian Commission on

the social sciences: 'The task is singular. There is neither historian nor social scientist, but only a historical social scientist who analyses the general laws of particular systems and the particular sequences through which these systems have gone.' With respect to the collective task of assessing the role that empire played for the particular system of multiple and unequal Europes as well as for the particular colonial and imperial sequences of European integration, this volume brings us a huge step further.

Notes

1. Immanuel Wallerstein et al., *Open the Social Sciences: Report of the Gulbenkian Commission on the Restructuring of the Social Sciences* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).
2. Richard E. Lee and Immanuel Wallerstein, eds, *Overcoming the Two Cultures: Science vs. the Humanities in the Modern World-System* (New York: Routledge, 2015).
3. Steven Seidman, 'The Colonial Unconscious of Classical Sociology', in *Postcolonial Sociology (Political Power and Sociology Vol. 24)*, ed. Julian Go (Bingley: Emerald, 2013), 35–54; Encarnación Gutiérrez Rodríguez, Manuela Boatcă and Sérgio Costa, *Decolonizing European Sociology: Transdisciplinary Approaches* (London: Routledge, 2016); George Steinmetz, *The Colonial Origins of Modern Social Thought: French Sociology and the Overseas Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2023).
4. Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).
5. Manuela Boatcă, 'Thinking Europe Otherwise: Lessons from the Caribbean', *Current Sociology* 69, no. 3 (2021): 389–414.
6. Rochelle Pinto, 'Temporality and Colonialism between Goa and Latin America', in *Uneasy Postcolonialisms: Worlds and Knowledges Otherwise*, dossier 3, vol. 3 (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), https://globalstudies.trinity.duke.edu/projects/wko-uneasy-postcolonialisms.
7. Corinna A. Di Stefano, Fabio Santos and Manuela Boatcă, 'Marginalized Bodies in Caribbean Europe: Between Vital Inequalities and Health (Im)mobilities', in *Creating Europe from the Margins*, ed. Kristín Loftsdóttir, Brigitte Hipfl and Sandra Ponzanesi (London: Routledge, 2023), 125–39.
8. Megan Brown, *The Seventh Member State: Algeria, France, and the European Community* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2022).
9. Fernando Coronil, 'Beyond Occidentalism: Toward Nonimperial Geohistorical Categories', *Cultural Anthropology* 11, no. 1 (1996): 51–87. The concept of Occidentalism was later developed by Walter Mignolo; see Walter D. Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).
10. Coronil, 'Beyond Occidentalism', 57.
11. Stuart Hall, 'The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power', in *Formations of Modernity*, ed. Stuart Hall and Bram Gieben (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 275–320.
12. Boatcă, *Thinking Europe Otherwise.*
13. Ibid.
14. Tara Zahra, *The Great Departure: Mass Migration from Eastern Europe and the Making of the Free World* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2016), 49.

15. Herbert S. Klein, 'The Social and Economic Integration of Spanish Immigrants in Brazil', *Journal of Social History* 25, no. 3 (1992): 505–29.
16. Zoltán Ginelli, 'Plotting the Semiperipheral Empire: Hungarian Balkanism and Global Colonialism in Geographical Knowledge, 1867–1948', in *De-linking: Critical Thought and Radical Politics*, ed. Manuela Boatcă (Abingdon: Routledge, forthcoming).
17. Anca Parvulescu and Manuela Boatcă, '(Dis)counting Languages: Between Hugó Meltzl and Liviu Rebreanu', *Journal of World Literature* 5, no. 1 (2020): 47–78.
18. Aníbal Quijano, 'Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America', *Nepantla: Views from South* 1, no. 3 (2000): 533–80.
19. Laura Doyle, 'Thinking Back through Empires', *Modernism/Modernity* 2, no. 4 (2018), n.p.; Laura Doyle, *Inter-imperiality: Vying Empires, Gendered Labor, and the Literary Arts of Alliance* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2020).
20. Shu-mei Shih, 'Comparison as Relation', in *Comparison: Theories, Approaches, Uses*, ed. Rita Felski and Susan Stanford Friedman (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).
21. André Gunder Frank, *ReOrient, Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
22. Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).
23. Doyle, 'Thinking Back through Empires'.
24. Peo Hansen and Stefan Jonsson, *Eurafrica: The Untold History of European Integration and Colonialism* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 13.
25. Natasha Wheatley, *The Life and Death of States: Central Europe and the Transformation of Modern Sovereignty* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2023).

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