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# Polish colonial aspirations in Africa: The Maritime and Colonial League in Angola and Liberia, c.1920-1939

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## **Abstract**

The Polish colonial movement in the inter-war period was a complex social and political phenomenon. The assessment of the movement presented in this thesis sheds light on its place in the history of Poland in the first half of twentieth century. In doing so, it examines the role of the Maritime and Colonial League which has not been sufficiently explored in existing interpretations of Polish emigration overseas.

This thesis will explore the changing relationship between the Polish government and the Maritime and Colonial League in regards to its colonial programme. By doing so, it demonstrate the implications this had for Poland's international relations with the League of Nations, other European colonial powers, and Germany. By exploring the origins of the colonial movement in Poland and stressing its connection to migration policy, this study will argue that the picture of the instrumental character of the movement painted in the existing literature is too simplistic as it does not fully explain its nature. It will also place the Polish colonial movement in a broader context of international politics in the inter-war period, rather than following existing accounts by focusing solely on colonialism in the context of Poland's foreign policy. This approach will provide greater depth to our understanding by placing the colonial movement in Poland in part of a larger scale political process.

The argument advanced here is that an understanding of the relationship between the Polish desire for colonies and its emigration policy is crucial to explain the colonial movement in inter-war Poland, Poland's colonial policy, the role of Maritime and Colonial League and the eventual fate of the settlement projects.

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Map 1: Poland c. 1930.

## **List of abbreviations**

AAN - Central Archive of Modern Records in Warsaw

ACS - American Colonization Society

CO – Records of the Colonial Office

DO – Records of the Dominion Office

FO – Records of the Foreign Office

HC – House of Commons

MSZ – Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs

TWP - True Whig Party

UK – United Kingdom

US – United States of America

## Chapter 1 - Introduction

The Polish colonial movement developed in the late 1920s and early 1930s and reached its peak in 1938-1939, just before the outbreak of the Second World War. By then, virtually the whole of Africa was in European hands. If Polish desires for colonies were to be met, the only possibility was to take over an existing colony through political, economic or military measures. Poland, however, was too weak to embark on this course of action. This is the context in which to place the colonial plans of the Maritime and Colonial League (*Liga Morska i Kolonialna*), the main initiator of the colonial movement in Poland. The activists of the League argued that foreign colonial territories would provide a solution to Poland's economic and demographic problems.<sup>1</sup> They argued that Poland should obtain colonies from Germany's former empire which were under the League of Nations' mandates. The Polish government, however, was unconvinced and consequently the Maritime and Colonial League developed and implemented its own colonial programme. An examination of these developments is important to providing a more nuanced appreciation of both the history of Poland and European imperialism in Africa more widely.

As this thesis will demonstrate, a thorough analysis of the settlement schemes in Angola and Liberia allows an exploration of the ways the Maritime and Colonial League initially operated in the international environment with limited support from

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<sup>1</sup> See examples: Kazimierz Głuchowski, 'Koncentrować czy rozpraszać?', *Morze*, 12 (1928), pp. 25 – 26, Gustaw Załęcki, 'O istocie przedsięwzięcia kolonialnych', *Morze*, 1 (1929), pp. 29 – 31, *Program kolonialny Ligi Morskiej i Rzecznej*, (Warszawa, 1930), Stanisław Pawłowski, *Domagajmy się kolonii zamorski dla Polski*, (Warszawa, 1936), Wiktor Rosiński, *O zamorski program gospodarczy Rzeczypospolitej*, (Warszawa, 1931).



the Polish state. By 1936 this approach changed as the Polish government increasingly took an interest in the colonial movement. Consequently, this study will explore the changing nature of the relationship between the Maritime League and the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in regards to the formulation and implementation of Poland's colonial policy in 1936. It was the goal of the Maritime and Colonial League to pressure the Polish government into undertaking the appropriate actions to gain colonies for Poland. However, when some measures included in the colonial programme of the League were finally embraced by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and were reflected in Poland's foreign policy, the League itself became subordinated to the Ministry. In order to successfully understand these processes, it is necessary to trace the origins of the Polish colonial political discourse from the late 1880s through the partition period in the Kingdom of Poland and the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria as ideology developed in this period heavily influenced political thought towards Polish colonialism during the Second Republic of Poland (1918 – 1939).

### **1.1. The colonial movement in Poland, c. 1920 – 1939**

Historians have previously debated the character of the Polish colonial movement in the inter-war period to a rather limited extent. Although the secondary literature concerning the Maritime and Colonial League is rather modest, there is no consensus as to the extent to which the actions of the League were dependent on the policy of the Polish government. The study by Tadeusz Białas, *Liga Morska i Kolonialna, 1930 – 1939*, published in 1983, is an attempt at a comprehensive overview of all of the Maritime and Colonial League areas of operation, including a part of the colonial

programme, maritime issues related with development of Polish navy and commercial fleet, maritime education of the youth, tourism and water sports. The chapter concerning the League's colonial programme points out the main areas of the League's interest in the matter. The book is based on a wide range of primary sources mainly from the Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw, a great number of League's publications, press releases, and reports, and also interviews and statements given to the author by the former League's members. Looking at the relationship between the Maritime and Colonial League, Białas came to a conclusion that after 1936, the League gradually transformed itself into an instrument for the implementation of the colonial agenda developed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, sought to exploit colonial slogans to rally support for the ruling party.<sup>2</sup> According to Białas, German demands for the return of the pre-First World War colonies have to be considered as one of the reasons that led to Poland's insistence that it should govern part of Germany's former colonies. The Polish claim was, in this situation, a form of polemic with the German colonial demands. For Polish activists, Białas writes, it was obvious that the revision of the distribution of mandates in Germany's favour would not only strengthen their position in Europe but would result in the restructuring of the entire mandate system, which was an integral part of the Treaty of Versailles. This could create dangerous precedents for the future in relation to the Poland's western borders.<sup>3</sup> Białas' study, however, presents a narrow picture of the Maritime and Colonial League colonial programme without exploring its rationale.

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<sup>2</sup> Tadeusz Białas, *Liga Morska i Kolonialna 1930 – 1939*, (Gdańsk, 1983), p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 269. For Poland in the Treaty of Versailles see Jan Karski, *The Great Powers and Poland: From Versailles to Yalta*, (Lanham, 2104). For the matter of establishing Polish borders after 1918 see Mieczysław Wrzosek, *Wojny o granice Polski Odrodzonej 1918 – 1921*, (Warszawa, 1992) and Richard Blanke, *Orphans of Versailles: The Germans in Western Poland, 1918 – 1939*, (Lexington, 2015). For Polish – German relations in the inter-war period see Barbara Ratyńska, *Stosunki polsko – niemieckie w okresie wojny gospodarczej, 1919 – 1930*, (Warszawa, 1968) and Marian Wojciechowski, *Stosunki polsko – niemieckie 1933 – 1938*, (Poznań, 1980).

This thesis will attempt to overcome this limitation and address the question of the origins of the colonial movement in Poland by tracing the transference of the ideas propagated by it.

Taras Huczak has described Polish demands for colonies in the inter-war period as 'one of the most interesting political anachronisms of this century'.<sup>4</sup> Huczak understands the colonial programme in a different light, viewing it as originating in the struggle between Polish landowners and landless peasants. He points out that the Polish government genuinely supported the League's colonial programme and the emigration of rural labourers with a view to avoiding as far as possible the parcellation of the large estates, which would otherwise have been inevitable.<sup>5</sup> Unlike Bialas, Huczak treated the League not so much as an instrument of the government, but rather as a pressure group trying to achieve a significant impact on the ruling circles in order to pursue its own goals.<sup>6</sup>

Zbigniew Bujkiewicz in *Aspiracje kolonialne w polityce zagranicznej Polski w okresie międzywojennym* analysing the diplomatic measures taken by the Polish government after 1936 came to a conclusion that behind this policy was an actual intention of resolving Poland's broader socioeconomic problems.<sup>7</sup> However,

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<sup>4</sup> Taras Huczak, 'Polish Colonial Ambitions in the Inter-War Period', *Slavic Review*, 26: 4 (1967), p. 648.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 665. The question of the agrarian reform, poverty in the countryside and shortage of land available for peasants was one of the most important political and economic problems in the inter-war Poland. The land reform was initiated by two land reform acts passed by parliament in 1920 and 1925. The aim of the reform programme was a more rational and equitable distribution of land among owners. On the one hand, there were the great estates and, on the other, the small farms of the peasants but there was no substantial core of medium-sized farms. As the peasant population was increasing, the average size of the farm was decreasing. For different aspects of the land and its impact see Dimitri T. Pronin, 'Land reform in Poland: 1920 – 1945', *Land Economics*, 25:2 (1949), pp. 133 - 143. For detailed land structure in the inter-war Poland before the reform, shortage of land and data regarding the overpopulation of the Polish countryside see Z. Ludkiewicz, 'Land reform in Poland', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 8:23 (1929), pp. 315 – 330. For the political and economic role of the landowners see Wojciech Roszkowski, *Landowners in Poland, 1918 – 1939*, (Boulder, 1991).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 648 – 649.

<sup>7</sup> After Poland gained independence in 1918 the government was faced with the task of unifying the regions which had been for over a hundred years integral parts of Russia, Austria-Hungary and

Bujkiewicz gives little space to the Maritime and Colonial League treating it rather as a body subordinated to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Bujkiewicz sees the emergence of Polish colonial aspirations in light of the international politics after the First World War, when the League of Nations' mandate system created during the Peace Conference in Paris, 1919, became a source of resentment for Italy and Germany. Those two countries started to claim the need for the revision of the mandates motivated by a necessity to obtain cheap raw materials and space to settle a surplus of their growing population. This way of thinking, Bujkiewicz explains, found easy support in Poland which was affected by economic problems and already having some experience with the overseas settlement.<sup>8</sup> Bujkiewicz based his analysis on archival resources from Poland and France.

The colonial movement in Poland was also examined by Gilbert Maroger, a French publicist, and author of the *L'Europe et la question colonial* commissioned by *Centre d'Etudes de Politique Etrangere*. Maroger, who visited Poland in late 1930s following an invitation by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He met with activists from the Maritime and Colonial League and wrote in 1938 that Polish colonial aspirations were not politically motivated, rather he contended that they were an attempt to solve Poland's economic and demographic issues. At the same time however he indicated that the Polish government was showing imperial tendencies, the matter of colonies was used to divert the attention of Polish society

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Prussia, and of which social and economic development diverged significantly. Additionally, there was the issue of devastation brought by the First World War. For the impact of the partition on Poland's economy see Nikolaus Wolf, 'Path dependent border effects: the case of Poland's reunification (1918–1939)', *Explorations in Economic History*, 42 (2005), pp. 414–438. For the Polish economy and society during the inter-war period see also Peter D. Stachura, *Poland, 1918 – 1945: An Interpretive and Documentary History of the Second Republic*, (London, 2004). For the structure of Polish industry and trade see Andrzej Jezierski, *Historia gospodarcza Polski*, (Warszawa, 2003) and for the impact of the world economic crisis on Polish economy see Zbigniew Landau, Jerzy Tomaszewski, *Gospodarka Polski międzywojennej 1918 – 1939: w czterech tomach*, (Warszawa, 1989).

<sup>8</sup> Zbigniew Bujkiewicz, *Aspiracje kolonialne w polityce zagranicznej Polski w okresie międzywojennym*, (Zielona Góra, 1998), pp. 157 – 160.

from those problems.<sup>9</sup>

On the other hand, scholars studying the history of Polish emigration, like Anna Kicingier, Edward Kołodziej, Jerzy Mazurkiewicz, Wojciech Wrzesiński and Andrzej Pilch examine the colonial movement in Poland and the settlement schemes attempted by the Maritime and Colonial League in a context of Poland's emigration policy. They consider it a continuation of work carried out by the colonizing organizations and companies operating in partitioned Poland, the Kingdom of Poland and the Kingdom of Galicja and Lodomeria, prior to the First World War. Those studies, however, focus on the development of the settlements from the organizational point of view giving little attention to the rationale behind it.<sup>10</sup>

To build on this work, this study will draw primarily on archival materials, the League's publications, memoirs, and reports. Most materials concerning the activities of the League are housed in the Central Archive of Modern Records in Warsaw (*Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie, AAN*), particularly the collection of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Ministerswo Spraw Zagranicznych, MSZ*), the Polish Embassy in Paris (*Ambasada RP w Paryżu*) and the Polish Consulate in Monrovia (*Konsulat RP w Monrowii*). The material in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs collection includes reports from Polish diplomatic missions regarding the response of western public opinion to Poland's colonial demands, minutes from official conversations between Polish and foreign officials, speeches, correspondence, reports from the Polish embassy in Berlin regarding German colonial demands and

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<sup>9</sup> Gilbert Maroger, *L'Europe et la question coloniale*, (Paris, 1938), p. 405.

<sup>10</sup> See Jerzy Mazurek, *Kraj a emigracja: ruch ludowy wobec wychodźstwa chłopskiego do krajów Ameryki Łacińskiej*, (Warszawa, 2006), Halina Janowska, *Emigracja zarobkowa z Polski 1918 – 1939*, (Warszawa, 1981), Anna Kicingier, 'Polityka Emigracyjna II Rzeczypospolitej', *CEFMR Working Paper*, 4 (2005), Edward Kołodziej, *Wychodźstwo zarobkowe z Polski 1918 – 1939, Studia nad polityką emigracyjną II Rzeczypospolitej*, (Warszawa, 1982), Wojciech Wrzesiński, 'Polacy za granicą w polityce II Rzeczypospolitej 1918–1939', in Marian Marek Drozdowski, ed., *Problemy dziejów Polonii*, (Warszawa, 1979).

colonial propaganda in Germany. Material gathered in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs collection also covers Polish relations with Portugal, and Liberia during the interwar years. The collections of the Polish Embassy in Paris and consulate in Monrovia include reports and correspondence concerning Polish involvement and the political situation in Liberia, President Edwin Barclay's speeches to parliament, statistics regarding Liberian imports and exports, a medical survey on Liberia, and the appointment of Leo Sajous for the office of consul general of the Republic of Liberia in Warsaw (*Ambasada Polska w Paryżu 123, Konsulat Polski w Marsylii 1 – 5*).

The presence of Polish advisors, the role of the Polish consul in Liberia and the development of the plantations established in Liberia by the Maritime and Colonial League was also covered by the correspondence and reports from British mission to Liberia gathered in the National Archives in Kew. Also, documents of Colonial Office (CO) and Dominion Office (DO) refer to the investigation of the League of Nations into the possibility of imposing a mandate over Liberia.

Additionally, this thesis consults the archives at Senate House Library and School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, digital resources at the UK's Parliamentary Archives and Sejm Library in Warsaw (*Biblioteka Sejmowa w Warszawie*) and the State Archives in Lublin (*Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie*). The latter has a collection of Zamoyski Estate in Kozłówka (*Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówce*) containing correspondence from Michał Zamoyski and his wife Maria Zamoyska concerning their life on a farm in Angola, providing some insides of the settlement in this Portuguese colony (*Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówce, 208*).

The memoirs and reports of the Maritime and Colonial League members, state officials and other individuals with the colonial movement are a valuable addition

to archival documents. This applies especially to the writings of Janusz Makarczyk, Jerzy Chmielewski, Mieczysław Lepecki, Jan Hirshler, and Józef Beck. Contemporary press reports also provide an important source of information about the League's colonial programme and settlement schemes in Angola and Liberia. *Morze*, published by the League from 1924 (since 1939 *Morze i Kolonie*), in particular, was a valued source of information. Since 1928 *Morze* started to include a supplement called *Pionier Kolonialny*, containing articles written by authors including Kazimierz Głuchowski, Franciszek Łyp, Michał Pankiewicz, concerning different aspects of the colonial programme of the Maritime and Colonial League. Particularly valuable are those written by Kazimierz Głuchowski published between 1928 and 1930, elaborating on the main points of the League's colonial programme during the period of its formulation.

The thesis consists of four main chapters, introduction, conclusions, and the appendix containing information on the people examined. Chapter 2: The Formation of Poland's Colonial Movement, c. 1918-1936, will investigate the origins of the Polish colonial movement examining the ideas and arguments present in the political discourse regarding colonies and emigration in Poland. It will also consider the organizational development of the Maritime and Colonial League in the process of becoming the leading force in it, the League's main objectives, strategies, and ways of operation. Chapter 3: Polish settlement in Angola, c. 1928 – 1939, will describe the attempt by the Colonial Pioneers Association, an autonomous section of the League, to finding a suitable a land under Polish colonisation and explain why Portuguese government was willing to engage in the cooperation with the Maritime and Colonial League. It will also explore why the League chose a Portuguese colony and how this fitted into the League's wider colonial programme. Chapter 4: The

Maritime and Colonial League in Liberia, c. 1934 – 1939, will focus on Poland's involvement in the League of Nations' investigation regarding forced labour accusations as a starting point for the closer relations between Poland and Liberia. In doing so it will consider the motivations of the Liberian government to allow plans for the creation of Polish settlements. It will also analyse different aspects of Polish presence in Liberia, the involvement of the Polish government in the relation between Liberia and the Maritime and Colonial League and how this was perceived by foreign observers. Chapter 5: Colonial Demands in Poland's Foreign Policy, c. 1936 – 1939, will be an attempt to provide a complex analysis of the relation between the Polish government and the Maritime and Colonial League, and the implications it had for Poland's foreign policy considering the state of the international relations during the inter-war period, and imperial policies of the main colonial powers.

## **1.2. Development of imperialism in the inter-war years**

Jürgen Osterhammel defines imperialism as a concept that comprises all forces and activities contributing to the construction and the maintenance of the trans-colonial empire. Imperialism implies not only colonial politics, but also international politics for which colonies are not just the ends in themselves, but also measures in global power struggles. Imperialism, therefore, appears to be a more comprehensive concept than colonialism, understood as a set of unequal power relations between a dominant centre and its periphery.<sup>11</sup> A colony, according to Osterhammel, is a new political organisation created by invasion (conquest and/or settlement colonisation)

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<sup>11</sup> Jürgen Osterhammel, *Colonialism; A Theoretical Overview*, (Princeton, 2009), p.21.



but built on pre-colonial conditions with rulers dependant on geographically remote mother country or imperial centre, which claims exclusive rights of possession of the colony. Looking at the relationship between imperialism and colonialism, Osterhammel recognises that cases of imperialism without a major colonial empire and colonial empires without colonialism can exist. He also points out two cases of non-convergence in relation between colonies and colonialism: colonies without colonialism and colonialism without colonies also categorised as internal colonialism.<sup>12</sup>

The period from the mid-nineteenth until the beginning of the Second World War has been labelled the age of European high imperialism.<sup>13</sup> The term referred mainly to the power struggles between European empires for colonial territories which were later joined by imperial newcomers such as the United States and Japan. For many decades, historians, including some of the most influential scholars in the field like John Gallagher, Ronald Robinson, P. J. Cain, and A. G. Hopkins described empires almost exclusively from a European perspective looking for a cause of imperialism. The European perspective became a source of critique from authors from former European colonies and especially from India, like Partha Chatterjee, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, and others, focusing on local and regional levels within the colonies, and driving a line between imperialism and colonialism. The search for the cause of the empire had been challenged, and as Volker Barth and Ronald Cvetkovski pointed out the emerging of 'new imperial history' in the process underlined the complexity of the colonial rule and concentrated on different visions of empire formulated by a large variety of imperial actors.<sup>14</sup> Most studies, however,

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., pp. 10, 17.

<sup>13</sup> See example: S. B. Cook, *Colonial Encounters in the age of high imperialism*, (New York, 1996).

<sup>14</sup> Volker Barth, Roland Cvetkovski, 'Introduction – Encounters of Empire: Methodological

as Ann Laura Stoler observed, continue to see empires as 'clearly defined geopolitics', while 'historical evidence points in another direction - not at fixed boundaries but at fluid, ill-defined ones'.<sup>15</sup> In this context, Cvetkovski and Barth investigate the permeability of boundaries, cross-border exchange by indefinable actors, the network and channels in which these transgressions occurred, the effects they produced, and contact zones in which these inter-imperial encounters emerged.<sup>16</sup>

While Bart and Cvetkovski look at the inter-imperial interaction in terms of cooperation and transfer of knowledge and practices, Barbara Lüthi, Francesca Falk and Patricia Purtschert ask how countries that were close to metropolises without having been classical colonial powers engaged with colonialism, how did they managed to benefit from it, and in what ways their involvement in colonialism differs from the those of the colonial powers. These countries often showed multi-fold entangled histories with colonial powers.<sup>17</sup>

Inter-war Poland, despite not being a colonial power, attempted to engage in the colonial endeavour. Poland's ambitions resulted in the development of colonial policy, which was never fully implemented. The importance of Polish colonial movement, however, lies not in its success or lack of it. Obtaining a form of colonies was an option considered by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs embedded in political discourse in Poland. As Frederick Cooper reminds us, the past can only be studied from the point of present and looking at 'the consequences of alternatives

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Approaches', in Volker Barth, Roland Cvetkovski, eds., *Imperial Co-operation and Transfer, 1870-1930: Empires and Encounters*, (London, 2015), pp. 6 - 8.

<sup>15</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, 'Imperial Formations and Opacities of Rule', in Craig Calhoun, Frederic Cooper, Kevin W. Moore, *Lessons of Empire: Imperial Histories and American Power*, (New York, 2006), p. 54.

<sup>16</sup> Barth, Cvetkovski, 'Introduction – Encounters of Empire', p. 6.

<sup>17</sup> See Barbara Lüthi, Francesca Falk, Patricia Purtschert, 'Colonialism without Colonies: Examining Blank Spaces in Colonial Studies', *National Identities*, 18:1, (2016), pp. 1 – 9.

taken and alternatives lost' serves a better understanding of policy patterns in a particular moment in time.<sup>18</sup>

The literature indicates that the First World War profoundly affected colonial relations on a number of different levels. It had not merely materially devastated Europe, it also severely weakened European claims to moral superiority in the eyes of many of their colonial subjects.<sup>19</sup> The principle of the sacred trust of civilization became widely accepted among the conquering and colonising states of Europe.<sup>20</sup> These ideas continued to hold influence well into the mid-twentieth century and found explicit expression in international law.<sup>21</sup> Failing to meet European standards of civilization could lead to not being recognised as sovereign, which resulted in exclusion from the international legal arena.<sup>22</sup> The League of Nations, and its creation of Mandates to govern Germany's former colonial possessions following the end of the First World War, injected new subtleties into notions of sovereignty and expanded ideas of responsibilities of 'civilized' powers.<sup>23</sup>

The mandate system was a new principle of governance introduced at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. People who were held to have the potential for national identification would be administered by a European power until such time as these people were ready to choose their own form of government. The 'mandate' to govern such territories was to come from a vaguely conceived international community to be

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<sup>18</sup> See Frederick Cooper, 'Possibility and Constraint: African Independence in Historical Perspective', *The Journal of African History*, 49:2, (2008), pp. 167 – 196.

<sup>19</sup> Anghie Antony, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law*, (Cambridge, 2007), p. 138.

<sup>20</sup> See Anthony Pagden, 'Civilising Imperialism', *Diplomatic History*, 28:1 (2004), pp. 145-149, and Charles H. Alexandrovich, 'The Juridical Expression of the Sacred Trust of Civilization', *The American Journal of International Law*, 65:1 (1971), pp. 149-159.

<sup>21</sup> Brett Bowden, *The empire of civilization: the evolution of an imperial idea*, (Chicago, 2014), pp. 135-136.

<sup>22</sup> Mieke van Der Linden, 'New imperialism (1870-1914) and the European legal traditions: a (dis)integrative episode', *Maastricht journal of European and comparative law*, 19:2 (2012), p. 295.

<sup>23</sup> Jane Burbank, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, 2010), p. 387.

embodied in the new League of Nations, also a product of the peace conference.<sup>24</sup> Yet, as Anghie Antony has noted, although the Mandate System, in strictly legal terms, applied only to the territories formerly annexed to the German and the Ottoman empires, inter-war lawyers and scholars understood that it had a far broader significance. It represented the international community's aspiration, through the League, to address colonial problems in general in a systematic, coordinated and ethical manner.<sup>25</sup> In theory, the mandatory power, rather than being sovereign in international law, was the trustee of the nationality in the formation and under the supervision of the League of Nations. Yet in practice, France, Britain, and others ruled the acquired territories in much the same way as their other colonies.<sup>26</sup> In addition to maintaining the empires of the victors, the war's end indirectly created three new imperial projects: Nazi Germany, Japan, and the Soviet Union. The post-war settlement fostered Germans' embitterment, national imaginary, and imperial desires.<sup>27</sup> The new rulers in Berlin were deeply opposed to the existing world order, had little incentive to prop up its weakness, and were increasingly sure that it could and must be pulled down. Similar feelings existed in Tokyo. When friction between Russia and Japan over Korea and Manchuria led to war in 1904, it was Japan who came out victorious. The new Soviet state, whose geostrategic potential was a critical factor in the imperial ambitions of both Tokyo and Berlin, was no less hostile to the global regime favoured by Britain and France.<sup>28</sup> As Germany and Japan developed their new empires in the 1930s, their eventual opponents – the Netherlands, Belgium, France, and Britain – were managing, albeit with difficulty, to maintain authority in

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 384.

<sup>25</sup> Antony, *Imperialism, Sovereignty*, p. 137.

<sup>26</sup> Burbank, *Empires in World History*, p. 386.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 380.

<sup>28</sup> John Darwin, 'Nationalism and Imperialism, c.1880–1940', in John Breuilly, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*, (Oxford Handbooks Online, 2013), p. 355.

their colonies as their empires faced new challenges.<sup>29</sup>

The interwar period also saw nationalist movements in many colonial societies throughout the globe begin to assert themselves. Imperial powers, intent on preserving their empires, despite the war and its toll on their credibility and strength, now had to confront these movements, whose ambitions were expanding rapidly from a request for more participation in government to demands for outright independence.<sup>30</sup> The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 in Russia gave inspiration to anti-colonial struggles on the one hand and made Western statesmen aware of the importance of offering a greater voice to colonial peoples, on the other. Matters were complicated further by the United States' President Woodrow Wilson's forceful promotion of the concept of self-determination.<sup>31</sup> 'Pan' movements – pan-Slavic, pan-African, pan-Arab- continued to make their voices known in the 1920s, sometimes in favour of a territorial concept of nationality, often expressing notions of affinity across space with only vague associations with state institutions.<sup>32</sup> However, as Bruce Fetter points out, during the inter-war years no European power ever proposed to abandon title to a territory.<sup>33</sup> Pro-empire interest groups and others repeatedly portrayed empires as singular, unified entities as well as realms of untold fortunes. A number of near-universal practices reinforced these themes, including the holding of so-called 'colonial days' and the creation of ethnographic exhibits of colonial subjects, often at international expositions.<sup>34</sup> The paradox was that peoples were striving toward the ever more real goal of independence at precisely the time

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<sup>29</sup> Burbank, *Empires in World History*, p. 402.

<sup>30</sup> Antony, *Imperialism, Sovereignty*, pp. 138-139.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

<sup>32</sup> Burbank, *Empires in World History*, p. 387.

<sup>33</sup> Bruce Fetter, *Colonial rule in Africa: readings from primary sources*, (Madison, 1979) p. 107.

<sup>34</sup> Matthew G. Stanard, 'Interwar Pro-Empire Propaganda and European Colonial Culture: Toward a Comparative Research Agenda', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 44:1 (2009), p. 27. On colonial exhibitions see Anne Maxwell, *Colonial photography and exhibitions: representations of the 'native' and the making of European identities* (London, 1999).

when their economic value and their significance for the metropolis were becoming increasingly evident.<sup>35</sup>

As demands for self-government and increased political freedoms grew, imperial powers became acutely aware of the economic importance of their colonial territories. By the end of the nineteenth century imperial states had increasingly established economic links with their colonies on a sustained and organised basis. Imperialism had often been motivated by economic gain, however in 1880 a conscious policy of economic imperialism hardly existed.<sup>36</sup> The catalyst was the Great Depression. The sudden implosion of the global economy in 1929–31 had a great impact on the world order that Britain and France, Europe's two victor powers, had hoped to preside over with American help, and through which they meant to restrain both German resurgence and the unruly ambitions of Russia and Japan. These plans crumbled as the Depression drove a deep wedge between Britain and the United States.<sup>37</sup> The pre-1913 international financial system, which the British strove mightily to reintroduce in the 1920s, depended on Britain's ability to maintain the convertibility of sterling at a fixed rate, to lend liberally and to maintain a free market for imports. In the 1930s the pound left the gold standard as the balance of payments on current account lapsed into deficit. This severely limited and overseas lending. Free trade was abandoned in 1932 and was replaced by tariffs on manufactured imports and by a system of imperial preference supported by quotas and other bilateral arrangements with empire and foreign countries.<sup>38</sup> According to Noel Parker, the American approach to international relations was not imperialistic

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<sup>35</sup> Antony, *Imperialism, Sovereignty*, p. 144.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.

<sup>37</sup> Darwin, 'Nationalism and Imperialism', p. 355.

<sup>38</sup> On economic imperialism see P. J. Cain, A.G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism 1688-2000*, (Harlow, 2002).

but commercial and it sought above all else commercial equality.<sup>39</sup> This commercially inspired egalitarianism can only work in international relations in a world of independent states, able to choose freely a mutually beneficial relationship with the United States; a world of self-determined nations freely seeking beneficial commercial relationships with others.<sup>40</sup> The breach between London and Washington was a consequence of Americans feeling that they had little to gain from a global regime that locked up so much of the world in the trading and currency blocks.<sup>41</sup> As trade contracted, the 'open' global economy began to break up into a series of blocs, guarded by tariffs or currency rules. Economic survival now seemed to depend upon the control of the zone from which imports were drawn and to which they were sent.<sup>42</sup> The commercial well-being of the European state and its national economy were perceived as being connected intimately with its overseas possessions and its ability to protect and expand in overseas markets.<sup>43</sup>

Given the great powers responded to the deep economic crisis of the early 1930s by introducing tariffs or imperial preferences, Germany complaints of being unfairly deprived of raw materials and markets became more strident and believable. Throughout the Weimar period, the colonial movement in Germany concentrated not on building international ties but rather on converting the German people to their cause.<sup>44</sup> This policy was altered after Adolf Hitler took over power over Germany in

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<sup>39</sup> This view on American imperialism is contested in the literature. Colin D. Moore argues that the system of imperial in the United States should not be understood as evidence of the state capture by American finance, but rather as innovative and adaptive responses by presidents and executive officials to congressional opposition. In his view the imperial policies were shaped by tensions between American mass-democracy and imperial governance. Colin D. Moore, *American Imperialism and the State, 1893 – 1921*, (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 5-6.

<sup>40</sup> Noel Parker, 'Imperialism, territory, and liberation: on the dynamics of empire stemming from Europe', *Journal of Political Power*, 4:3 (2011), p 368.

<sup>41</sup> Darwin, 'Nationalism and Imperialism', p. 356.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 355.

<sup>43</sup> Antony, *Imperialism, Sovereignty*, p. 142.

<sup>44</sup> Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians the League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire*, (New York, 2015), p. 330.

1933. Hitler repeatedly stressed German colonial demands and the *Reichsbank* President and his Minister of Economics, Hjalmar Schacht, raised them with his British and French counterparts. The year 1936 was a peak of the development of German colonial movement.<sup>45</sup> However, as Susan Pedersen points out, at that time in Germany there was no such thing as colonial policy in itself. The Nazi Party's Office of Colonial Policy instructed its propagandists that colonial issues should be judged exclusively from the standpoint of Germany's national needs. And in 1936 those needs were to forge an Anglo-German alliance, disrupt the Anglo-French *entente*, and win Britain's implicit consent to Germany's expansion eastwards. The whole purpose of colonies, for Schacht as well as Hitler, was to limit Germany's dependence on Anglo-American international economic and political order.<sup>46</sup>

Yet by the late 1930s, the League of Nations was in decline. The Spanish Civil War (1936 – 1939), the Austrian Anschluss (1938), and the Czech Crisis (1938 – 1939) were all handled outside the League. At Munich in 1938, a great-power Concert of Europe operated again, although Hitler's determined expansionism quickly rendered any agreements worthless. The mandate regime reeled under those political changes. With Germany and Italy irreconcilable, the political foundation for the League of Nations had crumbled. Now with little to gain from League approbation, the mandatory powers drew their territories more tightly into the imperial net.<sup>47</sup>

John Darwin suggests that it used to be argued that the end was in sight for Europe's overseas empires after 1918. With their moral credentials shattered, their wealth and manpower depleted, and their rule under siege by discontented colonial subjects, they could hardly resist the new global doctrine of national self-

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 331.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 334.

<sup>47</sup> Pedersen, *The guardians the League of Nations*, pp. 356-357.



determination.<sup>48</sup> Yet, much of the old imperial order remained in place, even if in a new guise. In the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Pacific 'Far East', Russian power was restored. Germany's lost colonies were shared out as mandates under League supervision, but for all practical purposes, they were governed as colonies. The same was true of Ottoman Syria and Lebanon, awarded to France as the mandatory power.<sup>49</sup> In Europe, the peace 'turned one unstable configuration into a still more unstable one: a mix of empires and putative nation-states. The forcible breakup of some empires left many of their inhabitants resentful of the loss of imperial power.<sup>50</sup>

The Second Republic of Poland, 1918 - 1939, which emerged in an outcome of the First World War was a country comprised of lands as previously being parts of Russian, German, and Austria-Hungarian Empires with economy destroyed and population depleted by the war and no established borders. As Norman Davies pointed out, in 1918 few people in Russia, Germany, or Allied countries seriously believed that Poland would sustain independent existence even if the opportunity occurred.<sup>51</sup> And yet on the 11 November 1918, when the German army was disarmed in Warsaw, a new sovereign state came into being with Józef Piłsudski as its leader. The struggle for frontiers, including Polish-Soviet war, 1919 – 1921, had lasted for over four years and ended in March 1923 with Allied countries' recognition of Poland's eastern border. The constitution adopted in March 1921, as Hubert Zawadzki and Jerzy Lukowski remarked, symbolised the consolidation of the Second Republic but also introduced what was to prove unwieldy parliamentary government.<sup>52</sup> A kind of normality started to return after the political and military

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<sup>48</sup> Darwin, 'Nationalism and Imperialism', p. 354.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 354.

<sup>50</sup> Burbank, *Empires in World History*, p. 380.

<sup>51</sup> Norman Davies, *White Eagle, Red Star: the Polish-Soviet war 1919-20 and 'the Miracle on the Vistula'*, (London, 2011), p. 20.

<sup>52</sup> Jezry Lukowski, Hubert Zawadzki, *A Concise History of Poland*, (Cambridge, 2001), p. 204.

upheavals of the war years and the previously disparate regions of the country were gradually reintegrated administratively and economically. However, the strong regional differences remained in terms of economic and social development and were further accentuated by the existence of national minorities, of which the largest were Ukrainian, Belarusian, German and Jewish. The rivalry between political parties and lack of consensus for dealing with the continued economic difficulties resulted in a growing sense of disillusionment from the political order. In the coup of May 1926, Józef Piłsudski took it upon himself to fix the situation. The regime introduced by Piłsudski was a secular authoritarian system of the government of non-fascist type. The government did try to mobilise mass support for the regime, but large areas of national life remained outside its direct control: opposition political parties, many trade unions, a host of social, cultural and sporting organisations, much of the economy and press, although subject to limited censorship, as well as religious and charitable organisations.<sup>53</sup>

The motion of consolidation of the nation affected the government's approach towards the national minorities. Waldemar Paruch points out three main components in the political thought of the Piłsudski's camp. First was the understanding nation in political and historical terms rather than on the base of ethnicity. It was the role of the state to build unity around the state's most vital interests among its population despite ethnical divisions. The state was given a priority over a nation but this view changed between 1935 and 1939. The concept of nation was redefined and started to be based understood on ethnicity. The view that nation, understood as an ethnic group, was a sovereign of the state became more popular among the leaders of the regime. After 1935 more attention was given to emigration and prompting the

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., pp. 2016 – 2017.

government to prepare special plans in this matter. These plans aimed at creating an advantage for Poland in strategically important areas of the globe. The internal colonisation meant to serve the same goal. The second main concept in the political thought of Piłsudski's camp, according to Paruch, was the idea of 'historical duty' of the Polish state to conduct a plan of political and territorial changes in Eastern Europe which would help solve many problems, including the problem of ethnic minorities. Piłsudski's camp regarded the state of international relations between 1922 and 1939 as unstable and unfavourable for Poland and shared the conviction that it could lead to war. In this situation their long-term goal remained to build a federation of countries in Central – Eastern Europe under Polish leadership. Finally, even though Piłsudski and his supporters were unable to implement their vision of political order between 1918 and 1921 was viewed in terms of 'historical errors' made by Poles which led to the emergence of the tendency to educate them.<sup>54</sup>

While Paruch looks at Poland's eastern borderlands through the prism of state and national consolidation, Christoph Mick attempts to analyse it referring to Osterhammel's specification of colonies, colonialism, and imperialism, indicating the relation between existence of certain policies and Poland's own experience with the colonial centres during the period after partitions. While the German elites believed they brought culture and civilisation to Poland, the Polish elites, in turn, believed that they had brought culture and progress to Ukraine, Lithuania, and Belarus, the former eastern borderlands of the Polish – Lithuanian Commonwealth. According to Mick, Poland cultivated its own form of orientalism since the late nineteenth century. Although Mick came to the conclusion Polish policies toward the eastern borderlands were rather a manifestation of nationalising than colonising

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<sup>54</sup> Waldemar Paruch, *Od konsolidacji państwowej do konsolidacji narodowej: Mniejszość narodowe w myśli politycznej obozu Piłsudczykowski (1926 – 1939)*, (Lublin, 1997), pp. 361 – 367.

state, he remarks that the Second Republic of Poland was not a nation-state nor a federation nor an empire but had elements of all three.<sup>55</sup>

### **1.3. The political and economic situation in Portuguese Angola and in Liberia, c. 1920 - 1939**

The economic situation in both Angola and Liberia in the inter-war period was challenging. This economic weakness allowed the governance of these territories to be questioned. It certainly was a factor in the conviction shared by the activist of the Polish colonial movement in charge of settlement schemes, that Angola and Liberia could provide spaces for Polish economic expansion. While the settlement scheme in Angola aimed at initiating Polish economic presence in the colony, in Liberia the Maritime and Colonial League attempted to engage with Liberian politics. Establishing plantations and initiating commercial exchange remained in the center of the settlement scheme, but the political situation in Liberia created an opportunity for the League to engage with the Liberian government to secure the future of the settlements. The talks of mandate attracted the interest of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

For centuries Angola was simultaneously subjected to the forms of dependence associated with the direct colonial rule and other or indirect forms of dependence on other Western powers, and the Portuguese role in Angola was influenced by Portugal's own position in Europe. The economies of Portugal's colonies in Africa and even of Portugal itself depended heavily on foreign capital and enterprise. At the

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<sup>55</sup> Christoph Mick, 'Colonialism in the Polish Eastern Borderlands 1919 – 1939', in Róisín Healy, Enrico Dal Lago, eds., *The Shadow of Colonialism on Europe's Modern Past*, (Basingstoke, 2014), pp. 126 – 141.

beginning of the nineteenth century, the Napoleonic wars contributed to Portugal's economic decline. The Portuguese Royal family fled to Brazil, which declared its independence in 1822. The Portuguese monopoly of Brazilian trade was abolished and replaced by a tariff preference favouring Great Britain as the protecting power. As Richard James Hammond, pointed out the loss of trade with Brazil combined with the devastation caused by Peninsula War, 1807-1814, had a catastrophic and lasting impact on the Portuguese economy.<sup>56</sup> Both Portugal and Brazil were within the British sphere of influence, but Brazil was more prosperous therefore given greater importance in Great Britain. For Portugal, the years that followed were ones of continued economic dependence, political instability, and recurrent financial crises.<sup>57</sup> At the end of the nineteenth century, Portugal was heavily indebted to Great Britain, Germany, and France.<sup>58</sup> According to R. J. Hammond, the state of Portugal in the second half of the nineteenth century was comparable to that of many underdeveloped countries in the second half of the twentieth century.<sup>59</sup> Portugal's own economy was primarily agricultural suffering from budgetary deficits it struggled to finance. Consequently, Angola's deficit was financed by Lisbon, and in turn Portugal's deficits were financed by external debt.<sup>60</sup> The period of the Portuguese Republic, 1910-1926, brought significant development for Angola. Portugal completed the conquest of Angola and established military control after putting down scattered tribal rebellions. Portugal joined the Allies in the First World War and there were limited hostilities with German troops in southern Angola. The war made Portugal's difficult financial situation even more precarious and resulted in

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<sup>56</sup> Richard James Hammond, *Portugal and Africa, 1815-1910: A Study in unEconomic Imperialism*, (Stanford, 1966), pp. 12 - 13.

<sup>57</sup> William Minter, *Portuguese Africa and the West*, (New York, 1972), p. 15.

<sup>58</sup> William Minter, *Imperial Network and External Dependency: The Case of Angola*, (Beverly Hills, 1972), pp. 7- 8.

<sup>59</sup> Hammond., *Portugal and Africa*, p. 28.

<sup>60</sup> Minter, *Imperial Network*, pp. 28 – 29.

a lack of economic development in Angola. Portugal remained Angola's main trading partner. Belgium, Germany, the United Kingdom, and Congo also took a significant portion of the trade. During the period of the Republic, the economy of Angola was oriented primarily on the export of agricultural produce (including rubber, coffee, beeswax, and fish), trading diamonds appeared in the 1927 – 1931.<sup>61</sup> The production of coffee, Angola's main agricultural product, started in the 1830s, although its major periods of prosperity and growth were the 1890s.<sup>62</sup>

Portugal's comparative weakness saw the British extract several commercial treaties which granted more and more economic privileges.<sup>63</sup> As a result, Great Britain protected Portugal and her colonies in order to fortify its own positions against Spain and France.<sup>64</sup> William Minter described the situation as a 'classic case of semi-colonial dependency'.<sup>65</sup> During the nineteenth century scramble for Africa Portugal managed to retain its colonial possessions by allowing its European rivals economic access to its territories. Consequently, the major enterprises in Angola were financed and controlled by foreign capital, principally from Britain and South Africa. Portugal became indispensable as a guarantee of the stability holding administrative control.<sup>66</sup> By 1904 foreign control of the colonial economies was far advanced, and the dominance of foreign capital was maintained throughout the period of the Republic.<sup>67</sup> The literature points to two major companies of particular importance operating in Angola, *Companhia de Diamantes de Angola* (Diamang)

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<sup>61</sup> Minter, *Imperial Network*, pp. 26 – 28.

<sup>62</sup> David Birmingham, 'A Question of Coffee: Black Enterprise in Angola', *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines*. 16:2, p. 343.

<sup>63</sup> Teresa Coelho, "'Pérfida Albion" and "Little Portugal": The Role of the Press in British and Portuguese National Perceptions of the 1890 Ultimatum', *Portuguese Studies*, 6 (1990), p. 182.

<sup>64</sup> Luís Madureira, 'Tropical Sex Fantasies and the Ambassador's Other Death: The Difference in Portuguese', *Cultural Critique*, 28 (1994), p. 154.

<sup>65</sup> Minter, *Imperial Network*, p. 6.

<sup>66</sup> William Minter, 'Joint Venture in Colonialism: Portugal and its Allies', *The Contemporary Review*, 224:1299 (1974), pp. 199-200.

<sup>67</sup> M. D. D. Newitt, *Portugal in Africa: The Last Hundred Years* (London, 1981), pp. 75-76.

and *Caminhio de Ferro de Benguela* (Benguela Railways).

Diamang founded in 1917 with the participation of Portuguese, French, Belgian and American interests were granted a monopoly on diamond exploration and production in Angola. In 1923 Diamang was incorporated into the De Beers mining syndicate. As a partly state-owned enterprise, Diamang reported not to the colonial governor in Luanda, but also directly to Lisbon; its autonomy from the colonial government, and its geographical location in one of the colony's remotest corners, led Diamang to take on many of the functions of government in the region now known as Lunda Norte. It was responsible for the construction of the towns of Lucapa, Dundo, and Andrada (now Nzaji) and became the chief banker for the Angolan government throughout 1920s and 1930s.<sup>68</sup>

The Benguela Railway stems from a ninety-nine-year concession granted to British entrepreneur and associate of Cecil Rhodes, Robert Williams of the Tanganyika Concession Company (Tanks). The Benguela Railway was founded with a capital owned in 90% by Tanks and 10% by the Portuguese government. Williams was not interested in Angola politically.<sup>69</sup> The original aim of the Benguela Railway Company constituted in 1902, was to provide access to the copper deposits in landlocked Katanga and adjacent parts of Northern Rhodesia. Domestic Angolan traffic, it was believed, would be of secondary importance. Construction of the Benguela Railway began in 1903 but a long series of delays occasioned by difficult terrain, financial troubles, and international politics resulted in the line reaching the Congo border only in 1928. It was then forced to wait three additional years for the Belgians to complete the track connecting the Benguela and Katanga lines.<sup>70</sup> Work

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 92.

<sup>69</sup> Lawrence W. Henderson, *Angola, Five Centuries of Conflict*, (Ithaca, 1979), p. 129.

<sup>70</sup> William A. Hance, Irene S. van Dongen, 'The Port of Lobito and the Benguela Railway', *Geographical Review*, 46:4 (1956), pp. 450, 466.

was not completed until 1931 and the last stage was financed by a British loan.<sup>71</sup>

Maria Eugenia Mata points out that the presence of private foreign companies in Portuguese colonies was a decisive instrument for government colonial administration. By giving concessions to special Portuguese joint-stock companies in a region where a Portuguese administration did not yet exist, the government transferred the responsibility for establishing a Portuguese administration and authority concession to private companies.<sup>72</sup> A similar view is presented by Newitt, who argues that control over African tax and labour had been granted as a lure to investors and a necessary part of their administrative role. This resulted in concessionaires drawing profits from tax and the sale of contract labourers, rather than through capital investment. The system had led to the perpetuation of quasi-feudal relations, forced labour, low levels of productivity and general retardation of the development of the colonies.<sup>73</sup>

Vincent-Smith pointed out that by 1912 British confidence in the Portuguese Republic, was beginning to be undermined. Among the reasons were the apparent inability of governments in Lisbon to solve Portugal's underlying socio-economic problems, combined with the poor financial outlook for Portugal, and the condition of its African territories.<sup>74</sup> It was often assumed that the disintegration of Portuguese Africa was simply a matter of time and that the British would be its heirs.<sup>75</sup> Eric Alina points to the possibility of the loss of colonies as a factor underlining Portuguese colonial policy.<sup>76</sup> Slavery was abolished in 1875, but servile labour

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<sup>71</sup> Minter, *Imperial Network*, pp. 28-29

<sup>72</sup> Maria Eugenia Mata, 'Foreign Joint-Stock Companies Operating in Portuguese Colonies on the Eve of the First World War', *South African Journal of Economic History*, 22:1-2 (2007), pp. 76, 80.

<sup>73</sup> Newitt, *Portugal*, p. 93

<sup>74</sup> J. D. Vincent-Smith, 'The Anglo-German Negotiations over the Portuguese Colonies in Africa, 1911-14', *The Historical Journal*, 17:3 (1974), p. 622.

<sup>75</sup> J. P. Cann, 'Angola and the Great War', *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 12:1 (2001), p. 146.

<sup>76</sup> See Eric Allina, 'Fallacious Mirrors; Colonial Anxiety and Images of African Labor in



continued to be available through a number of channels well into the twentieth century, and it was particularly demanded by planters and concessionaires.<sup>77</sup> As James Duffy has noted, Portugal was not oblivious to the window this opened for criticism.<sup>78</sup> The fear of losing colonies present in Portugal's colonial political throughout the inter-war period was related with the Portugal's insistence on colonising Angola with European settlers, seen as a factor strengthening Portugal's rule over colonies by, as Gerald J. Bender pointed out, 'civilising' its ingenious population.<sup>79</sup> Portugal's need for settlers was a factor attracting Polish settlers to move to the colony, but the fear of losing authority over Angola had a negative impact on the development of Polish settlements contributing to its abrupt end.

The early 1930s were a time of struggle for Liberia's independence as the League of Nations increasing interfered with its internal affairs and the interests of the Firestone Company backed by the United States grew. By 1924, when Firestone Company first sent a commission to study the suitability of the country to rubber production, Liberia was struggling both politically and economically and looking toward the United States for help.<sup>80</sup> Historians studying the history of Liberia point to the particular character of the historical relationship this West-African republic enjoyed with the United States, as one of the major factor shaping her politics. The Republic of Liberia was founded through the efforts of the American Colonization

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Mozambique, ca. 1929', *History in Africa*, 24 (1997).

<sup>77</sup> Newitt, *Portugal in Africa*, p. 98.

<sup>78</sup> James Duffy, *Portuguese Africa*, (Cambridge, 1959), p. 155.

<sup>79</sup> Gerald J. Bender, *Angola under the Portuguese: The Myth and the Reality*, (London, 1978), p. 95.

<sup>80</sup> Suzanne Kathleen McCoskey, 'Foreign Direct Investment and Entrepreneurial Capture in Pre-Conflict Liberia', *Journal of Small Business & Entrepreneurship*, 24:2 (2011). p. 199. In May 1922 the British implemented the Stevenson Plan which called for a reduction in the production of rubber by 75% in an attempt to boost prices. The British Empire produced 80% of the world's supply, and the United States consumed about 70% of the total produce. Winston Churchill looked upon the plan as a chance to repay the war debt to the United States. The Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover, was urging American capital to invest abroad in the production of the basic raw materials. J. H. Mower, 'The Republic of Liberia', *The Journal of Negro History*, 32:3 (1947), pp. 283-284.

Society (ACS) aided and abetted by the government of the United States.<sup>81</sup> Liberia and its unique historic ties with the United States began in 1817 with the formation of the American Colonization Society in Washington. The society promoted the voluntary return to Africa of North American freed slaves of African heritage.<sup>82</sup> The ACS raised funds for establishing a settlement in Africa and, in 1822, the first sponsored settlers landed on the coast of Liberia, and, until 1848, it was administered as a de-facto colony of the ASC.<sup>83</sup> Consequently, Liberia was neither an American protectorate nor a sovereign state.<sup>84</sup> Nnamdi Azikiwe described these settlements as occupying an anomalous position in the international world.<sup>85</sup> In 1847, the ACS granted its colony independence and it formally took the name Liberia.<sup>86</sup> The country received recognition within the following two or three years from the principal powers.<sup>87</sup> After receiving recognition, the Liberian state was to a great extent left to its own resources and did not receive financial assistance for the education of its population or for the official organisation and exploitation of the country.<sup>88</sup> Liberia was a formally independent state, but around 1906, after decades of financial crises and ruinous British bank loans, the Liberian government was essentially bankrupt. In 1912, the United States arranged an international loan; this resulted in the four Western Powers – the United States, Britain, France, and Germany – controlling the Liberian government revenues for the next 14 years.<sup>89</sup>

The United States had been unwilling to allow any great power to interfere too

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<sup>81</sup> Mower, 'The Republic of Liberia', (1947), p. 265.

<sup>82</sup> See Eric Burin, *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution: A History of the American Colonization Society*, (Gainesville, 2008).

<sup>83</sup> McCoskey, 'Foreign Direct Investment', p. 199. For history of Liberia see George Eutyichianus Saigbe Boley, *Liberia: The Rise and Fall of the First Republic*, (London, 1983).

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 199.

<sup>85</sup> Nnamdi Azikiwe, *Liberia in World Politics*, (London, 1934), p. 58.

<sup>86</sup> McCoskey, 'Foreign Direct Investment', p. 199.

<sup>87</sup> M. D. Mackenzie, 'Liberia and the League of Nations', *Journal of the Royal African Society*, 33:133 (1934), p. 373.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 374.

<sup>89</sup> F. Sherman, *Liberia: The Land, Its People, History and Culture*, (Dar es Salam, 2011), pp. 52 – 57.

flagrantly with Liberian sovereignty.<sup>90</sup> Yet, according to J. H. Mower, there was hardly what can be called a consistent American concern for or interest in Liberian affairs.<sup>91</sup> Also, Roland P. Falkner pointed out that during the formative period, there was no movement on the part of the United States to establish any supervisory control over Liberia. Actual relations between the United States and Liberia began to lessen.<sup>92</sup> Mower explains the American policy from 1847 down to 1909 was one of disinterestedness due to the tremendous domestic westward expansion and development taking place in the United States. The period 1909-1924 established a pattern of inconsistent American interest in Liberia. The main reason for this policy seems to have been the relative insignificance of Liberia to the economy of the United States, coupled with a desire to see Liberia make a go of it alone.<sup>93</sup> Charles Wesley pointed to the refunding loan of \$1,700,000 US dollars secured in 1912 as the beginning of the period of close economic relationship with the United States.<sup>94</sup> The refunding loan allowed Liberia to repay its earlier debts, but financial mismanagement continued to create fiscal difficulties. The situation worsened considerably with the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. When Liberia joined the Allied cause and severed its relations with Germany, which had been a major trading partner, its finances suffered greatly.<sup>95</sup>

Liberia's acceptance of the 1926 Firestone loan was the first instance of American 'economic imperialism' outside the area controlled by the Monroe Doctrine.<sup>96</sup> The

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<sup>90</sup> Mower, 'The Republic of Liberia', p. 268.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p. 268.

<sup>92</sup> Roland P. Falkner, 'The United States and Liberia', *American Journal of International Law*, 4:3 (1910), p. 540.

<sup>93</sup> Mower, 'The Republic of Liberia', p. 278.

<sup>94</sup> Charles Wesley, 'Liberia Begins its Second Century', *Negro History Bulletin*, 12:3 (1948), p. 56.

<sup>95</sup> Leigh A. Gardner, 'The rise and fall of sterling in Liberia, 1847-1943', *The Economic History Review, Special Issue: The Renaissance of African Economic History*, 67:4 (2014), p. 1100.

<sup>96</sup> Mower, 'The Republic of Liberia', p. 279. The Monroe Doctrine, declared in 1823, stated that the Western Hemisphere was no longer open to European colonisation and political intervention. At the

international status of Liberia as an independent republic and a member of League of Nations masked a domestic situation which, for all practical purposes, was colonial.<sup>97</sup> The United States was perfectly willing to let Liberia have a free political hand so long as she did not interfere with American investments. The Firestone Company went about their business of raising rubber, and also was little concerned with Liberian politics.<sup>98</sup> The net result was that the Firestone concern acquired a valuable concession, while a financial adviser and other American officials supervised the Liberian finances so as to safeguard the loan service and, indirectly, the Firestone interests.<sup>99</sup>

The argument has been made that the Liberian elites at the time knew perfectly well what they were doing by choosing this course of action. They accepted the terms partly because they wanted the infusion which they thought Firestone investments would give them, and partly because they needed the strong diplomatic support of the American government against the signs of aggression by their more powerful neighbours.<sup>100</sup> Many Liberian elites were focused primarily on ensuring government stability and independence from the neighbouring British and French colonies. The inability of the Liberian government to police its hinterland caused the

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same time, the doctrine noted that the US would recognize and not interfere with existing European colonies. See Jay Sexton, *The Monroe Doctrine: Empire and Nation in Nineteenth-Century America*, (New York, 2011).

<sup>97</sup> J. Gus Liebenow, 'The Liberian Coup in Perspective', *Current History*, 80:464 (1981), p. 101.

<sup>98</sup> Mower, 'The Republic of Liberia', p. 282. In total Firestone gained a concession giving them almost unlimited control over an area equal to 4% of Liberian land. At the same time Firestone gave Liberian Government a loan of \$5,000,000 US dollars. The loan agreement was approved on December 1926 and went into effect on 1 July 1927 under the Finance Corporation, rather than the Firestone name itself. Adell Patton, Jr, 'Civil rights in America's African diaspora: Firestone Rubber and segregation in Liberia', *Canadian Journal of African Studies/ La Revue Canadienne des Etudes Africaines*, 49:2 (2015), p. 322. For most of its operations, Firestone was the largest source of government revenues through payroll taxes and import duties. Prior to the development of the iron ore industry in the 1950s and 1960s, rubber was the single most important industry by all measures in the Liberian economy. Firestone became the second largest employer in the money economy—only the Liberian government employed more workers. McCoskey, 'Foreign direct investment', pp. 200 – 205.

<sup>99</sup> R. A. de Lynden, 'Liberia', *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 58:3, (1942), p. 94.

<sup>100</sup> McCoskey, 'Foreign Direct Investment', p. 199.

republic to get into repeated difficulties with both France and England, and those countries, at one time or the other, had used this weakness of Liberia as a pretext to seize sizable portions of her territory.<sup>101</sup> The proximity of French and English colonies, whose agents sowed discontent among the ethnic groups near their border, also contributed to tribal rebellions in the hinterland, taking place between 1910 and 1931.<sup>102</sup> Liberia lacked effective military might or resources to ward off any external aggression, such threats increased the fear of her leaders for her sovereignty, and drove them increasingly under the umbrella of the United States government, which, they trusted, had no territorial ambitions in Liberia. It was also believed by some that the Americans might exert pressure on Britain and France to stay their hands from Liberian territory.<sup>103</sup> Mower pointed out that during the loan negotiations in 1926 the Liberians were having trouble with the French over the Zinta boundary and many Liberians believed that it was only by securing the investment of American capital in Liberia that the Government could count on the continued support of the United States.<sup>104</sup>

While Portuguese in Angola wanted to reinforce European presence in the colony in form of settlers, Liberia was looking for a European capital. Although the influence of the United States over Liberia was growing, it had been noticed that there was some effort made after 1931 to encourage European interests to invest in the country.<sup>105</sup> Gus Liebenov noted that the elite tended to discourage Liberian

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<sup>101</sup> Harrison Akingbade, 'The Pacification of the Liberian Hinterland', *The Journal of Negro History*, 79:3 (1994), p. 281.

<sup>102</sup> See Wesley, 'Liberia Begins its Second Century', p. 57 and M. B. Akpan, 'Black Imperialism: Americo-Liberian Rule over the African Peoples of Liberia, 1841-1964', *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines*, 7:2 (1973), p. 233.

<sup>103</sup> M. B. Akpan, 'Liberia and the Universal Negro Improvement Association: The Background to the Abortion of Garvey's Scheme for African Colonization', *The Journal of African History*, 14:1 (1973), p. 114.

<sup>104</sup> Mower, 'The Republic of Liberia', pp. 285, 289.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 298.

business and encouraged the entrance of foreign groups other than Africans at various level of the economic enterprise.<sup>106</sup> Since they could not become citizens of the Black Republic, this created a situation, especially in terms of small retail trade, in which a mercantile minority could be allowed in the sufferance of the ruling group and remain dependent on its goodwill. The attitudes and long-range interests of the entrenched elite opposed the creation of groups of African entrepreneurs with citizenship rights and interests that might run counter to theirs.<sup>107</sup> In the 1930s, Liberia signed concession agreements with Dutch, Danish, German investors.<sup>108</sup> In 1931 a concession was granted to the Danish Liberian Syndicate to build a pier at Monrovia, and this company was given the right to build a road to the French border. There was some uneasiness about this concession in both Great Britain and the United States, and the concession was not put into effect. In 1937 a mining agreement was signed with a Dutch concern to mine iron in the Bomi Hill iron fields. It was found that the company German capital backing it, and it is thought that American pressure caused the concession to be canceled the next year.<sup>109</sup>

Liberians politics had been led since 1870 by the True Whig Party (TWP). Under the rule of the TWP, it was always a small elite of repatriates, who dominated every aspect of political and economic life for their own benefit.<sup>110</sup> Raymond L. Buell writes about presidential dictatorship centered around the True Wig Party. Except for the elected members of the legislature, the president and vice-president all government positions were appointive. All officials, including the jury members, were Whig. The Party was able to continue in power largely because of its control

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<sup>106</sup> Gus J. Liebenow, *Liberia: The Evolution of Privilege*, (New York, 1969), p. 92.

<sup>107</sup> I. K. Sundiata, *Brothers and Strangers: Black Zion, Black Slavery, 1914–1940*, (Durham, 2003), pp. 213-14.

<sup>108</sup> Sherman, *Liberia: The Land, Its People*, pp. 52 - 57.

<sup>109</sup> Raymond L. Buell, *Liberia: a Century of Survival, 1847 – 1947*, (New York, 1969), p. 48.

<sup>110</sup> Morten Bøås, 'Liberia and Sierra Leone: Dead Ringers? The Logic of Neopatrimonial Rule', *Third World Quarterly*, 22:5 (2001), p. 702.

over the election machinery and because of popular apathy.<sup>111</sup> By 1900, there were about 15,000 African-American immigrants and over 300 re-patriated Africans from the West Indies settled on the Atlantic coast of Liberia. William E. Allen pointed out that the Africans repatriated to Liberia originated from different parts of Africa. Free slaves from the United States were among three regional categories of immigrants the ACS and its affiliates transported to Liberia in the nineteenth century. The second group was referred to variously as recaptives and recaptured Africans. The final wave of immigration consisted of 346 former slaves from Barbados, who arrived in Liberia in 1865.<sup>112</sup> They were grouped into five counties for administrative purposes with headquarters respectively at Robertsport, Monrovia, Buchanan, Greenville, and Harper.<sup>113</sup>

An exploration into the interior of Liberia had shown that a significant amount of trade was being carried between the people of the hinterland and the European colonies of Sierra Leone and Guinea. It was desirable that this trade should be diverted to the coastal settlements of Liberia. The Americo-Liberians, who were mostly traders, would benefit immeasurably from the diversion of such trade to the Liberian coasts. To maintain a favourable balance of trade, Liberians had to increase their supply of tropical products to the foreign markets, and these products could not be obtained in sufficient quantities in the coastal area. Besides, the Liberians needed the labour of the hinterland peoples for the cultivation of coffee and for the supply of camwood, ivory, palm oil, tortoise shells, and gold for export.<sup>114</sup> Determined to channel commerce through their own coastal settlements, the Americo-Liberians

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<sup>111</sup> Raymond L. Buell, 'The Liberian Paradox', *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, 7:2 (1931), p. 167.

<sup>112</sup> William E. Allen, 'Liberia and the Atlantic World in the Nineteenth Century: Convergence and Effects', *History in Africa*, 37 (2010), pp. 23-24.

<sup>113</sup> Akpan, 'Black Imperialism', p. 218,

<sup>114</sup> Harrison Akingbade, 'The Pacification of the Liberian Hinterland', *The Journal of Negro History*, 79:3 (1994), pp. 278 – 279.

denied European traders direct access to the country's interior.<sup>115</sup> By the middle of the nineteenth century, they had managed to build up a considerable export trade in coffee, cane sugar, molasses, palm kernels, palm oil, cacao, camwood, etc. They even built small ships of their own, and Liberian-owned ships sailed to America and England under the Liberian flag. But the lower transport costs by means of steamships, in combination with falling prices of the products through competition, proved too much for the Liberian traders and planters and ended their prosperity.<sup>116</sup> Systematic cultivation of the local coffee plant gave the settlers their first opportunity to control a major commodity. By 1885 the country officially exported nearly 500,000 pounds of coffee per year, and a decade later this figure had doubled. By 1900, however, declining prices and Brazilian competition drove production back to around the 1885 level, and prices fell even further. Once again the country began slipping into debt.<sup>117</sup>

With the entrance of Firestone into Liberia, rubber became crucial to the Liberian economy. For most of its operations, Firestone was the largest source of government revenues through payroll taxes and import duties. Prior to the development of the iron ore industry in the 1950s and 1960s, rubber was the single most important industry by all measures in the Liberian economy.<sup>118</sup>

By the early 1920s, the Americo-Liberian elite had secured a firm grip on political and economic power in Liberia<sup>119</sup>. Actual power rested in the hands of prominent members of certain leading, settler families or lineages. Liberian settlers possessing some knowledge of the modern, political organisation and modern,

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<sup>115</sup> William R. Stanley, 'Background to the Liberia and Sierra Leone Implosions', *GeoJournal*, 61:1 (2005), p. 72.

<sup>116</sup> R.A. De Lynden, 'Liberia', p. 93.

<sup>117</sup> Ronald W. Davis, 'The Liberian Struggle for Authority on the Kru Coast', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 8:2 (1975), pp. 240 – 241.

<sup>118</sup> McCoskey, 'Foreign Direct Investment', p. 200.

<sup>119</sup> Bøås, 'Liberia and Sierra Leone', p. 704.



technological science regarded their own culture as superior to that of the African population. Ammerico - Liberians retained a strong sentimental attachment to America, which they regarded as their native land.<sup>120</sup> The repatriates' sought the lifestyle they were most familiar with; therefore, the elites' towns, houses, and patterns of life were reproductions of those things considered to be elegant in the Old South. Their habits of dress can also be interpreted by this formula of cultural background and the functional need of the self to be distinct from the other.<sup>121</sup> They primarily devoted their whole attention to local politics. Being loyal Republican citizens many hoped someday to receive a commission from their president, take their turns as officials, and make their fortunes. In the meantime, many of them posed as attorneys-at-law.<sup>122</sup> This idea of an Old Southern lifestyle, with an emphasis on the leisurely life of the landowner, did not come cheap, which may partly explain the extremities of misuse of public funds in Liberia.<sup>123</sup> The government had always lacked funds, primarily because of the neglect of agriculture by Americo-Liberians, their embezzlement of public funds, poor knowledge of accounting, and inadequate means of collecting the customs duties.<sup>124</sup>

The coastal settlers showed no interest in integrating with the tribal groups further than as a source of subjugated labour for government projects; tribal Liberians had no political representation in the coastal government structure and had no right to vote.<sup>125</sup> Historians point out the exploitation of the tribal population of Liberia by the Americo-Liberian elites. The system of indirect rule was adopted as

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<sup>120</sup> Akpan, 'Black Imperialism', pp. 219, 225.

<sup>121</sup> Bøås, 'Liberia and Sierra Leone', p. 704.

<sup>122</sup> Cuthbert Christy, 'Liberia in 1930', *The Geographical Journal*, 77: 6 (1931), p. 529.

<sup>123</sup> Bøås, 'Liberia and Sierra Leone', p. 704.

<sup>124</sup> Akpan, 'Liberia and the Universal Negro Improvement Association', p. 112. Allen, however, pointed out that the poor state of Liberia was a result of climatic conditions causing American livestock and food crops to wither not the 'neglect' that is purported in the historiography. Allen, 'Liberia and the Atlantic World', p.33.

<sup>125</sup> McCoskey, 'Foreign Direct Investment', p. 199.

from 1904, by which the hinterland was divided into districts administered by district commissioners, most of whom were Americo-Liberians, in co-operation with African chiefs.<sup>126</sup> In Liberia indirect rule particularly affected indigenous Africans who bore the brunt of maintaining the hinterland administration for which they received scarcely any compensation. As Liberia lacked roads, except bush trails, and possessed few horse carriages, they provided unpaid, hammock and carrier service to Liberian civil and military officials in the hinterland. Moreover, they performed free at various time when called upon such Government service as the construction of rest houses, soldiers' barracks, and quarters for district commissioners. Furthermore, most of the district commissioners turned their districts into arenas for extortion and used the newly established militia, Frontier Force, to install an oligarchic and arbitrary rule in the hinterland.<sup>127</sup> The formation of a Frontier Force was put into operation 1908. The Americo-Liberians made up the officer corps for political, social and economic reasons. The indigenous officers, they thought, could not be trusted to maintain discipline among them or to carry out the political objectives of the Americo-Liberian aristocracy, which were designed to foster their supremacy. The militia force usually consisted of Americo-Liberian officers, while its ranks were recruited from among the poor class of Americo-Liberians and loyal indigenous groups.<sup>128</sup> Continuous forced labour as one of the biggest problems in Liberia bringing the validity of Americo-Liberian rule into question as it did with Portuguese

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<sup>126</sup> Akpan, 'Black Imperialism', p. 229. The indirect rule was a system of governance under which an imperial power made use of the indigenous political institutions of a conquered territory for its administration. The system was employed to varying extents by different empires of antiquity and modern times. Adiele Eberechukwu Afigbo, *Nigerian History, Politics and Affairs: The Collected Essays of Adiele Afigbo*, (Trenton, 2005), pp. 271 – 273. For the indirect rule in Africa see Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*, (Princeton, 2018). For the usage of the indirect rule in Liberia see Martin Joseph Ford, *Indirect Rule and the Emergence of the "Big Chief" in Liberia's Central Province, 1918-1944*, (Bremen, 1992).

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., pp. 231, 293.

<sup>128</sup> Akingbade, 'The Pacification of the Liberian Hinterland', pp. 235-283.

rule in Angola. In Liberia, however, the international criticism regarding this matter took direct form resulting in the League of Nations' involvement.<sup>129</sup> The investigation carried out by the League of Nations c. 1932 - 1934 brought a thread of foreign intervention into Liberia's internal affairs, and as Białas pointed out, it instigated Poland's interest in Liberia.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Dihdwo Twe, 'Liberia: An American Responsibility', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 282:1 (1952), p. 105.

<sup>130</sup> Białas, *Liga Morska*, p. 211.

