



An 'India of Europe': Stanisław Szczepanowski (1846-1900) and Galician-Indian Pararells in 'The Misery of Galicia'

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Abstract

Galicia was called by its 19th-century contemporaries 'an India of Europe' as it was the poorest province of the Habsburg Empire. This paper presents a global history of ideas and people that connects India's colonial experience with Eastern Europe. Although different in size, both countries were ruled by the imperial centres that considered them as 'backward' and in a need of the 'civilizing mission'. Vienna German-speaking centre stigmatized Polish-Ukrainian-Jewish Galicia periphery as 'barbaric East'.

My aim is to show how some ideas of 'development', 'civilization' and 'barbarity' produced by the British to India were transferred and appropriated into Galicia. I will critically examine those ideas through the postcolonial prism. In this regard, I will demonstrate a Galician-Indian parallel in the biography and work of Stanisław Szczepanowski who held an ambivalent position that linked British colonial experience in India with attempts to 'civilize' Galicia.

Keywords: Poland, Ukraine, Galicia, 19th century, colonialism, global history, civilization, development

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1. Introduction

Galicia was called by its 19th-century contemporaries 'an India of Europe' as it was the poorest province of the Habsburg Empire. This paper presents a global history of ideas and people that connects India's colonial experience with Eastern Europe. Although different in size, both countries were ruled by the imperial centres that considered them as 'backward' and in a need of the 'civilizing mission'. Vienna German-speaking centre stigmatized Polish-Ukrainian-Jewish Galicia periphery as 'barbaric East'.

My aim is to show how some ideas of 'development', 'civilization' and 'barbarity' produced by the British to India were transferred and appropriated into in Galicia. I will critically examine those ideas through the postcolonial prism. In this regard, I will demonstrate a Galician-Indian parallel in biography and work of Stanisław Szczepanowski who held an ambivalent position that linked British colonial experience in India with attempts to 'civilize' Galicia. After completing his university education in Vienna, Paris, and London, Szczepanowski stayed in Britain and worked for the India Office (department of industry and trade) in 1870-1879. In 1879, he was proposed to travel to India with the future King Edward VII but he refused and moved back to Galicia. There, he became a deputy to Galician Parliament, a Polish national activist, engaged in founding the oil industry in the region and attempted to transfer an experience he gained at the India Office.

Szczepanowski is best known for his study 'Nędza Galicji' (The Misery of Galicia, 1888) where he identified poverty and low productivity as symptoms of Galicia's 'backwardness' towards the West. Szczepanowski's work received much attention and many reviews from Galicia's audience. Later, 'The Misery of Galicia' became a slogan to challenge a Romantic myth of Galicia as an idyllic multicultural borderland. Until 'A Misery of Galicia' was published, Galicia's lingerers pointed out rather political anarchy and advocated for more state-building that meant for them modern bureaucracy and education with German-speaking countries as a role model. In contrast, Szczepanowski understood 'civilization' as capitalism with its industry, high productivity and middle class which elements he ascribed to England.

2. Habsburg Galicia as India, Poles as Indians slogan

'I worked on Indian industry, on the taxation of old Persia or the Great Mogul state, but I always thought about our Galicia and applied every new experience to our country's conditions' - wrote in his 'A Misery of Galicia' (Szczepanowski). He came to raise Galicia from its misery after years of studying and working abroad and after Galicia gained a regional autonomy that Poles considered as their national autonomy. 'As the condition for cure is to know the disease, the first step in finding the path to economic salvation is to boldly learn about all the symptoms and thoroughly investigate the deeper causes of our economic impotence', indicated the purpose of his study (Szczepanowski).

Unlike his Polish compatriot Joseph Conrad (originally Józef Korzeniowski) who went to England, became famous for his novels criticizing European colonialism and never wished to return to tsarist Russia, Szczepanowski came back to Polish lands and was enthusiastic about English colonialism. Szczepanowski contrasted Habsburg rule in Galicia with English rule in India and he considered the latter better than the former.

'The English administration in India is incomparably more economical; better than all our poor German patterns, and cheaper at the same time. A small number of stouts, elastic and well-paid people do more than a huge number of people who are poorly paid in the present administration [in Galicia].'

Although Szczepanowski wished his country to become next to England or at least to catch up to neighbouring Hungary or the Kingdom of Poland (a Polish autonomy in Russia), he complained that Galicia was closer to India in terms of economic development. Therefore, England served as a positive point reference and India as a negative one for Szczepanowski. As a 19th-century liberal, he shared a belief in the endless progress of humanity or what was called 'civilization'. That belief laid ground to his appraisal of colonialism as a symptom of national power that required knowledge and bravery together with egoism and 'some' cruelty:

'The English adventurers, who, under Queen Elizabeth, devoted themselves to hunting Negro slaves and Spanish silver galleys,

were inhuman, but their adventurousness took on a heroic attitude. (...) It is not only greed that created the English colonial state, English commerce and industry, which also appears in their trunks to the peaks of the Alpine or Himalayan mountains, in their lion-hunts in Africa, tigers in India, in those thousand eccentricities that the English commit in order to say that he was doing something that no man had ever done before him.'

Szczepanowski also wished himself Poles would have colonized more territories in east-south direction to the Black Sea as in the past what would be a solution for overpopulation in Galicia. Instead, Poles massively migrated to America which he viewed as a symptom of their potential colonization capabilities. However, Szczepanowski acknowledged, 'If they are to die of hunger at home, I prefer them to emigrate to America a hundred times over. Let every hundredth return with what some capital, with experience, and this becomes the germ of new thoughts and ideas in the still mass of our rural population.'(&)

What Szczepanowski and his other contemporaries meant when they referred to their country as 'an India of Europe' was mainly a fear that one-day Galician people will become extinct as did Indians in America. Szczepanowski considered a difference between German 'filisters' and the Polish 'koltuni' (both words mean 'babbitts') to be similar to the South American relations between 'the Indians, who were neither useful as slaves, nor were able to defend their freedom and therefore became extinct, and the Negroes who were imported by the Spanish and at least as slaves were a valuable economic power which survived both the Spanish and the Indians.' His diagnosis was a typical view of economic liberalism that saw the free market as a Darwinist capitalistic competition. 'Nations who do not earn money and do not work - die', warned Szczepanowski.

Likewise, Ludwik Powidaj named his famous article 'Poles and Iroquois' (1865) which became a manifesto of the Cracow Conservatism. He repeated the claim of Frederick II, the king of Prussia, that Poles had not produced any civilization and remained on the edge of backwardness. The same as Szczepanowski, he believed that unless Poles started to work on the betterment of their society (instead of organizing recurrent uprisings and revolts

against the hegemonic empires), they would share the fate of the Indians.

Considering a fear of extinction, Alain Finkelkraut noted a defying feature of 'small nations' of Eastern Europe as worrying about their existence: assimilation, extermination, conquest or political disappearance. Similarly, Ewa Thompson called the pessimistic view of Polish elites on Poland and disbelief in the possibility of autonomous development a colonial mentality. Following Homi Bhabha, Thompson compared the extreme pessimism of the Polish elites to the African ones, as they always locate civilization outside their country. According to them, 'real culture' is always far away, never indigenous.

3. Poverty as 'backwardness' and 'barbarity'

'Look around. At the death, misery, ignorance [ciemnota] of the vast majority of the nation.'

'Each Galician works for a quarter, and for half a man. The ineptitude of their work undoubtedly depends largely on the insufficiency of food, the Galician works poorly because he is poorly fed, and cannot live better because he is not working enough. This is a vicious circle from which one must look for a way out.'

'The Misery of Galicia' was full of similar vivid comparisons and statistics. Szczepanowski's point was to prove that Galicia is 'the poorest and most destitute country of all civilized and half-civilized countries on the globe'. As a former official at the India Office, he considered Galicia's situation worse than that of India during the Great Famine 1876-1878. According to his data, while an average Indian Bengali person in 1877 ate 250 kg of grain, this only amounted to 114 kg in Galicia which was two times less. Szczepanowski found the only comparable case in Ireland, which was for him a 19th-century symbol of hunger and poverty. 'Galicia is now what Ireland was forty years ago, that is the poorest and most dull country in the whole globe,' he claimed and warned that a crop failure or a scarcity of potatoes in Galicia may cause hunger as in Ireland in 1846. Then, according to his study, people's

nutrition in Galicia was worse than a low-cost bread that English poor houses gave to their paupers.