## Chapter 2 – The formation of Poland's colonial movement 1918-1936

### 2.1. The origins of the idea of Polish settlements, c. 1890 - 1914

The idea of obtaining colonies for Poland initially emerged as a measure to address issues brought about by emigration in the inter-war period. Colonies became part of the political discourse on emigration as they started to be seen as potential solutions for broader economic problems. Consequently, the relationship between the idea of Poland having colonies and its emigration policy is crucial for understanding the process that led to the formulation of the colonial movement in Poland. The connection between the two can be traced to 1890s Polish Galicia under the Austro-Hungarian rule, where a group of political activists and intellectuals gathered in the Polish Commercial – Geographical Association took interest in the existence of settlements in Brazil that had been spontaneously populated by Polish migrants.

The Polish nation already had a tradition of emigration rooted within its consciousness prior to its independence in 1918. This was a result of its historical experience related to the partition period (1795–1918).<sup>131</sup> Anna Kicinger calls this phenomenon an 'ethos of emigration'.<sup>132</sup> The first significant wave of emigration from Poland consisted of political refugees from the period of struggle for keeping

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<sup>131</sup> The partition was conducted by Austria - Hungary, the Kingdom of Prussia, and the Russian Empire, which divided the Polish - Lithuanian Commonwealth lands among themselves in the process of territorial annexations. First Partition of Poland took place in 1772. Twenty years later Russian and Prussian troops entered the Polish – Lithuanian Commonwealth again and the Second Partition was finalized 1793. The Third Partition of Poland took place in 1795, in reaction to the unsuccessful uprising led by Tadeusz Kościuszko in 1794. With this partition, the Commonwealth ceased to exist and the newly created Kingdom of Poland became a part of Russian Empire. See Lukowski, Zawadzki, *A concise history of Poland*.

<sup>132</sup> Kicinger, 'Polityka Emigracyjna', p. 5.

the independence in 1792–1793 and 1795. The next waves of political refugees appeared in the 1830s and 1860s as a result of two failed uprisings against Russia in 1830 - 1831 and 1863.<sup>133</sup> The emigration that took place after the November Uprising in 1830–1831 was particularly important, as it included many members of the Polish intellectual and cultural elite. These *emigres* settled mainly in France, which soon became the centre of Polish political and cultural life.<sup>134</sup> At the same time, the first half of the nineteenth century marked the beginning of a series of economic migrations from Poland which reached their peak between 1890 and 1914. In contrast to the political emigration sketched out above, economic emigration from Poland was not the migration of selected individuals exiled for political reasons, but a mass movement inspired by the desire to find better economic opportunities, a higher standard of living and a greater measure of economic security. The slow pace of industrial reforms in Poland under partition together with a liberal approach to receiving migrants in South American countries and the United States contributed to the fact that economic migration from Poland became a large-scale process.<sup>135</sup> Between 1880 and 1914 around 1,900,000 people left Poland for the United States; 100,000 to Brazil; 68,900 to Argentina and 33,000 to Canada. It was part of a greater trend of Atlantic migration from Southern and Eastern Europe, which intensified

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> Historians call this phase the 'Great Emigration'. In fact, the number of emigrants or 'exiles', probably did not exceed 5,000-6,000 at any time between 1831 and the beginning of great economic migration in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The 'Great Emigration' was primarily a self-imposed exile of members of the revolutionary government of 1830-1831. In addition to the politicians, some officers and men who were released from Prussian or Austrian internment camps sought refuge in France, England and Switzerland. However, the greatness of this emigration lay not in its military significance but rather in its contribution to the maintenance of Polish cultural values suppressed in Poland by the Occupying Powers. It a result of work created by people like Adam Mickiewicz, Frederic Chopin and Cyprian Kamil Norwid. J. Zburzycki, 'Emigration from Poland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', *Population Studies*, 6:3 (1953), p. 248.

<sup>135</sup> Kicinger, 'Polityka Emigracyjna II Rzeczypospolitej', p. 7.

after 1880. Among the migrants were many landless peasants not able to find employment in the industry.<sup>136</sup>

In the 1890s, the emigration of peasants from Galicia and the Kingdom of Poland to Brazil took such enormous proportions that it became the subject of lively public debates. The wave of departures, starting in the 1870s, peaked between 1890 and 1892 and it was estimated at 60,000 people mainly from the Kingdom of Poland. Polish historiography of this migration calls the 1890 – 1892 period a 'Brazilian fever'.<sup>137</sup> There is no evidence of mass emigration to Brazil before 1871, apart from the arrival of some enterprising individuals, largely the offshoots of political emigration following each Polish insurrection in the nineteenth century. The first group of emigrants to arrive in Brazil settled in 1871 in the vicinity of Curitiba, in the province of Parana, where climatic conditions were similar to those prevailing in Poland. Parana would become the largest Polish centre in Brazil. In 1889 some 12,000 Poles were living in Parana alone. The Brazilian fever in Poland started in 1890 following a statement from the Brazilian government promising the immigrants cheap land and assistance in the settlement. This promise, which was given great publicity in Poland by the paid agents of the steamship companies (who were assured by the Brazilian Federal Government that the immigrants would be refunded the cost of their steamship passage), led to the unscrupulous recruitment of potential immigrants. Many of the promises of the Brazilian Government were grossly exaggerated and gave rise to rumours, one of which maintained that the Pope had asked the Emperor of Brazil to help Polish Catholics and to make them free grants of

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<sup>136</sup> Pilch, *Emigracja z ziem polskich*, p. 7.

<sup>137</sup> Mazurek, *Kraj a emigracja*, p. 57.

land. As a result, an idealized image of Brazil was created as a land of promise where the misery of the Polish landless proletariat would come to an end.<sup>138</sup>

The emigration became a subject widely discussed in Galician intellectual circles including cultural societies, political organizations or even professional bodies. The issue became one of the subjects of the Second Convention of Polish Lawyers and Economists (*Drugi Zjazd Prawników i Ekonomistów Polskich*), gathering professionals and academics across these two disciplines, held from 12 to 14 of September 1889 in Lviv.<sup>139</sup> During the Convention Stanisław Kłobukowski, an economist from the University of Vienna, pointed to the need to protect the economic and cultural rights of migrants in destination countries. He signaled the necessity of maintaining their national identity and connection with their mother country. Kłobukowski proposed to organise Polish migrants in South America into one colony located preferably in Argentina or Chile, where the climate was similar to the one in East Europe. Kłobukowski's proposal caused a discussion among the participants of the Convention but it did not win their approval as it was not seriously considered.<sup>140</sup> It was agreed, however, to create a special committee with the aim of conducting theoretical studies and gathering information about peasant migration. The Emigration Committee included Kłobukowski, Józef Kleszczyński, a professor from the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, Alfons Parczewski, a solicitor from Kalisz and Stanisław Szczepanowski, a deputy to Diet of Galicia and Lodomeria from Lviv.<sup>141</sup> In 1892 the Committee was joined by Józef Siemiradzki and Emil Dunikowski. The Committee gathered information by conducting surveys

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<sup>138</sup> Zburzycki, 'Emigration from Poland', pp. 271 – 272.

<sup>139</sup> Adolf Sulikowski, *Drugi zjazd prawników i ekonomistów polskich i jego znaczenie*, (Warszawa, 1890), p.1.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 70 – 72.

<sup>141</sup> The Diet of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, and of the Grand Duchy of Cracow was the regional assembly of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, a crown land of the Austrian Empire, and later Austria-Hungary.

in parishes across partitioned Poland and among Polish migrants living in the United States.<sup>142</sup> The Emigration Committee also coordinated two private research trips organised by Siemiradzki and Dunikowski before they became the Committee members. Siemiradzki together with Antoni Hempel visited South America between 1891 and 1892. Dunikowski in 1892 traveled to North America to study Polish communities there. Apart from theoretical studies, the Committee got involved in the publication of *Przegląd Emigracyjny* a newspaper published from 1 July 1892 in Lviv discussing issues related to emigration.<sup>143</sup> Józef Siemiradzki after returning from his trip to South America in 1882 reported the existence of areas of Brazil, mainly Parana, populated by Polish migrants from Galicia, Silesia, Poznan, and Western Prussia who settled there in the 1870s, which he described as 'Polish colonies'. After 1890, as a result of the Brazilian fever, they were joined by the new wave of arrivals from the Kingdom of Poland. According to Siemiradzki, the area surrounding Curitiba contained the greatest concentration of Polish migrants and was consequently labeled a 'New Poland' by the Brazilian authorities.<sup>144</sup> The trips of Siemiradzki and Dunikowski made the existence of areas of Polish settlement in the United States and Brazil known in elite circles back in Poland. The term New Poland grew in popularity over the following years and became used to describe an ideal or a final stage in the development of Polish communities abroad, rather than an actual place.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> *Pamiętniki Trzeciego Zjazdu Prawników i Ekonomistów Polskich w Poznaniu w dniach 11 – 13 września 1893 roku*, (Poznań, 1894), pp. 161 – 162. This publication is a report from the Third Convention of Polish Lawyers and Economist held in 1894, containing papers and speeches given by the participants.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., pp. 216 - 217.

<sup>145</sup> See Paweł Fiktus, 'Nowa Polska w polskiej myśli kolonialnej do 1939', in Mirosław Sadowski, Piort Szymaniec, eds., *Acta Erasmiiana II. Prace z Myśli polityczno – prawnej oraz prawa publicznego*, (Wrocław, 2012), pp. 107 – 124.



Kłobukowski presented a report on the Emigration Committee findings during the Third Convention of Polish Lawyers and Economist held between 11 and 13 of September 1893 in Poznań. The Convention, organised during the last year of Brazilian fever, gave more attention to the emigration issues than the previous meeting in 1889. The surveys indicated that almost everywhere the main reason that forced peasants to migrate was deep poverty and the lack of any prospects of escaping its hold, which Kłobukowski described as a hopeless misery.<sup>146</sup> Looking for the causes of this situation in the Kingdom of Poland he pointed to the end of serfdom enforced by the Tsar's administration as retaliation against Polish nobility and landowners responsible for organizing the January 1863 uprising against Russian rule. According to Kłobukowski the manumission of the peasantry was conducted too late and it was done for wrong reasons by forces hostile towards the Polish nation. The end of serfdom initially created many opportunities for employment. The financial situation of peasants improved and it resulted in higher birth-rate in rural areas significantly contributing to the population increase in the Kingdom of Poland from 4,840,466 people in 1860 to 8,385,807 in 1890.<sup>147</sup> Yet the Kingdom of Poland lacked the industrial development experienced by Western Europe, the United States and South-American countries that could absorb the surplus of the population from the countryside. The result was that a section of the rural population could not find employment and were forced to live in poverty, often suffering from hunger. The prospect of emigration particularly appealed to this section of Polish society with its promise of profitable employment.

Kłobukowski distinguished between seasonal and permanent emigration. The former was taking place to regions of the high level of the industrial development,

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<sup>146</sup> *Pamiętniki Trzeciego Zjazdu*, pp. 166 - 167.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*

Saxony and Westphalia in Germany. The migrants were going there only for a limited period of time to work and then came back bringing their earnings with them. Seasonal emigration did not bring the risk of migrants' assimilation in the receiving country.<sup>148</sup> As for the permanent emigration, this existed in the Kingdom of Poland Koblukowski remarked that it existed for at least 25 years already but it did not cause much of interests among elites. This changed after 1890, the first year of the so-called Brazilian fever. Koblukowski pointed out that the existence of areas of concentration of Polish migrants in the United States, the northern part of Wisconsin or northern part of Michigan and in Brazil particularly in Parana State and western Santa Catharina, was very little known because among the migrants were mostly peasants. Relocation to Brazil separated them from any contact with the Polish elites, and the tendency for peasants to more likely to assimilate with the culture of the receiving country was seen by Klobukowski as problematic to the Polish nation. He pointed to the need for establishing an organisation that could direct migration to the areas of high concentration of Polish migrants and organise Polish communities abroad so they would not lose their national identity.<sup>149</sup>

This initiative was supported by Wiktor Ungar who similarly indicated the necessity of preserving migrants' connection with their mother country, but according to him, the economic ties between Poland and Polish diaspora were as much important as the cultural ones. He suggested that developing commercial exchange between Polish communities abroad and their metropole and opening branches of Polish financial institutions in the areas of concentration of Polish migrants would deepen their connection with the mother country and prevent assimilation. According to Ungar binding the Polish nation with its diaspora by

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<sup>148</sup> Ibid., pp. 163 – 164, 169-170.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., pp. 171 – 172.

establishing strong economic and cultural ties would realise the idea of 'Greater Poland', which he compared to the British idea of 'Greater Britain'.<sup>150</sup> Ungar proposed establishing an organisation supporting the economic development of migrants communities modeled on German Commercial - Geographical Society for Promotion of German Interests Abroad (*Centralverein für Handelsgeographie und Förderung Deutscher Interessen im Auslande*) established in 1878 in Berlin. This new organisation, as Ungar projected it, would have its representatives in all important economic centres around the world, to help with establishing commercial links between Poland and migrants, serving them with advice and providing information on that matter and also defending migrants' rights in the receiving countries.<sup>151</sup>

Ungar's ideas found realisation in 1894 when Kłobukowski became one of the founders of the Polish Commercial-Geographical Association in Lviv (*Polskie Towarzystwo Handlowo-Geograficzne*). This was the first organisation to promote economic cooperation between Poland and the Polish diaspora. Kłobukowski was a founding member along with Stanisław Głabiński, Władysław Terenkoczy, and Józef Siemiradzki.<sup>152</sup> From 1897 to 1899 The Association published its own newspaper *Gazeta Handlowo-Geograficzna* under the redaction of Wiktor Ungar.<sup>153</sup> The newspaper was a continuation of *Przegląd Emigracyjny*. The association was affiliated with National League (*Liga Narodowa*), Polish underground political organisation within the national democracy movement.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> Ibid., pp. 190 – 191.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., p. 191.

<sup>152</sup> Mazurek, *Kraj a emigracja*, pp. 127 – 128.

<sup>153</sup> Michał Starczewski, 'Idea Nowej Polski w środowisku lwowskich narodowych demokratów. Racjonalna kolonizacja w duchu narodowym', V. Dzianisava, P. Juszkiewicz, eds, *Polskie Kresy Wschodnie i ludzie stamtąd. Materiały konferencyjne*, (Warszawa 2010), p. 250.

<sup>154</sup> For the National League and national democracy movement in Poland at the end of the nineteenth century see Brian A. Porter, 'Who is a Pole and where is Poland? Territory and Nation in the Rhetoric of Polish National Democracy before 1905', *Slavic Review*, 51:4 (1992), pp. 639 – 653.

Between 1895 and 1896 second wave of the 'Brazilian fever' took place and this time it affected mostly Galicia.<sup>155</sup> It prompted many Polish and Ukrainian politicians into action to stop a wave of departures fearing its negative social impact. In the Diet of Galicia and Lodomeria, debates on this topic were initiated by two Ukrainian deputies, Oleksander Barvinsky and Anatole Vakhnianyn who both pointed to the need to enforce legal regulations to control emigration, and secure the well-being of migrants who often fell victims to travel agents' dishonest practices.<sup>156</sup> In 1896 Józef Siemiradzki took another trip to Southern Brazil after being delegated by the Diet of Galicia and Lodomeria to study the situation of the migrants.<sup>157</sup> Also, Kobłukowski was greatly interested in the development of the Polish communities in Brazil. In 1895 he travelled to South America to visit migrant settlements and assess opportunities for further colonisation.<sup>158</sup> In 1900 Roman Dmowski, one of the leaders of the National League, influenced by the ideas developed by the Lviv National Democrats went to Brazil to check with his own eyes the opportunities for colonisation, which could support Poland's industrial development.<sup>159</sup>

Michał Starczewski analysing press releases of the Polish Commercial-Geographical Association indicated that its activists displayed an ambivalent approach to emigration. In their view, from one side emigration weakened the Polish nation in its fight to preserve their national identity under the partition. From the other, it created an opportunity for it to gain a stronger international position. They

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<sup>155</sup> Mazurek, *Kraj a emigracja*, p. 57. Second wave of migrants estimated on 25,000 people, left between 1895 and 1896.

<sup>156</sup> Jarosław Moklak, 'Z dziejów emigracji chłopskiej do Ameryki Południowej. Politycy ukraińscy wobec tzw. Gorączki brazylijskiej w debatach sejmu galicyjskiego, 1895 – 1896', *Nowa Ukraina. Zeszyty historyczno-politologiczne*, 14 (2014), p.127.

<sup>157</sup> Józef Siemiradzki, *Sprawozdanie Józefa Siemiradzkiego i Jana Wolańskiego z podróży do południowej Brazylii*, (Lwów, 1902), p. 1. The publication contains a report Siemiradzki presented to the Diet of Galicia in 1897 after his return from Brazil. He also left a memoir from his stay there titled *Szlakiem wychodźców. Wspomnienia z podróży do Brazylii, odbytej z polecenia Galicyjskiego Oddziału Krajowego* (Warszawa, 1900).

<sup>158</sup> Mazurek, *Kraj a emigracja*, p. 128.

<sup>159</sup> Starczewski, 'Idea Nowej Polski', p. 153.

saw the rivalry between nations taking place at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century as primarily economic. The strongest nations were those which could produce and sell more than the others. The key issue was finding markets for manufactured goods, and the key arena of this competition was South America.<sup>160</sup> Many Polish elites believed that Poland needed to actively participate in this rivalry, and succeed if they were to ever recover the position in Europe Poland had enjoyed prior to partition. Colonisation, understood in terms of permanent emigration, was seen as a test of the nation's virtue and moral strength. This economic competition between nations, in which colonisation played a vital role was a war, and migrants were its soldiers. This kind of rhetoric targeted news of dangers that Polish migrants to South America had to struggle with like harsh conditions on ships during the crossing of the Atlantic and tropical climate, which were often a cause of illness or even death. Comparing colonisation to war gave this suffering a moral sense. A migrant's death was the death of a soldier fighting for his country. The problem was that emigration of Polish peasants was chaotic, lacking any plan or programme. Scattered migrants could not create secure markets for Polish products, and so the Polish Commercial-Geographical Association proposed to conduct 'rational colonization within the spirit of the nation', concentrated in one area and led by Polish elites.<sup>161</sup> Colonisation conducted in this manner would not only contribute to the economic development of the Polish nation, but it would also create an enclave where Polish culture could flourish, where migrants could preserve their sense of national identity. Consequently, the Polish Commercial-Geographical Association's activist saw a need for establishing an institution similar to the East

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<sup>160</sup> Ibid., pp. 251 - 252.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., pp. 253 – 255.

India Company and other similar organisation, which could conduct a planned colonisation.<sup>162</sup>

In 1899, with the assistance of the Polish Commercial-Geographical Association, a limited company called the Commercial-Colonising Association in Lviv (*Towarzystwo Kolonizacyjno - Handlowe we Lwowie*) was established with the aim of conducting planned and organised colonisation in Southern Brazil. Among its founders were Józef Siemiradzki, Władysław Terenkoczy, and Wiktor Ungar together with a group of landowners from Galicia including Zygmunt Lasocki. Kazimierz Lubomirski became its director and Jan Kanty Steczkowski vice - director. The Commercial-Colonising Association gained the official support of the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office. Its programme included purchasing large areas of land in Parana, which would be divided among arriving migrants. In these Polish colonies, The Commercial-Colonising Association would open Polish schools and libraries and develop local industry and trade.<sup>163</sup> In a brochure titled *Polska kolonizacja zamorska* published in 1899 the Commercial-Colonising Association claimed to be a first Polish institution created to organise Polish settlements abroad to create thriving new – Polish communities called after the New Poland in Parana.<sup>164</sup> The brochure defined colonisation as a 'cultural effort' leading to 'one race or one nation' gaining new territories. This 'cultural effort' was understood as the cultural impact made by settlers of 'one race or nation' in the area of their settlement with the aim of exploiting natural resources.<sup>165</sup> The area, where this effort is taking place was defined as a colony. Colonisation could be conducted either by the state or by private bodies. The former took place when a state using its agencies populated

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<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

<sup>163</sup> Mazurek, *Kraj a emigracja*, pp. 131 – 132.

<sup>164</sup> *Polska kolonizacja zamorska*, (Lwów, 1899), pp. 5 – 6.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., pp. 19 – 20.

an area with its own settlers, provided governing structure, built infrastructure, and guarded the settlers against foreign invasion investing capital into the colony, like Great Britain.<sup>166</sup> The privately conducted colonisation could be observed in the United States and Argentina, where a private institution, a company or an association, purchased large areas of land to then divide it and sell lots to the settlers.<sup>167</sup> Poland was not an independent country nor had access to the capital required to establish her own colonies. Besides, the majority of the world had been claimed already by one country or another. The Association activists did not see any chance for establishing politically independent Polish colonies. Therefore Polish colonisation overseas had to be conducted by private bodies and it had to be focused on sparsely populated or unpopulated areas, like Parana, belonging to other countries. The Geographical-Colonising Association's plan was to concentrate the emigration to create a closed territory populated by Polish migrants, where they could leave in a community keeping their national and cultural identity but also where they could further expand territorially. The only way to do that was by building a new Polish society within another country, which, in a spirit of respecting democratic liberties, would allow Polish community to have some level of cultural autonomy. They compared this projected new Polish society to the French community in Canada.<sup>168</sup>

The ideology behind the Commercial-Geographical Association resembled views of the German emigrationist concept of colonialism, which constituted one of the dominant colonial ideologies in Germany between 1840 and 1906. The emigrationist theory prescribed overseas settlement colonies as the solution to a number of social problems, of which the most important was the *Auswanderung*, the massive nineteenth-century emigration from Germany. Large numbers of Germans, displaced

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<sup>166</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., pp. 28 -29.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

by economic and social changes in Germany, could settle as farmers in these colonies as an alternative to emigration to America or elsewhere. The settlement colonies would protect the emigrants' culture, retain their contributions to the German economy, and recreate overseas the type of traditional peasant society which many regarded as the basis of national power and which was threatened by the process of industrialisation. The exportation of excess population would also lessen the possibility of political revolution in Germany. Their success was to be judged not so much on economic grounds as from their anticipated social effects on Germany. Emigration resulted in a cultural and economic loss to Germany, and the conditions experienced overseas by emigrants were frequently deplorable. Some proposals were made that the emigrant trade should be carefully regulated and that emigrant protection societies be organised. Other suggestions went beyond these steps, advocating the establishment of actual settlement colonies abroad, usually in the western hemisphere. The primary aim of the *Kolonialverein*, German Colonial Society, established in 1882, was to promote the need for colonies among the entire middle class, and the position most often taken in publications was emigrationist.<sup>169</sup> An important component of early emigrationist colonialism was the attitude of its liberal exponents toward economic change. The industrialization was seen as inevitable, however many of its social effects such as the destruction of peasant farming and the probable loss of social standing of many middle-class status groups would be undesirable. Emigrationist colonialism represented an attempt to lessen the bad effects of economic change by removing many of its victims while establishing overseas a society which would maintain desirable preindustrial values within a

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<sup>169</sup> Woodruff D. Smith, 'The Ideology of German Colonialism, 1840-1906', *The Journal of Modern History*, 46 : 4 (1974), p. 651.



wider, culturally defined Germany.<sup>170</sup> Polish activist did not present this attitude towards industrialisation. Industrialisation was seen as a possible factor preventing large scale emigration. Also, while the Polish settlements were meant to be rural, the Polish Commercial -Geographical Association highlighted the role of the presence of Polish elites in building these new communities and preserving their connection with mother nation and expansion of Polish culture. Finally, the fact that Poles were subjects of some cultural restriction in the nineteenth century adds another dimension to the arguments regarding cultural expansion and preservation.

In 1899 Zenon Lewandowski representing the Commercial-Colonising Association went to Brazil where he bought land in the Rio Grande do Sul and received a concession from the Brazilian government to allow him to conduct colonisation there. However, he was not able to realise these plans as the Association soon run out of funds. The Commercial-Geographical Association soon lost the support of National League and the concept of New Poland in Parana met criticism from prominent Polish political activists such as Jan Ludwik Popławski and Roman Dmowski, who thought this idea to be anachronistic and Eurocentric. Dmowski did not, however, condemn the peasant migration from Poland, considering it as inevitable, seeing Parana as the best place for Polish migrants to settle. One of the biggest supporters of Polish settlements this part of the world within the National League remained Kazimierz Warchałowski. Between 1903 and the First World War Warchałowski lived in Brazil developing Polish schools, libraries, and bookstores, and publishing newspapers. To the political debate on emigration soon joined the activist from the socialist movement, some of whom, like Szymon Kossobudzki, migrated from the Kingdom of Poland to Brazil as political refugees after failing of

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<sup>170</sup> Ibid., pp. 641 - 643.

1905 revolution.<sup>171</sup> The political discourse on emigration developed mainly in Galicia, which while under Austro–Hungarian rule enjoyed some level of political autonomy. In the Kingdom of Poland first organisations concerning migrants and emigration process was Emigration Section of Polish Culture Association (*Sekcja Emigracyjna Towarzystwa Kultury Polskiej*) established in 1905 and Parana Association (*Towarzystwo Parana*) established in 1907. Both these organisations were associated with national democracy movement and their activities were limited only to the discussion on the matter. In 1910 the Association of Care for Emigrants (*Towarzystwo Opieki nad Wychodźcami*) was founded and published a newspaper, *Wychodźca Polski*.<sup>172</sup>

Another wave of Brazilian fever took place between 1911 and 1912 and rejuvenated the polemic coverage in the press. This divided journalists, political activists and academics, both supporters of the migration to Parana, like Michał Pankiewicz, Florian Znaniński or Ludwik Włodek, and its opponents including Tadeusz Chrostowski. In Galicia discourse on emigration at the beginning of the twentieth century became bogged down by the rivalry between different political parties. The ideological differences within the Polish Commercial-Geographical Association between Wiktor Ungar and Józef Okołowicz resulted in establishing, by the later of Polish Emigration Association (*Polskie Towarzystwo Emigracyjne*) in 1908.<sup>173</sup> This new organisation enjoyed a level of 'moral and financial support of the Diet of Galicia' to open job centres helping unemployed with job search both within the country and abroad and provide information and legal advice to migrants.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> Mazurek, *Kraj a emigracja*, pp. 132 -136.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 136 – 137.

<sup>173</sup> Starzewski, 'Idea Nowej Polski', p. 252.

<sup>174</sup> Józef Okołowicz, *Zadania polskiej polityki emigracyjnej, referat wygłoszony w kole Przyjaciół Nauk Politycznych w Warszawie 15 XII 1917*, (Warszawa, 1918), p. 7.

After the First World War, many Polish politicians, regardless of the political option they represented, favoured emigration as a solution to the country's economic problems in the inter-war period. The ruling elites did not officially encourage emigration, however, they took measures to maintain and facilitate its flow, believing emigration to be an unavoidable and necessary way of dealing with the socio-economic problems Poland faced. Yet the assimilation of Polish migrants in receiving countries was seen as a negative phenomenon and the Polish government tried to prevent it from happening.<sup>175</sup>

## **2.2. Emigration policy and colonies in the political discourse of the Second Republic of Poland, c. 1918 - 1930**

Throughout the inter-war period the size of the population steadily increased. In 1921 the population of Poland was 27.2 million, in 1931 – 32.1 million, in 1938 – 34.8 million, and in 1939 – 35.1 million. The Second Republic of Poland was one of the least developed countries in Europe with nearly 64% of working force employed in agriculture in 1921. By 1938 this number had decreased to 59%. The percentage of urban population was increasing, from 24% in 1921 to 30% in 1938. The number of industrial workers in the cities increased dynamically as a result of the influx of people from the villages. Consequently industry became the second largest sector of Polish economy. In 1921 17% percent of the workforce was employed in industry. In 1938 the ratio increased to 23%. The size of employment in the third largest sector of the Polish economy, commerce and insurance, remained fairly stable throughout the inter-war period, oscillating around 6%. The employment in communication and

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<sup>175</sup> Kicingier, 'Polityka Emigracyjna', p. 27 - 28.

public service did not show much fluctuation, around 3,5% in 1921 and 4% in 1938.

<sup>176</sup> When Poland gained independence in 1918 there were approximately 4,300,000 people living in the Polish diaspora of South and North America and in Europe.<sup>177</sup>

Compared to the period prior to 1914, the intensity of the emigration from Poland during the inter-war years decreased. The main reason was the imposition of immigration restriction in countries such as the United States, where the majority of Polish migrants before 1914 went, however emigration in the Second Republic of Poland remained a large scale process. Halina Janowska estimates that between 1918 and 1938 around 2,000,000 people emigrated from Poland of which around 1,000,000 moved permanently, primarily to the United States, Canada, or Argentina.<sup>178</sup> Between 1919 and 1925 the United States remained the destination for the majority of the migration from Poland, but changes to the American legislature introduced in 1921 imposed a restriction on immigration to this country.<sup>179</sup> As a result emigration from Poland to South American countries, mainly Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico, grew.<sup>180</sup> Part of the overseas migration process from Poland was Jewish emigration to Palestine.<sup>181</sup> The global economic crisis starting of the early 1930s put the international migration movements on hold. Many of the countries closed their borders for immigrants to protect their internal job markets.<sup>182</sup> For

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<sup>176</sup> Janusz Żarnowski, *Spółeczeństwo Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej 1918 – 1939*, (Warszawa, 1973), pp. 19 - 22.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>178</sup> Janowska, *Emigracja zarobkowa*, p.55.

<sup>179</sup> The Emergency Immigration Act of 1921 severely capped the number of admissible migrants by nationality. See Catherine G. Massey, 'Immigration quotas and immigrants selection', *Explorations in Economic History*, 60 (2016), pp. 21 – 40.

<sup>180</sup> Kicingier, 'Polityka emigracyjna', p. 10.

<sup>181</sup> According to Stanisław Pawłowski between 1922 and 1935 100, 256 Jews left Poland for Palestine, which was around one third of whole Jewish migration to Palestine during this period. Stanisław Pawłowski, *O emigracji Żydów z Polski i o ich kolonizacji*, (Warszawa, 1937), p. 55.

<sup>182</sup> The economic crisis that began in 1929 soon engulfed virtually every manufacturing country and all food and raw materials producers. Industrial unemployment also reached a trough in 1932 but even in 1937, the best year of the decade, the jobless total remained extraordinarily high. The Great Depression caused a major decline in world trade; it was a time of tariff increases, quotas, competitive devaluations, and the promotion of bilateral at the expense of multilateral trade. It is

Poland emigration was a way to fight unemployment and the money sent by migrants from abroad was an important source of foreign currency for the Polish economy.<sup>183</sup> Lack of emigration opportunities deepened the economic crisis in Poland. Although the world economic depression was finally overcome countries like the United States and Brazil kept the restrictions on immigration. Also the British tried to limit the migration to Palestine.<sup>184</sup> The main goal of the Polish government in this situation was to create new migration opportunities for Polish citizens. To facilitate this Poland signed bilateral agreements with France, Germany, Estonia, Latvia, and Bolivia.

Poland also actively participated in initiatives of multilateral cooperation regarding the migration issues. In 1921, Poland together with other countries sending migrants like Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Hungary, participated in an international conference organized by the Italian government and held in Rome. The conference was held in the atmosphere of growing restrictions regarding immigration. One of the issues discussed was a definition of the emigrant. A further conference on migration took place in 1924, this time gathering not only countries sending migrants but also receiving countries. One of the issues discussed was again the definition of the emigrant. Both these conferences did not bring any practical solutions but it started multilateral cooperation in the field of migration.<sup>185</sup>

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also important to note that the depression was a time of deflation. On average, prices fell by 28.3% between 1929 and 1933. Even by the end of the decade, prices had not returned to their pre-Depression level. The persistent deflation increased the real burden of debt, raised real interest rates, and caused consumer and investor uncertainty. Finally, the data shows that the path to recovery was checked in 1937 when a brief but severe recession in the US affected the world economy. Nicholas Crafts, 'Depression and Recovery in the 1930s: An Overview', Nicholas Crafts, Peter Fearon, eds, *The Great Depression of the 1930s: Lessons for today*, (Oxford Scholarship Online, 2013). Accessed on 08 July 2018.

<sup>183</sup> Hipolit Gliwic, *Material ludzki w gospodarce światowej. Tom II*, (Warszawa, 1934), p. 415.

<sup>184</sup> British mandate over Palestine came into effect in 1923. See Patrick C. R. Terry, 'Britain in Palestine (1917-1948) - Occupation, the Palestine Mandate, and International Law', *University of Bologna Law Review*, 2:2 (2017), pp. 187-251.

<sup>185</sup> Kicinger, 'Polityka Emigracyjna', p. 29.

One measure taken by the Polish government to secure outlets for emigration from Poland was creating concentrated Polish settlements abroad, mainly in South American countries. In 1925 Emigration Office (*Urząd Emigracyjny*), established in 1920 under the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, prepared a programme to find new outlets for emigration. The Polish government focused on creating more migration opportunities directing emigration to South American countries like Brazil, Argentina, Peru, Chile, Ecuador, and Mexico. These policies saw Wojciech Szukiewicz travel to Mexico in 1925 when he was appointed as an Emigration Office delegate. A similar mission was assigned by the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare to Kazimierz Warchałowski, who travelled to Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Peru, and Ecuador to assess the possibility of settling Polish migrants there.<sup>186</sup>

In 1926 the Scientific Institute for Emigration and Colonisation Studies (*Naukowy Instytut do Badań Emigracji i Kolonizacji*) was created. The Institute, under the chairmanship of Stanisław Głębiński, one of the founding members of Polish Commercial – Geographical Association in Lviv in 1894, and a deputy to Polish Sejm and Senate, gathered many researchers as well as some public officials working on issues related to migration with aim of searching for suitable territories for potential colonization and Polish migration. It contributed to the colonial debate in Poland by publishing articles in its official periodical *Kwartalnik Naukowego Instytutu do Badań Emigracji i Kolonizacji* supporting the idea that Poland should have colonies.<sup>187</sup> The Scientific Institute for Emigration and Colonisation Studies was created by the Polish Emigration Society (*Polskie Towarzystwo Emigracyjne*),

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<sup>186</sup> Stanisław Warchałowski, *I poleciał w świat daleki: wspomnienia z Brazylii, Polski i Peru*, (Warszawa 2009), p. 25.

<sup>187</sup> Kołodziej, *Wychodźstwo zarobkowe z Polski*, pp. 121 – 122.

however the informal patronage over the institute was taken over by the Maritime and Colonial League (prior to 1930 as Maritime and River League).<sup>188</sup>

Polish Emigration Society, established in 1924, was an organisation helping migrants with information regarding relocation abroad and for migrants returning to Poland established by Kazimierz Głuchowski and Michał Pankiewicz. Both Głuchowski and Pankiewicz were supporters of directing migration from Poland to Brazil. Kazimierz Głuchowski prior to the First World War had previous experience of working with Polish diaspora in the United States. In 1919 he was appointed Polish consul in Curitiba.<sup>189</sup> While in Brazil he travelled throughout the southern parts of the country to study the situation of Polish settlers there. In 1927 he published the results of his observations in *Wśród Pionierów Polskich na Antypodach: materiały do problem osadnictwa polskiego w Brazylii*. In Parana he became well acquainted with the work of Polish activist there, like Stanisław Kobłukowski, Kazimierz Warchałowski, Józef Okołowicz, and others, who shared the idea of New Poland propagated by the Commercial-Geographical Association.<sup>190</sup> Michał Pankiewicz was an activist and publicist actively taking part in the debate on emigration before the First World War. In 1910 he moved to Brazil where he was developing Polish schools. Before the First World War ended he returned to Poland and from 1921 worked for the Emigration Office.<sup>191</sup> Pankiewicz was editor of the press organ of the Polish Emigration Society, *Wychodźca*, which was seen by Józef

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<sup>188</sup> Marek Arpad Kowalski, *Dyskurs kolonialny w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, (Warszawa, 2010), p. 51.

<sup>189</sup> Warchałowski, *I poleciał w świat daleki*, p.104.

<sup>190</sup> Kazimierz Głuchowski, *Wśród Pionierów Polskich na antypodach: materiały do problem osadnictwa polskiego w Brazylii*, (Warszawa, 1927), pp. 96 – 97, 239.

<sup>191</sup> Stanisław Zieliński, *Mały słownik pionierów polskich kolonialnych i morskich : podróżnicy, odkrywcy, zdobywcy, badacze, eksploratorzy, emigranci - pamiętnikarze, działacze i pisarze migracyjni*, (Warszawa, 1933), pp. 342 – 346.

Okołowicz as a continuation of *Przegląd Emigracyjny*, press organ of the Commercial-Geographical Association.<sup>192</sup>

The idea of creating organised settlements of Polish migrants was the continuation of the ideas circulating within Polish intellectual elites prior to the First World War. But, while the activists from Commercial-Geographical Association rejected the possibility of Poland having colonies in a political sense, the discourse of the inter-war period started to consider it as an option. The necessity of increasing emigration from Poland became a reason explaining why Poland should obtain overseas colonies. The idea of creating organised Polish settlements, and as a result of the French initiative of Poland's participation in the mandate system, got entangled with demand for colonies in a political sense.<sup>193</sup> Jan Dybowski, a French agronomist and former director of agriculture and commerce in Tunisia, during the peace conference in Paris, was one of the advocates of giving to Poland part of the colonies of the German Empire. The idea was also proposed during the Polish Legislative Sejm sitting on the 14 March 1919 by Tomasz Dąbal from the Polish Peasants Party (*Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe*).<sup>194</sup> *Robotnik*, the official newspaper of the left-wing Polish Socialist Party (*Polska Partia Socjalistyczna*) reported in June 1921 that a representative of the French government, Jan Dybowski, arrived in Poland with the intention to transfer to Poland some part of the former German colonies now administered by France under a League of Nations mandate. *Robotnik* reported that Dybowski recalled how the idea was present during the negotiations of the Treaty of Versailles, yet the Polish had not shown much interest. Dybowski began negotiations with Polish Prime Minister, Wincenty Witos from Polish

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<sup>192</sup> Cenny dokument, *Wychodźca*, (04.06.1922), p.1.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>194</sup> Białas, *Liga Morska*, p. 167. For the Polish political fractions in the parliament throughout the period see R. F. Leslie, ed., *The history of Poland since 1863*, (Cambridge, 1980).



Peasants' Party 'Piast' (*Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe 'Piast'*), Józef Raczyński, the Minister of Agriculture, and other members of the government the possibility of directing emigration from Poland's rural areas to Madagascar. However, these plans met strong opposition. *Robotnik* claimed that the Polish government, especially Józef Raczyński, Minister of Agriculture, were attempting to delay land reforms in Poland to protect the interests of landowners.<sup>195</sup> Similar criticism came from another left-wing party, the Polish Peasant Party 'Liberation' (*Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe 'Wyzwolenie'*) representing Polish peasants' movement. Jan Smoła from Polish Peasant Party 'Liberation' parliamentary club during the Sejm assembly on 10 June 1921 condemned the talks saying that the only possible outcome for Polish peasants who decided to migrate to Madagascar would be a certain death from yellow fever or some other diseases, and accused Polish officials that, in the situation where there is a shortage of land available for the peasantry, they trying to simply rid of the surplus of the rural population instead of conducting a land reform.<sup>196</sup> The plans were eventually dropped, however from 1921 the idea of Polish settlements remained intertwined with colonial rhetoric in political debates.

After taking power in Poland as a result of the 1926 coup, the Sanacja camp considered colonial issues in close relation to emigration, actively supporting the initiative of creating Polish settlements abroad.<sup>197</sup> In 1926 the Polish Colonisation Association (*Towarzystwo Kolonizacyjne*), was founded in Warsaw by Józef

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<sup>195</sup> 'Żołnierz Królowej Madagaskaru', *Robotnik*, 154, (1921), p. 1-2.

<sup>196</sup> Biblioteka Sejmowa, Sejm Ustawodawczy II RP 1919 – 1922, RPII/0/233, 000021145, Shorthand report from the 233<sup>th</sup> Legislative Sejm sitting on 10 June 1921, pp. 27-28.

<sup>197</sup> After the Józef Piłsudski coup in 1926, the parliamentary institutions were kept and Piłsudski was content to exercise his influence behind the scenes. However, he did take the office of Prime Minister twice: from October 1926 to June 1928 and from August to December 1930. The office he held continuously from 1926 was that of the Minister of War. Piłsudski came to power with no definite goals his main interest was in the army and foreign policy. He gathered around him his inner group of advisers including, Józef Beck and Kazimierz Świtalski, who shared his military background and in some cases (eg. Józef Beck) experience in the military intelligence service. See Andrzej Misiuk, *Służby Specjalne II Rzeczypospolitej*, (Warszawa, 1998), pp. 127-128).

Targowski, deputy to Sejm and Senator from the Nonpartisan Bloc for Cooperation with the Government, and Aleksander Lago, Galician landowner, with the participation of Emigration Office. The Polish Colonisation Association was a limited company, established to manage and organise migration from Poland. The Polish Colonisation Association prepared plans for development Polish settlements in Southern France, in French colonies and in Brazil and received loans from the Polish government and subventions for conducting the settlement scheme. In 1927 the Association obtained from Brazilian government a land concession of 50,000 hectares in Espirito Santo state, and in 1930 managed to send the first 135 families.<sup>198</sup> Meanwhile, in 1928, Kazimierz Warchałowski together with Polish-American Colonisation Syndicate (*Polsko-Americański Syndykat Kolonizacyjny*) and Polish Colony (*Kolonia Polska*) two other 'colonising' companies managed to secure a land concession from Peru and initially gain the approval of the Polish government. Warchałowski planned to bring 1,000 families from Poland to settle in Peru within four years, the Syndicate intended to settle 3,000. The expedition organised by the Emigration Office that visited Peru in 1928 decided, however, that the scheme had little chances of success and eventually the Polish government withdrew its support. In this situation, the initiative relied only on private funds from the Syndicate and Polish Colony.<sup>199</sup> Despite the lack of financial support from the government first settlers left for Peru in 1930.<sup>200</sup>

Rhetoric demanding protection for Polish migrants from assimilation and maintaining their connection with motherland intensified during the preparation for

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<sup>198</sup> Kicinger, 'Polityka Emigracyjna', pp. 63 - 64.

<sup>199</sup> Warchałowski, *I poleciał*, p. 26. Apoloniusz Zarychta who in 1936 played an important role for the formulation of the Poland's colonial policy, and Mieczysław Lepecki, one of the Marshal Piłsudski adjutants who in 1937 played an active role in plans for colonization of Madagascar were among the participants of the expedition. The issues mentioned here will be discussed further in this chapter.

<sup>200</sup> Mazurek, *Kraj a emigracja*, p. 152.

the First World Congress of Poles Abroad, held from 14-21 July 1929 in Warsaw. The Congress was celebratory in character and involved most prominent Polish officials. The Polish president, Ignacy Mościcki, Józef Piłsudski, and the Polish Primate, Cardinal August Hlond held the official patronage of the event and Juliusz Szymański, the speaker of the Senate, Poland's upper House of Parliament, was one of the main organisers.<sup>201</sup> Szymański himself experienced life among Polish diaspora, residing in Parana between 1912 and 1923. The Congress contributed to the increasing popularity of the idea of colonies for Poland in Poland's political circles. This idea found its official expression in a resolution brought before the Senate in 1929. The resolution proposed by senator Maksymilian Thullie from Christian Democracy (*Chrześcijańska Demokracja*) and Senate Treasury and Budget Committee with Senate deputy speaker, Hipolit Gliwic from Non-Party Bloc for Cooperation with the Government (*Bezpartyjny Blok Współpracy z Rządem*) as a chairman, approved by Senate assembly on 23 March 1929, called the Polish government to undertake appropriate measures for the acquisition of colonies for Poland.<sup>202</sup> Yet, it did not seem that the Polish government was particularly interested in pursuing this line of action, having little hope for its success. The Ministry of the Foreign Affairs, when asked by the Prime Minister's Office, presented a view that at this time the goal was not possible to achieve.<sup>203</sup> In the opinion of the Department of Politics and Economics in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the possibility of

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<sup>201</sup> For details regarding participants, speeches and presented papers see *Pamiętniki I-go Zjazdu Polaków z Zagranicy, 14 – 21 Lipiec 1929*, (Warszawa, 1930), which is an official report from the course of the Congress.

<sup>202</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9579, Hipolit Gliwic acting as Marshal of the Senate of the Republic of Poland to Prime Minister 30 March 1929, 4. It was a resolution adopted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs budget plan. For information regarding the senators of 1928-1930, Senate term of office and the members of Senate Treasury and Budget Committee see Biblioteka Sejmowa, Senat 1928 – 1930, RPII/2/1, Paper of the Senate 000022017, *Skład osobowy i komisje Senatu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Czerwiec 1928 r.*

<sup>203</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9579, Opinion of the Political Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs prepared by L. N. Dębicki, p. 6.

acquiring foreign territory by the discovery of some unknown, unexplored land seemed to be little more than fantasy, therefore the only way for Poland to obtain colonies was through acquiring a mandate over one of the existing League of Nations mandated territories. To get the moral and legal justification to achieve this, however, Polish state had to first achieve a certain level of the political, economic and financial development. Even so, it was highly doubtful that one of the mandate holders would willingly give up their right to territory in Poland's favour.<sup>204</sup> Despite these obvious problems, August Zaleski, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, assured the government that the Ministry would investigate closely the possibility of the redistribution of League of Nations mandates. He suggested that any governmental action at that time should be limited to theoretical studies of this matter.<sup>205</sup> There is, however, no evidence to suggest that the government took any action at all. The Senate resolution from 23 March 1929 did not seem to have any immediate result, yet it officially brought the colonial issue to the attention of the Polish government and involved the Ministry of Foreign Affairs into the discourse over colonies. The following year the Senate repeated its call for colonies for Poland, this time giving it more precise form. On 13 March 1930, the Senate approved a resolution proposed again by Thullie together with Juliusz Makarewicz, another senator from Christian Democracy, stating that when the redistribution of mandates became possible within the League of Nations, the government should make an effort to come into possession of colonial territories.<sup>206</sup>

In fact, a despatch from Tadeusz Gwiazdowski, member of Polish mission to the League of Nations, from 8 April 1930 suggests that there had been rumours in

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<sup>204</sup> Ibid., p. 6-7.

<sup>205</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9579, Minister Zaleski's minutes and dispatch addressed to the Polish Prime Minister form August 1929, pp. 1-2, 10.

<sup>206</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9579, Speaker of the Senate of the Republic of Poland to Prime Minister, 31 March 1930, 12.

Geneva indicating that in 1931 redistribution of the existing mandate territories should, allegedly, take place. The Polish mission to the League of Nations was instructed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to investigate these rumours, even though it did not appear that they were based on anything substantial. Gwiazdowski reported, according to information gathered from the League of Nations Secretariat, that there were no serious intentions or plans existing for the redistribution of the mandates in the near future. He suggested that the rumours were merely an expression of Germany's dissatisfaction with the current situation.<sup>207</sup> It seems that the government limited its immediate response to the Senate resolution to gathering information.

Around the same time, emigration and colonies came into the focus of the Maritime and River League, which was renamed in 1930 to the Maritime and Colonial League. Since around 1928 the colonial discourse in Poland became dominated by the political activist and publicists associated with the Maritime and Colonial League. Drawing from ideas started by Józef Siemiradzki and others from Commercial-Geographical Association, they built a vision of Poland as a colonial state and managed to gather large public support for their programme. In the discourse over colonies the clusters of Polish migrants abroad were often called 'Polish colonies', while at the same time the term 'colonies' was also understood as non-sovereign territories subjected to the authority of one or more countries.<sup>208</sup> For example, the terms 'Polish colony in Brazil', and 'Polish colony in Parana' was used

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<sup>207</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9579, T. Gwiazdowski to the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs on 08 April 1930, 13 – 14. By German dissatisfaction with the current situation, Gwiazdowski most likely meant German demands for the return of her former colonies, which Germany lost as part of the post First World War settlement. Susan Pedersen describing German colonial movement throughout the Weimar period writes: 'The loss of colonies was resented, and their recovery was desired, and with time, the resentment started to become bitter and the desire more urgent. The fact that all great powers responded to the deep economic crisis of the early 1930s by introducing tariffs or imperial preferences made German complaints of being unfairly deprived of raw materials and markets more strident and believable.' Pedersen, *The guardians the League of Nations*, p. 330.

<sup>208</sup> Wrzesiński, 'Polacy za granicą w polityce', p. 27.

regarding Polish migrants in Brazil. The terms meant Poles who settled in this country, or even their second, third, or fourth generation, who still felt a connection to their mother country. Between 1918 and 1939 the state institutions, social organisations, and the press paid a lot of their attention to these colonies. Popular newspapers, journals, and periodicals published accounts of the life of the Polish migrants and their descendants in Brazil and other South American countries and other parts of the world. State agencies and social organisations were developing programmes supporting Polish colonies and Polish colonists.<sup>209</sup>

The colonial discourse in Poland concentrated around the question as to whether Poland should participate in the colonial system or not, what should be the form of Poland's participation, rules of it, timing, and location of prospected colonies.<sup>210</sup> Marek Arpad Kowalski distinguishes between the elite colonial discourse and popular colonial discourse. A feature of the elite discourse was the participation of politicians, scientists, senior social activists, publicists, in general people belonging to the political and intellectual elite of society, as well as state and social institutions and the specialist periodicals with which these categories of participants were associated. The elite discourse included the statements presented in the documents produced by Sejm and Senate, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and other ministries interested in the matter of colonies, statements of academics, texts published by the Maritime and Colonial League, and opinions expressed in periodicals like *Kwartalnik Naukowego Instytutu do Badań Emigracji i Kolonizacji* and *Morze*. However, according to Kowalski, *Morze* was often on the border of elite and popular discourse, publishing texts belonging to both streams. The feature of the popular colonial discourse was the participation of lower-level social activists, often local

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<sup>209</sup> Kowalski, *Dyskurs kolonialny*, p. 88.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 28 – 29.

members of social organizations and associations, journalists, teachers and people generally interested in the colonial idea. The popular discourse included texts published in high – volume journals and newspapers addressed to mass readers, like *Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny*, *Gazeta Polska*, *Gazeta Warszawska*. The institutions participating in the popular discourse had less 'formal', less 'official' character, comparing to those participating in the elite discourse due to the lack of ties to the state institutions.<sup>211</sup>

The dynamics of the colonial discourse became apparent over the years. Starting from the elite discourse by drawing more and more people, the colonial ideas became a matter important for the state's politics. At the same time the increase of dynamics of the elite discourse affected the dynamics of the popular discourse leading to increase in volume of its participants and spreading the interests in the colonial ideas.<sup>212</sup>

Between 1918 and 1928 matters of colonies were hardly a subject of discussion in popular newspapers. Colonies appeared in the context of colonial powers' policies. German colonial movement was getting some attention in regards to Polish-German relations. Also articles describing the life of Polish migrants in Brazil and other South-American countries were published. The popular colonial discourse arose after 1926 and started to intensify from 1928–1929 when the idea of imperial Poland emerged. Possession of colonies would legitimize Poland's claim of becoming an empire.<sup>213</sup> From 1928–1929, intensification of the discourse became apparent in elite and popular discourse. However, the increasing of the dynamics of the elite discourse was noticeable before that, between 1925 and 1926. It happened due to the activities of the Maritime and River League and the establishment of the scientific

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<sup>211</sup> Ibid., pp. 30 – 31.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid., p. 191.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid., p. 68.

institute for Emigration and Colonial Studies in 1926 publishing *Kwartalnik Naukowego Instytutu do Badan Emigracji i Kolonizacji*. Further intensification of the discourse between 1928 and 1929 was a result of the effort of the Maritime and River League and its press organ *Morze*. In 1928 the Colonial Pioneers Association was established, and it contributed to the transforming of the Maritime and River League into the Maritime and Colonial League. *Morze* regularly in every issue included texts regarding colonial matters.

The years 1928-1929 also marked the increasing participation of the involvement of the state institutions like Sejm and Senate, Ministry of Industry and Trade, Emigration Office in the colonial discourse.<sup>214</sup> One of the characteristics of the elite colonial discourse was the engagement of the army officers and their impact on spreading the reach of the discourse. With the approval of the superiors, it was possible to arrange lectures and meetings discussing the colonial ideas in the garrisons. Also many army officials would travel to visit Polish settlements in South America and publish their observations in books and press articles.<sup>215</sup> Another influential group of participants of the elite discourse was the academics. From the middle of 1920s universities teaching ethnography or ethnology would include colonial matters in their lectures, and from the middle of 1930s proposals started to be put forward to establish separate institutes for colonial studies. Particularly active were the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, University of Lviv, and University of Poznań, where one of the main supporters of the colonial idea was Professor Stanisław Pawłowski.<sup>216</sup>

Unsurprisingly the elites were the most politically active group in inter-war Poland. They were able to popularise certain opinions, or prediction through the

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<sup>214</sup> Ibid., pp. 210 – 211.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid., pp. 46 – 47.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid., pp. 48 – 49.



press, books and public events, shaping its common understanding.<sup>217</sup> The cultural and political press were particularly effective in promoting ideas. The information from these sources would be analysed by readers, would undergo a process of selection, and that would be repeated and defused within certain social circles. The members of elites, who played an important role in their social circles, would become factors shaping political attitudes.<sup>218</sup> Prior to the First World War, the press played an important role in the life of the Polish nation, becoming a medium affirming national values, and national identity and shaping bases of Polish political culture.<sup>219</sup> The establishment of the Second Republic of Poland comprised of people who very often had some kind of connection to the press and experience working for newspapers before the First World War, as political activist, entrepreneurs or both. This includes leading personalities in Poland's politics, like Józef Piłsudski, Roman Dmowski, President Ignacy Mościcki, or President Stanisław Wojciechowski.<sup>220</sup>

Although the colonial discourse in Poland initially, prior to 1926, was a matter for intellectual and political elites it soon spread over the rest of society becoming a public discourse. During colonial events, organisers tended to highlight the participation of people working in commerce, manufacturers, workers, and peasantry. The propaganda events, exhibitions, speeches, and rallies, reaching different parts of society, further spread the reach of the colonial discourse.<sup>221</sup> The essence of the colonial discourse consisted of engaging a large spectrum of participants, both individuals, and groups, and providing them with the opportunity

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<sup>217</sup> Roman Wapiński, *Świadomość polityczna w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, (Łódź, 1989), p.10.

<sup>218</sup> Tomasz Mielczarek, *Prasa w systemie politycznym Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej (1918 – 1939)*, (Sosnowiec, 2009), p. 35.

<sup>219</sup> Rafał Habieski, *Wolność czy odpowiedzialność? Prasa i polityka w II Rzeczypospolitej*, (Warszawa, 2013), p. 7.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9 – 10.

<sup>221</sup> Kowalski, *Dyskurs kolonialny*, pp. 71 – 72.

to express their views freely. The colonial discourse was a public conversation on a mass scale.<sup>222</sup>

The popular discourse manifested itself mainly through the popular press. Kowalski points to three main most popular newspapers in Poland, *Gazeta Polska*, supporting Piłsudski's camp, *Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny*, officially politically neutral but sympathising with Piłsudski's camp, and *Gazeta Warszawska*, supporting the National Democracy. The texts related to the colonial ideas published by these newspapers did not always, however, refer directly to Poland's demand for colonies. These articles had often more general character discussing the role of the colonies for colonial powers, the life, and customs of tribes luring readers with a colorful depiction of the exotic, or colonial movement in Germany.<sup>223</sup> Kowalski estimates that between 1921 and 1939 there were around 900 titles of books and brochures published on maritime issues and many of them were referring, directly or not, to the colonial ideas, including reports, accounts of travels and novels. The Maritime and Colonial League (before 1930 the Maritime and River League) was responsible for around 18% of it.<sup>224</sup> However the demand for newspapers and published material met with economic barriers. This limitation affected mostly peasantry and workers. According to estimations made by Tomasz Mielczarek 25% of workers and 10% of peasant families could afford to buy newspapers more often than 1–2 times per week. Assuming that most of the office workers and the all of the representatives of the free profession could afford this much the conclusion emerges that during the final years of the Second Republic of Poland, with around 34 million population, the newspaper market consisted of 1.5 million readers.<sup>225</sup> However this estimation is

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<sup>222</sup> Ibid., pp. 285 – 287.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid., pp. 192 – 194.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid., p. 193.

<sup>225</sup> Mielczarek, *Prasa w systemie politycznym*, p. 28.

contested in the literature. According to Stefan Żółkiewski 500,000 – 600,000 peasants, around 800,000 workers and 1.2 – 1.25 million intellectuals read newspapers.<sup>226</sup> Andrzej Paczkowski looking at the newspapers' readership among peasantry estimated that average peasant family could afford buying newspapers on daily basis, or twice a week during periods of economic crisis.<sup>227</sup>

Another factor limiting access to the press was illiteracy: 33.1% of population in 1921 and could not read nor write. In 1931 the ratio decreased to 23.1%. Illiteracy affected mainly women in the Eastern Borderlands. In 1931 around 80% of rural women over the age of 40 living in the eastern provinces could neither read nor write.<sup>228</sup>

Looking at political parties, the majority of the supporters of Poland becoming a colonial power were members of the Piłsudski's camp and its sympathisers. They saw the colonies as a measure of increasing Poland's importance in world politics. The approach of Józef Piłsudski to the colonial idea was cautious if not reluctant. He supported the economic expansion, but he did not see any benefits coming for Poland from the involvement into colonial politics. It was a matter of Great Powers, in Poland the colonial ideas only distracted politicians from taking care of more pressing issues. However, people from the leadership of the Piłsudski's camp played a leading role in the development of the colonial movement, like General Gustaw Orlicz – Dreszer, the president of the Maritime and Colonial League.<sup>229</sup> The National Democracy was generally against the colonial idea seeing migrants and settlers dispersed around the globe as a loss for Poland. They would rather colonise any potential colonies with settlers of Jewish or Ukrainian ethnic origins rather than with

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<sup>226</sup> Stefan Żółkiewski, *Kultura literacka (1918 – 1932)*, (Wrocław, 1973), pp. 283 – 285.

<sup>227</sup> Andrzej Paczkowski, *Prasa polska 1918 – 1939*, (Warszawa, 1980), pp. 20 – 22.

<sup>228</sup> Mielczarek, *Prasa w systemie politycznym*, p. 29.

<sup>229</sup> Kowalski, *Dyskurs kolonialny*, pp. 75 – 76, 84.

Poles, to remove them from Poland. However, many members of the party supported the idea of imperial Poland, which would find a manifestation in colonial possessions. The Polish Peasants' Party was generally against the idea of Poland having colonies. The goal of the party was to finish the agrarian reform and the migration of peasants to colonies would result in reducing the social pressure on government to see the reform through. However the Party did not dismiss the idea of peasants settling on their own farms somewhere in colonies, as long as they would not lose their cultural ties with Poland. The Polish Socialist Party seemed indifferent to the colonial idea. It did not clearly express the support for it but would admit that the colonies would help to resolve the issue of unemployment in the cities.<sup>230</sup>

Describing political activity of the general public of the Second Republic of Poland appears to be problematic. Tomasz Mielczarek attempts to characterise the level of the political activity of the society of inter-war Poland, in general, using indicators like the size of the political parties, social organisations and trade unions, participation in rallies and strikes, signing petitions, elections' results, and electoral turnout.<sup>231</sup> The society of inter-war Poland presented a low level of identification with particular political parties limited mainly to participation in events rather than participation in the party's life on regular basis. Tomasz Mielczarek estimates that in 1930 3 – 4% and in 1938 – no more than 5% of total adult population of Poland were members of political parties.<sup>232</sup> More people in inter-war Poland belonged to trade unions and other social organisations, officially not bound with any political option, like the Polish Red Cross or the Airbourne and Antigas Defence League (*Liga Obrony Powietrznej i Antygazowej*), than to political parties. The largest social organisations in the Second Republic of Poland were trade unions. Mielczarek

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<sup>230</sup> Ibid., pp. 84.

<sup>231</sup> Mielczarek, *Prasa w systemie politycznym*, p. 21.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid., pp. 22 – 23.

estimates that around 10% of work force belonged to trade unions. Related to the membership of the trade unions was the size of strike actions. A wave of strikes swept through Poland between 1923 and 1924, during the economic crisis caused by hyperinflation. However the reason of these strikes was predominately economic. Political strikes were not common. Based on the scale of participation in political and social organisations Mielczarek describes the level of political activity of Polish society as low. However, he points out that the information available in the sources regarding participation in political and social organizations in the Second Republic of Poland is fragmented and it does not give a full picture. There is more quantitative information regarding elections' turnout, however, the national elections held after 1930 did not display fully democratic characteristics and the results and attendance could indicate spreading of conformism. The elections in 1935 and 1938 were attended by accordingly 46.5% and 67.1% of people eligible to vote.<sup>233</sup> The comparison of the results of the elections indicated that the population of Poland was inclined to support political right and centre. The support for the left-wing parties manifested itself among the poorer part of the society, but it was not dominant.<sup>234</sup> Mielczarek came to the conclusion that the level of political activity of Polish society war determined by the social structures and the dynamic of industrialisation and urbanisation. However, the lack of data prevents unequivocal conclusions regarding the level of political activity of the entire society of inter – war Poland. The active group was the elites. Manifestations of political activity of other groups, like the peasantry, were extremely rare.<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>233</sup> Ibid., pp. 23 – 24.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid., pp. 26 – 27.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid., pp. 26 – 27.

### 2.3. The creation and the institutional growth of the Maritime and Colonial League, c. 1920 - 1939

The origins of the Maritime and Colonial League stretch back to 1918, however, it was only after 1928 that issues surrounding colonies and emigration became part of its programme. On 1 October 1918, 25 Polish officers and other professionals formerly working for the navies of the occupying powers established in Warsaw the association called Polish Banner (*Bandera Polska*) with the aim of developing inland and sea navigation and shipping in newly created Republic of Poland.<sup>236</sup> Its president was Kazimierz Porębski, who formerly served as an admiral in the Russian navy. Among the first members were also Tadeusz Wenda and Antoni Garnuszewski.<sup>237</sup> Explaining the reasons behind the establishment of Polish Banner *Morze* wrote in November 1938 that although the desire for independence was shared among the Polish nation, not many realised what was needed in practice for the new state to function.<sup>238</sup> Work started in 1916 by the Regency Council of the Kingdom of Poland for planning the economy of the future Polish state focused mainly on rebuilding agriculture and industry after the war.<sup>239</sup> Trade and communication took little place in these plans and the issues related to the access to the sea were left aside. Porębski saw it as a mistake and decided to bring these matters to the attention of the government by popularising among the society the idea of the importance of the sea

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<sup>236</sup> 'Dwadzieścia lat pracy', *Polska na Morzu*, 11 (1938), pp. 6 – 7.

<sup>237</sup> Białas, *Liga Morska*, p. 12.

<sup>238</sup> Witold Hubert, 'Ze wspomnień o Banderze Polskiej', *Morze*, 11 (1938), pp. 13 – 14.

<sup>239</sup> The Regency Council of the Kingdom of Poland (*Rada Regencyjna Królestwa Polskiego*) was a semi-independent and temporarily appointed authority in the Partitioned Poland during the First World War. It was formed by Germany and Austria-Hungary around September 1917. On the 7 October, 1918, the Regency Council of Kingdom of Poland declared independence of Poland. See Zdzisław Julian Winnicki, *Rada Regencyjna Królestwa Polskiego I jej organy (1917 – 1918)*, (Wrocław, 2017).

for the 'nation's life'.<sup>240</sup> Members of the Polish Banner met regularly to discuss a wide range of topics related with navigation like river transport or ship engines but the main focus was on all economic issues related with the access to the sea. Polish Banner organised speeches for the public and published articles in the press to make the nation understand the benefits of having access to the sea. This rhetoric was mainly meant to target the Polish commercial, industrial and agricultural circles. After Poland gained independence in November 1918 most of the Polish Banner members found employment in the Polish navy or within the central administration in the Ministry of the Industry and Trade and the Ministry of Public Works.<sup>241</sup> Soon the Polish Banner Association started to serve as an advising body to Poland's government. In 1919 they started to publish a newspaper called, like the association, *Bandera Polska*. In May 1919 the organisation changed its name to the Polish Navigation League (*Liga Żeglugi Polskiej*) and included in its programme the support of the development of Polish Navy, commercial fleet, and overseas trade.<sup>242</sup> The management of the new organisation included Kazimierz Porębski as its president, Jerzy Zdziechowski - politician, Włodzimierz Nałęcz, Antoni Garnuszewski – an artist and publicist, Jan Jacyna – an army general and adjutant of Józef Piłsudski between 1921 and 1922, and Bolesław Roja – another army general and a politician.<sup>243</sup> The goal of this new organisation was to support the development of Poland's inland waterways, harbours, and navigation by conducting research and

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<sup>240</sup> Hubert, 'Ze wspomnień', pp. 13 – 14. The Treaty of Versailles gave Poland access to the Baltic Sea by dividing the bulk of Germany from the province of East Prussia. Danzig (Gdańsk), controlling the estuary of the main Polish waterway, the Vistula river, became the Free City of Danzig and was placed under the protection of the League of Nations. The existence of so called Polish Corridor was continuously contested by Germany and caused a great resentment in their relation with Poland. As a result Poland Polish politicians and activists developed rhetoric highlighting Poland's right to the sea access. See Ramon S. Gorski, 'The Polish Corridor – Another Alsace – Lorraine? ', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 174 (1934), pp. 126 – 133.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid.

<sup>242</sup> 'Dwadzieścia lat pracy', pp. 6 – 7.

<sup>243</sup> Białas, *Liga Morska*, p. 16.

gathering information, preparing plans of improvements, and rallying the support of the public.<sup>244</sup> The outbreak of the Polish–Russian war in 1920 caused the League to suspend its operations. After the war was ended the League was able to resume its activities and by the end of 1921, it had around 2,000 members and 50 branches across Poland. The League focused on the propaganda of the maritime issues organising events like trips to the Baltic coast, regattas in Gdynia, speeches and movie shows. It also became involved in rallying support for the idea of the Polish government to build a harbour in Gdynia.<sup>245</sup>

In 1924 the number of the Polish Navigation League's membership reached 5,600. The same year in April the association changed its name to the Maritime and River League (*Liga Morska i Rzeczna*) and in November started to publish *Morze*, its monthly periodical.<sup>246</sup> The structure of the organisation comprised of a General Assembly of Members, a Council of the Association, a Managing Board and a Revision Committee. The General Assembly was responsible for setting up the League's programme. The Council was a legislative body responsible decision making regarding all day to day operations. Its membership included 30 – 80 delegates chosen by the General Assembly and branches representatives. The Managing Board was an executive body responsible for implementing the council's decisions. It had 11 members chosen by the Council. The Revision Committee was conducting association's financial audit. It comprised of 5 members chosen by the

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<sup>244</sup> See the statute of the Polish Navigation League: *Statut towarzystwa Liga Żegluga Polskiej*, (Warszawa, 1919), pp. 2 – 3.

<sup>245</sup> 'Dwadzieścia lat pracy', pp. 6 – 7. The Versailles Treaty gave Poland the right to use the harbour in Danzig, but the Polish government felt the Danzig authorities did not respect it. Polish Government decided to build a new seaport at Gdynia in the territory of the Corridor, and connected this seaport to the Upper Silesian industrial centers by the newly constructed railways. The construction started at the end of 1920. Tadeusz Wenda, *Rzut oka na warunki powstania portu w Gdyni*, (Gdynia, 1938).

<sup>246</sup> 'Ważniejsze daty historyczne LMK', *Morze*, 11 (1938), p. 37.



General Assembly.<sup>247</sup> Kazimierz Porębski remained in the leadership of this new organisation serving as the President of the Council together with Stanisław Śliwiński his deputy.<sup>248</sup> The goal of the Maritime and River League was to increase awareness among the Polish nation of the importance of the access to the sea for the economic development of the country, the navy for guarding it, and the role of the commercial fleet for international trade. The League, sceptical of Germany's disarmament, supported the idea of Poland having a strong navy able to protect its coast and the commercial fleet crucial for the country's economic development. The League also promoted the modernisation and development of the fishing fleet. The League's aim was to create a fleet able to conduct fishing on the industrial scale to completely eliminate the need to import fish. *Morze* was designed as a tool to transmit these ideas to the public.<sup>249</sup> The Maritime and River League, like the Polish Navigation League before, became actively involved in supporting the construction of the harbour in Gdynia connected with the rest of the country by a network of navigable inland waterways. The Polish fleet needed a Polish harbour, as, according to the League, Danzig was not a reliable option.<sup>250</sup> A group of League activists including Czesław Petelenz and Julian Rummel prepared a memorandum on this matter addressed to the parliament members.<sup>251</sup> Apart from that, the League published a series of brochures promoting the building of the Harbour in Gdynia

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<sup>247</sup> *Statut towarzystwa Ligi Morskiej I Rzecznej*, (Warszawa, 1929), pp. 2 – 8. There were five different kinds of membership. Honorary members were chosen by the general assembly following the request made by the council and were not required to pay for the membership. 'Protectors' (*protektorzy*) had to pay 30 Polish złotys admission fee and then 120 złotys of annual membership fee. 'Carers' (*opiekunowie*) had to pay 15 złotys admission fee and then 60 złotys annually for the membership. 'Actual members' (*członkowie rzeczywiści*) were paying 3 złotys for the admission and then 12 złotys of the annual fee. 'Supporting members' were only required to pay annual membership fee of 3 złotys. The latter had no writes to vote or be chosen to any of the League's bodies.