Because of poor nutrition, the average life expectancy in Galicia was 27 years, while in England that was 41. Szczepanowski did not blame, though, alcoholism for a short life expectancy in Galicia. He believed that high alcohol consumption is a consequence of malnutrition. Even more, he provided a statistic, according to which, Galicia's alcohol consumption was less than in other Western European countries: an English drank 10,5l of an alcohol spirit, a French 140l, a German 13,50l while a Galician person consumed only 7,25 l.

What also contributed to Galician malnutrition was, to Szczepanowski, a high density of population in rural areas that made agriculture insufficient to feed all. There were 60 people per 1 km in Galicia and the rural population made up 74% of society. A similar number was in Italy but Szczepanowski claimed that Galicia's case was more similar to Indian Bengal than to other European countries, because Italy had effective agriculture. Still, Galicia was worse than Bengal that confirms Szczepanowski's thesis that Galicia was supposedly the most miserable country in the world.

Country	The number of people per km ² in rural areas
England	27
France	32
Hungary	33
Germany	37
Poland	38
Czechia	44
Ireland	45
Belgium	49
Italy	57

Galicia	60
Indian Bengal	83
China	110

Source: Stanisław Szczepanowski, *Nędza Galicji*, 2-3.

Szczepanowski noted a paradox that Galicia was one of the most rural countries and was unable to feed its citizens due to the low productivity of agriculture. ‘Having no industrialists of our own, we also do not have domestic consumers for our own produce. In order for the grain to be sold, we must send it abroad’, he wrote. Moreover, a quarter of grain was exported abroad by peasants to pay taxes and essential goods, and by the aristocracy to buy tobacco, clothing and other luxurious goods. Szczepanowski complained about Polish nobility that took loans for superfluous consumption and lived in high debts. ‘We have acquired the needs and appearances of civilization, but not yet its power and creativity. We work with the inefficiency of barbarians, and we have European tastes and needs’, pointed out Szczepanowski. Then, he compared nobility’s unproductivity as farmers to unproductivity as a bureaucracy that became a popular profession for an impoverished gentry. He was not alone in his view of nobility as parasites of the working society. Similar judgements also made people of opposite political backgrounds, for example, a socialist Stanisław Brzozowski. Eventually, Szczepanowski wished Polish aristocracy the fate of Indians:

Szczepanowski complained about Polish nobility that took loans for superfluous consumption and lived in high debts.(...) as the red Indians perished under the breath of civilization, so it seems that in Galicia, the antediluvian nobility must have perished without uprisings, without confiscations, without Siberia [exile], only under the influence of changed living conditions, to which it could not comply.’

Szczepanowski compared to Asians also ordinary Galician peoples due to their ‘barbaric helplessness’ and passivity in suffering from poverty and misery. A distinction between the passive barbarians and the active civilized ones was a common trope in the colonial

discourse of the colonizers. The English in India viewed themselves as active bearers of the 'civilizing mission' and they perceived the local Indian population as passive objects of their politics. Szczepanowski implied to be himself as one of the few 'civilized' and active in Galicia due to his English - Indian colonial experience who was to teach 'barbarian' Galicians how to become less miserable.

4. Towards Galicia's 'economic development'

How to make Galicia a less miserable country? As for an economic liberal, Szczepanowski's every answer would be 'economic development' which became one of the 19th-century utopias that promised to fix all problems: immorality, greed, bad politics and unequal society. 'There will be no more nobility and towns people, Jews and peasants, but there will only be fellow citizens of one Motherland, one in affection and purpose, powerful and invincible by this unity,' foretold Szczepanowski. Then, he wrote: 'raising the industry, creating a middle class, [will result in] the dedication of the rural people to a wider civic activity.'