<sup>248</sup> *Morze*, 1 (1924), p. 4.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>251</sup> Henryk Tetzlaff, 'Propaganda morza w Polsce', Czesław Peche, ed., *Kronika o polskim morzu. Dzieje walk zwycięstw i pracy*, (Warszawa, 1930), pp. 412 – 413.

written by its members, including Włodzimierz Nałęcz. To reach the public with its programme the Maritime and River League was using similar techniques to the Polish Navigation League, organising lectures, speeches, movie shows, maritime exhibitions, ship modeling courses. It also continued to run the annual regatta in Gdynia.<sup>252</sup> The League closely monitored relations between Poland and Germany and the Free City of Danzig using any tensions for its rhetoric as a proof that Poland should develop its own commercial fleet and independent maritime trade. In 1925 when Polish-German custom war started weakening the Polish economy the League published a poster with a dramatic call 'Without the sea we will perish! (*Bez morza zginiemy!*)'.<sup>253</sup> Since 1927 the Maritime and River League was serving as an advisory body to the Polish government participating in surveys and conferences regarding maritime issues organised by governmental agencies.<sup>254</sup>

On 6 February 1928, a group of colonial enthusiasts associated with the Maritime and River League created Colonial Pioneers Association (*Związek Pionierów Kolonialnych*), this functioned as an autonomous division within the League.<sup>255</sup> The same year the League's First General Assembly held in Katowice between 20- 21 of October added the goal of obtaining colonies for Poland to its programme.<sup>256</sup> A key founder of the Polish Pioneers Association was Kazimierz Głuchowski, former Polish consul in Brazil and co-founder of Polish Emigration Society. According to Głuchowski, Poland, needed colonies to accommodate emigration from Poland, which was one of the highest volumes in Europe. He also hoped the policy would help to balance the costs of international trade. He advocated colonial cooperation with France, and Poland's right to claim the right to part of colonies of the former

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<sup>252</sup> Ibid.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid.

<sup>254</sup> Białas, *Liga Morska*, p. 24.

<sup>255</sup> 'Ważniejsze daty historyczne LMK', p. 37.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid.

German Empire.<sup>257</sup> The First General Assembly brought changes within the Maritime and River League leadership. Kazimierz Głuchowski became the President of the Managing Board, Józef Kiedroń, former Minister of Industry and Trade, became deputy – president of the Council.<sup>258</sup> Following years brought more personnel changes in central management. In October 1929, after the Second General Assembly of the Maritime and River League, Michał Wyrostek, a military officer and politician, became President of the Managing Board and his deputy was Gustaw Załęcki from the Scientific Institute for Emigration and Colonisation Studies and the main editor of the Institute's press organ *Kwartalnik Instytutu Naukowego do Badań Emigracji and Kolonizacji*.<sup>259</sup> The Third General Assembly held from 25 to 27 October 1930 in Gdynia made further changes to the association's programme and its structure and changed its name from the Maritime and River League to Maritime and Colonial League. The number of members by this time reached 28,000.<sup>260</sup> The general principles of the Maritime and Colonial League programme and organisational structure set up in 1930 remained unchanged through the rest of the League's existence before the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. There had been however some changes to the structure of the managing bodies and structure of the organisation's membership.

The League functioned on three organisational levels: branches (*oddziały*), districts (*okręgi*), and central management including Main Managing Board (*Zarząd Główny*), Main Council (*Rada Główna*), General Assembly of the Delegates (*Walny Zjazd Delegatów*), and Review Committee (*Komisja Rewizyjna*). Branches were opened with the approval of the Main Managing Board following a request made by

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<sup>257</sup> Kazimierz Głuchowski, 'Akcja kolonialna LMiR', *Morze*, 12 (1928), pp. 27 – 29.

<sup>258</sup> Białas, *Liga Morska*, p. 25.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>260</sup> 'Ważniejsze daty historyczne LMK', p. 37.

20, or more, members of the association. Each branch was directly managed by its own managing board of 5 to 11 members and 3 to 5 deputies, chosen by the general assembly of the members belonging to one branch. Districts were gathering all branches located in the areas they meant to cover, usually one or more provinces. District general assembly comprised of branches delegates met annually. The district general assembly chose the district managing board having 15 members and 7 deputies. As for the central management, the General Assembly of Delegates was the League's highest decision-making power. The General Assembly choose the president of the Main Council and all its members and the members of Review Committee. The general assembly set up the Maritime and Colonial League budget and schedule of work and made decisions regarding any changes in the construction of the organisation. The right to participate in the General Assembly was reserved for the honorary members, members of the Main Council, the Main Managing Board and the Review Committee, branch representatives and presidents of the managing board on the district level. The Main Council consisted of 45 members chosen by the General Assembly of the Delegates for 3 years tenure. The members elected among themselves two vice presidents and a secretary. The League's programme, putting in place any necessary regulation and the buying and selling of any properties was the responsibility of the Main Council. It was also responsible for choosing and supervising the Main Managing Board. The Main Managing Board was an executive body responsible for implementing the Main Council's decisions and directly conducting the League's day-to-day operation. It had 15 members and 7 deputies elected for a 1-year tenure. The members chose among themselves president, vice presidents, a secretary, and a treasurer of the Managing Board. The

Review Committee was a body of financial control over the League's operations.<sup>261</sup>

In 1933 the 5<sup>th</sup> General Assembly of Delegates made some changes to the Maritime and Colonial League construction by adding new structure level, circuits (*obwody*), situated between the level of district and the level of the branch, covering an area of a city or one or more counties. It was also decided that the General Assembly of the Delegates should meet every 2 years. The tenure of the Main Council members was extended to 4 years and their number to 60. The Council became responsible for choosing its own president and also the president of the Main Managing Board. Its members were elected for tenure of 2 years instead of 1. The Main Board work schedule had to be approved by the Main Council. In 1937 the 7<sup>th</sup> General Assembly of Delegates approved further changes. The branch representatives became excluded from the right to participate in the General Assembly of Delegates. The Main Council tenure was reduced to 2 years but the number of its members increased to 100.<sup>262</sup>

The Main Council and the Main Managing Board were the two bodies deciding about the Maritime and Colonial League programme and the ways of its implementation. The President of the Main Council from 1930 to 1939 was Józef Kożuchowski, between 1935 and 1939 Deputy Minister of Treasury in the Polish government. The Main Managing Board work was led by Gustaw Orlicz – Dreszer, an army general, acting as its president from 1930 to 1936, when, after his death, the post was given to Stanisław Kwaśniewski, another army general, who remained on it until the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. The Main Managing Board internal structure reflected the main points in the Maritime and Colonial League programme. From 1930 to 1932 there had been three divisions operating within the

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<sup>261</sup> Białas, *Liga Morska*, pp. 32 – 33.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 33 – 34.

Main Managing Board. Maritime Division (*Wydział Morski*) was working on issues related sea, navy and commercial fleet. It was divided into two sections of navy and section of sea shipment and fishing. Division of Inland Navigation (*Wydział Żeglugi Śródlądowej*), with Stanisław Kwaśniewski as its head, was split into the section of the inland navigation and the section of education about it. Colonial Division (*Wydział Kolonialny*) had four sections to work on economics, League of Nations' mandates, field research and colonial agriculture and tropical hygiene. Head of this division was Janusz Głuchowski, army general. Apart of these three divisions there had two committees operating within the Main Managing Board, Propaganda – Organising Committee (*Komisja Organizacji Propagandy*) and Publishing Committee (*Komisja Wydawnicza*) responsible for League's publications.<sup>263</sup>

In 1933 the organisation of the Main Managing Board changed. After the League started raising funds with the purpose of supporting the development of the Polish Navy the navy section of the Maritime Division was transformed into separate Navy Division (*Wydział Marynarki Wojennej*) with Karol Korytowski, high-rank navy officer, as its head. This new division was divided into three sections of propaganda, fundraising, and one for general issues. The Maritime Division was further restructured. It was subdivided into five sections dealing with issues of Polish commercial fleet, Gdańsk's matters, fishing, and support for sailors and general matters. In February 1934 the internal structure of the Maritime Division was once again reorganised. The head of the Division became Mieczysław Fularski, publicist, army officer, member of the management of the Polish Emigration Association and the Scientific Institute for Emigration and Colonisation Studies.<sup>264</sup> The Maritime Division became organised into seven sections of maritime shipping, harbours,

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<sup>263</sup> Ibid., pp. 35 – 36.

<sup>264</sup> Zieliński, *Mały słownik pionierów polskich kolonialnych i morskich*, p. 113.

maritime legislation, overseas trade, fishing industry, maritime education, and Gdańsk. Gustaw Orlicz – Dreszer, in addition to being the President of the Managing Board, became the head of the Colonial Division which had now ten sections; North – American, South – American, African, Palestinian, Middle – Eastern, economic expansion, mandates, demographical, tropical hygiene and human resources. The Division of Inland Navigation comprised of two sections, section for development of inland waterways and section for their exploitation. Propaganda Organising Committee was transformed into the Propaganda – Organising Department (*Dział Organizacyjno – Propagandowy*) under Juliusz Dreszer. The Department of Tourism and Excursions (*Dział Turystyczno – Wycieczkowy*) was established with Aleksander Patkowski as its head. Stanisław Zieliński, politician and journalist, became head of the Publishing Committee. Two new committees were also created: the Committee on Youth Affairs (*Komisja dla Spraw Młodzieży*) led by Stanisław Sumiński, an academic from Jagiellonian University and the Committee of Water Sports (*Komisja Sportów Wodnych*) under Stanisław Kwaśniewski, an army general.<sup>265</sup>

In 1935 there had been further changes to the Main Managing Board structure. The Navy Division changed the name to the Division of Sea Defence (*Wydział Obrony Morskiej*). In 1937, the Division was comprised of sections of fundraising, propaganda, history, art and technical issues. The Committee on Youth Affairs was restructured to form the Division of Youth Maritime Education (*Wydział Wychowania Morskiego Młodzieży*) including an academic section, a section working with school activity clubs and a section of scouts. The head of the division became Mariusz Zaruski, retired army officer.

By 1936 there were five divisions within the Main Managing Board, the

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<sup>265</sup> Ibid., pp. 36 – 37.

Maritime Division with Henryk Strasburger as its head, the Division of Sea Defence with Karol Korytowski, a navy officer, Colonial Division, the Division of Youth Maritime Education under Mariusz Zaruski, and the Division of Inland Navigation. Between 1937 and 1939 the only addition to the structure of Main Managing Board was the opening of the Division of Excursions and Camps (*Wydział Wycieczek i Obozów*).<sup>266</sup>

The overview of the central management of the Maritime and Colonial League reveals that some of the highest positions were occupied by high-rank army and navy officials. Initially, the involvement was motivated by interests in strengthening Poland's position on the Baltic Sea, which can explain the participation of the navy officers. However from 1926, particularly after 1930 when the Maritime and River League became Maritime and Colonial League, the presence of the army officials within the League's structure became more notable. After 1935 they practically dominated League's management.<sup>267</sup> An important role was also played by the representatives of the Ministry of Industry and Trade. It was them, who, in agreement with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, were able to subsidize some of the League's schemes. However the interest of the Ministry of the Industry and Trade focused on developing commercial relations with foreign countries where Polish settlers and migrants resided, rather than on acquiring colonies for Poland.<sup>268</sup>

The League membership was opened for individual and for institutional bodies like companies, associations and other organisation. Paying the required fees was the only criteria for becoming a member. In 1930 there had been different categories of membership depending on the amount of the annual membership fee. Honorary members were chosen by the General Assembly following the request made by the

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<sup>266</sup> Ibid.

<sup>267</sup> Kowalski, *Dyskurs kolonialny*, pp. 46 – 47.

<sup>268</sup> Kowalski, *Dyskurs kolonialny*, pp. 44 - 46.



Main Council and were not required to pay for the membership. An individual or an organisation could become lifetime members (*członek dożywotni*) donating 600 of Polish złotys or more to the League. In 1933 the minimum donation for becoming the lifetime member was increased to 1,000 złotys. 'Protectors' (*protektorzy*) had to pay 30 złotys admission fee and then 120 złotys of the annual membership fee. 'Carers' (*opiekunowie*) had to pay 15 złotys admission fee and then 60 złotys annually for the membership. 'Actual members' (*członkowie rzeczywisci*) were paying 1 złoty for the admission and then 12 złotys of the annual fee. 'Supporting members' (*członkowie wspierający*) were only required to pay 1 złoty of the admission fee and annual membership fee of 6 złotys. A group of individuals deciding to join together could acquire a group membership for 0.1 złotys per month per person. All members had the right to vote and get elected to the League's bodies. From 1937 the category of protectors was no longer available for new members also the fees paid by carers increased to 25 złotys for admission and a minimum of 150 złotys for the annual membership. The category of actual members was replaced by common members (*członkowie zwyczajni*). The common members had to pay 1 złoty for admission and 1 złoty monthly for the membership. The common membership, like the actual membership before, cost 12 złotys per year, but the membership was now purchased monthly for 1 złoty per month. Supporting members did not pay the admission fee, only 1,5 złotys for a monthly membership. Monthly group membership cost 0.1 – 0.4 złotys per person. Creating these different kinds of membership meant to attract as many people as possible without making barriers in form of high membership fees.<sup>269</sup>

The institutional growth of the Maritime and Colonial League was one of the

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<sup>269</sup> Białas, *Liga*, pp. 38 – 39.

goals set up by the General Assembly of the Delegates held in Gdynia in 1930, however, the economic depression resulting in increased unemployment and impoverishment of the general population made the recruitment of new members difficult. Between 1930 and 1932 the number of members remained around 28,000. But from 1932 the association started to experience dynamic development. Between February 1932 and April 1933 the number of members more than doubled reaching 70,000. The following years were a period of rapid growth. The number of League's members increased four times within the next 2 reaching 280,000 in January 1935. By January 1937 this number doubled again to over 535,000. In December 1938 the Maritime and Colonial League had nearly 890,000 members, becoming a second largest non-governmental organisation in Poland, and in April 1939 – 992,000.<sup>270</sup> The great majority of the League members held group, common or supporting membership. In August 1938 there was only 12 lifetime members, 46 'protectors' and 151 members belonging to the category of 'carers'.<sup>271</sup>

Unfortunately no sources remain that provide full details on the members of the League. *Sprawozdanie z działalności Ligi Morskiej i Kolonialnej*, a series of reports, each covering main activities of the Maritime and Colonial League over the period of two years contains limited information regarding the membership in the organisation. The statistics included there focus on types of membership rather than categories such as age, gender or occupation of the membership.

There is a large disproportion between the number of members in the Eastern Borderlands and the rest of the country. The League districts in the Eastern Borderlands had generally fewer members and fewer branches than those in rest of the country. The highest number of members had districts covering areas formerly

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<sup>270</sup> Ibid., pp. 40 – 41.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

belonging to the Kingdom of Poland and Silesia.<sup>272</sup> These were more populated and more developed than mostly rural and economically backward Eastern Borderlands.

In 1935 there had been 16 established districts reflecting administrative division of the country. However, in 1933 the area of the Province of Lviv was divided into the District of Lviv and District of Jarosław.<sup>273</sup> And in 1937 the area of the Province of Warsaw was split into Capital District, covering Warsaw, and the District of Warsaw Province, covering the rest of the Province. Therefore since 1937 there were 18 districts in the Maritime and Colonial League's structures. In 1935 more than a half of all of the League's members was gathered in three districts: the District of Warsaw, the District of Coal Region of Upper Silesia, and District of Lublin, corresponding territorially with three provinces, the Province of Warsaw, the Province of Silesia and the Province of Lublin accordingly.<sup>274</sup> During the following years this disproportion decreased slightly. In 1937 the District of Coal Region, the Capital District together with the District of Warsaw Province, and the District of Lublin were still the largest ones but the numbers of members in the district constituted just over 44% of total number of League members.<sup>275</sup> The report from 1937 also shows rapid growth of the Coal Region.<sup>276</sup> These districts included large urban areas, Warsaw, the agglomeration of Katowice, Chorzów, and Sosnowiec in Upper Silesia, and Lublin.<sup>277</sup> The Province of Silesia was one of the wealthiest regions in Poland, mainly industrial with a number of coal mines. Lands of the former Kingdom of Poland were more economically diverse. There were large

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<sup>272</sup> *Sprawozdanie z działalności Ligi Morskiej i Kolonialnej 1.04.1933 – 1.04.1935*, (Warszawa, 1935), p. 36.

<sup>273</sup> Białas, *Liga*, pp. 40 – 41.

<sup>274</sup> *Sprawozdanie z działalności Ligi Morskiej i Kolonialnej 1.01.1935 – 1.01.1937*, (Warszawa, 1937), p. 78.

<sup>275</sup> The calculation of the percentages is based on the data published in Białas, *Liga*, pp. 40 - 41.

<sup>276</sup> *Sprawozdanie z działalności Ligi Morskiej i Kolonialnej 1.01.1935 – 1.01.1937*, p. 78.

<sup>277</sup> Janusz Żarnowski defines large cities in inter-war Poland as those with population exceeding 100,000. Population of Warsaw in 1938 exceeded 500,000. Żarnowski, *Spółczesność Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 327.

industrial centres but some areas were rural and underdeveloped.<sup>278</sup> Between 1933 and 1935 the District of Warsaw became the largest, considering the number of members, district of the Maritime and Colonial League. In 1935 it covered 251 branches, of which 164 was located in Warsaw.<sup>279</sup> The population of Warsaw consisted of personnel of administration, people employed in services, and workers employed in manufacture and industry. The status of capital city, presence of professionals, intellectualist also made it a centre of cultural and political life.<sup>280</sup> The character of the Province of Lublin was more rural. Out of 231 branches existing within the province 16 were established in Lublin, of which 10 was opened by rail workers. The strategy of the management of the District of Lublin was to target the rural population of the province through speeches, lectures and movie shows. Between 1933 and 1935 there had been around 200 of such speeches organised throughout the province. Perhaps what contributed to the popularity of the League in this region was that emigration of peasants from the southern parts of the province was an ongoing process in the inter-war period and it could make the peasant population more receptive to League's programme regarding emigration.<sup>281</sup>

The overview of the branches allows identifying the presence of certain occupational groups among League's members. The branches were often being opened by people working for a company, an organisation or an institution, for example, firearms and car manufactures in Warsaw, coal mines and iron smelters in the Province of Silesia, tobacco producers in Radom (District of Radom and Kielce). One of the notable occupational groups were transport workers. In nearly every province there was at least one branch that was opened by rail staff. Branches were

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<sup>278</sup> Ibid., pp. 340 – 341.

<sup>279</sup> *Sprawozdanie z działalności Ligi Morskiej i Kolonialnej 1.04.1933 – 1.04.1935*, p. 36.

<sup>280</sup> Żarnowski, *Spoleczeństwo Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, pp.330 – 333.

<sup>281</sup> *Sprawozdanie z działalności Ligi Morskiej i Kolonialnej 1.04.1933 – 1.04.1935*, pp. 59 – 60.

opened by staff of certain stations or locomotive sheds. The press and the documents of the Maritime and Colonial League emphasised the fact that workers from various industrial plants jointly acquired membership of the Maritime and Colonial League. Some, as Kowalski points out, could be prompted to become a member or to attend the propaganda events could by their managers, local authorities, or even by the social pressure. However, according to Kowalski, it was not a decisive factor in the matter of participating in the colonial events or joining the Maritime and Colonial League. The interest of the public in the matters of colonies and emigration was significant and genuine, as it was seen as a chance for improving their quality of life.<sup>282</sup>

Another group with a strong presence was the staff of the mail services. Branches containing employees of local post offices existed in nearly every province. Also, people working for public services like fire brigades, hospitals, schools, police, local administration would establish branches of the Maritime and Colonial League in their local area. For example in Lublin around 1,000 members of the Voluntary Fire Brigades in the province acquired group membership.<sup>283</sup> In 1935 the Maritime and Colonial League signed an agreement with the Polish Teachers' Union (*Związek Nauczycielstwa Polskiego*), the trade union for teachers. According to this agreement all members of the Polish Teachers' Union automatically became members of the Maritime and Colonial League.<sup>284</sup>

There were branches existing with town councils in Łódź, Poznań, Radom, Lublin, courts in Grodno, Radom, and Poznań, and universities in Lublin and Poznań. In Warsaw branches were opened by personnel of central administration,

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<sup>282</sup> Kowalski, *Dyskurs kolonialny*, p. 73.

<sup>283</sup> *Sprawozdanie z działalności Ligi Morskiej i Kolonialnej 1.04.1933 – 1.04.1935*, (Warszawa, 1935), p. 54 – 59.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

Ministry of Social Welfare, Ministry of the Industry and Trade, Ministry of Agriculture and Agrar Reform, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Communication, and main state-owned banks, *Bank Polski*, *Bank Rolny* and *Bank Handlowy*.<sup>285</sup>

Another feature of local structures of the Maritime and Colonial League was the participation of the military. There were cases of branches opened by the military staff in local garrisons, military school, and reservists association, particularly in the District of Poznań covering the Province of Poznań in the western part of Poland. However, the presence of military officers was characteristic of the districts' management. Quite common was also participation of academics, judges, solicitors, and representatives of high-level local administration, including vice – governors of the provinces, and city mayors. The management of districts and the central management were predominantly male. In 1935 there were five women in the management on the level of district, and three in the central management.<sup>286</sup> Establishing any patterns of women representation in the management is problematic as *Sprawozdanie z działalności Ligi Morskiej i Kolonialnej* provides only fragmented information.

Particular position in the Maritime and Colonial League structures was occupied by School Clubs of the Maritime and Colonial League (*Koła Szkolne Ligi Morskiej i Kolonialnej*). The youth was a group targeted by the Maritime and Colonial League throughout the country to shape the awareness of maritime issues in the nation.<sup>287</sup> The School Clubs could be opened by a group of minimum of 20 students registered to one school or other educational institution, with the approval of its principal, and would include the name of the school in its name. The School Clubs were a type of

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<sup>285</sup> Ibid., pp. 51 – 121.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid.

<sup>287</sup> Białas, *Liga*, pp. 239 – 240.

branch. The members of the clubs paid a membership fee and were counted and treated members of the League.<sup>288</sup> *Regulamin Kół Szkolnych Ligi Morskiej I Kolonialnej oraz wytyczne dla programu pracy Kół Szkolnych Ligi Morskiej I Kolonialnej*, the guidance regarding opening of the School Clubs published by the League, did not mention any age restrictions for membership. The purpose of the clubs was to popularise knowledge about the Baltic Sea, migration from Poland, the idea of colonies for Poland, and promoting water sports.<sup>289</sup> The School Clubs appear in the *Sprawozdanie z działalności Ligi Morskiej I Kolonialnej* as a separate category in 1937. In 1937 over 136,000 members of the Maritime and Colonial League were belonging to the School Clubs which constitutes around 25% of all of the League's members. In 1938 the percentage increased to nearly 35% as the number of School Clubs' reached just over 311,000.<sup>290</sup> In 1937 the districts with the highest number of School Clubs' members were the District of Lublin ( over 22,000, over 37% of all members in this district), the Capital District (over 19,000, nearly 30% of all members in this district) and the District of Cracow corresponding with the Province of Cracow (over 17,000, over 40% of all members in this district). However, the district with the highest ratio of the School Clubs's members with relation to the total number of members in the district was the District of Tarnopol, corresponding with the Province of Tarnopol in South – Eastern Poland. The District comprised of nearly 13,000 members of which over 8,000 nearly 62%, were members of the School Clubs. In 1938 the proportion changed. In the District of Crocaw the number of School Clubs' members was the highest, over 45,000 – nearly 60% of total number of members in this district. The District of Pomerania, corresponding with the

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<sup>288</sup> *Regulamin Kół Szkolnych Ligi Morskiej i Kolonialnej oraz wytyczne dla programu pracy Kół Szkolnych Ligi Morskiej i Kolonialnej*, (Kraków, no publication year), pp. 1 – 2

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6 – 8.

<sup>290</sup> There is no information available for 1939. Białas, *Liga*, p. 41.

Province of Pomerania, had the second-highest, nearly 29,000 – over 47% of total number of members in this district. In both, the Capital District and the District of Lublin, the number of School Clubs' members reached 24,000, which was over 25% and over 39% of total number of members in these districts accordingly. Also in 1938 in five districts, District of Jarosław, Cracow, Lviv, Stanisławów, and Tarnopol, in South – Eastern Poland, more than a half of the total members of the Maritime and Colonial League of the districts were gathered in the School Clubs.<sup>291</sup> It appears that the growing numbers of the School Clubs' membership contributed significantly to the general growth in the League's membership in 1937 – 1938, particularly in economically less developed regions of Poland.

The membership fee was the main source of the Maritime and Colonial League income. Apart from that, the League generated profit from property and company investment, the sale of publications, organised events, and fundraising. The League also received governmental subventions in form of regular payments and donations made for particular projects by the Ministry of the Industry and Trade, the Ministry of the Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From 1929 to 1932 these subventions were a significant part of League's budget. In 1929 the League received 45,000 Polish złoty, in 1930 – 40,000, in 1931 – 31,000, and in 1934 – 29,000. In 1934 the Main Managing Board decided that the income from the League's own income was sufficient enough to waive the right for receiving subventions. Together with the number of members grew the budget of the organisation. In 1930 the League's income from all its sources was 226,000 złotys. In 1932 the sum increased to 397,000 and a year after it nearly tripled reaching 1,071,000. In 1934 League had an income of nearly 2,452,000 and in 1935 – 3,701,000. In 1936 it dropped slightly

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<sup>291</sup> The percentage calculation is based on the data published in Białas, *Liga*, pp. 40 – 41.



to 3,277,000, but a year after it started to increase again and in 1938 it reached just over 5,015,000.<sup>292</sup>

The League had the ambition to become a mass-organisation and work not only among its members but also intended to influence public opinion promoting the ideas included in its programme.<sup>293</sup> The Maritime and Colonial League was part of the elite colonial discourse however the number of its members originating from different social structures resulted in League being 'pulled' into the popular discourse.<sup>294</sup> The League tried to be present wherever there had been any work carried out by any organisation on any issues related to those being in its focus. This presence took different forms, coordinating action plans, cooperating with organising events or giving financial support. Working with or through organisations like Academic Sports Union (*Akademicki Związek Sportowy*), International Union of Poles Abroad (*Światowy Związek Polaków z Zagranicy*), Scouts Sailing Teams (*Harcerskie Drużyny Żeglarskie*) and Union of Defence of Western Borderlands (*Związek Obrony Kresów Zachodnich*) spread the Maritime and Colonial League influence beyond its members.<sup>295</sup>

Since 1930 the Maritime and Colonial League had tried to establish branches in areas where there was high concentration of Polish diaspora. Between September and November 1931 Orlicz – Dreszer visited the United States trying to gain the support of Poles living there for the League programme. He visited New York, Buffalo, Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland, giving speeches, taking part in meetings and conferences and other events. Between 1932 and 1933 League's branches established in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Buffalo and Scranton. Branches

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<sup>292</sup> Białas, *Liga*, pp. 48 – 49.

<sup>293</sup> 'Od wydawnictwa', *Morze*, 11 (1926), p. 1.

<sup>294</sup> Kowalski, *Dyskurs kolonialny*, p. 278.

<sup>295</sup> Białas, *Liga Morska*, p. 54.

were opened in other countries, in Brazil, France, Czechoslovakia, and Germany. Between 1933 and 1935 the Maritime and Colonial League started to operate in Canada, Morocco, and Austria and within next two years in Columbia, Australia and in Manchuria. These branches functioned under different names, Maritime and Colonial League, Maritime and River League, Maritime League (*Liga Morska*) or Circle of the Friends of the Polish Sea (*Koło Przyjaciół Morza Polskiego*), and held some level of autonomy.<sup>296</sup>

Looking at the colonial discourse in the Second Republic of Poland makes it possible to determine its significance for contemporary political and public life. The colonial matters were its important element, engaging the government, the intellectual elites and quite broad masses of society interested in the possibility of acquiring overseas colonies for Poland.

#### **2.4. The Maritime and Colonial League's colonial programme**

The main supporter of the idea of obtaining colonies by Poland within the Maritime and River League was Kazimierz Głuchowski. In 1928 Głuchowski together with a group of his associates established the Colonial Pioneers Association. The main goal of the organisation was defined in early 1928 as building a New Poland, or a Polish Nation, through acquiring territory and shaping 'Polish colonial society'.<sup>297</sup> In the speech, during the inaugurating meeting of the Colonial Pioneers Association on 6 February 1928 Głuchowski estimated the size of the annual emigration from Poland to 12,000 people and size of Polish diaspora living abroad to around 7,000,000. Its existence should be used as an advantage considering the future of the Polish nation

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<sup>296</sup> Ibid., pp. 46 – 47.

<sup>297</sup> Kazimierz Głuchowski, 'O Nową Polskę', *Morze*, 4 (1928), p. 25.

by taking part in international politics. Poland either had to expand overseas providing space for the surplus of its population, which would give her a status of world power or will suffocate within its tight borders sending thousands of people to serve to foreign and hostile nations. Poland should follow the Italian and German example and openly strive to achieve a new terrain for the demographic expansion, which Głuchowski saw as a necessity sprouting from the Polish nation's right to live and to develop. The Colonial Pioneers Association meant to achieve its goal by gaining public support for its cause able of creating pressure on government and influencing the emigration policy and working among Polish communities abroad, particularly in the Parana state being closest to the idea of New - Polish society.<sup>298</sup> In an article announcing the creation of the Colonial Pioneers Association, Głuchowski wrote that the only goal of the organisation was to gain a territory for Polish expansion, where, 'under the slogan of the new or the other Poland, would be possible to build new colonial Polish society'.<sup>299</sup> The Association also intended on securing and preparing an area for a spontaneous colonisation. The founders believed that their initiative will be undertaken by all those devoted to the cause of a nation's greatness. The inaugural meeting was attended by 34 people, and another 20 sent a written declaration of membership. Among them were academics, publicists, army officials, some members of the Polish Geographical Association, members of the Maritime and River League, including the director.<sup>300</sup> Kazimierz Głuchowski was chosen as the association's director. In the management were also Ludwik Kulczycki, scholar and an activist of socialist movement, and Jan Rozwadowski, professor at the University of Cracow. At the same meeting the Colonial Pioneers Association joined the Maritime and River League. The members of the Colonial Pioneers Association

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<sup>298</sup> *Morze*, 3 (1928), p. 30.

<sup>299</sup> Kazimierz Głuchowski, 'Idźmy za morza!', *Morze*, 3 (1928), p.31.

<sup>300</sup> *Morze*, 3 (1928), p. 30.

automatically became members of the Maritime and River League, and the Association itself turned into autonomous section of the League.<sup>301</sup> As for why the Colonial Pioneers Association decided to join the Maritime and River League rather than operate independently and what was the League's reason for this cooperation Głuchowski explained that both sides saw a connection between colonial issues and the League's maritime programme. Colonies were meant to provide new opportunities for the development of Polish overseas trade and shipment. It would create new shipping lines and increase the volume of the transport of the people and goods. This, in turn, would force faster development of the Polish commercial fleet, shipping companies and modernisation of Polish harbours.<sup>302</sup>

The first General Assembly of Delegates of the Maritime and River League held in Katowice in October 1928 incorporated the Association's goals into League's programme and, considering that colonies would provide a base for Poland to become a political and economic power, adopted resolution calling the whole nation to support the idea of colonies for Poland and the Polish government to include it in the foreign policy and to restructure and update the emigration policy.<sup>303</sup> Głuchowski was chosen as the new president of the Maritime and River League, and a special press supplement, called *Pionier Kolonialny* was published with every issue of *Morze*.

In a speech given on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November 1928, Głuchowski presented a set of goals and ideas constituting the foundation of the Maritime and River League's colonial programme.<sup>304</sup> The speech also became the basis for a brochure published in 1930 by the Colonial Pioneers Association titled *Program Kolonialny Ligi Morskiej i*

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<sup>301</sup> Ibid.

<sup>302</sup> Głuchowski, 'Akcja kolonialna LMiR', p. 27.

<sup>303</sup> *Morze*, 11, (1928), pp. 31 -32.

<sup>304</sup> Głuchowski, 'Akcja kolonialna LMiR', pp. 27 – 29.

*Rzecznej*. The necessity of colonies for Poland was explained by the existence of the large-scale emigration related to the overpopulation of the countryside. The average population density in the rural areas was estimated at 78 people per square kilometer, which was higher than in more developed Western Europe. Apart of that, around 60% of all farms were of a small acreage, which had a negative impact on their productivity, and around 6,000,000 people did not own any farms or land suffering extreme poverty. The former not having any hopes for improving their situation were forced to move to the cities, but unable to find any employment there soon joined masses of unemployed becoming a burden for the state. The situation was further complicated by the high birth rate reaching 500,000 a year. From this group of impoverished peasants, hopeless, ambitionless, filled with resignation, as the brochure portrayed them, every year hundreds of thousands leave to Germany, Denmark, and France for sessional jobs, often as a result of agitation of fraudulent agents, and there they became a subject of ill-treatment, humiliation, and exploitation. It was the agents of foreign shipping companies who were often responsible for organising the migration and choosing the destination countries. It was because of their practices that Poland started to be seen abroad as an unlimited source of 'working slaves'.<sup>305</sup> In this situation, it was only thanks to the 'high racial value' of Polish peasants, who proved themselves to be a 'first-class pioneers', that the existence of Polish settlements in Brazil and the United States was possible.<sup>306</sup> The profit the shipping companies were making of transporting Polish migrants was estimated at around \$10,000,000 US dollars a year. This money could stay in Poland if only the shipment was left in Polish hands, but so far, the brochure stated, the

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<sup>305</sup> *Program kolonialny Ligi Morskiej i Rzecznej*, (Warszawa, 1930), p.11.

<sup>306</sup> *Ibid.*

Polish state and Polish companies were excluded from it.<sup>307</sup>

As the emigration was considered to be constant and unavoidable, the Maritime and River League programme highlighted the need for Poland to exploit the advantages this process created, by having a clear and consistent emigration policy linked with its maritime policy focused on development overseas shipment. The examples of England, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, and Netherlands showed that organised migration directed into intended for this purpose territory gave 'incalculable advantages, because it multiplies the race and its possessions, spreads their native culture to the distant lands without disturbing the bond with the Motherland'.<sup>308</sup> England with her vast overseas possessions tended to protect even the smallest enclaves inhabited by her citizens located on the territories of colonies belonging to other countries like in French West Africa, Gibraltar, Suez, Bermuda, or Honduras. Parana was one an accidental example of a proper solution to the issue of permanent migration from Poland. There were several reasons why Poland failed to address this issue. First, Poland just recently, in 1918, became an independent state. Also lack of the 'colonial tradition' contributed to the fact that 'Polish society, enslaved, did not understand the colonial activity of the great world powers in the second half of the nineteenth century'.<sup>309</sup> Acts of Maurycy Beniowski, Stefan Szolc - Rogoziński, Ignacy Domeyko and other Polish explorers of colonial territories did not cause much interest in Poland and only contributed other countries.<sup>310</sup> Another reason was the indifference of political parties in Poland to the issue of emigration, acceptance of the emigration as a necessary evil and lack of financial subsidies for overseas expansion. It resulted in the fact that the care so far

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<sup>307</sup> Ibid., pp. 12 – 13.

<sup>308</sup> Ibid.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid., pp. 13 – 14.

<sup>310</sup> Maurycy Beniowski, Stefan Szolc-Rogoziński, Ignacy Domeyko were given as examples as Polish contribution to the colonial conquest. See Appendices, Index of people.

given to the problem of emigration had rather philanthropic and sentimental character, while it was an approach focusing on economic profit that was actually needed.<sup>311</sup> Only recently the importance of it started to be noticed as a result of 'internal consolidation of the state and the growing and solidifying the power of the whole society'.<sup>312</sup> It was necessary to organise the emigration process by sending migrants to territories suitable for colonisation and the Polish government should take an active part in it. Territories suitable for colonisation were described as those offering economic advantages for the migrants and for the Polish state, a territory producing goods which would find a market in Poland and where Polish export goods would meet with demand. Ideally, it should be a place where Polish migrants would be able to settle on a plantation producing tropical crops like cotton, rubber, rice, coffee, plant oil, and other. The fact that some of the colonial states still needed an influx of settlers created a chance for Poland to conduct colonisation. Additionally, these territories should be chosen and secured in a way ensuring 'free racial, economic, cultural and national development' of the settlers.<sup>313</sup> The advantage of having colonies lay not in creating jobs for some colonial officials and not solely in sending settlers. The real goal here was the establishment of thriving communities attracting Polish traders, entrepreneurs, and adventurers from around the globe, centres of New Poland allowing Polish migrants to keep their sense of national identity and their culture. Colonies would also create new opportunities for the Polish economy and it would encourage the development of shipping companies and harbours and strengthen Poland's position on the Baltic coast and will further prove its right to sea access. But a part of securing territory of expansion for the Polish nation and making the Polish economy more independent from foreign imports,

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<sup>311</sup> *Program kolonialny Ligi Morskiej i Rzecznej*, p. 14.

<sup>312</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>313</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16 - 17.

another equally important reason why Poland should possess colonies was gaining international prestige. Thanks to overseas colonies Poland would gain in international importance and the Polish nation would become global. It would have a certain psychological impact on the way Polish people think about themselves and on their outlook on the world, widening their horizons and increasing the belief in Poland's power and greatness as a country, which would be passed on to future generations.<sup>314</sup>

The Maritime and River League colonial programme showed three ways for Poland to attempt colonial expansion. First of all, Poland should demand part, around ten per cent of the colonies of the former German Empire as part of Poland. It was perceived that Poland had been treated unfairly in the peace treaty when came to drawing the course of borders, the division of the commercial fleet and the navy and amount of war reparations. Also, according to the brochure, Poles were a significant percentage of the personnel of the colonial army and militia forces.<sup>315</sup> Therefore Poland had the right to the part of German colonies.<sup>316</sup> The second direction Poland should pursue was in respect of the French colonial empire. Poland had not shown much interest in the ideas brought by French in 1921 regarding Madagascar, but this should change. Poland should renew the talks with France aiming at establishing an economic condominium on the territory of one of the French colonies. The Maritime and River League colonial programme did not specify details as to how this condominium should look. It only mentioned that on the territory of the condominium Polish currency should be used equally with French and also Poland should be treated equally with France as for customs charges to help to balance Poland's expenditure for foreign trade. The third way for Poland to gain colonies was

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<sup>314</sup> Ibid., p. 32 - 34.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>316</sup> Ibid., pp. 29 – 30.



by using economic measures and settlers to penetrate the economy of a colony belonging to another country. This line of actions would not lead Poland to a direct possession of the colony, but it will allow Poland to secure a space for 'unfettered expansion' for the Polish nation. The example of such territory was Angola. The goal here was not to take over the colony or any of its parts, but rather create areas of concentration of Polish settlers, like the areas of concentration of Polish migrants in receiving non-colonial counties.<sup>317</sup>

The Maritime and River League intended to achieve the goal of Poland having colonies and creating a space on the globe for the expansion of Polish nation by mobilising public support for their cause strong enough to interest the Polish government and influence it to get involved. Gaining the state support was necessary for their programme to be successful, and it was only possible if the ideas included in the programme would become shared nationwide rather than belonging only to a small group of people. The role of the Polish State was to conduct appropriate diplomatic action either within the League of Nations or on the bilateral level to prepare the ground for the realisation of League's colonial plans. To create a massive public support the Maritime and River League in first place intended to mobilise financial and moral support of its members, then reach out to those Polish people who had ever worked in colonies and can serve with their advice and expertise on the matter, and finally to cooperate with other organisations working in the similar fields to consolidate the colonial movement in Poland.<sup>318</sup>

The important part of the League's programme was to gather academics and professionals together to conduct careful studies on the theoretical and practical studies of the subjects working on gathering information, preparing strategies and

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<sup>317</sup> Ibid., pp. 20 – 22.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid., pp. 22 – 23.

methods of operation and organising courses for future colonial officials. Another part of the programme was building up the financial and institutional infrastructure in form of private trade companies who could take part in the process of colonisation, state-owned investment banks ready to support it, and official involvement of state agencies, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of the Industry and Trade and Emigration Office in particular.<sup>319</sup>

The main points of the colonial programme formulated between 1928 and 1930 remained unchanged prior to the outbreak of the Second World War when League ceased to exist in any meaningful way. In the 1930s authors writing about the colonial programme interpreted it differently giving more importance to some of its aspects. Gustaw Załęcki pointed out that Poland needs to have its own colonial policy which would not only focus on organising overseas colonisation but it would also create new infrastructure in Poland as a metropole to support the colonial expansion, like import and export enterprises, transport companies, investment banks and courses training future colonial officials. He also proposed the creation of a separate institution within central administration, a ministry of colonies, to coordinate and consolidate Poland's colonial policy. However, Załęcki did not see the possibility of Poland having colonies in a political sense, as he called it, where the territory of colonies is under the same sovereign power as the territory of the metropole. Poland could only expand by developing commerce and sending its settlers to territories remaining under the political power of other nations. The social and economic processes within the network of all business entities owned by the Polish nationals in Poland and abroad 'willingly aiming for a strong connection with each other to create the system of economic self-defence and build national wealth'

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<sup>319</sup> Ibid., pp. 23 – 24.

Załęcki called Polish national economy.<sup>320</sup> The national economy was not limited to state borders, its main pillar was the nation, not the state. The borders of the Polish state should not limit the development of the Polish nation to the territory enclosed within them as the state is an instrument of the nation, not otherwise. The Polish nation should follow the English example where 'all English nationals leaving in colonies, or in Canada, Australia and South – African Union or politically foreign countries' work for one national economy.<sup>321</sup>

Stanisław Głębiński, on the other hand, promoted the idea that emigration from Poland should be managed by a non –governmental supervised by the state agencies rather than by the state. With its use, the government would be able to influence emigration without the risk of falling into etatism. Emigration, if planned and monitored by such organisation with state support, could have positive effects on Poland's national economy. The existence of an independent body controlling emigration would make possible securing land concessions on territories suitable for Polish colonisation and would also allow controlling migration from the rural areas to make sure it will not disturb local work structure in the villages. According to Głębiński, such planed colonisation, would only in a long-time perspective allow Poland to expand economically, by increasing its trade turnover, it might become an instrument of political pressure.<sup>322</sup> Neither Załęcki nor Głębiński did not consider the option of Poland actually becoming a colonial power. The similar approach was presented by Wiktor Rosiński. In a brochure published in 1931, he wrote about the necessity of linking emigration policy with the economics to create a strategized

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<sup>320</sup> Gustaw Załęcki, 'Problem krajowej organizacji elementów polityki kolonialnej', *Kwartalnik Naukowego Instytutu Emigracyjnego i Kolonialnego Oraz przegląd Emigracyjny*, 1 (1931), p. 279 - 280.

<sup>321</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 280 – 281.

<sup>322</sup> Stanisław Głębiński, 'Enigracja i jej rola w gospodarstwie narodowym', *Kwartalnik Naukowego Instytutu do Badań Emigracji i Kolonialnego oraz Przegląd Emigracyjny*, 3 – 4, ( 1930), pp. 12 – 14.

state colonial policy. Colonies of Polish migrants should be connected with motherland with commercial ties, only then they will be useful from the point of view of the Polish economy. Although the world was already politically divided there are still scarcely populated territories around the globe and the colonial countries would welcome cooperation with Poland to get settlers. It presents a chance for Poland to profit from the colonial policy without having colonies in a political sense.<sup>323</sup>

The voices supporting the idea of Poland formerly taking over colonies belonging to other countries started to intensify after 1935. According to another of League's releases from 1936 *Domagajmy się kolonii*, Poland should not demand colonies because other powers have it, neither to just satisfy the ambition of the Polish nation. That would be foolish. Poland should do it because it lay in its most vital economic interest. Colonies would provide markets for Polish goods and create new employment opportunities for Polish workers, who could neither find a job in the country nor abroad as a result of the fact that due to the international economic crisis many of the countries receiving Polish migrants coming there to work stopped doing so. But the most important reason why Poland should have colonies was to have a supply of raw materials. This was the reason why Germany and Italy wanted colonies. Poland could obtain colonies either by buying it from another country or through getting a mandate preferably over one of the former German colonies. But as colonies could only partially absorb the surplus of the population from Poland, it was necessary to continue the settlement scheme in Brazil.<sup>324</sup> Similarly, Stanisław Pawłowski in a brochure *Domagajmy się kolonii zamorskich dla Polski*, published by the Maritime and Colonial League in 1936 described colonial rivalry among

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<sup>323</sup> Wiktor Rosiński, *O zamorski program gospodarczy Rzeczypospolitej*, (Warszawa, 1931), 12 – 13.

<sup>324</sup> *Domagajmy się kolonii*, (Warszawa, 1936), pp. 1 – 12.

nations in terms of the struggle for space and resources and tests of nation's vitality and ability to grow. Colonial states were the richest ones and they decided about the course of world politics. Poland had the right to grow demographically, by growing its population, culturally by spreading Polish culture around the globe, and economically by building its wealth based on access to raw materials, lack of which was the main cause of Poland's impoverishment. Poland should obtain colonies directly either through taking part in the war, by buying it or as a result of mandate's revision through League of Nations or another international body. But the first step toward this goal was to make other nations, particularly the French and British, understand that Poland deserved it. Colonies would make Poland greater and imperial.<sup>325</sup> Pawłowski also wrote the plans for emigration and colonisation should include the part of Poland's population that was Jewish. The high birth rate among Jews in Poland and their concentration in the cities together with the general high birth rate among the rest of the population and lack of the employment opportunities resulted in growing impoverishment of Jewish people. Therefore, as Poland was already looking for the space for the colonisation and making plans to utilise the surplus of its population, Jews should have been included in it. But Jewish society, according to Pawłowski, had a negative attitude to emigration and preferred to stay in Poland fearing to migrate. In addition to Palestine, Pawłowski saw migration opportunities for Jewish people in Transjordan, Syria, Cyprus, Iraq, Birobidzhan in Russia, United States, Canada, in South America in Argentine, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay, and in Africa in Angola, South Africa, Madagascar, Algeria, and Tunisia. Pawłowski estimated that annually 75,000 – 80,000 Jewish people could emigrate. The Maritime and Colonial League was to encourage emigration of Jews from

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<sup>325</sup> Stanisław Pawłowski, *Domagajmy się kolonii zamorski dla Polski*, (Warszawa, 1936), p. 1 - 14.

Poland by issuing press releases, organising lectures, movie shows, and professional training making easier to start life in Palestine. The role of the state would be to give financial support to the migrants and to convince other countries to lift the restriction on immigration and secure a territory where Jews could freely settle. The best arena for that was the League of Nation where a separate section for Palestinian affairs already existed.<sup>326</sup>

As for Gustaw Orlicz–Dreszer, President of the Main Managing Board and head of its Colonial Division between 1930 and 1936, he saw the colonial programme of the Maritime and Colonial League and its other goals in other fields as integrally linked. Jan Dębski, the director of the Maritime and Colonial League Office, wrote that Orlicz-Dreszer did not think that current political division of world and colonies was unchangeable and fixed for eternity, but neither did he believe Poland could be just given colonies. Obtaining colonies was an effort of the whole, just like getting independence for Poland was. The endeavour of Polish researchers, planters, traders, sailors and 'civilising work of missionaries and doctors' working in colonial territories would entitle Poland to colonies in time when colonies became again subject of a fight between the nations.<sup>327</sup> Their presence in colonies will also stimulate commercial exchange with Poland. Work with youth meant to direct the attention of the next generations to the sea and shape new entrepreneurs and sailors. The role of the navy was to support this national effort by defending the sea and shipment routes.<sup>328</sup> In 1931 Orlicz –Dreszer had defined the objective of the Colonial Division as conducting necessary actions to 'obtain territories across an ocean for Polish demographical and economic expansion' through concentration of Polish diaspora abroad and connecting it with Poland with economic links, directing

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<sup>326</sup> Stanisław Pawłowski, *O emigracji Żydów z Polski*, pp. 58 – 64.

<sup>327</sup> Jan Dębski, 'Gustaw Orlicz – Dreszer', *Morze*, 9 (1936), p. 6.

<sup>328</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6 - 7.

emigration from Poland to the territories allowing for 'racial, cultural and economic development' of Polish communities, supporting spread of the Polish commerce with overseas markets and striving for establishing a direct source of colonial raw materials for Polish industry favouring producers of Polish origins.<sup>329</sup> Michał Pankiewicz described Orlicz–Dreszer as the main force behind transforming the Maritime and Colonial League into a mass – organisation and increasing the popularity of its colonial programme across the nation. Pankiewicz wrote that Orlicz - Dreszer was worried about Poland's increasing pauperisation. To strengthen the Polish economy, he intended to involve Polish diaspora into a commercial exchange with Poland. Orlicz–Dreszer's vision of Poland's economic expansion included building a network of Polish commercial outposts and storages spread across African and Asiatic coasts, Polish plantations of cotton and other crops in Africa and America, commercial warehouses and large trading companies in the United States or Argentina, and hundreds of Polish ships carrying Polish goods to overseas ports. All this meant not only to improve the economy but also to make a change into Polish mentality by reinforcing among the nation belief in its strength and ridding of the 'sniveling' attitude.<sup>330</sup> Part of Orlicz–Dreszer's plans was to establish a network of agricultural settlement overseas producing tropical crops to be sold to Poland in exchange for manufactured goods.<sup>331</sup> The General Assembly of the Delegates held in Lviv between 25 and 27 of June 1932, following an initiative of Orlicz–Dreszer, established the Colonial Action Fund (*Fundusz Akcji Kolonialnej*) to finance particular projects preparing the ground for 'Polish economic and demographic expansion'.<sup>332</sup> The capital gathered by the Colonial Action plan allowed the League

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<sup>329</sup> Czesław Zagórski, 'Pionierska Praca', *Morze*, 10 (1936), p. 24.

<sup>330</sup> Michał Pankiewicz, 'Niezlomny pionier Polski kolonialnej', *Morze*, 9 (1936), pp. 16 – 17.

<sup>331</sup> Ibid.

<sup>332</sup> Zagórski, 'Pionierska praca', p. 24.

to purchase 22,000 ha of land in Parana with aim of creating Polish agricultural settlements there. In 1936 the Maritime and Colonial League managed to establish a settlement called *Morska Wola*.<sup>333</sup>

Africa held an important role in Orlicz–Dreszer's vision.<sup>334</sup> In his view, if Poland ever meant to obtain colonies it should focus all efforts on Africa. Orlicz – Dreszer saw a possibility for Poland to obtain one of the mandate territories on this continent, but Poland should not just wait for this to happen. The presence of Polish advisors in Liberia was meant to show to the world that Poland would be able to overcome any difficulties related with governing a colonial territory and Polish plantations in this country were meant to be a training ground of 'colonial pioneering' making the Polish economic penetration of African continent easier.<sup>335</sup> But the League's interest in Africa started before Orlicz–Dreszer took the steer of the organisation. In 1928 the Scientific Institute for Emigration and Colonisation Studies together with the Association of Colonial Pioneers within the Maritime and River League started to negotiate with Portuguese government settlement scheme in Angola.

The colonial movement in the inter-war Poland was a complex social phenomenon, and the purpose of its existence can have different interpretations. Tadeusz Białas, based on a statement given to him by Witold Bublewski, who was a member of the Main Council of the Maritime and Colonial League, concluded that the main reason behind transforming the Maritime and River League into the Maritime and Colonial League in 1930 and developing the propaganda demanding

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<sup>333</sup> Ibid., pp. 24 – 25.

<sup>334</sup> Anna Nadolska – Styczyńska points out the presence of topics related with Africa and African cultures in the Maritime and Colonial League's publication, and events like speeches, lectures and movie shows. It meant to make Polish people more familiar with this continent and its people by erasing the stereotype of Africa as a land of dangerous animals, deadly diseases and cannibals, and at the same time increase the interest of Polish public in League's colonial programme. Anna Nadolska – Styczyńska, 'Kultury Afryki a działania naukowo – oświatowe Ligi Morskiej i Kolonialnej', *Prace Komisji Historii Nauki Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności*, 8 (2007), pp. 181 – 206.

<sup>335</sup> Pankiewicz, 'Niezlomny pionier', pp. 16 – 17.



part of former German colonies was to undermine German claims for the return of the colonies.<sup>336</sup> But an analysis of the origins of Polish colonial movement indicated that this was not the only reason. The Maritime and Colonial League based its colonial programme on the ideas already present in the political discourse in Poland prior to the League's establishment. It is also clear that there were two interrelated lines of thinking about colonies within the Maritime and Colonial League. The first, understood Polish colonies as settlements comprising of Polish migrants on foreign soil. The second demanded Poland obtained foreign territories as her colonies. The former reached to the idea of New Poland, first brought by the Commercial - Geographical Association in the 1890s. The latter was a consequence of more recent political developments after the First World War, particularly the French proposal that Poland be given a mandate over part of Germany's former colonial empire and Poland's policy towards relations with Germany. The division between these two ideologies was not always clear. In regards to Africa, the development of the Polish settlements was potentially seen as a step towards Poland becoming a colonial power. Nevertheless pointing to this distinction seems to be a useful tool to understand League's actions, the fate of the settlements in Angola and Liberia, relation with the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the nature of Polish colonial ambitions, which will be explored in following chapters.

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<sup>336</sup> Białas, *Liga Morska*, p. 28.

## **Chapter 3 - Polish settlement in Angola 1928 – 1939**

### **3.1. The colonisation of Angola in the Colonial Pioneers Association's plans for Poland's colonial development, c. 1928 - 1929**

Plans for the Polish colonisation of Angola started in 1928 following the creation of the Colonial Pioneers Association. This was one of many initiatives in place with the aim of realising the Association's goal of building a New Poland through the acquisition of new territory and the shaping of a 'Polish colonial society'.<sup>337</sup> This idea fit neatly into the Maritime and River League's programme published in 1930, as it promoted the objective of finding space for the Polish nation to expand by creating Polish communities abroad. Unlike in the case of Brazil, examined in Chapter 2, and other South American countries, there was no pre-existing emigration from Poland to Angola.<sup>338</sup> A further challenge was that a research mission sent by the Colonial Pioneers Association to Angola in 1929 had come to the conclusion that Angola was not particularly suitable for peasant migration, as potential settlers would require a considerable amount of capital to succeed.

The African continent was important to the Colonial Pioneers Association's plans as they clearly recognised the potential of its resources for the economic development of Europe. An article published in *Morze* in April 1931 even proposed that Europe and Africa should be joined in as a single economic and political entity,

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<sup>337</sup> Kazimierz Głuchowski, 'O Nową Polskę', *Morze*, 4 (1928), p. 25.

<sup>338</sup> See Chapter 2, pp. 45-46 .

what was called Eur–Africa. The article predicted that in the future Europe will have to compete for economic and political hegemony in the world with North America and Asia. To win this competition Europe needed resources that Africa would provide, but to secure African markets Europeans had to systematically colonise the continent.<sup>339</sup> The importance of Africa was also strengthened by the Colonial Pioneers Association's claim that Poland had a right to part of the African colonies formerly belonging to the German Empire and after the First World War administered under a League of Nations mandate.

The Colonial Pioneers Association began to organise a research expedition and settlement plan for Angola in February 1928. The Association cooperated on this matter with the Society of Polish Station for Tropical Research (*Polske Towarzystwo Stacji Badań Tropicalnych*), the Polish Geographical Society (*Polskie Towarzystwo Geograficzne*) and other colonising associations.<sup>340</sup> The Polish Geographical Society was an organisation comprising academics and professionals working in the field of geography and other related disciplines. The Society was established on 27 January 1918 in Warsaw. Among the founding members were scholars from Jagiellonian University and University of Warsaw, Stanisław Lencewicz, Jan Lewiński, Jerzy Loth, Bolesław Olszewicz and Ludomir Sawicki.<sup>341</sup> The Society of Polish Station for Tropical Research was an organisation working closely with the Colonial Pioneers Association. All of the Society of Polish Station for Tropical Research founding members also joined the Colonial Pioneers Association to be able to coordinate their work on any future projects.<sup>342</sup> The Society of Polish Station for Tropical Research

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<sup>339</sup> Leon Radzikowski, 'Eur – Afryka', *Morze*, 4 (1931), pp. 22 - 24.

<sup>340</sup> 'Z życia Związku', *Morze*, 4 (1928), p. 32.

<sup>341</sup> Official website of the Polish Geographical Society, <https://ptgeo.org.pl/towarzystwo/historia/>, accessed 15 November 2018.

<sup>342</sup> 'Z życia Związku', *Morze*, 3 (1928), p. 39. See Helen Tilley, *Africa as a Living Laboratory: Empire, Development, and the Problem of Scientific Knowledge, 1870 – 1950*, (Chicago, 2011).

was established on 17 February 1928 following a meeting between a group of activists and academics, including Ferdynand Antoni Ossendowski, Tadeusz Hilarowicz, Józef Tomasz Rostafiński, and Janusz Makarczyk, academics and publicists with an experience of research abroad. They turned to Kazimierz Głuchowski, the President of the Colonial Pioneers Association, with an initiative of opening Polish Station of Tropical Research located somewhere within the tropical zone on land belonging to the Polish State. They reasoned that this would create an opportunity for Polish scientists to conduct their research and experiments. Głuchowski supported the idea as, according to him, it matched the goals of the Colonial Pioneers Association.<sup>343</sup> The Society of Polish Station for Tropical Research started cooperation with Polish Geographical Society to plan future expeditions. It also initiated relations with Józef Targowski, the director of the Polish Colonisation Association, and with the Polish–American Colonisation Syndicate, to negotiate an agreement regarding organising of the colonisation of the territories, which were subject of interest of the Colonial Pioneers Association.<sup>344</sup> Both the Polish Colonisation Association the Polish-American Colonisation Syndicate were colonising companies organising migration to the South America. The Polish Colonisation Association was established in 1926 with participation of the Emigration Office.<sup>345</sup> Among its founders were members of the Parliament, landowners, and people related to Głuchowski's Polish Emigration Association.<sup>346</sup> The Polish – American Colonisation Syndicate was established in 1924 by a group of

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<sup>343</sup> Ibid.

<sup>344</sup> Ibid.

<sup>345</sup> Warchałowski, *I poleciał*, p. 25.

<sup>346</sup> Edward Kołodziej, Krystyna Romaniszyn, 'Sprawozdania z podróży po Kanadzie Delegacji Towarzystwa Kolonizacyjnego w Warszawie (wrzesień-listopad 1929)', *Teki Archiwalne*, 22 (1992), p. 151.

landowners and financiers and lead for some time by Kazimierz Warchałowski.<sup>347</sup> Territorial gains and European colonisation of other continents followed scientific expeditions and 'geographical discoveries' made by European explorers and missionaries.<sup>348</sup> Although the importance of research trips for the conquest decreased, it was perceived that there were still political advantages for the countries that sponsored this research. Countries possessing colonies must know their territories, or must develop scientific expansion to less known parts of the globe to build the foundation for 'cultural conquest'.<sup>349</sup> Field research was not only needed for its use for colonisation, it was believed that it would also leave a mark of Polish thought and effort among work done already by other nations.<sup>350</sup> The aim of the Society of Polish Station for Tropical Research was to study the practical aspects of 'rational colonisation' linking settlers with their mother country by the commercial exchange.<sup>351</sup> The Association planned to open a research outpost for Polish scientists interested in studying tropical countries. The station planned to conduct field research to investigate the 'exploitative value' of the territories potentially suitable for Polish colonisation, whether the land could provide resources in demand by Polish industry like cocoa or cotton. The research would be of practical advantage for future and existing settlers, and for the Colonial Pioneers Association and other institutions involved in colonisation it would point to the areas of the globe best for this purpose.<sup>352</sup> The cooperation between the Colonial Pioneers Association, Society of Polish Station for Tropical Research, the Polish Geographical Society, the Polish – American Colonisation Syndicate and the Polish Colonisation Association concluded

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<sup>347</sup> Warchałowski, *I poleciał*, p. 25.

<sup>348</sup> Stanisław Lencewicz, 'Kolonizacja a wyprawy naukowe', *Morze*, 4 (1928), p. 26.

<sup>349</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>350</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>351</sup> Janusz Makarczyk, 'Kilka uwag u progu działalności', *Morze*, 5, (1928), p. 26.

<sup>352</sup> *Ibid.*

with the idea that Portuguese Angola could provide a potential territory for Polish colonisation.

In May 1928 the Colonial Pioneers Association started to advertise Angola as a place suitable for Polish settlers. The Colonial Pioneers Association published a brochure written by Głuchowski titled *Angola jako teren ewentualnej polskiej kolonizacji*, as a 'first handbook about Angola' containing information about history and geography of the country, natural conditions, climate, industry, trade, its indigenous peoples and their relations with settlers.<sup>353</sup> Also, *Morze* started to publish articles on Angola and settlement condition, trade and agriculture in the in the colony.

The Colonial Pioneers Association was restructured in June 1928 to create a separate division to work on the colonisation of Angola. The Division of Angola (*Referat Angoli*) was responsible for identifying candidates to buy land in Angola and the organisation of settlers. It oversaw all matters related to the experimental station of research, farming, hygiene, and sanitary issues. The Division of Angola also started to contact and collect the details of all Polish professionals who had ever worked in southern Africa.<sup>354</sup> During November and December 1928, the Main Managing Board of the Maritime and River League created a Colonial Section of the

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<sup>353</sup> 'Kronika Związku', *Morze*, 7, (1928), pp. 21 – 22.

<sup>354</sup> Ibid. Apart of Division of Angola, the Colonial Pioneers Association comprised of Press Division (*Referat Prasowy*) responsible for the edition of *Pionier Kolonialny* led by Henryk Tetzlaff, Division of Propaganda and Training (*Referat Propandowo – Szkoleniowy*) organising speeches, lectures and 'training of young pioneers', Colonial Press Division (*Referat Prasy Kolonialnej*) reviewing foreign press and working with Polish newspapers published abroad, Division of Literature and Colonial Arts (*Referat Literatury i Sztuki Kolonialnej*) developing cultural cooperation with Polish communities abroad, Division of Parana (*Referat Parany*) conducting educational action, Military Division (*Referat Wojskowy*) developing relations with military organisations, Academic Division (*Referat Akademicki*) responsible for cooperation with universities, Women Organisation Division (*Referat Organizacji Kobiecej*), Natural Division (*Referat Przyrodniczy*) working with museums and zoos, collecting specimens, and Secretariat responsible for human resources, finances, and coordination of branches.

Maritime and River League.<sup>355</sup> Also, after the Maritime and River League incorporated the Association's goals into its programme the link between the two organisations started to tighten. Since the Association became known also as the Maritime and River League Branch of John Scolvus (*Odział Ligi Morskiej i Rzecznej Imienia Jana z Kolna*).<sup>356</sup> The Colonial Pioneers Association was, in fact, playing the role of the Colonial Division of the League's Main Managing Board. The Association was the leading force in all colonial initiative undertaken by the Maritime and River League. Every appointed President and the Secretary of the Colonial Pioneers Association automatically became the President and Secretary of the Colonial Division of the Maritime and River League.<sup>357</sup>

One of the factors making Angola suitable for Polish settlement was that Kazimierz Głuchowski considered cooperation with Portugal beneficial for Poland. It seemed to him that there was a convergence of interests between Poland and Portugal on that matter of colonisation of Angola. Portugal needed white settlers in Angola, so Portugal would welcome partnership with Poland on that matter as an opportunity.<sup>358</sup> A further reason qualifying Angola as a place for Poles to settle, in Głuchowski's view, was its suitable land conditions, climate, its fairly developed

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<sup>355</sup> The colonial section was divided into 6 subsections: political, economic, tropical hygiene, geographical and topographical, historical, and one for colonial literature and arts. One of the colonial section members was Juliusz Szymański, Marshal of the Senate, who joined the Colonial Pioneers Association in 1928. (For the involvement of Szymański with the Convention of the Poles Abroad in 1929 see Chapter 2, pp. 65 - 66.) The purpose of the subsection of colonial hygiene was to elaborate a training programme for Polish medical professionals to prepare them to work on ships and in future Polish colonies. One of the League members working in this subsection was Ludwig Anigstein. 'Kronika Związku', *Morze*, 1 (1929), p. 34. In April 1929 Ludwig Anigstein, who was also a member of the Association of Polish Station for Tropical Research, left for two years to British Malay, where he worked for British authorities to fight tropical diseases. 'Kronika kolonialna', *Morze*, 4 - 5 (1929), p. 40.

Political subsection was constituted in December 1928. Among the League members working within the political subsection were Kazimierz Głuchowski, Gustaw Załęcki, Jan Rozwadowski, Tadeusz Hilarowicz, Andrzej Zamięcki, and Apoloniusz Zarychta. 'Kronika kolonialna', *Morze*, 2 - 3 (1929), p. 73.

<sup>356</sup> 'Kronika kolonialna', *Morze*, 2 - 3, (1929), p. 73.

<sup>357</sup> W. Rosiński, 'Prace Związku Pionierów Kolonialnych', *Morze*, 6 (1930), p. 19.

<sup>358</sup> Kazimierz Głuchowski, 'Angola jako ewentualny Polski teren osadniczy', *Morze*, 5 (1928), p. 26.

infrastructure, and Angola's geopolitical location. In the north, Angola was neighboured by Belgian and French colonies and in the south and east by Rhodesia and former German South–West Africa under the mandate of the Union of South Africa. Głuchowski believed that this location would secure the future of Polish settlers, as he did not expect any major waves of other white settlers coming to Angola from neither of these directions.<sup>359</sup>

Angola possessed a long coastline with large harbours in Loanda, Lobito – Benguela, and Mossamedes. It was also located on a shipping route between England and Cape Town and consequently had direct transport links with Europe.<sup>360</sup> Angola's climate was suitable for European colonisation particularly in the Huila region and along the Lobito - Katanga railroad. Głuchowski compared climatic conditions of these areas to the ones in Parana, which he described as ideal for Polish settlers. Also, the health conditions, lack of malaria and sleeping sickness in the uplands, were favourable. Angola's fauna was diverse and offered excellent opportunities for hunting. Furthermore, pests, like ants and snakes, habitual for the region were not viewed as a kind which could drastically impede the development of the settlements. Forests in the colony provided resources used by industry. Apart from timber, the tissue of some plants and trees was used to produce tannins, dyes and some pharmaceutical components. As for the agriculture, the Angolan plateau offered opportunities for the development of plantations of coffee, cocoa, cotton, rubber, sugar cane, Tobacco, and oil palm, but it also allowed cultivation of corn, beans, potatoes, rye, and barley. According to Głuchowski, the fact that grain could be grown increased the chance of success for Polish colonisation.<sup>361</sup>

Angola was also suitable for forming of livestock, poultry, goats, sheep, and

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<sup>359</sup> Ibid.

<sup>360</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>361</sup> Ibid., p. 28.



cattle. As for mineral resources, Angola had rich deposits of copper and diamonds, and lamp oil. Although the Angolan industry was not on a high level of development, according to Głuchowski's prognosis accessibility of all these natural resources created convenient conditions for its growth. This, in turn, would cause productivity to increase and stimulate commerce. Angola, with an African population of several million, could become a market for Polish produce, as it already was for German goods. Polish settlements, if established in Angola, would open the Angolan market for Polish producers. By creating the demand for Polish products the settlers could become the point of entry for Polish industry into Angola.<sup>362</sup> Access to the sea with its network of transport links and established shipment routes with Europe favoured the development of trade in Angola. The inland road and railways infrastructure and waterways connected the three harbours with the rest of the country. The areas which were the most suitable for Polish colonisation located along the two major railways, one going from Lobito – Benguela and second from Mossademes, enjoyed excellent connections with the coast. Apart from the climate and its developed transport infrastructure there were other factors that made the plateaus of Benguela and Huila a desirable place to settle Polish farmers. The area already had a small number of white settlers living there and enjoyed fertile soil. According to Głuchowski apart from 15,000 white settlers, there were around 200,000 Africans on the combined area of 300,000 km<sup>2</sup>. He estimated that the area could sustain another 300,000 settlers, which gave great opportunities for the development of Polish colonisation.<sup>363</sup>

One of the aims of the Colonial Pioneers Association, while looking for the territory for Polish colonisation, was to choose a location that would produce value

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<sup>362</sup> Ibid.

<sup>363</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

for Poland's economy. Gulchowski believed that Angola, the French colonies, and Cameroon, a part of which Poland should demand herself, fulfilled this criterion. All these territories had the potential to become a market for Polish goods and produced all the materials required.<sup>364</sup> After the First World War the markets of the former Russian Empire were no longer available for Polish producers and importers as a result of political changes in Europe. In this situation, it was necessary to redirect Polish imports and exports by finding new trading partners.<sup>365</sup> Access to the Baltic Sea and the two ports of Gdynia and Danzig (Gdańsk) provided Poland with new trade opportunities overseas. It was time for Poland to profit from direct commercial relations with colonial countries.

During the first years following independence, the Polish establishment was occupied with the organisation and the administration of its newly created state and could not give proper consideration towards securing foreign markets. Because of this delay, the only chance for Poland to succeed in the international rivalry compete in the field of overseas trade was to focus on colonial territories which were 'least exploited so far by the foreign competition'.<sup>366</sup> Therefore, it was suggested that Polish commerce should focus on South and West Africa, particularly Congo, Angola, and French Equatorial Africa with their developing markets only recently became a subject of increasing interest of traders. Poland would benefit from opening own trading post there, especially if the post would get connected with a network of plants and mills employing Polish migrants.<sup>367</sup> Franciszek Łyp pointed out that Angola was becoming an attractive trade partner for both colonial powers

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<sup>364</sup> 'Kolonje a ekspansja gospodarcza', *Morze*, 9, (1928), p. 26.

<sup>365</sup> Ibid.

<sup>366</sup> 'Znaczenie Afryki z punktu widzenia polskiej ekspansji gospodarczej', *Morze*, 9, (1928), p. 28.

<sup>367</sup> Ibid.

and countries without colonies.<sup>368</sup> In 1926 Portuguese goods provided 30% of all imports to the colony. Among the main importers were Great Britain – 27%, Germany – 13%, Belgium and Congo – 9%, the United States – 6%, France – 3% and Australia 2%. 10% were goods supplied by other countries, including Czech – Slovakia. As for the export from Angola it was dominated by the metropole. Portugal received 75% of total Angolan exports, but, as Łyp pointed out, the Portuguese share in both imports and exports of Angola had decreased compared to previous years. According to him, it was a sign of the increasing importance of Angola for international trade. Imports to Angola included several goods that Polish industry already produced, for instance concrete and cotton products. Goods exported from Angola included those that imported to Poland by foreign trade agents, therefore, it would be worth for Poland to take interest in developing direct commercial links with the colony. As for the transport Portugal shipping company, *Companha Colonial de Navegação* offered to extend the routes of their ships to reach Gdynia, which would be beneficial to Poland as the customs duties for goods transported on Portuguese vessels were 10% lower.<sup>369</sup>

While looking for the prospected settlers and trade opportunities The Colonial Pioneers Association made an effort to establish cooperation with those agencies within the Polish central administration concerning issues related to the Colonial Pioneers Association plans for overseas colonisation. On 26 March 1928, in the conference room of the Ministry of Industry and Trade, Głuchowski presented his paper on Angola, which was favourably received by the audience.<sup>370</sup> The Colonial Pioneers Association also heard from representatives of the Scientific Institute for Emigration and the Ministry of Industry and Trade who advocated the creation of an

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<sup>368</sup> Franciszek Łyp, 'Handel zagraniczny Angoli', *Morze*, 10 (1928), pp. 27 – 28.

<sup>369</sup> Ibid.

<sup>370</sup> 'Z życia Związku', *Morze*, 4, (1928), p. 32.

Emigration Bank (*Bank Emigracyjny*) to grant loans and provide finance to potential Polish settlers and emigrants. The idea of the Emigration Bank had been discussed during the conference organised for this purpose by the Scientific Institute of Emigration held in the Ministry of Industry and Trade on 21 June 1928.<sup>371</sup> As for the developing trade with Angola the Colonial Pioneers Association turned for help to the State Export Institute, an advisory body to the Ministry of the Industry and Trade, to analyse the market in the colony and give a recommendation regarding the export of Polish goods.<sup>372</sup> The Institute answered favourably and expressed great interest in establishing commercial relations with Angola.<sup>373</sup>

### **3.2. Portuguese policy toward the colonisation of Angola, c. 1920 - 1939**

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<sup>371</sup> Apart of Głębiński and Załęcki from the Scientific Institute of Emigration and Colonisation Studies, and Głuchowski the conference was attended by the representatives of the Ministry of the Industry and Trade, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, Ministry of Agrarian Reforms, and three major state – own banks, *Bank Gospodarstwa Krajowego*, *P.K.O.*, and *Bank Rolny* in. According to Załęcki, the chairman of the Institute, from the point of view of the Polish state and nation only large- scale colonisation had a practical value and if Polish colonisation was to become a large- scale venture it needed investment. He feared that the Colonial Pioneers Association and Colonising Association without bank loans will not be able to find capital to conduct extensive colonisation as they already were struggling to find \$10,000,000 US dollars to fund their recent projects. Without the additional capital these organisations could still function, but buying few or so landed estates and dividing the land between settlers was not enough. This drudgery (*dlubanina*), how Załęcki called it, was not worth the effort. Only a large scale venture had any chance to attract foreign investment. Without the capital from abroad colonisation would excessively strain the Poland's budget. Załęcki after his trip to the United States, where he met with potential investors in Washington, was convinced of that American companies would be willing to invest in the Polish colonisation in South America and Africa, if they could get a guarantee of 50% of shares in the commercial ventures of the Emigration Bank. Głuchowski took part on a conference supported the idea of financing the colonisation with foreign capital. *Na marginesie konferencji o potrzebie Banku Emigracyjnego*, (Warszawa, 1928), pp. 3 – 4, 13 – 14, 23 – 26.

<sup>372</sup> The State Export Institute (*Państwowy Instytut Eksportowy*), was established by the Regulation of the President of the Republic of 17 September 1927 on the State Export Institute with the purpose of conducting research regarding export opportunities for Polish industry and providing information and expertise to the interested organisations and companies and also to the Ministry of Industry and Trade, to which it was subordinate. *Dziennik Ustaw, 1927.83.739, Rozporządzenie Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej z dnia 17 września 1927 r. o Państwowym Instytucie Eksportowym.*

<sup>373</sup> 'Kronika Związku', *Morze*, 8 (1928), p. 32.

The Colonial Pioneers Association decision to turn their attention on Angola was in part driven by Głuchowski's conviction that Portugal would welcome Polish settlers to Angola. Głuchowski saw the failure of Portugal's attempt to colonise the colony with its own settlers as a result of the poor organisation of the settlement schemes and a lack of pioneering qualities among the Portuguese migrants, who preferred to go to Brazil looking for an easier life.<sup>374</sup> While the colonisation of Angola remained one of the major concepts of Portugal's colonial policy, the matter was complex and was affected by the change of regime in Portugal in 1926.

A fundamental tenet of Portuguese colonial policies over the previous five centuries was that the best means of guaranteeing Portuguese sovereignty was through the 'civilising' of their indigenous populations. A further priority was the development of colonial economies by the settlement of Portuguese farmers in the hinterlands of their empire. Portuguese colonial theorists believed that widespread rural white settlement was the cornerstone of Portuguese colonization.<sup>375</sup> Successive regimes concentrated their efforts and expenditure on stimulating planned rather than spontaneous settlement.<sup>376</sup> Immigration, mainly by Portuguese, was considered a key to the success of the development of Angola and Mozambique, which was seen both as sources of wealth for Portugal and as achievements from which to derive national pride. While it was to be preferred that these projects be financed mainly by Portuguese, foreign participation was to be welcomed as long as it did not serve to 'de-nationalize' the colonies.<sup>377</sup>

The encouragement of emigration to the colonies was official policy throughout

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<sup>374</sup> Kazimierz Głuchowski, *Angola jako teren ewentualnej polskiej kolonizacji*, (Warszawa, 1928), pp. 22 – 24.

<sup>375</sup> Bender, *Angola under the Portuguese*, p. 95.

<sup>376</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 95 – 96.

<sup>377</sup> Alan K. Smith, 'António Salazar and the Reversal of Portuguese Colonial Policy', *The Journal of African History*, 15:4 (1974), p. 654.

the last century of Portuguese rule. In order to attract immigrants, various colonisation schemes were devised between 1850 and 1926.<sup>378</sup> However, few Portuguese could be induced to emigrate to Africa. Despite various attempts to promote colonization, the picture was similar throughout Angola and Mozambique, neither of which witnessed more than modest growth in their European populations. By 1930 there was only one area in the Portuguese colonies where the schemes had succeeded in establishing a white rural community. This was on the Huila plateau behind the port of Mocamedes in southern Angola.<sup>379</sup> The lack of immigration into the colonies, however, cannot be attributed to a reluctance of the Portuguese to emigrate. Although they declined to go to Africa, hundreds of thousands went to Brazil, either as permanent settlers or as temporary labourers.<sup>380</sup>

*Table 1: Destinations of emigrants from Portugal, 1900 - 1974*

Destination	Number of migrants
Brazil	1 219 426
France	906 666
United States	307 633
Germany	183 931
Argentina, Venezuela	165 451
Canada	101 497
Other	199 993

<sup>378</sup> Newitt, *Portugal in Africa*, p. 153.

<sup>379</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 154 – 155.

<sup>380</sup> Bender, *Angola under the Portuguese*, p. 102.

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Source: M. D. Newitt, *Emigration and the sea: An alternative history of Portugal and Portuguese*, (New York, 2015), p. 136.

The image of Angola amongst many of the metropolitan Portuguese was largely negative. It was often seen as a land infested with insects, wild animals, and hostile Africans. Brazil and the United States of America seemed a far more attractive place to settle. The other issue was the quality of settlers who could be enticed to Angola. Most of the colonists did not go to Angola with the intention to stay but with the hope of making a quick fortune before their inevitable return to the metropole. Government appeals were often answered by rural peasants or by the poor and unskilled from the urban areas. Most of them showed little interest in continuing agricultural pursuits once in the colony, and soon migrated to the cities. Many of those who became agricultural settlers were unqualified, uneducated and lacked capital to invest in their farms. Adapting to the new crops and farming methods also was a problem. Many settlers were left dependant on government credit and financial assistance, yet even this was problematic. The government experienced difficulties with transporting settlers to the colony due to the lack of ships available. Also, there were few studies of the soil, water, climate in the areas selected for the settlement. Consequently, Angola lacked the requisite infrastructure, for most of the 1900-1950 period, to execute the settlement policies legislated. In an attempt into shift part of the cost of financing planned settlement to the private sector, the government asked the Benguela Railway Company in 1935 to establish agricultural settlements along rail line in the Angolan Central Highlands – during the period 1935 to 1949 the company only managed to attract a total of nineteen colonists of whom only nine

remained in 1949.<sup>381</sup> Before the military overthrow of the Marcello Caetano regime in 1974, most Portuguese officials did not empirically examine the questions of success or failure of the white rural settlement schemes since they assumed that any white presence was *ipso facto* successful.<sup>382</sup>

The lack of interest in the colonies demonstrated by the average Portuguese citizen was also shared by Portuguese capitalists. Only a small number of financiers could be persuaded to have any dealings whatsoever with the colonies.<sup>383</sup> The refusal of Portuguese capitalists to become sufficiently involved in the colonial project resulted in the abandonment of the field to foreigners.<sup>384</sup> Foreign farmers were also encouraged to settle in Angola, as in the case of the German sisal planters.<sup>385</sup> The authorities' strategy was to increment the balance of the different communities of foreigners and try to distribute among them the different businesses and activities in order to avoid political pressures that would result from the existence of a dominant nationality.<sup>386</sup>

In practical terms, however, the most outstanding characteristic of the relationship between Portugal and its two principal African colonies was the indifference of the mother country.<sup>387</sup> While it might be said that the indifference of financiers and the Portuguese public, in general, was a characteristic shared with other colonial powers, Portugal was unique in the degree to which even the government ignored its colonies. Governmental neglect stemmed largely from the fact that during the second half of its existence the Portuguese Republic found itself

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<sup>381</sup> Bender, *Angola under the Portuguese*, p. 102.

<sup>382</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>383</sup> Smith, 'António Salazar and the Reversal of Portuguese Colonial Policy', p. 655.

<sup>384</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 656.

<sup>385</sup> W. G. Clarence-Smith, 'The Myth of Uneconomic Imperialism: The Portuguese in Angola, 1836-1926', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 5:2, (1979), p. 177.

<sup>386</sup> Mata, 'Foreign joint-stock companies operating in Portuguese colonies', p. 91.

<sup>387</sup> Smith, 'António Salazar and the Reversal of Portuguese Colonial Policy', p. 654.



in a continuous state of political and financial crisis.<sup>388</sup> This crisis had serious ramifications on the way colonial affairs were conducted. The colonies were usually relegated to a very low position of priority in the budget. Of even greater consequence was the rapid turnover in personnel occupying the positions most directly concerned with colonial affairs.<sup>389</sup>

Largely due to the indifference which had surrounded colonial affairs, many observers agreed that the Portuguese colonies were the worst administered territories in Africa. Mismanagement of the colonial apparatus permeated all levels of its attendant bureaucracy, which lacked continuity in leadership, was beset by corruption and manipulated by special interests.<sup>390</sup> Thus, at the time of the military coup in June 1926, which brought an end to the Portuguese Republic, indifference and mismanagement had contributed to the ruinous financial state of Angola and the stagnant commercial situation in Mozambique. Unlike preceding governments, however, the military dictatorship was not unconcerned with colonial affairs. Yet the dictatorship was to propose no significant alterations in the direction of colonial policy. It sought only to improve the already existing system, rather than to question the fundamental principles on which it was based.<sup>391</sup> During the two years before António de Oliveira Salazar entered the government, the actions of the dictatorship indicated that it retained its belief in the traditional Portuguese ideas surrounding colonial policy. Yet, most important of all, they affirmed their belief in the idea of colonial growth through developmental projects, proposing colonization schemes, and granting additional loans to the colonies.<sup>392</sup> Kazimierz Głuchowski in *Angola jako teren ewentualnej polskiej kolonizacji* provides detailed information about the

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<sup>388</sup> Ibid., p. 656.

<sup>389</sup> Ibid., pp. 656 – 657.

<sup>390</sup> Ibid., p. 658.

<sup>391</sup> Ibid., p. 661.

<sup>392</sup> Ibid., p. 662.

conditions of settlement and credit available to the prospected settlers in Angola as one of the factors that could possibly be of advantage for those willing to settle in Angola and thus prompt the migration.<sup>393</sup> However, from April 1928, when Antonio Salazar entered the Portuguese government, Portuguese colonial policy was radically altered. Salazar believed in the elimination of wastefulness, the reduction of spending to a minimum, and complete control over every aspect of life which involved governmental expenditure. No matter how pressing their needs, areas such as rural development, the health services, and education would have to wait until the necessary surplus was in hand. In essence, these guidelines were to form one pillar of Salazar's colonial policy.<sup>394</sup> These changes coincided with the arrival of the first group of Polish settlers to Angola.

Salazar began by reviewing expenditure on colonial immigration schemes. Financial support to new immigrants was stopped, and this, together with the general cuts in governmental expenditure, probably led to a decrease in the white colonial population during the first decade of the New State.<sup>395</sup> To secure his regime after the instability of the Republic (1910-1926) and to begin a national revival, Salazar subscribed to a policy of colonialism, authoritarianism, and nationalism. The reliance on colonialism as a means to national revival was not new in Portugal. Since the sixteenth century, the goal of all regimes has been a national revival, and many have embraced colonialism as the instrument of regeneration. During the depression years of the 1930s, when Salazar initiated his policies of national revival using Africa, the colonies paradoxically were a burden and drain on the nation's energies.<sup>396</sup>

With the aim of balanced budgets, Salazar turned to the situation in Angola,

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<sup>393</sup> Kazimierz Głuchowski, *Angola jako teren ewentualnej polskiej kolonizacji*, pp. 27 – 30.

<sup>394</sup> Smith, 'António Salazar and the Reversal of Portuguese Colonial Policy', p. 662.

<sup>395</sup> Newitt, *Portugal in Africa*, p. 164.

<sup>396</sup> Thomas Henriksen., 'Portugal in Africa: A Noneconomic Interpretation', *African Studies Review*, 16:3 (1973), p. 409.

where the rapidly increasing debt was making public finance chaotic. Salazar let it be known that money would not be made available to the colony in the near future. Angola was expected to bear the cost of its own recovery. Consequently, colonization as an idea soon lost favour in official circles. Although the number of immigrants had been very small, economic setbacks in the colonies had determined that many of the recent arrivals had joined the ranks of the unemployed.<sup>397</sup> Nor did the government make any efforts to stimulate colonial economic growth. Although plans for the development of Angola and Mozambique were often presented to the colonial council, however, the refusal of the government to provide financial support determined that these projects never progressed beyond the blueprint stage. On the other hand, the hostile attitude exuding from official circles served to dissuade foreign capital from investment in the colonies.<sup>398</sup>

Salazar was also concerned with the degree of autonomy possessed by local officials in the colonies. Since independent action on the part of the colonial government was inconsistent with his philosophy of central control, he introduced strong measures to bring the colonies back under the firm grip of the colonial office. The most important step was the elimination of the office of High Commissioner. Henceforth, the colonies would again be administered by Governor-Generals subservient to Lisbon. Centralization was so completely imposed that matters of the slightest significance had to be referred to the Colonial Office before they could be acted upon in the colonies. The principles that guided Salazar in his actions and subsequently dominated Portuguese relations with the colonies were summed up in

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<sup>397</sup> In 1920 there were 20,700 whites living in Angola which constituted 0.48% of the total population of the colony. By 1940 this number grew to 44,083 - 1.20% of total population. The largest foreign group to settle in Angola were the Afrikaners and the Germans but most of them had left by the end of the 1920s. The Afrikaners reached their population peak of approximately 2,000 in 1928. After the departure of the Afrikaners the non - Portuguese white settlers in Angola never exceeded more than 2% of the total white population. Bender, *Africa under Portuguese*, pp. 20-25.

<sup>398</sup> Smith, 'António Salazar and the Reversal of Portuguese Colonial Policy', p. 663.

the crucially important Colonial Act (1930). On the question of control, it left no doubt that Lisbon was to exercise close supervision over the colonies. Through restrictions on the purchase and transfer of property, investment, immigration, and employment, the role of foreigners were to be severely limited. The act also made it clear that in future concessions such as those of the Niassa and Mozambique companies would no longer be granted, nor would any of those still in existence be extended. Salazar's guiding principles envisaged not so much the protection of the colonies, as their reservation for exploitation by Portugal. The policy followed under Salazar was increasingly to manipulate and tighten this structure to Portugal's advantage.<sup>399</sup>

Closely tied to the Salazar regime's reliance on colonialism was the prestige gained from having an African empire. Without the immense African territories, over twenty times the size of the metropole, Portugal would lack significance in Iberia and more widely in Europe. Bound up with prestige was the sense of national security that colonial possessions could provide. Certain elements of the Portuguese elite suffered from psychological anguish because of an intense awareness of the nation's weaknesses.<sup>400</sup> The reports helped establish an anti-Portuguese sentiment among Portugal's fellow colonial powers that 'was the most important single factor influencing Portuguese Africa's relations with the outside world'. Angola and Mozambique were bracketed by British and German colonies, whose powerful metropolitan governments saw Portugal's colonies either as a nuisance or a potential addition to their own empires. This weakness, of which Portugal was all too aware, had a direct impact on colonial policy.<sup>401</sup>

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century at the height of the

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<sup>399</sup> Ibid., pp. 665-666.

<sup>400</sup> Henriksen, 'Portugal in Africa', pp. 409 - 410.

<sup>401</sup> Allina, 'Fallacious Mirrors', p. 11.

industrial revolution, there occurred a spontaneous scramble for Africa, a frantic rush to establish colonial claims. It was prompted by an increasing awareness in Europe about Africa coupled with a speculative search for new opportunities by Europe's more prosperous powers. Approximately 80% of the territorial acquisitions in Africa during this time were made by the three most industrialised nations of Europe: Britain, France, and Germany. Portugal, although having been established in Africa since the fifteenth century, was not an economic or military powerhouse and was thus vulnerable to challenge. As a result, it found itself in a confrontation with Britain over its coast-to-coast colonial ambitions in southern Africa.<sup>402</sup> British colonial ambitions in the area were a reflection of those of Cecil Rhodes and his vision of connecting African possessions of the British Empire through a continuous line from Cape Town, South Africa to Cairo, Egypt.<sup>403</sup> Portugal had attempted to claim a large area of land between its colonies of Mozambique and Angola. But the 1890 ultimatum forced the retreat of Portuguese military forces from areas which had been claimed by Portugal on the basis of historical discovery and recent exploration, but which the United Kingdom claimed on the basis of effective occupation.<sup>404</sup> The ultimatum had struck at the roots of the Portuguese monarchy, whose popular support rested in part on the assumption that the Portuguese crown had the support and protection of Great Britain a link that dated from the Anglo-Portuguese alliance from the fourteenth century. It was often assumed that the

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<sup>402</sup> Cann, 'Angola and the Great War', pp. 144 – 145.

<sup>403</sup> See Robert I. Rotberg, *The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the Pursuit of Power*, (New York, 1990).

<sup>404</sup> The concept of the effective occupation was agreed upon by the colonial powers during the Berlin Conference 1884 – 1885. The purpose of it was to ward off the possibility of open conflict between colonising powers by requiring mutual notification of the taking of new possessions and by insisting that occupation be effective, by establishing administration, rather than purely symbolic. While these provisions did not, in themselves, provide the basis for partition, the language employed—'occupation' or the 'taking of possession'—implied that African territory had a status equivalent to *terra nullius* (either in the strict sense of being 'empty' or as 'ownerless') and that European sovereignty could be established at will over territories not yet occupied. Matthew Craven, 'Between Law and History: The Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 and the Logic of Free Trade', *London Review of International Law*, 3:1, (2015), p. 44.

disintegration of Portuguese Africa was simply a matter of time and that the British would be its heirs. Such attitudes and assumptions spawned several secret agreements, the key one being between Britain and Germany to divide Portuguese possessions should its empire crumble.<sup>405</sup>

Even after the First World War, the subject refused to die, and in the late 1920s, some suggested that Germany receive a League of Nations mandate to administer Angola and Mozambique.<sup>406</sup> The possibility of Italian entry to Angola was also discussed during the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919.<sup>407</sup> The mandate would have been justified by the backwardness of the two areas and the Portuguese abusive native policy. With this background of diplomatic isolation and international intrigue, Portugal had a well-founded sensitivity to criticisms of her colonial administration.<sup>408</sup> Though it may have been difficult to master the human and financial resources the colonies desperately needed as Portuguese investors were conspicuously absent from colonial development projects, popular sentiment would always rally to support the colonies in the face of the almost paranoid fear that foreigners were busily plotting to dismember the Portuguese empire.<sup>409</sup>

### **3.3. Franciszek Łyp's mission to Angola, c. 1929**

The delegates of the Colonial Pioneers Association, the Polish Geographical Association and the Society of Polish Station for Tropical Research decided to authorise Głuchowski to conduct the talks with Portuguese authorities, as their

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<sup>405</sup> Cann, 'Angola and the Great War', p. 146.

<sup>406</sup> Allina, 'Fallacious Mirrors', p. 12.

<sup>407</sup> Robert L. Hess, 'Colonial Ambitions in the First World War', *The Journal of African History*, 4:1 (1963), p. 124.

<sup>408</sup> Allina, 'Fallacious Mirrors', p. 12.

<sup>409</sup> Smith, 'António Salazar and the Reversal of Portuguese Colonial Policy', p. 655.

representative during a meeting held on 5 April 1928. On 22 April 1928 Głuchowski departed for Lisbon. In his mission, he also represented the Polish – American Colonisation Syndicate and the Polish Colonisation Association. Głuchowski intended to start negotiations with the Portuguese government and with the railway companies on the matter of 'obtaining land in Angola suitable for Polish colonising expansion'.<sup>410</sup> His mission enjoyed early success when he obtained the assurance of support with bringing settlers from Poland to Angola. It made the Polish Pioneers Association even more convinced that Angola was suitable for colonisation.<sup>411</sup> As a result, the Colonial Pioneers Association together with Scientific Institute of Emigration and Colonisation Studies and the Society of Polish Station for Tropical Research decided to send a mission to Angola to study Angola's geography and climate and assess economic opportunities in the country.<sup>412</sup> However, it did not happen before December 1928.<sup>413</sup>

At the beginning of January 1929 Polish mission to Angola, including Franciszek Łyp and Jerzy Chmielewski, left Lisbon on board of the steamship, *Pedro Gomes*, headed to Lobito.<sup>414</sup> While in Lisbon the Colonial Pioneers Association representatives met with the Portuguese high state officials including Minister of Colonies, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and High Commissioner of Angola and province governors. As a result, Chmielewski was convinced that the Association's initiative had the support of the Portuguese Government, the government of the colony and had gained the favour of Portuguese public opinion.<sup>415</sup> Similarly, Łyp was convinced of Portugal's support for the Colonial Pioneers Association settlement

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<sup>410</sup> 'Kronika Związku', *Morze*, 5 (1928), p. 31.

<sup>411</sup> 'Kronika Związku', *Morze*, 6 (1928), p. 26. Głuchowski returned to Poland on the 14 May 1928.

<sup>412</sup> 'Kronika kolonialna', *Morze*, 2 – 3 (1929), p. 73.

<sup>413</sup> 'Pojechali...', *Morze*, 1, (1929), p. 34.

<sup>414</sup> Franciszek Łyp, 'Ekspedycja do Angoli (wrażenia i spostrzeżenia)', *Morze*, 2 – 3, (1929), p. 67.

<sup>415</sup> Jerzy Chmielewski, *Angola. Notatki z podróży po Afryce. Tom II*, (Warszawa, 1929), pp. 43 – 44.

scheme, which caused much interest in Lisbon and among Portuguese in Angola.<sup>416</sup> On his arrival in Lobito, Łyp was in a possession of recommendation letters from both the High Commissioner and the Governor of Angola.<sup>417</sup> Łyp also reported that he met with the favourable approach of local officials in Angola facilitating the research and willing to provide all information needed.<sup>418</sup> Both Łyp and Chmielewski after staying in Angola explained Portuguese willingness to engage into cooperation with the Colonial Pioneers Association pointing to the main motives of Portugal's colonial policy sketched out in the previous part of the chapter - white settlers and fear of losing colonies. It served Portugal's interest in Angola to support Polish settlement as an option opposing German colonisation and Belgian penetration of Angola.<sup>419</sup> Chmielewski mentions that the Portuguese government did not have the funds to finance systemic colonisation of Angola with Portuguese settlers, though at the time of his stay there were two such schemes in operation in Elepi and Cimbala districts. Lisbon started to favour privately conducted colonisation over any state-sponsored projects on this matter.<sup>420</sup> But, although both Germany and Italy were interested in directing their emigration to Angola, the Portuguese government was afraid of letting them, and other nations, in. At the same time, however, the metropole was looking for a way to make use of the capital invested in the development of the road infrastructure in the colony and increase income from the taxes. To do that it was necessary to increase the number of people working in agriculture.<sup>421</sup>

The Portuguese dislike of Germany came from the agreement between Great

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<sup>416</sup> Franciszek Łyp, 'Ekspedycja do Angoli (Wrażenia i spostrzeżenia)', *Morze*, 12 (1929), p. 22.

<sup>417</sup> Jerzy Chmielewski, *Angola. Notatki z podróży po Afryce. Tom I*, (Warszawa, 1929), p. 14.

<sup>418</sup> Łyp, 'Ekspedycja do Angoli (Wrażenia i spostrzeżenia)', *Morze*, 12, (1929), p. 22.

<sup>419</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>420</sup> Chmielewski, *Angola. Notatki z podróży po Afryce. Tom II*, p. 29.

<sup>421</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.



Britain and Germany prior to the First World War to divide Africa in a way that would give Angola to Berlin. After the war, German settlers from South – West Africa started to move to Angola, Germany started to talk about directing emigration to Angola and taking over the colony. As a result, Portugal forbade Germans to enter Angola but it did not completely stop their influx. According to Chmielewski, some Germans were using Polish passports to come to the country and get the land. The Portuguese also feared Italian imperialism. Plans made in 1912 to settle Italians in Angola were first put on hold by the First World War and were abandoned completely after Mussolini took power. Belgian immigration from the neighbouring Congo was also seen by the Portuguese government as a threat.<sup>422</sup> Chmielewski also mentioned plans made by Greeks and Serbs who were thinking about directing migration from their countries to Angola, but while Lisbon hesitated to let German or Italian migrants to Angola, the other initiatives did not work out.<sup>423</sup> The Portuguese government realised however that colonisation was necessary for further development of Angola and was looking for Europeans to settle in the colony without creating a risk of taking it over. According to Chmielewski what made Portuguese government look favourable on Colonial Pioneers Association's colonisation scheme was their previous experience with Polish settlers in Brazil where Poles proved to be not only 'great pioneers' but also loyal citizens of the Brazilian State.<sup>424</sup>

Lobito made a favourable impression on Łyp. He predicted a quick development of the city due to the increasing volume of trade with Belgian Congo after opening railroad Benguela – Katanga in June 1929. The mission also visited *Cossequel*, sugar cane plantation, and *Hanha do Norte*, oil palm plantation both located 70 km from

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<sup>422</sup> Chmielewski, *Angola. Notataki z podróży po Afryce. Tom II*, pp. 37 - 39.

<sup>423</sup> Chmielewski, *Angola. Notataki z podróży po Afryce. Tom I*, p. 77.

<sup>424</sup> Chmielewski, *Angola. Notataki z podróży po Afryce. Tom II*, pp. 42 - 43.

Lobito, invited there by local merchants.<sup>425</sup> From Lobito Chmielewski, Łyp and Noiszewski travelled to *Chimboia* plantation located on Banguela plateau, accompanied by director of *Sociedade Agricola da Ganda* and *Companha Colonial de Navegação*, two largest trade and shipment companies in southern Angola and were hosted in Angola, and by the manager of the plantation.<sup>426</sup> They also visited Ganda, Cuma, and Huambo, where to, at the time, the High Commissioner of Angola was planning to move the capital of the colony, Chipeio, to see still unoccupied by settlers land there, valleys of rivers Cuito, Quare and Cuato along the railroad, and Bailundo region. Łyp was under the impression that wherever they went the climate resembled a Polish summer.<sup>427</sup> During the first few days of their stay in Huambo, Łyp and his companions paid visits to the administration, rail officials and local traders and planters.<sup>428</sup> Huambo became their base for further trips. One of the first trips they took from Huambo was to *Villa Nova* where they went accompanied by Oliveiro and from there they travelled to *Monte Alegre* plantation, one of the most prosperous plantations in Bimbe Region, located approximately a hundred kilometers from Lobito – Katanga railway.<sup>429</sup> They also met with the administrator of Quipeio District which was considered a popular place to settle.<sup>430</sup> Łyp also took a trip to Moxico region, located on the lower plateau, but after spending there to days he came to the conclusion that the area is 'not healthy' and far less suitable for settlement than the upper plateau.<sup>431</sup>

The expedition spent five months in Angola and visited over 40 plantations and

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<sup>425</sup> Franciszek Łyp, 'Ekspedycja do Angoli (Wrażenia i spostrzeżenia)', *Morze*, 7 – 8, (1929), pp. 21 – 23.

<sup>426</sup> Franciszek Łyp, 'Ekspedycja do Angoli (Wrażenia i spostrzeżenia)', *Morze*, 6, (1929), p. 23.

<sup>427</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24 - 26.

<sup>428</sup> Chmielewski, *Angola. Notatki z podróży po Afryce. Tom II*, p. 10.

<sup>429</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 18.

<sup>430</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>431</sup> Franciszek Łyp, 'Ekspedycja do Angoli (Wrażenia i spostrzeżenia)', *Morze*, 9 – 10, (1929), pp. 24 – 25.

farms traveling distance of 4,700 km.<sup>432</sup> On his return to Poland Łyp was convinced that Angola was suitable for permanent settlement and offered diverse agricultural opportunities for prospective farmers. It was possible to establish European-style farms producing rye, wheat, beans, potatoes, or start plantations of coffee, banana, pineapples, sisal, orange or lemon trees. There was also the possibility of keeping cattle or sheep, develop apiaries or silkworm farms. The produce could then easily find consumers in Europe or in Belgium Congo following the completion of the railroad from Lobito to Katanga.<sup>433</sup> Łyp seemed to be astonished by the combined cultivation of coffee and rye on some of the fields he observed there. He saw the agricultural possibilities as a factor that would make Polish settlement easier. During the initial phase in the development of the plantations, rye or wheat could become the source of stable income for the planters before they manage to establish profitable cultivation of coffee, sisal, or cotton, which needed more time.<sup>434</sup>

Another of Łyp's conclusions was that Polish plantations in Angola could be of great importance in satisfying Poland's need for coffee, sisal, tobacco, castor beans or sesame. He also thought that goods produced in Poland would find easy entry into the Angolan market. This commerce could develop gradually together with the development of Polish plantations.<sup>435</sup> Yet, this initial optimism was not to last. By the end of 1929, Łyp admitted that Angola was not a suitable place for Polish peasants to settle, as a minimum of \$10,000 US dollars was needed to start a farm. Only a large-scale production could bring considerable profit and a large-scale production needed an initial investment in organising the infrastructure, machines,

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<sup>432</sup> Łyp, 'Ekspedycja do Angoli (Wrażenia i spostrzeżenia)', *Morze*, 12, (1929), p. 20.

<sup>433</sup> Ibid. Łyp predicted that once the railroad would be finished facilitating cheaper transport of resources from mining region of Katanga to the Great Britain the European investment in this region and number of employed in the industry would increase. Which meant that Katanga would need a new food supplier. This role could be easily fill by Angola.

<sup>434</sup> Chmielewski, *Angola. Notatki z podróży po Afryce. Tom II*, p. 23.

<sup>435</sup> Łyp, 'Ekspedycja do Angoli (Wrażenia i spostrzeżenia)', *Morze*, 12, (1929), p. 21.

and employment of the working force. Farmers could not count on getting a loan or any other form of financial help in Angola for starting a plantation. The problem of financing the settlement scheme could potentially be solved by establishing a colonising company selling land to the settlers and organising them into co-op. Sharing costs of buying all machinery needed would possibly lower the cost of establishing a plantation to \$3,000 US dollars.<sup>436</sup> Only when the plantations developed and when more workplaces had been created in the country, could economic emigration from Poland start. Migrants would be able to find a job allowing them to save enough to start their own farms. Łyp suggested that the colonisation in Angola could be conducted by both private and public capitals.<sup>437</sup>

Chmielewski came to the conclusion that to conduct a large-scale colonisation was necessary for Polish and Portuguese governments to reach an agreement on the matter and sign a commercial and migration treaty, which needed time.<sup>438</sup> Chmielewski returned to Poland in March 1929.<sup>439</sup> Łyp returned to Warsaw on 10 August 1929.<sup>440</sup> The results of the research conducted by Franciszek Łyp in Angola became published in 1930 by the Maritime and Colonial League providing more detailed information for prospected settlers that Głuchowski's brochure from 1928.<sup>441</sup>

Not long after Łyp's return from Angola, there was a new development in Polish – Portuguese relations. A commercial agreement between both countries negotiated from 1924 was about to be finalised.<sup>442</sup> In 1924 negotiations started regarding

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<sup>436</sup> Ibid.

<sup>437</sup> Łyp, 'Ekspedycja do Angoli (Wrażenia i spostrzeżenia)', *Morze*, 12 (1929), p. 22.

<sup>438</sup> J Chmielewski, *Angola. Notatki z podróży po Afryce. Tom II*, p. 61.

<sup>439</sup> 'Kronika kolonialna', *Morze*, 4 – 5, (1929), p. 40.

<sup>440</sup> 'Kronika kolonialna', *Morze*, 7 – 8, (1929), p. 27.

<sup>441</sup> Franciszek Łyp, *Wysoki płaskowyż Angoli: sprawozdanie kierownika ekspedycji polskiej do Angoli w roku 1929*, (Warszawa, 1930).

<sup>442</sup> The Second Republic of Poland sent first ambassador to Lisbon in 1922. AAN, MSZ, 752, Polish mission with the government of Portugal to Polish Minister of the Foreign Affairs on 14 May 1922, 11 – 23, 1. At that time both countries had shown interest in establishing economic and commercial relations. AAN, MSZ, 752, Polish mission with the government of Portugal to Polish

signing an economic agreement between Poland and Portugal.<sup>443</sup> Throughout talks on this matter continued until 1929, resulting in signing the treaty on 28 December.<sup>444</sup> It seems that the work made by the Colonial Pioneers Association aiming to involve the Ministry of Industry and Trade in supporting their work brought some results. Apparently, the commercial agreement between Poland and Portugal included a secret clause regarding the settlement and commercial exchange with Angola, but those had rather a general character.<sup>445</sup>

In November 1929 the Colonial Pioneers Association, perhaps following suggestion of Chmielewski, in a memorandum called Polish government to secure certain advantages for Poland in a commercial treaty that was at the time negotiated with Portugal. These advantages included right for Polish citizens to settle on the territory of Portugal and in Portuguese colonies, their equal treatment with Portuguese citizens regarding employment rights and accessing social welfare and obtaining a land concession in Angola for Polish settlements.<sup>446</sup> These suggestions were backed up by the Emigration Office. Dispatch from the Emigration Office to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs asking that one of the secret clauses referring to issues concerning emigration, right to work, and colonisation of Angola needed to be renegotiated to guarantee Polish workers the same rights enjoyed by the Portuguese. The Portuguese government should provide land for Polish colonising companies and institutions to buy or lease and ensure that they enjoyed the same rights and protection. Failing this, the Polish government could possibly initiate a separate

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Minister of the Foreign Affairs 14 May 1922, 11 - 23 , 5.

<sup>443</sup> AAN, MSZ, 4968, Perłowski, Polish Ambassador to Portugal to the Minister of Foreign Affairs 30 August 1927, 26 - 44, 17.

<sup>444</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9715, The Southern Division of Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs 3 January 1930, 5 - 6.

<sup>445</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9715, Nakoniecznikoff, the Director of the Emigration Office to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 18 December 1929, 3 - 4.

<sup>446</sup> 'Kronika Kolonialna', *Morze* 11 (1929), p. 27.

agreement concerning colonisation and protection of the rights of its workers.<sup>447</sup> The Ministry of Foreign Affairs referred to those suggestions in January 1930. It was too late to renegotiate the commercial treaty as it already had been signed, but, as for the starting talks regarding a separate treaty concerning emigration and colonisation, the matter was considered by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as open and it was in the Emigration Office competence to initiate it.<sup>448</sup>

The end of 1929 also brought a new development for the Colonial Pioneers Association programme. By 1929, the Association's activists including Kazimierz Głuchowski, seemed convinced that 1931 would see a revision of the mandate system conducted by the League of Nations under the pressure of Germany.<sup>449</sup> This conviction seemed to affect to a great extent the Association's operations. If Poland was to be given a colonial mandate in 1928 or 1929 it would initially prove problematic as Poland was lacking the infrastructure necessary to manage it efficiently. According to Gustaw Załęcki, the preparations for this eventuality had barely started and been still in the stage of creating publicity for the future organisation of colonial policy.<sup>450</sup> The General Assembly of the delegates held on 21–22 of September 1929 in Poznań, convinced that in there would be a mandate revision in 1931, made a recommendation for the Managing Board to prepare a memorandum addressed to the Polish Government to openly demand one of the former German colonies for Poland. The Managing Board also tried to influence the Polish government to send a number of officials for an internship abroad in colonial

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<sup>447</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9715, Nakoniecznikoff, the Director of the Emigration Office to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 18 December 1929, 3 – 4.

<sup>448</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9715, The Southern Division of Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs 3 January 1930, 5 – 6.

<sup>449</sup> See Senate resolutions regarding colonies from 1929 and 1930 and the comments of Polish mission with the League of Nations regarding rumours of revision of the mandate system in Chapter 2, pp. 66 - 67.

<sup>450</sup> Gustaw Załęcki, 'O istocie przedsiębiorstw kolonialnych', *Morze*, 1 (1929), p. 29.

ministries of countries friendly towards Poland. The Assembly also recommended Poland's participation in upcoming colonial exhibitions in 1930 in Belgium and in 1931 in France.<sup>451</sup> The Association's efforts became concentrated on proving that Poland could manage a colony to demonstrate the colonising potential of the Polish nation. The Colonial Division of the Maritime and River League and the Colonial Pioneers Association started preparation for taking part in the world exhibition in Antwerp in 1930. The Colonial Pioneers Association planned to prepare their own stand presenting 'history of our colonial efforts, and these moral and formal rights we have to overseas colonies'.<sup>452</sup> To fund this initiative the Colonial Pioneers Association released two series of postage stamps for sale.<sup>453</sup> Also emigration and colonial courses organised through the Scientific Institute for Emigration and Colonisation with the help of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, August Zaleski, the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, Aleksander Prystor, and the Emigration Office, were meant to prepare Poland for the role of mandate holder.<sup>454</sup>

It was also agreed that preparation should include uniting public opinion in Poland to support Polish claims so when the time would come Poland's stand be backed up by 'clear and firm will of a whole Nation'.<sup>455</sup> At the same time, attempts were made by the Association to consolidate the colonial movement in Poland by establishing lines of cooperation with other organisations interested in colonial issues in Poland. In August 1929 Kazimierz Głuchowski and Jerzy Chmielewski participated in the initiative of the League of the Imperial Development of Poland (*Liga Mocarstwowego Rozwoju Polski*), organisation led by Tadeusz Waryński, to

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<sup>451</sup> 'II Walny Zjazd Delegatów Ligi Morskiej i Rzecznej w Poznaniu w dniach 21 i 22 września 1929 r.', *Morze*, 9 – 10 (1929), p. 18.

<sup>452</sup> 'Kronika Kolonialna', *Morze*, 9 – 10, (1929), p. 30.

<sup>453</sup> 'Kronika Kolonialna', *Morze*, 11, (1929), p. 27.

<sup>454</sup> 'Kronika Związku', *Morze*, 4, (1930), p. 26.

<sup>455</sup> Henryk Tetzlaff, 'Po zjeździe poznańskim', *Morze*, 9 – 10, (1929), p. 2.

consolidate the colonial movement in Poland.<sup>456</sup> The initiative was put forward during the meeting organised by the League of the Imperial Development of Poland, attended by Głuchowski who represented the Maritime and River League; Chmielewski from the Society of Polish Station for Tropical Research; Władysław Rogowski from Colonial Expansion Society (*Towarzystwo Ekspansji Kolonialnej*); Wiktor Rosiński from the Colonial Pioneers Association and Michał Pankiewicz from the Scientific Institute for Emigration and Colonisation Studies. The participants agreed to introduce to the managing boards of the organisations they represented the idea of forming a consulting committee for all emigration and colonial issues to join all the efforts these organisations were undertaking in these fields and unify the colonial movement under the slogan of 'Imperial Development of Poland'.<sup>457</sup> It was also agreed during the meeting to offer the cooperation on this matter to Council Organising Poles from Abroad (*Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy*), body organising the Convention of Poles from Abroad, and Polish Colony.<sup>458</sup>

The implementation of all of the objectives regarding the colonisation and concentration of Polish migrants included in the Maritime and Colonial League programme would prove that Poland was up to the task of administering a mandate. And, according to Głuchowski, there was no time to lose in the matter of colonisation, as the Polish nation had lost enough time while under the partition. Poland should catch up with the rest of Europe, the key being implementing a firm

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<sup>456</sup> League of the Imperial Development of Poland was a political organization created after the 1926 coup by supporters of Józef Piłsudski. The League operated under a patronage of Felicjan Sławoj Składkowski, Polish Minister of Internal Affairs. Jarosław Tomaszewicz, *Naprawa czy zniszczenie demokracji? Tendencje autorytarne i profaszystowskie w polskiej myśli politycznej 1921 – 1935*, (Katowice, 2012), pp. 260 – 266.

<sup>457</sup> 'Kronika kolonialna', *Morze*, 7 – 8 (1929), p. 28.

<sup>458</sup> *Ibid.* The Convention of Poles from Abroad held between 1 and 3 of June 1930 was attended by the Colonial Pioneers Association's representatives, Rosiński and Mieczysław Fularski. 'Kronika kolonialna', *Morze*, 6 (1930), p. 30.



colonial and emigration policy. At the beginning of 1930, he was far from happy with the pace of the implementation of the Colonial Pioneers Association programme. According to him the result of the mission to Angola lead by Łyp was not utilised properly. The time came to action the Association programme and 'finish with studies, talks travels and discovering lands, which had been discovered a long time ago'.<sup>459</sup>

### **3.4. Development of the settlement, c. 1930 - 1939**

At the end of 1929, the Organising Committee was created with the aim of establishing a *Polangola*, a trading company that would organise and oversee commercial exchange between Poland and Portugal, and with Portuguese colonies. The Organising Committee included Jerzy Chmielewski, Kazimierz Głuchowski, and Franciszek Łyp. On the 7 December 1929 Michał Zamoyski, representative of the Organising Committee, left Warsaw traveling to Lisbon accompanied by his wife. From Lisbon, they meant to continue their journey to Angola where they intended to permanently settle.<sup>460</sup> Michał Zamoyski was familiar with the research undertaken by Łyp and Chmielewski. From Warsaw Michał Zamoyski and Maria Zamoyska went to Lisbon where they spent a couple of weeks preparing for the trip to Angola, gathering information and sorting out a visa to colonies. In Lisbon they also met with some Portuguese planters leaving in Angola. They left to Angola on

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<sup>459</sup> Kazimierz Głuchowski, 'Z planem – dla jutra', *Morze*, 2 – 3, (1930), pp. 43 - 44.

<sup>460</sup> 'Kronika Kolonialna', *Morze*, 12 (1929), p. 29.

the 20 of February 1930<sup>461</sup> and after a journey of over two weeks arrived in Lobito on the 7 March 1930.<sup>462</sup> They spent the first few months to visit farms in the Lobito, Lubango, and Huila area to get more familiar with the region and find out what kind of product could sell abroad with the highest possible profit. The task as Maria Zamoyska admitted was not easy due to the economic crisis in Europe, which affected trade with Angola. After spending some time in Angola, Michał Zamoyski saw many opportunities there especially after the completion of the Benguela – Katanga railway. Because of that he was considering investing in property in Lobito. He was thinking about buying some land plots there or opening a hotel.<sup>463</sup> In June 1930 Zamoyski together with his wife were residing in Huambo area visiting local plantations, getting accustomed to the condition in the country and getting to know people residing there. They were looking for available land with fertile soil to establish a farm on. Finally, they decided to settle in the Sandivi Stream valley.<sup>464</sup> The area was located around 74 km from Huambo. They called their estate *Boa Sera* and started to live there in August 1930.<sup>465</sup> Zamoyski had as a neighbour another farmer from Poland, Tadeusz Dekański. Dekański and Zamoyski managed to obtain concession and established their estates on the western bank of Sandivi Stream around the same time.<sup>466</sup> Dekański's farm was located within a distance of 16 kilometers from Zamoyski's estate.<sup>467</sup> *Boa Serra* included the area of 1,000 ha and

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<sup>461</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówce, 208, Letter from Michał Zamoyski to his father, Adam Zamoyski (not dated), 77 – 94, 1 – 8.

<sup>462</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówce, 208, Letter from Michał Zamoyski to his father, Adam Zamoyski 12 February 1932, 42.

<sup>463</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówce, 208, Letter from Maria Zamoyska to her father (not dated), 47 - 50.

<sup>464</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówce, 208, Letter from Michał Zamoyski to his father, Adam Zamoyski 05 July 1931, 47.

<sup>465</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówce, 208, Letter from Michał Zamoyski to his father, Adam Zamoyski 12 February 1932, 41 .

<sup>466</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówce, 208, Letter from Michał Zamoyski to his father, Adam Zamoyski 05 July 1931, 47.

<sup>467</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówce, 208, Letter from Michał

*Sandivi*, how Dekański's estate covered an area of 600 ha.<sup>468</sup>

Also as for farming, Zamoyski expected that the agricultural produce, thanks to the railway, would find markets not only in Angola but also in Rhodesia and Congo, particularly dairy products, meat, corn, and grain. According to his estimation to build a farm after getting land concession one would need around \$14,000 US dollars, which was similar to Łyp's earlier conclusions sketched out above. However, what he saw as the main obstacle there for a large-scale colonisation was the difficulty with dealing with local authorities, particularly the time they needed to grant a land concession or sort any official matter.<sup>469</sup> In a letter to his father from May 1930 he wrote:

[...] with the local authorities, I emphasise, the matter is difficult because they have terribly backward views... maybe they will be less difficult for Poles ... it is very likely... but they are ripping off everyone for sure, terribly unreliable, and it takes them a long time to do anything... they constantly say... tomorrow [...] And this is an intemperate disadvantage when it comes to any larger colonising masses and to individuals [...] But local people having nothing to do with the authorities are usually very nice and polite.<sup>470</sup>

This view of the Portuguese administration of Angola was shared by Maria Zamoyska. In a letter, the content of which clearly indicates that it had been written before she and Michał Zamoyski settled on *Boa Serra*, she wrote:

[...] with thousands of papers, bureaucratism, custom duties they make work extremely difficult, and their constant "amania" [sic!], meaning tomorrow, [...] brings human patience to the last limits. And this is why everything would be good in Angola if the Portuguese were not here. They are afraid that if this continues, the League of Nations would give Angola to Germany, and we are convinced that only then things in Angola would move. It is a pity that the English would not take it.<sup>471</sup>

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Zamoyski to his father, Adam Zamoyski (not dated), 7 -24.

<sup>468</sup> Julian Gebethner, 'Wspomnienia polskiego kolonisty', *Morze*, 4 (1938), p. 22.

<sup>469</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówce, 208, Letter from Michał Zamoyski to his father, Adam Zamoyski 02 May 1930, 70 – 72.

<sup>470</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

<sup>471</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówce, 208 Letter of Maria Zamoyska (not dated), 48.

Despite that, in terms of future colonisation, he saw Angola almost as a promised land. Zamoyski seemed to be disappointed with the political situation in the mother country. He saw the Polish elites as the corrupted establishment, 'morally rotted', and he described their political doctrine as 'thieving' and criminal.<sup>472</sup> Also, Zamoyski disapproved the arrest of parliament members belonging to the opposition in September 1930.<sup>473</sup> Building the Poland of his childhood dreams would be easier in Angola when one would have to rely only on his own hard work in order to successfully establish their life there without worrying about politics.<sup>474</sup> Zamoyski complained about high land taxes and low prices for agricultural produce in Poland and predicted that the collapse of agriculture would eventually make the Polish industry and trade to die slowly which would result in the economic collapse of the Polish state and for that he blamed politicians.<sup>475</sup> What offered an additional advantage for the Polish colonisation of Angola was the fact that Portugal was a Catholic country sharing the faith majority of Poles did.<sup>476</sup>

The letters of Michał Zamoyski and Maria Zamoyska kept in the archives in Lublin offer a glimpse on how they interpreted their own experiences in Angola. The majority of the letters in the collection were written between 1930 and 1932. Some take a form of a diary, containing a series of daily entries. The picture of Angola presented in this letter is somewhat contrasted. The accounts of bureaucratic practices of the Portuguese authorities are opposed to the romanticised descriptions of Angolan nature. Michał Zamoyski enclosed this dichotomy in one sentence

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<sup>472</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówe, 208, Letter from Michał Zamoyski to his father, Adam Zamoyski 02 May 1930, 70 – 72.

<sup>473</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówe, 208 Letter from Michał Zamoyski to his father, Adam Zamoyski (not dated), 7- 24 .

<sup>474</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówe, 208, Letter from Michał Zamoyski to his father, Adam Zamoyski 02 May 1930, 70 – 72.

<sup>475</sup> Ibid.

<sup>476</sup> Ibid.

written in mixture of Polish and Portuguese: 'Viva Angola, young, unknown land, but very good Portuguese Colony'.<sup>477</sup>

Zamoyski's goal in Angola was to establish a coffee plantation on his land. He intended to start by planting 5,100 coffee trees. Zamoyski also planted beans and bananas to be used as feed for the livestock. He also considered producing dairy products, like cheese and butter for sale, but first, he needed to build the farm infrastructure to accommodate the cattle. Also the condition of the house he was living in required improvement, roof and floor needed fixing. In November 1930 Zamoyski started to experience a shortage of funds to continue investing in the development of the plantation, hiring workers, clearing forest and prepare the land for cultivation.<sup>478</sup> He was hoping that his financial situation would improve once his farm start to produce but it took longer than he expected.<sup>479</sup> Another problem was the unavailability of the tools necessary for agriculture that sometimes need to be ordered in Luanda or brought from Europe.<sup>480</sup> In 1931 he had to rely on his savings and money coming from the sale of his property in Poland.<sup>481</sup> Zamoyski expected first coffee harvest between 1932 and 1935 and was hoping that it will greatly improve his financial situation.<sup>482</sup> He placed his hopes mainly on coffee:

The type of coffee which grows best on the high plateau is "Arabica". We drink it constantly and it is very good. Although there is a global crisis in coffee, the local "Arabica" has a good price, for a local product, because they pay for one kilogram up to ten Angolan [angolars], which is nearly one dollar... The thing is to survive until the time this Fazenda [Portuguese word

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<sup>477</sup> Ibid.

<sup>478</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówce, 208, Letter from Michał Zamoyski to his father, Adam Zamoyski (not dated), 7 – 24.

<sup>479</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówce, 208, Letter from Michał Zamoyski to his father, Adam Zamoyski (not dated), 28 - 29.

<sup>480</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówce, 208, Letter from Michał Zamoyski to his father, Adam Zamoyski (not dated), 7 - 24.

<sup>481</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówce, 208, Letter from Michał Zamoyski to his father, Adam Zamoyski (not dated), 28 - 29.

<sup>482</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówce, 208, Letter from Michał Zamoyski to his father, Adam Zamoyski 12 February 1932, 41 - 42.

for farm] starts giving me a little something.<sup>483</sup>

In May 1930 a group of four of the Colonial Pioneers Association's members including Adam Paszkowicz and Roman Jesionowski, left for Angola to settle there permanently. Paszkowicz opened a cement plant in Lobito with an investment of one of the cement plants in Warsaw.<sup>484</sup> Jesionowski obtained land in Huambo region.<sup>485</sup> Jesionowski, like Franciszek Łyp, reported that the approach of the Portuguese authorities toward Polish colonisation was favourable.<sup>486</sup> Paszkowicz also wrote of the warm welcome and support shown to him by the authorities in Huambo.<sup>487</sup> On his arrival in Angola, he had in his possession a letter of recommendation from the Portuguese Minister of Colonies to the General Governor of Angola.<sup>488</sup>

Meanwhile back in Poland in 1930, the Colonial Pioneers Association underwent a complete change of management. Perhaps it was due to the lack of results, which caused Gluchowski's disappointment. During the meeting held on the 16 March 1930 chaired by Senator Julian Szymański new managing board was established including Gustaw Orlicz – Dreszer as Association's president.<sup>489</sup> The new management defined the goals of Colonial Pioneers regarding Angola in terms of deliberate penetration of the economy of the colony.<sup>490</sup> The New Managing Board reorganised the internal structure of the Association.<sup>491</sup>

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<sup>483</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówce, 208, Letter from Michał Zamoyski to his father, Adam Zamoyski, 17 November 1930, 2-3.

<sup>484</sup> 'Kronika kolonialna', *Morze*, 5 (1930), p. 30.

<sup>485</sup> 'Kronika kolonialna', *Morze*, 8 (1930), p. 24.

<sup>486</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>487</sup> Adam Paszkowicz, *Wśród Murzynów Angoli*, (Lwów, 1932), p. 70.

<sup>488</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>489</sup> New management also included Ludwik Kulczycki, Wiktor Rosiński, Jerzy Chmielewski, Mieczysław Fularski, Tadeusz Hilarowicz, Mieczysław Bohdan Lepecki, Jan Rozwadowski, Gustaw Załęcki and Apoloniusz Zarychta. 'Kronika Związku', *Morze*, 4 (1930), p. 26.

<sup>490</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>491</sup> 'Kronika kolonialna', *Morze*, 5 (1930), p. 30. By the June 1930 there had been 6 sections working within the Association, Section of Propaganda (*Sekcja Propandowa*) responsible for press

At the end of 1930, after the general convention of the delegates in Gdynia, which changed the name of the Maritime and River League to the Maritime and Colonial League, the Main Council of the Maritime and Colonial League decided to take a more practical approach to its colonial programme. So far the League was mainly active in the fields of propaganda and theoretical research, but during a meeting held on 18 December 1930 the Main Council decided that what was needed was actual results in putting League's programme in to operation.<sup>492</sup> The first step for the organisation as a whole was increasing the number of members on a mass – scale in Poland and abroad to make a stronger impact on Polish public and also to make gathering funds easier.<sup>493</sup> Among the goals set for the Colonial Division of the Maritime and Colonial League, led by Janusz Głuchowski, for year 1931 were creating a file containing information about the territories considered for Polish colonisation, helping migrants with all sorts of formalities in Poland and abroad in regards of their departure, promoting the establishment of the Colonial Bank, supporting the establishment of Polish – Portuguese and Polish-French chambers of commerce, establishment of a syndicate for colonisation of Angola, supporting of opening a private companies for trading with Brazil, Portugal and Angola, and popularising trade with colonies among the commercial and industrial circles in Poland.<sup>494</sup>

Also when became apparent that 1931 would not bring any changes to the

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publications and organising events like lectures and speeches, Organisational Section (*Sekcja Organizacyjna*) overseeing opening new branches and arranging courses and training, Financial Section (*Sekcja Finansowa*) gathering funds for the colonial action, Economic – Political Section (*Sekcja Ekonomiczno – Polityczna*) collecting information regarding particular colonial territories from the point of view of economic and migration policies, Mandate Section (*Sekcja Mandatowa*) working on the issue of Poland's rights to part of the former German colonies and Section of Field Research (*Sekcja Badań Terenowych*) conducting topographical research and study of climate in the particular colonial territories. W. Rosiński, 'Prace Związku Pionierów Kolonialnych', *Morze*, 6 (1930), p. 19.

<sup>492</sup> 'Trzema drogami ku jednemu celowi', *Morze*, 1 (1931), pp. 1 – 2.

<sup>493</sup> 'Program prac Ligi', *Morze*, 1 (1931), pp. 18 – 19.

<sup>494</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19 – 20.

mandate system the League started to look for different ways Poland could obtain a colonial territory, like purchase, lease or conquest.<sup>495</sup> However, the League did not entirely abandon the hopes for the mandate revision and remained convinced that at some point in the future it will happen under the pressure of countries dissatisfied from the current division of the colonies. When the time came Poland should be prepared and as a first step it needed to increase its economic presence in colonies under mandates; not only in a form of private capital but also by state intervention.<sup>496</sup> From 1931 the League's activists were participating in consultations with the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, Stefan Hubicki, and other ministries regarding emigration and colonies.<sup>497</sup> At the beginning of 1931 Orlicz – Dreszer became a member of Emigration Council (*Rada Emigracyjna*).<sup>498</sup> Since September 1930 a special branch of the Maritime and Colonial League was opened working with association with the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.<sup>499</sup>

Around that time some rumours started to circulate since December 1930 in Polish press that Poland allegedly intended to buy Angola from Portugal. According to *Morze* the rumour was started by a journalist from Vilnius and then was picked up by one of the newspapers published in Cracow. *Morze* called the idea 'absurd' but it also said that this rumour caused speculation not only in Polish but also in foreign press which could cause problems for the League and for Poland. *Morze* mentioned a Soviet–Belarusian newspaper 'Zwiazda' published from Minsk, reported on the 12 January 1931 that Polish government negotiated with Portugal the matter of purchasing Angola and was planning to send a communist there who had been

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<sup>495</sup> Hubert Sukiennicki, 'Kilka wniosków do naszego programu', *Morze*, 1 (1931), pp. 21 – 23.

<sup>496</sup> Ibid.

<sup>497</sup> 'Kronika kolonialna', *Morze*, 1 (1931), p. 31.

<sup>498</sup> 'Kronika kolonialna', *Morze*, 2 (1931), p. 29.

<sup>499</sup> 'Dział oficjalny', *Morze*, 4 (1931), p. 18.



sentenced in Poland for prison.<sup>500</sup> Also German *Uebersee – und Kolonial – Zeitung* in the issue from 1 February 1931 reported that Poland was about to buy Angola and was trying to settle around 1,000 Polish colonists there. The newspaper linked it with Marshal Piłsudski's stay on Madeira.<sup>501</sup> *Morze* commented that the appearance of this information in the German press was nothing more but a result of fear of Polish completion in Angola and anxiety regarding Poland's claim to former German colonies particularly Cameroon.<sup>502</sup> Wiktor Rosiński argued that those out from around 5,000 foreigners residing in Angola only 11 were Polish so the Portuguese government had nothing to fear. It was the press that made the impression like there were thousands of Poles in Angola. According to Rosiński Portugal should rather look closely on the influx of German settlers to Angola, the number of which reached 3,500.<sup>503</sup>

In light of those rumours it seems interesting that in 1930, two Poles arrived in Angola and claimed to belong to the governmental mission. Initially, they were staying in Quipeiro and then they settled north from the farms of Zamoyski and Dekański, where they decided to establish their own estate. They applied for the land concession to the admiration in Huambo. They called their farm *Chera*. Their arrival there led to the conflict with Dekański regarding land demarcation.<sup>504</sup> Zamoyski does not provide names of those individuals but according to *Morze*, a farm called *Chera*

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<sup>500</sup> 'Kronika kolonialna', *Morze*, 2 (1931), p. 29.

<sup>501</sup> Because of his deteriorating health, Józef Piłsudski decided to go for a longer treatment to the Portuguese Madeira. He spent three months there, which was his longest absence in Poland since Poland regained its independence. Piłsudski went to Madera in December 1930 and came back to Poland on the 26 of March 1931. Paweł Duber, 'Konflikty w kierownictwie obozu Sanacyjnego po powrocie Józefa Piłsudskiego z Madery w 1931 r. ', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 1, (2012), p. 68. On his way to Madera he visited Lisbon where he met with Oscar Carmona, President of Portugal. AAN, MSZ, 752, Tadeusz Romer, Polish ambassador to Portugal to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 07 May 1935, 142.

<sup>502</sup> 'Przegląd kolonialny', *Morze*, 3 (1931), p. 30.

<sup>503</sup> Wiktor Rosiński, 'Niemcy w Angoli', *Morze*, 5 (1931), pp. 21 – 22.

<sup>504</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówce, 208, Letter from Michał Zamoyski to his father, Adam Zamoyski 05 July 1931, 47 – 63.

belonged to Jesionowski.<sup>505</sup> Zamoyski seemed to doubt that these were actually part of any governmental mission. Their claims of being governmental representatives were not consistent and eventually, they started to deny the association with the Polish Government.<sup>506</sup> Regardless of whether these individuals actually represented the Polish State or not, local authorities did not welcome the possibility of Poland's involvement. While Zamoyski and Dekański were invited in November 1930 to join a farmers syndicate operating in Quipeiro organised by the administrator of Quipeiro district, those two farmers from the Polish mission were not.<sup>507</sup> It seems that any sign of possible involvement from the side of the Polish government in the colonization scheme, or a mention of it, met with Portuguese opposition and a guarded reaction. Perhaps the reaction of the Portuguese also contributed to Zamoyski's own somewhat unfavorable approach to his countrymen, he feared that any problems caused by other Poles in the colony would have a negative impact on his own position. He interpreted the invitation to join the syndicate as a sign of being accepted to the local social circles:

This Sunday I was invited to Quipeio do Posto [sic!] for a meeting in order to form an agricultural syndicate in our district. [...] The new Chef de Posto [sic! actually, Chefe do Posto – head of the administrative post] got terribly excited about it... if anything will come out of it, I do not know... knowing the locals... I remain a pessimist... but for me personally, this is quite good, because it means that they treat me as one of the locals [...] this will make general relations with authorities easier for me.<sup>508</sup>

The publicity given by the press to the Polish plans regarding Angola had implications for the Polish – Portuguese relations.<sup>509</sup> Józef Beck, Polish Minister of

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<sup>505</sup> Gebethner, 'Wspomnienia polskiego kolonisty', p. 22.

<sup>506</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówce, 208, Letter from Michał Zamoyski to his father, Adam Zamoyski (not dated), 66 – 69.

<sup>507</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówce, 208, Letter from Michał Zamoyski to his father, Adam Zamoyski (not dated), 7 -24.

<sup>508</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówce, 208, Letter from Michał Zamoyski to his father, Adam Zamoyski, 17.

<sup>509</sup> Białas, *Liga Morska*, p.190.

Foreign Affairs since 1932, in his memoirs wrote that soon after these few Poles settled in Angola, Portuguese approach toward the scheme became hostile as a result of the press noise regarding Angola. Apparently, it also caused interest of some political circles in the United Kingdom who were cautious of 'Poland's dangerous aspirations'.<sup>510</sup> This happened around the time when the Portuguese government started to put into operation legislation aimed to limit the influx of foreigners to the colony, as mentioned earlier in the chapter.

All these rumours in the Polish press regarding Angola increased interest in settling there and the Maritime and Colonial League started to receive an increasing amount of letters asking for information on the matter. The League organised a four – week course for future settlers providing them with information as for living in the colony.<sup>511</sup> However, the attention that the Polish press gave to the matter of colonisation of Angola had a negative effect. Angola became often used by fraudulent agents to lure their victims with a promise of wealthy life in Africa. According to *Morze* many landowners fell victims of such practices losing a significant amount of money to agents, who disappeared without a trace just after receiving it.<sup>512</sup> As a result of the Maritime and Colonial League started to withdraw from further promoting settlement in Angola. From 1932 to 1937 the subject stopped to appear in the League's publications.<sup>513</sup>

The settlers who came to Angola continued to work on their farms. Paszkowicz came back to Europe following the advice of a doctor after he fell ill.<sup>514</sup> According to him on his departure from Angola in 1931, there were 15 Poles left in the colony including Michał Zamoyski, Maria Zamoyska, Tadeusz Dekański with his wife and

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<sup>510</sup> Józef Beck, *Pamiętniki Józefa Becka. Wybór*, (Warszawa, 1955), p. 105.

<sup>511</sup> 'O kurs przygotowania dla kolonistów', *Morze*, 6 – 7 (1931), pp. 32 – 33.

<sup>512</sup> 'Kronika kolonialna', *Morze*, 4 (1931), p. 30.

<sup>513</sup> Białas, *Liga Morska*, p.190.

<sup>514</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.

son, Jerzy Rodziewicz and Roman Jesionowski.<sup>515</sup> Also in September 1932, Jerzy Chmielewski returned to Angola with intention of starting plantation there.<sup>516</sup> But by 1939 only five of them remained.<sup>517</sup>

The development of Zamoyski estate progressed slowly. In 1931 Zamoyski became concerned with his financial situation. The world price of coffee had dropped, which made him start to reconsider his prospects in Angola. In 1931 Zamoyski was not sure whether he will have enough funds to survive the next three years. According to his relation also Dekkański was experiencing financial difficulties.<sup>518</sup> In March 1931 he was forced to fire several of his employees and reduce the salaries of those who remained.<sup>519</sup> But it seems that the situation of Zamoyski's estate improved slightly over the course of the next two years. In 1933 Zamoyski was still complaining about the shortage of capital for further improvement, but his farm had 70 ha of arable land, over a hundred caws, which started to generate a monthly income of 520 – 700 Angolan angolars, all the necessary farming equipment, and 17,000 coffee trees. Additionally, he was profiting from the sale of grain and also established his own shop. Yet still, his estate was spending more than it was producing. According to his estimation from 1933, he would still need another two and a half years to balance the budget.<sup>520</sup> The problem of different nature were frictions with other Polish settlers. In a letter from March

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<sup>515</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>516</sup> Ibid., p.189.

<sup>517</sup> AAN, MSZ 9759, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Emigration Policy Division to Foreign Exchange Committee (*Komisja Dewizowa*) regarding application made by Adam Zamoyski, Michał's father, to release 1,250 British pounds so he could send it to his son from 15 June 1939, 104 – 108. For Rodziewicz see Wanda Firley, 'Polska plantacja na płaskowyżu Angoli', *ABC – Nowiny Codzienne*, 104 (1939), p.10.

<sup>518</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówce, 208, Letter from Michał Zamoyski to his father ,Adam Zamoyski 05 July 1931, 47 – 63.

<sup>519</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówce, 208, Letter from Michał Zamoyski to his father, Adam Zamoyski 31 March 1931, 66 – 69.

<sup>520</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Ordynacja Zamoyskich w Kozłówce, 208, Letter from Michał Zamoyski to his father, Adam Zamoyski from 5 March 1933, 32 - 39.

1933, Zamoyski wrote that accusation of espionage had been made against him to Portuguese authorities by one of the Poles residing there. Apparently, someone reported that Zamoyski had been sent to Angola by an organisation to spy.<sup>521</sup>

Another Polish settler, Jerzy Rodziewicz, questioned the profitability of plantations in Angola. In July 1931 Rodziewicz obtained a land concession of 100 ha near Quissale in Huambo district, area of which was increased by 1939 to 500 ha.<sup>522</sup> He pointed out that to cover the costs of the upkeep of the coffee plantation before the first harvest, which was possible after 3 – 4 years, he had to spend money he managed to earn from cattle farming and trade with locals. He admitted that if he would stay only with cattle and trading, he would have had definitely more cash to his disposal. Yet he was hoping that he would be able to eventually able to generate income from the plantation by additionally growing eucalyptus for timber.<sup>523</sup> A drastic drop in coffee prices in the late 1930s in Angola from 10 to 2 Angolan angolars, caused serious economic problems for Zamoyski. Although by 1939 he managed to expand his plantation to 60,000 coffee trees, *Boa Serra* was on the edge of bankruptcy.<sup>524</sup> To keep the plantation running Zamoyski had to take a loan, which he later was not able to pay back. In 1939 he found himself with a debt of £1,250 British pounds (30,000 Polish złoty) with some of the livestock being sold on auction to cover some part of it.<sup>525</sup> What contributed to the financial difficulties of the planters was a plague of locusts his plantation suffered from a few of years back.