Szczepanowski believed in his simple cause-effect scheme where a 'moral revival' will cause an 'economic revival' that would lead to a 'political revival' of Galicia. What he understood as a 'moral revival' was frugality instead of excessive consumption for show off. 'In all respects, be it truthfulness, diligence, duty, savings and education, the average for a Pole is lower than the average for other European nations. 'Szczepanowski description reminds the 'protestant ethic' which Max Weber believed caused protestant countries to raise capitalism. By referring to values, Szczepanowski anticipated the future attacks on him that would blame capitalism for egoism and immorality. 'Greed and gluttony can lead to usury, to the stock market game, to the card table, to dowry hunting, to sinecures, to selling a name on a screen of dirty business, but never to economic development', ensured Szczepanowski to his readers.

Nevertheless, Szczepanowski acknowledged the superiority of India and other Asian countries over Europe in the past. At that time, 'there was no example of equal neglect in Turkey, Persia, or

India’ as in Poland that soon collapsed at the end of the 18th-century.

‘[Muslim world] for many centuries has towered over Europe with good administration and developed financial strength. It is enough to recall that such the Great Mogul State in India brought nearly 600 million zlotys in annual tax throughout the entire 17th century, which is many times more than the combined income of all Christian countries at that time.’

In contrast to the Great Mogul State in the past, Galicia’s current administration and finances were rough. To Szczepanowski, Austria brought to Galicia excess bureaucracy and then, Polonization of administration (after Galicia acquired autonomy in 1867) did not bring ‘development’ either. To him, Galicia should focus more on economic development instead of the ‘legal-political one’ and consumption loans should have been replaced by credits for investment. Although Szczepanowski was an economic liberal in general, he supported an active role of the state in investment that should support industrial and agricultural production and trigger economic growth. A minimal state was not suitable for such a poor country as Galicia:

‘We are only in the period that those [Habsburg] countries have already passed under Mary Theresa and Emperor Joseph, a period when individuals are too weak to take the initiative in economic development and where only the national government has the resources to do so.’

What kind of government investments Szczepanowski had in mind? Like the English in India, he argued that Poles could start the cotton industry in Galicia. He had worked 3 months at an experimental spinning mill in Manchester that belonged to India’s Office and was later to be transferred to India. He thought of a similar cotton spinning mill near Cracow because Galicia the same as India had a cheap labour force, cotton was easier to produce than linen or wool and it did not require advanced know-how from workers. Although there had used to be a cotton spinning mill in Brody that got bankrupt, Szczepanowski argued that it produced too expensive and luxurious products that did not have the target

in Galicia while he suggested the production of basic and cheap cotton products.

Apart from a cotton industry, Szczepanowski suggested investing in dairy production. Butter was easy to transport and export abroad and milk did not exploit ground as much as grain or cattle. He also noted that raw milk had the same price as raw oil and did not require as much investment as the latter. One of the few things in which Galicia did not stay behind Europe was, according to Szczepanowski, the railway. It was built by the Habsburgs to connect the province with the rest of the empire and enabled easy export. Apart from dairy, Szczepanowski saw a possibility to start alcohol production to sell abroad and make profits out of railway tariffs.

If the industry was a sign of 'development' and Galicia still remained dominantly a rural country, how did Szczepanowski perceive the role of agriculture? He suggested turning agriculture from intensive farming that exploited into an extensive one what he described as 'moving from barbarity into civilization'. Intensive farming exploited the soil without any investment in fertilizers and was based on colonizing more and more Ukrainian lands in the past. Currently, where there was such a high density of population in Galicia and no opportunity for further colonization of Ukrainian lands (the middle and eastern part of Ukraine was under Russian rule), there should be applied artificial fertilizers: phosphorites, potassium salt, gypsum, and calcium. There should have been also done a parcellation of aristocratic land estates to support forming of a new middle class of independent farmers. For semi-feudal and rural Galician society, he suggested semi-rich farmers as a possible middle-class which would be a base for making peasants into citizens as it had taken place in Hungary and Czechia.