At the end of 1930s Portuguese colonies in Africa, Angola and Mozambique,

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<sup>521</sup> Ibid.

<sup>522</sup> AAN, MSZ 9748, Translation from Portuguese of a note by Amadeu De Bettencourt, acting as the administrator of the Huambo district, regarding the plantation belonging to Rodziewicz, 10 January 1939, 12.

<sup>523</sup> Firley, 'Polska plantacja na płaskowyżu Angoli', p.10.

<sup>524</sup> AAN, MSZ 9759, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Emigration Policy Division to Foreign Exchange Committee (*Komisja Dewizowa*) regarding application made by Adam Zamoyski, Michał's father, to release 1, 250 British pounds so he could send it to his son dated 15 June 1939, 104 – 108.

<sup>525</sup> Ibid.

again started to be considered, this time by the Polish government, as an outlet for emigration. In 1938 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs started researching the possible opportunities to direct the emigration from Poland to Angola. One of the considered options was purchasing shares of *Cabinda Company* which had a concession for over 130,000 ha in Angola to take control over it and over the land belonging to the company.<sup>526</sup>

As for Mozambique, it seems that an important role in developing the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs' interest in the colony was played by Emil Surycz, a Pole who settled there in 1936 on Belmonte farm in Masequece district and then he became the owner of *Chicamba Real* farm. In 1939 he obtained the right to conduct exploitation of a copper mine abandoned by Germans, the *Edmundian*, which he ceded to Poland. Surycz was promoting the idea of developing Polish settlements in Mozambique.<sup>527</sup> In late 1938 the Polish government showed more interest in the colonisation of Mozambique than Angola. At the beginning of 1938 an officer from Polish consulate in Johannesburg travelled to Lourenco Marques in Mozambique, officially to spend his annual leave but in fact, he was assigned a mission of collecting information regarding settlement conditions and economic opportunities there.<sup>528</sup> Around 1937 – 1938 plans were made regarding purchasing 20,000 ha of land in Lucerda with the purpose of creating settlements there. The plan included opening a company that would unofficially use public funds to buy the land.<sup>529</sup> In the draft of the budget of the Emigration Policy Division of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs for years 1939 – 1940 there was the amount of 395,000 Polish złoty

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<sup>526</sup> AAN, MSZ 9729, A note regarding Cabinda Company from March 1938, 6 – 13.

<sup>527</sup> Białas, *Liga Morska*, p. 191 -192.

<sup>528</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9759, Stanisław Lisiecki to Polish Consulate in Cape Town 24 January 1938, 45 – 46.

<sup>529</sup> AAN, MSZ 9729, A draft of plan of colonisation on Lucerda territory in Portuguese East Africa (not dated), 1 – 5.

assigned for this purpose.<sup>530</sup> Whatever intentions the Polish government had regarding Mozambique these were put to an end by the outbreak of the Second World War.

The colonization of Angola with Polish settlers was the first initiative taken by the Colonial Pioneers Association. Plans for it were drawn in times when the organisation itself just began to exist and its actual programme was still in a process of formulation. In these circumstances the fact that the Colonial Pioneers Association managed to attract the cooperation of the Portuguese government could be considered a success. However, the character of this cooperation was rather loose. The Colonial Pioneers Association did not directly involve itself in the process of settlement. Its role was to point a direction for the permanent migration from Poland by presenting Angola as a suitable place for Poles to live. But it was up to the future settlers to arrange their relocation to the colony, including securing a visa, and establish themselves there whether by obtaining a land concession for plantation or starting a company. However, the Colonial Pioneers plans for the colonization of Angola included role to be played by the Polish State. From the very beginning of the project, the Association tried to gain the support of the Polish government, particularly the Ministry of Industry and Trade and the Emigration Office. It seems that the Colonial Pioneers Association by advocating their agenda managed to include colonization of Angola in one of the clauses of the commercial treaty signed between Poland and Portugal in 1929, although not in a way they wished for. The treaty did not guarantee Polish settlers any preferential treatment by the Portuguese authorities, neither it did not secure any form of land concession to be granted to Polish.

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<sup>530</sup> Białaś, *Liga Morska*, p. 192.

The action of promoting settlement in Angola managed to attract some individuals, but it did not bring largescale results. Perhaps the necessity of having a substantial amount of money to invest acted as a discouraging factor. Despite the reports of the favourable approach of the Portuguese authorities towards Poles, these few who decided to permanently settle in Angola were treated like other foreigners. Portuguese government gave his approval for settlement because Angola needed an influx of settlers. Since the end of 1929, the Colonial Pioneers convinced about upcoming mandate revision, turned all their efforts to secure Poland's place in it. The propaganda in Poland demanding part of former German colonies intensified and the measure were taken to present Polish history of colonial conquest during world colonial exhibition. Rumours that Poland could have actually thought of making Angola her own colony put on hold any further settlement.

The plans drawn for developing economic exchange between Poland and Polish settlers in Angola were never realised. There is no indication that *Polangola*, a company established for this purpose, ever started to operate. There is no mention of *Polangola* in letters and memoirs of Michał Zamoyski, who supposedly was its representative, kept in the State Archives in Lublin. Tadeusz Dekański in 1938 engaged in cooperation with one of the main coffee importer in Poland, a company named *Pluton* based in Warsaw. *Pluton* agreed to buy his coffee, but the legal procedures required with this kind of operation took extensively long and was not finalised before September 1939.<sup>531</sup> However, what should be pointed out is that farms in Angola owned by Polish settlers were orientated mainly on the production of coffee beans, which needed time to be fully developed, as the coffee trees needed around 5 years to grow before the harvest was possible. It meant that those farms

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<sup>531</sup> *Pluton* intended to advertise it as a new 'Polish type of coffee'. Kordian Tarasiewicz, *Cały wiek w Warszawie*, (Warszawa, 2005), p. 104.



became fully operative around 1934 – 1936. By this time, the Maritime and Colonial League withdrew from promoting settlement in Angola, due to the rumours of Poland wanting to buy the colony, which turned the public opinion in Portugal, protective of her colonial empire, against the plans of populating the colony with Polish settlers. The Maritime and Colonial League set the colonisation of Angola aside and the settlers who already migrated there were left to themselves.

## **Chapter 4 - The Maritime and Colonial League in Liberia, c. 1934-1939**

### **4.1. The involvement of the League of Nations in Liberia, c. 1932 – 1936**

On 3 April 1934 the Maritime and Colonial League's representatives, including Janusz Makarczyk, left Bordeaux on board of the Dutch ship *Amstelkerk* to visit Sierra Leone, French Guinea, Liberia, the Ivory Coast, the Gold Coast, Togo, and French Dahomey. Their task was to investigate potential export opportunities for Polish goods and also the possibility of establishing Poland's own colonial plantations in these countries.<sup>532</sup> Michał Pankiewicz, another member of the League, reported that these goals were achieved and economic cooperation with Liberia was singled out as potentially offering the most advantages for Poland. Pankiewicz gave two reasons for this. First, that Poland's and Liberia's economic needs were complementary in the sense that Poland had goods that Liberia required,

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<sup>532</sup> Michał Pankiewicz, 'Nasze poczynania afrykańskie', *Morze*, 3 (1935), p. 28.

and Liberia could offer Poland raw materials. Secondly, as Liberia was an independent country Polish economic presence there would not collide with French and British interests in a way it would in any French or British colony.<sup>533</sup>

Yet the political and economic situation in Liberia at the beginning of the twenty century was more complicated than Pankiewicz assumed, partially because of the involvement of the United States, but also due to the character of Liberia's internal politics, reliance on foreign loans.<sup>534</sup> At the beginning of 1930s Liberian politics appeared dominated by the motion of preserving Liberia's independence in relations with the League of Nations and the United States. This overshadowed Liberia's relations with Poland and made any guaranties the Maritime and Colonial League received from Liberian government instrumental in nature. What seemed to initiate closer relations between Liberia and Poland in 1930s was the investigation carried out by the League of Nations into an allegation of forced labour brought out against Liberia as Poland was one of the countries involved in the League of Nations committee overseeing this matter. When the Maritime and Colonial League entered cooperation with the Liberian government, during this crucial for Liberia time, it found itself involved in complicated politics.

The labour of its people appeared to be one of Liberia's most important exports and the demand for it abroad encouraged ruthless labour recruitment practices. In 1914 Liberia agreed to supply workers to Spanish Guinea, particularly for the cocoa plantations on the island of Fernando Po. Continuous abuses carried out during the recruitment in Sinoe and Maryland counties in the 1920s created several incidents that caught the attention of the international observers.<sup>535</sup> The League of Nations investigation arose out from American note of protest of 8 June 1929 addressed to

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<sup>533</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>534</sup> See Chapter 1 – Introduction, pp. 32-34.

<sup>535</sup> Sundiata, *Brothers and Strangers*, pp. 80 – 87.

Liberian Government.<sup>536</sup> The Liberian Government, in reply to a note from the United States on the subject, expressed its desire to have the whole question investigated on the spot by an impartial commission. As a result, an Enquiry Commission (Christy Commission) consisting of Cuthbert Christy, its chairman, nominated by the League of Nations and two members, one from the U.S.A. and the other appointed by the Liberian Government, visited Liberia in 1930. This Commission found that 'conditions of criminal compulsion scarcely distinguishable from slave raiding and slave trade' did in fact exist.<sup>537</sup> The investigation showed the use of forced and unpaid labour for private Americo-Liberian farms and plantations including those of President Charles D. B. King himself and some members of his cabinet and found certain abuses among which was an organized system to furnish labour for the Spanish Fernando Po plantations.<sup>538</sup> The Firestone Company was found not to be consciously hiring slave labour, but much forced recruiting was done by the government to supply workers for the Firestone Plantations.<sup>539</sup>

The Christy Commission prepared number of recommendations outlining the necessity for reconstruction of the 'native policy' and erasing the barrier between the civilised and uncivilised, abandoning policy of suppression and degradation of the chiefs, abolition of domestic slavery, ceasing the shipment of workers to Fernando Po, greater level of control over the Frontier Force, and reorganisation of the administration of the interior. The Commission indicated also the need for removal of the existing provincial commissioners and their replacement with Americans or Europeans.<sup>540</sup>

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<sup>536</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 98 - 100.

<sup>537</sup> Mackenzie, 'Liberia and the League of Nations', p. 375.

<sup>538</sup> Akpan, 'Black Imperialism', p. 234.

<sup>539</sup> Mower, 'The Republic of Liberia', pp. 291-292. See collection of Cuthbert Christy papers, Senate House Library, University of London, MS788.

<sup>540</sup> Mackenzie, 'Liberia and the League of Nations', pp. 375 - 376.

Yet, to many Liberians, the League of Nations recommendations, including the presence of foreign customs officials and military personnel threatened foreign domination. When King blandly implied that the recommendations might be implemented, Monrovia exploded. The legislature threatened impeachment, and there was the talk of a mob storming the executive mansion. King ordered troops to strategic points to keep order in the capital. Faced with almost total opposition in government, King and his Vice-President, Allen Yancy, resigned in December 1930, leaving the presidency to Secretary of State, Edwin Barclay.<sup>541</sup> Whatever King's real motives, foreign observers thought his promises of reform sincere and regarded Edwin Barclay's succession as a victory for anti-reform elements.<sup>542</sup> Yet the new President announced a reform programme. Despite the promise of internal reform the United States refused to recognise President Barclay and united with the British and German legations on 21 January, 1931, to present notes to the government of Liberia demanding that it will ask the Council of the League of Nations to appoint an International Governing Commission to take over Liberia and administer the affairs of the country. In February 1931 Liberia asked for assistance from the League, and a Liberian Committee was formed.<sup>543</sup> It was constituted under the chairmanship of the United Kingdom. Other members included: France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Poland, Venezuela (replaced by Panama in 1931), and Liberia which for this question was considered a temporary member of the League of Nations Council.<sup>544</sup> The United States, although not a member of the League, accepted a League invitation to serve on it. The Committee had two problems to face. The first was to work out a

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<sup>541</sup> The question of President King's involvement in labour export remains questionable. Davis, 'The Liberian Struggle', pp. 248 – 250.

<sup>542</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 260.

<sup>543</sup> Mower, 'Republic of Liberia', p. 292.

<sup>544</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 377. For the proceedings and report of the commission of experts see Mackenzie, Melville Douglas collection, School of Oriental and African Studies, MS380483/1,3.

programme of League assistance for Liberia, and the second was to secure a modification of the 1926 Firestone loan agreement to ease the Liberian financial situation.<sup>545</sup>

The Committee appointed three experts of administration, finance and tropical medicine to examine the situation locally and to make practical recommendations for reforms and assistance. The Expert Commission drew up the Plan of Assistance with the necessary financial and administrative provisions. Their report, completed during the summer of 1931, recommended, in particular, a system of far-reaching administrative and financial assistance to Liberia, under the League of Nations auspices, to be carried out through advisers appointed by the League, and amounting virtually to temporary control of Liberia by the League.<sup>546</sup>

The administrative section of the plan stated that for administrative purposes the territory of Liberia should be divided into three provinces. Each province should be administered by a provincial commissioner, assisted by a deputy commissioner. The provincial commissioners would hold the executive power and would be responsible to the Chief of Government through the intermediary of the Secretary of the Interior. To ensure public order the commissioners would have under their direct order a gendarmerie. The Frontier Force should not intervene in the provinces except at the request of the provincial commissioner. The government of Liberia should engage three foreign specialists in African administration as commissioners of the three provinces, and three others as deputies. These officials would be proposed by the League of Nations to the President of the Republic for approval and appointed by him. The Liberian government should also engage two whole-time medical officers for hospital and health work. Additionally, a chief adviser would be appointed by the

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<sup>545</sup> Ibid.

<sup>546</sup> Ibid., p. 377. For the proceedings and report of the commission of experts see Mackenzie, Melville Douglas collection, School of Oriental and African Studies, MS380483/1,3.

Council of the League of Nations with the acceptance of the President of the Republic of Liberia. This adviser would be responsible to and removable by the Council of the League of Nations. He would be attached to the central government in order to give it his advice, to supervise the execution of the Plan of Assistance and to co-ordinate the work of the foreign experts. The Liberian government should follow his advice and recommendations, and grant him all facilities for the performance of his duties throughout his term of office. This Plan of Assistance should be in force for a period of five years.<sup>547</sup>

The recommendations included in the financial section of the Plan of Assistance were limited by the responsibilities entered into by the Liberian government by signing the Firestone loan agreement from 1926. By accepting the loan Liberia agreed to the priority of the service of the loan over the running expenses of the government. After negotiations, carried out through the medium of a financial expert of the League of Nations, the Finance Corporation voluntarily renounced for a period of five years the priority referred to above, thus enabling the running expenses of the Liberian government up to the sum fixed by the financial expert to be met as a first charge on the revenue. Moreover, the Financial Corporation was willing to guarantee the cost of the plan of assistance by the issue of further bonds for every year in which this cost could not be met out of the revenue by the government. The Corporation agreed, in addition, to renouncing the interests each year that it could not be met out of the annual revenue for that year. These concessions, however, were conditional on Liberia accepting the Plan of Assistance as a whole and without modifications.<sup>548</sup>

The League of Nations investigation raised questions in some minds about

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<sup>547</sup> Mackenzie, 'Liberia and the League of Nations', pp. 376 - 377.

<sup>548</sup> Mackenzie, 'Liberia and the League of Nations', pp. 3767- 378.

Africans' capacity for self-rule. Liberia's defenders were quick to accuse the inquiry as being nothing more than a reaction to the interest of the Firestone Rubber Company, which demanded that Liberian labour should be exploited in Liberia.<sup>549</sup> When the accusations emerged in 1929, Dantes Bellegarde, the Haitian delegate to the League of Nations, became one of Liberia's main defenders. He advocated against usurping of the rights of small and poverty-stricken nations. Many Africans and Americans saw similarities between the situation of Liberia in the early 1930s and the position of Haiti circa 1915.<sup>550</sup>

The British government was opposed to monopolies in Liberian labour since Liberian migrants were supplementary workers in British colonies. The British attempted to limit the export of labour from their colonies and sought to have the Liberians pursue a similar policy.<sup>551</sup> Liberians, however, made it clear to the British that no further restriction on labour shipment to Fernando Po was contemplated. The British consul-general in Monrovia feared it might sap British West Africa of its manpower, particularly considering the reports of the shipment from the western portion of the Liberian Republic of British subjects from Sierra Leone to the Spanish and Portuguese Islands in the Gulf of Guinea. The British attitude toward the Fernando Po labour traffic was conditioned by various factors. In addition to the fear of the 'constant leakage of British subjects', segments of the British public were increasingly voicing criticism of African labour conditions.<sup>552</sup> Concern for reform also reached the cocoa-producing islands of the Bight of Biafra, although not

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<sup>549</sup> I. K. Sundiata, 'Liberia and Fernando Po, 1880-1930', *The Journal of African History*, 15:1 (1974), p. 110.

<sup>550</sup> Sundiata, *Brothers and Strangers*, p. 104. The United States occupation of Haiti began on 28 July 1915. See Hans Schmidt, *The United States occupation of Haiti, 1915 – 1934*, (New Brunswick, 1995). See also Hakim Adi, *Pan-Africanism: A History*, (London, 2018) for the relationship of Liberia and Haiti with the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

<sup>551</sup> Sundiata, 'Liberia and Fernando Po', p.104.

<sup>552</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 105 – 106.

concentrating on Fernando Po. The Portuguese on Sao Tome and Principe were charged with forcibly recruiting labourers from Angola, and a British campaign was launched, supported by a cocoa boycott.<sup>553</sup> From an analysis of the development of Liberian labour migration, two facts emerge: abuse of labour existed not only in its recruitment and transport, but also in its employment on Fernando Po; the interdiction of the Liberian labour trade proceeded not solely from outside humanitarianism, but also from an effort to conserve supplies of African manpower. The 1900 embargo on labour migration from British West Africa aimed at keeping the available workers in British hands. Liberia was accused of being a conduit for the leakage of Sierra Leonean labour, and attacks on labour practices centred on Fernando Po itself. Only gradually did the emphasis shift to Liberia.<sup>554</sup> The Spanish dismissed the international outcry as an attempt to sabotage the development of Spanish Guinea.<sup>555</sup>

For the three years following the Plan of Assistance prepared by the Expert Commission in 1931 the Liberian Committee, the Republic of Liberia, and the Finance Corporation of America consulted one another at various intervals in an attempt to reach a satisfactory conclusion.<sup>556</sup> Talk of a mandate was enough to convince most that there was no alternative to the acceptance of the League recommendations. But Barclay continued to resist and delay, and his holding action eventually paid off. Depression and European problems diverted world attention after 1932. Discussion of a mandate became bogged down in rivalries among the powers and the German colonial campaign. In January 1934 the legislature finally accepted the League's reform plan, but with so many reservations that the League

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<sup>553</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.

<sup>554</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>555</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>556</sup> Mower, 'The Republic of Liberia', pp. 292- 293.



declared the plan inoperative and dropped it.<sup>557</sup> Barclay devised his own plan of assistance to satisfy international opinion.

In April 1934, at a private Geneva meeting attended by representatives of France, the United States, and the United Kingdom it was agreed that the expulsion of Liberia from the League of Nations was eminently desirable, as no active intervention was possible. It was however regarded as extremely unlikely that unanimity could be obtained in the Council on a proposal for her expulsion. Both the French and the United States representatives expressed the opinion that consultation should take place between the French, the United States and the British governments with a view to the common action of some sort but either of them had any fruitful suggestions to make regarding the action to be taken.<sup>558</sup> The League officially withdrew its proffered assistance on May 18, 1934.<sup>559</sup> Fully aware that in order to survive they would have to be recognised by the United States, the Liberian government announced an extensive program of administrative reforms. At the time of the final withdrawal of the League assistance plans, the Liberian representative stated that his country was determined to secure the advice of foreign specialists.<sup>560</sup>

#### **4.2. Agreement between Liberia and the Maritime and Colonial League from 28 April 1934**

Liberia entered closer relations with Poland during the inter-war period when imposing a foreign rule on her was an option considered by the colonial powers and

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<sup>557</sup> Davis, 'The Liberian Struggle', p. 262.

<sup>558</sup> FO 371/18040, R. C. Stevenson at Geneva to Peterson on 11 April 1934, 229.

<sup>559</sup> Sundiata, *Brothers and Strangers*, p. 184.

<sup>560</sup> Mower, 'The Republic of Liberia', p. 295.

the United States and the United States. Minutes by Godfrey Boyd Shannon, from the British Government's Dominion Office, from January 1933 contain a suggestion that in case of possible failure of renegotiations of the loan repayment with Firestone, Liberia should voluntarily withdraw from membership of the League of Nations and allow the League to grant a mandate for the country to a Great Power. This solution was acceptable by the mandatory powers but it also 'had the general advantage that if the Mandate were given to a country which does not possess one, it would appease those Powers such as Germany and Italy who, not possessing mandates themselves are quick to seize any opportunity of criticising the system'.<sup>561</sup> Granting the mandate over Liberia to Italy or Germany was considered by the British Foreign Office as a most practical solution, however, it was anticipated that it could complicate international relations in Europe. It was feared that if Italy was awarded the mandate Germany would protest. There was also the possibility that France would back Germany as Liberia could act as an Italian base to threaten France's large African possessions. Entrusting the mandate to Germany was viewed as equally, if not more, problematic. It could potentially 'rouse the violent ignition of Italy on the ground that it is flagrantly unjust that Italy who won the War should be treated less favourably than Germany who lost it'.<sup>562</sup> Germany's aspirations for the restitution of her former colonies would hardly be satisfied by a mandate for Liberia, and might, on the contrary, be encouraged by such a move.<sup>563</sup>

The United States had the predominant influence in the Liberian affairs, however, the Foreign Office thought that the attitude of the United States to the League of Nations would make the administration of the country by the United States

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<sup>561</sup> DO 35 167-6, Boyd Shannon, minutes 09 January 1933, 1-8.

<sup>562</sup> Ibid.

<sup>563</sup> DO 35 167-6, Bowyer, minutes 12 January 1933, 11.

impracticable.<sup>564</sup> And yet Anthony Eden, British Minister for League of Nations Affairs, during the session of the League of Nations Council on 18 May 1934 vaguely suggested that now, when the League of Nation assistance must be withdrawn, the United States, in cooperation with Great Britain, should step in to manage the Liberian affairs and help solve problems this country was struggling with.<sup>565</sup> Responding to British concerns, Cordell Hull, United States Secretary of State, in August 1934 sent his Special Assistant, Harry A. McBride, to visit Liberia and report 'not only as to the situation he finds there as a result of the rejection of the League Plan, but also as to the real desire of Liberians of all classes for disinterested assistance'.<sup>566</sup> It does not appear however that the United States government were willing to burden themselves with Liberian administration. United States *chargé d'affaires* at Monrovia, was encouraging the idea of the division of the country between France and Great Britain. His policy was to abate the involvement of the United States in the Liberian affairs even it would mean to jettison the Firestone business.<sup>567</sup> It was the impression of Geoffrey Thompson of the Foreign Office Egyptian Department that Americans got 'heartily sick' of the Liberian affairs, and were looking for an excuse to walk away from it. The improvement in general conditions in Liberia would provide them with just what they need.<sup>568</sup> Also, Germany did not hide their interest in Liberia, which McBride interpreted as a manifestation of Reich's colonial policy.<sup>569</sup> The *New York Times* on 9 May 1935 reported that the Union of South Africa's Prime Minister, J. B. M. Hertzog, during

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<sup>564</sup> DO 35 167-6, Boyd Shannon, minutes 09 January 1933, 1-8.

<sup>565</sup> *Papers concerning affairs in Liberia December 1930 – May 1934*, Cmd 40614.

<sup>566</sup> FO 371-18042, Copy of the dispatch from Cordell Hull to F. D. G. Osbourne, British *Chargé d'Affaires* in Washington 21 July 1934, 102 – 103. McBride stayed in Liberia from 19 August to 4 September 1934. FO 371/18042, Report on the visit of Mr. Harry A. McBride to Liberia, Yapp 04 September 1934, 223 – 228.

<sup>567</sup> FO 371-18042, Yapp to Peterson 26 June 1934, 77.

<sup>568</sup> FO 371/18042, Thompson, minutes 19 September 1934, 244 – 245.

<sup>569</sup> FO 371-18042, Wallinger, minutes 07 August 1934, 97 - 98.

his visit to the United Kingdom, suggested to the British Cabinet to impose the mandate over Liberia and grant it to Germany under the guardianship of the League of Nations. The South African government hoped it would put an end to the agitation within Germany for recovering Southwest Africa, now under a mandate to the South African Union.<sup>570</sup>

As for the Firestone Corporation at the beginning of 1933, their relations with the Liberian government were strained. The Geneva negotiation for the rehabilitation of Liberia was stalled by Firestone's unwillingness to agree to the modifications of the financial agreement with Liberia which were recommended by the League of Nations Committee in the draft plan of assistance. The Liberian government, having failed to persuade the Firestone Company to accept the modifications, proceeded to introduce legislation altering the contract without their consent.<sup>571</sup> British *chargé d'affaires* in Monrovia was reported to have expressed his approval of this course of action what irritated the United States government who handed to British Ambassador in Washington an official memorandum on 29 December 1932 accusing the United Kingdom of backing a rival concern, the *Dan-Lib* syndicate, against Firestone.<sup>572</sup> William Richards Castle, United States Undersecretary of State, indicated that the German-Scandinavian group, who were trying to obtain the *Dan-Lib* concession, represented an attempt by British financial interests to oust Firestone.<sup>573</sup> The situation seemed to increase Harvey Firestone's distrust toward the

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<sup>570</sup> Ferdinand Khun, 'Liberian Mandate for Reich is Urged by South Africans', *New York Times*, (9 May 1935), p.1.

<sup>571</sup> The *New York Times* reported that the legislation approved by President Barclay provided for the suspension of interest and amortisation on the loan, reduction of personnel and salaries of fiscal officials, disregard of stipulations in the agreement that all revenues shall be applied to government salaries and the surplus to a cumulative reserve fund, and modification of the previous resolution to conform to the League plan of assistance. It was seen by the State Department as violation of the rights of American creditors. 'Liberia is accused of breaking the pact', *New York Times*, (29 January 1933), p. 9.

<sup>572</sup> DO 35 167-6, 6262 Boyd Shannon, minutes 24 February 1933, 6262, 1-2.

<sup>573</sup> DO 35 167-6, 6262, John Simon to R. Lindsay 23 January 1933, 4.

British Foreign Office. It appears that the Foreign Office reciprocated Firestone's distrust. As Boyd Shannon dryly noted 'Mr. Firestone is a rabid Anglophobe and a somewhat unbalanced person for whom F.O. have not the slightest sympathy'.<sup>574</sup> The United Kingdom government was disappointed by the Firestone's failure to lend effective support to the League Plan of Assistance, which was evident by the campaign carried on in Liberia in 1932 against acceptance of the administrative portion of the plan. British representatives and the League Committee needed to secure Firestone cooperation for the Liberian scheme to finance it and, at first, Firestone interests seemed favourable. Yet their attitude changed and they seemed to wish to force the Liberian government by financial pressure to accept their complete domination.<sup>575</sup> The Liberian government naturally objected. Hines from the Firestone Corporation in his conversation with Lord Robert Cecil from April 1934 described the situation as going from bad to worse. He did not think that Liberians meant to accept any form of control.<sup>576</sup> Liberian Government has seized on the possibility of assistance from *Dan – Lib* to enable them to free themselves from Firestone interests unless the latter will accept the terms suggested in the League scheme. A British official suggested that in this situation British Cabinet could only remain neutral. It did not matter whether the money would come from American or Scandinavian sources so long as enough was obtained to finance the proposed reform.<sup>577</sup> Janusz Makarczyk in his memoirs mentions 'a subtle suggestions' coming from certain European capitals and the Firestone Company encouraging Poland to take control over Liberia. According to Makarczyk, Firestone offered to leave Poland a free hand in Liberia in exchange for some concessions in Poland and a

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<sup>574</sup> DO 35 167-6, 6262, Boyd Shannon, minutes 24 February 1933, 1-2.

<sup>575</sup> DO 35 167-6, 6262, John Simon to R. Lindsay 23 January 1933, 5.

<sup>576</sup> FO 371/18040, Cecil's minutes 17 April 1934, 159.

<sup>577</sup> DO 35 167-6, 6262, John Simon to R. Lindsay 23 January 1933, 5.

guarantee that Firestone would be able to conduct its business in Liberia unhindered.<sup>578</sup>

The outcome of Makarczyk's visit to Liberia, mentioned earlier in the chapter, was the signing an agreement between Liberia and the Maritime and Colonial League on the 28 of April 1934. The agreement was signed by Liberian Secretary of State, Clarence Lorenzo Simpson, and Janusz Makarczyk as a representative of the Maritime and Colonial League. The League agreed to provide expert assistance by delegating 'specialists' to work for the Liberian government. Those specialists would have been approved by the Liberian consul in Poland. The costs of their travel and their salaries would be fully covered by the Liberian government. In this part of the agreement Liberian government committed itself to prioritise Polish producers in the case of establishing state monopolies for salt, matches, petrol, industrial oils and sugar. Payment for Polish products would be made on the basis of barter exchange. Liberian government agreed also to lease land for 50 years to 50 Polish nationals for the purpose of establishing plantations of the size of minimum 150 acres each. This land should be located no further than 10 miles from the nearest main road or navigable river. The plantations should be used for cultivation rubber, cotton, rice, coffee, cocoa, and kola. The Liberian government agreed to accept only candidates for planters who were introduced to the scheme by the Maritime and Colonial League and approved by the Liberian Consul General with the Polish government. Each planter at the moment of his arrival to Liberia had to have a sum of minimum 10,000 Polish Zloty or \$ 2,000 United States dollars at his disposal. Plantations were to be relieved from tax duty for the first 2 or 5 years depending on the kind of cultivated plants. After this period the planters would pay tax in the amount of 25

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<sup>578</sup> Janusz Makarczyk, *Widziałem i słyszałem. Wspomnienia podróżnicze*, (Warszawa, 1957), p. 77 – 79.

cents per acre. The League also agreed to arrange a vocational training in Poland for 20 students from Liberia. Additionally, both sides of the agreement were hoping for signing a 'treaty of friendship' between Poland and Liberia in the future. The Maritime and Colonial League committed to submit to the Polish government a proposal of appointing as soon as possible Polish Consul General in Liberia, who will be given the power to sign a Treaty of Friendship between Poland and Liberia. The main points of this Treaty of Friendship would include, the development of friendly and peaceful relations between both countries, establishing consular relations, right of residence and acquiring real estate and the right to run a business for Polish citizens in Liberia and Liberian citizens in Poland, freedom of trade and freedom of navigation. Regarding the mutual commercial relations, this proposed treaty would grant both sides a status of the most favoured nation.<sup>579</sup>

Janusz Makarczyk in his memoirs gives his account of the events surrounding signing the agreement with Liberia from 28 April 1934. He provides the information on the existence of a secret clause to the agreement, which further specified the conditions of Liberian – Polish cooperation. This secret clause further defined the role of the plantations. According to Makarczyk plantations was actually meant to serve more as a point of commercial exchange, a trading outpost, rather than farms, where Polish 'planters' could sell Polish goods and buy local produce. He stated that it was Liberians who insisted on creating these shops. Makarczyk explains that it was forbidden by law for Europeans to open stores in Liberia. By lifting this law for Poland, they would be faced with the necessity of doing the same for English and French and Liberian government did not want that.<sup>580</sup> The secret clause also gave

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<sup>579</sup> AAN, Konsulat RP w Monrowii, Copy of the agreement (not dated), 10 - 18.

<sup>580</sup> Makarczyk, *Widziałem i słyszałem*, p. 72. Perhaps this is what was Makarczyk was told by his Liberian counterparts, but European trading outposts existed in the coastal area. Liebenov points out that the elite tended to discourage Liberian business and encouraged the entrance of foreign

Poland a duty-free zone in the harbour and the right to organise independent shipping along the Liberian coastal routes. Additionally, it included political and military provisions. Poland actually gained the prerogatives of interfering in Liberian foreign policy. Liberian government agreed to consult with Poland all its actions within the League of Nations and all international agreements between Liberia and any foreign country. Poland also gained the right to recruit up to 100,000 Liberians to serve in the Polish auxiliary army. It also made Poland responsible for the modernisation of Liberian border troops.<sup>581</sup> In Makarczyk's view, the agreement was quite simple and its main point was that Poland would sell to Liberia industrial commodities for wholesale prices and Liberia would sell rubber, cocoa, coffee, and oilseeds. Liberia should allow Polish citizens to open these shops and Poland would provide experts.<sup>582</sup>

Tadeusz Białas has doubted the existence of the secret part of the agreement based on the fact that the surviving copy kept in the Central Archives of Modern Records does not include it and Makarczyk's account of the events does not find any confirmation in the Polish archives.<sup>583</sup> It does not, however, necessarily prove Makarczyk's relation unreliable. Jan Hirschler, Polish zoologist from Lviv University, who visited Liberia between November 1935 and January 1936, reported that during his stay in Liberia he was told by Poles residing there that there had been some plans regarding military cooperation between Poland and Liberia. He heard rumours that young Liberians would have the opportunity to attend military schools

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groups at various level of economic enterprise. Gus J. Liebenow, *Liberia*, p. 92. Alternatively this restriction mentioned by Makarczyk could apply only to the Liberian Hinterland. Jan Hirschler, Polish zoologist who visited Liberia between November 1935 and January 1936, mentioned that he was told by the Poles residing there that the Polish nationals had the right to enter Liberian interior without a permit, which was required from other Europeans. Jan Hirschler, *Ze Lwowa do Liberii. Wspomnienia z Afryki tropikalnej*, (Lwów, 1938), p. 99.

<sup>581</sup> Ibid., p. 73.

<sup>582</sup> Makarczyk, *Widziałem i słyszałem*, p. 72.

<sup>583</sup> Białas, *Liga*, pp. 212 – 213.



in Poland. Hirschler himself admits however that he had no information whether this actually happened.<sup>584</sup>

With or without a secret clause, the agreement was favourable for Poland. Despite this, it was seen by the Polish government as a failure. Makarczyk reports signs of resentment coming from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, particularly from Wiktor Drymmer, head of Consular Department in Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Drymmer himself in his memoirs claims that he had no knowledge of the Maritime and Colonial League plans involving Liberia, and he only found out about the agreement after it was signed.<sup>585</sup> Makarczyk, however, is quite clear that the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs was not only fully aware of the Maritime and Colonial League involvement in Liberia, but their true agenda was to make Liberia a Polish colony. He writes: 'After my return [from Liberia] I met in Warsaw a few disappointed candidates for "colonial governors", and I also met the accusation of putting at risk Poland's prestige because I did not bring back with me the request for the protectorate!'<sup>586</sup> He recalls Drymmer saying that for Poland talking with Liberia of anything 'less than protectorate' would harm Poland's prestige. According to Makarczyk Polish government needed something impressive to fuel the propaganda and strengthen the picture of Poland as an empire. The news of Liberia becoming Polish protectorate would do that. Makarczyk writes that the Polish government had unrealistic expectations and failed to understand that Liberia's motive behind the entering the treaty with the Maritime and Colonial League was to free the country from Firestone's patronage.<sup>587</sup>

Why then did Liberia entered this cooperation with Poland? The major role in the

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<sup>584</sup> Hirschler, *Ze Lwowa do Liberii*, pp. 86 – 87.

<sup>585</sup> Wiktor Tomir Drymmer, *W służbie Polsce*, (Warszawa, 1998), pp. 135 – 136.

<sup>586</sup> Makarczyk, *Widziałem i słyszałem*, p. 77 – 79.

<sup>587</sup> *Ibid.*

development of relations between Poland and Liberia was played by Leo Sajous, who, according to Makarczyk, managed to convince President Barclay to engage in cooperation with the Maritime and Colonial League. Leo Sajous was a Haitian citizen and a medical doctor. In Haiti he got involved in the pan-African movement, becoming in 1930 one of the co-founders of the international periodical *La Revue du Monde Noir*, which proposed to serve as a voice of African intellectuals to study and make known the African civilisation.<sup>588</sup> According to Makarczyk, Sajous came to Liberia to represent the idea of cooperation between Haiti, Abyssinia, Liberia, and Africans from the United States, and it was he who suggested that the Liberian government should act outside the League of Nations and invite independent European advisors. Makarczyk described Sajous as 'an excellent orator and negotiator'.<sup>589</sup> Also, MacBride seemed to be convinced that the idea of hiring foreign advisors came from Sajous. It seems, however, his opinion of Sajous was far less favourable. McBride was reported to say that Sajous 'was a renegade Haytian [*sic*] negro who had persuaded President Barclay that he could arrange for the provision of Advisers from Poland'<sup>590</sup> Geoffrey A. Wallinger of the Egyptian Department in Foreign Office characterised him as a political adventurer. He even wrote in his minutes: 'I really do not think that President Barclay can imagine that he can do anything with such a scatter-brained person as Dr. Sajous clearly is'.<sup>591</sup> And yet, President Barclay decided to work with Sajous and appointed him Consul General of the Republic of Liberia near Polish Government.<sup>592</sup>

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<sup>588</sup> Kotti Sree Ramesh, Kandula Nirupa Rani, *Claude McKay: the literary identity from Jamaica to Harlem and beyond*, (Jefferson, 2006), p. 190.

<sup>589</sup> Makarczyk, *Widziałem i słyszałem*, p. 71.

<sup>590</sup> FO 371/18042, Record of the conversation between McBride, Millard of the US Embassy in London, Thompson and Wallinger from 18 September 1934, 244 – 251.

<sup>591</sup> FO 371/18042, Wallinger, minutes 17 September 1934, 204.

<sup>592</sup> AAN, MSZ, 642, Letter nominating Leo Sajous as Liberian Consul General signed by Simpson 23 April 1934, 11. The exequatur was granted to Sajous by Minister Beck on 20 March 1935

When in 1933 Leo Sajous visited Poland representing Liberia, he turned to the Maritime and Colonial League with the offer to establish direct economic and cultural relations between Poland and Liberia.<sup>593</sup> *Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny*, one of the Polish newspapers, suggested that Sajous' choice of Poland as a possible collaborator was influenced by a historical connection between Poland and Haiti, going back to the Napoleonic era.<sup>594</sup> Many Polish legionnaires rebelled against Napoleon to support the anti-colonial uprising in Sajous' native Haiti and their descendants were still living there.<sup>595</sup> The newspaper also indicated that Sajous did count that Poland, as a country 'which never committed any atrocities against other nations' and just recently regained independence, would sympathise with Liberia's struggle to keep sovereignty.<sup>596</sup> William Erskine, the British Ambassador to Poland, transmitted a summary of a speech made at the Maritime and Colonial League meeting at Cracow regarding Polish – Liberian relations, which explained Liberian interest in Poland in a similar way. According to the speaker, Poland was chosen as a country that had never harmed other nations and had so recently gained its own independence that it could be counted onto support the Liberian insistence on independence.<sup>597</sup> As Erskine noted, however, that:

The speaker's concluding words formed an interesting pendant to his explanation of the Liberian Government's choice of Poland as a helper. The planters, according to the speaker would be able to create spheres of influence embracing large areas, and thus to exert an influence on Liberia, as the example of the colonial powers shows that a first step towards gaining control is sending planters.<sup>598</sup>

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establishing him on this post with residence in Warsaw. AAN, MSZ, 642, Beck on 20 March 1935, 6.

<sup>593</sup> Białas, *Liga Morska*, pp. 208 - 212.

<sup>594</sup> 'Umowa kolonizacyjna między Polską a Liberią', *Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny*, 330 (1934), p. 6.

<sup>595</sup> See Jan Pachonński and Reuel K. Wilson, *Poland's Carribean Tragedy: a Study of Polish Legions in the Haitian War of Independence, 1802 – 1803*, (New York, 1986).

<sup>596</sup> 'Umowa kolonizacyjna między Polską a Liberią', p. 6. *Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny* gave Michał Pankiewicz from the Maritime and Colonial League as a source.

<sup>597</sup> FO 371/18043, W. Erskine to Simon on 04 December 1934, 154 - 157. Erskine most likely reported speech given in Cracow by Michał Pankiewicz on the 25 November 1934.

<sup>598</sup> FO 371/18043, W. Erskine to Simon on 04 December 1934, 154 - 157.

Makrezyk explains that Sajous did not think Poland had any colonial ambitions. Białas, however, called his explanation 'naïve' and pointed out that Sajous was negotiating with the organisation with word 'colonial' in her name. Białas draw the hypothesis that perhaps Liberia initiated closer relations with Poland in Geneva to win Poland's sympathy as one of the members of the Liberian Committee within the League of Nations.<sup>599</sup> Albert Edward Yapp, the British Consul General and *ch ge d'affair* in Monrovia, transmitted a copy of the article from *The Daily Guardian* published in Freetown, on 26 July 1934 entitled 'Searchlight on Liberia', which might confirm that Liberian government counted, indeed, on Poland's support. Yapp seemed convinced that the article came from Monrovia and suspected that it was written by one or two members of the Liberian Cabinet. He believed that part of this article was related to Liberian relation with Poland:

The simple truth is that this outcry against Liberia is nothing but organized propaganda for its partition between Great Britain, USA, and France. At the same time that Liberia is being denounced at least one World Power is making overtures to her and promising her moral support at Geneva and financial help in returned for certain concessions. The strength and safety of Liberia lie in her membership of the League of Nations. Threats of mandating her or withholding financial aid will not intimidate her.<sup>600</sup>

Yapp also transmitted a copy of what he believed was Sajous' confidential report for President Barclay. Sajous wrote there that Poland has no colonial agenda, furthermore, Poland would view with a certain amount of dislike its experts collaborating with experts under the jurisdiction of countries possessing colonies leading to introduce methods of colonial government. Sajous indicated that since all elements in Liberia are Liberian citizens and equal under the law, Liberia could not be a colonial state, therefore it would be beneficial for Liberia to get expertise from

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<sup>599</sup> Białas, *Liga Morska*, p. 211.

<sup>600</sup> FO 371/18042, Yapp, Monrovia 04 August 1934, 136.

experts of countries without colonies.<sup>601</sup> However Yapp doubted the report had any objective value, nor did he think that President Barclay would be convinced by this kind of argument:

I have never read a report which is written with such an obvious intent to please the "Master" as the present one. It is difficult to believe that President Barclay can be so ingenious as to believe it but no doubt it will serve his purpose. [...] Perhaps the report together with a considerable amount of other material which the government has been busy collecting since May is intended for use at Geneva.<sup>602</sup>

In September 1934 Liberian Secretary of State, Clarence Lorenzo Simpson, visited Poland. According to Sajous the visit was his initiative with the aim to establish direct personal relations with their Polish counterparts. He insisted on scheduling the visit just before the League of Nations session taking place in September, but the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs advised against it.<sup>603</sup> The Liberian representative, however, managed to meet in with Mieczysław Fularski from the Maritime and Colonial League on 30 August 1934 in Paris, before the League of Nations' session.<sup>604</sup> The Liberian delegates feared that Liberia's affair might become subject of discussion during the upcoming assembly and they were counting on Poland's support. In the conversation with Fularski, they expressed the readiness to coordinate their speeches in Geneva with Edward Bernard Raczyński, the Polish representative to the League of Nations, and closely follow his advice without any hesitation.<sup>605</sup> Their visit to Europe was seen by Yapp as a part of government's preparations for their defense at the next League of Nations session.<sup>606</sup> In Warsaw Simpson was supposed to have continued to negotiate a commercial

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<sup>601</sup> FO 371/18042, Yapp, Monrovia 28 August 1934, 204 – 208.

<sup>602</sup> FO 371/18042, Yapp to Simon on 28 August 1934, 205 – 206.

<sup>603</sup> AAN, Ambassada RP w Paryżu, 123, Juliusz Łukasiewicz, Polish Ambassador to France, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 28 August 1934, 13 – 14.

<sup>604</sup> AAN, Ambassada RP w Paryżu, 123, Fularski's report from the meeting with Liberian delegation 31 August 1934, 15 – 17.

<sup>605</sup> Ibid.

<sup>606</sup> FO 371/18042, Yapp, Monrovia, 03 September 1934, 209 – 212.

treaty with Poland. It was believed that the outline of this treaty was agreed upon Sajo's visit to Poland, and the treaty would be signed whilst Simpson was away. Apparently, Simpson met with disappointing reception in Warsaw. Simpson admitted that Liberia needed markets and that Poland might be a good outlet for coffee, but he said that his visit to Warsaw was merely a visit of courtesy.<sup>607</sup>

It seems likely that both the Maritime and Colonial League and the Liberian government were secretive about the agreement of 28 April 1934. *Morze* only writes about the existence of the plantations owned by Polish nationals and Polish advisors to the Liberian government, but before 1935 it barely even mentions Liberia. Perhaps it was due to the disappointment of the Polish government from the result of Makarczyk's visit. Maybe this was also the reason why the Treaty of Friendship was never signed. The Polish government seemed more interested in a protectorate or a mandate. As for Liberia, the agreement with Maritime and Colonial League was never ratified. President Barclay in his annual message to parliament on 28 October 1934 stated only that a trade agreement between Liberia and Poland was signed by the Secretary of State and 'the Commercial Maritime Representative of Poland'.<sup>608</sup> Was he trying to omit usage of the name of the Maritime and Colonial League? If he did, perhaps it was to avoid upsetting public opinion in Liberia, sensitive regarding Liberia's sovereignty, by implicating engaging with the organisation having colonial ambitions.

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<sup>607</sup> FO 371/18043, Yapp, Monrovia 22 October 1934, 12 - 15. Simpson also mentioned some rumors apparently circulating in Monrovia that the delegation meant to secure a loan from Poland. He stated that this rumours were not true.

<sup>608</sup> FO 371/18043, Yapp, Monrovia 10 November 1934, 49 - 78.

### 4.3. Polish advisers to Liberian Government, c. 1934 - 1936

It seems for President Barclay the principal question in relation to the Maritime and Colonial League was to obtain experts ready to work with the Liberian government as advisors. At the time of the final withdrawal of the League assistance plans, the Liberian representative stated that his country was determined to secure the advice of foreign specialists.<sup>609</sup> President Barclay admitted to McBride that outside help and advice is essential, instanced his recognition of this by the presence of Polish experts, and added that after a few years of foreign help Liberia would be able to carry on unaided.<sup>610</sup>

At the beginning of August 1934, the British Legation in Monrovia reported that Sajous had returned from one of his visits to Poland in July accompanied by Tadeusz Brudziński, with one or two other Poles expected to arrive shortly.<sup>611</sup> Indeed, in August 1934 another expert from Poland, Jerzy Wincenty Babecki, arrived in Monrovia. Brudzinski and Babecki came to Liberia to serve as economic and sanitary advisers respectively as a part of Liberia's own plan of assistance.<sup>612</sup> This action of the Liberian government was met by foreign observers with a certain dose of skepticism. They doubted that Liberians had any true intentions or means to improve the situation by themselves, especially that the Liberian government was very secretive about the scheme.<sup>613</sup> In the opinion of Geoffrey A. Wallinger, the position of any foreign experts would be made impossible by the Liberian insistence

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<sup>609</sup> Mower, 'The Republic of Liberia', p. 295.

<sup>610</sup> FO 371/18042, Report on the visit of Mr. Harry A. McBride to Liberia, Yapp 04 September 1934, 223 – 228.

<sup>611</sup> FO 371-18042, Yapp to John Simon 06 August 1934, 144 – 145.

<sup>612</sup> FO 371-18042, Yapp to John Simon 06 August 1934, 144 – 145.

<sup>613</sup> FO 371/18042, Walinger, minutes 22 August 1934, 155.

on the protection of their precious constitutional rights.<sup>614</sup> Lord Lugard, former Governor-General of Nigeria, expressed a similar view commenting on a proposal made by the Liberian government to the Belgian Government that they should nominate an adviser with administrative experience.<sup>615</sup> According to Lord Lugard, Liberia refused the essential conditions of the assistance plan and was trying to bluff the British and the Americans and delay any potential measures that the League of Nations or the great powers could undertake against her by appointing 'a man of the very highest reputation' as an advisor.<sup>616</sup> He continued by suggesting, 'she [Liberia] will endeavour by making all kinds of promises to him to induce him to take up an attitude antagonistic to that of the League and the two Governments concerned'.<sup>617</sup> Furthermore, even if the Liberian government had true intentions to implement all the reforms proposed by this advisor, Lugard doubted that the scheme can bring a successful outcome due to Liberia's current financial situation.

If he suggests any reforms which Liberia professes to accept, they cannot be put into execution without funds, and these can only be found by the Firestone Corporation to which she is heavily in debt. She is pledged not to raise a loan in the circumstances, and indeed could not succeed in doing so.<sup>618</sup>

Therefore the presence of foreign advisors in Liberia would be entirely useless unless supported by the League of Nations' power and funds.<sup>619</sup> Similarly, Yapp doubted whether any of the experts employed by the Liberian government will have any real authority to put their recommendation into operation. He reported his conversation with Rudolf Fuszek, who had been acting Director for Sanitation and

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<sup>614</sup> FO 371/18042, Foreign Office minutes Minutest by Wallinger 22 October 1934, 311.

<sup>615</sup> A former vice governor of the Congo was proposed, but he has not accepted the Liberian Government's invitation as he thought that the preset conditions in that country gave scant hope of a successful outcome to any mission he might undertake. FO 371/18042, Baron de Cartier de Marchienne from Belgian Embassy to Mr. Seymour 24 September 1934, 260 – 262.

<sup>616</sup> FO 371/18042, Copy of the Lugard's letter to Mr. Orts enclosed to Logard's letter to Sir John Simon dated 30 August 1934, 161-163.

<sup>617</sup> Ibid.

<sup>618</sup> Ibid.

<sup>619</sup> Ibid.



Public Health in Liberia for several years. According to Yapp, Fuszek was assured immediately after Babecki's arrival by the Secretary of State, on the instruction of the President that the presence of the experts would in no way interfere with his work. Any recommendation of the expert should make would be referred to Fuszek for his observation.<sup>620</sup> Neither McBride nor Yapp did seem to take the appointment of the Polish advisers very seriously as, paradoxically, neither Babecki nor Brudzinski had ever had any tropical experience.<sup>621</sup>

A letter dated 27 September 27 1934, from the Liberian Secretary of State to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, reported the engagement of two Polish experts, including a medical doctor Jerzy Wincenty Babecki who had previously served in the health section of the League of Nations.<sup>622</sup> However, as one British delegate to the League of Nations pointed out, this statement was not accurate. Babecki was introduced to League of Nations by the Rockefeller Foundation. He had held a fellowship of the International Health Board of the Foundation to enable him to study in America, London, and Paris, and at their request, he was allowed to spend a few weeks studying the available material in the League of Nations Health Section. Walters reported that, according to Ludwik Witold Rajchman, who was personally acquainted with Babecki, he was a competent health officer and has done useful fieldwork in Poland.<sup>623</sup> Yapp, remarks that Babecki did his best 'to make himself pleasant and liked'.<sup>624</sup> Annual report upon leading personalities in Liberia from 10 February 1935 described Babecki as a very energetic little man who intends well,

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<sup>620</sup> FO 371/18042, Yapp, Monrovia, 21 August 1934, 200 - 203.

<sup>621</sup> FO 371/18042, Record of conversation between H.A. McBride, Millard of the United States Embassy, Thomson and Wallinger on 18 September 1934, 244 - 246.

<sup>622</sup> FO 371/18042, Letter from the Liberian government to the Secretary General dated 27 September 1934 Communicated by the League of Nation to the Council and members of the League regarding situation in Liberia on 3 October 1934, 309 – 310.

<sup>623</sup> FO 371/18043, F. Walters, League of Nations, to Strang 23 October 1934. 316 - 317.

<sup>624</sup> FO 371/19235, Revision of the annual report upon leading personalities in Liberia 20 February 1934, 247, 1.

'but has obviously undertaken a task for which he is not too well equipped.'<sup>625</sup>

Additionally, the report mentioned that he claims to be a lieutenant-colonel in the Polish army.<sup>626</sup> This claim seems to be confirmed by Tadeusz Bialas's study.<sup>627</sup>

The second Pole, Tadeusz Brudziński, had 'submitted valid testimonials as evidence of his qualifications as a reputable economist'.<sup>628</sup> He had also familiarised himself with the agricultural organisations and economic problems of several European states and acquired a store of agricultural experience at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.<sup>629</sup> Yapp reported that he was an energetic man, anxious to justify himself.<sup>630</sup> He was rather inclined to 'assume airs and has thereby alienated the sympathies of most of the white residents whom he has attempted to cross-examine as though he had dictatorial powers'.<sup>631</sup> Yapp described him as not trustworthy. He wrote about Brudziński: 'he is suave and has exaggerated continental manners. I would not care to trust him much'.<sup>632</sup>

Yapp's dispatches from Monrovia provide an account of the activities of these two experts. Yapp recounts how Brudzinski and Babecki, together with Sajous as Chief Adviser, were responsible for putting into operation Liberia's own plan of assistance.<sup>633</sup> Both Polish advisors were reported to work very hard, rushing around the place, assuming powers of decision and importance of their mission.<sup>634</sup> The government leased two houses in Monrovia to accommodate them and they were

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<sup>625</sup> Ibid.

<sup>626</sup> Ibid.

<sup>627</sup> Bialas, *Liga Liga*, p.213.

<sup>628</sup> FO 371/18042, Letter from the Liberian government to the Secretary General dated 27 September 1934 Communicated by the League of Nation to the Council and members of the League regarding situation in Liberia on 3 October 1934, 309 – 310.

<sup>629</sup> Ibid.

<sup>630</sup> FO 371/19235, Revision of the annual report upon leading personalities in Liberia 20 February 1934, 247, 3.

<sup>631</sup> Ibid.

<sup>632</sup> Ibid.

<sup>633</sup> FO 371/18042, Yapp, Monrovia 21 August 1934, 200-203.

<sup>634</sup> Ibid.

provided with a second-hand car and monthly salaries of \$350 US dollars each. Yet Yapp suspected that no one, not even the Liberians, took them too seriously.<sup>635</sup> There was a joke about the introduction of Polish advisers circulating in Monrovia: 'we have discarded the lumber for the Poles' – the word 'lumber' referred to the American fiscal officers who all happened to be big men.<sup>636</sup> According to Yapp's report from October 1934, Brudzinski whose appointment was for eighteen months had brought his brother and a friend to the country. Brudzinski's brother claimed to have experience in coffee and cocoa growing in Portuguese West Africa. The three of them had left Monrovia for a tour in the hinterland and there was a talk of their securing a concession of 20,000 acres for the purpose of growing cocoa. They were also alleged to be making plans for the reconditioning of the derelict coffee screening plant.<sup>637</sup>

According to Polish archival sources Zygmunt Brudziński, Tadeusz' brother together with Kamil Giżycki and Stanisław Szablowski were first planters sent to Liberia by the Maritime and Colonial League. After their arrival in Monrovia, they took a trip to Liberian interior to find suitable land to start the plantations and Tadeusz Brudziński was assisting them with this task.<sup>638</sup> Apart from that as an advisor to Liberian government, he was mainly responsible for a revision of the customs tariffs, which has provoked general resentment in the country. Because of that, it was said, as Yapp reported, that President Barclay told him that he had bungled the first task of any importance which had been entrusted to him.<sup>639</sup>

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<sup>635</sup> FO 371/18043, Yapp to Thompson 12 November 1934, 87- 90.

<sup>636</sup> FO 371/19235, Annual report on Liberia for the period January 1934 to May 1935, Yapp 15 May 1935, 352, 8.

<sup>637</sup> FO 371/18043, Yapp, Monrovia 22 October 1934, 12 - 15.

<sup>638</sup> AAN, Konsulat RP w Monrowii, 5, A note regarding the Maritime and Colonial League' presence in Liberia (not dated), 19 – 20.

<sup>639</sup> FO 371/19235, Revision of the Annual Report upon leading personalities in Liberia, Yapp 20 February 1935, 247 , 2.

Babecki, whose appointment was understood to be for six months only, had reportedly been spending a lot of time conducting a medical survey of school children and had attempted to take a census of the population of Monrovia. According to Fuszek, Babecki made various suggestions regarding the draining of stagnant water and the removal of refuse. He also made suggestions for the reorganisation of staff in the hospital.<sup>640</sup> Despite Babecki's reports to the president, the changes could not be implemented due to financial constraints.<sup>641</sup> Babecki left Liberia in April 1935 and was replaced by Ludwig Anigstein. Yapp reported that upon his departure from Liberia Babecki told him that it was useless for him to be here with Fuszek as Director of Sanitation Service as they could not work together.<sup>642</sup> Upon Anigstein's arrival, his position was expected to be difficult, as that of his predecessor due to Fuszek's jealousy and American lack of will to allocate funds to the schemes suggested by foreign advisers.<sup>643</sup> Anigstein, a medical doctor and a university professor in Warsaw had previously worked in Malaysia before he became appointed in October 1935 to advise the Liberian government on matters of sanitation and public hygiene.<sup>644</sup> His first act as an advisor to the Liberian government was to conduct a medical survey of the country.<sup>645</sup> Yapp was much more sympathetic toward Anigstein than toward his predecessor and remained impressed by his work writing:

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<sup>640</sup> FO 371/18043, Yapp, Monrovia, 22 October 1934, 12 - 15. The health conditions, which in 1929, when yellow fever made its appearance, were described as distressing. For many years there were areas in Liberia where health conditions were in such a deplorable state in 1932 it started to be considered a serious danger on the West Coast of Africa. See Vincent J. Browne, 'Economic Development in Liberia', *The Journal of Negro Education*, 24:2, (1955) and Bøås, 'Liberia and Sierra Leone'.

<sup>641</sup> FO 371/19235, Annual report on Liberia for the period January 1934 to May 1935, Yapp 15 May 1935, 352, 10.

<sup>642</sup> FO 371-19233, Yapp to Pink on 23 April 1935, 193 - 197.

<sup>643</sup> FO 371-19233, Whittall, Monrovi, 7 June 1935, 278 - 279.

<sup>644</sup> See Chapter 3, p. 118.

<sup>645</sup> FO 371/20213, Transcript of the annual message of President Barclay to the legislature from 19 December 1935 dispatched by Yapp on 04 January 1936, 77 - 101, 96.

He [Anigstein] has already, although only in the country about six months, made three trips into the Hinterland and has produced exceedingly interesting and valuable reports...He speaks perfect English, has had experience in the Malay States, and is an admirer of British administration. I always enjoy his company, he is so patently honest and straightforward. I have confidence in his medical skills, and if he leaves Liberia, as is most likely, he will be hard to replace.<sup>646</sup>

On another occasion, Yapp described Anigstein as 'probably one of the most efficient and conscientious medical specialists who have ever come to Liberia'.<sup>647</sup> Even Fuszek found him well qualified and capable.<sup>648</sup> Anigstein resigned by the end of 1936 after completing his report on the health conditions in Liberian interior, which was judged by British Foreign Office as admirable.<sup>649</sup> President Barclay commented during his annual message to the legislature given in October 1936: 'His work, having been completed, the Doctor felt that there was no further need for his services and, as he was not in good health, he tendered his resignation, which I accepted'.<sup>650</sup> Yapp doubted however whether his recommendations would be carried out in his absence.<sup>651</sup>

Speculation arose regarding the involvement of the Polish government in this scheme, especially considering the rumours that the Polish consulate was about to be established in Monrovia.<sup>652</sup> It seemed that some kind of arrangement with Poland was likely to be made, which would mean a 'victory' for Liberia.<sup>653</sup> The Polish Honorary Consul, Rudolf Rathaus, arrived in Monrovia at the beginning of January 1935.<sup>654</sup> He quickly gave the impression that the interest of Poland in Liberia

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<sup>646</sup> FO 371/20214, Annual report upon leading personalities in Liberia, Yapp 13 April 1936, 281.

<sup>647</sup> FO 371/20214, Annual general report upon Liberian affairs, Yapp 07 May 1936, 288, 7.

<sup>648</sup> FO 371/20214, Annual report upon leading personalities in Liberia, Yapp 13 April 1936, 281.

<sup>649</sup> FO 371/20213, Pink, minutes 26 November 1936, 8.

<sup>650</sup> FO 371/20213, Transcript of the President Barclay's annual message to the legislature given on 28 October 1936 transmitted by Yapp on 06 November 1936, 12 - 33, 21.

<sup>651</sup> FO 371/20213, Pink, minutes 26 November 1936, 8.

<sup>652</sup> FO 371/18042, Wallinger to Ashley Clark 19 September 1934, 252 - 253.

<sup>653</sup> FO 371/18043, Yapp, Monrovia 22 October 1934, 12 - 15.

<sup>654</sup> FO 371/19235, Yapp, Monrovia 29 January 1935, 228 - 229.

country was long-lived.<sup>655</sup> Rathaus leased a large house in Monrovia for his consulate for two years and embarked on building alterations to make it fit for purpose. He was also very ready to talk about the plans and aspirations of his country to gain a footing on the West Coast of Africa. Rathaus spoke of Poland's intention to take various products from Liberia, including cocoa, coffee and castor beans which his compatriots are said to be planted in the interior.<sup>656</sup> Rathaus was also reported to express an interest in the question of granting a mandate over Liberia to Poland.<sup>657</sup> The recent suggestion of Hertzog that Liberia should be given to Germany seemed to have raised the idea in his mind that Poland rather than Germany might one day receive a mandate over Liberia. Rathaus in his conversation with his French and American colleagues allowed them to see that this idea was at the back of his mind, but in the opinion of the British Foreign Office, this solution was very far from practical politics.<sup>658</sup>

Suggestions had been made that, if the Polish government was involved in the advisors scheme, they were going behind the League of Nations' back for it was to the League that Liberia appealed for assistance and Poland was represented in the League of Nations Council when that body strongly condemned the Liberian attitude to the plan of assistance.<sup>659</sup> Erskine reported, based on the information given to him by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs official, that an agreement had been concluded some months ago between the Liberian Government and the Polish Maritime and Colonial League, and that Brudzinski and Babecki owed their appointments to this agreement.<sup>660</sup> Ashley Clark, a member of the British delegation to the League of

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<sup>655</sup> FO 371/19233, Whittall, Monrovia 06 June 1935, 273 – 276.

<sup>656</sup> Ibid.

<sup>657</sup> Ibid.

<sup>658</sup> FO 371/19233, Whittall, Monrovia 06 June 1935, 273 – 276.

<sup>659</sup> FO 371/18042, Wallinger, Minutes 17 September 1934, 204.

<sup>660</sup> FO 371/18043, Erskine to Simon 04 December 1934, 154 - 157.

Nations, indicated that the Polish government did not sponsor the scheme with the Liberians. He wrote: 'Messrs. Babecki and Brudziski are being sent to Liberia by a private body, called the Polish Maritime and Colonial Society. I gather that this Society is well thought of by the Polish Government and that their two representatives are respectable people'.<sup>661</sup> In reply to semi-official inquiries, Józef Potocki, from Western Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, confirmed the appointments of Babecki and Brudzinski as advisers to the Liberian Government in hygiene and agriculture respectively. He stated that their appointments had been made with the knowledge and consent of the Polish government.<sup>662</sup> It seems that the confirmation from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs gave the presence of Polish experts in Liberia more substance yet the British Foreign Office still remained sceptical. As Wallinger summarised: 'It thus seems that the two Poles themselves may be better than we had thought, that it is only Dr. Sajous who is a charlatan'.<sup>663</sup>

It appears that Liberia's approach to its relationships with Poland was rather instrumental. Perhaps the tightening of Liberia's relations with Poland in 1934 would not only secure Poland's support in the League of Nations. It could have created an impression that the Liberian government was making an effort to counterbalance British and American political and economic influence. This, in turn, could have added pressure on the American and British government to come to terms with the Liberian government. It seems possible that Liberian government had little real intentions in engaging into cooperation with Maritime and Colonial League and the scheme was introduced by Liberian government as a measure to avoid direct foreign intervention in the country, and an argument in the process of negotiating an agreement with Firestone. It is hard to assess to what extent, if at all, British and

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<sup>661</sup> FO 371/18042, Ashley Clarke to Wallinger 26 September 1934, 265 - 267.

<sup>662</sup> FO 371/18042, Erskine to Foreign Office 15 October 1934, 311.

<sup>663</sup> FO 371/18042, Minutes, Wallinger 22 October 1934, 311.

Americans feared the presence of Polish interests in Liberia could challenge their own position in this country. In the note from 17 October 1934 the American Secretary of State announced the decision of the United States government not to oppose President Barclay's desire to obtain foreign advisers. The United States was prepared to cooperate with the President in carrying out his proposals.<sup>664</sup> This was interpreted by Wallinger as a sign that the United States government was trying to withdraw discreetly from the Liberian question.<sup>665</sup> But the two American fiscal officers returned to Liberia on 1 September 1934 and Yapp indicated that one of the reasons for their return was as a countermeasure against the recent appointments of a body of foreign advisers.<sup>666</sup> Another question that remains is whether the Liberian government was aware of Poland's colonial ambitions. If they were, they managed to turn it into their own advantage. They gained Poland's support for Liberia's own plan of assistance by the promise to provide what the Maritime and Colonial League was aiming for: economic cooperation and concession of land. Then the Liberian government presented the Polish mission as a proof of recognition of the fact that Liberia needed reforms and that outside help and advice was essential, when in fact these experts remained largely powerless.

By March 1935, Liberia and the Firestone interests had come to a settlement of supplementary loan and plantations agreements, the most important features of which were a reduction of interest rate, new tax exemptions for Firestone, and exclusive rights to the minerals in the leased land.<sup>667</sup> Apparently convinced that

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<sup>664</sup> FO 371/18043, Lindsay 24 October 1934, 318 - 320.

<sup>665</sup> FO 371/18043, Wallinger, minutes 25 October 1934, 318.

<sup>666</sup> FO 371/18042, Yapp, Monrovia 17 September 1934, 290.

<sup>667</sup> On 1 January, 1935, a Supplementary Agreement No. 1 as a supplement to 1926 loan agreement to the Firestone project was made between the Liberian government, the Firestone Corporation of America, and the National City Bank of New York. The agreement provided relief for Liberia through release from payment of current interest when the annual revenue fell below \$450,000 US dollars. Interest on bonds was reduced and new bonds were to be issued to clear up bank interest payments. Supplementary Plantation Agreement No. 2 was concluded on 20 March, 1935. Larger



Liberia was intent upon its reform programme, the United States recognized Liberia in June 1935, and Great Britain followed in December 1935.<sup>668</sup> From the end of 1935, Liberia's relations with Poland started to lose its intensity and the Polish advisers left in 1936. The United States Government and the League of Nations pressed the Liberian government to effect reform, and Britain, France, and Germany voiced threats against Liberia's sovereignty but the ruling elite was determined to defend their privileged position against any intruders. Akpan presents the picture of the Liberian political leaders as one of 'slyness and duplicity, not untypical of the character of some of the leading men in the Liberian government, particularly President King and Secretary of State Edwin J. Barclay'. According to him, the latter was reported to say: 'It is not always advisable nor politic to openly expose our secret intentions, our secret thoughts. That is the way we do or rather don't do in Liberia. We don't tell them what we think, we only tell them what we like them to hear, what in fact, they like to hear'.<sup>669</sup> Yapp compared his steadfastness in defending the sovereignty of the country to religious fanaticism.<sup>670</sup> Nevertheless, by exceptional diplomatic finesse, the administration of President Edwin J. Barclay, successfully preserved Liberia's sovereignty while reforming only the surface of abuses highlighted by the League Commission securing his victory in a presidential election in 1936.<sup>671</sup>

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tax exemptions were granted the Firestone Company and the cancelled bonds valued at 650, 000 United States dollars were returned by firestone to Liberia. Wesley, 'Liberia Begins Its Second Century', p. 63.

<sup>668</sup> Mower, 'The Republic of Liberia', p. 295.

<sup>669</sup> Akpan, 'Liberia and the Universal Negro Improvement Association', p.117.

<sup>670</sup> FO 371/18043, Yapp 10 November 1934, 50.

<sup>671</sup> Akpan, 'Black Imperialism', p. 234.

#### 4.4. Polish plantations in the Liberian Hinterland, c. 1934 - 1939

In regards economic cooperation with Liberia the main goal of the Maritime and Colonial League was to initiate and maintain commercial exchange between Poland and Liberia by organising in the Liberian interior a network of trade post, selling commodities imported from Poland. The Polish campaign was designed to target mainly the tribal populations living in the hinterland as trade in the coastal area was already in the hands of French and British companies. According to the League's plans, Liberia was to become both the source of raw materials for the Polish industry and the market for Polish export. Plantations would provide tropical resources Poland needed, but those could also be obtained from local traders. Then the product would be transported on rivers and stored in warehouses, which the Maritime and Colonial League intended to build for this purpose on Liberian coast. From there the resources would be shipped to Poland by Polish commercial fleet. According to *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny* the Maritime and Colonial League was trying to get a concession from Liberian government giving Polish traders exclusive access to the marketplaces in Liberian interior. Part of the League's scheme was to establish a web of commercial outlets spread across the country to introduce Polish products to the locals.<sup>672</sup> To go to Liberia one had to have some commercial experience and a sum of 20,000 – 30,000 of Polish złoty to start a business, whether it was plantation or a trade outpost. Additionally to survive Liberian conditions, according the person should also present certain qualities like great physical health, strong will and the ability to hold his nerve, 'be a mixture of an adventurer and a calculated

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<sup>672</sup> Franciszek Gerhardt-Grzywa, 'Co nam może dać Liberia?', *Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny*, 79 (1935), p. 23.

tradesman'.<sup>673</sup> Yet it seems that in practice these characteristics were what the Poles sent to Liberia by the Maritime and Colonial League were lacking. Makarczyk writes that they were all pleasant young people but none of them ever had any trade experience.<sup>674</sup> Three from eight planters sent by the Maritime and Colonial League to Liberia in 1934 had some previous experience in tropical agriculture. Another two prior to their arrival in Liberia attended two-months training organised by the Maritime and Colonial League on a banana plantation in French Guinea, just to later discover that Liberian conditions were not suitable for growing bananas.<sup>675</sup>

As mentioned above, Makarczyk claimed that the creation of farm estates was, in the first place, never the real intention behind the agreement with the Liberian government, which he signed representing the Maritime and Colonial League in 1934. According to him, the existence of the Polish plantations was the result of misinterpretation of the treaty, which happened under the influence of big lobby against the commercial cooperation with Liberia, led by the group of importers of Brazilian coffee. It is them who, fearing competition, managed to convince the Polish government to give less importance to relations with Liberia and develop plantations rather than trade.<sup>676</sup>

In 1934 three of the prospected planters, Zygmunt Brudziński, Kamil Giżycki, and Stanisław Szablowski, after their arrival to Liberia, took a trip into the Hinterland to find land suitable for plantation. Their first choice was Cavalla region, but faced with President Barclay's disapproval, they finally decided to locate the plantations at the foot of Reppu Hills, along the only road going from Monrovia into

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<sup>673</sup> Ibid.

<sup>674</sup> Makarczyk, *Widziałem*, p. 74.

<sup>675</sup> AAN, Konsulat RP w Monrowii, 5, A note regarding the Maritime and Colonial League presence in Liberia (not dated), 19 – 20.

<sup>676</sup> Makarczyk writes that this lobbying group was behind sending to Liberia a honorary consul rather than an ambassador. Makarczyk clearly disappointed with the turn the affair took, left the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Makarczyk, *Widziałem i słyszałem*, p.74.

the country interior, which according to the Liberian government promises, was meant to be finished within a year. But this choice also met with opposition from the Liberian Government, who only agreed to lease to the Polish planters the less fertile land in the chosen area, explaining the refusal of allowing them to settle on better quality land by protest among the locals.<sup>677</sup> The land measurement then took a couple of months during which the planters had to wait in Monrovia or in some provisional camps. In March 1935 they were finally able to start the work on the plantations. The planters' first task, after building their houses, was to start nursery-gardens of cocoa and kola. Their only source of their income during that time remained monthly payments of 20 British pounds from the Maritime and Colonial League. However, when those started to arrive irregularly planters, feeling financially insecure, decided to cultivate castor bean, which was expected to bring income within a short period of time.<sup>678</sup>

The situation of planters did not seem to be stable. Polish zoologists, Jan Hirschler, visited Liberia between November 1935 and January 1936 on the invitation of one of the Polish plantation owner, Kamil Giżycki. Jan Hirschler wrote later in his memories, that in the second half of 1935, during preparation for the trip he was not even certain whether his host would still be in Liberia at the time of his planned visit.<sup>679</sup> Hirschler named three plantations owned by Polish nationals on the beginning of 1936: *Zyngi* owned Kazimierz Armin, *Nini – Bolomo* owned by Edward Januszewicz, who was joined in January 1936 by his wife, and *Batoli* owned by Kamil Giżycki and Stanisław Szablowski. He describes in details the latter, where he set up his research station. The house was built in the manner resembling African

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<sup>677</sup> AAN, Konsulat RP w Monrowii, 5, A note regarding the Maritime and Colonial League presence in Liberia, (not dated), 19 – 20.

<sup>678</sup> Ibid.

<sup>679</sup> Hirschler, *Ze Lwowa do Liberii*, pp. 13 -14.

huts in its form and materials used for the construction, but much larger and with some adjustments added. Lack of roads in the Liberian interior made the shipment of building materials from Europe impossible.<sup>680</sup> All utility buildings, including workshops and workers accommodation, had clay walls and roofs covered with palm leaves. The farm estate also comprised of the vegetable garden and small nursery-garden of coconut, cocoa, coffee, and kola. Living stock included poultry, goats of a local kind, and a few guard dogs, but even for those, as Hirschler noted, surviving in Liberia was difficult as they often got affected by local diseases.<sup>681</sup>

The estate was located on a hill called by locals *Batoli*. The farm estate and the plantation were surrounded by jungle. There were no roads accessible for cars connecting it directly with the rest of the country. Majority of arable land was used for castor bean plantation. The oil from castor bean had an industrial use in aviation, which made its cultivation profitable for the farmers. However, castor bean plantations in Liberian conditions were threatened by pests attacking its leaves and seeds. Also, the Polish farmers, unable to apply European methods of land cultivation, were struggling to use local practices.<sup>682</sup>

Workers employed on the plantation were coming from villages nearby and they were belonging to different ethnical groups. Hirschler mentions tribes Grebo, Mende, Gio and Pesse. Some of the workers were originally from French Guinea.<sup>683</sup> He reported on the poor physical condition of the villagers. He writes that although Giżycki and Szablowski were trying to take care of the health of the plantation worker, they lacked the knowledge to treat tropical diseases.<sup>684</sup> Both Giżycki and Szablowski experienced some health problems themselves after their arrival in

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<sup>680</sup> Ibid., pp. 124 – 125.

<sup>681</sup> Ibid., pp. 148 – 149.

<sup>682</sup> Ibid., p. 151 – 152.

<sup>683</sup> Ibid., p.159, 162.

<sup>684</sup> Ibid., pp. 166 – 167.

Liberia. Before Hirschler's visit, Giżycki suffered from a painful skin condition that affected his legs, from which he got cured by a remedy recommended by Babecki. Szablowski had a problem with his ear, which made him concerned enough to consider leaving Liberia hoping that the change of environment would help. Hirschler writes that at the time of his stay on the plantation Szablowski was planning to move to his brother leaving in Senegal. That did not happen however and Hirschler found out a year later that Szablowski completely abandoned life on the African plantation and returned to Poland.<sup>685</sup> Apart from health issues, Polish planters were struggling financially, what prevented them from introducing solutions that could possibly increase the effectivity of the plantations. Giżycki and Szablowski were not the only ones struggling. Edward Januszewicz' plantation, *Nini – Bolomo*, was located at a distance of 7 kilometers from Batoli, separated from the latter with jungle and swamps without road connection.<sup>686</sup> Apart from castor bean, Januszewicz planted pineapple, and like Szablowski and Giżycki, he had a nursery-garden of cocoa and coffee. Hirschler writes that Januszewicz could not afford additional workers to build irrigation canals, therefore part of his plantation remained affected by drought during the dry seasons. Additionally, his crops were getting occasionally devastated by the herds of buffalos passing through.<sup>687</sup>

Polish planters sent to Liberia by the Maritime and Colonial League formed the Polish Syndicate in Monrovia, for the purpose of conducting commerce. The Syndicate membership was necessary to receive the League's financial support.<sup>688</sup> In the Reppu region, the Syndicate established a shop selling products imported from Poland. The shop, managed by Januszewicz, was, according to Hirschler, the only

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<sup>685</sup> Ibid., p. 167.

<sup>686</sup> Ibid., p. 203.

<sup>687</sup> Ibid., p. 211.

<sup>688</sup> AAN, Konsulat RP w Monrowii, 5, A note regarding the Maritime and Colonial League presence in Liberia (not dated), 21.

store in the Liberian interior owned by a European. French and English stores were located only in Monrovia and along the coastal area. Hirshler did not hide his surprise seeing Polish shop, this 'sole outpost of European culture', in the Liberian jungle.<sup>689</sup> The majority of the goods for sale were from Poland. Hirshler recognised some metal bracelets manufactured in Łódź. Apart from jewelry the shop offered its customers a few different kinds of fabric and some imported commodities like sugar and cooking pans, which were, Hirshler remarks, particularly popular among the locals.<sup>690</sup>

The merchandise was brought from Poland to Liberia on board of *Poznań*, a commercial vessel owned by the *Żegluga Polska*, a ship-owning company opened with state funds and chartered with the Maritime and Colonial League's funds.<sup>691</sup> The trip was organised with the cooperation the Polish Ministry of Industry and Trade, Institute of Export, and *Kompania Handlu Zamorskiego*, a trading company, which invested the capital in products meant for sale.<sup>692</sup> Although the goods brought to Liberia by *Poznań* were ordered by *Denis* company based in Monrovia, not by the Polish Syndicate, they were given to be retailed by the Syndicate, according to with Consul Rathaus instructions.<sup>693</sup> The *Poznań* reached Monrovia on 19 January 1935 and then visited Ivory Coast, Gold Coast, Togo, and Nigeria. By the end of February 1935, the *Poznań* was on his way back to Poland bringing on board raw materials like palm nuts and cocoa bought in colonies.<sup>694</sup> The mission of *Poznań*, as Michał Pankiewicz of the Maritime and Colonial League explains, was to introduce Polish

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<sup>689</sup> Hirschler, *Ze Lwowa do Liberii*, p. 223.

<sup>690</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 223 – 224.

<sup>691</sup> 'Do Afryki Zachodniej', *Morze*, 2 (1935), p. 16.

<sup>692</sup> Michał Pankiewicz, 'Nasza wyprawa do Afryki', *Morze*, 4 (1935), p. 7.

<sup>693</sup> AAN, Konsulat RP w Monrowii, 5, A note regarding the Maritime and Colonial League presence in Liberia (not dated), 21.

<sup>694</sup> Pankiewicz, 'Nasza wyprawa', p. 7.

products to West-African markets.<sup>695</sup> Apparently, Poland's commercial expansion to Liberia was a part of broader plans for the African West Coast. Pankiewicz admitted that trade in Western parts of Africa was dominated by British and French companies and entering these markets was not an easy task. Poland would be seen as an unwanted intruder. According to Pankiewicz, there were two ways of how Poland could enter West-African markets: one of the strategies Pankiewicz demonstrates using an example of Soviet products, which were being sold along the African West Coast by the United Africa Company playing the role of a broker for Soviet exporters and importers. However one of the Maritime and Colonial League's goal was to eliminate the role of middleman in developing direct commercial links between Polish traders and African producers. Therefore the Maritime and Colonial League had to use a strategy practiced by the Japanese, which meant loading commodities intended for retail on a ship and sending it to Africa.<sup>696</sup> The trip of *Poznań* was an attempt to implement the Japanese approach. The load taken on-board the Polish vessel consisted of fabrics products including duvets, scarfs and man underwear, accessories, steel, nails, some enameled dishes, soap, salt, sugar, cement and tinned food. The purpose was to check what kind of product will find a demand.<sup>697</sup>

According to local traders in Monrovia all the goods brought by the Polish vessel, which unloaded about 45 tons, benefited from favourable treatment such as the waiving of import duty. The British and other traders nevertheless seemed quite confident that so long as such advantages as these are not enjoyed by the Poles they can hold their own and will have little to fear in the face of Polish competition. They pointed out that their head offices already were buying in Poland such goods as can

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<sup>695</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>696</sup> Ibid.

<sup>697</sup> Ibid., p. 7.



be sold here, and they, therefore, did not see that there was any place for Polish middleman or how the Polish goods they would sell could be seriously undercut by those to be imported by the Poles. In Whittall's opinion, although the presence of Polish advisers in Liberia may have helped their countryman, for the time being, Polish prospects in this country did not seem very encouraging. In June 1936 he expected the advisors to lose much of their influence once the Firestone agreements will be approved.<sup>698</sup> Initially, the development of the scheme looked promising for the Maritime and Colonial League, enjoying official support. President Barclay in 1934 declared that the Government was pursuing a 'policy of rapid distribution of marketable products that can be sold to Poland, through the hinterland districts, and the instruction of the citizens in the arts of scientific cultivation of such products'.<sup>699</sup> Jan Bartoszczyk, the Maritime and Colonial League representative residing in Monrovia, planned to open branches of the Polish Syndicate in Grand Bassa and Saino. At the beginning, the Polish Syndicate was bringing satisfying results, but after a few months was forced to suspend all activity. The Syndicate was not able to operate without the financial subsidies from the Maritime and Colonial League. The Syndicate headquarters was closed, and as the rent was paid for a year in advance, Consul Rathaus and Bartoszczyk, moved in there. Soon the planters discovered that goods brought to Liberia on the board of *Poznań* were not suitable for local markets and in 1937 they decided to liquidate the shop storage full of merchandise, which did not find demand, particularly salt and chamber pots.<sup>700</sup> Lack of funds was what prevented the Polish Syndicate from building a coffee mill, and organising shipment routes promised by Makarczyk. In the planters' opinion, the inability to fulfill this

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<sup>698</sup> FO 371/19233, Whittall, Monrovia 06 June 1935, 273 – 276.

<sup>699</sup> FO 371/18043, Yapp, Monrovia 10 November 1934, 49 – 78.

<sup>700</sup> AAN, Konsulat RP w Monrowii, 5, A note regarding the Maritime and Colonial League presence in Libeiria (not dated), 21.

task was what undermined the trust Liberian governed had in the Maritime and Colonial League.<sup>701</sup> As for the development of the plantations from January 1936, the planters started to again receive regular subsidies from the Maritime and Colonial League and this allowed them to focus on nursery-gardens of cocoa and coffee.<sup>702</sup> Yapp reported in 1936 that the Polish land concession extended to 7,800 acres near Reputown, about 60 miles from Monrovia on the north side of the Firestone Duside plantation. About 400 acres have been planted by three parties of settlers with coffee, cocoa, and kola nut.<sup>703</sup> For him, the future of this venture was very doubtful and in the opinion of most observers, it was doomed to failure as Liberian coffee was almost valueless and this was the main crop on which the settlers found their hopes.<sup>704</sup> The plantations started to experience problems before even the planters were able to harvest their crops. Coffee seeds they bought from Spanish Guiney were old and infected with diseases, so only a small part of it was able to sprout.<sup>705</sup> Also growing coffee or cocoa on the land previously used for the cultivation of castor bean required the application of some cover crops and the planters had difficulties with obtaining seeds of those. In May 1937 the plantations were visited by the director of agricultural service from Cote d'Ivoire, who was asked by the Maritime and Colonial League to advise settlers on the cultivation of the tropical plants. He provided some small amounts of cover plants' seeds, but planters' attempts to get larger quantities of it remained fruitless. As a result, the planters decided to grow cocoa in the jungle, following local methods. Only in 1938 when they finally managed to acquire cover crops' seeds, proper cultivation of coffee and cocoa could

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<sup>701</sup> Ibid.

<sup>702</sup> Ibid., 19 – 20.

<sup>703</sup> FO 371/20214, Yapp, Annual general report upon Liberian affairs 07 May 1936, 288, 16.

<sup>704</sup> Ibid.

<sup>705</sup> AAN, Konsulat RP w Monrowii, 5, A note regarding the Maritime and Colonial League presence in Liberia (not dated), 19 – 20.

start.<sup>706</sup> By this time however, the Maritime and Colonial League was considering closing the plantations down, discouraged by the slow development of these plantations. In 1938 the size of the concession in Repputown region was about 1500 ha, of which only 205 ha were used. There were three plantations operating there: *Nini – Bolomo* in size of 90 ha, *Batoli – 79* ha and *Dingita – 36* ha. The Maritime and Colonial League managed to secure another two land concessions. One of the size of 1000 ha was near the town called Maino. The second was consisting of a lease of an existing plantation located by Saint Paul River. But there was never any work carried out by the Maritime and Colonial League in those places. On the operating plantations from the nursery-gardens of cocoa and coffee started in 1936 only a part of the trees survived to 1938, which allowed growing about 90 ha of cocoa, 10 ha of coffee and 15 ha of kola. Additionally, around 10 ha was planted with rice. High rotation of the planters and their lack of experience and technical knowledge was an issue. In 1938 there was only one Polish planter left in Liberia. The road promised by the Liberian government was still not finished. The League plantations were located 120 km northeast from Monrovia. In 1938 there was around 90 km of road accessible for cars, rest of the distance to plantations had to be traveled on foot. For four years since 1934 Liberian authorities managed to build only 10 km of road, which did not give much hope for its completion in the near future. The Polish Syndicate was completely dissolved by 1938 as it was not profitable.<sup>707</sup>

The relationship between Liberia and Poland and this time became more difficult. In October 1936 Polish consul in Monrovia, Stefan Paprzycki, who replaced Rathaus as Polish consul in Monrovia, reported a negative campaign in Liberian press

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<sup>706</sup> Ibid., 19 – 20.

<sup>707</sup> AAN, MSZ, 4464, Mańkowski, Polish Consul in Monrovia to Polish Consulate in Marseille 27 July 1938, 1 – 3.

targeted against Poland. Liberian Ambassador in Paris, during his visit in the Polish embassy, explained that the public opinion in Liberia is getting anxious by the rumours that Poland is attempting to turn Liberia into her colony. But at the same time, he assured that the Liberian government was not worried and nothing had changed in friendly relations between his country and Poland, but it would be desirable, in his opinion, if the Polish government and the Maritime and Colonial League took an effort to calm down Liberian public opinion by dementing those rumours.<sup>708</sup> However, in 1938, Józef Mańkowski, who took over the posts of Polish consul in Monrovia after Paprzycki left, reported growing distrust of the Liberian authorities toward any whites except for Americans.<sup>709</sup> Liberian Secretary of State, Simpson, in conversation with Mańkowski, complained about mismanagement of the plantations and poor results in growing crops.<sup>710</sup> He also accused the Maritime and Colonial League of not keeping the terms of the agreement by not paying compensations to the local farmers for the leased land. Mańkowski was not entirely sure what kind obligations the League took upon herself regarding this issue, but he was under the impression, according to information given by the planters, that this matter has been settled individually with every local farmer involved.<sup>711</sup>

The situation was complicated by the investigation carried out by the Liberian authorities that showed that the Polish citizens were involved in selling hunting firearms to locals, which was forbidden by the law. Mańkowski feared that the

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<sup>708</sup> AAN, MSZ, 7011, Łukasiewicz to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 13 October 1936, 1 – 2.

Stefan Paprzycki came to Monrovia as the Maritime and Colonial League representative replacing Bartoszczyk. But in 1936, after Rathaus went to Europe for his annual leave and refused to come back to Liberia, Paprzycki was appointed for the post Polish consul in Monrovia. AAN, MSZ, 643, Paprzycki to Polish Consulate in Marseille 10 July 1936, 20 - 21.

<sup>709</sup> AAN, MSZ, 4464, Mańkowski, Polish Consul in Monrovia to Polish Consulate in Marseille 27 July 1938, 1 – 3.

<sup>710</sup> AAN, MSZ, 4464, Mańkowski, Polish Consul in Monrovia to Polish Consulate in Marseille 12 August 1938, 4 - 5.

<sup>711</sup> AAN, MSZ, 4464, Mańkowski, Polish Consul in Monrovia to Polish Consulate in Marseille 18 August 1938, 6.

results of the investigation will be used in the campaign against Poland. He was convinced the Liberian Government, under American pressure, was conducting an action design to eliminate European economic influence that could possibly challenge Firestone position in the country. He gives as an example the case of the Dutch Syndicate forced to withdraw from the concession for mineral exploration. In Mańkowski's opinion, the change in the Liberian government's approach towards the Maritime and Colonial League and Poland's economic presence in Liberia was part of this process.<sup>712</sup> His advice to the Polish government in this situation was to not get directly involved in the matter concerning plantations, as it could reflect negatively on Poland's foreign policy, and allow the Maritime and Colonial League deal with the problem.<sup>713</sup> The Maritime and Colonial League intended to defend its interests and conduct a reorganisation of the plantations.<sup>714</sup> The League attempted to complain to President Barclay about the unfavourable atmosphere created by anti-Polish campaign being carried out by Liberian press for the last three years.<sup>715</sup> It does not seem however that this effort brought any positive results. In May 1939 the Maritime and Colonial League withdrew from Liberia, and the existing plantations were taken over by International Settlement Society (*Międzynarodowe Towarzystwo Osadnicze*), a company opened in 1936 by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs to manage and organise emigration from Poland to South America, to serve as a training centre for students from Jagiellonian University, who wished to get internships on a colonial plantation.<sup>716</sup>

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<sup>712</sup> AAN, Konsulat w Monrowii, 5, Mańkowski to Polish Consulate in Marseille 17 January 1939, 8 – 9.

<sup>713</sup> AAN, MSZ, 4464, Mańkowski, Polish Consul in Monrovia to Polish Consulate in Marseille 12 August 1938, 4 - 5.

<sup>714</sup> AAN, MSZ, 4464, Mańkowski, Polish Consul in Monrovia to Polish Consulate in Marseille 03 October 1938, 10.

<sup>715</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9765, Draft of a letter addressed to President Barclay from the Maritime and Colonial League Director of the Main Board (not dated), 8 - 9.

<sup>716</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9765, Kwaśniewski to Międzynarodowe Towarzystwo Osadnicze 25 May 1939, 17 – 18.

Comparing the Maritime and Colonial League settlement scheme in Liberia to the Colonial Pioneers settlement scheme in Angola, explored in Chapter 3, shows a change of approach to colonization in Africa. The Maritime and Colonial League became directly involved in the process by entering a formal agreement with the Liberian government and obtaining a land concession. The League chosen the suitable land, with Liberian approval, recruited the settlers and provided them monthly subsidies. The League also made the attempt to stipulate commerce not only with Liberia but also with other countries on the African West Coast. But circumstances surrounding these two projects, the settlement in Angola and the settlement in Liberia, were different. The settlement in Angola was the initiative of the Colonial Pioneers Association. The cooperation between the Maritime and Colonial League and the Republic of Liberia appears to be started by the later. The League tried to take advantage of the situation to secure its interests and the future of the settlements. There can be little doubt that the Maritime and Colonial League involvement in Liberia was happening with the knowledge of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It turned the attention of the foreign observers to the ongoing colonial propaganda in Poland, which was regarded with some level of suspicion. Suggestions that Poland would be interested in possibly gaining a mandate over Liberia became a reason for speculation as to the true nature of Polish involvement. Just like the rumours that Poland wanted to take over Angola from Portugal had stopped the development of the Polish settlement in Angola, the rumours that Poland wanted to turn Liberia into her colony ended the period of cooperation between the League and Liberian government. Although it needs to be noted that there were other underlying causes that played part in it, mainly the growing commitment of the Liberian government to the Firestone Corporation, as sketched earlier in the chapter.

However it seems that even after the Polish advisors left Liberia, the Liberian government was allowing development of the settlement and even granted two more land concessions to the League. Perhaps it was an attempt to leave itself some kind of alternative to Firestone plantations, or creating an impression of an alternative that could be used to Liberian advantage in their relations with Firestone. But the settlements were developing on a very slow pace, and as such were of no use to Liberia, while the influence of the Firestone over the Republic grew stronger. Overall, although the Maritime and Colonial League grossly misinterpreted her situation in Liberian politics, the settlement had some potential, which remain not fully utilised by the League. Similar can be said about the attempt of stimulating commercial exchange between Poland and Liberia. Polish Syndicate failed to attract buyers, and the trip made by *Poznań* remained the one-time occurrence.

The Colonial Pioneers Association's plans for colonization of Angola and the Maritime and Colonial League settlement scheme in Liberia although very different in details, they both ended with the rumours of Poland's ambitions of becoming a colonial power. It was, in fact, part of the Maritime and Colonial League programme to obtain colonies for Poland. But the examples of Polish settlements in Angola and Liberia show that actually, the colonial propaganda carried out by the Maritime and Colonial League became a factor hindering the development of the Polish settlements. The development of the colonisation scheme was impeded by Poland's colonial aspiration. What turned public opinion in Liberia, sensitive regarding preserving the independence of the country, were the rumours of Poland wanting to turn Liberia into her own colony.

## **Chapter 5 - Colonial demands in Poland's foreign policy, c. 1932 - 1939**

### **5.1. Formulation of Poland's colonial policy, c. 1932 - 1936**

Before 1932, when Józef Beck took over the post of Foreign Affairs, the colonial propaganda conducted by the Maritime and Colonial League was not given much importance by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This was primarily down to the fact that Beck's predecessor, August Zaleski, did not want to complicate diplomatic relations with French, and British, by suggesting any changes to the mandate system.<sup>717</sup>

According to Tadeusz Białas, the publicity given in Poland to the claims demanding part of the former German colonies was a political maneuver to undermine claims made by the colonial movement in Germany. If Germany recovered its colonies from before the First World War, it would strengthen its position in Europe. However, the approach of Orlicz - Dreszer to the colonial programme of the Maritime and Colonial League was not purely instrumental. During his work with the Maritime and Colonial League Orlicz - Dreszer focused rather on solidifying Poland's position on the Baltic Coast. Improving the Polish economy and development of the navy were for him necessary conditions for starting an overseas expansion.<sup>718</sup> According to Léon Noël, French Ambassador in Warsaw Orlicz – Dreszer, did not disregard the matter of colonies. While Józef Beck, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs wanted greater involvement of the Maritime and Colonial League in the question of mandates' revision, Orlicz – Dreszer's view was

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<sup>717</sup> Białas, *Liga Morska*, p. 34.

<sup>718</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 28 – 29.



more moderate.<sup>719</sup>

In 1932, following a significant decrease in emigration from Poland as the worldwide economic depression saw destination countries block new arrivals, the Polish Emigration Office was dissolved. The majority of issues related to migration abroad, therefore, became the responsibility of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.<sup>720</sup> In November 1932 August Zaleski resigned from the Office of Minister of Foreign Affairs and Piłsudski selected Józef Beck to replace him.<sup>721</sup> It seems that from this point onward the government's approach to colonial issues started to change, as the emigration policy became closely tied to Polish foreign policy. Possession of colonial territories seemed to become a more seriously considered option for Poland in the times of economic crisis. The Foreign Ministry report from 30 December 1933 consists of the summary of work undertaken by the Ministry after the liquidation of the Emigration Office regarding all issues related to emigration. Inter-Ministerial Committee for Emigration was created under the chairmanship of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Committee was designed as a body coordinating emigration policy and it consisted of representatives of each: the Minister of Social Welfare, Minister of Industry and Trade, Minister of the Treasury, the Minister of Agriculture and Agrarian Reforms and the Director of the *Państwowy Bank Rolny*, state bank for

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<sup>719</sup> Bujkiewicz, *Aspiracje kolonialne*, p. 33.

<sup>720</sup> As given by the informative brochure published by the Polish Ministry of Social Welfare: Ministerstwo Opieki Społecznej, *Polityka Społeczna Państwa Polskiego 1918-1935*, (Warszawa 1935), p. 16.

<sup>721</sup> Having taken office on 2 November 1932, Józef Beck was the longest serving Foreign Affairs Minister of the Second Polish Republic. He was handpicked for the post by Piłsudski and, in his own eyes at least, remained a loyal executor of the Marshal's political testament of 1935 in the foreign sphere. Anna Maria Kostus, 'Making the worst of a bad situation: how the interpersonal conflict between Foreign Minister Jozef Beck and Marshal Edward Rydz-Smigly affected Poland's perception of the German threat in the run-up to the Second World War' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Kings College London, 2015) p. 16. Anna Maria Kostus the introduction of her dissertation provides a complex description of historiographical controversies surrounding Beck as a political figure, including his relationship with Piłsudski.

agriculture.<sup>722</sup> The Inter-Ministerial Committee for Emigration was assigned by the Minister of Foreign Affairs with the task of preparing plans for organising settlements for Polish migrants and managing the existing Polish settlement schemes in Brazil and Peru, which had started to crumble due to financial difficulties.<sup>723</sup> The Committee predicted that emigration from Poland will decrease, due to immigration restrictions in receiving countries, and the poor financial situation of Polish peasants, which prevented them from covering travel expenses to the countries still accepting migrants. This together with increasing birth rate in rural areas might create in the future a difficult situation for the Polish peasantry. Therefore, it might become necessary to use measures to enable the outflow of population from the countryside. In this situation, it was necessary to look for forms of emigration that would not depend on fluctuation in the world's economy. According to the reported opinion of the Inter-Ministerial Committee for Emigration, colonising settlement emigration would guarantee this stability and in the future, it would need to be conducted on a mass scale. It had been suggested that the settlements created by Polish migrants should remain under Polish administration and be supported by the presence of Polish capital in receiving countries. Without the latter, the success of the settlement action would depend completely on how the receiving country decides to regulate immigration and settlement of the foreign nationals.<sup>724</sup>

On the other hand, the existence of Polish companies together with Polish commercial and industrial institutions in the areas populated by Polish settlers would help to maintain their connection with their motherland and prevent their assimilation in receiving countries. The existence of such enterprises, in a long time

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<sup>722</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9580, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Report and guidelines for the emigration policy for 1934 dated 20 December 1933, 76.

<sup>723</sup> Ibid., 77-78.

<sup>724</sup> Ibid., 79-82, 88-89.

perspective, was believed to be an advantage for Poland from the economic point of view as it would establish an outlet for Polish industrial exports.<sup>725</sup> Although Poland had this export opportunity, the low level of industrial production in the country restricted its ability to benefit this way. In order to increase domestic industrial production, Poland needed essential raw materials that could be only be acquired through importation.<sup>726</sup> While Poland was struggling economically with the overgrowth of the population in the countryside, there were vast, unpopulated areas offering settlement opportunities being part of colonial empires of other European countries, which according to the report, were not even able to fully exploit the economic potential of their colonial possessions.

The report prepared by the Inter-Ministerial Committee for Emigration expressed interest in Africa as an unlimited source of natural riches like timber, gold and precious stones and land available for cultivation. The main goal in this matter would be obtaining colonies for Poland, however, as taking direct possession over a colonial territory did not seem possible, the plan considered the possibility of creating an economic condominium with one of the existing colonial powers. This form of cooperation, as the report presented it, would allow Poland to operate freely on the whole territory of the colony, or just part of it, in all economic matters, on the rights equal with those of the country holding the colony. All political matters would still remain under the control of the colonial power possessing the colony. It is even suggested that, if Polish emigration to the condominium was promoted it could allow Poland to gain an advantage over her partner, eventually leading to Polish interest gaining dominant influence in the colony. At the same time, Poland should undertake economic expansion to mandate territories, by obtaining land concessions, as the

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<sup>725</sup> Ibid., 97-98.

<sup>726</sup> Ibid., 109-110.

Treaty of Versailles, report states, gives all members of the League of Nations free economic access to it on the equal rights with the mandate holder.<sup>727</sup> The report highlights the role of Polish settlements in these plans. It is their existence in a certain territory that should justify and initiate Poland's colonial claims to it. From 1932 colonialism started 'emancipate' itself from Poland's emigration policy. Colonial rhetoric started to shift its accents. From this point, colonies stopped being only a solution for resolving emigration problems. The possession of colonial territories itself started to be seen as a goal in Poland's foreign policy, and the fact that colonies would give an outlet for emigration from Poland became one of the arguments justifying Poland's need for colonies. This shift became apparent in 1936 when intensification of the governmental work can be observed.

Following the Italian-Abyssinian conflict in 1935, Germany's increased its propaganda for the return of its former colonies, discussions started within the League of Nation regarding the question of equal access to colonial resources. A stir was caused by the speech given by Samuel Hoare, the British Foreign Secretary, to the Assembly of the League of Nations on 13 September 1935. Hoare addressing the question of redistribution of raw materials said that abundant supply of raw materials gives an advantage to countries possessing them either in their soil or in their colonial territories and it raised the fear that exclusive monopolies might be set up at the expense of countries without colonial empires. This fear could be exaggerated and exploited for other purposes, but it was a real problem and it would not be wise to ignore it. Hoare added: 'The view of the British Government is that the problem is economic rather than political or territorial' and suggested that Britain would be

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<sup>727</sup> Ibid., 115-118.

ready to investigate the matter.<sup>728</sup> The emphasis should be made upon the free distribution of raw materials from colonial areas, including protectorates and mandated territories, among industrial countries that required such materials.<sup>729</sup> Polish policymakers seemed to expect the question of redistribution of the mandates would soon be brought up within the League of Nations. Józef Potocki, the deputy director of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs Political Department and the head of its Western Division, was convinced that when it happens it will cause the countries to 'bargain' for mandates and that Poland had the right to demand a mandate territory. Preparing for this eventuality on 9 May 1936 the first of a series of inter-departmental conferences took place within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs organised by Wiktor Drymmer, the director of both Consular Department and the Human Resources Department in the Ministry and one of the closest associates of Minister Józef Beck, with the purpose of discussing the form and character of Poland's colonial demands.<sup>730</sup> The outcome of these meetings was the elaboration of arguments explaining the reasons behind the need for colonies. These were often referred to in the official communication as 'Poland's colonial thesis' or 'Poland's colonial arguments'. It remained a core of the government's colonial policy and included some main components, which can be described as demographic, economic, political and cultural.

The demographic argument suggested that Poland was overpopulated and needed an outlet for its surplus population. Poland's population numbered 34,000,000 people and was the world's fourth country with the highest birth rate. In terms of population, Poland was the sixth largest country in Europe and eleventh in

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<sup>728</sup> CO 852/21/2, Colonial raw materials: Sir Samuel Hoare's speech at Geneva.

<sup>729</sup> Ibid.

<sup>730</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, Protocol from the conference in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs held on 09 May 1936, 138-143.

the world. In terms of the size of the territory Poland was again sixth in Europe but in the world classification, it took the twenty-sixth position. This disproportion in the world classification 'authorised' Poland to claim colonies.<sup>731</sup> Apoloniusz Zarychta, the Director of the Emigration Department within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was the main representant of this line of thinking where Poland's 'demographic potential' justified the claim to colonies. He considered as 'abnormal' the situation where some countries, like Belgium or France, which according to him did not have this 'demographic potential', have vast colonial territories and other countries like Poland are 'deprived' of these opportunities that having colonial possession creates.<sup>732</sup>

The problem of high population growth in rural areas could be solved either through emigration or by the increased industrialisation of the country. Industrialisation, however, brought the problem of access to raw materials. The fact that most of the world's raw materials were in a possession of only a few countries limited the opportunity of development for the Polish industry.<sup>733</sup> The economic argument states that Poland was unable to raise its level of industrial development, which would create more work opportunities for the unemployed, was a result of the lack of a sufficient supply of raw materials. Import of the raw materials required a substantial amount of foreign currency, which, with restrictions on international trade, was difficult to obtain even through increasing export. The decreasing value of Polish exports to Europe forced Poland to look for new export opportunities on other continents. Industrialisation, however, brings the problem of access to raw materials. According to the Ministry, Poland required a colonial

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<sup>731</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9581, Poland's colonial thesis, 1-7.

<sup>732</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, Protocol from the conference in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs held on 22 June 1936, 131- 135.

<sup>733</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9582, Poland's colonial thesis, 20-22.

territory rich in textile raw materials. The colony should also provide access to minerals that Poland lacked such as rubber, iron ore, copper, aluminum, and phosphorites.<sup>734</sup>

The shortage of raw materials, as presented in Poland's official argumentation, had a political dimension too. The fact that only a few countries hold a monopoly over the most valuable resources and access to vast territories, which is denied for 'young', overpopulated European countries put the world peace in danger. The war between Italy and Abyssinia and the risk of the outbreak of the conflict between Italy and Great Britain or Japan and the Soviet Union was the result of this situation.<sup>735</sup> It seems that Zarychta saw the Abyssinian conflict as a result of international tension existing between the colonial powers, holding the colonies for centuries, and the countries without colonial territories, experiencing dynamic demographical growth, which he described as 'young'. In his opinion, this tension remained a threat for world peace and the colonial powers would rather agree to share their colonial possessions by dividing 'some Ubangi, Ruanda-Urundi or Angola', than risk a new war in Europe.<sup>736</sup> In the opinion of Minister Beck, the colonial system was in the first stage of collapsing increasing the need for a new form of the solution to the colonial problem.<sup>737</sup>

Finally, the colonies could be a new outlet for Polish emigration, enabling Poland to spread her cultural values. This part of Poland's argumentation is not without racial component pointing to advancing the spread of European population toward tropical and subtropical areas of the globe. Zarychta said: 'In this march towards the

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<sup>734</sup> Ibid., 11-14.

<sup>735</sup> Ibid., 1-7.

<sup>736</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, The Protocol from the conference held on 22 June 1936, 131 – 135.

<sup>737</sup> AAN, MSZ, 2183, Opinion of Office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the colonial problem from 18 June 1936, 40-42.

equator one of the leading places is occupied by Polish peasant from Parana'.<sup>738</sup> The development of science and medicine, the argument goes, made it possible for Europeans to live and function in hot climates and enabled the nations with 'high developmental dynamics' to turn to the colonisation of sparsely populated African territories.<sup>739</sup> Zarychta mentioned Angola, Southern Rhodesia, Tanganyika, Congo, and Cameroon as most suitable for white settlement.<sup>740</sup>

When it came to the practical fulfillment of its colonial plans it could be achieved by condominium or by becoming a mandate holder. According to Zarychta, it was necessary for Poland to make an attempt to become a member of the Mandate Commission to further the country's colonial cause.<sup>741</sup> He connected the matter with the issue of Jewish emigration. In his opinion, Poland should support the territorialist cause to create, in addition to Palestine, a second Jewish homeland. In his opinion, this was, a way to gain international support for Poland's colonial claims. Support would potentially come from Jewish elites from one side, from the other side, it was suggested that the French government would respond positively to this initiative, as France in the past had plans to direct Jewish emigration to her colonies of Gujana, New Caledonia and Madagascar. Such a territory, if the mandate over it would be granted to Poland, would be in fact a Polish colony and, as such, could deliver all necessary resources Polish industry needed.<sup>742</sup> As an alternative, Władysław Kulski,

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<sup>738</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, Protocol from the conference on the colonial matter held in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 22 June 1936, 131-135.

<sup>739</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9582, Poland's colonial thesis, 38 - 39.

<sup>740</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, Report from the conference in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs held on 09 May 1936, 138 - 143.

<sup>741</sup> AAN, MSZ, 2183, Report from the conference on the matter of *egalite economique* in the mandate territories held on 23 June 1936, p. 59-60.

<sup>742</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, Report from the conference in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs held on 09 May 1936, 138-143.



the head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Legal division, proposed to give all existing colonial territories under the mandate administration.<sup>743</sup>

Poland's colonial arguments were a result of conceptual work within the ministry with a practical purpose. As the next chapter will explore, when the time for redistribution of the colonies came, and there is evidence indicating that in 1936 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was convinced that it would be soon, these arguments should justify Poland's claim. Poland's colonial policy and propaganda campaign were built around these arguments to show that Poland's colonial demands are rather a rational choice based on Poland's socio-economic situation than simply a manifestation of imperial tendencies. At least this is how the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs intended it to be seen. Note for the British press regarding Poland's colonial demands from the 30 March 1939 states that Poland's colonial demands are '[...] not a manifestation of Polish imperialism, it is not a political issue. This is an economic and demographic matter'.<sup>744</sup> The demographic and economic arguments remained in the centre of Poland's colonial discourse and the colonial propaganda was built around them.

## **5.2. Poland's official colonial campaign, c. 1936 - 1939**

From 1936 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs started to develop a colonial campaign consisting of both internal and external propaganda. Colonial arguments, once formulated, needed to gain support among the Polish society to reinforce the Ministry's policy line and add strength to Poland's claims. Press articles published by official and semi-official channels transmitted official rhetoric to the public. *Gazeta*

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<sup>743</sup> Ibid.

<sup>744</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9737, Information for British press 30 March 1939, 66 – 69.

*Polska*, a pro-governmental Polish newspaper published between 1929 and 1939, regarded as semi-official new outlet for Polish government, from the end of 1935 and throughout 1936 started to publish articles regarding the possibility of the redistribution of the mandates within the League of Nations often asking why is it that only a few countries hold free access to the colonial resources.<sup>745</sup> *The Warsaw Weekly*, English Language newspaper published from Warsaw, in an article by Telegraphic Agency 'Express' (*Agencja Telegraficzna 'Express'*), one of the Polish most important press agency directly subordinated and subsidised by Press Division in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Political Department, presenting Poland's need for colonies in the light of her demographic problem and relating the issue to Jewish emigration from Poland.<sup>746</sup> *Codzienna Gazeta Handlowa*, a daily newspaper on political and economic matters, was publishing sponsored by the Ministry of Foreign together with the Ministry of Industry and Trade and Maritime and Colonial League. Among the writers were Rudolf Rathaus and Kazimierz Smogorzewski.<sup>747</sup>

It was, however, the Maritime and Colonial League that remained the main source of colonial propaganda in Poland, just as it had been prior to 1936. The difference now, however, was that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs recognised the need for it. The League's propaganda became fully incorporated into Ministry's colonial campaign and received a boost in the form of active state support. Grażyna Borkowska has demonstrated the change of themes present in the articles published

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<sup>745</sup> AAN, MSZ,3228, Articles from *Gazeta Polska*: 'Stara Sprawa w Nowej Fazie' from 21 September 1935, 'Zaspokojenie Potrzeb Kolonialnych' from 30 January 1936, 'Po Zwycięstwie Włochów' from 07 May 1936, 'Mandaty i Kolonie' from 26 May 1936, 'Łamigłówka Kolonialna' from 21 July 1936, 'Niemiecki Program Kolonialny' from 23 September 1936, accordingly 3, 26, 95, 96, 132, 243.

<sup>746</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, Polish Colonial Claims in *The Warsaw Weekly* from 07 August 1936, 164. On the connection between the Telegraphic Agency 'Express' and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs see Eugeniusz Rudziński, 'Agencja Telegraficzna Express i Ofinor', *Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego*, 4:2 (1965), pp. 103-104.

<sup>747</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9742, Dispatch from Zarychta from 5 November 1938, 4 and Zrychta to Figłarewicz from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 12 December 1938, 6.

in *Morze*, which reflected the ideological programme changes. According to Borkowska, from 1932 the colonial propaganda started to be strongly present in *Morze*, relating to Poland's need for raw materials and land for creating settlements to ease the population surplus. However, it was in 1936-1937 when the intensification of colonial rhetoric started in *Morze*. She points to the change of phraseology that different authors were using to write about Poland's colonial claims. Expressions like: 'we demand', 'we must get', 'we fight for' started to appear in the League periodicals giving the colonial postulates quite imperative character.<sup>748</sup> On the other hand, as Tadeusz Białas has suggested, state involvement seemed to affect the League's programme, and the League started to reflect the Ministry of Foreign Affairs colonial policy goals.

The joint meeting of the Maritime and Colonial League Main Council and Main Board held on 13 December 1937 decided that League should from now focus solely on informative action and theoretical studies of colonial issues.<sup>749</sup> At the end of 1936, it was even considered to officially link the Maritime and Colonial League to the governmental structures by changing her into a public-interest institution. This issue was discussed during the inter-ministerial conference, held on 21 November 1936, with the representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of the Industry and Trade but according to Leonard Możdżeński, the director of the Maritime Department in the Ministry of the Industry and Trade, transforming the Maritime and Colonial League into a public-interest institution and placing it under the direct governmental control would not be useful neither for the government nor for the League. Giving the League under the supervision of a governmental commissary could paralyse its operations and expose it to the accusation of being a

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<sup>748</sup> Grażyna Borkowska, 'Polish colonial experience', *Teksty Drugie*, 4 (2007), pp. 17 – 20.

<sup>749</sup> Białas, *Liga Morska*, p. 185-186.

political tool of the government, causing the League to lose character as a social organisation. In addition, his argument suggests that this move would make the government responsible for all the League's potential mistakes.<sup>750</sup> This idea was finally dropped but it seems likely that a certain understanding started to be shared both by the League leadership and the Ministry officials that whatever the League was doing it should fit into frames of the official colonial policy. This can be shown in the case of Colonial Days (*Dni Kolonialne*), the annual nation-wide event of colonial propaganda, organised for the first time between 21-23 November 1936 'to show that the idea of colonies for Poland, a few years back widely regarded as merely a fantasy, is now considered valid and it gained the support of whole nation'.<sup>751</sup> Józef Potocki's note from 18 September 1936 indicates that the event was preceded by close consultation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Potocki wrote that he was visited by the Maritime and Colonial League delegation, including Jan Dębski, and they informed him about the League intentions to organise a colonial event, referred to as colonial week, in November and offered, that if the Ministry is planning any political action regarding the colonies, the League could adjust the date and the programme of this planned event to fully support any governmental actions. Potocki replied that the Ministry did not have any particular plans for the nearest future regarding this matter, but it was giving much importance to it and it is Ministry's intention that Poland's stand regarding the colonies should be recognised equally with those of Italy, Germany, and Japan. Then he suggested that the public opinion in Poland would more likely to be convinced of Poland's colonial claims if it will be presented in relation to Poland's demographic problems.

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<sup>750</sup> AAN, MSZ, 2493, Maksymilian Gajdziński's, one of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, notes from the conference dated 23 November 1936, 3 – 5, together with the Możdżeński's despatch to Gajdziński from 03 December 1936, 25-27.

<sup>751</sup> 'Po Dniach Kolonialnych', *Morze*, 1 (1937), p. 37.

Potocki generally positively considered the League's plans regarding organising the colonial week but was worried about the reaction of other countries, especially the colonial powers, so he insisted that the content of any speeches given during the event were consulted and approved by the Ministry.<sup>752</sup> In 1936 the participation in the event was initially limited to the members of the Maritime and Colonial League however over the next two years it evolved into a nation-wide celebration. The main aims of the Colonial Days was to illustrate Poland's colonial claims to the Polish society, show the need for acquiring a territory in Africa, promote the idea of developing direct trade with foreign markets with use of Poland's own commercial fleet indicate the necessity of creating in colonial territories Poland's own sources of raw materials by Polish enterprises.<sup>753</sup> The issue of *Morze* from May 1935 provides a vivid description of the Colonial Days taking place between 7 and 10 April 1938. *Morze* reported that the culmination point of the event was Sunday 10 April, but from 7 April in the whole country, in peoples' working places, factories and offices, in public, as well as the private institutions there, had been organised some special lectures and presentations on the colonial issues with the aim of informing all parts of Polish society it's significance for Poland and 'mold colonial pioneers'. According to *Morze* on 10 April Colonial Days truly achieved the scale of the nation-wide celebration, reaching all cities, towns, and villages throughout whole Poland, making a demand for colonies a common cause. Public buildings, as well as private houses, were decorated with Poland's national emblems and the Maritime and Colonial League's banners and posters calling for free access to colonial resources and some territories for expansion for Poland. Aeroplanes dropped leaflets and even in churches, special sermons for the Sunday services were prepared for the occasion.

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<sup>752</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, Potocki's note to the director of the Minister' Office 18 September 1936, 229-230.

<sup>753</sup> *Morze*, 2 (1938), p. 35.

There were street marches organised, gathering the crowds of a few thousands of people, in which representatives of Polish government, Polish army, and local governments participated together with numerous delegations from social organisations, workers unions, and representatives of different economic areas like traders, manufacturers, and farmers, carrying banners calling for colonies for Poland. Special wagons, decorated with tropical plants, were carrying colonial goods like rubber, cotton, and cocoa. Apparently, during the manifestation taking place in Radom local scouts even staged a caravan of Arabic traders. *Morze* reported that c.40,000 people in Poznań took part while 20,000 people attended an event in Toruń.<sup>754</sup> Apart from mobilising whole nation throughout Poland, the Maritime and Colonial League attempted to reach Polish diaspora living abroad. In 1939 Colonial Days was held from 25 June to 2 July under the changed name Sea and Colonies Days (*Dni Morza i Kolonii*).<sup>755</sup> The League also tried to reach out to the Polish diaspora abroad with its propaganda. In a dispatch from 22 April 1939, the Maritime and Colonial League Board asked the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to instruct Poland's foreign diplomatic missions regarding their cooperation with organising the Sea and Colonies Days in among Polish communities abroad. The dispatch suggests that this practice took place in the past years.<sup>756</sup> It seems like the League's propaganda campaign was positively regarded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Potocki called the very existence of the Maritime and Colonial League a 'good thing' and Tytus Komarnicki, Poland's official representative with the League of Nations in the dispatch to Drymmer on 20 July 1936 admitted that the Maritime and Colonial League did a lot on the internal ground to popularise the postulate of colonies for

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<sup>754</sup> *Morze*, 5 (1938), p. 23.

<sup>755</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9742, Circular by the executive committee of Colonial Days from 04 April 1939, 94-95.

<sup>756</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9741, The Maritime and Colonial League Board to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 22 April 1939, 54 - 55.

Poland, and he regretted that there was no sign of the League activities in this field abroad in the main political centres, critical for shaping world's public opinion, which according to him reminded completely ignorant of Poland's stand regarding the colonies.<sup>757</sup>

The evidence indicates that the Maritime and Colonial League leadership considered extending its colonial propaganda abroad to countries like France, Great Britain or Italy, but not to Switzerland particularly. The Polish government itself would surely conduct appropriate political action in this country as it already communicated in Geneva Poland's needs for access to overseas territories.<sup>758</sup>

All diplomatic efforts undertaken by the Polish government to implement its plans for colonies had a rather delicate and subtle character. One of the priorities in Poland's foreign policy throughout the inter-war period was to maintain a good relationship with France and Great Britain, the two main colonial powers. It was Beck's opinion that the government should avoid direct usage of the word 'colonies'.<sup>759</sup> Poland sought to fulfill her demands through the League of Nation and its affiliated organisations, believing that the League would deal with the international pressure regarding colonies caused by countries like Germany or Japan calling for the revision of the system. Whatever the solution would be Poland could join in with her demands, although Tytus Komarnicki, who warned that using the League of Nations as an instrument for revision of the world order in regards of the redistribution of the colonies was against Poland's most vital interest in other areas of foreign policy.<sup>760</sup>

During June 1936 it seemed like a good opportunity had appeared. In May the

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<sup>757</sup> AAN, MSZ,3228, Komarnicki to Drymer 20 July 1936, 164 – 166.

<sup>758</sup> AAN, MSZ, 2183, Feliks Rostkowski to Modzelewski 07 November 1936, 124.

<sup>759</sup> AAN, MSZ, 2183, Note from the office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs 18 June 1936, 40-42.

<sup>760</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, Tytus Komarnicki to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 20 July 1936, p.165.

Maritime and Colonial League reported rumours circulating in the French and Romanian press that Japan was planning to bring up their colonial demands during the next International Labour Conference scheduled to start on 4 April 1936. The dispatch from Jan Dębski, the director of the Maritime and Colonial League Office, to Józef Potocki suggested that it would create a great opportunity to present Poland's needs regarding the colonies.<sup>761</sup> Apparently, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs agreed with that suggestion. Jan Szembek, Deputy Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, referring to information provided by the Maritime and Colonial League regarding Japanese intention, authorised Stanisław Jurkiewicz, Poland's representative to the Administrative Council of the International Labour Organisation in Geneva, to express Poland's general interest with colonial issues but only if a delegation from any other country would first bring the matter.<sup>762</sup> Eventually, however, the Japanese delegation backed out, as did Poland. Jurkiewicz reported on 14 June 1936 that, although Japanese delegates, had made statements to the Japanese press in April, which were interpreted in Western press as suggesting the intention of bringing the matter of redistribution of the colonies to the Conference, none of the members of the Japanese delegation to the Conference spoke about the issue.<sup>763</sup> Therefore Jurkiewicz decided not to proceed with his speech, prepared in consultation with Zarychta and Szembek, which was reported by Witold Langrod from International Labour Organisation, as declaring Poland's right

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<sup>761</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, Jan Dębski to Józef Potocki 26 May 1936, 101. The dispatch refers to two articles: 'La Problème des Colonies' published on 19 May 1936 in *Le Moment*, French language daily newspaper from Bucharest, and 'Il faut qu'une porte soit ouverte ou fermée' published on 21 May 1936 in *La Nouvelle Depeche*, a French newspaper published from Paris. The dispatch contains the copies of these two articles.

<sup>762</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, Jan Szembek to Stanisław Jurkiewicz 28 May 1936, 102.

<sup>763</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, Jan Jurkiewicz to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 14 June 1936, 192 -193. Jurkiewicz transmitted a translated copy of the press statements made by the delegate of the Japanese government, published by *Osaka Mainichi* on 17 April 1936, the delegate of Japanese employers published by *Hochi* on 15 April, and the delegate of Japanese workers published by *Hochi* on 15 April.



to demand colonies.<sup>764</sup> According to Langrod, the Japanese delegation backed out due to the Italian delegation's sudden absence from the Conference. He referred to the speculations circulating in the French press. *Le Peuple*, described by Langrod as socialist newspaper well informed on the international affairs, reported that Japan and Italy, with support of Germany absent from the League of Nations, were planning to bring to the discussion on economic crisis the issues of right to demographic expansion, problem of access to the raw materials and distribution of the colonial territories, but the Italian delegation was called back to Rome just before the Conference started.<sup>765</sup> As a result, Jurkiewicz's speech was limited to general statements calling for further studies on emigration and highlighting the need to protect migrant's rights.<sup>766</sup>

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, however, remained convinced that the League of Nations could provide some sort of multilateral solution to the problem of the redistribution of the colonies. What occupied the minds of the Ministry officials was choosing the right timing for announcing Poland's colonial demands. According to Zarychta, unequal access to the colonies with their markets and resources became an actual problem in the realm of international relations, and Poland should not miss the right moment to press her claims. Poland should be the one to indicate that this problem, which might bring the risk of potential war, can be avoided, if only those nations 'suffocating' within their borders could be given some more space in the world, by lifting migration barriers and allowing them access to resources, sufficient

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<sup>764</sup> AAN, MSZ, 2183, Report on issues relating to emigration and colonisation discussed during the International Labour Conference submitted by Witold Langrod 19 June 1936, 73-77.

<sup>765</sup> AAN, MSZ, 2183, Langrod's despatch from 28 June 1936, 85-86.

<sup>766</sup> AAN, MSZ, 2183, Report on issues relating to emigration and colonisation discussed during the International Labour Conference submitted by Witold Langrod 19 June 1936, 73-77, together with appendix containing speech of Jurkiewicz, 79-83.

to satisfy their developmental needs.<sup>767</sup> Zarychta suggested that Poland should present her stand regarding the colonies during the discussion on the Italian-Abyssinian conflict, which was speculated to take place within the League of Nations in the near future.<sup>768</sup> The Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials, including Beck, shared the view that Germany would definitely start to negotiate the return of its former colonies. If Germany finally brought their colonial demands to the League of Nations, it would provide Poland with a pretext to raise their own. Potocki expected that within a year Germany would officially demand the return of her former colonies and Poland should wait until this happens. According to Tadeusz Gwiazdowski, the Polish representative at the League of Nations, the German Chancellor, Adolf Hitler, was going to bring the colonial issue to the *Reichstag* during July, and it would be better for Poland to wait until this happened. Aleksander Lubiński, deputy director of the Department of Diplomatic Protocol in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well seemed convinced that the moment when Germany started to fight for the return of their former colonies must come, and, until it did, the Minister should avoid any official statements on the matter of colonies.<sup>769</sup> Komarnicki on 20 July 1936 suggested that minister Beck should give an appropriate speech during the next League of Nation Assembly scheduled to start on the 18 September, without, however, formulating any specific demands that could cause a negative reaction from the colonial powers.<sup>770</sup>

The XVII General Assembly of the League of Nations became indeed the arena of Poland's colonial campaign, however, the Polish delegation was instructed to avoid directly proclaiming demands for redistribution of the colonies and focus on

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<sup>767</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, The Protocol from the conference held on 18 June 1936, 131 – 135.

<sup>768</sup> Ibid.

<sup>769</sup> Ibid.

<sup>770</sup> AAN, MSZ, 2183, Tytus Komarnicki, Poland's representative with the League of Nations to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 20 July 1936, 109-111.

Poland's demographic problems, the need for access to raw materials or Jewish migration. Adam Rose, from the Polish delegation to the League of Nations, during the session of the II Committee of the Assembly, gave a speech expressing the necessity of finding a practical solution for enabling emigration from overpopulated countries like Poland. Komarnicki during the discussion over the mandates on the session of the VI Committee of the Assembly raised the matter of Jewish migration and Beck during the session of the League of Nations Council, without making an official inquiry, proposed to introduce additional members to the Mandate Commission, causing according to Komarnicki's, a big sensation. Komarnicki's report indicates that those speeches given by Polish delegates provoked various reactions. The Argentinian, Greek, Columbian, Portuguese and Uruguayan delegations expressed a great interest in emigration and demographic issues while the Soviet representative accused the Polish government of racism and antisemitism. Lord Cranbourne from the British Delegation, according to Komarnicki, responded favourably to the idea of finding new outlets for Jewish emigration. There had been, however, some circles in the mandate section of the secretary office that were against starting the debate on the matter of Jewish emigration in general, seeing Poland's action as aiming to evacuate this minority outside its borders.<sup>771</sup> It is difficult to establish whether the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs expected this kind of negative reaction. Probably not as the evidence presented in the previous part of the chapter indicates that they were rather counting that their ideas surrounding Jewish emigration would win some international support. The speeches of Polish representatives meant to transmit to the international community the content of Poland's colonial arguments, to make it known, without directly making any colonial

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<sup>771</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, Komarnicki's report from XVII General Assembly of the League of Nations 12 October 1936, 267 - 275.

claims, and it did just that although the outcome was perhaps not as expected. Despite this setback, Poland continued to look for ways to channel her colonial arguments to a broader debate on the colonial problem within the League of Nations. During September 1937 Poland became engaged in the work of International Committee for Access to Resources set up by the League of Nations, supporting Japan in demanding access to trade with colonial markets. Yet work of the committee resulted only in some general recommendations regarding removing restriction for trading with the colonies and lowering customs duties.<sup>772</sup> Perhaps it was the failure of finding a multilateral solution to Poland's colonial ambitions that make the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs turn to resolve the issue through bilateral negotiation. Although in Switzerland the Ministry was still subsidising the Polish Federation of the League of Nations Associations (*Federacja Polskich Stowarzyszeń Ligi Narodów*) to conduct propaganda within the International Union of the League of Nations Associations as late as 1939.<sup>773</sup>

In 1937 the idea of cooperation with France was revived with the concept of channeling migration of Jews from Poland to Madagascar.<sup>774</sup> In December 1937 Yvon Delbos, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, paid an official visit to Poland during which he spoke with Minister Beck on colonial issues and expressed his support for Poland's colonial demands aiming at getting access to the colonial resources.<sup>775</sup> Poland's cooperation with France was not limited to Madagascar. In February 1938 Wiktor Drymmer, the director of both the Consular Department and the Human Resources Department in the Ministry, referring to Delbos' visit to

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<sup>772</sup> Kicingier, 'Polityka emigracyjna', p. 67.

<sup>773</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9741, Jan Dębski to J. Zieliński from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 14 February 1939, 50, together with dispatch from Zarychta from 16 February 1939, 51.

<sup>774</sup> On these plans see M. B. Lepecki, *Madagaskar – kraj, ludzie, kolonizacja*, (Warszawa, 1938). M. B. Lepecki was a chairman of a special committee send by Polish government to Madagascar in May 1937 to study the possibility of European settlement in this country.

<sup>775</sup> Białas, *Liga Morska*, p. 185.

Poland, instructed the Polish embassy in Paris to start talks with the French government to establish frames of the colonial cooperation. He expressed particular interest in French Guinee and French Equatorial Africa.<sup>776</sup>

The evidence indicates that in the 1930s that France remained Poland's only partner in Poland's colonial policy, but this partnership, in the end, did not bring Poland any closer to get colonies. Maybe it would have enjoyed more success if Beck's attention had not been increasingly focussed on Germany and the increasing threat of war in Europe. It does not seem however that this was the case with the Maritime and Colonial League. The colonial cooperation with France seemed to be a governmental initiative and the Maritime and Colonial League did not play a major role in it but from 1939 the League operations started to be more visible again. Further negotiation with the French government was conducted by the Maritime and Colonial League. On 8 June 1939 a representative of the Maritime and Colonial League met with French Minister of the Colonies Georges Mandel at an event organised by Polish embassy and assured him that Poland colonial demands were not of a 'political nature', rather they were a matter of economic cooperation to allow Poland access to the crucial raw materials. It was the Maritime and Colonial League's intention to send to France a special 'colonial mission' to negotiate the issue which would mean a significant step in Polish-French economic cooperation. It would establish 'a world-scale precedence of redistribution of the resources'. The French were interested in this initiative.<sup>777</sup>

In 1939 there were plans to install representatives of the League in Poland's diplomatic missions in the United Kingdom and the United States and the

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<sup>776</sup> AAN, Ambasada Polska w Berlinie, 424, Despatch from Drymmer 28 February 1938, 22-28.

<sup>777</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9737, Despatch from Henryk Stebelski from Polish Embassy in Paris to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs together with the appendix containing note from his conversation with Mandel 12 June 1939, 124-127.

propaganda continued through the first half of year.<sup>778</sup> It was the Maritime and Colonial League initiative to conduct a propaganda campaign during the official visit of Galeazzo Ciano, Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Poland that took place on 25 February 1939. The plan of the campaign included a meeting of the League representatives with Ciano, during which they would present him with a specially prepared resolution, and organising a manifestation in front of the Italian embassy in Warsaw. The Ministry, however, agreed only to intensify its colonial propaganda in the press.<sup>779</sup> The talks between Ciano and Beck were concentrated around German foreign policy. Also, the Maritime and Colonial League participated, together with the Ministry of the Industry and Trade, in organising Poland's pavilion during World Exhibition in New York in 1939. Poland's colonial arguments, especially the economic ones, were reported to be represented, but because the organisers of this event did not allow political agitation, Poland's propaganda campaign had to be very limited.<sup>780</sup>

All these initiatives show the intensification of Poland's colonial campaign between 1938 -1939 both on the external and internal ground. The colonial argument was formulated in 1936 however it was 1938 when they started to be popularised on a great scale. Taras Hunczak writes that the colonial movement in Poland reached its climax in 1938 – 1939.<sup>781</sup> The increasing scale of Colonial Days seems to confirm that. The example of Colonial Days also shows the attempts started to be made by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs together with the League tried to mobilise Polish

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<sup>778</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9849, Dispatch from Edward Raczyński, Polish embassy in London 10 May 1939, 11-14.

<sup>779</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9742, Note from Józef Zieliski from 12 February 1939, 70.

<sup>780</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9741, Ministry of Foreign Affairs consular department to Leon Bulowski from 07 April 1939, 43. The despatch is a reply to Bulowski's letter addressed to Maritime and Colonial League Board with suggestions to conducting propaganda campaigning during the World Exhibition. AAN, MSZ, 9741, Bulowski to Maritime and Colonial League Board (not dated), 45-46.

<sup>781</sup> Hunczak, 'Polish colonial ambitions', p. 648.

diaspora by involving them in organising the local events abroad. Then some efforts were undertaken to reach the international public opinion. The initiatives taken by the Polish government in the League of Nations in 1936 were not enthusiastically welcomed by the international community and public opinion abroad as the next chapter will discuss. Perhaps the intensification of colonial propaganda was Poland's way of changing that, and cooperation with France looked promising enough to reinforce Poland's commitment to this line of action.

### **5.3. International response to Poland's colonial demands**

Poland's colonial demands did not win support within the League of Nations. The Political Section in the League of Nations Secretariat was rather skeptical, viewing them as a manifestation of imperial ambitions and believed Poland should refrain from becoming an imperial power. Instead, Poland's state interests and geographical location between Germany and Russia suggested that she should follow the policy of neutral countries. Poland's emigrational issues could not be resolved through overseas colonies. International economic cooperation was the real solution for Poland's demographic problems.<sup>782</sup> Frank Walters, Deputy Secretary-General of the League of Nations, doubted whether Poland's arguments had any chance of producing results. In his opinion, Poland could base a far more effective claim to a share in the benefits of African territories on the general theory that the exploitation of such territories out not to be for the benefit of individual countries, rather for all countries who need them.<sup>783</sup> Walters pointed out that there were many important

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<sup>782</sup> AAN, MSZ, 1601, Despatch from K. Trębicki from Poland's delegation with the League of Nations in Geneva containing notes from the conversation with Gerald Abraham 23 July 1936, 1-4.

<sup>783</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9737, Copy of the despatch from Walters to Celiński from 02 February 1939

people in Britain who found the real solution of the colonial problem in the organisation of the administration of the territories in question on an international basis, 'whether under the League or otherwise', and 'if an important power whose political collaboration is valued were to make this its official thesis, it might well, in any view, give this idea such an impetus as would bring it at once within the realm of practical politics'. In his view, the extension of international administration was a much more practical solution than any proposals for the transfer of sovereignty.<sup>784</sup>

A report from Leon Orłowski, *chargé d'affaires* in the Polish Embassy in London, stated that Hoare's speech to the League of Nations General Assembly on 13 September 1935 did not cause any significant stir in the British government, and Hoare himself, when questioned in parliament, explained that he was referring only to the economic aspect of the colonial problem. However, it started speculation within political elites in Great Britain, especially those opposing the prospect of a coming European war including the League of Nations Union, Labour Party and a group of liberals led by Arthur Salter. Salter's circle published a brochure *The Peace and Colonial Problem* referring this matter. The same group, Orłowski reported, organised private meetings in the Royal Institute of International Affairs to discuss the problem of redistribution of access to the colonial resources and potential reorganization of the mandates system.<sup>785</sup> The Polish embassy in London transmitted a copy of a report on a private meeting of the Royal Institute of International Affairs held on 17 December 1935 at Chatham House attended by Arthur Salter and Lord Lothian. According to this report it was a suggestion of Arnold Toynbee, the director of studies for the Institute, that beneath the whole

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transmitted by Trębicki on 03 February 1939, 17-18.

<sup>784</sup> Ibid.

<sup>785</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, Political report from Poland's embassy in London to the Minister of Foreign Affairs 19 February 1936, 30 - 35.



Abyssinian Crisis there was in Europe a conflict between the 'haves' and 'have-nots', that Italy was a leading 'have-not' nation and Great Britain was the most outstanding 'have' nation. It was, therefore, up to Great Britain to face the issue and to ask herself what concessions she could make to satisfy the 'have-nots' nations and to avoid what might prove to be disastrous consequences. A month prior to this meeting any such suggestion that affected the integrity of the British Empire would have been received with dissent and anger, but, the report states, Toynbee's suggestions did not cause any negative reactions from other participants of the meeting, and they seemed rather 'eager to elucidate'. Toynbee was reported to say that in face of the chief 'have-nots', Japan, Germany, and Italy, there were two courses which Great Britain could take. First, she could simply cling to status quo trusting to collective security, or secondly, she could reach for compromise. There was not much said regarding territorial concession, and nobody suggested any parts of the empire that Britain would be willing to relinquish. Primarily as it was believed that by making economic or administrative concessions, territorial changes may be avoided. In the past it had been understood that the Royal Institute never selected subjects for studies unless they had previously consulted with the Foreign Office, and it seems likely that there had been some consultation in the present case.<sup>786</sup>

Orłowski's report from 12 February 1936 points out several different ways by which British political circles were approaching the colonial problem. One was represented by 'extreme pacifists from Labour Party', who thought that the countries with high birth rate need to have the right to expand, and some colonial territories should be handed them over in the name of peace. However, the rest of the Labour Party, together with the League of Nations Union, took a more moderate approach.

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<sup>786</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, Despatch from Poland's embassy in London 21 December 1935, 15-20.

They were proposing to convene an international conference with the aim of guaranteeing equal access to the colonial resources to all countries by giving all colonies under the League of Nation mandate system, which would need to be modified. However, as Orłowski noted, it was not specified how. The main supporter of this approach, according to the report, was Lansbury, who presented the idea in the House of Commons of organising such a world conference. A slightly different opinion was represented by David Lloyd George, former British Prime Minister from Liberal Party, who, according to Orłowski, was convinced that not only the mandate system should be changed, but an actual redistribution of some of the colonial territories should take place. Orłowski indicated that Lloyd George's approach was in practice an attempt to satisfy Germany's colonial demands through a division of the Portuguese colonies, as these were the most poorly administrated. The liberal circles with Salter and Lord Lothian proposed to stipulate an international convention, with all colonial powers as its guarantors, granting equal right to access to the colonial resources to all League of Nations member states, without making any changes to the mandate system. According to them, the mandate system was working properly, and the mandate territories should not be handed over to any other countries, especially considering the interests of its indigenous inhabitants.<sup>787</sup>

A more practical approach, according to Orłowski, was taken by some conservatives and represented by Lord Lugard. Luard's view was that the colonial problem can be solved only by returning to the 'open door' policy in regards to all the colonies.<sup>788</sup> Orłowski contended that the official stance of the government was expressed by Viscount Cranborne, the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who stated during a parliamentary debate on 5 February that the government was

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<sup>787</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, Political report from Poland's Embassy in London to the Minister of Foreign Affairs 19 February 1936, 30 - 35.