What Szczepanowski did not find a remedy for the misery of Galicia, was socialism for its unproductive character and anti-Semitism as a 'barbarity' that should not be transferred from Germany. He rejected an anti-Semitic myth that all Jews are greedy and wealthy. Instead, he found them hard-working, saving, and good at running a business while Poles were their opposite: indolent, vain, reckless. What he described as German prejudices against Jews, for him was a characteristic of English merchants in

Herbert Spencer works. He compared the positive role of Jews in Galician society to a caste of Parsis in India who also dealt with trade.

Moreover, Szczepanowski warned against counting on the Vienna centrein support of Galicia's 'development' and asking for lower taxes. To him, Galicia should stand independently on its own, boost production and as a result, increase its political position in the empire. He opposed what Finkelkraut called 'a loan holder's mentality of Eastern Europeans who because of their miserable history believe that the world owes them everything, but they owe nothing to the world. Szczepanowski wished Galicia had focused on what they can offer economically to the world and to the Habsburg capital in Vienna than begging for help.

Szczepanowski believed that economic backwardness is not an inborn defect and can be cured. He gave an example of Polish workers in America, Germany in England who in other conditions can be hard-working and productive. The oil industry was also one of the light spots of the Galician industry. Szczepanowski himself set up oil mines in Sloboda (near Borysław), in Peczeniżno, Równe, Wietrzno, Kosmacz, Siary, Rypno, Synowódk Wyżny, Grąziowa and what became 'Polish Rockefeller'. As an activist, he supported scouting and education for the working class. Although Szczepanowski was very critical about Galicia's economy, he shared admiration for its cosmopolitan character, which became later a source for the Romantic myth of Galicia.

'Galicia is the most backward [parafiańska] part of old Poland, but yet how easy it is to gather there regular people from all sorts of parts of the world, who speak all sorts of languages and represent all sorts of personality types. There is a more universal type of education as in our real Polish intelligentsia, studying at the same time in Polish, German, English and French literature and melting all foreign acquisitions with the warmth of Polish nature?'

5. Conclusion

Szczepanowski used an Indian-Galician parallel in 'The Misery of Galicia' to prove Galicia's backwardness towards the West. Although himself coming from a periphery that was an object of

various imperial politics, he shared a colonial vision of the world of the colonizers where there were 'civilized' European elites and 'barbarian' peoples (despite nationality: Polish, Ukrainian and Jewish) as objects of 'civilizing missions.' Szczepanowski considered colonialism as an evitable part of global competition and constructed his own hierarchies of colonial policies. To him, English colonialism in India was better than Habsburg one in Galicia. Habsburgs brought unproductive bureaucracy and education that did not fit local needs, while England boosted industry and a capitalistic economy. Although England was for Szczepanowski a model to follow for Galicia in terms of 'economic development, India presented similar economic parameters that indicate poverty: a high density of rural population, malnutrition, short life expectancy, low production. His belief in economic liberalism is an example of the 19th-century vision of utopia that apart from economic boost was to build a better world and a society.

End Notes

(!) - See, polemics with Szczepanowski's *Nędza Galicji*: Ivan Franko, 'Zlydni Halychyny v tsyvrah,' In Franko, *Zibrannia tvoriv u p'iatdesiaty tomakh*, v. 44, no. 2 (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1985), 11-35. Leszek Kuberski, 'Nędza Galicji' Stanisława Szczepanowskiego i jej odbicie w ówczesnej prasie polskiej,' In Jerzy Jarowiecki(ed.), *Kraków-Lwów. Książki czasopisma biblioteki XIX i XX wieku*, v. 5, (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej, 2001) 427-439. Helena Madurowicz-Urbańska, 'Perspektywy nowych badań nad

(@) - Stanisław Szczepanowski, *Nędza Galicji w cyfrach i program energicznego rozwoju gospodarstwa krajowego* (Lwów: Drukarnia Pillerów i Spółki, 1888), XVII.

(#) - Jak warunkiem wyleczenia jest poznanie choroby, tak pierwszym początkiem odszukania drogi ratunku ekonomicznego jest mężne poznanie wszystkich symptomatów i dokładne zbadanie głębszych przyczyn naszej niemocy ekonomicznej. In Szczepanowski, 50.