<sup>788</sup> Ibid.

working on the matter but it was too early to call a world conference.<sup>789</sup> Additionally, Orłowski referred to the statement given by James Thomas, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the House of Commons from 12 February. Thomas, when asked if the government actually considered the possibility of handing over a part of British colonies or a mandate territory to some other countries, said that the government had never considered this as an option<sup>790</sup> Orłowski concluded that this was the view shared by the Conservative Party and most of the British public opinion. Hoare was only authorised to raise the matter of redistribution of the colonial resources so that the British government could take the initiative in any discussion over the matter and not allow any mention of the territorial cession.<sup>791</sup> However, Edward Raczyński, Poland's Ambassador to London, was under the impression that the British government's stand regarding redistribution of the colonies was not that firm and the government wanted to neither completely shut the door that could lead to future talks on the matter, nor keep it fully open.<sup>792</sup>

On 6 April 1936, Neville Chamberlain, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, said in parliament that the government did not think of handing these territories over unless they were satisfied that the interests of all sections of the population were properly safeguarded. And on the 21 April Thomas made another, as Raczyński noted, rather a vague statement:

I say that when the question of transferring a mandate arises, if it ever arises – up to now it has not arisen – and I want to emphasise that it certainly will not be raised by us, but if, on the other hand, the question is raised, - it will be

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<sup>789</sup> The debate in the House of Commons on the 5 February 1936 on the world conference revolved around the issue of the access to raw materials and the markets, which Robert Bernays, Liberal politician, summarized by saying: 'There is to-day no dearth of raw materials. There is no difficulty whatever in furnishing France, Germany, Japan, Poland, or any other country with all the raw materials they require. The difficulty is one of paying for these raw materials[...]' HC Deb 5 February 1936, vol 308, cols 195 – 310.

<sup>790</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, Political report from Poland's embassy in London to the Minister of Foreign Affairs 19 February 1936, 30 - 35.

<sup>791</sup> Ibid.

<sup>792</sup> Ibid.

a question not for us alone to determine.<sup>793</sup>

Continuing in a similar tone, on 27 April 1936 the British Prime Minister, Stanley Baldwin, indicated that for the transfer of the mandate to happen it would be necessary first to get the approval of the country holding the mandate, the country to which the mandate would be transferred, and the unanimous consent of the League of Nations Council. Baldwin was reported to say:

In the event of any questions arising regarding the future status of mandated territories, this government would not commit themselves to any settlement of the problems at issue without seizing the fullest opportunity for discussion in the House.<sup>794</sup>

Raczyński noted that it did not satisfy the extreme Conservative circles as the Prime Minister did not categorically state that the government would not renounce, under any circumstances, Britain's right to mandates. They were firmly against surrendering the mandate territories under British control to either the League of Nations or any foreign power. Henry Page Croft, a Conservative Party politician, called upon the government to resist any proposals which might weaken the integrity of the Empire. According to Raczyński's report, Page Croft challenged the defeatist policy forced by the socialist spheres and the idea that Germany's appetite can be satisfied by sacrificing the mandate territories. One of the main critics of making any concessions in Africa to Germany was Leo Amery, a former Conservative Secretary of State for the Colonies, who warned that any German territories in Africa would be a threat for British dominance on this continent. Giving Germany colonies in Africa would create for them an opportunity to rebuild their empire, and that would surely happen at the cost of British possessions.<sup>795</sup> The discussion over the colonial problem continued in the British press. The *Daily Mail* on 6 December 1935 published an

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<sup>793</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, Raczyński report addressed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 30 June 1936, 146 – 151.

<sup>794</sup> Ibid.

<sup>795</sup> Ibid.

article 'Wanted – A New Deal Among Nations', by Edward M. House, regarding the colonial problem. According to the article, Germany, Italy and Japan needed

reservoirs into which to pour their manpower and from which to raw necessities and raw materials which nature denied them. But the great possessing nations – Great Britain, France, the United States, and Russia – are unwilling to grant to their less fortunate fellows more than crumbs that fall from their Colonial table.<sup>796</sup>

The article indicated that if Italy and Germany could fulfill their need for expansion in Africa it would divert their attention from Europe and peace would prevail. It even suggested the possibility of revival of the agreement between England and Germany from before the First World War. The general conclusion was that, in order to avoid catastrophe, world powers must recognise Italian, German and Japanese demands for colonies.<sup>797</sup> Raczyński reported that it was the *Manchester Guardian* that first mentioned Poland, next to Germany and Italy, as country demanding colonies.<sup>798</sup> Raczyński most likely meant the article under the title 'Mandates Again' published in the issue of the *Manchester Guardian* on 25 June 1936. The article, suggested that the colonial problem, 'by which is meant the dissatisfaction of powers such as Germany, Italy, and Poland, with no colonial possessions or not enough of them', offered the 'only true solution' which was construction of a League Empire in which all States members might join in the international administration of mandated territories. By conceding this much the present Imperial Powers would disarm the jealousy of the 'have-nots'.<sup>799</sup> On 15 February the *Daily Herald* reported that Samuel Hoare was unaware of the consequences of his statement that the British government recognised Italy's right to colonial expansion. The outcome was the revitalisation of

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<sup>796</sup> Edward M. House, 'Wanted – a New Deal among Nations', *Daily Mail*, (6 December 1935). The article appeared first in an American newspaper *Liberty* on 15 September 1935.

<sup>797</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>798</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, Raczyński report addressed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 30 June 1936, 146 – 151.

<sup>799</sup> 'Mandates Again', *Manchester Guardian*, (25 June 1936), p. 10.

Germany's demands for the return of her former colonies and emerging of the colonial movement in Poland. If Italy had the right to the colonial expansion, the newspaper writes, why Germany, Poland, Sweden, Czechoslovakia or any other industrialised country should not have it. The conclusion of the article was, as reported, that the colonial problem cannot be solved by the redistribution of the colonies between only a few great powers.<sup>800</sup> The *Daily Telegraph* on 17 February 1936 published article by its Warsaw correspondent speculating that there had been some talks regarding the colonial going on between Germany and Poland and Mussolini publicly recognised Poland's need for colonial possessions.<sup>801</sup>

A dispatch from the Polish Embassy in London on 7 August 1936 provided some more examples of articles mentioning Poland. The *Morning Post* on the 5 August published a note from its Berlin correspondent under the heading 'Poland Demands Colonies in South America'. The note referred to information provided by the Warsaw correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, reporting that it was the Polish government's intention to bring Poland's demand for colonies before the League of Nations. It suggested almost unpopulated territories in South America and Southern Africa would be most suitable for Poland. According to *Morning Post* correspondent, the claim was based upon the country's rapidly increasing population and the 'urgency of the Jewish problem'.<sup>802</sup> The *Manchester Guardian* on 1 August published a short report with the headline 'Poland Ask for Colonies. Demand to Be Made to League' by its Warsaw correspondent who suggested that although Poland's claim for colonies had been urged in this country for some time, this was the first time the demand had been made officially by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Italy was also

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<sup>800</sup> 'Colonial Demands', *Daily Herald*, (15 February 1936), p.10.

<sup>801</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, Transmit of the article, 28.

<sup>802</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, Durants Press Cuttings, copy of the article attached to the despatch from Jan Tomaszewski from Polish embassy in London to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Western Division from 07 August 1936, 181.

believed to have promised Poland her support, and Germany would also to be on the Polish side when this international problem was discussed.<sup>803</sup> A similar heading in the *Daily Herald* on 1 August stated that 'Poland Wants Colonies Now'. British United Press correspondent to Warsaw reported that Poland, following the German lead, was claiming colonies.<sup>804</sup> *The Morning Post* on the 6 July wrote that, that the days of overseas expansion had already gone, and it is a misfortune that Poland could not participate. Although 'the zeal for maritime adventures in Warsaw or Gdynia can be as great as it is in Plymouth or Dundee', it would be difficult to point any potential area for Poland's overseas expansion.<sup>805</sup>

*The Times* published on 23 June an article from their Warsaw correspondent reporting Poland's hopes for the forthcoming reorganisation of the League of Nation along the lines that would satisfy the 'just claims' of its members. The article concludes that the problem of obtaining essential raw materials for industry (cotton, wool, rubber, chemicals and so forth) had moved from academic discussion to pressing necessity since the free trade policy was abandoned, and it is bound to influence foreign policy.<sup>806</sup> On 1 October 1936, *The Times* published a letter from Lord Iddesleigh on the matter of redistribution of the colonies. Lord Iddesleigh wrote: 'if we satisfy German claims, we must be prepared to consider equally valid claims which will be advanced by Poland'. He proposed establishing a condominium in West Africa, in which England, France, Germany, and Poland might share. He reflected however that such a suggestion was 'perhaps too idealistic to deserve practical consideration in an age in which any form of international collaboration is

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<sup>803</sup> 'Poland Ask for Colonies', *Manchester Guardian*, (1 August 1936), p. 14.

<sup>804</sup> 'Poland Wants Colonies Now', *Daily Herald*, (1 August 1936), p. 2.

<sup>805</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, Transmit of the article, 6.

<sup>806</sup> AAN, MSZ, 2183, Press clipping, 72.

becoming increasingly difficult'.<sup>807</sup> Arnold Wilson replied to 'Lord Iddesleigh's plea for Poland' in a letter published by *The Times* on 3 October, pointing out the Treaty of Versailles did not deprive Poland of any territory and the question of mandates turns upon that treaty.<sup>808</sup> Two days later, on the 5 October, *The Times* wrote that it was the intention of the Polish delegation to press, with urgency, in Geneva Polish claims to 'a place in the sun', and it would be a mistake to suppose that the government is over-emphasizing the urgency of these questions. The political unrest and economic distress in Poland need no emphasizing; nor do the possible repercussions that might arise from a further deterioration of the situation.<sup>809</sup>

Poland's colonial demands fit into a broader debate on the possible redistribution of the mandates going on in Great Britain. The debate was revolving mainly around Germany's demands for the redistribution of their former colonies. Poland was classified as one of the 'have-nots' next to Germany, Japan, and Italy, countries challenging the Versailles order but there is no evidence that it directly influenced the relations between Great Britain and Poland as Beck wrote himself that Poland was considered as a satellite of France in Britain and it did not play any role in British foreign policy throughout the inter-war period.<sup>810</sup> This suggests that Poland's colonial demands were seen as an additional voice for redistribution of the colonies and as such, it reinforced case already made by Germany. It was for this reason, that it caught the attention of other 'have-nots'. The Italian *La Tribuna* from 25 March 1936 published an article by its correspondent in Vienna, who reported that the idea of Poland becoming a colonial power was received with enthusiasm by Polish public opinion, as evidenced by the growing membership of the Maritime and Colonial

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<sup>807</sup> AAN, MSZ, 2183, Press clippings, 134.

<sup>808</sup> Ibid.

<sup>809</sup> Ibid.

<sup>810</sup> Beck, *Pamiętniki*, p. 55.



League. The League conducted intensive colonial propaganda in Poland organising public speeches around the country. The main argument being that the countries with low birth rate, like Belgium, Holland or Portugal, possess colonies while Poland with the highest birth rate in Europe has to 'suffocate' within her borders.<sup>811</sup>

Germany's attitude towards colonial possessions was particularly influential on the continent. Under the Nazi Party, the desire for colonies was explicitly adopted. The British were inclined to be sympathetic to Germany's colonial demands provided that such a gesture would bring Germany into normal relations with the rest of Europe. Such inclinations intensified once Hitler began to push the colonial question himself in the belief that such action would coerce the British into granting him a free hand in Eastern Europe. However, he had miscalculated. British willingness to meet Germany's colonial demands was intended precisely to curb German expansion in Eastern Europe. During the 1930s the British were responding to what was in effect tactical use of the colonial question by Germany.<sup>812</sup> It appears German colonial demands received more attention in Poland than Polish colonial aspirations did in Germany.<sup>813</sup> However the increasing intensity of the colonial movement in Poland in 1936 was noted by the German press coordinated and controlled by the Ministry of Propaganda.<sup>814</sup> As for the matter of colonies in the relations between Poland and

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<sup>811</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, A. Zawisza from Poland's Embassy in Rome to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 28 March 1936, 46 – 47.

<sup>812</sup> Andrew J. Crozier, *Appeasement And Germany's Last Bid for Colonies*, (London, 1988), p. 273.

<sup>813</sup> On the German press under the Nazi regime see Oron J. Hale, *The Captive Press in the Third Reich*, (Princeton, 1964).

<sup>814</sup> In Germany *Hanoverische Anzeiger* on the 30 December 1935 published article 'Kolonien oder Imperien?' by Colin Ross, placing Polish 'Colonial Will' next to the German and Italian. AAN, MSZ, 3228, Dispatch from Emil Kipa, Polish Consul General in Hamburg 27 July 1936, 118. Miecysław Rogalski, from Polish consulate in Ełk (German Lyck), transmitted an article from local *Masurenbote* from 25 August 1936 describing nineteenth-century exploration of Cameroon by Stefan Scholz-Rogosiński, a Polish traveler, and explorer. AAN, MSZ, 3228, Rogalski to Polish Embassy in Berlin 26 August 1936, 189 – 191. Heliodor Sztark from the Polish consulate in Szczecin (German Stettin) reported in an article on Poland's colonial aspirations from the *Stettinger General-Anzeiger* from 5 November 1936. The article mentioned the Maritime and Colonial League as the main force behind the colonial propaganda in Poland. AAN, MSZ, 2183, Sztark to Polish Embassy in Berlin 5 November 1936, 125.

Germany, it appears to be treated by the latter more as an instrument serving to achieve certain goals in German foreign policy than as a goal itself. On 31 October 1938, in a conversation with the Polish ambassador to Berlin, Joseph Lipski, when Joachim von Ribbentrop, German Minister for Foreign Affairs, presented a comprehensive plan for a general revision and settlement of Polish-German relations, colonial claims and support for emigration of Jews from Poland were also given the backing of the German government.<sup>815</sup>

In 1936 the colonial movement in Poland drew attention in Austria. A dispatch from the Polish mission to Vienna, on 3 August 1936 summarised the most recent voices present in the Austrian press. In it, a number of newspapers reflected on Poland's colonial demands. The *Neue Freie Presse* and the *Neue Nienor Tagblattu* speculated that new trade treaty between Poland and France includes directing emigration from Poland to French Colonies in North Africa. The *Neue Freie Presse* indicated that Poland intended to press within the League of Nations the discussion regarding colonial settlements. A large article was published by *Der Wiener Tag* on 2 August informed its readers about the Maritime and Colonial League operational activities and their popularity in Poland. The article mentioned Poland's claims to the part of the colonies of the former German Empire and concluded by pointing out that the main difficulty of Poland's colonial policy is the lack of financial resources for conducting the colonisation.<sup>816</sup> According to another dispatch from Vienna from 28 September Minister, Beck's inquiry to the League of

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<sup>815</sup> Poland was to be given a guarantee concerning her frontier and the Polish-German Agreement of 1934 was to be extended by 25 years. Other issues, dear to the hearts of Poland's military rulers, namely the emigration of Jews from Polish territory, colonial claims and support for Poland's anti-Soviet policy were also given the backing of the German government. In return Ribbentrop suggested that the Free City of Danzig be incorporated in the Reich and an extra-territorial link with Germany be built across Polish territory. Anita J. Prazmowska, 'Poland's foreign policy: September 1938 – September 1939', *The Historical Journal*, 29:4 (1986), p. 854.

<sup>816</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, Włodarkiewicz to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 03 August 1936, 177 – 178.

Nations Council to increase membership of the Mandate Committee was interpreted as a manifestation of Poland's direct interest in the colonial affairs. The *Neues Wiener Abendblatt* issue from 25 September contained an article by its Warsaw correspondent, explaining that Poland's aim is, rather than getting colonies for herself, to get an area to which the migration from Poland could be directed referred to the Jewish emigration. The *Oesterreichischer Volkswirt* published similar content from its Warsaw correspondent.<sup>817</sup> Again in October 1936, the Polish mission to Vienna reported that Austrian press remained very interested in Poland's postulates regarding emigration and colonies. *Nitropres*, one of the Austrian press agencies, speculated, that Poland's claim to part of the former German colonies was a subject of negotiations with Britain.<sup>818</sup> Apart from that, *Wiener Zeitung* and number of local newspapers referred often to Poland's arguments regarding the lack of raw materials and demographic problems forcing Poland to look for new outlets for emigration.<sup>819</sup>

Poland's colonial campaign caused much more criticism in Portugal. Tadeusz Romer, from Poland's mission to Lisbon, reported the strongly unfavorable approach of the Portuguese public press towards Poland's colonial claims. He transmitted an article by José da Guerra Maio published by *Diario de Lisbon* from the 27 October 1936. The article is a reaction to minister Beck's inquiry for extending the membership of the Mandate Committee. The author was outraged by the fact that Poland demanded colonies and argues that Poland's arguments are baseless. He argued that it covered Poland's true intention, which was not to civilize the world, like Portugal and other countries did. The real reason why Poland wants mandates is, according to Maio, to remove 'her three-million Jewish population, which actually or

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<sup>817</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, Włodarkiewicz to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 28 September 1936, 242.

<sup>818</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, Włodarkiewicz to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 07 October 1936, 260.

<sup>819</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, Włodarkiewicz to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 15 July 1936, 261.

allegedly, complicates her life'.<sup>820</sup> Colonies became a sensitive issue in Poland's relations with Portugal. Polish mission to Lisbon reported in December 1937 a diplomatic incident involving Zygmunt Brudziński, a consular officer delegated to Benguela to investigate trading opportunities in Angola.<sup>821</sup> Polish mission was asked by the Under - Secretary of State in Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to immediately dismiss Brudziński. The request was made on the instruction of Salazar after an intervention of the Governor of Angola. The official reason behind this request was that Brudziński apparently threatened to publish a book criticising Portuguese colonial administration, but this affair came out immediately after the press started to write about Poland's colonial demands.<sup>822</sup> As a result, Brudziński was transferred to Belgian Congo, and on 27 December 1937 left Angola.<sup>823</sup>

Also, the opinion of the press in the Netherlands was rather not favorable. Polish mission to Hague reported on 11 March 1939 article in Dutch newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad* criticising Poland's arguments for the access to the colonies. According to the article, the real reason why Poland was facing its demographic problems lies in the democratic way of conducting the agrarian reform and lack of capital to develop a vast area of land by the border with Russia. And regarding the Maritime and Colonial League propaganda, the Polish nation has neither maritime nor trading tendencies.<sup>824</sup>

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<sup>820</sup> AAN, MSZ, 3228, Tadeusz Rommer to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs together with the attached polish translation of the article 30 October 1936 328 – 332.

<sup>821</sup> Zygmunt Brudziński was one of the first planters sent by the Maritime and Colonial to Liberia in 1934. His brather, Tadeusz Brudziński, was one of the advisers to Liberian government. See Chapter 4, p. 187.

<sup>822</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9747, Dubicz-Penther to Drymmer, December 1937, 22-24.

<sup>823</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9747, Dubicz-Penther to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 11 January 1938, 17.

<sup>824</sup> AAN, MSZ, 9737, Babiński to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 11 March 1939, 34-35.

#### **5.4. Role of the Maritime and Colonial League for the formulation and implementation of Poland's colonial plans**

The evidence shown indicates that the Maritime and Colonial League played an important role in Poland's colonial policy. But what exactly was the character of the relationship between the Maritime and Colonial League and the Polish government? According to Białas, after 1936, the League gradually transformed itself into an instrument for the implementation of the colonial agenda developed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which instrumentally sought to exploit colonial slogans to rally support for the ruling party.<sup>825</sup> Taras Hunczak, on the other hand, explains the fact that the Polish government started to display a greater interest in the colonial matter by the influence of the Maritime and Colonial League, 'whose political aims evidently appealed to basic national ideals. The campaign for a more powerful Poland, skilfully conducted by the League, met with the tacit approval of the government'.<sup>826</sup> However, to fully understand the role of the Maritime and Colonial League for Poland's official policy is perhaps necessary to consider one major factor, which is the fact that after 1926 both the Polish government and the Maritime and Colonial League leadership were becoming increasingly dominated by the Sanacja regime. Both Białas and Hunczak indicate that the most prominent Polish officials were involved in the Maritime and Colonial League work. For instance, when in 1937 the Maritime and Colonial League succeeded in having the week of 29 June proclaimed Week of the Sea, to popularise the idea of Poland's maritime development for commercial and defence purposes, the committee executing the event was headed by Kazimierz Sosnkowski, and the President of Poland, Ignacy

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<sup>825</sup> Białas, *Liga Morska*, p. 6.

<sup>826</sup> Hunczak, 'Polish colonial', pp. 655 – 656.

Mościcki while Marshal Edward Smigły-Rydz and Cardinal August Hlond, the Primate of Poland, sponsored Week of the Sea giving it spiritual, military, and political support. The first sentence of the proclamation declared 'we want a powerful navy and colonies'. In 1937 Kazimierz Sosnkowski became Protector of the Maritime and Colonial League. Shortly thereafter President Mościcki accepted honorary membership in the League.<sup>827</sup>

In more active roles were Stanisław Kwasniewski, who became the president of the organization 1936 after Orlicz-Dresser's death and Józef Kozuchowski, Deputy Minister of Industry and Trade, who was elected President of the Main Council in 1930. From 1930 members of the Main Council included army officials, parliament members, and high-rank state administration officials. Apoloniusz Zarychta, who played a significant role in formulating Poland's colonial demands in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was League activist and the main Council member from 1930. Additionally, he was involved in the work of the Military Historical Office and in 1925 he was one of the Piłsudski's adjutants. In 1938 Jan Dębski was nominated by President Moscicki to Senate. In the same year, the Maritime and Colonial League members: Michał Pankiewicz, Antoni Rostek, Brunon Sikorski, Leon Surzyński, and Tadeusz Żenczykowski were parliament members elected from the Camp of National Unity (*Obóz Zjednoczenia Narodowego*) list.<sup>828</sup> The Camp of National Unity was a political party founded in 1937 by a fraction of the leadership of the Sanacja movement, and it included the colonial demands its political programme itself included the colonial postulates.<sup>829</sup> All of this points to a strong connection between Poland's colonial policy and the Sanacja regime. This connection from one side helps to understand the whole of the colonial movement in Poland in the inter-war period,

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<sup>827</sup> Ibid., pp. 651 - 652.

<sup>828</sup> Białas, *Liga Morska*, pp. 34 - 35.

<sup>829</sup> Ibid., pp. 184-185.

but at the same time, it could blur the relationship between the League and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs making it difficult to apply the category of influence to describe it. The people involved in the process of policymaking were at the same time League's prominent members and also supporters of Sanacja and often military made it difficult to establish where the source of influence really lay.

When considering the relation between the Maritime and Colonial League and the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs regarding the colonial demands it rather appears that the Maritime and Colonial League colonial programme and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs colonial policy are two manifestations of certain ideas circulating in Polish political circles even prior to the First World War. These ideas had its roots in a certain approach to emigration involving plans for concentrating Polish migrants abroad in organized settlements. After Poland regained independence these ideas remained present in Polish political elites and then became incorporated into Sanacja ideology. The fact that masses of people migrated from Poland in search of better livelihood did not quite fit the picture painted by the official rhetoric of Poland as a great power, but it was accepted as a lesser evil. With time this contradiction was nullified. The approach to emigration started to be restructured to support the vision of Poland as an empire and a sort of demographic imperialism started to emerge. Demography remained the main argument in colonial discourse in Poland. From 1930, or even earlier from the start of the settlement scheme in Angola in 1928, the Maritime and Colonial League remained the main carrier of these ideas. It started slowly change from 1932 when the emigration issues officially became competence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Economic depression and restrictions, receiving countries imposed on immigration reinforced colonial ambitions by making the need for colonies more urgent and justified. And so, the idea of colonial Poland became

incorporated into the official policy. Emigration policy guidelines for 1934 and the settlement scheme and Liberia, which compared to the one in Angola shows more sign of governmental involvement indicate increasing interest of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the possibility of acquiring colonies. The question remains as to whether having colonies could actually solve Poland's demographic and economic problems or, more importantly, whether Polish policymakers and activists believed it would. Presented evidence indicates that they did, as much as they believed that emigration would.

As suggested above, Poland's colonial demands were an emigration policy reinvented to fit the vision of Poland as a European power. Emigration was still perceived as a way to ease demographic and economic tensions in the country, but instead of being a sign of weakness it became a source of strength. While emigration abroad had undesirable consequence in a form of assimilation of Polish migrants, emigration to Polish colonies presented only advantages. It would preserve migrants' cultural ties their mother country and it would create trade opportunities from which Poland could benefit. By 1936 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs took over the role of the main carrier of Poland's colonial demands.

The shown evidence indicates that in 1936 when the work within the ministry on colonial policy significantly intensified on both conceptual and practical levels. In that year Poland's colonial policy took its shape and Poland started to actively seek fulfillment of her colonial demands within the League of Nations. And it was in 1936 when the Maritime and Colonial League colonial propaganda started to intensify closely coordinated by the Ministry. The fact remains that colonial demands entered both political discourse within the state institutions and the Maritime and Colonial League's programme after the 1926 coup. The fact that a group supports certain ideas



does not necessarily mean that all of the group members remain in unanimous agreement about it and even within one political option different institutions had different operational goals. The main preoccupation of Beck as a Minister of Foreign Affairs was with Poland's foreign policy while the Maritime and Colonial League objective was a realisation of her programme. These different trajectories caused a change of dynamics between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Maritime and Colonial League. The League remained formally independent organisation and could act on her own initiative as long as it complied with the Ministry's approach to the colonial issues. And the Ministry's officials realised that any official declaration pressing colonial demands could antagonize Poland with colonial powers and have a negative effect on other aspects of Poland's foreign policy. From this point of view, the colonial movement had to be kept in restrains. When the Maritime and Colonial League's rhetoric was becoming too 'demanding', the ministry was trying to distance itself from it. It does not mean that the ministry didn't support the League's colonial programme. It only means that it did not want Poland's foreign policy to be categorically associated with it by the foreign observers. And so, the Ministry started its own propaganda to popularise among the international community the content of Poland's colonial arguments, carefully avoiding officially declaring any specific demands. Beck writes in his memoirs that the Maritime and Colonial League was getting 'carried away by its imagination' and if not the fact that the colonial problems and Jewish emigration were discussed at the time on the international forum, he, as Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs, would not pay much attention to it. But because it had been much discussed his intention was to present Poland's interest in a 'reasonable' manner without creating a risk of getting involved in 'a dangerous political game of colonial ambitions'. Beck admitted

that his main goal in all this was to resolve the issue of emigration in the best possible way for Poland. Although he called the excitement caused in Poland by the colonial question as 'childish', and although he wrote that for him Polish colonies began where the outskirts of Warsaw ended, he at the same time seemed to enjoy the thought of Polish migrants as 'pioneers'.<sup>830</sup>

The ministry of foreign affairs tried to coordinate the colonial movement in Poland and the Maritime and Colonial League was a leading force in it. It seems impossible to analyse Poland's colonial movement and then Poland's colonial Policy without including the Maritime and Colonial League in it. The existence of the colonial movement in Poland was a major internal factor shaping the official colonial policy. On the one hand, the existence of the colonial movement in Poland justified the formulation of colonial policy and provided arguments for it. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs once involved in the colonial discourse, after it took over the emigration issues, tried to control it to fit it into the frames of the Polish foreign policy by making it look subtler and more internationally acceptable. At the same time, however, the Ministry policy tended to embrace and reflect its main points. The Maritime and Colonial League colonial programme and the ways in which the League was trying to implement played two folded roles for the development of Poland's colonial policy. It seems however that the factor that directly triggered the ministry to work on preparing the colonial campaign in 1936 came from the outside. It was the speculation about the possibility of the mandate redistribution under the German pressure that particularly caught the attention of the policymakers within the ministry. The atmosphere of revisionism made Poland colonial ambitions more substantial. Poland's colonial policy was a product of the external factors as well as

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<sup>830</sup> Beck, *Pamiętniki*, pp. 104 – 105. He wrote exactly that the Polish colonies began in Rembertów, which back than was a village just outside Warsaw.

the internal ones. Huczak has described Polish demands for colonies in the inter-war period as 'one of the most interesting political anachronisms of this century'.<sup>831</sup> Perhaps presenting Poland's colonial policy in the broader international context makes it a bit less anachronistic.

After 1936 the Maritime and Colonial League focused on increasing propaganda in Poland and abroad which was closely coordinated by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The attempts of colonisation of Angola and Liberia, explored in Chapters 3 and 4, brought little results, and during the following years, the League seemed to give up of looking for new places in Africa for Poles to settle. After the speech of Horare in Geneva in 1935, which rejuvenated the discourse over possible changes to the colonial order, Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs took the diplomatic measures to make sure that place of Poland in it will be considered. These actions were accompanied by the growing propaganda in Poland and abroad conducted by the Maritime and Colonial League giving publicity to Poland's colonial claims. Settlement in Africa was put on hold but years 1938 – 1939 mark the return to the colonisation scheme with the difference that this time these schemes involved directly by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, not by the Maritime and Colonial League. As signalled in Chapter 3, plans were made for the Portuguese colonies in Africa, Angola, and Mozambique. Also, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was interested in cooperation with France. The idea of sending emigration from Poland to Madagascar reemerged in 1938 and in 1939 Polish government again was negotiating, through the Maritime and Colonial League, Poland's economic entry to the French colonies.

In the colonial programme of the Colonial Pioneers Association, which was later

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<sup>831</sup> Huczak, 'Polish colonial', p. 648.

accepted by the Maritime and Colonial League there was always a role reserved for the Polish State to play, as one of its main points considered obtaining colonies for Poland, which required some level of Poland's involvement. Even with the settlement schemes, although the Maritime and Colonial League was able to initiate it on her own, there was the tendency to engage Polish government into it starting from the colonisation of Angola scheme, leading to growing involvement of the Polish government into the Maritime and Colonial League operations, shown in case of Liberia. Once the Ministry of Foreign Affairs devised colonial policy, the Maritime and Colonial League adjusted her ways of operation to support it.

## Chapter 6 - Conclusion

The idea of obtaining colonies for Poland initially emerged as a measure to address issues brought about by emigration in the inter-war period. Colonies became part of the political discourse on emigration as they started to be seen as potential solutions for broader economic problems. Consequently, the relationship between the idea of Poland having colonies and its emigration policy is crucial for understanding the process that led to the formulation of the colonial movement in Poland. The connection between the two can be traced to the 1890s Polish Galicia under the Austro-Hungarian rule, where a group of political activists and intellectuals gathered in the Polish Commercial – Geographical Association took interest in the existence of settlements in Brazil that had been spontaneously populated by Polish migrants. The idea of creating 'Polish clusters' abroad, concentrated settlements populated by Polish migrants, which became one of the major concepts present in Polish political thought surrounding emigration and colonies. Józef Siemiradzki, one of the Association's members, after returning from his research trip to South America in 1892 described areas of Brazil, mainly Parana, populated by Polish settlers as Polish colonies. According to Siemiradzki, the area surrounding Curitiba contained the greatest concentration of Polish migrants and was consequently labelled a 'New Poland' by the Brazilian authorities. The term New Poland grew in popularity over the following years as an idea, rather than an actual place. After the First World War Polish political activist drawing from ideas started by Józef Siemiradzki and others from Commercial – Geographical Association, built a vision of Poland as a colonial power and managed to gather large public support for their programme.

After Poland regained its independence in 1918 the idea of creating organised

Polish settlements was brought up within the political debate over the goals of Poland's emigration policy. As a result of the French initiative of Poland's participation in the mandate system, it got entangled with demand for colonies.<sup>832</sup> This two-folded character of the colonial discourse in Poland was reflected in the colonial programme of the Maritime and Colonial League programme. The League set up her goals as obtaining colonies for Poland or securing territory for expansion of the Polish nation. The former the Maritime and Colonial League tried to achieve by prompting Polish government to claim part of the former German colonies or creating a condominium with a colonial power, the latter by securing land for Polish settlement.

Taras Hunczak interpreted this insistence on emigration and the colonial programme as originating in the struggle between Polish landowners and landless peasants. He points out that the Polish government genuinely supported the League's colonial programme and the emigration of rural labourers with a view to avoiding as far as possible the parcelling of the large estates, which would otherwise have been inevitable.<sup>833</sup> Agrarian reform reminded an important issue in Polish politics throughout the inter-war period and similar voices of critics were raised by Polish left-wing parties. Both the Maritime and Colonial League and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were referring to a surplus of the population in the rural areas. First settlement initiatives were addressed to the population of the Polish villages. But then it seemed that the Maritime and Colonial League initiatives were hoping to gather a different kind of settlers as well, settlers who were ready to invest. Michał Zamoyski one of the planters in Angola belong to one of the oldest and wealthiest aristocratic families in Poland. The plans for Angola and Liberia did not involve

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<sup>832</sup> Wrzesiński, 'Polacy za granicą', p. 27.

<sup>833</sup> Hunczak, 'Polish colonial', p. 665.

mass settlement like those in Brazil and Peru. Agreement with Liberia included fifty plantations. Maybe it was the failure of the settlement schemes in Brazil in Peru caused by the lack of funds that made the Maritime and Colonial League turn to people who had a capital by promoting advantages of trade with colonies hoping to mold colonial entrepreneurs and prepare ground for future expansion.

The important role in the colonial programme of the Maritime and Colonial League was reserved for Africa, which was seen as a key for the economic development of Poland. The League wanted a stronger presence of Polish produce and traders on the African markets and seen Polish settlers as a factor opening those markets for them. Therefore the League promoted settlement in Africa, but the settlement had to be organised, concentrated on a specific area, rather than spontaneous to fulfill the League goals. What discouraged a large scale migration was the amount of capital that had to be put as an initial investment in starting a farm, plantation or a company. In case of Angola, there is no evidence that the Colonial Pioneers Association or the Maritime and Colonial League managed to secure any preferential treatment for Poles willing to settle in the colony. The goal of the mission to Angola in 1929 led by Franciszek Łyp was to gather information about the condition of settlement and future prospects for the settlers. Report with its findings published by the League in 1930 served as a guide for Poles interested in migrating to Angola. *Morze* published articles written by Kazimierz Głuchowski and others to encourage migration by presenting a prospect of long – term financial return. The settlement in Angola found the support of the Polish Ministry of Industry and Trade and Emigration Office. Emigration, settlement, and commerce were the areas where the interests of the Maritime and Colonial League converged with those of the Polish Government.

Meanwhile, in 1929, the League activists and sole political circles in Poland became convinced that within the next two years the League of Nation would have to revise the mandate system under the growing pressure of Germany. This conviction resulted in two resolutions issued by the Polish Senate in 1929 and 1930 urging the government to take appropriate actions to secure Polish interests. This conviction, shared by the Colonial Pioneers Association led to the fact that the organisation started to focus all its effort on, what was in their view, preparing Poland to becoming a colonial power, unifying public opinion on the matter by giving it more publicity to pressure government to take action, and drawing plans for necessary institutional support. This change of focus had a consequence for the settlement action in Angola. If Poland had ever received a mandate over one of the former German colonies, it would a territory located in Africa, and so colonisation of Angola started to be seen proof of Poland's colonising abilities on this continent, justifying Poland's claim for a mandate. But publicity given to this mater originated rumours in the press indicating that Poland wanted to take Angola over from the Portuguese. In response, Portugal withdrew her support for further colonisation and the settlement scheme devised by the League had been put on hold.

Although the redistribution of the mandates did not happen in 1931 the activist from the Maritime and Colonial League did not abandon the idea that eventually the League of Nations will address this issue under the growing pressure of Germany and Italy. Also when the Emigration Office was closed in 1932 and the emigration issues were transferred to the competency of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the idea started to have a place in Poland's foreign policy and Africa did not leave the minds of the League's activists.

An opportunity presented itself when Leo Sajous visited Poland in 1933



representing Liberia. This time the Maritime and Colonial League took a different approach to colonisation by becoming more involved in the process. The agreement from April 1934, between the Maritime and Colonial League and the Liberian government, was a measure to secure certain guarantees in the form of a land lease for Poles willing to settle on a plantation in Liberia. The secret agreement, if it actually existed, secured the position of Poles even further. It created a situation where Poland had a say in the matter of Liberian politics. The Maritime and Colonial League found itself in the middle of the political struggle between the President of Liberia, Edwin Barclay, the Firestone Company, and the United States. The League involvement became a subject of suspicion in the British Foreign Office regarding the true motives behind it and the role of the Polish Government.

It seems that both, the Polish government and the Maritime and Colonial League failed to correctly assess their situation in the matter of Liberian affairs. The agreement between the League and the Liberian government was never presented to Liberian Congress for the ratification. Poles were given promises of certain advantages by the Liberian government, but the presented evidence indicates that the Liberian government had little intention of upholding them, perhaps with the exemption of the establishment of the plantations. In the result any guarantees, the League thought to have, were illusionary. Once Liberia managed to reconcile with the Firestone Company and the United States and the Polish advisors left, the presence of settlers sent to Liberia by the Maritime and Colonial League became problematic. The few farm Polish settlers managed to establish started fall into decline. The attempts of stimulating commercial exchange between Poland and Liberia had very little results. The Maritime and Colonial League failed to attract buyers and gain market in Liberia for Polish producers. Also, any mentions of Poland's colonial

ambition became a factor complicating League's operation in Liberia and turning the local public opinion against further development of the settlements, just like it did in the case of Angola. The settlements itself did not seem to be a problem for the receiving countries. What eventually became a source of friction was the propaganda in Poland surrounding those settlements.

The Liberian scheme also showed growing interest of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the possibility in the Colonial and Maritime League operations with the possible aim of obtaining a mandate from the League of Nations. The programme of the Maritime and Colonial League pointed to a mandate as the most plausible way of obtaining colonies by Poland. The programme was quite specific in that matter declaring Poland's right to a mandate over one of the former German colonies and Liberia was not such. However, the possibility of imposing a mandate over Liberia was considered by the British Foreign Office with the option of giving the mandate to Germany in an attempt to appease their colonial demands.

Perhaps Poland's interest in Liberia was motivated by the intent to prevent this from happening, but evidence indicated that giving the mandate over Liberia to Poland was not considered as an alternative to Germany. The interest expressed in this matter by Polish consul in Monrovia was seen by the British observers with suspicion as a move undermining the League of Nation's involvement rather than German ambitions. Also, the relation of Janusz Makarczyk also indicates there were high-ranking individuals, or groups of individuals, in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs who believed in the possibility of Poland getting a mandate over Liberia. In a situation, when almost all Africa was already divided by the colonial powers, claiming mandate over part of German colonies was perhaps the most obvious way for Poland to colonial gain in Africa. Yet, the case of Liberia, one of two formerly

independent countries in Africa at the beginning of the 1930s, shows that Poland was open to alternative options when the suitable opportunity presented itself.

The character of involvement of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs was ambiguous. The agreement with the Liberian government from 1934 was signed the Maritime and Colonial League, but it included clauses directly involving Polish State. The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs denied direct involvement in the Maritime and Colonial League actions in Liberia saying that the League was an independent organisation, but admitted that the advisors to Liberian government were sent there with their knowledge. Also, Liberian administration seemed to be convinced that the cooperation with the Maritime and Colonial League guaranteed the support of the Polish government. Perhaps the Polish state, by conceiving its involvement behind the presence of the Maritime and Colonial League, was avoiding implications of entering into colonial politics, which could complicate Poland's relations with colonial powers.

In 1936 with all the international speculations regarding the redistribution of the colonies it seemed like the time had come for Poland to make her stand known. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs paid a lot of attention to any speculations circulating among the international community regarding the possibility of the redistribution of the colonies. There are a few international factors that were considered within the ministry during the formulation of Poland's colonial arguments. Italo-Abyssinian conflict and the League of Nations attempts to solve it, and Hoare's speech in Geneva were among them but it looks like the most important were German demands for the redistribution of her former colonies, and to the lesser extent those of Japan. The evidence indicates that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs paid significant attention to the German colonial propaganda. Polish consulates were instructed to

report all major propaganda events taking place in their areas.<sup>834</sup> Around 1936 the British government began considering ways to meet those demands. According to Białas, German demands for the return of the pre-first World War colonies have to be considered as one of the reasons that led to Polish insistence on granting Poland part of the German colonies. The Polish claim was in this situation a form of polemics with the German colonial demands. For Polish activists, it was obvious that the revision of the distribution of mandates in Germany's favour is also a revision of the entire mandate system, which was an integral part of the Treaty of Versailles. This could create dangerous precedents for the future in relation to the Polish western borders.<sup>835</sup> But the evidence presented in this thesis gives rather a different impression. In fact, the ministry officials were rather ignoring the warnings like the one from Gwiazdowski and did not seem to oppose the changes in the mandates system. Furthermore, they were counting for it to happen. Beck suggested in the League of Nations changes in the mandate commission. Borkowska in her analysis of colonial themes in *Morze* out that these early voices in 1932 were supportive of the German claims for the return of their former colonies, seeing it as a hope for changes. This approach of the Maritime and Colonial League changed only after 1934 when Germany started to question Poland's right to the access to the Baltic Sea.<sup>836</sup>

It seems that the development of German colonial propaganda triggered the intensification of propaganda in Poland, but it does not necessarily mean that Poland meant to contradict it. For some, the revision of the mandate under German pressure seemed inevitable. Polish policymakers in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were expecting that it will happen as a result of German or Japanese initiative, which

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<sup>834</sup> AAN, MSZ, 4545, Podoski to Polish Embassy in Berlin 18 February 1936, 3.

<sup>835</sup> Białas, *Liga Morska*, p. 269.

<sup>836</sup> Borkowska, 'Polish', pp. 17 – 20.

leaves the open door for Poland to get a place by the negotiating table. Poland was waiting for Germany with pressing colonial demands not to contradict it but rather to use the situation it would create into her own advantage and 'grab' something for herself during the process of new divisions of colonial territories. It may as well explain Poland's insistence on resolving the issue within the League of Nations. Collective negotiation would create bigger chances for this tactic to succeed. Poland's colonial demands were more general, and it did not apply to any specific territory leaving it for potential negotiations.<sup>837</sup> Regardless of how real the chances for the redistribution of the colonies actually were in 1936, Polish elites believed that the time for it came and they placed their hopes on the League of Nations.

The colonial thesis prepared by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, containing a set of arguments to be presented to the League of Nations as explaining Poland's necessity for colonies, does not explicitly refer to former German colonies. The work done within the Ministry concentrated around demographic and economic explanations, as this approach was seen as the most effective in getting the understanding of the international community to Poland's stand on the matter. Additionally, although both the Maritime and Colonial League and the Ministry were seeking an opportunity for obtaining colonies Poland mainly through getting a mandate from the League of Nations, they also considered other forms of gaining access to colonial territories. The colonial programme of the Maritime and Colonial League points to the cooperation with France, creating condominium with one of the colonial powers, or creating Polish settlements which would stimulate commercial exchange. Also, the plans drawn by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs referred to a similar solution. In the second half of 1930s the League of Nations was in decline

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<sup>837</sup> Maroger, *L'Europe*, pp. 251 – 255.

and failed to address the issue of new division of colonies. In this situation, the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs reached for those options by seeking cooperation with France and looking at a possible economic entry to Portuguese colonies.

This thesis offers a new holistic interpretation of the colonial movement in Poland Maritime by examining its multifaceted nature more widely. The colonial propaganda was an instrument of the colonial movement in Poland, not its goal. Propaganda meant to gain popularity for the Maritime and Colonial League to increase the number of its members and build support of public opinion in Poland for League's colonial postulates, which in turn would pressure the government to take the right actions. The goals were specified in the colonial programme of the Maritime and Colonial League. Getting a mandate over one of the former German colonies was a part of it and was given much publicity, as it was presented as a way for Poland for getting colonies in the political sense as the programme described it. But the programme also consisted of other approaches concerning a condominium and creation of concentrated settlements. These factors already had their own tradition in political discourse in Poland prior to the creation of the Colonial Pioneers Association in 1928. Therefore the colonial programme of the Maritime and Colonial League, which suggests that the centre of the colonial movement in Poland should not be reduced merely to the propaganda of one of its aspects. The same can be said about Poland's colonial policy after 1936. The question of obtaining a mandate was only one of its manifestations. Historians argue that campaign conducted by the Polish government with the League of Nations had an instrumental character with the aim of undermining German colonial demands. Perhaps it had this effect although considering the state of imperial development during the interwar years it was not likely that any changes to the mandates or colonial possessions would

happen under the German pressure, as Susan Pedersen pointed to the instrumental way Adolf Hitler treated colonial movement in Germany.<sup>838</sup> Archival evidence does not clearly indicate whether it was Józef Beck's actual aim. However, it is clear that Poland's colonial policy should not be reduced to the action in Geneva. Poland's colonial policy did not necessarily require Poland to have actual colonies. And after the attempt on involving the League of Nations failed, the Polish government turned to cooperation with France and also started to look for the option of economic involvement in Portuguese colonies in Africa.

The article 'The Social Background of Polish Disturbances' in the *Central European Observer*, an English language review journal published from Prague, from the 1 May 1936 called Polish policymakers 'imperialistic romantics' dreaming of Polish colonies and 'far-reaching plans of a Polish Empire ranking as a Great Power, which will someday take over the leadership of European policy from the hands of the "sterile" Western nations [...]'<sup>839</sup> What historians writing about colonial movement in Poland seemed to ignore was that the activists from the Maritime and Colonial League and the Polish state officials were not oblivious to the fact that the time for the colonial conquests of Africa had passed and it limited Poland's options in regards of any colonial policy Poland could develop. The argument has been made, that because of the fact that Poland was under the partition, the Polish nation was deprived of the opportunity of participating in the conquest of Africa in the nineteenth century. The Polish nation divided between Germany, Russia, and Austria - Hungary, could not effectively represent itself in the matter of international politics. It was also the decisive factor in preventing the Polish nation to successfully

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<sup>838</sup> Pedersen, *The Guardians*, p. 331.

<sup>839</sup> AAN, MSZ, 2183, Dispatch from W. Sokółowski from Polish embassy in Washington containing the copy of the article, 25 May 1936, 87 – 88. The role of romantic ideas on Polish policies and Polish nationalism is subject of historical studies. See Andrzej Walicki, 'The three traditions in Polish patriotism', Stanisław Gomułka, Antony Polonsky, eds., *Polish Paradoxes*, (London, 1990).

compete for colonies. This way of thinking was present in Polish colonial discourse since the 1890s and it also manifested in the Maritime and Colonial League programme. The right, as the Maritime and Colonial League claimed, Poland had to part of the former German colonies was based on the fact that Polish nationals contributed to the development of German colonial empire, while it could have contributed to building a Polish one if the Polish nation had its own state. Once Poland became an independent state, it should claim, what century of partition denied her.

Perhaps the paradox of Poland's colonial policy and the colonial movement, which historians failed to notice, lies in the way Polish policymakers and activist saw imperialism. In the eyes of Polish policymakers presenting Poland's demand for colonies as motivated purely by economic and demographic and not political reasons, was 'reasonable' and not imperial at all, but economy and settlers were two major forces fuelling imperialism.<sup>840</sup> Opportunities for settlement were central to the rationale for, and justification of, territorial gains. 'The idea of Europe overseas - or, more accurately, Europes overseas - entrenched itself in the quarter century before the First World War. Even relatively slight migratory movements, as in the case of the Dutch, the Belgians, the Germans, and the Italians were to extend the notion of nationality and racial kinship to incorporate the colonies of settlement'.<sup>841</sup>

The colonial movement in inter-war Poland had many layers that can not be fully assessed in a single PhD thesis. Some of the aspects of Polish colonial movement, like imperial aspiration of the Sanacja regime or the angle of Polish – Jewish

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<sup>840</sup> For the theory economic imperialism see P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, 'Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas, II. New Imperialism, 1850-1945', *Economic History Review*, 40, 1 (1987), pp. 1 -26 and J. Gallagher and R. Robinson, 'The Imperialism of Free Trade', *Economic History Review*, 6, 1 (1953), pp. 1-15. For the role of settlers J. Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (Oxford, 2009).

<sup>841</sup> Martin Thomas, Andrew Thompson, 'Globalisation: from "High Imperialism" to Decolonisation', *The International History Review*, 23:1 (2014), pp.146 – 147.



relations are still to be explored more fully. However, this thesis has presented an alternative interpretation of the colonial movement in inter-war Poland. It has focused on ideas behind the movement and their place in Polish politics in the context of the development of European imperialism. This approach allows looking at the movement as a part of large scale processes rather than an anomaly. In doing so it has exposed how Polish activists and policymakers saw these process and Poland's part in it, which contributes to better understanding of both Polish and imperial history during the inter-war period.

## Appendix - Index of people

Amery, Leo, in full Leopold Charles Maurice Stennett Amery, (born 22 November 1873 in Gorakhpur, British India [now in India] – died 16 September 1955 in London, United Kingdom), usually known as Leo Amery or L. S. Amery, was a British Conservative Party politician and journalist, First Lord of the Admiralty (1922 – 1924), Secretary of State for Colonies (1924 – 1929), Secretary of State for India and Burma (1940 – 1945).

Anigstein, Ludwig, (born 2 February 1891 in Warsaw, Russian Empire [now Poland] – died 31 October 1975 in Galveston, Texas, United States), was medical doctor and scholar specialised in tropical diseases, member of the Maritime and Colonial League, medical advisor to the government in Liberia (1935 - 1936), author of a number of publications in the field of bacteriology and epidemiology, Professor of Preventive Medicine at the University of Texas School of Medicine.

Armin, Kazimierz, (date and place of birth and death unspecified), was Polish settler in Liberia. During the Second World War, he was Polish Consul in Johannesburg.

Arnold Wilson, in full Arnold Talbot Wilson, (born 18 July 1884 – 31 May 1940), was British statesman, army officer, and Conservative Party politician, civil commissioner in Baghdad (1918 – 1920) and colonial administrator of Mesopotamia.

Babecki, Jerzy Wincenty, (born 18 April 1890 in Kluszewo, Russia [now in Poland] – died 21 February 1980 in Warsaw, Poland), was Polish military officer and physician. He studied at Jagiellonian University in Cracow. In 1928 he served in the sanitary department of the Ministry of Military Affairs. Babecki participated in the

deliberations of the International Congress of Military Medicine and Pharmacy in 1932 in Hague and in 1933 in Madrid. Between 1934 and 1935 he served as a sanitary advisor to the Liberian government. During the Second World War Babecki was in the management of Polish Red Cross. Since 1956 he was a professor at Medical Academy in Warsaw (*Akademia Medyczna w Warszawie*).

Baldwin, Stanley, (born 3 August 1867 in Bewdley, Worcestershire, United Kingdom - died 14 December 1947 in Astley Hall, near Stourport-on-Severn, Worcestershire [now in Hereford and Worcester]), British Conservative politician, three times Prime Minister between 1923 and 1937.

Barclay, Edwin, in full Edwin James Barclay, (born 5 January 1882 – 6 November 1955) was a Liberian politician. A member of the True Whig political party, Secretary of State (1920 – 1930), 18th President of the country from 1930 until 1944. Edwin Barclay's paternal grandparents moved from Barbados to Liberia in 1865.

Bartoszczyk, Jan, (born 1901 – died 1939), was Polish engineer, sailor, and activist, member of the Maritime and Colonial League. Bartoszczyk worked with several student organisations in Poland propagating sailing and water sports in Poland. Between 1934 and 1935 he was the Maritime and Colonial League representative in Liberia.

Barvinsky, Oleksander, Ukrainian: Олександр Барвінський, (born 8 June 1847 in Shliakhnyntsi Austria - Hungary [now in Ukraine] – died 25 December 1926 in Lviv, Poland [now in Ukraine]), was a western Ukrainian cultural figure and politician, a founder of the Christian Social Party in western Ukraine. He also was a member of

the Galician parliament and Austrian parliament and held the post of secretary of Education and Religious Affairs of the West Ukrainian National Republic.

Beck, Józef, (born 4 October 1894 in Warsaw, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 5 June 1944 in Stănești, Romania), was a Polish statesman, diplomat and military officer, one of Józef Pilsudski's most trusted confidants. In 1926–1930 Beck served as chief of staff to Poland's Minister of Defense, and in 1930–1932 as Deputy - Prime Minister and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. In 1932 he took the office as Minister of Foreign Affairs, a post he held until 1939. Key of his policy as the Minister of Foreign Affairs was to maintain Poland's friendly relations with Germany, France, while at the same time showing indifference toward the Soviet Union.

Bellegarde, Dantes, (born 18 May 1877 in Port-au-Prince, Haiti – died 14 June 1966 in Port-au-Prince), was a Haitian historian and diplomat. In 1921, Bellegarde became a key participant in the Second Pan-African Congress. Bellegarde served as Haitian Minister to Paris in 1921 and to Washington, in 1930.

Beniowski, Maurycy, Hungarian, *Benyovszky Móric*, Slovak: *Móric Beňovsk*, (born 1746 – died 1786), was a military officer, adventurer, and writer from the Kingdom of Hungary, who described himself as a Hungarian and a Pole. In 1769, while fighting for the Polish army under the Bar Confederation, he was captured by the Russians and exiled to Kamchatka, from where he managed to escape to France traveling through Macau and Mauritius, arriving in France. In 1773, Beniowski reached an agreement with the French government to establish a trading post on Madagascar. Facing significant problems with the climate, the terrain, and the native Sakalava people, he abandoned the trading post in 1776. Around a decade

later he traveled to America and obtained financial backing for a second voyage to Madagascar. The French governor of Mauritius sent a small armed force to close down his operation, and Beniowski was killed in May 1786. In 1790, Beniowski's largely fictitious account of his adventures (entitled *Memoirs and Travels of Mauritius Augustus Count de Benyowsky*) was published gaining great popularity in Europe.

Bernays, Robert, (born 6 May 1902 – died 23 January 1945) was a Liberal Party, and later Liberal National politician in the United Kingdom, Member of Parliament (1931 – 1945).

Brudziński, Tadeusz, (born 20 January 1902 in Warsaw, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 1960 in Warsaw, Poland), was Polish engineer and army officer. He studied at Warsaw University of Life Science and Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. Between 1934 and 1936 he served as an economic advisor to the Liberian government. During the Second World War Brudziński served in Polish Army in the United Kingdom (1940 – 1943).

Brudziński, Zygmunt, (born 5 January 1905 – died September 1959 in Stronie Śląskie, Poland), was Polish army officer, consular officer, and the Maritime and Colonial League member. Between 1934 and 1935 resided in Liberia on one of the plantations established there with the Maritime and Colonial League effort.

Bublewski, Witold, (born 20 June 1904 in Kamyshin, Russian Empire [now in Russia] – died 22 July 2007 in Warsaw, Poland), was Polish navy officer, publicist, and activist, member of an organization of Polish Scouts and member of the Maritime and Colonial League (since 1924).

Caetano, Marcello, in full Marcello José das Neves Alves Caetano, (born 17 August 1906 in Lisbon, Portugal – died 26 October 1980 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil), was Premier of Portugal from September 1968, when he succeeded António de Oliveira Salazar, until the revolution of April 1974.

Carmona, Oscar, in full António Oscar de Fragoso Carmona, (born 24 November 1869 in Lisbon, Portugal - died 18 April 1951 in Lisbon), Portuguese general and statesman, Prime Minister of Portugal (1926 – 1928) and President of Portugal (1926–1951), having been Minister of War in 1923.

Castle, William Richards, Jr., (born 19 June 1878 in Honolulu, Hawaii – died 13 October 1963, Washington, District of Columbia, United States), was an American diplomat. He served in the Department of State as chief of the Division of Western European Affairs (1921-1927), was Ambassador to Japan during period of Naval Arms Conference, London, in 1930, and Undersecretary of State from 1931 to 1933.

Chamberlain, Neville, in full Arthur Neville Chamberlain, (born 18 March 1869 in Birmingham, Warwickshire, United Kingdom - died 9 November 1940 in Heckfield, near Reading, Hampshire), was British Conservative Party politician and statesman, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (1937 – 1940), identified with the policy of ‘appeasement’ toward Adolf Hitler’s Germany.

Chmielewski, Jerzy, (born 1905 – died 1966), was Polish agronomist and economist, one of the founding members of Colonial Pioneers Association, participant of the settlement schemes in Angola (1930) and Liberia (1934), director of Polish-Brazilian Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Warsaw. During the Second World War Chmielewski was a member of Polish Underground in occupied Poland working in

intelligence service. In 1945 Chmielewski moved to Brazil.

Chopin, Frederic, French in full Frédéric François Chopin, Polish in full Fryderyk Franciszek Chopin, (born 1 March 1810 in Żelazowa Wola, near Warsaw, Duchy of Warsaw [now in Poland] - died 17 October 1849, in Paris, France), was Polish-French composer and pianist of the Romantic period, best known for his solo pieces for piano and his piano concerti.

Christy, Cuthbert, (born in 1863 in Chelmsford, England – died 29 May 1932, Aka River region, Belgian Congo [now in the Democratic Republic of Congo]), was qualified in medicine in the University of Edinburgh. In the early 1890s, he travelled to South America and the West Indies. From 1898-1900 he was a senior medical officer to the Second Battalion West African Field Force in northern Nigeria, after which he served for a brief time in India. He was a member of the First Uganda Sleeping Sickness Commission in 1902 and a medical expedition to the Congo in 1903. He travelled through Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), East Africa (now Kenya), Uganda, southern Nigeria, the Gold Coast, and the Cameroons. After official posts in the Congo and Sudan, he served in the First World War in Africa and Mesopotamia. After the War, he explored in Sudan, Nyasaland (now Malawi) and Tanganyika (now Tanzania), and was a member of a League of Nations Commission enquiring into slavery and forced labour in Liberia.

Chrostowski, Tadeusz, (born 25 September 1878 in Kamionka, Russian Emire [now in Poland] – died 4 April 1923 in Pinheirinhos, Brazil) was an ornithologist and traveller. Chrostowski studied at the University of Moscow. As a soldier in the Russian army, he fought during the Russian – Japanese war and the First World War. In 1910 he travelled to Brazil on a research trip studying South – American fauna.

He visited Brazil twice more, 1913 – 1915 and 1921 – 1923. During his trips, he was collecting specimens of rare birds for several museums in Europe and the United States. Apart from ornithology he also developed an interest in the Indian tribes living in the areas he visited. He published his observations in *Parana: wspomnienia z podróży w roku 1914: z 16 ilustracjami i mapą Parany* (Warszawa, 1922).

Churchill, Winston, Sir Winston Leonard Spencer-Churchill, (born 30 November 1874 in Blenheim, Oxfordshire, United Kingdom - died 24 January 1965 in London), was a British politician, army officer, and writer. He was Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1940 to 1945 and 1951 to 1955.

Clarke, H. Ashley, (born 26 June 1903 – died 20 January 1994), was a British diplomat. He joined diplomatic service in 1925 and served in Budapest, Warsaw, Constantinople, Geneva, and Tokyo. He was Minister at Lisbon (1944 - 1946) and at Paris (1946 - 1949). In 1953 he received his last appointment as Ambassador to Italy, where he remained for nine years.

Cranborne, Robert Arthur James Gascoyne-Cecil, 5th Marquess of Salisbury, (born 27 August 1893 - 23 February 1972), known as Viscount Cranborne from 1903 to 1947, was a British Conservative politician, Member of Parliament (1929 – 1941), Member of the House of Lords (1947 – 1972), Parliamentary Under – Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (1935 – 1938), Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs (1943 – 1945), Lord Privy Seal (1942 – 1943).

Croft, Henry Page, 1st Baron Croft, ( born 22 June 1881, Fanhams Hall, Hertfordshire, United Kingdom – died 7 December 1947 in London), was a decorated British soldier and Conservative Party politician, Member of the



Parliament, Under – Secretary of State for War (1940 – 1945).

Dąbal, Tomasz, (born 29 December 1890 in Sobów, Austria - Hungary [now part of the town of Tarnobrzeg in Poland] – died 21 August 1937 in Moscow, Soviet Union [now in Russia]) was a Polish politician and communist activist. In 1911 he joined the Polish Peasant Party. During the First World War, he served in Austria – Hungarian army. After the War, Dąbal came to Poland. Influenced by Russian Revolution (1917), in November 1918 during a peasant rally in the town of Tarnobrzeg, Dąbal proclaimed the creation of independent Republic of Tarnobrzeg. The Republic of Tarnobrzeg was suppressed by units of the freshly created Polish army at the beginning of 1919. Between 1919 and 1921 he sat Sejm. In 1920 he joined delegalized Communist Workers' Party of Poland (*Komunistyczna Partia Robotnicza Polski*). In August 1920, a couple of days before the deceive battle of the Polish-Soviet War (1919 – 1921) he declared in Sejm support for the Soviets, which caused him to be arrested for the attempt of overthrowing state's political system and sentenced for 6 years of labour. However, in 1923, he left to the Soviet Union as a result of the exchange of the prisoners. He settled in Belarus and was an active member of the communist party there.

Dębski, Jan, in full Jan Michał Dębski, (born 4 December 1889 in Mirzec, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 5 August 1976 in Warsaw, Poland), was Polish politician and activist, since 1916 associated with Polish People's Party 'Piast'. Dębski sat in Polish Sejm (1919 – 1930) and from 1938 until 1939 was a Senator. Dębski was director of the Maritime and Colonial League Office and chairman of Polish Federation of the League of Nations Associations.

Dekański, Tadeusz, (born 1894 in Lviv, Austria – Hungary [now in Ukraine] – died

1954 in the United Kingdom) studied law at the University of Lviv and served in the Polish army. During the 1926 coup, Dekański was a student at a military school in Warsaw, but his refusal to declare support for Józef Piłsudski stopped his further career.

Delbos, Yvon, (born 7 May 1885 in Thonac, France – died 15 November 1956 in Paris, France), was French politician associated with French Radical – Socialist Party, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1936 – 1938), National Defense (1947) and National Education (1939 – 1940, 1947, 1948, 1948 – 1950).

Dmowski, Roman, (born 9 August 1864, in Kamionek, Russian Empire [now in Warsaw, Poland] — died 2 January 1939 in Drozdowo, Poland), was Polish statesman, a leader of Poland's struggle for national liberation and co-founder and chief ideologue of the Polish National Democracy political movement and one of the main figures in National League. After the First World War Dmowski represented the new Polish national government at the Paris Peace Conference, and in June 1919 he signed the Treaty of Versailles. He subsequently sat in the constituent Sejm until 1922 and briefly served as Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1923. After that, he retired from active politics.

Domeyko, Ignacy, (born 1802 – died 1889), was Polish geologist and mineralogist. He spent most of his life, some 50 years, in Chile and made major contributions to the study of that country's geography, geology, and mineralogy.

Dreszer, Juliusz, in full Juliusz Bronisław Dreszer (born 26 May 1892 in Grodzisk Mazowiecki, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 14 May 1937 in Warsaw, Poland), was Polish lawyer and army officer, brother of Gustaw Orlicz – Dreszer,

member of the Maritime and Colonial League.

Drymmer, Wiktor Tomir, (born 24 May 1896 in Dobrzelin, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – 27 July 1975 in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada), was a Polish army officer and diplomat. After the First World War Drymmer joined Polish army intelligence service. Since 1923 he worked for diplomatic service. He served as the director of the Human Resource Division (1931 – 1939) and Consular Department (1933 – 1939) in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Dubicz-Penther, Karol, (born 2 June 1892 in Żyrardów, Russia [now in Poland] – died 15 January 1945 in Lisbon, Portugal), was Polish diplomat and army officer. He joined diplomatic service in 1928 and served in Teheran, Ankara. In 1929 he worked Political and Economic Department within Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Between 1937 and 1943 he was Ambassador of Poland to Portugal.

Dunikowski, Emil, in full Emil Habdank Dunikowski, (born 13 December 1855 in Berezhany Austria – Hungary [now in Ukraine] - died 24 June 1924 in Lviv, Poland [now in Ukraine]), was Polish geologist and a traveler, since 1888 professor at the University of Lviv. Dunikowski conducted a search for the oil fields in the Bieszczady Mountains resulting in him becoming a millionaire. He also conducted geological research in Turkey, Algeria, Tunis and Sichote Aliń Mountains in Russia. In 1906 Dunikowski traveled to the United States and Mexico, where, apart of geological studies, he developed an interest in the ethnography of Indian tribes. After the Firsts World War, his son, Edward Zbigniew Dunikowski, gained publicity in Poland by claiming to patent a method of transforming any substance into gold with the usage of ‘Z’ radiation.

Dybowski, Jan, French in full Jean Thadée Emmanuel Dybowski, (born 20 April 1856 in Charonne, France – died 18 December 1928 in Mandres, France), was a French explorer, naturalist agronomist of Polish origins. He studied at the École Nationale Supérieure d'Agronomie in Grignon, where in 1877 he became a lecturer. From 1889 he performed developmental research in southern Algeria. In 1891, he visited French Congo on a mission with designs of expanding and consolidating French influence in the region north of the Ubangi River. He also served as a director of agriculture and commerce in Tunisia. He was a founder of the French Institute of Colonial Agronomy in Paris and a member of the Polish Academy of Arts and Science.

Eden, Anthony, in full Robert Anthony Eden, 1st Earl of Avon, (born 12 June 1897 in Rushyford, United Kingdom – died 14 January 1977 in Alvediston, United Kingdom), was British Conservative Party politician, Foreign Affairs Minister (1931 – 1931), Foreign Secretary (1935 – 1938) and Prime Minister (1955 – 1957).

Erskine, William, in full William Augustus Forbes Erskine, (born 30 October 1871 – 17 July 1952), was a British diplomat, Ambassador to Cuba (1928 – 1929), Bulgaria (1921 – 1927), and Poland (1929 – 1934), member of the Privy Council (1930).

Firestone, Harvey, in full Harvey Samuel Firestone, (born 20 December 1868 in Columbiana, Ohio, United States - died 7 February 1938 in Miami Beach, Florida, United States), was American industrialist noted for his establishment of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, which was for some 80 years a major U.S. tire manufacturer.

Fularski, Mieczysław, (born 25 March 1896 in Będzin, Russian Empire [now in Poland]

– died 1969), was Polish army officer, since 1932 in the rank of major, publicist and activist, member of the management of the Maritime and Colonial League and World Union of Poles from Abroad (*Światowy Związek Polaków z Zagarnicy*), an organization established in 1934 during the convention of Poles from Abroad. Between 1921 and 1923 Fularski resided in Brazil working with Polish diaspora. Since early 1930 Fularski became increasingly involved in the work of social organizations in Poland concerned with the issue of emigration. In 1937 he was appointed as honorary consul of the Republic of Paraguay in Poland.

Fuszek, Rudolf, (born 1882 – died 1942), was a Hungarian physician and ethnographic collector. Fuszek worked for the Tropen Institut in Berlin, Germany. In 1910 he moved to Cameroon, where he worked as a medical doctor. From Cameroon, Fuszek moved to Liberia, where in 1922, he became head of health care.

Galeazzo Ciano, in full Gian Galeazzo Ciano, 2nd Count of Cortellazzo and Buccari, (born 18 March 1903 in Livorno, Italy – died 11 January 1944 in Verona, Italian Social Republic [now in Italy]), was Italian statesman and diplomat, Minister of Press and Propaganda (1935), Foreign Minister of Italy (1936 – 1943) . He became one of the key figures in the Fascist regime of Benito Mussolini after his marriage to Mussolini's daughter Edda (1930).

Garnuszewski, Antoni, (born 26 March 1886 in Warsaw, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 17 August 1964 in Gdynia, Poland), was Polish engineer and navy officer, founding member of Polis Banner in 1918, one of the organizers of the Maritime School in Tczew (now Gdynia Maritime University) and its consecutive director (1920 – 1929). Garnuszewski was the author of first Polish handbooks on shipbuilding.

Giżycki, Kamil, (born 19 August 1893 in Grybów, Austria – Hungary [now in Poland] – died 19 April 1968 in Wrocław, Poland), was Polish traveller and writer. During the First World War he served in Austro-Hungarian army and he was captured by Russian soldiers and sent to Siberia. During the Russian Civil War (1917 – 1922) he joined Russian guerillas in Uriankhai. In 1920 -1921 he moved to northwestern Mongolia and he joined Baron Roman Ungern von Sternberg's (1886 – 1921) army, serving him as a political advisor and chief of engineer troop, which manufactured land mines, hand grenades, chemical warfare. In 1923 Kamil Giżycki returned to Poland and settled near Lviv. He was a member of the expedition headed by Ferdynand Antoni Ossendowski to western Africa in 1926. In 1934 Giżycki settled in Liberia. In 1939 Giżycki returned to Poland to take part in the fight against Germany. After the war, Giżycki lived at Wrocław and published numerous novels about Africa.