(§) - Administracja angielska, mianowicie w Indiach, jest bez porównania ekonomiczniejszą; lepszą jak wszystkie te nasze kiepskie niemieckie wzory, a zarazem bez porównania tańszą. Mała ilość ludzi tęgich, sprężystych, dobrze płatnych, więcej daleko zrobi, jak ogromna ilość ludzi tak nędznie płatnych, jak w terażniejszej administracji, In Szczepanowski, 'O stosunku polityki inwestycyjnej do naszych celów narodowych. Mowa Posła St. Szczepanowskiego przed wyborcami do Rady Państwa większej własności okręgu stryjskiego, wypowiedziana w Stryju d. 12 października 1890, 'In Polskie Tradycje Gospodarcze (Ośrodek Myśli Politycznej, 2017), <http://www.tradycjegospodarcze.pl/tekst/181>

(%) - Cała historia usprawiedliwia niezachwianą wiarę w możliwość uszlachetnienia ludzkości. Są chwile, w których się pojedyncze narody cofają, ale postęp całości jest niepowstrzymany. Szczepanowski, Nędza Galicji, 131.

(^) - Awanturnicy angielscy, którzy za królowej Elżbiety oddawali się polowaniu na niewolników murzyńskich i śrebronośne galery hiszpańskie, byli nieludzkimi, ale awanturniczość ich przybierała postawy bohaterskie. (...) To nie tylko chciwość stworzyła państwo kolonialne angielskie, handel i przemysł angielski, które się również pojawia w ich wycieczkach na szczyty gór Alpejskich lub Himalajskich, w ich polowaniach na lwy w Afryce, tygrysy w Indiach, w tych tysiącznych ekscentrycznościach, które Anglik popelnia, ażeby móc powiedzieć, że dokazał czegoś, czego żaden człowiek przed nim nie dokazał. Szczepanowski, 173.

(&) - Ale mają w domu z głodu ginąć, to sto razy wolę, żeby do Ameryki emigrowali. Niechaj co setny powróci z jakim takim kapitalikiem, z doświadczeniem, to staje się zarodkiem nowych myśli i wyobrażeń w zastającej masie naszej ludności wiejskiej. Szczepanowski, 92.

(*) - Pomiedzy filistrami niemieckimi a polskimi zachodzi ta sama różnica, jaka za czasów zdobyczy Ameryki przez Hiszpanów zachodziła pomiedzy krajowymi Indianami, którzy ani nie byli przydatnymi na niewolników, ani wolności swojej nie umieli bronić i dla tego do szczytu wyginęli, - a murzynami sprowadzonymi przez Hiszpanów, którzyprzynajmniej jako

niewolnicy byli cenną siłą ekonomiczną i niejednokrotnie przetrwali zarówno Hiszpanów jak Indianów. In Szczepanowski, 159.

(-) - Szczepanowski, 130.

(+) - Ludwik Powidaj, 'Polacy i Indianie,' In S. Fita (ed). Publicystyka okresu pozytywizmu 1860-1900. Antologia(Warszawa: 2002).

(!!) - See: (in Polish) Alain Finkelkraut, Niewdzięczność, transl. Sławomir Królak (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sic!, 2005), (in French) Alain Finkelkraut, L'Ingratitude. Conversation sur notre temps avec Antoine Robitaille, (Gallimard: 1999). In the interview, Finkelkraut relates to another book of Istvan Bibo who made a similar point, See: Istvan Bibo, Misère des petits Etats d'Europe de l'Est, (Bibliothèque Albin Michel Idées: Broché, 1993).

(@@) - Ewa Thompson, 'W kolejce po aprobatę. Kolonialna mentalność polskich elit', Europa - Tygodnik Idei, 38, 180, (2007).

(##) - Popatrzcie się w około. Śmierć, nędza, ciemnota ogromnej większości narodu, In Szczepanowski, 15

(\$\$) - Nieudolność w pracy bez wątpienia w znacznym stopniu zależy od niedostateczności pożywienia, Galicyanin kiepsko pracuje, bo się nędznie żywi, a nie może się żywić lepiej, bo za mało pracuje. Jest to zakłete koło z którego trzeba szukać wyjścia. In Szczepanowski, 22.