Głąbiński, Stanisław, (born 25 February 1862 in Skole, Austria - Hungary [now in Ukraine] – died 14 August 1941 in Soviet prison in Kharkov, Soviet Union [now in Ukraine]), was a Polish politician, academic, lawyer and writer, professor of University of Lviv, dean of its Law School (1889–1890) and the University's rector (1908–1909). He was also an activist in the Polish National Democracy movement and one of the founding members of Polish Commercial – Geographical Association in Lviv in 1894. Between 1902 and 1918 he was a deputy to the parliament of Cisleithania. In 1911 he served as a Railway Minister in Austrian government, and in 1923 as the Minister of Religious Affairs and Public Education in the Second Republic of Poland. Between 1918 he was deputy to Polish Sejm and between 1928 and 1935 to Senate. In 1930s Głąbiński was a member of Scientific Institute for Emigration and Colonisation Studies.

Gliwic, Hipolit, (born 23 March 1878 in Warsaw, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 10 April 1943 in Warsaw), was Polish economist, engineer, activist, freemason, and politician. After 1920 Gliwic was working in Polish diplomatic service and central administration holding different posts with Polish legation in Washington and Paris, Ministry of Treasury and the Ministry of Industry and Trade. Between 1928 and 1930 Gliwic sat in Polish Senate representing the Nonpartisan Block for the Cooperation with Government. Briefly, from May until June 1926, he held the Office of the Minister of Industry and Trade.

Głuchowski, Janusz, (born 6 August 1888 in Bukowa, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 11 June 1964 in London, United Kingdom), was Maritime and Colonial League member and Polish army officer, from 1927 in the rank of general. In 1947 Głuchowski became one the founders of Józef Piłsudski Institute in London, United Kingdom, and its first director (1947 – 1964).

Głuchowski, Kazimierz (born 1885 in Kamienna, Austria - Hungary [now in Ukraine] – died 15 September 1941 in Windsor, Ontario, Canada), was Polish journalist, activist, and diplomat, founder of the Colonial Pioneers Association in 1928. At the age of 21, Głuchowski moved to the United States where he engaged in work with Polish diaspora there becoming an editor of several newspapers. While in the United States he propagated the idea of military education of Polish youth, so it could take part in the fight for independent Poland. During the First World War, Głuchowski came to Poland to support Józef Piłsudski in the creation of Polish Legion. In 1919 he was appointed Polish consul in Curitiba. While in Brazil he travelled throughout the southern parts of the country to study the situation of Polish settlers there. He published the results of his observations in *Wśród Pionierów Polskich na*

*antypodach: materiały do problem osadnictwa polskiego w Brazylii* (Warszawa, 1927). During the Second World War, he initially resided in New York and then moved to Canada.

Gwiazdowski, Tadeusz, (born 21 September 1889 in Warsaw, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 15 April 1950 in London, United Kingdom), was Polish diplomat. Gwiazdowski studied political science in Warsaw and Paris. Since 1922 Gwiazdowski was a member of Polish mission to the League of Nations holding different posts. From April to November 1932 he was the head of the Polish mission with the League of Nations as *chargé d'affaires*. In January 1933, he was dismissed to the headquarters of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw. He became the head of one of the sections in the Political Division. In February 1934, he was appointed a deputy director of the Political Division, which he held until the outbreak of World War II. After the aggression of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union on Poland in 1939, he evacuated together with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs staff to France and then to the United Kingdom.

Hempel, Antoni, (born 13 June 1865 in Skorczyce, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 19 December 1923 in Świeciechów nad Wisłą, Poland), was Polish activist, landowner, and publicist. Hempel was a member of Association of Polish Youth (Związek Młodzieży Polskiej) and the National League. In 1890 he fled the Kingdom of Poland under a threat of being arrested for his political association with Polish independence movement and settled in the United Kingdom, where he got involved in work with farmers co-ops and workers unions. In 1892 he accompanied Józef Siemiradzki during one of his trips to South America. While in South America he acted as a correspondent for *Przegląd Emigracyjny*, publishing articles



concerning the situation of Polish settlers. After his return, he published his observations in *Polacy w Brazylii* (Lwów, 1893). After returning to the Kingdom of Poland, Hempel got arrested, but because of the lack of evidence of criminal activity, he was released. In 1907 Hempel was elected to Russian Duma.

Hertzog, J. B. M., in full James Barry Munnik Hertzog, (born 3 April 1866 in Soetendal, near Wellington, Cape Colony [now in South Africa] - died 21 November 1942 in Pretoria, South Africa), was a soldier and statesman who held the post of Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa from 1924 to 1939. His political principles, as first stated in his speeches in 1912, were 'South Africa First' (even before the British Empire) and the 'Two Streams Policy', under which each part of the white South African nation, the British and the Afrikaner (Dutch), would be free from domination by the other.

Hilarowicz, Tadeusz, (born 20 December 1887 in Warsaw, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 5 July 1958 in Łódź, Poland), was Polish lawyer, activist, and scholar. He lectured law at Jagiellonian University in Cracow and Warsaw University of Life Science. Hilarowicz was a member of Nonpartisan Bloch for Cooperation with Government.

Hirschler, Jan, (born 7 May 1883 in Tovste, Austria – Hungary [now in Ukraine] – died 1 March 1951 in Gdańsk, Poland), was Polish biologist, professor of zoology at the University of Lviv, member of Polish Academy of Art and Science.

Hitler, Adolf, (born 20 April 1889 in Braunau am Inn, Austria – Hungary [now in Austria] - died 30 April 1945 in Berlin, Germany), was a German politician and leader of the Nazi Party (*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*; NSDAP).

He rose to power as Chancellor of Germany in 1933 and later *Führer* in 1934.

Hlond, August, (born 5 July 1881 in Brzęczkowice, German Empire [now in Poland] - died 22 October 1948 in Warsaw, Poland), was a Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church, Archbishop of Poznań and Gniezno (1926–1946), and Primate of Poland (1926 – 1946).

Hoare, Samuel, In full Samuel John Gurney Hoare, 1st Viscount Templewood, (born 24 February 1880 in London, United Kingdom – died 7 May 1959 in London), known as Sir Samuel Hoare, was a British Conservative politician, Secretary of State for Air (1922 – 1929, 1940), Secretary of State for India (1931 – 1935), Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (1935), Home Secretary (1937 – 1939), Lord Privy Seal (1939 – 1940).

Hoover, Herbert, in full Herbert Clark Hoover, (born 10 August 1874 in West Branch, Iowa, United States - died 20 October 1964, New York, New York), was an American engineer, businessman, and Republican Party politician who served as the 31st President of the United States from 1929 to 1933.

House, Edward M., in full Edward Mandell House, (born 26 July 1858 in Houston, Texas, United States - died 28 March 1938, New York, New York), was American diplomat, politician and chief advisor on European politics and diplomacy to President Woodrow Wilson (1913–1921).

Hubicki, Stefan, (born 18 March 1877 in Polica, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 30 October 1955 in Serock, Poland), was Polish physician, statesman and army general, Minister of Labour and Social Welfare (1930 – 1932), Minister of Social Welfare (1933 – 1934).

Hull, Cordell, (born 2 October 1871 in Pickett County, Tennessee, United States – died 23 July 1955 in Bethesda, Maryland, United States), was an American politician best known as the longest-serving U.S. Secretary of State, holding the position for 11 years (1933–1944) in the administration of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882 – 1945) during most of World War II. Hull received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1945 for his role in establishing the United Nations.

Iddesleigh, Henry Stafford Northcote, 3rd Earl of Iddesleigh, (born 19 November 1901 – died 16 February 1970).

Jacyna, Jan, (born 15 December 1864 – died 10 December 1930 in Warsaw, Poland), was Polish engineer and army general. In 1918 Jacyna was appointed the head of the Department of Military Education at the Ministry of Military Affairs in Warsaw. Between 1921 and 1922 he was adjutant general of the Chief of State, Józef Piłsudski.

Januszewicz, Edward, (date and place of birth and death unspecified), was one of the Polish planter in Liberia sent by Maritime and Colonial League and director of Polish Syndicate in Monrovia. In early 1930s Januszewicz was visiting South America where he got involved in work with Polish diaspora there. He was the founder of first Polish school in Paraguay in 1931. During the Second World War Januszewicz, as an officer of Polish Consulate in Buenos Aires, was in charge of enlisting volunteers to the Polish army.

Jesionowski, Roman, (born 1898 – date and place of death unspecified), Polish army officer, an official at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1930 he moved to Angola. After his return to Poland in 1934 he was active in Polish paramilitary

organizations.

Kiedroń, Józef, (born 23 March 1879 in Dolní Bludovice, Austria - Hungary [now in the Czech Republic] – died 25 January 1932 in Berlin, Germany), was a mining engineer, politician associated with National Democracy movement, Polish Minister of Industry and Trade (1923 – 1925).

King, Charles D. B., in full Charles Dunbar Burgess King, (born 12 March 1875 in Monrovia, Liberia – died 4 September 1961 in Monrovia), was a politician in Liberia of Americo-Liberian and Freetown Creole descent. He was a member of the True Whig Party. He served as the 17th President of Liberia from 1920 until 1930. In the presidential election in 1927 King was challenged by presidential hopeful Thomas J.R. Faulkner, the election registered 234,000 votes when there were only 15,000 registered voters at the time. Thus, King's presidency was listed by the Guinness Book of Record as the most fraudulent election reported in history.

Kleszczyński, Józef, (born in 1841 - died in 1900), was Polish scholar, professor of statistics and administrative law.

Kłobukowski, Stanisław, (born in 1854 in Powiercie in German Empire [now in Poland] - died in 1917 in Palmas, Brazil), was Polish economist and political activist, member of the National League. In 1895 he travelled to Brazil as a guide for a group of Polish migrants and remained there until 1898 visiting the country, studying the prospect of colonisation and commerce. He travelled through Southern Brazil, Paraguay, Argentina, and Chile. In 1908 Kłobukowski moved to Brazil. He published his observations regarding the situation of Poles settled in Brazil in multiple articles in *Gazeta Handlowo – Geograficzna*, *Polski Przegląd Emigracyjny*,

*Ekonomista Polski*, and *Ateneum*. He also published his memories from the travels titled *Wspomnienia z podróży po Brazylii, Argentynie, Paragwaju i Ziemi Ognistej 1895 – 1898* (Lwów, 1898).

Komarnicki, Tytus, (born 15 January 1896 in Jordanowice, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 9 September 1967 in London, United Kingdom), was Polish diplomat, lawyer and historian, Representative of Poland with the League of Nations (1934 – 1938), Minister to Switzerland (1938 – 1940) and Holland (1944 – 1945).

Korytowski, Karol, in full Karol Walerian Franciszek Korytkowski, (born 28 January 1892 in Cracow, Austria – Hungary [now in Poland] – died 11 October 1966 in London, United Kingdom), was Maritime and Colonial League member and navy officer in 1945 promoted to the rank of admiral. During the First World War Korytkowski fought in Austria – Hungarian Navy. He is considered one of the creators of the Polish navy after 1918. Between 1929 and 1933 Korytkowski was the editor of *Przegląd Morski*, monthly newspaper on military issues.

Kościuszko, Tadeusz, in full Tadeusz Andrzej Bonawentura Kościuszko, (born 4 February 1746 in Mereczowszczyzna, Poland [now in Belarus]—died 15 October 1817 in Solothurn, Switzerland), Polish army officer and statesman who gained fame both for his role in the American Revolution and for his leadership of a national insurrection in his homeland (1974).

Kossobudzki, Szymon, (born 28 October 1869 in Płock, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 8 July 1934 in Curitiba, Brazil), was a medical doctor, publicist, and activist. Following his involvement in the Russian Revolution of 1905 Kossobudzki fled the Russian Empire and settled in Brazil. He opened his medical practice in

Parana and worked for the Medical Department at the University of Parana. He was editor of two Polish newspapers published in Parana, *Niwa*, and *Świt*.

Kożuchowski, Józef, (born 17 April 1886 in Cracow, Austria – Hungary [now in Poland] – died 7 September 1968 in Warsaw, Poland), was Polish economist, statesman, and activist. Kożuchowski studied in Lviv and Munich and Warsaw. During the First World War, he was a member of the National League. In 1926 Kożuchowski became as head of one of the departments within Polish Ministry of the Industry and Trade and between 1930 and 1932 he served as Deputy Minister of the Industry and Trade. In 1935 he became vice – president of *Bank Gospodarswa Krajowego*, a state-owned investment bank. Between 1930 and 1939 Kożuchowski was the President of the Main Council of the Maritime and Colonial League.

Kulczycki, Ludwik, (born 22 July 1866 in Warsaw, Russian Empire [now Poland] – died 31 August 1941 in Warsaw, Poland), was Polish sociologist, scholar, publicist, and political activist, one of the founding members of the Colonial Pioneers Association. He was a member of Polish Socialist Party (*Polska Partia Socjalistyczna*), Polish Socialist Party ‘Proletariat’ (*Polska Partia Socjalistyczna ‘Proletariat’*) and National Workers’ Party (*Narodowa Partia Robotnicza*).

Kwaśniewski, Stanisław, in full Stanisław Feliks Kwaśniewski, (born 14 November 1886 in Cracow, Austria – Hungary [now in Poland] – died 9 March 1956 in Santa Monica, United States), Polish army general, Deputy Chief of the General Staff of Polish Armed Forces (1928 – 1932), President of the Main Managing Board of the Maritime and Colonial League (1936 – 1939).

Lago, Aleksander, Aleksander de Lago, (born 9 June 1873 in Venice, Italy – died 23

December 1963 in Steyregg, Austria), was Galician landowner, activist and diplomat in Austria – Hungarian service. Lago was a co-founder of the Polish Colonisation Association in 1926. In 1929 Lago participated in a delegation of Polish Colonising Association studying potential settlement opportunities in Canada.

Langrod, Witold, in full Witold Lucjan Langrod, (born 25 October 1899 in Lviv, Austria – Hungary [now Ukraine] – died 17 May 1983 in Port Jefferson, New York, United States), was a Polish army officer, writer, diplomat, and sociologist. In 1932 Langrod joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs working in Emigration Policy Division. In 1935 he joined the International Labour Organisation. After the Second World War Langrod worked for the United Nations.

Lansbury, George, (born 21 February 1859, near Halesworth, Suffolk, United Kingdom - died 7 May 1940, London), was a British politician and social reformer, leader of the Labour (1932 – 1935), Member of Parliament (1922 – 1940).

Lasocki, Zygmunt, in full Zygmunt Bronisław Lasocki, (born 16 December 1867, in Ixelles, Belgium – died 17 February 1948, in Cracow, Poland), was a Polish lawyer, diplomat, and politician associated with Polish peasant movement. In 1911 Lasocki was elected as a deputy to the parliament of Cisleithania. Between 1921 and 1924 was serving as Polish Ambassador to Austria and between 1924 and 1927 to Czecho – Slovakia.

Lencewicz, Stanisław, (born 19 April 1889 in Warsaw, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 1 September 1944 in Warsaw, Poland) was Polish geographer, since 1922 professor at University of Warsaw, one of the founders of Polish Geographical Society.

Lepecki, Mieczysław, in full Mieczysław Bohdan Lepecki, (born 16 November 1897 in Kluczkowice, Russian Empire, [now in Poland] – died 26 January 1969 in Warsaw, Poland), was a Polish army officer, publicist, and traveller. In 1928 he was a member of the Polish delegation sent to Peru to study settlement opportunities there. Between 1931 and 1935 Lepecki served as adjutant of Józef Piłsudski. In 1935 he resided in Brazil, Argentina, and Paraguay as the official representative of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs studying settlement opportunities. In 1937 he chaired Polish delegation to Madagascar sent there to assess the possibility of making Madagascar Polish colony.

Lewandowski, Zenon, (born 29 July 1859 in Niewolno, German Empire [now in Poland] – died 23 March 1927 in Poznań, Poland), was pharmacist, editor, philanthropist, politician, and activist. Lewandowski was one the founders of the Masurian People's Party (*Mazurska Partia Ludowa*) in 1896. Between 1899 and 1901 he got involved in establishing of a Polish settlement in the Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil. After his return to Poland, he opened a pharmacy in Poznań and became elected to local government. Between 1919 and 1922 Lewandowski was a deputy to the Polish Legislative Sejm (1919 – 1922). He was also a chairman of Masurian representation to the Peace Conference in Paris (1919).

Lewiński, Jan, (born 19 of September 1876 in Lublin, Russia [now in Poland] – died 6 January 1939 in Warsaw, Poland), was Polish geologist, since 1919 professor at the University of Warsaw.

Lipski, Józef, (born 5 June 1894 in Wrocław, German Empire [now in Poland] – died 1 November 1958 in Washington, United States), was Polish politician, diplomat and army officer, head of the Western Division within the Polish Ministry of Foreign



Affairs (1928 – 1933), Ambassador of Poland to Germany (1933 – 1939).

Lloyd George, David, 1st Earl Lloyd-George of Dwyfor, (17 January 1863 in Chorlton-on-Medlock, Manchester, United Kingdom – 26 March 1945 in Ty Newydd, Caernarvonshire, United Kingdom), was a British statesman and politician, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (1916 – 1922), Leader of the Liberal Party (1926 – 1931), Member of Parliament (1890 – 1945)

Loth, Jerzy (born 4 August 1880 in Warsaw, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 30 September 1967 in Warsaw, Poland) was a Polish geographer, ethnographer, and professor at the University of Warsaw. In 1931 he founded the first branch of Rotary International in Poland. In 1935 Loth was appointed honorary consul of Nicaragua in Poland. Between 1948 and 1961 he was a member of International Olympic Committee.

Lothian, Philip Henry Kerr, 11th Marquess of Lothian, (born 18 April 1882 in London, United Kingdom - 12 December 1940 in Washington, United States), was a British politician, diplomat and editor. He was private secretary to Prime Minister David Lloyd George between 1916 and 1921. After succeeding a cousin in the marquessate in 1930, he held minor office from 1931 to 1932 in the National Government, headed by Ramsay MacDonald. Between 1939 and 1940 he served as British Ambassador to the United States.

Łubieński, Aleksander, in full Aleksander Jan Marian Łubieński, (born 6 August 1894 in Warsaw, Russia [now in Poland] – died 26 February 1951, South Africa), was Polish army officer and diplomat, military attaché in Finland (1924 – 1925), deputy military attaché in France (1929 – 1933), deputy director the Department of

Diplomatic Protocol in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1935 – 1939).

Lubomirski, Kazimierz, (born 16 July 1869 in Przeworsk, Austria - Hungary [now in Poland] – died 15 December 1930 in Cracow, Poland], was Polish aristocrat, landowner, diplomat, and activist. Between 1901 and 1903 he was a member of Galician parliament. Between 1919 and 1922 Lubomirski was serving as Polish Ambassador in Washington. From 1921 to 1929 he was a president of Polish Olympic Committee and from 1923 he was a member of International Olympic Committee.

Ludkiewicz, Zdzisław, (born 17 January in Ponevezh, Russia [now Panevėžys in Lithuania] – died 18 July 1942 in Zalesie, Germany [now in Poland]), was Polish agrarian economist, rector of Warsaw University of Life Sciences (1925 – 1926), Minister of Agrarian Reforms (1923 – 1924).

Lugard, Frederic, in full Frederick John Dealtry Lugard, Baron Lugard of Abinger, (born 22 January 1858 in Fort St. George, Madras, India - died 11 April 1945 in Abinger, Surrey, England), was a British soldier, mercenary, and colonial administrator. He served as Governor of Hong Kong (1907–1912), the last Governor of the Southern Nigeria Protectorate (1912–1914), the first High Commissioner (1900–1906) and last Governor (1912–1914) of the Northern Nigeria Protectorate and the first Governor-General of Nigeria (1914–1919).

Łyp, Franciszek, (born 7 April 1888 in Jaworzno, Austria – Hungary [now in Poland] – died 24 September 1971 in Brwinów, Poland), was Polish publicist and activist. In 1913 Łyp moved to Brazil, In Parana, he worked as a teacher in Polish high school. In 1919 he was editor of Polish newspaper, *Świt*, published in Ponta Grossa. In 1920

he organised a tour around Brazil for Polish consul in Curitiba, Kazimierz Głuchowski. In 1923 in Curitiba Łyp published a handbook for farmers on methods of fighting pests in hot climate zone. In 1926 Łyp moved to Poland and between 1927 and 1928 worked in Polish consulate in Rotterdam. In 1931 he started to work in the Ministry of Industry and Trade. For 6 years he was a member of the Main Managing Board of the Maritime and Colonial League and edited *Pionier Kolonialny*, supplement to *Morze*. In 1934 Łyp started to work in Żegluga Morska Company.

Maio, José da Guerra, (born Freixeda do Torrão, Portugal [date unspecified] - died 10 June 1967) was a Portuguese journalist and writer, editor of editor in the *Gazeta dos Ferrocarriles*.

Makarczyk, Janusz, (born 25 March 1901 in Łódź, Russian Empire [now in Poland] - died 16 May 1960 in Warsaw, Poland), was a Polish army officer, journalist, novelist, play writer and diplomat. Makarczyk studied in Warsaw and Poznań. In 1923 as a correspondent of *Kurier Warszawski* travelled to the United States (New York, Chicago, Detroit, Washington) where he involved in cultural work with Polish diaspora there. In 1925 as a representative of the Maritime and River League he travelled to Tokyo, Jerusalem, Saudi Arabia, and Syria. Between 1927 and 1928 working for the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs he took part in Polish representations to the international bodies working in the field of migration. Among other destination, his work there took him to Brazil. In 1934 he negotiated the agreement between the Maritime and Colonial League (at the time Mkarczyk was deputy director of the Maritime Division) and Liberia. After the Second World War Makarczyk again worked in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1945 – 1947), and since

1947 he lectured history at Jagiellonian University. He was an author of many novels and theatre plays inspired by his numerous travels, including *Bezdroża pragnień* (Warszawa, 1926) and *Dżafar z Bagdadu* (Kraków, 1950). As a journalist, he published his articles in several newspapers in Poland, including *Kurier Warszawski* and *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*

Makarewicz, Juliusz, (born 5 May 1872 in Sambir, Austria - Hungary [now in Ukraine] – died 20 April 1955 in Lviv, Soviet Union [now in Ukraine]), was a lawyer, professor of criminal law at the University of Lviv, Polish Senator (1925 – 1935). The main author of the codification of Polish criminal law, the penal code of 1932, referred to in the doctrine as Codex of Makarewicz (*Kodeks Makarewicza*). In his political career, Makarewicz was associated with the Polish Christian Democratic Party and Nonpartisan Bloc for Cooperation with Government.

Mandel, Georges, (born 5 June 1885 in Chatou, Yvelines, France – died 7 July 1944 in Forest of Fontainebleau, France), was French journalist and politician, Minister of Post (1934 – 1936), Minister of Colonies (1938 – 1940), during the Second World War in French Resistance.

Mańkowski, Józef, (date and place of birth and death unspecified), was a Polish consular officer. Between 1938 and 1939 he served as Polish Honorary Consul to Liberia.

Maroger, Gilbert, (born 24 October 1911 – died 17 August 1945), was French publicist and lawyer, first Secretary of the Conference of Lawyers of the Paris Court of Appeal, director of the cabinet of Governor Chatel in French North Africa.

McBride, Harry A., (1873 – date and place of death unspecified), was an army officer,

Assistant Secretary of State and chief administrator of National Art Gallery. McBride was Acting Financial Adviser and General Receiver of Customs in Liberia in 1919-1920. In 1934 he visited the country again as a Special Assistant to United States Secretary of State, Cordell Hull.

Mckenzie, Melville, in full Melville Douglas Mackenzie (born 1889 – died 1972) was British physician, League of Nations commissioner to Liberia. Mackenzie's first post was to Mesopotamia in 1916 as a member of the Royal Army Medical Corps (RAMC). Working at a hospital in Basra, he treated cases of cholera, smallpox, typhus, plague, and fever. Mackenzie returned to England, continuing work on infectious diseases at the port of Liverpool. In 1922, Mackenzie left his post in Liverpool to help with famine relief efforts in Russia, focusing on the control of typhus. In 1928, Mackenzie joined the staff of the League of Nations, where his first assignment was a public health survey of Greece. In 1930 he went on missions to Bolivia, Liberia, Singapore, and China. Following the Second World War, Mackenzie became involved in the establishment of the World Health Organisation. Mackenzie was also Chairman on the World Health Organisation executive board in 1953-1954.

Mickiewicz, Adam, in full Adam Bernard Mickiewicz, (born 24 December 1798 – died 26 November 1855), was a Polish poet, dramatist, essayist, publicist, translator, professor of Slavic literature, and political activist. He is regarded as a national poet in Poland, Lithuania, and Belarus.

Monroe, James, (born 28 April 1758 in Monroe Hall, Virginia, British America [now in the United States] – died 4 July 1831 in New York City, New York, United States), was an American statesman, lawyer, diplomat, and Founding Father who served as

the fifth president of the United States from 1817 to 1825.

Mościcki, Ignacy, (born 1 December 1867 in Mierzanowo, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 2 October 1946 in Versoix, Switzerland), was Polish statesman, politician, and a scientist associated with the University of Lviv and Warsaw Polytechnic. On 1 June 1926, Mościcki, an associate of Piłsudski's from the Polish Socialist Party (*Polska Partia Socjalistyczna*), was elected President of Poland by the Polish National Assembly, on Piłsudski's recommendation (after Piłsudski himself refused the office).

Możdżeński, Leonard, (born 6 November 1892 in Warsaw, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 12 May 1954, London, United Kingdom), was the director of Maritime Department within the Ministry of Industry and Trade and a member of the Maritime and Colonial League.

Nałęcz, Włodzimierz, (born 5 February 1865 in Kiev, Russian Empire [now in Ukraine] – died 12 September 1946 in Jeruzal, Poland), was Polish painter, literary author, and publicist writing for *Morze* and *Kurier Warszawski*. Nałęcz was best known for his series of landscapes of the Polish seaside.

Noël, Léon, in full Léon Philippe Jules Arthur Noël, (born 28 March 1888 in Toucy, France – died 6 August 1987 in Paris, France), was a French diplomat, politician and historian, Plenipotentiary Minister in Prague (1932 – 1935), French Ambassador in Poland (1935 – 1940), President of the Constitutional Council of France (1959 – 1965).

Norwid, Cyprian Kamil, in full Cyprian Ksawery Gerard Walenty Norwid, (born 24 September 1821 in Laskowo-Głuchy, near Warsaw, Russian Empire [now in Poland]

- died 23 May 1883 in Paris, France), was Polish poet, playwright, painter, and sculptor who was one of the most original representatives of late Romanticism.

Okołowicz, Józef, in full Józef Jan Okołowicz (born 1876 in Kosów, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 3 June 1923 in Warsaw, Poland), was Polish publicist, editor, and activist. In 1892 he was involved in the establishment of *Przegląd Emigracyjny*. Between 1896 and 1912, while in Brazil, Okołowicz was the editor of *Gazeta Polska*, Polish newspaper published in Curitiba. Between 1919 and 1922 he was serving as Polish Consul General in Canada. After his return to Poland, he became the director of the Emigration Office.

Olszewicz, Bolesław, in full Bolesław Henryk Olszewicz, (born 5 January 1893 in Warsaw, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 24 January 1972 in Wrocław, Poland), was Polish geographer and historian of geography and cartography, co-founder of the Polish Geographical Society, professor at University of Wrocław (since 1946), member of International Academy of History of Science in Paris.

Orlicz-Dreszer, Gustaw, in full Gustaw Konstanty Orlicz-Dreszer (born 2 October 1889 in Jadów, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 16 July 1936, Gdynia, Poland), was a Polish general, and a political and social activist. Between 1918 and 1936 Orlicz - Dreszer held different posts in the Polish army, from 1930 in the rank of general. He was a strong supporter of the 1926 coup and the regime of Józef Piłsudski. Between 1930 and 1936 Dreszer was the president of the Maritime and Colonial League.

Orłowski, Leon, (born 22 March 1876 in Tatary, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 19 March 1976 in Rabka, Poland), was Polish diplomat. He joined Polish diplomatic

service in 1919. Between 1927 and 1932 he worked in the Political Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Between 1936 and 1940 he was Polish Minister in Hungary.

Ossendowski, Ferdynand Antoni, (born 27 May 1876 in Ludza, Russian Empire [now Latvia] – died 3 January 1945 in Żółwin, Poland), was a Polish writer, university professor, activist. He studied mathematics and natural science in Petersburg, Sorbonne, and Tomks. During his studies, he took several trips to Siberia, India, Sumatra, Malaya, and China. After the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) Ossendowski moved to Harbin in Manchuria, to study ore deposits in the area. In Manchuria, he also became one of the leaders of the considerable Polish diaspora. In 1920, after the outbreak of the Russian Civil War (1919 – 1922), Ossendowski joined a group of Poles and White Russians trying to escape from communist-controlled Siberia to India through Mongolia, China, and Tibet. In Mongolia, the group was stopped by the takeover of the country led by Baron Roman Ungern von Sternberg (1886 – 1921). Ossendowski joined the baron's army as a commanding officer of one of the self-defense troops. He also briefly became Ungern's political advisor and chief of intelligence. In 1922, Ossendowski returned to Poland and settled in Warsaw. He started giving lectures at the School of Political Sciences at the University of Warsaw. He also became an advisor to the Polish government and an expert on Soviet states. He was an author of over 70 books published in Poland and translated into over 20 languages.

Pankiewicz, Michał, (born 1887 – died 1980), was Polish journalist and publicist, a supporter of Polish migration to Brazil. He was a member of several organisations working in the field of migration, Friends of Parana Society (*Towarzystwo Przyjaciół*



*Parany*), which he established in 1922, Polish Emigration Association and the Maritime and Colonial League. Pankiewicz was editor of *Wychodźca*, a press organ of the Polish Emigration Association. He contributed to establishing of Polish settlement in Argentina, *Vistula*, in 1932 and to opening a Polish centre in Buenos Aires.

Paprzycki, Stefan, (date and place of birth and death unspecified), was Polish engineer and Maritime and Colonial League Member. He was Maritime and Colonial League representative in Liberia, replacing Jan Bartoszyk in 1935, and between 1936 and 1938 Polish Honorary Consul in Monrovia, Liberia

Parczewski, Alfons, in full Alfons Józef Ignacy Parczewski, (born 15 November 1849 near Sieradz, Russian Empire [now in Poland] - died 21 April 1933 in Vilnius, Poland [now in Lithuania]), was Polish lawyer, scholar, editor and activist. He was a member and founder of several social and charitable organisations in Posnania and Kingdom of Poland. In 1870s Parczewski got involved pan – Slavic movement working with Sorbs in Saxony and Brandenburg and from 1900 with pan – Celtic movement. During his academic career, he became associated with Warsaw University and the University of Stefan Batory in Vilnius, where in 1922 he took the post of rector.

Paszkwicz, Adam, (born 22 April 1891 in Radom, Russia [now in Poland] – date and place of death unspecified), was Polish engineer. Paskowicz studied in Saint Petersburg. Between 1912 and 1913 he was conducting some hydro-technical works in Turkmenistan and between 1913 – 1915 building railways in Persia. During the First World War Paszkowicz was building roads and bridges on the front line in Turkey. After the War, Paszkowicz moved to Poland. He was a member of

management of the Airborne and Antigas Defence League (*Liga Obrony Powietrznej i Przeciwigazowej*), a paramilitary mass organisation founded in 1928. Paszkowicz resided in Angola between 1930 and 1931. He published the report from the time he spent there in *Wśród Murzynów Angoli* (Lwów, 1932).

Patkowski, Aleksander, (born 4 March 1890 in Ożarów, Austria - Hungary [now in Poland] – died 22 March in Auschwitz – Birkenau, occupied Poland [now in Oświęcim, Poland]), was Polish activist and teacher, in literature considered a founder of Polish theory of regionalism, member of the Maritime and Colonial League.

Pawłowski, Stanisław, (born 16 March 1882 in Dębowiec, Austria – Hungary [now on Poland] – died 6 January 1940 in Poznań, occupied Poland [now in Poland]), was Polish geographer, rector of University of Poznań (1932 – 1933), and a member of Polish Academy of Arts and Science (since 1936).

Petelenz, Czesław, (born 1 June 1879 in Sulistrowa, Austria - Hungary [now in Poland] – died 18 or 20 December 1949 in Brighton, United Kingdom), was a navy officer, publicist, and activist. Petelenz graduated from the Naval Academy in Fiume. He was considered one of the founders of the Polish Navy after 1918.

Piłsudski, Józef, in full Józef Klemens Piłsudski, (born 5 December 1867 in Zułowo, Russian Empire [now Zalavas in Lithuania] – died 12 May 1935 in Warsaw, Poland), was Polish revolutionary and statesman, the first Chief of State (1918–22) of the newly independent Poland established in November 1918. After leading a coup d'état in 1926, he rejected an offer of the presidency but remained politically influential while serving as Minister of Defense until 1935. From the end of the First

World War, he had great power in Polish politics and viewed as a father of the Second Republic of Poland.

Popławski, Jan Ludwik, (born 17 January 1854 in Bystrzejowice Pierwsze, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 12 March 1908 in Warsaw, Poland), was Polish journalist, author, politician and one of the chief activists and ideologues of the National Democracy political camp.

Porębski, Kazimierz, (born 15 November 1872 in Vilnius, Russian Empire [now in Lithuania] – died 21 January 1933 in Warsaw, Poland), was a naval officer who rose to the position of admiral within the Imperial Russian Navy, and was subsequently the first commander-in-chief of the inter-war Polish Navy (1919 – 1925). He was considered a creator of the Polish commercial and military fleet.

Potocki, Józef, in full Józef Alfred Potocki, (born 8 April 1895 in Szepietówka, Russia [now in Ukraine] - died 12 September 1968 w Lausanne, Switzerland), was Polish diplomat and Ministry of Foreign Affairs official. He served in Polish mission in London (1919 – 1922, 1929 - 1932) and the Polish Embassy in London (1932 – 1934). Between 1934 and 1939 Potocki was deputy director of the Western Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Between 1944 and 1955 he served as Polish *chargé d'affaires* in Spain.

Prystor, Aleksander, in full Aleksander Błażej Prystor, (born 2 January 1874 in Vilnius, Russian Empire [now in Lithuania] – 11 August 1941 in Moscow, Soviet Union [now in Russia]), was a Polish politician, freemason, soldier, and activist who served as 23rd Prime Minister of Poland from 1931 to 1933. He was a member of the Combat Organization of the Polish Socialist Party (*Polska Partia Socjalistyczna*).

In March 1917 he joined Polish Military Organisation (*Polska Organizacja Wojskowa*). After 1918 he became a secretary in the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare. He fought as a volunteer in the Polish-Soviet War (1919-1920). Between 1930 and 1931 he was the Minister of Industry and Trade. Between 1931 and 1933 he served as Prime Minister of Poland. After that, he became the Marshal of the Polish Senate (1935-1938).

Raczyński, Edward Bernard, (born 19 December 1891 in Zakopane, Austria – Hungary [now in Poland] – died 30 July 1993 in London, United Kingdom), was Polish aristocrat, diplomat, politician and writer, Ambassador to the United Kingdom (1934 – 1945), representative of Poland with the League of Nations (1932 – 1934), President of Poland in Exile (1979 – 1986).

Raczyński, Józef, (born 19 March 1874 in Baranów, Austria - Hungary [now in Poland] – died 19 April 1931 in Warsaw, Poland), was Polish politician and activist, Minister of Agriculture and State Goods (February 1921 – May 1923, December 1923 – January 1924, May 1926 – June 1926) and Minister of Agrarian Reforms (May 1926 – June 1926).

Rajchman, Ludwik Witold, (born 1 November 1881 in Warsaw, Russia [now in Poland] – died 13 July 1965 in Chenu, France), was a Polish physician and bacteriologist. He is regarded as the founder of United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, UNICEF, and from 1946 to 1950 served as its first Chairman.

Rathaus, Rudolf, (born 13 September 1900 in Tarnopol, Austria – Hungary [now Ternopil, Ukraine] – died 11 January 1968 in New York, United States), was a diplomat, economist, and activist, Polish Honorary Consul in Liberia. He joined

Polish diplomatic service in 1923. Between 1936 and 1939 Rathaus was an employee of the Ministry of Industry and Trade. After the outbreak of the Second World War Rathaus evacuated to the United States

Rhodes, Cecil, in full Cecil John Rhodes, (born 5 July 1853 in Bishop's Stratford, Hertfordshire, United Kingdom - died 26 March 1902 in Muizenberg, Cape Colony [now in South Africa]), was British financier politician and statesman. He was prime minister of Cape Colony (1890–96) and organizer of the giant diamond-mining company De Beers Consolidated Mines (1888). Rhodes was a supporter of British imperialism. Rhodes and his British South Africa Company founded the southern African territory of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe and Zambia), which the company named after him in 1895.

Ribbentrop, Joachim von, in full Ulrich Friedrich Wilhelm Joachim von Ribbentrop, (born 30 April 1893 in Wesel, Germany – died 16 October 1946 in Nuremberg, Allied-occupied Germany [now in Germany]), was statesman and diplomat in Nazi Germany, German Ambassador to the United Kingdom (1936 – 1938), and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1938 – 1945).

Robert Cecil, in full Edgar Algernon Robert Gascoyne-Cecil, 1st Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, (14 September 1864 in London, United Kingdom – died 24 November 1958 in Danehill, United Kingdom), known as Lord Robert Cecil, was a British lawyer, politician and diplomat, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (1924 – 1927), Lord Privy Seal (1923 – 1924), Under – Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (1915 – 1919). He was one of the architects of the League of Nations and a defender of it, whose service to the organisation saw him awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1937.

Rodziewicz, Jerzy, (born 23 April 1903 in Jańczyce, Russian Empire [now in Ukraine] – date and place of death unspecified), studied history, philosophy and political science in Warsaw. He was a Polish army officer and a member of Airborne and Antigas Defence League. Between March 1931 and February 1939 Rodziewicz resided in Angola.

Rogalski, Mieczysław, (born 23 May 1889 in Warsaw, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 17 May 1952 in Iwonicz – Zdrój, Poland), was Polish lawyer, diplomat, and consular official. He served in Polish consulate in Kwidzyń (1932 – 1936), Ełk (1936 – 1939) and was Minister to Oslo and Reykjavik (1946 – 1948).

Rogowski, Władysław, in full Władysław Franciszek Rogowski, (born 1886 – died 1945), was Polish teacher, writer, journalist, and activist. Rogowski studied natural science in Bern, Munich, Leipzig, Cracow, and Freiburg, where he obtained Ph.D. Between 1925 and 1927 resided in Brazil working with Polish schools there and training new teachers. In 1930 he was a member of the Nonpartisan Block for the Cooperation with Government.

Roja, Bolesław, in full Bolesław Jerzy Roja, (born 4 April 1876 in Bryńce Górne near Lviv, Austria - Hungary [now in Ukraine] – died 27 May 1940 in Sachsenhausen concentration camp, Germany), was a general, and a politician in the Second Polish Republic, recipient of some of the highest Polish military awards including *Virtuti Militari*. Roja was in opposition to the Sanacja regime openly criticizing Józef Piłsudski. He was a member of Polish Peasant Party and in 1928 was elected to Sejm but in 1929 he resigned his seat.

Romer, Tadeusz, in full Tadeusz Ludwik Romer, (born 6 December 1894 in Antonosz near Kaunas, Russian Empire [now in Lithuania] – died 23 March 1978 in Montreal, Canada), was a Polish diplomat and politician. He was a personal secretary to Roman Dmowski in 1919. Later he joined diplomatic service. He served as Polish Minister to Portugal (1935 – 1937), Japan (1937-1941) and the Soviet Union (1942-1944). Between 1943 and 1944 he was the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Polish Government in Exile.

Rose, Adam, in full Adam Karol Rose, (born 10 August 1895 in Nałęczów, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 9 November 1951 in Paris, France), was Polish economist and state official. He served at the Ministry of Agriculture (1931 – 1935) and in 1936 became the Deputy Minister of the Industry and Trade.

Rosiński, Wiktor, (date and place of birth and death unspecified), was Polish publicist and journalist, member of the management of the Maritime and Colonial League. Between 1943 1945 Rosiński was working for *Ameryka – Echo*, Polish newspaper published from Buffalo, United States.

Ross, Colin, (born 4 June 1885 in Vienna, Austria – Hungary [now in Austria] – died 29 April 1945 in Urfeld am Walchensee, Germany), was Austrian journalist and war correspondent. He was one of the most popular travel writers in Germany and Austria.

Rostafiński, Józef Tomasz, (born 14 August 1850 in Warsaw, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 5 May 1928 in Cracow, Poland), was a Polish botanist. He studied in Jena, Halle, and Strasbourg, where he achieved his PhD Between 1878 and 1928 Rostafiński worked as a lecturer at Jagiellonian University in Cracow.

Rostek, Antoni, (born 18 January 1887 in Wojnowice, German Empire [now in Poland] – died 5 December 1959 in Katowice, Poland), was Polish lawyer and journalist, editor of *Oberschlesischer Wegweiser für die kreise Ratibor, Kosel und Leobschütz*. He organised the Maritime and Colonial League in Silesia. Between 1938 and 1939 he sat in Polish Sejm.

Rozwadowski, Jan, in full Jan Michał Rozwadowski, (born 7 December 1867 in Czarna near Tarnów, Austria – Hungary, [now in Poland] – died 13 March 1935 in Warsaw, Poland), was Polish scholar and activist, one of the founding members of Colonial Pioneers Association. Rozwadowski was a linguist and a professor at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow. He was also the president of the Polish Academy of Art and Science (1925 – 1929).

Rummel, Julian, in full Julian Eugeniusz Rummel, (born 29 September 1878 in Lipawa, Russian Empire [now Liepāja in Latvia] – died 22 April 1954 in Gdynia, Poland), was a shipbuilding engineer, freemason, activist and publicist. Rummel was considered the main supporter of building a harbor in Gdynia. In 1921 he became a director of Warsaw office of the Maritime and Colonial League. In 1926 Rummel became the director of newly founded *Żegluga Polska*, a Polish shipbuilding company operating based on the state capital.

Sajous, Leo, in some records spelled as Leo Sajou, (born 1892 in Haiti – date, and place of death unspecified), was Haitian physician, journalist, writer and activist associated with Pan – African movement. Sajous collaborated with other Haitian writers to publish *Le Cri des nègres* newspaper and co-founded *La Revue du Monde Noir* (1931 – 1932). In 1930 leading a group of members of League for the Defense of Black Race an organisation promoting Pan - African solidarity, Sajous went to Paris



where he sought to create Institut Nègre de Paris, meant to improve living conditions of African students. However, those plans were never materialized and the League by French administration was monitored as radical and stacked by the anticommunist press.

Salazar, António de Oliveira, (born 28 April 1889 in Vimieiro, Portugal - died 27 July 1970 in Lisbon, Portugal), Portuguese economist, who served as Prime Minister of Portugal for 36 years (1932–68). In May 1926, after the army had overthrown Portugal's parliamentary government, Salazar was offered the cabinet post of Minister of Finance, but he refused. In 1928 President of Portugal, offered him the finance ministry with complete control over the government's income and expenditures, and this time Salazar accepted. During the Spanish Civil War (1936 – 1939) and the Second World War, Salazar served as Minister of War (1936–44) and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1936–47) in addition to holding the office of Prime Minister.

Salter, Arthur, Baron James Arthur Salter, (born 15 March 1881 in Oxford, United Kingdom – died 27 June 1975), was a British businessman, politician, and academic who joined the British Civil Service in 1903, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (1945), Minister of Economic Affairs (1951 – 1952).

Sawicki, Ludomir, (born 14 September 1884 in Viena, Austria – Hungary, [now in Austria] – died 3 October 1928 in Cracow, Poland), was Polish geographer and publisher, a lecturer at Jagiellonian University in Cracow, author of over 150 works published in several languages.

Schacht, Hjalmar, in full Horace Greely Hjalmar Schacht, (born 22 January 1877 in

Tinglev, Germany - died 4 June 1970 in Munich, Western Germany [now in Germany]), was German banker and economist. He served as minister of economics (1934 – 1937) in the National Socialist government of Adolf Hitler.

Shannon, Godfrey Boyd, (born 1907 – died 1989), was a Dominion Office official, Assistant Under – Secretary of State in the Commonwealth Office, High Commissioner in Calcutta (1952 – 1956)

Siemiradzki, Józef, (born 28 March 1858 in Kharkiv, Russian Empire [now in Ukraine] - died 12 December 1933, in Warsaw, Poland), was Polish geologist, traveller, professor of paleontology at University of Lviv, and a member of Polish National League. Siemiradzki was conducting geological research of Andean Mountains. He took his first trip to South America between 1882 and 1883 and then in 1892 and 1895. Apart from geological research Siemiradzki became interested in the situation of Polish migrants in South America. He published results of his trips in several publications, including *Za morze! Szkice z wycieczki do Brazylii* (Lwów, 1894), *Z Warszawy do Równika. Wrażenia z podróży po Ameryce Południowej odbytej w latach 1882-83* (Warszawa, 1885), *Szlakiem wychodźców : wspomnienia z podróży po Brazylii, odbytej z polecenia Galicyjskiego Wydziału Krajowego. T.1-2* (Warszawa, 1900), and *Pod obcym niebem: szkice i obrazki* (Kraków, 1904), containing his observation regarding Polish settlers. Siemiradzki was a member of Polish National Geological Institute and Polish Academy of Arts and Science.

Sikorski, Brunon, in full Brunon Andrzej Sikorski, (born 19 September 1896 in Berlin, German Empire – died 7 March 1976 in Warsaw, Poland), was Polish activist and politician, member of the Maritime and Colonial League, member of National Institute of Export, deputy to Sejm (1935 – 1939), member of the Camp of National

Unity.

Simpson, Clarence Lorenzo, (born 28 October 1896 in Royesville, Liberia – died January 1969 in Monrovia, Liberia), was a Liberian politician, diplomat and freemason, Speaker of the Liberian House of Representatives (1931 – 1934), Secretary of State (1934 – 1943), Vice President of Liberia (1944 – 1952), Ambassador to the United States (1952 – 1956).

Składkowski, Felicjn Sławoj, (born 9 June 1885 in Gąbin, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 31 August 1962 in London, United Kingdom), was a Polish physician, army general, freemason and politician. During the May 1926 coup, Składkowski supported Józef Piłsudski. After the coup, Składkowski served as Minister of Internal Affairs (1926 – 1929, 1930 – 1931 and 1936 - 1939) and Prime Minister of Poland (1936 – 1939).

Śliwiński, Stanisław, (born 30 August 1869 in Kotlarka near Kiev, Russian Empire [now in Ukraine] – died 11 January 1929 in Warsaw, Poland), was Polish engineer, landowner, activist, and politician. In 1907 Śliwiński sat in Russian Duma. Between 1919 and 1921 he was Minister of Provisioning in Poland in four consecutive governments.

Smigły-Rydz, Edward, (born 11 March 1886 in Berezhany, Austria – Hungary [now in Ukraine] – died 2 December 1941 in Warsaw, occupied Poland), was a Polish army general, politician, statesman, Marshal of Poland (1936 – 1941) and General Inspector of Armed Forces (1945 – 1939).

Smogorzewski, Kazimierz, (born 24 February 1896 in Sielec, German Empire [now in Poland] – died 4 November 1992 in Shepperton, Surrey, United Kingdom), was

Polish journalist and publicist. He was editor of *Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny* (1925 – 1927), and *La Pologne* (1929 – 1933) and correspondent of *Gazeta Polska*. During the Second World War Smogorzewski resided in the United Kingdom, where he became a member of the editorial committee of *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1942 – 1989).

Smola, Jan, (born 10 May 1889 in Winiary, Austria - Hungary [now in Poland] – died 25 April 1945 in Warsaw, Poland), was a Polish activist within the peasant movement, publicist and deputy to Sejm. From 1918 until 1931 Smola was vice-president of the Polish Peasant Party ‘Liberation’ and between 1931 and 1935 chief secretary of People’s Party (*Stronnictwo Ludowe*).

Sosnkowski, Kazimierz, (born 19 November 1885 in Warsaw, Russia [now in Poland] – died 11 October 1969 in Arundel, Quebec, Canada), was Polish diplomat, politician and army general, seen by Józef Piłsudski as his successor. Between 1921 and 1924 he served in government as the Minister of Military Affairs, and between 1943 and 1944 as General Inspector of the Armed Forces.

Stanisław Jurkiewicz, (born 10 March 1884 in Lviv, Austria – Hungary [now in Ukraine] – died 30 May 1954 in Warsaw, Poland), was Polish lawyer, freemason, Minister of Labour and Social Welfare (1926 – 1929), in 1930s representative of Poland with The Administrative Council of the International Labour Organisation in Geneva.

Steczkowski, Jan Kanty, (born 16 October 1862 in Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Austria - Hungary [now in Poland] – died 3 September 1929 in Cracow, Poland), was Polish lawyer, economist, and politician. From April 1918 to October 1918 he was the

Prime Minister of Poland in Regency Council. Between 1920 and 1921 Steczkowski was serving as a Minister of Treasury in the Polish government. Between 1922 and 1927 he was a president of *Bank Gospodarstwa Krajowego*, Polish state-owned national development bank with headquarters in Warsaw, and between 1926 and 1927 president of The British and Polish Trade Bank based in Gdańsk.

Stevenson, James, 1st Baron Stevenson, (born 2 April 1873 – died 10 June 1926), was a British businessman and civil servant. From 1921 he worked as a personal adviser to Winston Churchill, then Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Strasburger, Henryk, in full Henryk Leon Strasburger, (born 27 May 1887 in Warsaw, Russian Empire [now in Poland] - died 2 May 1951 in London, United Kingdom), was a Polish economist and statesman, member of the Maritime and Colonial League, General Commissioner in the Free City of Danzig (1924 – 1932). Minister of the Industry and Trade (1939 – 1942) and Minister of Treasury (1939 – 1943).

Sumiński, Stanisław, (born 8 May 1891 in Bolesław, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 11 March 1943 in Lublin, occupied Poland [now in Poland]), was Polish zoologist, entomologist and herpetologist associated with Jagiellonian University and Polish Academy of Arts and Science, member of the Maritime and Colonial League.

Surycz, Emil, (born 14 March 1902 in Stryi, Austria – Hungary [now in Ukraine] – died 31 May 1957), was an engineer working in Mozambique, in 1936 he settled on a farm there. Since around 1942 Surycz resided in Umantali, Rhodesia [now Mutare in Zimbabwe].

Surzyński, Leon, (born 8 April 1891 in Inowrocław, German Empire [now in Poland] –

died 28 September 1967 in London, United Kingdom), was Polish physician, activist and politician, deputy to Sejm (1928 – 1939), member of the Maritime and Colonial League, member of the Nonpartisan Block for the Cooperation with the Government and Camp of National Unity.

Świtalski, Kazimierz, (born 4 March 1886 in Sanok, Austria - Hungary [now in Poland]- died 28 December 1962 in Warsaw, Poland), was a Polish politician, diplomat, soldier, military officer, a close associate of Józef Piłsudski. Following the 1926 coup, he was given several political posts including Minister of Religious Affairs and Public Education (1928) and Prime Minister of Poland (1929).

Szablowski, Stanisław, (born 1900 - date and place of death unspecified), was Polish agronomist, between 1934 and 1936 Polish planters in Liberia.

Szczepanowski, Stanisław, in full Stanisław Prus Szczepanowski, (born 12 December 1846 in Kościan, German Empire [now in Poland] - died 31 October 1900, in Nauheim, German Empire [now in Germany]), was a Polish economist, engineer, businessman, and politician. In 1870's Szczepanowski was associated with the India Office in London working on the construction of railways in India. In 1879 Szczepanowski settled in Galicia where he became the owner of one largest oil mine there. In 1886 he became a deputy to parliaments of Austria and in 1889 to the parliament of Galicia.

Szembek, Jan, in full Jan Włodzimierz Józef Cezary Stanisław Piotr Klemens Zygmunt Szembek (born 11 July 1881 in Poręba Żegoty, Austria – Hungary [now in Poland] – died 9 July 1945 in Estoril, Portugal), was Polish diplomat and Ministry of Foreign Affairs official. Szembek joined Polish diplomatic service in 1919 and served in

Budapest, Brussel and Bucharest. Between 1932 and 1939 he held the post of Deputy Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Szolec – Rogoziński, Stefan, (born 14 April 1861 in Kalisz, German Empire [now in Poland] – died 1 December 1896 in Paris, France), was a Polish explorer of Africa. In 1882 he organised an expedition to West Africa. He was exploring the coast of Cameroon and Mungo River basin. In 1882 he established a Polish colony in Cameroon, however, it did not last long. When in 1884 Germans and British arrive at this territory he surrenders the colony to the latter.

Sztark, Heliodor, (born 28 March 1886 in Konin, German Empire [now in Poland] – died 3 February 1969 in Weslaco, Texas, United States), was Polish consular official and diplomat. He joined Polish diplomatic service in 1919 and served in Polish Consulate in Cologne (1919 – 1920), Leningrad (1926 – 1928), Szczecin (1931 – 1938) and in Pittsburgh (1938 - 1945).

Szukiewicz, Wojciech, in full Wojciech Odrowąż Szukiewicz, (born 26 January 1867 in Stocholm, Sweden – died October 1944 in Grodzisk Mazowiecki, Poland), was Polish publicist, translator and activist.

Szymański, Juliusz, (born 10 May 1870 in Kielce, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 8 June 1958 in Białystok, Poland), was Polish ophthalmologist, activist and politician associated with the Nonpartisan Bloc for Cooperation with Government, Marshal of Senate of the Republic of Poland (1928 – 1930), member of the Maritime and Colonial League. Szymański studied medicine at the University of Kiev. While in Russian army fighting in Russian – Japanese war he became a supporter of the anti-tsarist movement. To avoid prosecution he left Russia and settled in the United

States. In 1912 he moved to Parana, where he opened an eye clinic and became a lecturer at University of Parana, conducting research in the field of ophthalmology. He was an author of first Brazilian handbook of ophthalmology. Szymański moved to Poland in 1923. Just after the Second World War, he returned to Brazil where he remained until 1956.

Targowski, Józef, (born 28 May 1883 in Winiary, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 22 May 1952, Sulejówek, Poland), was Polish politician, diplomat, and activist, co-founder of Polish Association Colonisation Association in 1926. Between 1919 and 1921 Targowski was serving as Polish charge d'affaires in Japan with the accreditation in China. He was a deputy to Sejm (1928 – 1935) and Senator from the Nonpartisan Bloc for Cooperation with the Government (1930 – 1935).

Terenkoczy, Władysław, (born 1848 in Lviv, Austria - Hungary [now in Ukraine] – died 15 March 1928 in Lviv, Poland [now in Ukraine]), was a stage actor and director. Between 1875 and 1881 he was a director of the Polish Theatre in Poznań. Terenkoczy was one of the leaders of Polish Commercial – Geographical Association and since 1908 he was a member of the management of Polish Emigration Association, organisation operating between 1908 and 1939, providing support for emigrants.

Tetzlaff, Henryk, (born 9 May 1900 in Warsaw, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 22 April 1986 in Warsaw, Poland), was Polish activist and journalist, supporter of Poland's maritime development. He was the editor of *Morze* (1926 – 1934) and *Dzień Pomorski*, co-founder and first editor of *Kurier Bałtycki* (1937 – 1937), and correspondent of *Gazeta Polska*. In 1927 he held a minor post in Polish Ministry of the Industry and Trade. Between 1932 and 1933 Tetzlaff was a manager of the



branch of Polish Telegraphic Agency in Gdynia, state-owned news agency established in 1918. During the Second World War Tetzlaff was a member of Polish Underground. After the War, he worked for several institutions and companies concerning maritime shipment and industrial fishing.

Thomas, James, in full James Henry Thomas, (born 3 October 1874 in Newport, Monmouthshire, United Kingdom – died 21 January 1949 in London), was a British trade unionist and Labour Party politician and Parliament Member, Secretary of State for the Colonies (1924, 1931, 1935 – 1936).

Thompson, Geoffrey H., (born 1898 – died 1967), was British diplomat and Foreign Office Official, Ambassador to Thailand (1946 – 1951), and Brazil (1952 – 1956).

Thullie, Maksymilian, in full Maksymilian Marceł Thulie, (born 16 January 1853 in Lviv, Austria - Hungary [now in Ukraine] – died 1 September 1939 in Lviv), was Polish engineer, rector of Lviv Polytechnic (1894 - 1895, 1910 – 1911), Senator (1922 – 1935).

Toynbee, Arnold, (born 14 April 1889 in London, United Kingdom - died 22 October 1975 in York, North Yorkshire, United Kingdom), was a British historian, philosopher of history, author of numerous books and research professor of international history at the London School of Economics and University of London. Between 1918 and 1950 Toynbee was a leading specialist on international affairs.

Ungar, Wiktor, in full Henryk Wiktor Ungar, (born 1861 - died 1921), was a Polish lawyer, scholar, publicist, editor of *Przegląd Emigracyjny* (since 1895 under the name *Przegląd Wszechpolski*). Since 1895 Ungar was a member of National League.

Vakhnianyn, Anatole, Ukrainian: Анатоль Вахнянин, (born 19 September 1841 in Sieniawa, Austria - Hungary [now in Poland] – died 11 February 1908 in Lviv, Austria - Hungary [now in Ukraine]), was a Ukrainian political and cultural figure, composer, teacher and journalist. Between 1895 and 1901 Vakhnianyn was a deputy to Galician parliament. In 1868 he was one of the founders of the Prosvita Society (*Товариство 'Просвіта'*), an organization dedicated to educational and cultural work among the Ukrainian people.

Wallinger, Geoffrey Arnold, (born 2 May 1903 – died 5 July 1979), was a British diplomat and Foreign Office official, Ambassador to Hungary (1949 – 1951), Thailand (1951 – 1954) and Austria (1954 – 1958).

Walters, Frank, (born 1888, Isle of Man, United Kingdom - date and place of birth and death unspecified), was British army officer and historian, League of Nations official since 1919. In the 1930s he was Deputy Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

Warchałowski, Kazimierz, (born 24 November 1871 in Voronezh, Russian Empire [now in Russia] – died 28 May 1943 in Konstancin near Warsaw, Poland), was Polish activist and publicist, member of the National League. After 1903 Warchałowski was residing in Brazil developing Polish schools, libraries, and bookstores. He also published several Polish newspapers there, including *Polak w Brazylii*. After the First World War Warchałowski returned to Poland and worked for the Emigration Office. He is the author of a number of publications regarding emigration from Poland including *Do Parany : przewodnik dla podróżujących i wychodźców* (Kraków, 1903), *Peru : warunki gospodarcze Montanji Peruwjańskiej* (Warszawa, 1930), *Picada : wspomnienia z Brazylii* (Warszawa, 1930) and *Na wodach Amazonki* (Warszawa, 1938).

Waryński, Tadeusz, (born 15 June 1881 in Clarens, Switzerland – died 5 January 1932 in Warsaw, Poland), was Polish politician, deputy mayor of city of Łódź, deputy to Sejm (1930 – 1932), was member of Polish Socialist Party, after 1926 supporter of Sanacja regime and member of the Nonpartisan Block for the Cooperation with Government.

Wenda, Tadeusz, in full Tadeusz Apolinary Wenda, (born 23 July 1863 in Warsaw, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 8 September 1948 in Komorów, Poland), was Polish engineer and activist, one of the founding members of Polish Banner in 1918, chief designer of the harbour in Gdynia and manager of its construction (1920 – 1932).

Whittall, Lionel H., (born 1907 – died 1977), was British diplomat and Foreign Office Official, Commercial Counsellor in Burma (1950 – 1952), Consul – General in Berlin (1952 – 1956).

Williams, Robert, (born c. 1860 – died 1938), was mining engineer and entrepreneur. Williams was sent to South Africa by his engineering employers in 1881. There he met Sir Cecil Rhodes and shared his vision of opening up Africa's interior for development, or exploitation. In 1891 they formed the Zambesia Exploring Company Ltd, to explore and extract mineral deposits in Southern Rhodesia. In 1899 Tanganyika Concessions Ltd (Tanks) was founded to exploit minerals in Northern Rhodesia, with Williams as managing director.

Wilson, Woodrow, in full Thomas Woodrow Wilson, (born 28 December 1856 in Staunton, Virginia, United States - died 3 February 1924 in Washington, District Columbia), was the 28th president of the United States (1913–21), an American

scholar and statesman. Wilson led his country into World War I and became the creator and leading advocate of the League of Nations, for which he was awarded the 1919 Prize for Peace.

Witos, Wincenty, (born 22 January 1874, Wierzchosławice, Austria-Hungary [now in Poland] - died 30 October 1945 in Cracow, Poland), was Polish statesman and leader of the Polish Peasant Party, who was three times Prime Minister of Poland (1920–21, 1923, 1926).

Włodek, Ludwik, (born in 1869 in Niestum, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died in 1922 in Munich, Germany), was Polish journalist and publicist, member of National League. He studied in Lviv, Zurich, and Geneva. In 1898 he was arrested for his association with Polish independence movement and sent to a labour camp for three years. In 1907 he travelled to Brazil to study Polish communities in Parana. He worked as a correspondent for *Kurier Warszawski*, a newspaper published in Warsaw. He was also included his observations in several publications, *Polskie kolonie rolnicze w Paranie* (Warszawa, 1911), *Polacy w Paranie* (Warszawa, 1911), *Kolonie polskie w Paranie : (odczyt z obrazami świetlnymi)* (Warszawa, 1909) and *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Brazylii wraz ze słowniczkiem polsko-portugalskim i mapką Parany i Ameryki Południowej* (Warszawa, 1909). After 1918 Włodek returned to Poland. From 1920 until 1922 he served a consular officer in Munich.

Wyrostek, Michał (born 1876 – died 1976), was a military officer and politician, member of the Maritime and Colonial League. Between 1918 and 1923 Wyrostek held different roles in Polish Ministry of Military Affairs, and from 1930 to 1935 he sat in Senate.

Yancy, Allen, in full Allen Nathaniel Yancy, (born 1881 in Harper, Liberia – died 1941 in Lagos, Nigeria), was Liberian statesman and politician. In 1918 was appointed county attorney for Maryland. In 1920, President C.D.B. King appointed him county superintendent, a position which he held until 1927 when he was elected to the position of Vice President of the Republic. Both Yancy, and President King were forced by the electorate to resign in 1930.

Yapp, Albert Edward, (born c. 1891 in Ludlow in Shropshire, United Kingdom – date and place of death unspecified), was British Consul General and chargé d'affaires in Monrovia, leading British representation to Liberia.

Załęcki, Gustaw, (born 1894 – date and place of death unspecified), Polish journalist, activist, and publicist. From 1926 he was in the management of the Maritime and Colonial League and the Scientific Institute for Emigration and Colonisation Studies and the main editor of the Institute's press organ *Kwartalnik Instytutu Naukowego do Badań Emigracji and Kolonizacji*. Załęcki was an author of many publications supporting organised emigration including *Polska polityka kolonialna i kolonizacyjna : zarys teoretyczny, oprac. w świetle problemu zamorskiej ekspansji narodowej* (Warszawa, 1925), *O polską politykę zamorską* (Warszawa, 1929), *Polskie plantacje bawełniane jako problem polskiego gospodarstwa narodowego* (Warszawa, 1929), *Problem konieczności i możliwości polskiej polityki kolonialnej* (Warszawa, 1930).

Zaleski, August, (born 30 of September 1883 in Warsaw, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 7 April 1972 in London, United Kingdom), was Polish politician, diplomat, and freemason. After 1918, Zaleski served at various posts in Polish embassies in Switzerland, Greece, and Italy and was one of the Polish envoys to

the League of Nations. After the Coup of 1926, he sided with the camp of Józef Piłsudski and, until 1932, held the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs. Between 1928 and 1935, Zaleski sat in Senate. At the end of his term, he retired from active politics. In the result of the invasion of Poland in 1939 Zaleski evacuated to France and then to the United Kingdom. In exile, August Zaleski yet again became Minister of Foreign Affairs (1939 – 1941) and in June 1947, and was nominated President of Poland in Exile (1947 – 1972).

Zamięcki, Andrzej, (born 25 August 1881 in Węglowice, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 29 January 1963 in Warsaw, Poland), was Polish diplomat, journalist, and science - fiction writer, an activist of the Maritime and Colonial League. He studied in Cracow and Viena. In 1919 Zamięcki joined Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs as vice-consul in Bucharest.

Zamoyska, Maria, (born Brzozowska, 17 May 1902 in Kitajgrad, Russia [now in Ukraine] – died 1982 in London, United Kingdom), married Michał Zamoyski in 1926. In 1929 they moved to plantation Angola. After her husband died in 1957, he continued to run the estate in Angola. After the outbreak of the Angolan Civil War (1975 – 2002) Zamoyska fled to Canada. She stayed for about 6 months with her family in Montreal and in 1977 she moved to London.

Zamoyski, Adam, in full Adam Michał Ludwik Gonzaga Marek Zamoyski, (born 18 June 1873 in Podzamcze, Russia [now in Poland] - died 23 October 1940 in Warsaw, Poland), was Polish aristocrat, landowner, army officer, and activist. During the first was one of the adjutants of Tsar Nikolai II. He was a member and founder of several social organisations including Airborne and Antigas Defence League (*Liga Obrony Przeciwpowietrznej i Antygazowej*).

Zamoyski, Michał (born 10 January 1901 in Kozłówka, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 25 January 1957, Angola), was the youngest son of Polish landowner and army officer Count Adam Michał Zamoyski, married with Maria Brzozowska in 1926, one of the planters in Angola.

Zaruski, Mariusz, (born 31 of January 1867 in Dumaniv, Russian Empire [now in Ukraine] – died 8 April 1941 in Kherson, Soviet Union [now in Ukraine]), was general in the Polish Army (1924 – 1926), a pioneer of Polish sports yachting, mountaineer, photographer, painter, poet, writer, activist of the Maritime and Colonial League. Zaruski was one of the founders and the first director of Tatra Volunteer Search and Rescue (Tatrzańskie Ochotnicze Pogotowie Ratunkowe) in 1909. In 1919 Zaruski joined the Polish army. In 1923 he became the general adjutant of the President of Poland, Stanisław Wojciechowski. After he retired from army service in 1926 he devoted his time to popularize moral, economic and political benefits of Poland's access to the Baltic Sea by introducing Poles and Polish youth to seamanship and yachting. Between 1932 and 1935 Zaruski was a president of Polish Sailing Association (Polski Związek Żeglarski).

Zarychta, Apoloniusz, (born 1899 – died 1972), was Polish military officer, geographer, scholar and activist, a supporter of the idea of organised migration. Zarychta studied at the University of Warsaw and Jagiellonian University in Cracow, and at military schools in Poland and France. He worked as a lecturer in Warsaw and Lviv and was a member of the Geographical Institute of Polish Academy of Science. Zarychta visited South America several times on research trips but also worked with Polish diaspora in Parana and Ucayali. In 1925 Zarychta became one of Józef Piłsudski's adjutants and from 1932 he held the role of the head of the Emigration Policy

Division within Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Between 1930 and 1939 Zarychta was a member of the Main Council of the Maritime and Colonial League.

Zdziechowski, Jerzy, (born 27 August 1888 in Rozdol, Russian Empire [now in Ukraine] – died 25 April 1975 in Cracow, Poland), was a Polish politician, economist and economic activist, author of economic studies. In 1919 he was one of the main participants in an unsuccessful coup attempt in Poland. From 1922 – 1927 Zdziechowski sat in Sejm representing Popular National Union (*Związek Ludowo-Narodowy*), a political party aligned with the National Democracy, and briefly, between November 1925 and May 1926, held the post of the Minister of Treasury. Zdziechowski was in opposition to the Sanacja regime.

Żenczykowski, Tadeusz, (born 2 January 1907 in Warsaw, Russian Empire [now in Poland] – died 30 March 1997 in London, United Kingdom), was Polish soldier, lawyer, activist, deputy to Sejm (1938 – 1939), member of the Maritime and Colonial League, member of the Camp of National Unity.

Zieliński, Stanisław, (born 11 November 1880 in Środa, Austria – Hungary [now in Poland] – died 29 September 1936 in Warsaw, Poland), was Polish historian, activist, and publicist. Zieliński since the early 1900s was associated with Masurian People's Party (*Mazurska Partia Ludowa*) a pro-Polish agrarian political party active in Masuria between 1896 and 1914. Between 1907 and 1919 Zieliński resided in Switzerland, where in 1910 became the director of the library at the Polish Museum in Rapperswil. In 1919 he moved to Poland where he worked as a journalist and got involved in the Maritime and Colonial League work.

Znaniński, Florian, (born 15 January 1882 in Świętniki, German Empire [now in



Poland] — died 23 March 1958 in Champaign, Illinois, United States), was a Polish philosopher and sociologist who taught and wrote in Poland and in the United States. He remains a major figure in the history of Polish and American sociology. He won international renown as co-author, of the study, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (1918 – 1920), which is considered the foundation of modern empirical sociology. His career in the United States started at the University of Illinois (1917 – 1919) and then continued at Columbia University (1932 – 1934). In Poland, Znaniecki became a professor of sociology at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, where in 1922 he founded the Institute of Sociology.

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### **Unpublished work**

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