(%%) - Kraj najnędzniejszy i najuboższy z wszystkich cywilizowanych i półcywilizowanych krajów na kuli ziemskiej. In Szczepanowski, 32.

(^^) - Szczepanowski, 25.

(&&) - Szczepanowski, 47-48.

(**) - Szczepanowski, 55-56.

(--) - Szczepanowski, 26.

(++) - Szczepanowski, 2-3, 7, 9.

(!@) - Nie mając własnych przemysłowców, nie mamy też domowych konsumentów na własne płody. Ażeby je spieniężyć, musimy je wysyłać za granicę. Szczepanowski, 43.

(@#) - Szczepanowski, 27, 41, 58.

(#)\$) - Przyswoiliśmy sobie potrzeby i pozory cywilizacji, ale jeszcze nie jej potęgę i twórczość. Pracujemy z nieudolnością barbarzyńców, a mamy gusta i potrzeby europejskie. Szczepanowski, 53. Similarly: 58, 68, 164.

(\$%) - (...) jak czerwoni Indianie wyginęli pod tchem cywilizacji, tak zdaje się i w Galicji przedpotopowa szlachta musiała wyginąć bez powstań, bez konfiskat, bez Sybiru, tylko pod jedynym wpływem zmienionych warunków życia, do których się nie umiała zastosować. In Szczepanowski, 63.

(%^) - Szczepanowski, 48, 58, 176.

(^&) - Nie będzie już szlachty i mieszczan, żydów i chłopów, ale będą tylko współobywatele jedenej Ojczyzny, jedni uczuciem i celem, potężni i niezwycciężeni tą jednością. In Szczepanowski, 134.

(&*) - Szczepanowski, 52.

(*-) - Szczepanowski, 148.

(-+) - Chciwość i łakomstwo mogą prowadzić do lichwy, do gry giełdowej, do stolika z kartami, do polowania za posagami, za synekturnami, do sprzedawania nazwiska

(+!) - Ani w Turcji, ani w Persji, ani w Indiach nie można znaleźć przykładu równego zaniedbania. In Szczepanowski, 51.

(!!@) - [Świat mahometański] przez wiele wieków górował nad Europą dobrą administracją i rozwiniętą siłą finansową. Dość przypomnieć, że takie państwo wielkiego Moguła w Indiach przynosiło przez cały wiek XVII blisko 600 milionów złotych podatku rocznego, to jest wiele razy więcej aniżeli połączone dochody wszystkich państw owym czasie. In Szczepanowski, 51.

(@@#) - Szczepanowski, 103, 139, 142, 184-186.

(##\$) - My dopiero jesteśmy w okresie, który tamte kraje już przebyły za Maryi Teresy i cesarza Józefa, to jest w okresie, gdzie jednostki są za słabe, ażeby wziąć inicjatywę w rozwoju

ekonomicznym i gdzie tylko samorząd krajowy posiada zasoby wystarczające do tego. In Szczepanowski, 186.

(\$\$%) - Szczepanowski, XVIII, 109-110, 187.

(% % ^) - Szczepanowski, XVIII, 188.

(^^ &) - Szczepanowski, 18.

(& & *) - Szczepanowski, 60.

(** -) - Szczepanowski, 110, 113, 117-119, 130.

(--+) - Szczepanowski, XV, 140, 181.

(++!) - Szczepanowski, 13.

(+!!) - See: Leszek Kuberski, Stanisław Szczepanowski (1846-1900): przemysłowiec, polityk, publicysta, (Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 1997).

(-!!) - Galicya jest najbardziej parafiańską częścią dawnej Polski, a przecie jak łatwo w pierwszym lepszym zakątku zgromadzić ludzi bywalców z najrozmaitszych części świata, władających najrozmaitszymi językami i przedstawiających najrozmaitsze typy osobiste. Albo gdzież jest uniwersalniejszy typ wykształcenia jak u naszej rzeczywistej inteligencji polskiej, chowającej się równocześnie na.

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